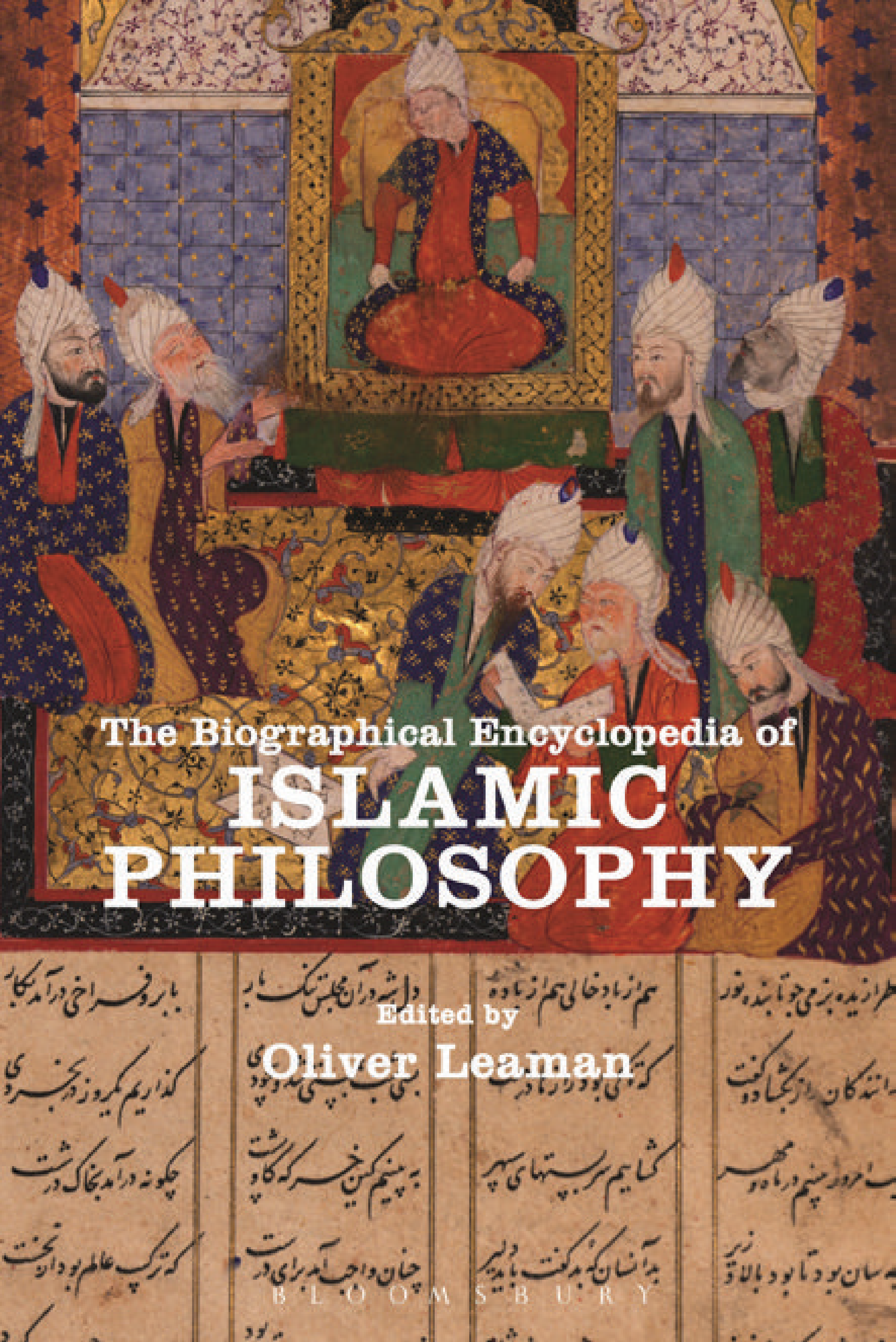

The Biographical Encyclopedia of

ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Edited by

Oliver Leaman

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THE BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

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Oliver Leaman

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PREFACE TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION

I was pleased when the publishers approached me about a paperback edition for this volume, since the first edition was well received but also very expensive, and so only limited to libraries and research institutes. Now the book is available at a much more bearable price and so accessible more generally. The various authors have sought to bring out in their work the lives and works of the major thinkers in the Islamic philosophical world, broadly interpreted, and the paperback edition has presented me with the opportunity to add a new entry on Muhammad Arkoun, who alas has died in the interim and who could not have been dealt with in the first edition, since I decided not to include living thinkers.

This is very much a book about books, the emphasis throughout is providing the reader with bibliographical resources to explore the topic more deeply. It has been possible to correct some errors that existed in the first edition, but I am sure others exist, hopefully not too egregious ones. The contributors have also often moved on to other positions and this has been noted in the list of contributors where it has been possible to contact them and receive a reply.

Oliver Leaman
Lexington May 2014

INTRODUCTION

It is the aim of this volume to include entries on Islamic philosophers and to constitute a comprehensive list of all those who could be given that description. Philosophy flourished in the Islamic world for many centuries, and continues to be a significant feature of cultural life today. The compilation of biographical dictionaries has long been a tradition within Islamic culture, and it would be helpful to have a modern version of such dictionaries. We are only including thinkers who are no longer alive.

The issue of the definition of Islamic philosophy has been controversial, and it probably should be classified as an essentially contested concept. There is nothing specifically Islamic about this issue, it occurs in all systems of philosophy which are classified under the label of a particular religion. Religion is a matter of faith and often seems to be opposed to philosophy, which is a system of ideas built on a foundation of reason. Yet much of the work which goes on under the label of Islamic philosophy has nothing to do with religion at all, or at least makes no direct link with religion. One thinks in particular of logic here, and the other more technical aspects of philosophy. Then there is the fact that philosophy itself as a technical term had a range of meanings within the Islamic world. It is sometimes translated as *falsafa*, itself a neologism stemming from the Greek, where this term referred largely to philosophy within the Peripatetic tradition. Sometimes philosophy is translated as *hikma*, or more generally wisdom, and that is the sense in which we are going to take it here, since this will include all kinds of theoretical enquiry which were in their time regarded as philosophy or philosophical. It was not only those who were formally philosophers who discussed philosophy, and scientists, theologians, jurisprudents, and physicians all made important contributions to the topic.

Of course the idea of philosophy as a technical profession is quite modern and Socrates would himself have been horrified at the prospect of philosophers being paid for their services. He argued that the philosopher should be able to earn his living doing something else, thus leaving him free to say what he likes when doing philosophy. Most of the Islamic philosophers earned their livings doing a variety of occupations, and philosophy itself was often a sideline or minor interest in a far more extensive career as something else. Nonetheless, the resulting work is often of major significance, and it will be represented here.

So we are taking a wide notion of philosophy here, and we are regarding it as any intellectual enquiry which directly or indirectly raises issues of primary philosophical significance. So we shall include some of the major thinkers within the Islamic sciences, those who wrote on grammar, theology, law, and the Traditions of the Prophet, since these areas of work clearly came to form part of the context of the philosophical curriculum of the time. This is not to say that they were all philosophers or regarded themselves as philosophers, but their ideas and arguments became part and parcel of what philosophers worked on. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to include in this volume every Muslim who was interested in any theoretical issue whatsoever. Many of these thinkers and their ideas do not figure in the arguments of the philosophers, however philosophy is understood, and it is important to make a distinction between philosophy as an intellectual enquiry from other types of theoretical activity. Critics of philosophy will be included, provided that they argue philosophically in their critique.

Most entries are short, giving details as far as they are known of the life of the thinker, the main works, their main ideas, those influential on them, and those they influenced. At the end of each entry we will have some references to the main works, and secondary material as appropriate. Readers should be aware that many Islamic philosophers wrote a very large number of books and no attempt will be made here to refer to them all, but appropriate bibliographical information will be given. There will often be information in the bibliographies of such general works as:

- Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Leiden: Brill, 1898–1902,
- Supplementband 1937–42; revised edn 1943–9.
- *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 1998.
- *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, New York: Macmillan, 2006.
- *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 1913–16; 2nd edn, 1960–.
- *Encyclopedia Iranica*.
- Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden: Brill, 1967–98.
- *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- *The Qur'an: An Encyclopedia*, ed. O. Leaman, London: Routledge, 2006.
- TDV *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul.

All these works will have a good deal of relevant material in them and may be usefully consulted by the reader.

Islamic philosophy

What date represents the start of interest in philosophy in the Islamic world? It is really not possible to answer this question, since theoretical questions were raised right from the beginning of Islam, questions which often look specifically religious since they can be answered by reference to Islamic texts such as the Qur'an, the practices of the Islamic community, and the traditional sayings of the Prophet and his Companions. On this initial basis emerged the Islamic sciences, and these consisted largely of religious law, the study of the language in which God transmitted the Qur'an (Arabic), and schools of theology which represented differing understandings of Islam. Added to this were the *ahadith* (*hadith* in singular), the traditional sayings of the Prophet and his family, and there was a specific science of *hadith* which determined how reliable the line of transmission was.

Other disciplines came to be added later, although they had a looser relationship with education than the more religious disciplines, and these came to include history and general information on culture, a broad label represented by the Arabic term *adab* or belles-lettres. It is difficult to distinguish between theological and philosophical topics, since often a philosophical issue would be dealt with using theological language, and vice versa. For example, there was a general issue about God's knowledge. That form of knowledge is perfect and complete, but does it include knowledge of the everyday events of the world of generation and corruption? The Qur'an suggests it does since it refers to God's knowledge encompassing every leaf that falls. If God does not know what we as individuals do, how can he judge us on the Day of Judgment? Yet Aristotelian philosophers had difficulties with the notion of God knowing particulars, since he is without sensory equipment, and that seems to be a necessary aspect of such knowledge. Even from a theological point of view there are problems with God's knowledge being like ours, but more so, and so right from the start of Islam these theoretical questions were much debated and progressively refined.

This refinement had a lot to do with growing contact with centers of civilization that were in one way or another permeated by Greek culture. This led to a fierce reaction by many Muslims, rejecting that foreign and unbelieving culture for the familiar Islamic sciences. Yet the very real material advances of Greek culture, in particular in medicine and science, must have made a lasting impact on many intellectuals, and there was evidently much enthusiasm for what could be learned from the developed cultures that were rapidly incorporated in the Islamic empire. The caliph al-Ma'mun who reigned from 813 to 833 was a determined supporter of Greek thought, and founded an institution in Baghdad whose main purpose was translating Greek texts into Arabic. Often these translations came about through translation of a Greek text into Syriac, and then into Arabic. Some important texts came to be translated several times, and the skill of translators progressively improved with their experience. Early translations included works of Aristotle, commentaries on him, summaries of many of Plato's dialogues, and later Greek elaborations of their work, and many works in the standard Neoplatonic curriculum which at that time dominated the pursuit of philosophy. There was a degree of confusion about who precisely wrote what, and a tendency to link Plato and Aristotle in ways that today would be thought surprising, but this was a reflection of Neoplatonism.

There are three main schools of thought in Islamic philosophy. Peripateticism or *mashsha'i* philosophy is very much based on Greek thought, and in particular Neoplatonism. This started around the time of al-Kindi and is said to have come to an end with Ibn Rushd who represented the height of Peripatetic thought in al-Andalus, the Islamic empire in the Iberian Peninsula.

Ibn Rushd (1126–98) (Averroes) was unusual for two reasons. One was his rejection of mysticism, which by contrast was something that was adopted enthusiastically by most of the other Peripatetic thinkers. The other line he followed that was untypical is his disavowal of Neoplatonism and his attempt at establishing a more genuine form of Aristotelianism. But he had few followers in the West of the Islamic world. The attack on his style of philosophy had suffered a reverse at the hands of al-Ghazali, and his attacks had swung intellectual debate away from philosophy in the style of the Peripatetics toward a more theologically centered form of work. Or so it is often argued. It is difficult to know whether al-Ghazali's work was really so influential, because it certainly did not have that much effect on Peripateticism in the Persian world, where it continued to play an important part in the philosophical curriculum, especially in combination with mystical philosophy.

Mysticism in Islamic philosophy is an almost constant topic of interest. Some went to the lengths of arguing that philosophy that was analytical could not be of value since reality is one, and dividing it up to examine it is to misunderstand it profoundly. Of course, this itself is an analytical argument. The mystical thinker Ibn al-'Arabi (1165–1240) pursued this line and represented himself as burying the old Peripatetic form of thought when he carried the bones of Ibn Rushd back to al-Andalus on the back of a donkey. But many philosophers combined mysticism with Peripatetic philosophy, arguing that these are just two different philosophical methodologies, with mysticism going deeper into the nature of reality.

Illuminationist (*ishraqi*) thought comes from the term *ishraq*, which is linked with the idea of the East, and really is hostile to the Peripatetic system of knowledge. The Ishraqis argued against the principle that reasoning starts with definition in terms of genus and differentia, a process of explaining something by breaking it down into its smaller parts that is the basis of Peripatetic thought. Illuminationist thinkers such as al-Suhrawardi (1154–91) argue that this is to explain the unknown in terms of something even less known. They also seek to demote deductive knowledge, the sort of knowledge we get from using the principles of syllogistic reasoning, with knowledge by presence, which is knowledge so immediate that it cannot be doubted. Light itself comes into the picture since the idea is that such knowledge is lit up in a way which makes it impossible to doubt or ignore, and this is because light flows through the universe and brings to existence and awareness a range of levels of being. The differences between things can be described in degrees of luminosity or light, not in terms of their essences. God is often linked with the Light of Lights, the light that is the source of all other light and that does not itself receive light, rather like Aristotle's unmoved mover, that other things move around but does not itself move. This form of philosophy was particularly popular in the Persian world, where it was combined in varying degrees with aspects of mysticism and even Peripateticism. Mulla Sadra (1572–1640), whose thought has dominated the Persian philosophical curriculum since his time, used all three forms of philosophy in his writings, as became very much the style of much Persian philosophy.

Islamic philosophy and Islam have always had a close relationship, even thinkers who oppose the use of philosophy tend to use it to oppose it, like al- Ghazali arguing that it is full of contradictions even if its own principles are followed. Even when no explicit philosophy is used at all, it still does enter when the question of how to interpret texts arises, as it does all the time in Islam. How far should independent reason be used, or how far should one stay close to the precise reasoning of the individual Islamic sciences such as theology, law, *hadith*, grammar, and so on? Even trying to stay close to the precise rules does use logic, and logic could be regarded as part of philosophy. This itself was a controversial topic, with some arguing that logic was only a tool employed by philosophy, and in fact is independent of metaphysical assumptions altogether. Other thinkers hostile to philosophy argue that logic is inevitably contaminated with it and so should not be used. There was also a controversy about whether logic is independent of language, obviously a not unrelated issue. Right at the start of Islamic philosophy there was a celebrated debate between al-Sirafi and Ibn Bishr Matta on whether knowing grammar of a particular language is more useful than knowing logic that takes itself to underpin all language itself. By the nineteenth century Peripatetic philosophy had become part of the Arabic *Nahda* or Renaissance, often seen as a symbol of modernity and the growing identification with the non-Islamic world. After all, the philosophical thought of Islam was introduced and enthusiastically taken up by Europe in the medieval period, and is often argued to have played an important part in the European explosion of science and intellectual thought in general. The works of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Sina were in the curriculum of the Christian and Jewish worlds for many centuries; there were many translations that played a significant role in the development of philosophy in Europe as a whole.

What were the leading issues of Islamic philosophy? The whole range of general philosophical topics was explored, but some topics were of more interest than others. There was a protracted debate about the objectivity or subjectivity of ethical rules, over the issue of whether an action is just if and only if God says that it is just, or whether it is just in itself, both issues that arise in similar forms in Islamic theology. How to reconcile the social virtues that arise through living in a community and the intellectual virtues that tend to involve a more solitary lifestyle was a deeply felt issue, since so many philosophers had difficulties in being accepted by their local communities, especially the political authorities. Why should the philosophical thinker who can grasp the truth through the use of reason involve himself in the social and religious activities of the community? They often argued that philosophy represents the truth in an unvarnished form, whereas religion was a shaping of that truth in a way that makes it palatable and comprehensible to the community in general. During a period when religious and social identity were so closely connected, this gave rise to questions about the real religious beliefs of the philosophers, and their sincerity was often questioned. Although the philosophers were keen for prudential reasons to link up with the practices of the community, this is clearly a different form of attachment than was normal, and gave rise to some suspicion.

Political philosophy looked to Greek thinkers for ways of discussing the nature of the state, and often combined Aristotelian and Platonic political ideas with Qur'anic notions. This was not difficult to do since it enabled them to argue that the state ought to be concerned with both the material and the spiritual welfare of its inhabitants. The philosopher would be the best ruler because he can understand what is in the general interest, and he can ensure that religion is used to teach the community in general how to behave so that its welfare is enhanced. This sort of elitism was common across the range of philosophies, even Sufi and Illuminationist thinkers were largely of the opinion that only a limited group of people could understand precisely how the state operated, and that traditional religion was an important source of information for the people as a whole.

The nature of the soul, the thinking part of human beings, was a particularly important issue. Many Peripatetic thinkers followed Aristotle in regarding the soul as the form of a person, which implies that once the body or matter dies, the soul or form of the matter no longer exists. Yet Islam has a strong notion of an afterlife, indeed a physical afterlife, and the soul and body would in some sense be regarded as eternal. Some philosophers suggested that the Qur'anic view is largely allegorical, so that our actions in this life have consequences, which extend farther than this life, and a good way of talking about this is through talking about us as having eternal souls. Other thinkers tended to use a Platonic account of the soul as something eternal and immaterial, and this also seems to contradict the Qur'anic account of the afterlife as a decidedly physical sort of place. Of course it could be that the religious account is in terms of the physical because for most people that is what is important in their lives. It is a way of explaining to them why it is important for us to behave well, whereas a more spiritual grasp of the links between this world and the next one is achievable only by a few intellectuals or spiritually advanced adepts, and should not be made into a standard religious doctrine for everyone.

We have already seen that the role of logic, if any, in the Islamic sciences was a controversial one. Some enthusiasts for logic saw it as having a role everywhere. Even poetry was taken to have some sort of a logical structure, since poetry is writing that is expected to have a conclusion, perhaps the eliciting of an emotion, and it sets out to achieve this conclusion by a careful shaping of language. In fact, each type of writing has a logical structure that describes how it is supposed to operate, and what the appropriate rules are. The logic of theology is dialectical, for example, and takes a particular proposition as true, because it occurs in a text in which it is reasonable to believe, and works out what the logical implications of that text are. But since the text could be wrong, the standard of conclusion that one derives is always a bit dubious. Law and many of the other Islamic sciences are dialectical in this sense, and philosophers often have an account of knowledge that does not include those sciences as representing the very highest type of knowledge. The main difference between philosophers and ordinary people is that philosophers are capable of understanding the structure of these arguments better than their less advanced peers. Ordinary believers tend to be very influenced by imagination and their senses, emotional and reliant on tradition, so they are not really that good at understanding arguments that come from those who are able to see behind ordinary experience to what exists at a deeper level, either analytically or spiritually, or indeed both.

It should not be thought that the thinkers in this book are an alienated bunch of outsiders, holding heterodox views and setting out to reinterpret Islam radically. Most of them were pillars of the community and important members of the local social hierarchy. Some did fall foul of the religious authorities, but by contrast some were the creators of specific religious schools of thought, and their followers have gone on to use their works to develop a particular theoretical model of Islam. The very difficult political situations that have existed during quite extended periods of Islamic history certainly ensured that philosophy along with other intellectual pursuits often had to adapt to local conditions. Some thinkers who could not adapt paid the ultimate price, and the example of Socrates and his fate at the hands of the Athenians had more than a historical resonance for many in the Islamic world.

The biography in Islamic intellectual culture

The sources of information are many and various. Books like this book, although usually much wittier, were often written in the past, and they are a great help to our authors now. For example, al-Sakhawi wrote *Daw' al-Lami'* in which he described in some detail the various thinkers in the Sufi tradition who had been important to him and why. To a degree this established the credentials of the writer, it explains his background, and that gives us a reason to think highly of him. This is really something of a presentation of his credentials, his formal license to teach (the *ijaza*) being conferred on him by someone of great eminence, and his pupils also being mentioned in the hope that they would in time bring credit to their teacher and broadcast his ideas and approaches. The language is often rather elevated in the earlier biographies. Teachers are referred to in very complimentary terms, and enemies damned unreservedly. Does this mean that they are not objective? They are no more subjective than a letter of reference by a US college professor on behalf of a student, for example. There were many accounts of biographies, especially in the Sufi tradition, and biographies are always popular in any literature. Both in the past and the present Sufis have been enthusiastic collectors of stories about those whom they seek to emulate.

The sources of information about the thinkers in this book are various. We are fortunate that there has been a tradition in Islamic culture of producing biographical dictionaries. For example, Ibn al-Qifti (d. 1249) and heresiographers are also interesting sources of information. On the other hand, we are often here acquiring information either from the enemies of Islamic thinkers, or from their admirers, and one might well wonder at the reliability of much of what we are told. Surely the huge number of such biographical dictionaries is a unique feature of Islamic culture, one which has yet to be satisfactorily explained. To a degree these dictionaries represented the history of particular periods in ways that made the history accessible, since it was linked with particular individuals. To a degree they mimicked the *isnad* tradition of *hadith*, the ways in which the Traditions of the Prophet and those close to him came down to later generations by the lines of transmission of those who repeated the sayings. These chains of communication were early on formalized and became an Islamic science all of their own, since the aim was to ensure that the reports that were being relied on were indeed reliably linked with the Prophet and his Companions in the first place. So the idea of investing attention to biography is very much part and parcel of the Islamic sciences. Then there is the fascination that was so prevalent in Islamic culture for classification, for organizing ideas and people into categories, and subcategories and so on, in that way producing a perspicuous grasp of a whole area of thought and culture.

Some dictionaries concentrate on a particular city or region, and that adds stature to it as a cultural center, presumably. Some concentrate on particular professions, and thus communicate the idea of the significance of that profession and its practitioners. The different sects and legal schools in Islam could well figure in specific doctrinal biographies, and this again plays a part in defining and registering the significance of a certain ideology. Finally, there is the fact that biographies are often fun, they may elevate or they may ridicule their figures, but in many cases they do illustrate in a comparatively light way the life story of an interesting thinker who may well have lived through tumultuous times. In that way they encourage later followers to persist through obstacles and remain close to the scholarly path. These works were generally part of the *adab* tradition, the attempt to formulate the entire culture of the Islamic world.

There is an excellent bibliography of biographical dictionaries in Islamic culture in Wadad al-Qadi, “Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance,” in G. Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995. There is a very full account of the bibliographical encyclopedia genre in Islamic philosophy, and more widely, in several of the chapters of Endress’ *Organizing Knowledge* (2006) and especially Wadad al-Qadi’s “Biographical dictionaries as the scholars’ alternative history of the Muslim community” pp. 23–75. The bibliography throughout the volume has been selected to be useful for anyone interested in exploring this type of writing.

Dates and transliteration

The Muslim calendar begins with the migration (*hijra*) of Muhammad and his earliest followers to Medina from Mecca in 622. The Muslim calendar is a lunar calendar with twelve months: Muharram, Safar, Rabi al-Awwal, Rabi al-Thani, Jumada al-Awwal, Jumada al-Thani, Rajab, Shaban, Ramadan, Shawwal, Dhu’l-Qadah, and Dhu’l-Hijja.

The text avoids the use of macrons and diacritics for Arabic and Persian, and includes ‘ayn and *hamza*. Transliteration is not always consistent since it was decided to use more familiar spellings in English for some names and terms.

Islamic names

We do not on the whole give the full name of any of our thinkers, since these are very long. For example, the full name of the sixth/twelfth century Ibn al-Jawzi is ‘Abd al- Rahman ibn ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Ubayd Allah ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Hammadi ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ja‘far ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Qasim ibn al-Nadr ibn al-Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Faqih ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Faqih al-Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Khalifat Rasul Allah Abi Bakr al-Siddiq Abu al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzi al-Qurashi al-Taymi al-Bakri al- Baghdadi al-Hanbali al-Ash'ari. This is not the place to write on Islamic names, which are often long and complicated, but a few details are worth noting. The *'ism* is the first part of the name by which the individual is familiarly known, the *laqab* is his nickname, and many thinkers are known generally by a combination of the two. Some Arabic names acquired Latinized names such as Averroes, from Ibn Rushd; Avicenna from Ibn Sina; Saladin from Salah al-Din; Rhases from Razi; and Avenzoar from Ibn Zuhr. "Abu al-" is frequently transliterated as "Abu'l-" to concur with pronunciation; and the Arabic "the" ("al"), when used in a name is always hyphenated to "l" before the word following it, as in "Abu'l-Hasan." "Ibn" is often shortened as "b." or represented as "bin."

These are different parts to the name:

- An *'ism*, a personal, proper name given shortly after birth. Examples of such names are Muhammad, Ibrahim, Ahmad, and so on.
- A *kunya*, an honorific name or surname, as the father or mother of someone; e.g., Abu Salim (the father of Salim), Umm 'Ali (the mother of 'Ali). In a person's full name, the *kunya* precedes the personal name: Abu Yusuf 'Ali (the father of Yusuf, 'Ali), Umm Ibrahim Amina (the mother of Ibrahim, Amina).
- A *nasab* refers to a pedigree, as the son or daughter of someone; e.g., Ibn Ahmad (the son of Ahmad), bint Musa (the daughter of Musa). The *nasab* follows the *'ism* in usage: Hasan ibn Muhammad (Hasan the son of Muhammad). Many of the thinkers in this volume are better known through their *nasab* than by their *'ism*: e.g., Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Rushd (Averroes), Ibn Sina (Avicenna). When the parent in a *nasab* is referred to by his *kunya*, the word abu becomes abi, the well-known example being the Prophet's son-in-law is called 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, 'Ali the son of Abu Talib, or 'Ali, the son of the father of Talib.
- A *laqab*, a descriptive term, relating to some important and prestigious feature that the person has e.g., al-'Arif (the knowledgeable), al-Rashid (the rightly guided). *Laqabs* follow the *'ism*. One particularly popular form of *laqab* is formed on the pattern of 'Abd (servant of) plus one of the ninety-nine names of God; e.g., 'Abd Allah ('Abdullah), the servant of God, 'Abd al-'Aziz (servant of the Almighty), 'Abd al-Rahman (servant of the Merciful). Such a *laqab* is used as an *'ism* or first name.
- A *nisba* is a byname. *Nisbas* follow the *'ism* or, if the name contains a *nasab*, it generally follows the *nasab*. The three primary types of *nisba* are: (1) occupational, referring to a person's trade or profession; e.g., Muhammad al-Hallaj (Muhammad, the dresser of cotton); (2) descent, derived from the name of a person's tribe of birth or family lineage: Mughira al-Ju'fi (Mughira of the tribe of Ju'fi); Yusuf al-Ayyubi (Joseph the Ayyubid, Joseph of the family line of Ayyub); and (3) geographical, derived from the place of residence or birth: Ya'qub al-Dimashqi (Jacob of Damascus). As is the case with *nasabs*, some persons in history are known to us primarily by their *nisba*: Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari, the author of an early collection of *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions) is better known from his place of birth, Bukhara, simply as al-Bukhari. Where more than one *nisba* is used, as a general rule the geographic *nisba* comes last, preceded by either the occupational *nisba* or the tribal *nisba*.

Oliver Leaman

ISLAMIC HISTORY TIMELINE

Many of the early dates are approximate

610	Adhering to a polytheistic system of belief, Muhammad has a religious experience, he hears a divine voice, identified with the angel Gabriel/Jibril, and is told to convert the Quaraysh to return to an earlier form of monotheism.
622	The Quaraysh are distinctly unenthusiastic. Muhammad and his small band of followers migrate to the town of Yathrib in the north, where he receives a more sympathetic reception. The Hijra of 622, the migration, marks the beginning of the Muslim era. After making himself ruler, Muhammad changes the name of the town to Medina or City, and Medina becomes the seat of the caliphate.
630	Muhammad and his followers capture Mecca. The Ka'ba, the neutral place of worship for Arabian tribes during the *jahiliya* or pre-Islamic period of ignorance, becomes the main shrine of Islam.
632	With the death of Muhammad, his father-in-law, Abu-Bakr, and 'Umar devise a system in which Islam can sustain religious and political stability. Accepting the name of caliph, Abu-Bakr begins a military exhibition to enforce the caliph's authority over Arabian followers of Muhammad. Then he moves north and attacks the Byzantines and Persians. Abu-Bakr dies two years following his succession of Muhammad. 'Umar succeeds him as the second caliph and initiates a campaign against the neighboring empires.
637	The Arabs occupy the Persian capital of Ctesiphon. By 651, the entire Persian world is conquered by Islam as it continues its westward expansion.
638	The Romans are defeated at the Battle of Yarmouk and the Muslims enter Palestine. The Muslims continue their conquest of Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, which is completed in 641.
641	Islam spreads into Egypt.
644	'Umar dies and is succeeded by Caliph 'Uthman, a member of the Umayyad family. He is met by opposition from the supporters of 'Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, who want the latter installed as caliph.
654	Islam spreads into all of North Africa.
656	Caliph 'Uthman is murdered, and 'Ali becomes the new caliph.

661	‘Uthman’s followers murder ‘Ali. One of ‘Uthman’s relations takes the title of caliph, and Damascus replaces Medina as the seat of the caliphate. The Umayyad family rules Islam until 750. ‘Ali’s followers form a religious party, the shi’at ‘Ali, the party of ‘Ali, based on the principle that only descendants of ‘Ali deserve the title of caliph or deserve any authority over Muslims. The opposing party, the Sunnis, accept by contrast the custom (Sunna) or authority of the historical evolution of the caliphate rather than a hereditary descent of spiritual authority.
662	Egypt falls under the control of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates until 868. A year earlier, the Fertile Crescent and Persia come under the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, whose reigns last until 1258 and 820, respectively.
669	The Muslim conquest reaches to Morocco in North Africa. The region is open to the rule of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates until 800.
710	Tariq ibn Malik crosses the straight separating Africa and Europe with a group of Muslims and enters Spain. A year later, 7,000 Muslim men invade Gibraltar. Almost the entire Iberian Peninsula is under Islamic control by 718.
711	With the further conquest of Egypt, Spain, and North Africa, Islam includes all of the Persian Empire and most of the old Roman world is under Islamic rule.
711	Muslims begin the conquest of Sind in Afghanistan. Until 962, Afghanistan witnesses different regional rulers, periodically controlled by the Umayyad and the Abbasid caliphates and other locally based rulers.
717	The Umayyads attempt to conquer the Byzantine capital and fail.
732	At the Battle of Poitiers, Islamic expansion is halted in France but continues into parts of Asia and Africa.
750	The Abbasids take over the Islamic world (except for Spain which falls under the rule of a descendant of the Umayyad family) and move the capital to Baghdad in Iraq. ‘Abd al-Rahman of the Umayyad dynasty flees to Spain to escape the Abbasids.
789	During the reign of the Idrisid dynasty of Morocco, which lasts until 985, local rulers begin to control North Africa.
800	North Africa falls under the rule of the Aghlabi dynasty of Tunis, which lasts until 909.
819	Persian unity begins to disintegrate with the Samanid rulers in northern Persia, whose rule in this region lasts until 1055. One year later, the Tharid dynasty begins to control Khorasan (lasting until 874), and in 864, the Alid dynasty begins rule over Tabaristan (lasting until 1032).
827	Aghlabi rulers of Tunis begin conquests of Sicily which last until 878.
857	The Sufi Al-Muhasibi dies.
865	Rhazes discovers the difference between measles and smallpox. Rhazes dies in 925.

868	The Sattarid dynasty, whose rule continues until 930, extends control throughout most of Persia. In Egypt, the Abbasid and Umayyad caliphates end and rule turns to Egyptian-based control with the beginning of the Tulunid dynasty (lasting until 904).
877	Syria and the different sects of Lebanon are ruled periodically by the Tulunid, the Ikhidid, the Fatimid, and the Ayyubid dynasties of Egypt until 1250.
879	The Seljuk Empire unites Mesopotamia and a large portion of Persia.
900	The Fatimids of Egypt overrun North Africa and include the territory as an extension of Egypt until 972.
909	Sicily falls under the control of the Fatimids' rule of North Africa and Egypt until 1071. From 878 until 909, the rule of Sicily is shaky.
935–969	Egypt is under the control of the Ikhidid dynasty.
945	A Shi'ite group invades Baghdad, and the Abbasid Empire becomes a powerless symbol of unity and legitimate government to the Muslim community. For the next centuries, rule of Islamic civilization is decentralized and different sects are ruled by different rulers.
962	Afghanistan is stabilized by the rule of the Ghaznavid dynasty which lasts until 1186.
972	North Africa is under the control of the Zayri rulers in Tunis. Their control lasts until 1148, much longer than the Aghlabi rulers were able to sustain control.
969	The Fatimid dynasty assumes the title of caliphate in Egypt until 1171.
997	Mahmud, ruler of a Turkish dynasty in Gujarat, conducts seventeen raids into northwestern India before his death in 1030.
1037	A region of Persia, Azerbaijan, falls under the rule of the Sajid dynasty. Azerbaijan is periodically ruled by different rulers from the end of the Seljuk Empire until 1502.
1056	The al-Moravi rulers of Morocco begin control over North Africa (lasting until 1147).
1077	The Seljuk, a Turkish dynasty, attacks the political and social world of the Abbasids. The Seljuks extend their control over most of the Arab and Persian regions.
1100	Islamic rule is strained due to power struggles among Islamic leaders and the Christian crusades.
1100	Afghanistan falls under the control of Ghorid rulers until 1215.
1130	Until 1269, the Al-Mohad dynasty rules North Africa.
1168	The Ayyubid dynasty rules Egypt until 1250.
1187	Muslim general Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, in Egypt, ends the Christian crusades.

1228	The Haysi rulers of Tunis in North Africa assume control.
1248	Muslim control of Spain is reduced to the Kingdom of Granada, which survives for more than two centuries more.
1251	The last of the Egyptian-based dynasties, the Mamluk dynasty, takes the caliphate until 1517 when Egypt falls under the control of the Ottoman Turkish Empire.
1258	The Abbasid period is finished with the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols.
1327	With the disintegration of the Seljuk Empire, the Arab and Persian regions are fragmented into several military kingdoms until 1500. The Ottoman Turkish Empire establishes its capital at Bursa.
1453	The Ottomans defeat the Byzantine Empire and continue expanding into the Balkans. The Ottoman Turkish Empire moves its capital from Bursa to Istanbul (Constantinople). After 1500, the Moguls (1526–1857) and the Safavids (1520–1736) also create two new empires.
1492	Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile finally end Muslim rule in Spain.
502	Isma‘il seizes Tabriz and establishes the Safavid dynasty in Persia. Shi’ism is established as the state religion.
1514	The Battle of Chaldiran. The Ottomans defeat the Safavids and gain eastern Anatolia, thus allowing Ottoman expansion and halting Safavid advances.
1516–17	The Mamluks lose Syria and Egypt to the Ottomans. Although formally under Ottoman rule, the Mamluks still retain most of their power and influence.
1520–66	Reign of Suleyman the Magnificent over the Ottoman Empire.
1526	First Battle of Paniput. Babur, a descendant of Tamburlaine, defeats the Delhi Sultanate and establishes the Mughal Empire.
1543	Hungary is conquered by the Ottomans.
1560	Akbar becomes emperor of the Mughal Empire.
1571	The Ottomans defeat the Venetians and conquer Cyprus.
1588	‘Abbas becomes Shah of Persia and moves the capital to Isfahan.
1602	The Dutch East India Company is established. The Dutch monopolize trade with India and Indonesia. Bahrain falls to the Safavids.
1627	Shah Jahan becomes emperor of the Mughal Empire.
1658–1707	Under emperor Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire is at its peak. Sikhs and Rajputs revolt against his proposed Islamization of India.
1669	Crete falls to the Ottomans.
1676–81	First Russo-Ottoman War. The Ottomans surrender Kiev in a peace treaty with Russia.

1683	The Ottomans recapture Iraq from the Safavids.
1699	The Ottomans cede Hungary to Austria in the Treaty of Karlowitz; the beginning of the Ottoman retreat from Europe.
1722	Isfahan is captured by Afghan rebels.
1723–25	The Ottomans and Russia exploit the chaos caused by the Afghan rebellion and seize Persian territories.
1726–36	Military leader Nadir Khan defeats the Afghans in a series of battles.
1730–35	The Afghans are driven out of Persia. Nadir Khan ends the Safavid dynasty and becomes Shah of Persia. He restores the territories lost to Russia and the Ottomans.
1739	Nadir Khan raids Delhi; the dissolution of the Mughal Empire.
1748	Nadir Khan is assassinated and his dynasty ends.
1760	Karim Khan establishes the Zand dynasty in Persia.
1774	Ottoman war with Russia ends in the Treaty of Kuchuk Kaynarja. The Ottomans cede Crimea.
1798–1801	Egypt is conquered by Napoleon.
1803–11	Followers of Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab, the Wahhabis, occupy Mecca and Medina.
1805	Governor of Egypt, Muhammad Ali, institutes reform and begins the modernization of Egypt.
1812	Islamic teacher Usumanu dan Fodio establishes the Sokoto Caliphate in Nigeria.
1813	The Russo-Persian War ends with the Treaty of Gulistan. Persia cedes Azerbaijan to Russia.
1817	The Ottomans allow Serbians limited self-government after revolt.
1818	Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad Ali, leads campaign against Wahhabis.
1821–30	The Greek War of Independence; Greece, France, and Britain oppose Turkey. The Ottomans are defeated and Greece gains full independence.
1830	Algeria is occupied by France.
1831–41	Ottoman Syria is conquered by Muhammad Ali.
1835	‘Abd al-Qadir revolts against French occupation of Algeria and has some success.
1839–42	The Afghans defeat the British in the first Anglo-Afghan War.
1839	The port city of Aden, Yemen, is occupied by the British.
1839–61	Sultan Abdulhamid reforms and modernizes the institutions of the Ottoman Empire.

1853–56	The Crimean War. European powers fear Russian expansion. The allied forces of England, France, the Ottomans, and Sardinia defeat Russia.
1859–69	The Suez Canal, connecting the Mediterranean and Red Sea, is constructed in Egypt.
1857	The first railroad in Africa, the Alexandria-Cairo railroad, is completed.
1857–58	Indian Mutiny. The British crush the rebellion and the last Mughal emperor is exiled.
1860–61	Civil war between the Christians and Druze in Lebanon. Lebanon becomes an autonomous province governed by France.
1871–79	Al-Afghani establishes a group of Egyptian reformers while residing in Egypt.
1873	The Dutch invade the Muslim kingdom of Aceh in northern Sumatra.
1875	The sale of the Suez Canal to the British, resulting in foreign control over the finances of Egypt.
1876	Abdul Hamid II becomes sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He institutes major reforms and improvements, including the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, but it is later deferred.
1878–79	The Second Anglo Afghan War. Afghanistan’s foreign affairs are under the authority of the British.
1879	Isma‘il Pasha, governor of Egypt, is deposed by France and Britain.
1881	The invasion and occupation of Tunisia by France.
1882	The British occupation of Egypt.
1889	The British occupation of Sudan.
1901	‘Abdul-‘Aziz al-Sa’ud captures Riyadh.
1908	The nationalist group, the Young Turks, revolt. Sultan Abdul Hamid II is forced to reinstate the Ottoman Constitution of 1876.
1914–18	World War I.
1919	Kemal Atatürk leads the Turkish War of Independence against Western occupying forces. He establishes an independent Turkey.
1921	Reza Khan leads a coup against the Qajar dynasty in Iran.
1923	Atatürk is elected president of Turkey. He institutes modernizing reforms and begins the secularization of Turkey.
1928	The Muslim Brotherhood is founded by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt. The group is opposed to secular policies and believes that Muslim nations should govern according to the principles of the Qur’an.
1932	‘Abdul ‘ Aziz al-Sa’ud founds the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

HOW TO USE THE *ENCYCLOPEDIA*

The *Encyclopedia* contains entries on approximately 300 important thinkers and key concepts in Islamic philosophy. For biographical entries, the title of each entry gives the subject's name and dates of birth and death, where known. Further biographical details, again where known, are given in the opening paragraph or paragraphs of each entry. The remainder of each entry discusses the subject's work, writings, ideas, and contribution to Islamic philosophy.

Bibliographies have been included with each entry. These should not be taken as full and complete bibliographies, which in some cases would take up many pages. We have tried to restrict bibliographies to the most important and relevant works to the subject at hand. We have in most cases included only published works; only rarely, where there is an unpublished work of major importance, have we given manuscript details.

Within the body of the entries there is a cross-referencing system referring to other name entries. Names which appear in small capitals (e.g. IBN SINA) are themselves the subjects of entries in the *Encyclopedia*, and the reader may refer to these entries for more information. In some cases, where there are entries on more than one person with the same name or surname (e.g. AL-RAZI, AL-SUHRAWARDI) we have tried to provide identifying information; in other cases, the context should be sufficient to identify the subject.

An index is also provided, which lists each person who is the subject of an entry and lists the page numbers on which cross-references can be found. The use of small capitals for cross-references allows users of the index to spot references easily on the page.

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Akhund Mulla Fath ‘Ali Sultan ABADI (1235 or 1240–1318/1819 or 1824–1901)

Akhund Mulla Fath ‘Ali Sultan Abadi was an influential teacher of philosophy and jurisprudence of his time. Very little is known of his life. He studied religious and intellectual sciences in Iraq. He traveled to Najaf and Mashhad. He is reported to have led a very pious life. His lectures on classical metaphysics and theology also included sections on ethics and spirituality. A number of miracles (*karamat*) have been attributed to him.

As a man of spirituality, Sultan Abadi traveled to the major Shi‘ite religious centers, including Karbala and the tomb of the Shi‘ite Imam Rida in Mashhad. He died in 1318 and was buried in Najaf. To the best of our knowledge, no written works of his have been discovered. He is known mostly for the students he trained, many of whom became established scholars and teachers of their time.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

‘ABD AL-JABBAR, Qadi (*c.* 325–415/*c.* 937–1025)

‘Abd al-Jabbar b. Ahmad b. Khalil was born in Asadabad, a town in the southwest of Hamadan, probably around 325/937 and died in Rayy in 415/1025. He was one of the last great thinkers of the Mu‘tazilite school.

‘Abd al-Jabbar’s father was a peasant in Asadabad. He began his education in his hometown where, in the traditional way, he first learned to recite the Qur’an. Then he learned *hadith* from Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Wahid, a well-known *muhaddith* in Asadabad, and from ‘Ali b. Ibrahim al-Qattan in Qazwin. In 339/951 he went to Mecca to perform the *hajj*. Upon his return, ‘Abd al-Jabbar continued his studies in Hamadan with ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Hamdan al-Jallab and in Isfahan with ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far b. Faris. All of these scholars were followers of Ash‘ari *kalam* and Shafi‘i *fiqh*. This was probably the reason behind the report that early in his life ‘Abd al-Jabbar was a follower of Ash‘arite theology.

Whatever the truth of this report, it is certain that unlike most of the Mu‘tazilite scholars who were the followers of Hanafi *fiqh*, ‘Abd al-Jabbar was a follower of Shafi‘i *fiqh*. In 346/958 he went to Basra to continue his studies there. He first studied *hadith* with Abu Bakr al-Anbari. Then he joined the circle of Ibrahim b. Ayyash, a student of Abu Hashim al-Jubbai, and studied Mu‘tazilite *kalam* with him. Later he moved to Baghdad where he joined the circle of Abu ‘Abd Allah Husayn b. ‘Ali al-Basri, another student of Abu Hashim. He studied with Abu ‘Abdallah for a long time, and during this time he produced his first works. In 360/970 ‘Abd al-Jabbar went to Ramahurmuz. There he joined the circle of ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbas Ramahurmuzi, a student of Abu ‘Ali al-Jubba’i, and had lively discussions with the Mu‘tazilite scholars. He also began working on his *summa theologica*, the *Kitab al-Mughni*, which he completed twenty years later when he was in Rayy.

During his stay in Ramahurmuz, ‘Abd al-Jabbar’s reputation gradually spread, and he became a prominent theologian of his time. As a result, he received an invitation from Sahib b. Abbad, an advisor of the Buyid Mu’ayyid al-Dawla. When Ibn Abbad became a vizier of Mu’ayyid al-Dawla in 367/977, he appointed ‘Abd al-Jabbar as *qadi al-qudat* (chief judge) of Rayy. He continued to hold this office until the death of the vizier in 385/995. Then he was dismissed by Fakhr al-Dawla and his property was confiscated. Apart from a trip to Mecca in 389/999 and a short stay in Qazwin in 409/1018, ‘Abd al-Jabbar lived the rest of his life in Rayy. Besides his official duties, ‘Abd al-Jabbar taught students throughout his life. Among his famous students, Abu’l Qasim al-Busti, Abu Rashid al-Nisaburi, Abu’l Husayn AL-BASRI, Abu Muhammad al-Labbad, Abu Yusuf al-Qazwini, Abu Muhammad b. Mattawayh, Manekdim, and Sharif al-Murtaza are worth mentioning here.

Although he compiled many works in different branches of Islamic sciences, ‘Abd al-Jabbar is particularly important in the field of theology. He was one of the last great thinkers of the Mu‘tazilite school. His works are among the few Mu‘tazilite sources which come directly from a member of the school. In accordance with the views of the early thinkers, ‘Abd al-Jabbar accepts the five principles of the Mu‘tazila, namely, divine unity, divine justice, the promise and the threat, the intermediate position, and commanding the good and prohibiting evil. The first principle expresses the uniqueness of God and includes discussions of the createdness of the world, its Creator and his attributes. The attributes are classified as essential and active, the first group being eternal and the latter temporal. Divine justice expresses the knowledge that God is free from all that is morally wrong. Hence, God does not impose upon man that which is unbearable; he does not will disobedience; he causes illness in order to turn it to human advantage; he does the best for his creatures. His sending a prophet is incumbent upon him, because it is of benefit to humanity. Although human reason can find what is good and bad in principle, reason cannot determine the details. The principle of the promise and the threat expresses the idea that God promised reward to the obedient and punishment to the disobedient and that he cannot go against his promise. The intermediate position says that a grave sinner is neither a believer nor an unbeliever. ‘Abd al-Jabbar says that commanding the good is obligatory if it is a religious duty, otherwise it is supererogatory, while prohibiting evil is obligatory without qualification. In explaining the Mu‘tazilite doctrines, ‘Abd al-Jabbar corrects the views that are wrongly attributed to his school by rival schools.

Most of ‘Abd al-Jabbar’s works are not extant. In the *Bayan mutashabih al-qur’an* (Exposition of the Unclear Verses of the Qur’an), he discusses the verses which are difficult to understand literally and explains them in the light of clear verses and of reason. In the *Fadl al-i‘tizal wa tabaqat al-mu‘tazila* (Virtue of Separation and the Generations of the Mu‘tazilites), he responds to criticisms that were directed at the Mu‘tazila and gives the biographies of the earlier representatives of the school. In the *Al-Mukhtasar fi usul al-din* (A Summary on the Principles of Religion), ‘Abd al-Jabbar gives a summary of the topics of his masterpiece, the *Al-Mughni fi abwab al-tawhid wa'l-'adl* (Compendium on the Principles of [Divine] Unity and Justice), which is partially available.

'Abd al-Jabbar lived in an age in which the Mu'tazilite school was in decline. However, he became one of the great thinkers not only within the Mu'tazilite school but also within Islamic thought in general. His influence continued in the following generations through a number of students whom he taught and through a number of Mu'tazilite classics that he produced. His works are among the most important sources of our knowledge of the Mu'tazila.

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MUAMMER İSKENDEROĞLU

'ABD AL-QADIR IBN ABI SALIH JANGIDOST, *see* al-Jilani

'ABD AL-QAHIR, *see* al-Jurjani

'ABDU, Muhammad (1849–1905)

Muhammad 'Abdu was born in 1849 in Lower Egypt and received a traditional religious education at home, in Tanta, and finally at al-Azhar in Cairo, starting in 1866. In his early years of higher education he was attracted to mysticism, but contact with al-Afghani changed his mind radically, and he then took on a much more public and political role. His nationalism led to his expulsion from Egypt in 1882 and he worked in Beirut for some years until his return in 1889. In 1882 he joined AL-AFGHANI in Paris from where they published the influential journal *al-'Urwa al-wuthqa* (Strong Grasp) that advocated resistance to imperialism and Islamic unity. He became a judge and then returned to education, where he could continue with his reformist mission. Like al-Tahtawi he served often in administrative roles in order to try to reform Egyptian institutions and, in particular, the Arabic language, the education of girls, and the whole legal and educational structure of the state.

Like so many of the modernizers, his chief problem was to find a path between *taqlid* (blind obedience) to tradition and abandoning Islam for a Western form of modernity. He argued that there are plenty of indications in the Qur'an itself that point to the possibility of adapting Islam to modern circumstances; indeed, the Book insists on it, and so a reliance on the past way of doing things is not acceptable. The Qur'an was sent to humanity to help us, and it is capable of being rationally interrogated and interpreted so that it enables us to adapt to changing circumstances. This does not apply to every aspect of the Book; some things may not be challenged or even doubted. But to rely on a traditional interpretation of every aspect of Islam is a failure to accept the plausibility of the Book to our developing history and needs.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

ʻAbdul Rauf Singkel, *see* al-Singkili

ʻAbdullah Ansari of Herat, *see* al-Harawi

ʻAbdulghani, Ahmad b., *see* Ibn ʻAbidin

Abenpace, *see* Ibn Bajja

Abu al-Ala, *see* al-Maʻarri

Abu Bakr b. Bajja, *see* Ibn Bajja

Abu Bakr, al-Asamm, *see* al-Asamm

ABU HANIFA, Numan b. Sabit

(80–150/699–767)

Numan b. Sabit b. Zuta b. Mah, known as Imam al-Aʻzam (the Greatest Imam), was born in Kufa in 80/699 and died in Baghdad on Shaban 150/September 767. He was a founder of the Hanafite school, one of the four mainstream legal schools in Islam.

Abu Hanifa's family was probably of Persian or Turkish origin. His grandfather Zuta is said to have come to Kufa from Kabul during the reign of the caliph ʻAli. There is not much information about his life. He was a manufacturer and a merchant of a kind of silk material in Kufa. Abu Hanifa's interest in the Islamic sciences started from an early age. He first memorized the Qur'an, then studied *Qira'at*. He also studied other branches of Islamic sciences. Abu Hanifa joined theological debates in Kufa and Basra, the two intellectual centers of the region, where a number of theological groups, such as the Jahmiyya, Qadariyya, and Mu'tazila, were active. His theological approach contributed to the construction of the main basis of Sunni theology.

Abu Hanifa's main theological views can be summarized as follows. For him, reason is a source of human knowledge in comprehending the existence of God. In accordance with his epistemological approach in the field of theology, he used reason or personal opinion (*ra'y*) and analogy (*qiyas*) in his legal reasoning. As a result, he was severely criticized by his traditionist opponents. For him, God's names and attributes are eternal. The nature of God's attributes, such as his face and hand, cannot be known. For him, faith consists of knowledge, acceptance, and outward expression. Although the sinner is liable to punishment, he or she remains counted as a believer. According to him, human actions are created by God but willed and performed by us. His theological views were further developed by Abu Mansur al-MATURIDI. Because of his opinion about faith, he has been considered by some classical theologians such as Abu al-Hasan AL-ASH 'ARI and some traditionists such as Bukhari as a member of the Murji'a, the theological school which left it to God to decide who was a believer or otherwise.

Abu Hanifa's interest in *fiqh* was deeper than his interest in theology. He attended the lectures of Hammad b. Abi Sulayman (d. 120/738), who was a prominent religious *faqih* of Kufa, for eighteen years. When his teacher died, Abu Hanifa took his post and started teaching *fiqh*. His teacher had learned *fiqh* from Ibrahim al-Nahai, Abu 'Amr Sha'bi, Masruk b. Ajda, Qadi Shurayh, 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud, the caliph 'Ali, and the caliph 'Umar. This chain of transmitters (*silsila*) had a powerful effect on his *fiqh* education. Abu Hanifa received *hadith* from 'Ata' b. Abi Raba, 'Ikrima and Nafi in Mecca and Medina and also became acquainted with their *fiqh* works. He taught a number of students, among whom Muhammad b. Hasan al-Shaybani, Asad b. 'Amr, and Hasan b. Ziyad are worth mentioning here.

Abu Hanifa produced a number of works, some of which are extant. In *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (The Great Book of *Fiqh*), he summarized the theological views of Sunni orthodoxy. *Al-Fiqh al-absat* (The Comprehensive Book of *Fiqh*), which was edited by his son and disciples Abu Yusuf and Abu Muti, *al-'Alim wa'l muta'allim* (The Scholar and the Literate), and *al-Wasiyya* (A Written Will) also dealt with theological issues. *Musnad Abu Hanifa*, a collection of traditions, has been attributed to him by his disciples. Although he is a prominent founder of the Hanafite school of law, Abu Hanifa did not compose any works on Islamic law. However, he dictated his legal opinions to his disciples after discussing the opinions with them. His legal views were reported by Muhammad al-Shaybani in some of his works such as *al-Asl* (The Foundation) and *al-Siyar al-kabir* (The Compendium of the Regulations).

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

Abu Hanifa al-Nu‘man, al-Qadi, *see* al-Nu‘man

Abu Hayyan, *see* al-Tawhidi

Abu Hudhayl, *see* al-Hudhayl

ABU JA‘FAR AL-AHWAL, Muhammad b. al-Nu‘man

(d. after 183/799)

Abu Ja‘far Muhammad (b. ‘Ali) b. al-Nu‘man al-Bajali al-Kufi al-Sayrafi, an Imami theologian, was probably born in the first quarter of the second century/718–43. The date and place of his death are unknown. However, an account informing us that al-Ahwal “categorically asserted” the death of the Imam al-Kazim, if this was the case, clearly indicates that he survived al-Kazim, who died in 183/799.

Being a *mawla* of the Bajila tribe, Abu Ja‘far resided in Kufa. His nickname was al-Ahwal (squint-eyed). He was also called Shaytan al-Taq (Devil of the Archway). He owned a shop in Kufa under an arch known as Taq al-Mahamil, earning his living as a money-changer (*al-sayrafi*). Because of his expertise at distinguishing counterfeit from real money, his colleagues gave this nickname to him. Later Shi‘is, or, according to one account, the theologian Hisham b. al-Hakam, changed it into the less abusive Mu’min al-Taq (Believer of the Archway).

Since Abu Ja‘far al-Ahwal seems to have been a proficient controversialist, Shi‘i books of tradition include many stories showing how al-Ahwal successfully overcame his rivals in debate. In one narrative, he appears to have defended the legitimacy of al-Baqir’s imamate against Zayd b. ‘Ali, the leader of the revolt in 122/740 against the Umayyads. He also worsted in debates al-Dahhaq b. Qays, the Khariji leader, and Ibn Abi al-‘Awja’, the famous *zindiq*. However, it is highly doubtful that these narrations are true. Especially ludicrous stories about al-Ahwal’s conversations with his counterpart Abu Hanifa, the well-known Sunni jurist, seem to have been designed later to disgrace the latter.

Abu Ja‘far al-Ahwal was a zealous adherent of the imams al-Baqir, al-Sadiq, al-Kazim and al-Rida. He was regarded as one of the four apostles (*arkan*) of the Imami group, in favor of whom al-Sadiq is reported to have said that “they were the most beloved to me whether they were alive or dead.” He used to frequent al-Sadiq in Medina. Although al-Sadiq forbade his followers in Medina from speaking out, he exempted al-Ahwal from this interdiction. He carried on Imami propaganda. When the Imami group lived through a crisis of leadership after the death of al-Sadiq, he, with Hisham

AL-JAWALIQI, secured the followers' acceptance of al-Kazim, declaring that al-Kazim's knowledge was adequate for the imamate. He also immediately recognized al-Rida's imamate. He did not side with the Waqifis who denied al-Kazim's death and declared that he was the *mahdi* (the messiah).

Abu Ja'far al-Ahwal was one of the pioneer theologians promoting the imamate doctrine. His nonextant writings include treatises defending the *wasiyya*, Muhammad's testamentary appointment of 'ALI B. ABI TALIB to the imamate, and the legitimate rights of the specific imams from among the descendants of 'Ali to undertake Muslim leadership. He wrote a refutation against the Mu'tazilis on the necessity of the imamate of *al-afdal* (the most excellent one). There was another book, *Kitab al-Jamal fi amr 'A'isha wa Talha wa al-Zubayr*, in which he probably discussed the status of 'Ali b. Abi Talib's opponents in the Battle of Jamal.

Al-Ahwal was initially attracted to anthropomorphic language. He described God as a light (*nur*) in the form of man, not likening him to bodies (*ajsam*). However, al-Shahrastani interestingly reports, on the authority of the Mu'tazili al-Warraq, that al-Ahwal gave up these ideas and adopted a *Salafi* line by remaining silent on theological issues. According to al-Ahwal, all that existed in the universe, including human acts, are bodies (*ajsam*) which exist through God's will. His will is his act. Accidents (*a'rad*) have no real existence. Al-Ahwal maintained that ability to act (*istita'a*) does not mean humanity's freedom to act. It is simply health (*sihha*). Every healthy person has the ability to act. On the other hand, he said that human knowledge concerning God is not possible through our own act of reasoning. It is constrainedly (*idtirari*) composed. It was also possible for God to restrain this knowledge from some of his creatures.

Al-Ahwal held that though God is omniscient, he does not know things before they come into existence. He put this thesis forward on the grounds that a "thing" (*shay'*) does not become "the thing" it is without the decree and will of God, so he knew "the thing" when he decreed and willed it. On account of these ideas attributed to him, Sunni heresiographers ascribed to al-Ahwal a circle of philosophy called the Nu'maniyya or the Shaytaniyya.

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M. ALI BUYUKKARA

ABU MANSUR, *see* Maturidi

ABU MIHRIZ, *see* Jahm ibn Safwan

ABU QASIM, *see* al-Junayd

Abu Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Khayr, *see* Ibn Abi'l-Khayr

Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, *see* al-Kindi

Abu'l Fath, *see* al-Shahrastani

Abu'l Hasan, *see* al-Ash'ari

Abu'l Ma'ali, *see* al-Juwayni

Abunaser, *see* al-Farabi

ADIVAR, Abdülhak Adnan
(1882–1955)

Adnan Adıvar was born in Gallipoli (Gelibolu) in 1882 and died in Istanbul on July 1, 1955. His lineage is traced back to Aziz Mahmut Hüdayi, a late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Sufi. His father Mektubizade Ahmet Bahai Efendi was a regent at the *sancak* (sanjak or administrative district) of Gelibolu. Adivar, who came of a well-educated family, was brought up and educated in Istanbul. He attended Dersaadet Mekteb-i İdadisi. Due to his dissent with the regime, after his graduation from Tıbbiye Mülkiyesi (the Faculty of Medicine) in 1905, he went to Germany. There he attended lessons of Friedrich Kraus, a well-known professor of internal diseases, and later became his assistant. After the Second Constitutional Revolution he returned to Turkey (1909) and worked as the head of a clinic at the Faculty of Medicine. During the War of Tripoli (1911–12) he served on the battlefield as an inspector of the Hilal-i Ahmer (Red Crescent). On his return he was appointed as the secretary-general at the Hilal-i Ahmer. Later he became the general director of health. In 1917 he was married to Halide Edip, a Turkish writer and novelist. He was also elected a member of the last Ottoman Parliament (Meclis-i Meb'usan).

During the First World War, Adivar, together with Mehmet Emin and Yusuf Akçura, founded Milli Türk Fırkası (National Turkish Party). After the invasion of Istanbul he and his wife traveled to Anadolu (Anatolia) to join the national resistance (1920). Later he was appointed as the deputy of public health and assistance at the first Grand National Parliament of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi) in Ankara, and he served as a deputy at the Ministry of Internal Affairs for a year in 1921. The same year he sat as a second chairman at the Turkish Parliament. In 1922, after the victory of the Turkish Army, he was sent back to Istanbul as a delegate for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was one of the founders of the Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party, 1924). When the party was closed down due to its criticism of the government, he and his wife went to Europe (1925). In 1926 he was accused of having participated in what is known as "the Izmir assassination" and was tried by default. Although he was later absolved, he was not allowed to go back to Turkey until Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and the first president of the Turkish Republic, died in 1938.

From 1929 to 1939 Adıvar taught at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris. During his stay in France he became involved in scientific research. In 1939 he returned to Istanbul and the following year was appointed as the head of the Commission set up for the translation of *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* into Turkish. From 1946 to 1950 he also served as a member of parliament.

Adıvar wrote for several journals and newspapers. Later he published some of his articles in books such as *Bilgi Cumhuriyeti Haberleri* (News of the Republic of Knowledge) (1945), *Dur Düşün* (Stop and Think) (1950), and *Hakikat Peşinde Emeklemeler* (Creeping Towards Truth) (1954). Especially after his return from Europe he did some important works on philosophy and on the understanding of science in the Ottoman Empire such as *Faust'a Dair Bir Tahlil Tecrübesi* (An Analysis on Faust) (1940), *Farabi* (al- Farabi) (1947), *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Science Among the Ottoman Turks) (1971), first published in Paris in 1939 with the title *La Science chez les Turc Ottomans*; *Tarih Boyunca İlim ve Din* (Science and Religion Throughout History) (1969), and *Bizans'ta Yüksek Mektepler* (High Schools in Byzantium) (1954).

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

AFDAL AL-DIN (d. 610/1213)

Afdal al-Din Muhammad ibn Hasan Kashani is familiarly known in Iran as Baba Afdal, or "Papa Afdal," a name that gives an indication of the warmth in which he is held, and the accessibility of his works to a fairly wide readership. He lived in Iran, presumably for some time in Kashan given his name, and died nearby in Maraq where his tomb is found today. According to his letters he was about seventy when he died, and had spent some time in prison falsely accused of sorcery.

As a thinker Afdal al-Din is not prolific, but his works have had a considerable impact. He has a very personal style and is clearly not interested at all in philosophy as a purely technical discipline. He is intent on exploring the hidden nature of existence, and discovering how we ought to live. This makes him sound like a Sufi, but he does not appear to have had a formal training in that discipline, rather applying mystical categories to his writings which certainly have a Sufi pedigree. His main focus is on the nature of knowledge, in particular, knowledge of the self, and how we can use knowledge to make ourselves acquainted with what would otherwise remain hidden and forgotten.

One reason for his popularity is his translation of some of his technical works from the scholarly language of the time, Arabic, into Persian, and his writing of other works in Persian. His prose has a directness and simplicity that won him many admiring readers, especially when it works on an abstract subject matter that is generally expressed in rather vague and flowery ways. Afdal translated several works into Persian from Arabic, such as the *Yanbu‘ al-hayat* (Fountain of Life), which purports to be by Hermes and deals with the relationship of the soul and the intellect throughout the passage of life.

Among his main works is the *Risala-yi ‘ilm wa nutq* (Treatise on Knowledge and Rational Discourse), which looks at the rules of logical thinking involved in both thought and speech. His *Madarif al-kamal* (Rungs of Perfection) discusses the nature of the soul, a constant topic of interest for him, and his *Jawidan-nama* (Book of the Eternal) provides a breakdown of the different sciences and how they can be understood using some of the technical language of Islam and contemporary science. The *‘Ard-nama* (Book of Displays) is an extensive discussion of the different kinds of knowledge and soul that exist in the universe and how they mirror both each other and the nature of reality. Excellent translations of passages from Afdal al-Din's corpus may be found in Chittick (2001).

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AFGHANI, Seyyed Jamaluddin (1838–96)

Seyyed Jamaluddin Afghani was undoubtedly one of the most influential Muslims of the twentieth century. Some consider him to be the principal figure in awakening Islamic political sentiments and social reforms in India, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. Others criticize his role in the destruction of Islamic institutions, including the Sultanate of Persia and the Ottoman Caliphate, and suspect that he was working in collusion with one European power or the other. It is much easier to make a case that while he fervently believed in his grand pan-Islamic vision, he was caught in the whirlwinds of the times like so many Muslims of that era and became a partner in the demise of political institutions that had provided stability to the Islamic world for 500 years.

Seyyed Jamaluddin was born in 1838 at Asadabad near the Afghan-Persian border. He was called a Seyyed because his family claimed descent from the family of the Prophet through Imam Husayn. The title of "Afghani" refers to his Afghan-Persian heritage, and served usefully to identify him more broadly than as a Persian. This would have identified him with the Shi‘a and limited his influence in the Islamic world. As a youth, Seyyed Jamaluddin studied the Qur'an, *fiqh*, Arabic grammar, philosophy, *tasawwuf*, logic, mathematics, and medicine, disciplines that were the backbone of an Islamic curriculum at that time. In 1856, at the age of eighteen, he spent a year in Delhi and felt the rising political pulse of the subcontinent, which was soon to erupt in the Sepoy Uprising of 1857.

From India, Seyyed Jamaluddin visited Arabia where he performed his *hajj*. Returning to Afghanistan in 1858, he was employed by Amir Dost Muhammed. His talents propelled him to the forefront of the Afghan hierarchy. When Dost Muhammed died and his brother Mohammed Azam became the amir, Jamaluddin was appointed prime minister.

In 1869, Seyyed Jamaluddin fell out of favor with the amir and left Kabul for India. In Delhi, he was welcomed by the British who nonetheless did their best to isolate him from the local Islamic community. That same year he visited Cairo on his way to Istanbul where his fame had preceded him and he was elected to the Turkish Academy. However, his "rational" interpretation of the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet was deeply suspect in the eyes of the Turkish 'ulema' and he was expelled from Istanbul in 1871.

Back in Cairo, Jamaluddin had a major role in the events that led to the overthrow of Khedive Ismail Pasha who had brought Egypt to its knees through his extravagance. European influence increased, and Jamaluddin was at the head of the Young Egyptian Movement and the nationalist uprising under Torabi Pasha (1881) that sought to expel the Europeans from Egypt. The British, suspicious of his motives, sent him back to India just before their occupation of Cairo in 1882.

From India, Seyyed Jamaluddin embarked on a journey through Europe and resided for various lengths of time in London, Paris, and St Petersburg. In Paris he met and influenced the Egyptian modernist Muhammed 'ABDU. Together, the two started a political organization '*Urwa al Wuthqa* (The Unbreakable Bond) whose avowed purpose was to "modernize" Islam and protect the Islamic world from the greed of foreigners. Its strident anti-European tone annoyed the British who engineered to have the organization and its mouthpiece, the *Minare*t, shut down.

In 1889 Sultan Nasiruddin Shah of Persia visited St Petersburg and invited Jamaluddin to return to Tehran, promising him the post of prime minister. A reluctant Jamaluddin saw an opportunity to influence events in the Islamic heartland and returned, soon to find himself out of favor with the monarch. Fearing the wrath of the Shah, Jamaluddin took refuge in the shrine of Shah Abdul Azeem and from the sanctuary denounced the Shah as a tyrant and advocated his overthrow. It was while he stayed in the sanctuary that Jamaluddin met and influenced the principal figures who had a major impact on the subsequent turbulent events in Persia, including the assassination of Nasiruddin Shah.

The Shah, furious at Seyyed Jamaluddin's tirades, banished him from Persia in 1891. The Seyyed arrived in Istanbul and was warmly received by Sultan Abdul Hamid II who nonetheless kept a close watch on his activities. Jamaluddin Afghani spent the rest of his life in Istanbul, and died of cancer in 1896.

Two principal themes run through the life and work of Seyyed Jamaluddin Afghani. First, his proclaimed goal was to unite the Islamic world under a single caliph resident in Istanbul. Toward this end, he sought a rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and Persia, working to have the Shah recognize the Ottoman sultan as the caliph of all Muslims, while the caliph recognized the Shah as the sovereign of all Shi'is. He wrote to the leading theologians of Karbala, Tabriz, and Tehran, passionately arguing his case and was partially successful in bringing them to his point of view. However, the rapprochement did not take place due to the political turbulence in Persia. Second, he sought to "modernize" Islam to make it responsive, as he saw it, to the needs of the age. The movement that he started, which was championed by his disciple, Muhammed 'Abdu of Egypt, was called the "Salafi movement." It derives from the word *as-Salaf as-salehin* (the pious ancestors) and refers to the legal opinions advanced by the first three generations after the Prophet. It was essentially a rationalist and apologist movement, which sought to bring about a *Nahda* (renaissance) of Islamic thought.

Muhammed 'Abdu sought to replace the four schools of Sunni *fiqh* (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafii, and Hanbali) with a single *fiqh*. He taught that the laws of the Qur'an could be "rationalized" and if necessary, reinterpreted. The Salafi movement had a major impact on Arab intellectual circles around the turn of the twentieth century. It influenced the Aligarh movement of Sir Seyyed in India as well as the Muhammadiya movement in Indonesia. The Salafi movement, however, is often accused by its enemies of having no roots either in Islamic traditions or Islamic history. The *Nahda* was suspected of attempting to secularize Islam, just as the renaissance of the sixteenth century had secularized the Latin West. As a mass movement, the Salafi movement was a failure and was rejected by the Islamic world, although it is more influential and popular today.

Jamaluddin Afghani's one major success was in paving the way for the tobacco revolution of Persia, a passive resistance movement which contained British influence in Iran at the turn of the twentieth century. As a catalyst, though, he was highly influential in changing the cultural atmosphere of the Arab world in particular.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AHMAD B. HANBAL, *see* Ibn Hanbal

AL-AHSA'I (*c.* 837–after 904/ 1433–after 1499)

Ibn Abi Jumhur al-Asha'i came from al-Ahsa in eastern Arabia, and was educated at first by his father. He moved to Najaf and subsequently traveled to Syria, Mecca, Baghdad, Mashhad, and Asterabad. His main work is the *Kitab al-Mujli* which is a commentary on his own *Kitab Maslik al-afham fi'ilm al-kalam*, and is a vast compendium of theology, law, Ishraqi, Peripatetic, and Sufi thought.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AKİF ERSOY, Mehmet (1873–1936)

The pan-Islamist thinker and the poet of the Turkish national anthem Mehmet Akif Ersoy was born in Fatih, Istanbul. He received his early education in Fatih and learned Arabic and Persian. In addition to traditional religious subjects, he studied classical Persian poetry. He received his college degree in political science and veterinary sciences in 1893. He worked as a veterinary surgeon at the Ministry of Agriculture. During his tenure as a government officer, he traveled extensively in Anatolia, the Balkans and the Arab world, and saw the steady decline and eventual disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The Balkan wars of 1912–13, followed by the World War I, left an indelible mark on Akif and turned him into a passionate poet of national independence. His pan-Islamist ideas took shape during this period. The works of Jamal al-Din AFGHANI and Muhammad 'ABDU also played a significant role in the formation of Akif's social and political ideas.

In 1913, he resigned from his government position and taught at various schools and preached at mosques. His first contact with Europe came when he was invited to Germany in 1914 to report on the state of Muslim prisoners of war. He was sent to Egypt for a short period of time. Upon his return to Turkey, he took a position at the office of the *shaykh al-Islam* but lost that post in 1919. In 1920, he was elected to the first Grand National Assembly as a representative of the city of Burdur and held that position until 1923. In 1921, he was asked to write a national anthem, which was immediately accepted.

As a devout Muslim and Islamist thinker, Akif watched first with caution and then with contempt the new revolutions introduced by Atatürk including the closing down of the *madrasas* and the abolition of the Caliphate and the office of the *shaykh al-Islam* in 1924. He decried the blind imitation of the West and sought to revive pan-Islamist ideals after the declaration of the new Republic. He continued to write poems about the state of the Islamic world, independence wars, colonialism, and other social justice issues. After losing in the 1923 elections, he left for Egypt to stay with his old friend, Prince ʻAbbas Halim. Akif lived in Egypt for over ten years. In Egypt, he taught Turkish at the Misriyya University (1925–36) and completed his masterpiece *Safahat* (Phases).

For several years, he worked on a Turkish translation of the Qur'an. But he left the project and burned his translations. Two main reasons have been proposed for Akif's change of mind. One is that he firmly believed in the untranslatable nature of the Qur'an. The other reason was his fear that his translation would be used by Atatürk to justify his new reforms, which Akif opposed. In 1936, he returned to Istanbul for medical treatment and died there.

As an Islamist thinker, Akif was actively involved in the intellectual and political currents of his time. With a group of like-minded intellectuals and writers, he began to publish in 1908 a journal called *Sırat-ı Mustakim* (The Straight Path), probably the first major Islamist newspaper in modern Islamic history. The journal, which changed its name later to *Sebilu'r-reşad* (The Way of Guidance) in 1912, became a platform for the pan-Islamist thinkers of the time. Akif wrote on political and cultural issues from a traditional Islamic point of view, and criticized the two rival ideologies of his time, i.e., Turkism represented by Ziya Gökalp and Westernism advocated by Abdullah Cevdet and others. Like Afghani, he saw the national independence movements of Muslim nations as a means toward the unity of the larger Islamic world rather than as an end in itself. In his book of poems *Safahat*, he addresses the Turkish and other Muslim nations with a passionate voice. His poems combine realist, didactic, and lyrical styles with a clear social-political agenda, and span through a wide range of topics from national independence and Islamic values to anticolonialism and social ethics.

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AL-AKSARAYİ, Cemeleddin Muhammad (d. 791/1388)

A famous scholar of fourteenth-century Ottoman thought, Aksarayi produced a number of works in such traditional fields as grammar, *kalam*, ethics, and *hadith*. Not much is known about his life. He was a professor at a *madrasa* in Iznik, Turkey. He was known for the high quality of his classes and as such attracted many students. His most famous student Molla FENARI became the first *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire. His works include a commentary on Suyuti's Qur'anic commentary *Kashshaf*, a collection of forty *hadith* called *Hadith-i arbaʿin* (Forty Hadiths), a work on Arabic grammar called *Sharh lubab al-musamma bi'l-kashf al-i'rab* (The Essential Commentary Called the Unveiling of the Rules of Deflection), and a treatise on ethics called *Akhlaq-i Jamali* (The Ethics of Jamal). Aksarayi was also a physician and wrote a short explanation of Ibn al-Nafi's commentary on Ibn SINA's *Canon of Medicine*.

A typical intellectual scholar of his time, Aksarayi combined traditional *madrasa* sciences with Sufism within an Ashʿarite context. Aksarayi's grandfather Muhammad is reported to have been a descendant of the famous Ashʿarite theologian and exegete Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI. Aksarayi's extensive study and teaching of Ash'arite theology has probably something to do with this family tie. Molla Fenari, Aksarayi's most celebrated student, studied the works of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and other Ashʿarite theologians under him. Aksarayi's grandson Ali Cemali Efendi, known as Zembilli Ali Efendi, became a famous Ottoman *shaykh al-Islam* and Sufi-scholar.

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AKŞEMSEDDIN, Mehmed Şemseddin ibn Hamza (792–863/1390–1459)

Akşemseddin, also known as Akşeyh, was born in Damascus in 792/1390 and died in Göynük in 863/1459. He was a famous Muslim scholar, Sufi, educator, and physician. Akşemseddin, through his father Hamza, was a descendant of Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234), the founder of the Ishraqi school. His paternal lineage is also traced back to Abu Bakr (d. 13/634), the first caliph (*khalifa*) of Islam. When he was a child Akşemseddin, together with his father Shaykh Hamza, moved to Amasya (799/1397). He had a traditional early education in the Islamic sciences and then became a *mudarris* in the Osmancık Medresesi. There he had the opportunity to study the science of medicine as well. Later he traveled to Aleppo in search of a shaykh. Upon having a dream he came back to Anatolia and came under the guidance of Hacı Bayram Veli (d. 833/1430), a great Turkish *wali*. After a period of strict self-discipline and solitary life he was given permission by his shaykh to be his successor. Later on he went to Beypazarı and built a mosque and a mill. To avoid public attention he left Beypazarı and found solitude in a small village near Iskilip. Not long afterward he came to Göynük where, like in Beypazarı, he built a mosque and a mill. In Goynuk he engaged in a teaching and education program for children and dervishes (Sufi candidates). Meanwhile he went on *hajj*. After Hacı Bayram's death, he became his successor as a shaykh of the Bayramiye school.

Through his shaykh's relationship with Murat II, the Ottoman Sultan of the time, Akşemseddin made the acquaintance of young Mehmet II (Fatih), the Sultan's son and successor. During the reign of Mehmet II, the Conqueror, Akşemseddin made a couple of visits to the Sultan's royal residence in Edirne. In one of those visits he cured the Sultan's daughter. Also, at the most intense moments of the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul), he greatly helped raise the spiritual atmosphere in the Ottoman army through his letters to Mehmet II, in which he foresaw the date of victory and advised the Sultan to remain patient and strong. This is why he is regarded as the spiritual conqueror of Istanbul. After the conquest (857/1453) Akşemseddin found, with spiritual guidance, the burial place of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, who had fought to take the city and had been martyred. Akşemseddin also gave the *khutba* (sermon) during the first Friday prayer performed in the Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia) Mosque. He taught for years in the Zeyrek Camii, which is another church-turned mosque. When Mehmet II decided to leave his throne to go under his tutor's full guidance, Akşemseddin tried to stop him but, realizing that he would not be able to do so, left Istanbul and returned to Göynük. Despite the Sultan's efforts he did not come back before his death in 863/1459. His tomb is still in Göynük.

Alongside his reputation as a Sufi leader, teacher, and a tutor and advisor of Sultan Mehmet II, Akşemseddin is also known as an important man of medicine. He is even considered to be the first discoverer of the microbe. Some of his important writings include *Risala al-Nuriya* (838–41/1434–8), a treatise in which Akşemseddin defends Sufism and Sufis against their opponents and gives an account of Sufi ethics and manners; *Hall al-mushkilat* or *Daf'u Metaain al-Sufiyya* (856/1452), in which he compares the ideas of Ibn ʻArabi and other great Sufis with those of famous Muslim scholars like al-Ghazali and Qushayri and shows the similarities between the two; and *Maqamat al-awliya*, another Sufi work on the concept of *walaya* and its degrees. Of his books written on medicine only two, *Maddatu* (or *Maidatu*) *al-hayat* and *Kitab al-Tib*, are available today.

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

AL-ʻALLAF, *see* al-Hudhayl

AL-E AHMAD, Jalal (1923–69)

Jalal Al-e Ahmad had a significant impact on twentieth-century Iranian thought. He was part of a tradition that tried to define what it was to be Iranian, buffeted as Iranians were by the forces of Islam, the West, and the Shah, with the Shah trying to impose a definition based on Aryanism and linked with pre-Islamic history. During the twentieth century many Iranians tried to become more Western than those living in the West, something that he criticized sharply in his books, and also poked fun at in a very strident manner. On the other hand, he also had little time for the Arab world, and contrasted its semitic nature with what he saw as the very distinct Iranian entity. He certainly did not find himself in sympathy with the notion of Aryanicity, and roundly condemned the Shah's regime for its closeness to the West and, in particular, the United States. He ends up defining a form of nationalism based on Shiʻism, and a form of Islam based on its Iranian heritage. Since Islam was actually imposed on Iran, the natural view would have been that it represented an alien system of ideas, but Al-e Ahmad neatly avoids taking this position by arguing that Islam only really became Islam when it was taken up and developed by Persians.

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ALFARABIUS, *see* al-Farabi

ALFRAGANUS, *see* al-Farghani, Ahmad ibn M. ibn Katir

ALGAZEL, *see* al-Ghazali

ALHACEN, *see* Ibn al-Haytham

ALHAZEN, *see* Ibn al-Haytham

‘ALI IBN ABI TALIB (d. 40/660)

‘Ali was the Prophet’s first cousin and son-in-law, and became caliph in 35/656. He was assassinated in the *fitna* or civil war that took place over issues like the succession and the appropriate direction in which Islam should go. His supporters, the party of ‘Ali, the *shi‘at ‘Ali*, became the Shi‘a or Shi‘ites, and they argued that he was more than just the caliph but had an elevated role as imam or divinely appointed leader and paradigm. The Shi‘ites are committed to holding the family of the Prophet in special regard.

‘Ali certainly was not a philosopher, but he is known for his *Nahj al-balagha*, a collection of sayings that are held by his followers to be what the title says they are, the height of eloquence. This text has been a source for Shi’ite contemplation ever since, and their quality makes them appropriate for this task, since they do emphasize a variety of interesting ideas, including the importance of moderation in life.

The *Nahj al-balagha* relates to theological and metaphysical problems and consists of sermons, letters, and aphorisms which often range widely over theological issues. As the name of the book suggests, it is very eloquent, and displays a form of Arabic that has become a paradigm of good style. One aspect worth mentioning is that it combines great clarity and specificity with the ability to be wide-ranging. The book is all about how to resolve apparent contradictions, between the absolute simplicity (*al-basatat al-mutlaqa*) of the Divine Essence and how one reconciles that with the variety of things that God does. After all, God is the First while also being the Last; he is the Manifest and the Hidden; he has power over time and number; he can know one thing and everything at the same time; the Divine Word and Act are the same; the limited capacity of human reason to comprehend his reality; that gnosis (*ma‘rifa*) is a kind of manifestation (*tajalli*) of him upon our intellect, which is different from conception or cognition by the mind; the negation of such attributes as corporeality, motion, rest, change, place, time, similarity, opposition, partnership, possession of organs or instruments, limitation and number.

The text, traditionally held to be authored by ‘Ali, is a very impressive piece of writing and thought, and has had a profound effect on subsequent Islamic thought, especially in the Shi‘i community.

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ALPHARABIUS, *see* al-Farabi

AL-AMIDI, Sayf ad-Din (d. 621/1233)

‘Ali ibn Abi ‘Ali ibn Muhammad al-Taghlabi Sayf ad-Din al-Amidi was an Ash‘arite theologian and Shafi’i jurisprudent, and representative of a real commitment to Peripatetic philosophy as an essential aspect of how to undertake the Islamic sciences. Born in Amid, where he was first of all taught the principles of Hanbalism, he moved on to Baghdad to study with Ibn Fadlan, there becoming a Shafi‘i jurist. He also became interested in philosophy in Baghdad, and reports say he was instructed in this discipline by a Christian. He made the acquaintance of Suhrawardi on a visit to Syria, and then in 1196 he moved to Cairo to teach, and then fled to Damascus, where he died.

His life in Damascus was spent largely restricted to his house, apparently because he had so many enemies. His work is imbued with philosophical and metaphysical speculations and, more importantly, techniques that provide it with a structural tightness that intimidated many of his contemporaries and successors. Indeed, the scope of his work *Abkar al-afkar*, written in Egypt, does reflect the work of IBN SINA and the sorts of discussions then current in his predecessor’s milieu, and this adherence to *falsafa* did not do much to help his career. However, his huge commentary on law, *al-Ihkam*, became very influential and was much commented on and glossed itself. He also wrote a brief work on the same topic, *Muntaha al-sul fi ‘ilm al-usul*. It was presumably his theological stance of hostility to the Hanbalis, a group of which he had once been a part, that led to such a reaction to his work. He does in his legal work tend to have a low opinion of *taqlid* or conformity to tradition and seems to regard legal texts as ways of forming one’s own independent judgment on how to act within the context of Islam.

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AL-'AMILI, Baha' al-Din
(953–1030/1547–1621)

Scholar, philosopher, poet, judge, mathematician, astronomer, engineer, and architect Muhammad b. Husayin Baha' al-Din al 'Amili, known also as Shaykh-i Baha'i (no relation to Bahaullah or Bahaism), was born in Baalbek, Syria. He is said to have hailed from a place called Jabal Amila between southern Lebanon and Galilee, from which numerous other Shi'ite figures have come. 'Amili's father Shaykh 'Izz al-Din Husayn b. 'Abd al-Samad was a scholar of some repute, having authored several works on Shi'ite law as well as a *diwan* of poetry. It was 'Amili's father who, for reasons not known entirely, took his family to Iran, which was then becoming a Shi'ite haven under Safavid rule. Shaykh 'Izz al-Din was appointed by Shah Tahmasp (1524–76) as a *shaykh al-Islam* of the Safavid Empire in the city of Qazwin, then the capital city. Having served under Shah Tahmasp for more than twenty years, 'Amili's father died in 1576 in Bahrayn after completing his pilgrimage to Mecca.

When his father died, 'Amili was thirty and had already completed his studies in Qazwin and Herat. He then settled in Isfahan, which Shah 'Abbas I made the capital city of the Safavid Empire in 1597, and became one of the most prominent intellectuals of his time. Among his colleagues MIR DAMAD, called the "third teacher" (*al-mu'allim al-thalith*) by his students, and Mir Findiriski, a relatively unknown yet important philosopher of the period, should be mentioned. These three philosophers are considered to be the founders of the "School of Isfahan".

Like Mir Damad, 'Amili enjoyed the patronage of Shah 'Abbas I. Having been the *shaykh al-Islam* of Isfahan for some time, 'Amili refused to take any further government positions despite the persistent requests of the Shah. We can see in this attitude a classic example of a traditional man of learning seeking to distance himself from political power and devoting his life to studying, learning, and teaching. It is, however, clear that 'Amili did not shy away from making use of Shah 'Abbas' patronage in the best possible way. Having led an extremely productive life, he died in 1621 while returning from pilgrimage.

As one of the leading jurists and theologians of his time, 'Amili trained a number of students in the field of transmitted religious sciences. His most famous student is MULLA SADRA who, in many ways, has become the most important philosopher of the Safavid period. It is certain that 'Amili played a direct role in Sadra's training in such religious sciences as Qur'anic exegesis and the study of *hadith*.

As a scholar, philosopher, Sufi, and the architect of the Shah mosque in Isfahan, 'Amili was a polymath in the true sense of the term. In fact, he played an important role in the planning of the city of Isfahan, under the direct supervision of Shah 'Abbas I, as a capital city "with avenues, palaces, public offices, mosques and madrasas, bazaars, baths, forts and gardens."

'Amili traveled through Egypt, Syria, Hijaz, and Jerusalem as well as several Ottoman cities between 1583 and 1585. Given the political tensions between the Safavids and the Ottomans, it was not always convenient for Shi'ite scholars to travel in Ottoman lands. We do not know for certain what

'Amili's motives were for his journeys. It is, however, clear that he traveled in the "garment of a dervish" by performing *taqiyya* and hiding his Shi'ite identity. The details of 'Amili's travels have been recorded in a number of classical sources as well as in his *Kashkul*.

'Amili's life and writings show a strong predilection toward Sufism. In his poetical works, 'Amili follows Rumi in content and spirit if not in form. In fact, he was once criticized rather severely by a contemporary Shi'ite scholar Ni'matullah Jaza'iri of Shustar for trying to introduce the mystical teachings of Sufism into the Shi'ite circles of learning. It is perhaps due to this that some of 'Amili's poems in Persian attack Aristotle and IBN SINA who represent rational investigation without a taste for spiritual purification and realized knowledge.

Close to ninety prose and poetical works have been attributed to 'Amili. This is not surprising as 'Amili was a *littérateur par excellence* and a typical man of letters. 'Amili's works combine religious, philosophical, scientific, and literary genres. What emerges from 'Amili's writings is a man of learning passionately interested in practically every subject matter worth studying. We find this tendency in the other intellectual figures of the time, and it is indicative of the deliberate attempt of the Shi'ite rulers and scholars of the sixteenth century to create a well-established tradition of learning in Iran under Safavid rule.

Among 'Amili's works, we can mention the following. *Jami-i 'Abbasi* (The Comprehensive Book Dedicated to 'Abbas), a work on Shi'ite law, is a collection of 'Amili's *fatwas* on some legal issues. The fact that the book is written in Persian is important in that it shows 'Amili's willingness to become part of the Persian-Shi'ite culture of the Safavid Empire. This attitude is reflected in 'Amili's other writings where he freely uses various aphorisms, poems, and wisdom sayings in Persian. Considering that his mother tongue was Arabic and he wrote most of his works in Arabic, it must have been a literary venture for 'Amili to try his luck in Persian. Be that as it may, 'Amili's "Persian" side must have played a role in making him and his works widely accessible and acceptable to the learning classes of the time.

'Amili's most famous book is *Kashkul* (The Beggar's Bowl), a collection of Arabic and Persian writings and proverbs on the teachings and manners of Sufism. Written in the *adab* genre of classical Islamic literature, the *Kashkul* is a medley of philosophical, religious, and literary ideas. Instead of focusing on any particular theme, the book addresses a variety of issues and draws from multiple sources. In this regard, *Kashkul* goes beyond any of the established categories of disciplined scholarship. 'Amili must have wanted his work to speak to a wide audience regardless of one's disciplinary background and intellectual preference. In spite of this element of literary populism, the *Kashkul* is a work of literary elegance and scholarly erudition.

'Amili's other works include *Khulasa fi'l-hisab* (Summary of the Science of Calculation), a short treatise on algebra; *Fawa'id al-samadiyya* (Eternal Benefits), a work on Arabic grammar; *Tashrih al-aflak* (Explanation of the Planets) and *'Urwat al-wuthqa* (The Solid Rope), two works on astronomy and the astrolabe; and several short commentaries on the Qur'an and other Shari'a sciences.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AMIN, Ahmad (1886–1954)

Ahmad Amin was a highly influential Egyptian thinker whose work covered a wide gamut of the Islamic sciences such as law, theology, and grammar. He also wrote on philosophy. He received a traditional education and this prepared him for a career as a teacher of law and judge, which was his career from 1911 to 1926. In 1926 he joined the University of Cairo, where he taught Arabic for twenty years. He was in charge of a committee that sponsored the publication of books and translations over a wide range of topics, and in this position he was able to ensure that its journal, *al-Thaqafa*, published important work. He was editor of *al-Thaqafa* from 1939 to 1953, so his input into Egyptian culture was obviously significant.

Amin's own writings are substantial. His *Fajr al-islam*, *Duha al-islam*, and *Zuhr al-islam* provide an extensive account of the first four centuries of Islam from the very widest disciplinary perspectives.

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Abu’l Hasan Muhammad ibn Yusuf al ‘Amiri came from eastern Iran and was a pupil of AL-KINDI. He went to the court at Rayy where philosophy was officially supported by the Buyid vizier Ibn al-‘Amid. Apparently he made visits to Baghdad but was not highly regarded there given his provincial background, and he did not stay long. Toward the end of his life he came into favor in Khurasan and Transoxiania with the Samanid regime, and lived in both the capital city Bukhara, dying in its most important city Nishapur.

Al-‘Amiri is known to have written at least twenty-five books, for which we have the titles, and six of these survive. Although it is true that al-Kindi did not often write on religious topics, it is also true that he argued there was no discrepancy between religion and philosophy. This is a point that his pupil takes up vigorously in his *al-I‘lam bi-manaqib al-Islam* (Exposition of the Merits of Islam), arguing that Islam is a supremely rational faith, a faith that repays rational examination. The simplicity of the style and the lack of technical language make one suspect that this book was intended for a wide audience, by contrast with the other philosophers in the Baghdad region who seemed to wish to keep their philosophical work as far as possible from their religious lives. This comes out nicely in al-‘Amiri’s account of the afterlife, which seems to accord with Plato’s *Phaedo* supplemented by the Islamic account of bodily resurrection. The Greek views on immortality are all very well as far as they go, he argues, but at their limits we should go to religion to find out how to proceed.

It is clear from examining al-‘Amiri’s work that he had available to him a remarkable amount of Greek material falling within the Peripatetic and Neoplatonic areas. If one has to align him with any theological movement, it is Maturidism that comes closest to representing his views. He clearly has in mind in some of his books a whole variety of contemporary intellectual targets, ranging from Ash‘arism and Mu‘tazilism to Sufism and the Isma‘ilis.

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AL-AMULI, Sayyid Haydar (719–787/1319–1385)

Sayyid Haydar al-Amuli was an influential mystical scholar in northern Persia during the eighth/fourteenth century whose chief importance consisted of integrating the metaphysical and cosmological doctrines of IBN AL-‘ARABI with those of Twelver Shi‘ism.

AL-AMULI

Born in the Persian city of Amul in 719/1319, for the first few decades of his life Sayyid Haydar studied extensively in places throughout Persia. After returning to Amul, he became an official of the Bavandi dynasty and subsequently rose to become a prime minister in the government. Despite acquiring much worldly honor and fame, around the year 749/1348 Sayyid Haydar suffered a profound spiritual crisis, reminiscent of that suffered by AL-GHAZALI. In the aftermath of this spiritual crisis, he renounced all worldly ambitions and left his native Persia behind, setting off on a spiritual pilgrimage that would take him to Mecca, Medina, and Shi‘a holy sites in Iraq. Eventually he settled in Najaf, where he stayed for over thirty years. The date of his death is uncertain, but it appears that it occurred sometime after 787/1385.

Sayyid Haydar composed over forty works, in both Arabic and Persian. His best-known work is the *Kitab Majma‘ al-asrar wa manba‘ al-anwar* (The Sum of Divine Mysteries), which is often referred to simply as *Jami‘ al-asrar*. The central theme of this work is his identification of Shi‘ism with Sufism. Sayyid Haydar sought to overcome the hostility that existed between Shi‘ites and Sufis. While many Shi‘ites concentrated on the exoteric aspects of religion and saw the Sufi path as being at variance with the religious law, Sayyid Haydar perceived the Sufis as *de facto* Shi‘ites who were more concerned with the esoteric aspects of religion. As a means of demonstrating this, Sayyid Haydar used Ibn al-‘Arabi's concept of sainthood (*walaya*). Following Ibn al-‘Arabi, Sayyid Haydar held that sainthood represents the esoteric knowledge of prophethood. Whereas Ibn al ‘Arabi identified the seal of sainthood with Jesus, Sayyid Haydar identifies it with Imam ‘ALI and emphasized that ‘Ali transmitted this esoteric knowledge of sainthood to the very first Sufi shaykhs. Because Shi‘ism and Sufism are thus both rooted in the sainthood of Imam ‘Ali, Sayyid Haydar makes his famous claim that every true Shi‘ite is a Sufi and every true Sufi is a Shi‘ite.

Some of Sayyid Haydar's other important works include the *Risala al-nafs fi ma‘rifat al-rabb*, which is concerned with the relation between self-knowledge and the knowledge of God in light of three *hadiths* of Prophet Muhammad and a verse from the Qur'an, and the *Risala al-‘ilm*, which discusses knowledge from the different viewpoints of philosophers, theologians, and Sufis. Finally, mention must also be made of his important commentary on Ibn al-‘Arabi's *Fusus al-hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom). In this commentary, Sayyid Haydar discusses many of the problems that arise in Ibn al-‘Arabi's work such as *tawhid*, prophecy, and imamate. This commentary includes the text of the *Fusus*, which Sayyid Haydar wrote in red ink, to distinguish it from his own commentary, which was in black ink.

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BRIAN THOMAS

ANKARAVİ, Isma'il b. Ahmad Rusuhiddin
(d. 1041/1631)

Isma'il b. Ahmad Rusuhiddin Bayrami Mevlevi Ankaravi was born in Ankara, as the name suggests, around the late tenth/sixteenth century. His father was called Ahmad, and that is all we know of his family. He was educated in the religious sciences at an early age, and later on progressed to the esoteric disciplines, entering the Sufi Bayrami order, and also possibly the Khalvetiyya order. Ankaravi was struck by a severe eye disease, only relieved by a visit to the tomb of IBN AL-'ARABI in Konya. A descendant of the Sufi saint, Bostan Çelebi I (d. 1040/1630), glanced at Ankaravi and that cured him. He consequently joined the Mevlevi order after a period of rigorous training and preparation, and moved to a *khanaqa* or convent in Istanbul called Galata Mevlevi, where he was put in charge in 1019/1610. There are other accounts of these years, some of which has him going to Egypt, and not being cured in Konya but elsewhere and under different circumstances.

Anakaravi stayed in this position in the convent until his death in 1041/1631 and was in charge of teaching and studying the *Mathnawi* (*Mesnevi*). He became well known for his teaching and ascetic lifestyle, and his sermons were apparently often well attended. During his time in Istanbul there were attacks against the orthodoxy of Sufism and he participated in this heated debate, arguing throughout that there is no difficulty in being both a Muslim and a Sufi. Most of his works were commentaries on the main texts that he taught, and they give us a good idea of the curriculum at the time. The *Mathnawi* is of course in the forefront, but he also produced a particularly interesting commentary on AL-SUHRAWARDI's *Hayakil al-nur* (Temples of Light) which displayed his ability to work within the boundaries of Ishraqi (illuminationist) philosophy. His purpose here is to show that the accounts of coming close to God produced by the Sufis is quite compatible with al-Suhrawardi's apparent denial of the possibility of such contact. Ankaravi is said to have written about forty books, whose titles and details are given in Kuşpınar's book on him, which is mentioned below under the "Further Reading" section.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

ANSARI, 'ABDULLAH, *see* al-Harawi

ANSARI, Murtada bin Muhammad Amin
(1214–81/1799–1864)

Shaykh Murtada bin Muhammad Amin Ansari was a descendant of the Prophet's Companion Jabir bin 'Abdullah Ansari. He was born on 18th Dhu'l-Hijja 1214/1799 in Dizful, Iran. He spent twenty years studying in Iran before leaving for Iraq. After a brief stay there, he returned to Iran. In 1249/1833 he decided to visit the holy shrines of Iraq, but this journey was destined to be final, for once established there he started his own classes. He studied under Sharif al-'Ulama' Mazandarani in Karbala, Mulla Ahmad Naraqi in Kashan and Shaykh Musa and Shaykh 'Ali Kashif al-Ghita in Najaf. After the death of Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi (the author of *Jawahir al-kalam*) in 1266/1849, Shaykh Ansari emerged as the undisputed *marja'* (spiritual leader) of the Shi'is. He was to become the most distinguished jurisprudent of the Shi'ite world in the nineteenth century. He died in Najaf in 1281/1864.

Shaykh Ansari was famous for his retentive memory, speedy resolution of intellectual problems and his innovative teaching methods.

He is said to have had a very effective way of resolving legal disputes, setting up various prospective solutions and trying them all out until one succeeded. An ascetic lifestyle and modest demeanor helped his career, and at his deathbed, the sole *marja‘* of the time, Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi, suggested Shaykh Ansari as his successor. Modestly, Shaykh Ansari invited his former classmate from Karbala, Mulla Sa‘id Barfurushi Sa‘id al-‘Ulama’ (d. 1270/1854), to assume the leadership in Najaf on the grounds that he was more knowledgeable in the law. However, the latter declined, arguing that although he had indeed been more knowledgeable during their studies, he had subsequently been mostly engaged in public affairs, while Shaykh Ansari had been teaching and writing, and was therefore more qualified for the role.

Shaykh Ansari's success in filling the position was due not only to his personal qualities but also to his background. Coming from Dizful, a mixed environment of Arabs and Persians, he could teach in both languages and bridge the ethnic divide between the Arab and Iranian *‘ulama’*, a rare accomplishment then as now, but very important given the wide dimensions of the Shi‘i world.

Shaykh Ansari was interested in both *usul* and *fiqh*. He introduced major developments in the principles of jurisprudence that continued to be significant. He divided legal decisions into four categories. These include certainty (*qat‘)*, which represented cases where clear decisions could be obtained from the Qur'an or reliable traditions (*ahadith*); valid conjecture (*zann mu‘tabar*), which represented cases where the probability of correctness can be increased by using certain rational principles; and doubt (*shakk*), which referred to cases where there was no guidance available from the sources and nothing to indicate the probability of what was the correct answer. It is in relation to these doubtful cases that Shaykh Ansari formulated four guiding principles which he called *usul al-‘amaliyya* (practical principles). His most important work, *al-Rasa'il* (*Fara'id al-usul*), took up an explanation of those cases where there was a probability of error.

The effect of the developments instituted by Shaykh Ansari was extensive. Previously the *mujtahhidun* (legal decision makers) had confined themselves to giving rulings where there was the probability or certainty of being in accordance with the guidance of the imams. But the rules developed by Shaykh Ansari allowed them to extend their jurisdiction to any matter where there was even a possibility of being in accordance with the guidance of the imams. This effectively meant that they could issue edicts on virtually any subject. Shaykh Ansari's own strict exercise of caution (*ihtiyat*) severely restricted this freedom, but some other *mujtahidun* allowed themselves a freer hand.

Toward the end of the lifetime of Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi, the major concerns of the *‘ulama’* were the conclusion of the Usuli-Akhbari conflict, the appearance of the Shaykhi and Babi movements, and contending with Qajar and British rule. The Akhbari school was a part of mainstream Twelver Shi'ism from its earliest days; this school became a separate movement following the writings of Mulla Muhammad Amin Astarabadi (d. 1033/1623). It achieved its greatest influence during the late and post-Safavid periods but was crushed by the Usuli *mujtahhidun* at the end of the Qajar era. Essentially the Akhbari school accepted Qur'an and *Sunna* in matters of doctrine and law, while rejecting consensus (*ijma‘*) and intellect (*‘aql*). The contribution of Shaykh Ansari in strengthening the Usuli position is widely acknowledged. While the Akhbari school differed from the Usulis principally in matters of *furu‘* (branches of the law), the Shaykhi school, founded by Shaykh Ahmad ibn Zaynu'd-Din al-Ahsa'i (d. 1241/1826), differed largely on *usul* (principles).

The Babi movement started when Sayyid ‘Ali Muhammad Shirazi (d. 1263/1850) took the title *bab* and in time declared that the Shari‘a was abrogated in favor of a different and new religious book. Shaykh Ansari reacted by enhancing religious awareness in the smaller towns by setting up religious schools. He largely ignored both Qajar and British influences, and appeared apolitical. Although he reached an agreement in 1852 with the British consul Rawlinson on the distribution of bequest funds in Najaf, he subsequently withdrew from the distribution in 1860, when he suspected that the bequest was a British ploy to buy influence among the *‘ulama’*. Shaykh Ansari provided the groundwork for the *‘ulama’* to issue *fatawa* (edicts) on virtually any legal problem by giving a new scope to the application of legal theory, especially that of *al-usul al-‘amaliyya*, the application of law to practice. He also introduced the notion that it was necessary for the community to follow the opinion of a *mujtahhid*. This idea was transformed subsequently by Tabataba’i Yazdi (d. 1337/1919) into an initial prerequisite for every Shi‘i at the age of responsibility (*taklif*). Eventually, it became a commonly held view that the performance of Islamic duties (such as prayer and fasting) are void without *taqlid* (emulation) of a *marja‘* or ultimate authority.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-‘AQQAD, ‘Abbas Mahmoud (1889–1964)

‘Abbas Mahmoud al-‘Aqqad was a writer, poet, historian, philosopher, journalist, and translator. He was an energetic nationalist and saw himself very much as the conscience of Egypt, then dominated by the British. Al-‘Aqqad was born on June 28, 1889, in Aswan, Upper Egypt. At the age of six he was sent to the village school to learn the Qur’an. Then he joined an elementary school, where he spent only four years. This represents the whole of his regular education; he was very much a self-taught man.

Al-‘Aqqad worked as a government employee until 1906, when he resigned in order to have more time for his work as a journalist. He became an editor of *al-Dustur* (The Constitution) and *al-Bayan* newspapers, and wrote for other papers also, including *al-Ahram*. He was a forceful writer, often appealing for the introduction of democracy into Egypt, which led to his imprisonment on one occasion. Something of an innovator, he introduced the interview as a journalistic technique, interviewing the politician Sa‘ad Zaghloul in 1908. His writings are voluminous and cover poetry, biography, one novel, and, of course, an enormous amount of journalism. In literature he participated in the current controversy over style by siding very much with the innovators as compared with the traditionalists. He wrote several works of philosophy, some biographies dealing with IBN RUSHD and Francis Bacon, for example, and also a few books expressing his own beliefs. These tended to favor liberalism and common sense.

Al-‘Aqqad wrote a number of biographies, and one aspect of his work is to link the thinker with the context in which they operated. He translated a number of English texts and certainly was not a parochial thinker, commenting on and criticizing a whole range of international, social, and political movements. Not a particularly original thinker, al ‘Aqqad had an important effect on Egyptian culture through his discussions of a range of thought, in particular Western thought, and in his championing of values such as liberty and nationalism. Although his theoretical approach owed more to nineteenth-century thinkers such as Hazlitt and Carlyle, the idea of linking individual creativity, personality, and culture was a fairly novel one in the Arab world of his time, and definitely had an impact. In particular, this made possible an objective approach to history, in particular Islamic history, that really changed the atmosphere in which that discipline was pursued. His philosophy of history was influential and established a new methodology in the intellectual environment of the region.

The writings of al-'Aqqad are energetic defenses of Islam. In his book on the Prophet, for example, he praises the accomplishments of Muhammad and shows how he fitted into the particular context in which he emerged. His early efforts were to unite the community and defend it against its enemies, and later on he developed an excellent legislation to reconcile the differences that people had with each other. It is noticeable that al-'Aqqad takes a rather secular line on the Prophet, attributing to him much of the virtue of Islamic law whereas others would see this as coming from God. However, he sees his work as in defense of religion and opposed to those who do not see the necessity for there to be a God. He calls for the retention of mystery in religion, and yet for the rational study of it, and defends religious culture as far superior to its secular equivalent. Islam in particular is superior to Christianity since the former is all-embracing and does not separate religion from the state, thus bringing about a harmoniously integrated form of life. Among his many books are *Haqa'iq al-Islam* (The Truths of Islam) (1962), *Allah* (1960), and Qur'anic philosophy *al-Falsafa al-qur'aniya* (1947).

The leading issue during his time was whether Islam could cope with modernity, in the sense of providing an ideology that would allow for the growth of science and technology, and also resist the influx of secular ideas from the West. Al-'Aqqad has no doubts here. Islam is by far the most superior religion, it is entirely in line with modernity and can provide humanity with excellent guidance in morality as well as being able to justify its various claims far better than competing faiths. He develops this argument in a variety of ways, and displays an accurate grasp of many of the religions which he criticizes by comparison with Islam. Al 'Aqqad is very representative of the thought of his time, wound up in the general problematic of wondering how to cope with the onset of Western cultural influence and wanting to defend the local culture as a form of resistance to the global power of imperialism.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

ARKOUN MOHAMMED (1928–2010)

Mohammed Arkoun was born on February 1, 1928, and died on September 14, 2010.

He was born in Algeria, in the Berber village of Taourirt-Mimoun, where he received his primary education. He moved later with his family to Oran and, subsequently, after studying at the University of Algiers, he went to the Sorbonne, in Paris, where he was eventually to stay as a professor of Islamic studies. His views did lead to controversy and he was not always easy living and working in France given the reaction of a section of the Muslim community.

He is perhaps best known for his *Pour une Critique de la Raison Islamique*, which summarizes a life of commitment to the idea that the European Enlightenment cast a long shadow on thought in the Islamic world. Islamic humanism flourished during the "golden age" of classical Islam, a period from the eighth to the twelfth centuries that lead to a rich development in the religious and natural sciences, literature, the humanities, and the arts. Arkoun argued that the concentration on the role of reason by this humanism not only led to the advancement of the natural sciences, but had an impact on the religious sciences, providing them with tools of reasoning that enabled them to develop into highly sophisticated systems of thought. This humanism did not survive long in the Islamic world.

Arkoun followed an approach that blended anthropology, philosophy, and linguistics and resulted in often novel and challenging interpretations of texts due to his use of semiotics and deconstruction as conceptual models. His 1982 book *Lectures du Coran* laid him open to accusations of heresy due to its thesis that a text is a reflection of a particular historical consciousness. His sharp distinction between texts and the levels of interpretation and practice to which they led did not endear him to religious groups who do not recognize that distinction.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY, INFLUENCE OF

The influence of Aristotle and his followers on Islamic philosophy was particularly strong during the period from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. This period of influence is generally held to have begun with AL-KINDI and ended, or at least begun to decline, with IBN RUSHD. Aristotelian influences are particularly strong in discussions of form and matter, though elements of his political philosophy are also included. Islamic commentators could be critical of Aristotle, and tended to plunder his works for ideas to support their own theories rather than adopting his ideas wholesale, but his influence was nonetheless profound. Known in Arabic as Aristu, he was generally referred to as the First Teacher and held to be a wise sage and profound thinker.

Translations of at least some of Aristotle's works into Arabic were available by the ninth century, and these were used by al-Kindi. His *Fi kammiya kutub Aristutalis wa ma yahaj ilahi fi tahsil al-falasifa* (The Quantity of Books of Aristotle and What is Required for the Acquisition of Philosophy) summarizes a number of works, paying particular attention to the *Categories*. Al-Kindi clearly had a deep respect for Aristotle, and did much to popularize his works within the Islamic milieu. Despite this, al-Kindi cannot properly be considered an Aristotelian. While he follows Aristotle on areas such as knowledge and form, he decidedly rejects Aristotelian cosmology, preferring more orthodox Islamic theories of creation and volition. Some observers have commented that there is as much of Plato as there is of Aristotle in al-Kindi's work; in his own writings on the intellect and the soul, al-Kindi attempts a kind of fusion of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas. Further, one of his most important sources, the so-called *Theologia Aristotelis*, is not an Aristotelian work at all, but rather comes from the Neoplatonic tradition, being heavily based on the *Enneads* of Plotinus. Al-Kindi was also familiar with other Neoplatonic writers such as Philoponus. Al-Kindi's knack of borrowing from all the Greek traditions as suited his own needs would be followed by later Islamic scholars.

This borrowing is particularly evident in the work of AL-FARABI, who is usually considered the foremost Aristotelian of the period, to the point where he is referred to as the Second Teacher (Aristotle himself being the first). He wrote a number of commentaries on Aristotle, notably the *Kitab al-huruf* (Book of Letters), a commentary on the *Metaphysics*, and *Risala fi'l-'aql* (Treatise on the Intellect). In these, as in several of his less well-known works, al-Farabi is, if not a slavish follower of Aristotle, then at least strongly influenced by him in his consideration of the soul and the intellect, and also language and logic. Al-Farabi also produced a notable commentary on Aristotle's ethics. But Platonic influences are strong as well. And in his famous *al-Madina al-fadila* (The Virtuous City), although there are obvious influences of Aristotle's *Politics*, the dominant influences are Platonic. As with al-Kindi, al-Farabi seeks to use the classical philosophers to justify the positions he advances himself, rather than being concerned to interpret them accurately or to discover their own original intentions. This is even more true of other scholars such as IBN SINA, whose references to Aristotle are often casual at best; some of the passages to which Ibn Sina refers in Aristotle are not actually to be found in the latter's works.

This is important because of the influence that both al-Farabi and Ibn Sina had over subsequent generations of scholars, not just in the Islamic world but also, under the names Alfarabus and Avicenna, in Christian Europe. But the Aristotelian tradition that later scholars would follow—and that others such as AL-GHAZALI would criticize—is not the ideas of Aristotle himself, but the ideas of these interpreters of him, in which Aristotelian thought is often inextricably mixed with Platonism, Neoplatonism, *kalam*, and, in the case of Ibn Sina, older Persian and Indian concepts. The time of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina was an immense melting pot of ideas, and Greek philosophy was just one of several ingredients in that pot.

Al-Ghazali seems to have seen this. In his famous *Tahafut al-falasifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), which is an attack on those like Ibn Sina who held to Aristotelian concepts of the intellect, the soul and matter, he condemns not Aristotle himself—or Plato, or the Neoplatonists—but the uses to which their philosophy has been put. This may have been one of the moving forces that led IBN RUSHD to revisit Aristotle's works, and produce a series of detailed commentaries on various elements of the *Organon*, in particular *On the Heavens*, *Metaphysics* and *De Anima*. Sometimes called the last Aristotelian in the Islamic world, Ibn Rushd may also have been the truest. When he sets out to rebut al-Ghazali in his *Tahafut al-Tahafut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence), he is using Aristotelian tools to make his argument; but in using these, he also has at times to rebut Ibn Sina. And because al-Ghazali himself was quite familiar with Aristotelian concepts, Ibn Rushd finds himself in agreement with the scholar he has set out to refute.

From this point on the study of Aristotle went into a decline, his works and ideas only being revived by those who wished to attack them, such as IBN KAMMUNA or AL-SUHRAWARDI. However, the Islamic commentators on Aristotle did leave a lasting legacy in their influence on Christian Europe, where their works were studied by scholars such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

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ANDREAS SOLER

AS'AD AFANDI OF YANYA (d. 1143/1730)

As'ad Afandi was born in Yanya (Jannina). His exact birth date is not known. He died in Istanbul in 1143/1730. His father was Ali and his grandfather Osman. He belongs to the generation of Greek-Muslim scholars. In Yanya, he attended the courses of Mehmed Afandi, Müfti of Yanya. He also became a pupil of İbrahim Afandi, a well-known local scholar. In 1098/1686, As'ad Afandi started *medrese* education in Istanbul. In the *medrese*, along with the Islamic sciences such as *kalam* and *fiqh*, he mastered the rational sciences such as logic, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy. His native tongue was Greek, but he was well versed in Turkish, Arabic, Latin, and Persian. Having graduated from the *medrese*, As'ad Afandi was appointed as a professor (*müderris*) to Süleyman Ağa Medresesi in 1111/1699. Up to 1132/1720 he lectured in various Istanbul *medrese*s, and was then appointed a judge (*kadı*) of Galata in 1138/1725. He was also a member of the Naqshibandiya order.

To bring about a renewal of the Ottoman education system in the eighteenth century, Damat İbrahim Paşa of Nevşehir instituted three boards of translators of Persian, Arabic, and Greek. As'ad Afandi was head of the board of Greek. He translated some of Aristotle's books from Greek into Arabic. In his translation of Aristotle, As'ad Afandi sometimes put forward his own opinion and even pointed out some of what he took to be the mistakes of IBN RUSHD. Because of his translation of Aristotle, he became famous in scholars' circles as the third teacher (*mu'allim al-thalith*). His studies on Christianity and Judaism made him quite distinct from his fellow scholars.

As'ad Afandi wrote all of his works in Arabic. His most important contribution to Islamic thought is his work *al-Talim al-Thalith*, which is a translation into Arabic of Ioannis Kottinius' Greek commentary and summary of Aristotle's *Physics*. This work has not yet been edited and published; there are only manuscripts in various Istanbul libraries. His other work is *Tarjuma Sharh al-Enver*, which is a translation into Arabic of Kottinius' Greek commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, *Peri Hermeneias*, *Analytica Priora*, and *Analytica Posteriora*. This work also has not yet been edited or published. His book, *al-Risala al-lahutiyya*, which has again not yet been published, provides proofs for the existence of God. He also wrote marginal commentaries (*hashiya*) on al-Iji's *Sharh al-hanafiyya*, which was named *al-Hashiya fathiyya ala al-sharh al-hanafiyya li al-risala al-'adudiyya*.

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ADNAN ASLAN

AL-ASAMM (d. 200–1/816–17)

Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Rahman b. Kisan, known as al-Asamm, the deaf, was a well-known judge and theologian. The date of his birth is unknown but he died in 200–1/816–17. Although he is usually regarded as a Mu'tazilite, the biographers of this school hardly mention him and he was not ranked in any of the Mu‘tazilite *tabaqat*, orders, or categories of thinkers. It seems that they considered him an outsider probably because of his association with the Ibadiya group, a Kharijite sect. However, the Ibadiya do not mention him among their theologians either. Van Ess (1991) gives some possible reasons for his rejection by the Mu‘tazilites. Few details are available on his life. It seems that no source recorded any of his personal details, beyond the fact that he lived most of his life in Basra. Some sources mention his journeys to Mada’in, Wasit, and even to India.

Nevertheless, al-Asamm was apparently considered to be an important jurist and theologian in his time. Ibn al-Nadim mentions some twenty-six books which he composed, while others consider him to have been the first theologian in Basra to have written at length. Unfortunately, none of his books have survived, apart from fragments which have been found in other works. Some sources report a cosmological theory of his which probably caused some conflict with the Mu‘tazilites, who believed that the origin of all things is analyzable by a theory of atoms and accidents; he believed instead in the unified nature of things. All material things consist of solid bodies which are not susceptible to change and movement from any external accident entering into them and causing them to be active. Instead they contain within themselves their change and movement; nothing influences them from outside. Abu AL-HUDHAYL severely criticized this theory and considered it absurd, saying bodies are clearly influenced by the circumstances around them: a body feels more pain when it receives 100 lashes than 80 and therefore it is influenced by outside changes. In regard to this point, however, al-Asamm considers that humans possess free will as part of their nature which is received from God before the act and not as an accident. Moreover, al-Jubba’i says about his Qur’an interpretation that al-Asamm should have restricted himself to juristic and linguistic interpretations and not given an incorrect theological analysis.

The greatest contribution of al-Asamm, however, seems to be his application of the concept of consensus in his political and juristic thought. Consensus in the time of al-Asamm did not yet have the juristic state of meaning the consensus of the *‘ulama’* or scholars; it meant the consensus of the Muslim community. In his theory of the imamate he thinks that the caliph can only be legitimate if elected by the community and the community must elect someone who is able and willing to face the entailed responsibility. He also rejects the concept of kingship which seemed to be the basis of the ‘Abbasids as well as the preceding dynasty. Later he modified this theory to lay emphasis on the form of government rather than on the concentration of authority in the person of the caliph. Harun al-Rashid was influenced by this theory when he divided up his empire among his sons. As for his position on the issue of the first righteous caliph, al-Asamm considers ‘ALI to have had no right to lead his community into war without a consensus. This position obviously made him unpopular among the Mu‘tazilites, who tend to take a Shi‘i position on this issue.

As a judge, al-Asamm had a recognized position; he was a strong supporter of *qiyas* (reasoning by analogy) and seems to have made a substantial contribution to this principle. His main juristic position, however, lies in his placing the basis of judgment on the rational opinion of the judge. Truth, for him, has its own proof in itself and is clear to everyone, rather than needing the support of scripture. A judge who presents a false judgment is one who is not able to perceive the truth or think independently (be a *mujtahid),* and therefore should not have qualified as a judge. Beside the rationality of the judge, al-Asamm makes the condition that his judgment should be accepted through a consensus of other qualified persons.

Al-Asamm’s theories seem to be all based on his cosmological theory which argues that there is a unity in the nature of things. This theory supports his juristic and political concept of consensus which considers truth to be comprehensible to everyone, for it entails that the majority will not agree on a false judgment since their nature is rational, with the feature of free will. A human being knows through his nature what is good and what is evil and the community will not give their consensus to an evil judgment. Although many of these concepts are close to Mu‘tazilite rationalism, al-Asamm seems not to be concerned about other Mu‘tazilite concepts and composed his theories according to his own beliefs. Consequently, this brought him beyond the Mu‘tazili school.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

AL-ASH‘ARI, Abu’l Hasan
(260–324/873–935)

Abu’l Hasan ‘Ali b. Isma‘il al-Ash‘ari was born at Basra around 260/873 and died in Baghdad in 324/935. He was a founder of one of the main theological schools within Islam which bears his name. Abu’l Hasan, as he was known, was a descendant of Abu Musa al-Ash‘ari, a well-known companion of the Prophet. There is not much information about his life. His father died when al-Ash‘ari was very young. When his mother married Abu ‘Ali al-Jubba’i, a well-known Mu‘tazilite theologian and head of the school at Basra, Ash‘ari was raised by Jubba’i, who introduced him to Mu‘tazilite theology. He also studied *hadith* (prophetic traditions) and *fiqh* (Islamic law) with different scholars at Basra.

At around 300/912 when he was a leading defender of the Mu‘tazilite school and a possible successor of Jubba’i, Ash‘ari left the Mu‘tazilite school and declared that he had joined the people of tradition (*ahl al-sunna*) and accepted the belief of the *salaf* (ancestors) represented by such figures as Ahmad b. HANBAL and other scholars of the prophetic traditions. There are several reports about the reason for this conversion. According to one report, the Prophet appeared to him several times during the month of Ramadan and commanded him to follow the prophetic traditions and defend the doctrines related in the traditions. According to another report, his discussion with Jubba’i on the fate of three brothers, of whom one died as a pious man, the other as a wicked man, and the last as a child, is the reason for his abandonment of the Mu‘tazila. After his conversion, Ash‘ari went to Baghdad where he spent the rest of his life. There he participated in debates with the Mu‘tazilites, Christians, Jews, and Magians. He also continued writing a number of works and teaching students. Abu’l Hasan al-Bahili, Ibn Mujahid al-Tai, Bundar b. Husayn al-Shirazi, and Abu Zayd al-Marwazi were some of his most important students.

Although he had a deep knowledge of different branches of the Islamic sciences, Ash‘ari became famous in the field of theology. Opposing the rationalism of the Mu‘tazila, Ash‘ari first declared that he followed the fideism of Ahmad b. Hanbal, then he tried to support his beliefs with rational arguments. Although there were some thinkers in the Sunni tradition who tried to apply rational arguments in defense of religious doctrine before him, Ash‘ari, with the help of his Mu‘tazilite background, used this method in a more successful way. The Qur’an, which is God’s eternal speech, is uncreated. Attributes of action such as creating and sustaining are not eternal, otherwise the eternity of the world must be accepted, which is impossible.

For Ash‘ari the nature of God’s face, of his hand or of his sitting on the throne cannot be known. Ash‘ari does not interpret these expressions, but thinks that they cannot be taken literally, for God is not a corporeal being. Similarly, for him, God will be seen in the world to come, but since he is not corporeal, the exact nature of this vision cannot be known. For Ash‘ari, human actions are willed and created by God through a power created in man before each act. As a result of this power, the human being is responsible for his actions. Actions are good or bad not in themselves but because of the will of God. There does not have to be a wise purpose behind these actions, for nothing can necessitate God’s acting in that way. Ash‘ari accepts the atomism of the Mu‘tazilite school. Atoms can come together and produce bodies only through the will and power of God. As a result of God’s grace, he can choose any human being as prophet. For Ash‘ari miracles are the most important indication of the truthfulness of the prophet.

Eschatological issues can only be known through revelation, though their reality cannot be rejected rationally. Faith consists of acceptance and does not include outward expression. Although a sinner is liable to punishment, he or she remains a believer. Human beings do not receive rewards as a result of good action but because of the grace of God. Ash‘ari thinks that the caliphate is founded on the selection of the community, not on the determination of authority. Ash‘ari’s views were developed and in some cases modified by later representatives of his school.

Ash‘ari produced a number of works in different branches of the Islamic sciences, though only a few of them have come down to us. His *Maqalat al-islamiyyin* (Accounts of the Muslims) may be considered his masterpiece. In this work, he first, gives an objective account of the views of the Muslim sects; then he gives the views of non-Muslim sects and of the philosophers; and finally he gives a critical discussion of the names and the attributes of God. It was probably written during his Mu‘tazilite period and then slightly modified. This work became a model for similar works produced afterward. In the *al-Luma’* (The Lights), he discusses such issues as God’s attributes, determination (*qadar*), and other dogmatic issues. In the *al-Ibana ‘an usul al-diyana* (The Elucidation of Islamic Foundations), he again discusses theological issues. In the *Risala fi istihsan al-hawd fi ‘ilm al-kalam* (Treatise on the Permissibility of Dealing with the Science of Kalam), he defends the use of *kalam* and its rational methods. In the *Risala ila ahl al-saghr* (Treatise to the People of Saghr), he gives a list of dogmatic principles that the *salaf* agreed on.

Abu’l Hasan al-Ash‘ari represented a turning point in the history of Sunni Islam. The school that was founded by him became one of the mainstream theological schools of Sunni Islam. Although on some issues his views were modified, the later representatives of the school mainly followed his views and defended their rational basis.

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MUAMMER İSKENDEROĞLU

ASH‘ARIYYA

The Sunni theological school known as Ash‘ariyaa was founded in Basra early in the fourth/tenth century by Abu’l Hasan AL-ASH‘ARI. Al-Ash‘ari had been trained in the Mu‘tazilite school by his stepfather and tutor, the leading Mu‘tazilite theologian Abu ‘Ali al-Jubba’i, but shortly before the latter’s death in 303/915 he announced that he had undergone a change of views. He began teaching his own brand of beliefs, based on a return to *hadith* and other Islamic traditions, criticizing the Mu‘tazilites for having moved away from what he perceived to be their Islamic roots. In particular, in the debate on revelation and reason that would rumble on through Islamic philosophy and theology for centuries, al-Ash‘ari insisted on the primacy of revelation over reason.

Al-Ash‘ari and his followers did not differ from the Mu‘tazilites in all areas. There was common ground over cosmology, for example, and the Ash‘arites accepted the atomistic account of creation given by the Mu‘tazilites. The primary differences lay in the nature of essences and the knowledge of God. Al-Ash‘ari denied that God has a corporeal body, and lacking this, He cannot be seen or known; at least, not in this world. Similarly, the will of God cannot be fully understood. God is under no obligation to mankind to account for his actions, and although human beings are responsible for their actions, it is the will of God that determines whether these actions are good or bad.

Al-Ash‘ari’s philosophy and theology are not always clear, and centuries of succeeding commentators and interpreters continued to argue over what he meant. Nevertheless, Ash‘ariyya quickly rose to become the prominent school of theology in the Sunni tradition, and most of the great Sunni thinkers and philosophers of succeeding generations had some training in Ash‘arite theology.

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AL-ASHKIWARI, Aqa Mirza Hashim
(d. 1332 or 1333/1914 or 1915)

Mirza Hashim b. Hasan b. Muhammad ‘Ali al-Ashkiwari was from the Gilan region of Iran. Ashkiwari studied with the famous philosophers and teachers of his time, Aqa Muhammad Rida QUMSHA’I and Abu’l-Hasan JILWAH. His major impact came through his teaching.

Al-Ashkiwari has written glosses on the major texts of traditional philosophy, including Ibn AL-‘ARABI’s *Fusus al-hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom), IBN TURKA Isfahani’s *Tamhid al-qawa‘id* (Arrangement of Principles), and MULLA SADRA’s *Al-Asfar al-arba‘a* (The Four Journeys). He has also written a long gloss (*ta’liqa*) on FENARI’s famous book *Misbah al-uns*. Like many teachers of his time, he trained a number of famous scholars and teachers. Among these, Sayyid Abu’l-Hasan QAZWINI (d. 1396/1975) should be mentioned.

Al-Ashkiwari’s legacy of teaching and commenting upon the classical texts of traditional philosophy has continued with such figures of contemporary Persia as Muhammad Husayn TABATABA’I and Sayyid Jalal al-Din ASHTIYANI.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

ASHTIYANI, Mirza Mahdi

(1306–72/1888–1952)

Ashtiyani was born in Tehran in 1306/1888 and was first educated by his father in the religious sciences. He also studied medicine and mathematics, and went on to further training in Iraq in theology and jurisprudence with Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Yazdi. He returned to Iran and taught in Qom, Isfahan, and Mashhad before returning to Tehran, which was to be his base for the rest of his life until his death there in 1372/1952.

Ashtiyani had a good deal of influence with his commentaries on the two leading thinkers of the time in Persia, Mulla Sadra and Sabziwari. These are far from just being commentaries, though, and often contain long discussions which represent Ashtiyani’s own views, and these reveal a careful and revealing analysis of the issues raised by the original author. His emphasis was generally on the mystical side of the philosophical divide, and his influence on his many students can be observed by the many references in their works to him. Most modern Iranian philosophers were taught by him.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-‘ASKARI, Abu Hilal al-Hasan

(d. late 4th century/early eleventh century)

Abu Hilal al-Hasan b. ‘Abd Allah al-‘Askari was born in ‘Askar Mukram, Ahwaz, Iran. He obviously felt himself to have fallen on hard times, since he was of royal birth (according to him) but was obliged to make a living through dealing in cloth. He was a poet and literary critic, and his views on poetry and language are interesting. His *San‘at al-kalam* (Construction of Speech) spends much of its time dealing with the issue of the miraculous nature of the text of the Qur’an, but the discussion is also useful in revealing how he thinks language operates, in particular in its poetic forms. The *Diwan al-ma‘ani* (Compilation of Meanings) is a careful analysis of the different poetic devices in operation and how they work, and indeed which are more successful than others, and why.

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‘ASSAR, Sayyid Muhammad Kazim (1302–96/1884–1975)

‘Assar came from a distinguished Tehran family and was educated by his father in the religious sciences. He went on to acquire a sound secular education and moved to teach science, mathematics, and French in Tabriz. Here ‘Assar came under the influence of Thaqat al-Islam Tabrizi, with whom he discussed MULLA SADRA. When Thaqat was killed, ‘Assar went to Europe, and became fully aware of the sort of work that was being carried out there in philosophy, knowledge of which was rare in Iran at the time. On his return he spent time in Najaf and then Tehran, teaching at the Sipahsalar school both jurisprudence and philosophy, the latter mostly dealing with SABZIWARI and his *Sharh al-manzuma*. He also taught at Tehran University, where he was professor of Islamic philosophy. Although he had a good knowledge of Western thought, he did not use this in his discussion of Islamic philosophy, being more interested in taking a mystical approach to the main philosophical texts he considered. As a distinguished and energetic teacher he had a considerable influence on his many students, and played a role in making philosophy such a persistent stream in modern Persian culture.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

ATHIR AL-DIN MUFADDAL IBN ‘UMAR AL-ABHARI (*c.* 597–663/1200–64)

Athir al-Din al-Abhari, an Islamic scholar of the seventh/thirteenth century, was born in the city of Mosul sometime around the year 597/1200. Scant biographical details of his life are known, except that he did study philosophy under Kamal al-Din ibn Yunus and Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI, and is considered to be one of Fakhr al-Din’s most outstanding pupils. Athir al-Din himself had many students, the most famous being Najm al-Din ‘Ali ibn ‘Umar al-Katibi al-Qazwini.

Athir al-Din’s chief contribution to Islamic philosophy consisted of his compositions of popular philosophical works that were widely used in the instruction of students of Islamic philosophy for centuries. His immediate students, contemporaries, and subsequent Islamic philosophers, such as MULLA SADRA, authored numerous commentaries on his works. His most influential work, the *Kitab Hidaya al-hikma* {Guide to Philosophy}, is an encyclopedia of philosophy divided into logic, physics, and metaphysics. For centuries, *madrasa*s throughout Persia and the Indian subcontinent used this work as a basic book of philosophical instruction. Scholars today, particularly in India, still utilize Mulla Sadra’s popular commentary on this work, the *Sharh al-hidaya*, in philosophical instruction.

Another important and influential work that merits mentioning is his treatise on logic entitled *Isaghuji fi’l-mantiq* {Introduction to Logic}. This work, a general survey of logic, played an important role in the transmission of the science of logic, especially as systematized by IBN SINA and his followers, to later Islamic philosophers. Like the *Kitab al-Hidaya*, its popularity resulted in multiple reprints and it was the subject of numerous commentaries. Other works of note include the *Tanzil al-afkar*, a treatise on logic commented upon by Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI; the *Kitab al-Isharat*, modeled after Ibn Sina’s work of the same name; the *Kitab al-Mahsul*, modeled on

Ibn Sina's pupil BAHMANYAR's work *Kitab al-Tahsil*; and the *Kashf al-Haqa'iq* (*fi tahrir al-daqa'iq*) {Unveiling of Metaphysical Realities}, which was organized into sections on logic, metaphysics, then physics. This latter work shows strong affinities with SUHRAWARDI's Illuminationist philosophy, with its sections on eschatology in fact being reproductions of passages written by Suhrawardi himself.

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BRIAN THOMAS

ATIF EFENDI, Iskilipli (1876–1926)

The famous Ottoman scholar and Islamist thinker Iskilipli Atıf Efendi, who was executed for opposing the "hat revolution" introduced by Atatürk, was born in İskilip, Çorum. He started his early education in his hometown and came to Istanbul. He finished his studies in 1902 and was appointed professor (*müderris*) at the Fatih mosque. He received his degree from the Divinity School, Istanbul University. After a period of political exile in Crimea, he returned to Istanbul and became the director general of the *madrasa* school system in Turkey. He wrote op-ed pieces in such Islamist journals as *Sebilü'r-reşad* and *Beyanü'l-hak*.

Atıf Efendi was elected to parliament before the declaration of the new Republic. He was arrested after the so-called March 31 event of 1909, when a major revolt erupted against the Union and Progress Party. Atıf was released shortly thereafter, and was sent into exile for a second time. Upon his return to Istanbul, he resumed his teaching position. In 1919, he founded, with Mustafa SABRI EFENDI and Bediuzzaman Said NURSI, an association to defend the rights of *madrasa* teachers. Its name was later changed to *Teali-i İslam* (The Exaltation of Islam). When Mustafa Sabri became the last *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire, Atıf Efendi became the president of the association.

Atıf Efendi fought against the rampant Westernization of his time even before the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic in 1923. He wrote a number of articles and short treatises on such issues as national independence, religious law and women's dress, and drinking alcohol. Like his contemporary Islamists, he fought for an Islamic revival and sought to curb the cultural influences of modern Europe.

What made Atıf Efendi one of the best-known figures of the early Republican era was a little book he published in 1924 under the title *Frenk Mukallitliği ve Şapka* (Imitating the Franks and the Hat). The book was written to discuss the religious status of wearing the Western hat, which Atıf had opposed as a form of acculturation and Westernization. Atıf's life took a dramatic turn when a law was introduced in 1925 making the wearing of modern French-style hat obligatory for all adult males in the country.

Faced with protests, the new government responded with an iron fist and dozens were executed for opposing the law. It was during this time that Atıf was arrested on charges of provoking the people against the state through his book published a year earlier. He was sentenced to death by the famous "Independence Courts". His sentence was carried out on February 4, 1926. His execution continues to be remembered as one of the brutal acts of the new Republic.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

ATOMISM

Atomism refers to the theory that matter, space, and time can all be divided into atoms, and that the act of creation requires that God bring these atoms together in whatever form He so chooses. Atomism enters Islamic thought early on. The influences here are Indian, by way of Persia. The Mu‘tazilites espoused a form of atomism, which was also taken up by AL-ASH‘ARI, who argued that the will and power of God brings atoms together to form bodies.

Atomism became an important weapon in the armory of the followers of *kalam* against those of *falsafa*. The latter, drawing on Greek philosophy, proposed Aristotelian concepts of matter and form, leading them to suggest that the world was eternal. This was perceived by *kalam* philosophers as a challenge to divine omnipotence. Their argument concerning all created matter was that, in the words of AL-GHAZALI, “the connection in these things is based on a prior power of God to create them in successive order.” In other words, instead of a timeless and eternal world, in fact all of time and space are in a process of continuous shift and change as God shapes and reshapes the world according to his will. The natural necessity of the Greeks is substituted for a doctrine of continuous creation.

Followers of *falsafa* continued to reject this view. Prominent among these was AL-KINDI, who believed that there was no evidence for the existence of atoms. He and others argued that the only indivisible substance is God, the First Cause, and all other causes and effects stem from him. Al-Kindi did not deny divine omnipotence, but he saw divine power as acting on the world and creation in a different way.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

‘ATTAR (*c.* 1117–1231)

Farid al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Ishaq Kadkani, known as ‘Attar (the pharmacist), was born in the eastern part of Iran near the modern city of Nayshabur. It is known that he lived a very long life and survived the Mongol invasion of Persia. ‘Attar studied Sufism and Islamic sciences with Qutb al-Din Haydar, Ruk al-Din Akaf Nayshaburi, Majd al-Din Baghdadi, and, the most famous of them all, the founder of the Kubrawiyyah Sufi order, Najm al-Din Kobra.

While it is not entirely known whether ‘Attar was affiliated with a particular Sufi order, authoritative textual evidence indicates that he may have belonged to the Kubrawiyyah order. His interest in Sufism and its preferred venue of expression poetry has overshadowed ‘Attar’s mastery of such fields as philosophy, theology, and other branches of the Islamic sciences. Even though a number of his works were destroyed during the Mongol invasion of Persia, those that remain provide us with a picture of his encyclopedic knowledge of the intellectual sciences of his time.

‘Attar’s major achievements are his extensive commentaries on the esoteric intricacies of the spiritual path. He discusses the dangers and pitfalls of the Sufi path and offers specific guidance on ascetic practices, and how to accomplish states and stations of wisdom. These spiritual instructions reverberate poetically throughout his works.

‘Attar poetically treated many of the central problems in philosophy that his predecessors had dealt with discursively. Problems such as how multiplicity came from unity, knowledge of Divine attributes, the ineffability of the knowledge of God, and the function of the intellect are among his topics. ‘Attar belongs to a group of philosopher-poets who used symbolism and poetic imagery to elaborate on traditional philosophical problems. This tradition may have begun with Plato himself, but it changes in the Islamic tradition where we see dialogues not among humans but animals and nature.

A brief survey of the titles of ‘Attar clearly indicates why he should be regarded as a forerunner in the field of philosophy of literature. Twenty-four treatises of ‘Attar have survived. They include *Mantiq al-tayr* (The Language of the Birds), which is written entirely in poetry. Speaking through a group of birds looking for the archetypal bird, the griffin (s*imurgh*), ‘Attar treats the problem of how multiplicity came from unity. In his *Musibat Namah* (Treatise on Tragedy), ‘Attar discusses the subject of the spiritual journey of a seeker who ascends to different stages of the spiritual path and witnesses the inhabitants of Hell and Heaven.

‘Attar’s others works treat a wide range of topics pertaining to philosophical Sufism. They include *Khusraw Namah* (Treatise on Khusraw), *Hylaj Namah* (Letter on Hallaj), *Tadkirat al-Uliyya’* (Biography of the Sages), *The Substance of Essence*, *Treatise on Secrets*, *Treatise on Advice*, *Treatise on the Camel*, *Opening of the Openings*, *Headless Letter*, *Treatise on Catharsis*, *Treatise on the Nightingale*, *The Unveiled*, *Treatise on Unity*, *Directives on Spiritual Guidance*, *Commentary on the Heart*, *Treatise on Ascendance*, *Thirty Chapters on Wisdom*, *Collected Works of Poetry*, *The Unveiling of the Wonders* and *The Letter on Free Will*. In the introduction to *The Letter on Free Will*, ‘Attar tells us “this work consists of five thousand poems,” only a fraction of which have survived.

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

AVERROISM

The term Averroism refers to the reception of the thought of IBN RUSHD (known in the Latin world as Averroes) among medieval

Christian and, to a lesser extent, Jewish philosophers and theologians. It was not strictly speaking an Islamic philosophy, but was strongly inspired by Islamic thought. It is sometimes also known as “radical Aristotelianism”. Averroism made its first appearance around the 1230s, and reached its high-water mark in Paris in the 1270s, where a group of scholars centered on Siger of Brabant and Boethius of Dacia propounded a series of doctrines drawn from translations of Ibn Rushd’s writings on Aristotle.

There were three principal features to twelfth-century Averroism. The first, monopsychism, or the view that human intellects are shared rather than separate and distinct, led to the accusation that the Averroists were promoting a “double truth” thesis, arguing that there is a philosophical truth and a religious truth which do not necessarily coincide. Second, they promoted the idea that perfect happiness is attainable on Earth; one need not wait for the afterlife. Third, they followed the notion of the Islamic *falasifa* that the world is eternal and everlasting. All three of these notions were bitterly attacked by the religious authorities; as in Islam, the notion of an eternal world was said to cast doubt on divine omnipotence.

Jewish Averroïsm took a slightly different turn. Here, writers such as Joseph ibn Caspi and Moses of Narbonne looked less at creation and eternity and focused more on the idea of the double truth. They found a rather more harmonious solution, working out methods of reconciling religious with philosophical truth, rather than trying to claim the primacy of one over the other. However, their ideas had little impact outside the Jewish intellectual milieu.

The Christian Averroists, including both Siger and Boethius, were purged from the University of Paris by Bishop Etienne Tempier in 1277 as part of a wider attack on philosophers who deviated from religious orthodoxy. Both men ended their days in obscurity. However, Averroist doctrines continued to enjoy support. In the fourteenth century, Dante assigned to Siger a place in Paradise, alongside Thomas Aquinas. The latter has also sometimes been accused of Averroist tendencies in his bid to harmonize faith and reason, and over the next several centuries, “Averroism” became a label used by many religious authorities when attacking philosophy, with strong connotations of “heresy.” The episode remains of interest, primarily because of the similarities between this conflict between reason and faith in the Christian world and the near-contemporaneous debate on the subject taking place in the Islamic world.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AZRAF, Dewan Muhammad
(1906–99)

Dewan Muhammad Azraf was born in a feudal family on October 25, 1906 at Tegharia in the district of Sunamganj, Sylhet. He died on November 1, 1999 in Dhaka.

His family members were significant figures in local mystical circles. Hasan Raja (1854–1922), one of the most celebrated mystic bards of the Indian subcontinent, who substantially contributed to Bengali literature with mystical songs, was his maternal grandfather. Though born and brought up in a feudal family, Azraf never had a feudalistic life; he removed “Chowdhury” from the title of his full name, Dewan Muhammad Azraf Chowdhury.

A versatile thinker, Azraf passed matriculation with distinction from Calcutta

University in 1925, BA with distinction in Persian in 1930, and MA in philosophy from Dhaka University in 1932. A prominent teacher of Islamic philosophy at Abudharr Gifari College and Dhaka University, Azraf had great organizational skills and held many public and private offices, including the most prestigious position of national professor in 1991. He was the founder-president of Bangladesh Philosophical Association and of WARM Heart. A prolific writer, Azraf produced sixty monographs, over 1,000 articles in Bangla and English, 109 novels, poems, songs, and ninety short stories. His works range from literature, arts, music, and religion to philosophy. As recognition of his outstanding contribution to Islamic philosophy and theology, Azraf received some forty national and international awards.

Azraf was the first Islamic thinker of Bangladesh who initiated the study of indigenous thought. He was also the first to attribute philosophical significance to the thought of those who were not within the academic circle of philosophy. His significant contribution lies in the field of Islamic esoterism. He worked from the principle that religion deals with the nature of humanity and *qalb* (heart) is the source of our intuition. God should be understood as a working hypothesis, the knowledge of which is possible through nature and history. His philosophy has three main aspects: religious value, moral consciousness, and humanity.

Azraf founded several research centers for the promotion and development of Islamic culture and religion in Bangladesh, and devoted his whole life to humanism which he found in Islam. Influenced by the philosophy of G. C. Dev, he traveled within his country and abroad with the mission of promoting humanism through love, fraternity, and the goodwill of Islam. He participated in a philosophical congress in New Delhi in 1961, where he presented his paper on "The Teachings of Morality." He also participated in the International Religious Foundation for World Peace in Seoul in 1984, where he presented "Faith and Reason in the Great Traditions," and in the International Colloquium on the Holiness of Islam and Christianity held in Rome in 1985. The last was the most fruitful, as Azraf convinced Pope John Paul II to take steps to help stop the war between Muslims and Christians in Lebanon.

Influenced by the philosophy of 'Allama Muhammad IQBAL, Azraf strongly believed that Islamic ideology and teaching would bring peace and social harmony, and eradicate corruption and all types of social exploitation. For this, he advocated establishing an Islamic society—in his words, "Islamic socialism"—and engaged in politics. After founding the political party Tamuddin Mazlish in 1947, Azraf was actively associated with the party, and was its president from 1949 until his death. Many of his works are also devoted to his campaign against secularism, so that Islamic socialism could be established in two ways: through the writings of the Islamic intelligentsia and by adopting Islamic cultures and traditions.

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M. GOLAM DASTAGIR

B

Baba Afdal, *see* Afdal al-Din

BABANZADE, Ahmed Naim
(1289–1353/1872–1934)

Babanzade Ahmed Naim was born in Baghdad in 1289/1872 and died in Istanbul on Jumada al-Awwal 2 1353/August 13, 1934. He became well known in Turkey through his Turkish translation of the *Mukhtasar* or compendium of the collections of *hadith* by Abu'l ʻAbbas Shihabuddin Ahmed b. Ahmed b. ʻAbdullah Zabidi.

His father was Mustafa Zihni Paşa, who worked as a secretary for Mithat Paşa in Baghdad. Babanzade first attended Galatsaray Sultanisi (Lyçée) and then Mülkiye Mektebi (School of Political Sciences). Having graduated from Mülkiye, he started to work in the Department of Translation in the Foreign Ministry between 1329/1911 and 1330/1912. After that he became a teacher of Arabic in Galatasaray Lyçée between 1330/1912 and 1332/1914. He then started to work in the Department of Translation in the Ministry of Education between 1332/1914 and 1333/1915. In 1333/1915, he started teaching philosophy, logic, spirituality, and morality in Darülfunun Edebiyat Fakültesi (Faculty of Literature of the School of Sciences), which later became Istanbul University. He worked there until the faculty was abolished on Ramadan 8 1352/July 1, 1933. When Istanbul University was re-established, he was not offered any teaching post.

Babanzade was a good translator of Arabic, Persian, and French. Through these languages he was well acquainted with Eastern as well as Western thought. He was well versed in Arabic and Persian literature as well as in Turkish music. He was interested in Western thought, yet at the same time he was highly critical of materialism, especially Turkish materialist writers such as Tevfik Fikret and Abdullah Cevdet. Displaying a great gift in finding Turkish equivalents of some Western philosophical concepts, he showed what a meticulous translator he was. He was not a prolific writer, but when he intended to write on an issue he always investigated thoroughly its Western as well as Eastern sources. For instance, in order to find a Turkish equivalent of the term *method*, it is said that he read a hundred pages from the writings of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. He translated three volumes of the *Mukhtasar* into Turkish. In this translation he displayed great skill in finding appropriate Turkish words equivalent to the Arabic words and concepts. He was also a Sufi and a strong defender of Islamic unity and brotherhood. He was an Islamist and therefore a strong opponent of Turkish nationalism.

Babanzade's works can be divided into three areas, namely, textbooks, translations, and original works. While he was teaching Arabic in Galatasaray Lyçée, he developed a workbook for Arabic education, *Temrinat* (Exercises) published in 1323/1905. He also wrote *Hikmet Dersleri* (1329) (Lectures on Wisdom) and *Felsefe Dersleri* (1333) (Lectures on Philosophy) in the form of textbooks. Apart from his famous translation of *al-Mukhtasar* he also translated some books from Western authors such as *İlm-i Mantık* (Logic) by Elie Rabier and *Mebadi-i Felsefeden İlmü-n Nefs* (Psychology) by Georges Fonsgrive. His own books are *Ahlak-ı İslamiyye Esasları* (The Principles of Islamic Morality) published in 1340/1922 and *İslam'da Da'va-yı Kavmiyet* (The Issue of Nationalism in Islam) published in 1332/1914. The former was prepared as a conference paper for a conference on ethics at the Hague in 1330/1912, while the latter was written to criticize nationalism according to Islamic principles. Babanzade also published many articles in Islamist journals such as *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (The Straight Path) and *Sebilürreşat* (True Path).

Babanzade Ahmed Naim as an Islamist played a significant role in molding late Ottoman intellectual history. His attempt to develop a dictionary of philosophical concepts was significant.

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ADNAN ASLAN

BADAKHSHANI, Sayyid Suhrab Wali

(d. after 856/1452)

Few biographical details are available on Sayyid Suhrab Wali Badakhshani, the most prominent Isma‘ili theologian and author of Badakhshan during the early post-Alamut period, other than the brief comments found in his sole surviving work, *Si va shish sahifa* (Thirty-Six Epistles), a Persian Isma‘ili treatise completed in 856/1452. It is known that he was born into a non-Isma‘ili family in the early decades of the ninth/fifteenth century in Badakhshan, and spent his entire life in that mountainous region, now divided between Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

According to the *Si va shish sahifa* (pp. 68–9), Suhrab Wali Badakhshani converted to Isma‘ilism not long after he became twelve years old. At the time, the Isma‘ilis of Badakhshan belonged mainly to the Muhammad-Shahi, as distinct from the Qasim-Shahi, branch of Nizari Isma‘ilism, and they were severely persecuted by the Timurid rulers of the region. Under the circumstances, the Isma‘ilis of Badakhshan observed *taqiyya*, or precautionary dissimulation, and did not produce many doctrinal treatises. Badakhshani's *Si va shish sahifa*, sometimes also called *Sahifat al-nazirin* and preserved in the manuscript collections of the Persian-speaking Nizari Isma‘ilis of Central Asia, is one of the few Isma‘ili works produced during this obscure period. As such, it is extremely important for studying the medieval theological tradition of the Badakhshani Nizaris. This syncretic tradition amalgamated the

Isma'ili teachings of the Fatimid period, as expounded especially in the works of Nasir-i Khusraw (d. after 465/1072), with Nizari doctrines of the Alamut period.

Badakhshani's *Si va shish sahifa* deals with components of the Neoplatonic cosmology and other subjects found in the metaphysical systems elaborated by Abu Ya'qub AL-SIJISTANI (d. after 361/971), Nasir-i Khusraw, and other Isma'ili *da'i*s or missionaries of the Iranian world, as well as resurrection (*qiyamat*), Paradise, Hell, and their *ta'wil* or Isma'ili esoteric interpretations (pp. 48–54). It also discusses prophethood and imamate, mostly on the basis of Nasir-i Khusraw's ideas (pp. 7, 9, 13, 22, 30, 48, 58, 69). Badakhshani also refers to the cyclical religious history of humankind and the speaker-prophets of the various eras (pp. 38–9), which remained a distinctive component of the gnostic system of religious thought propounded by the earlier Isma'ilis.

Badakhshani had access to the Isma'ili works of the Alamut period, including the writings of Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI (d. 672/1274); and he too divided humankind into three categories in terms of their relations to the Isma'ili *imam* of the time (pp. 35, 62–4, 66). Badakhshani's *Si va shish sahifa* evidently acquired prominence in the Nizari Isma'ili communities of Badakhshan and adjacent regions; it is, for example, cited in the *Kalam-i pir* (pp. 35–7, 53, 104–10) of Khayrkhwah-i Harati (d. after 960/1553). Badakhshani wrote several other doctrinal treatises (pp. 19, 46, 55), including *Rawdat al-muta'allimin* (Paradise of Disciples), which have not been recovered.

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FARHAD DAFTARY

BADAWI, 'Abd al-Rahman (1917–2002)

'Abd al-Rahman Badawi was born on February 4, 1917, in a village on the outskirts of Damietta, Egypt. He studied at the University of Cairo, later teaching there and at the University of Heliopolis. He is the author of more than twenty-five books in Arabic and five in French. He is chiefly known for his work on the history of Islamic philosophy, Greek thought, and modern Arabic thought.

Badawi was admitted to the University of Cairo (then the Egyptian University) in 1934, into the Faculty of Letters. There he spent four years working with Mustafa 'Abd al-Raziq, Alexandre Koyré, Andre Lalande, Ibrahim Makdur, and Paul Kraus. His master's thesis, written in French, was on the problem of death in existentialism, and his doctorate in Arabic dealt with time in existentialism. Many of his works were in this area of philosophy. His first book was on Nietzsche. He translated Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* into Arabic (1965) and in several of his works he explored the use of existentialist themes in Islamic philosophy, including his *Al-Insaniya wa'l-wujudiya fi'l-fikr al-islami* (Humanity and Existentialism in Arabic Thought) (1947) and his *Al-Zaman al-wujudi* (Existential Time) (1955).

Badawi did an enormous amount of editorial work on the Arabic versions of Aristotle, publishing the first volume of the *Organon* in 1948, the second a year later, and the third in 1952. This started him on a career of working with Greek thinkers whose work had been translated into Arabic, including the Aristotelian commentators such as Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Olympiodorus and Plato, and Plotinus and other Neoplatonists. He also brought out editions of the works of Islamic thinkers such as AL-KINDI, AL-FARABI, IBN RUSHD, IBN SINA, and others. In his *Histoire de la philosophie en Islam* (1972) and *Systèmes des Islamiques* (1971), he provided summaries of Islamic philosophy as a whole discipline. Finally, his work on modern continental philosophy, especially on German philosophy, did a great deal to introduce this important tradition into the Arabic cultural world.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

BADR AL-DIN, SHAYKH, *see* Bedreddin

AL-BAGHDADI, 'Abd al-Latif
(557–629/1162–1231)

'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi, Muwaffaq al-Din Abu Muhammad b. Yusuf, also called Ibn al-Labbad, a versatile scholar and scientist, was born in Baghdad in 557/1162, and died there in 629/1231. In Baghdad he studied grammar, law, and tradition (giving in his autobiography a vivid picture of contemporary methods of study), and was persuaded by a Maghribi wandering scholar to devote himself to philosophy, mainly according to the system of IBN SINA, and to natural science and alchemy.

In 585/1189–90, al-Baghdadi went to Mosul, where he studied the works of AL-SUHRAWARDI. The year after he went to Damascus, and then to the camp of Saladin outside Acre (587/1191), where he met Baha' al-Din b. Shaddad and 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, and acquired the patronage of the *qadi* al-Fadil. He then went to Cairo, where he met Maimonides and Abu'l-Qasim al-Shari'i, who introduced him to the works of AL-FARABI, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Themistius, which he claims turned him away from Ibn Sina and alchemy. In 588/1192 he met Saladin in Jerusalem, then went to Damascus and then returned to Cairo. After some years he went to Jerusalem and then, in 604/1207–8, again to Damascus. Later he went via Aleppo to Erzindhan, to the court of 'Ala' al-Din Da'ud. When the Seleucid Kayqubadh conquered Erzindhan, 'Abd al-Latif, after a journey to Erzerum, returned to Aleppo via Kamakh, Diwrigi, and Malatiya. Soon afterward he returned to his native Baghdad where he died.

His numerous writings covered almost the whole domain of the knowledge of the time. His notes are quoted by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a for information on personalities in Baghdad.

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AL-BAGHDADI, Abu Mansur ‘Abd al-Qahir b. Tahir (d. 429/1037–8)

Abu Mansur ‘Abd al-Qahir b. Tahir b. Muhammad al-Tamimi al-Baghdadi was born in Baghdad. His date of birth is unknown. His first teacher was his father, one of the leading scholars in Baghdad at that time. ‘Amr b. Said, Muhammad b. Jafar, and Abu Bakr b. ‘Adiyy were al-Baghdadi's other teachers. Al-Baghdadi later moved to Nishapur with his father and continued his study there. He met the well-known Ash‘ari theologian IBN FURAK there. After the Turkman revolt and later Saljuq invasion of Nishapur, he left Nishapur for Isfarain and attended Abu Ishaq's lectures there at ‘Uqayl Mosque. After the latter's death, al-Baghdadi took over his chair and kept teaching until his death in 429/1037–8.

Al-Baghdadi was a mathematician, Shafi‘ite jurist, and Ash‘arite theologian. He was said to have mastered seventeen different disciplines, including theology, law, jurisprudence, heresiography, literature, and mathematics. The leading scholars of Khurasan at that time, including Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri and Abu Bakr al-Bayhaki, were his pupils.

Al-Baghdadi played an important role in the spread of Ash‘arism in Nishapur and Isfarain. He defended Ash‘ari theology against the Karramis. He used metaphorical language in the explanation of the divine attributes. He produced thirty books in the fields of law, jurisprudence, theology, heresiography, and the law of inheritance. However, he is best known for two works, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq* (The Difference Between Erroneous Groups) and *Usul al-din* (The Roots of the Religion). *Usul al-din*, one of the best expositions of Ash‘ari theology in the eleventh century, is a systematic work on Islamic theology. In it, al-Baghdadi deals with the nature of knowledge, creation, how the creator is known, his attributes, and so on. He gives the views of the Muslim sects on each subject.

Al-Baghdadi's *al-Farq bayn al-firaq* is one of the most important works in Islamic heresiography. In it, he adopts a polemical tone. He treats the sects separately and judges them all from a Sunni point of view, and not surprisingly condemns all which deviate from that approach to Islam. In this book, al-Baghdadi operates with a definite theological agenda. His major concern is not to provide an objective history of sects, but rather to elaborate a normative classification of the sects in terms of their relationship to Sunni Islam, and a clearly Ash‘arite version of it. Al-Baghdadi based the classification of the sects on the well-known seventy-two sects *hadith* which reads that "the Jews are divided into seventy-one sects and the Christians into seventy-two, but my community will be divided into seventy-three sects." Like other heresiographers, al-Baghdadi adopted various stylistic devices to ensure that the number of heretical sects was exactly seventy-two. The book ends with an exposition of Sunni Islam.

Some of his other works are still in manuscript, including *Tafsir asma Allah al-husna* (The Exposition of the Ninety-Nine Names of Allah), *Ta'wil mutashabih al-akhbar* (The Explanation of Obscure Passages in the Qur'an), *Al-Nasih wa'l-mansukh* (Abrogative and Abrogated Verses), and *al-Takmila fi'l-hisab* (The Supplement to Arithmetic).

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I.H. İNAL

BAHMANYAR, Abu'l-Hasan

(d. 468/1067)

IBN SINA's most famous student Abu'l-Hasan Bahmanyar b. al-Marzuban was, according to the biographer al-Bayhaqi, originally a Zoroastrian from the Azarbaijan region. Bayhaqi also adds that Bahmanyar was not "talented in the language of the Arabs". Yet, the language of Bahmanyar's *Kitab al-Tahsil* (The Book of Reckoning) does not seem to justify this judgment. We know very little about his life other than the fact that he was a pupil and close friend of Ibn Sina. In al-*Mubahathat*, one of his last works, Ibn Sina refers to Bahmanyar several times as "like a son for me . . . and even dearer than a son." We also know from Ibn Sina's remarks that most of the questions which Ibn Sina answers in the *Mubahathat* were asked by Bahmanyar, who must have prepared his questions and later edited Ibn Sina's responses.

Bahmanyar's most important work, the *Kitab al-Tahsil*, is a voluminous exposition of the fundamental teachings of Ibn Sina. In the introduction, Bahmanyar states that the book is an explanation of his teacher's ideas based on "the conversations that took place between me and him [Ibn Sina], plus what I have acquired through my own thinking about the details [of Ibn Sina's teachings] that go hand in hand with the principles." The goal of philosophical sciences (*al-ʻulum al-hikamiyya*) is stated as knowledge of beings (*maʻrifat al-mawjudat*). All beings, Bahmanyar goes on to add, are either beings with a cause (*sabab*) or beings without a cause. The former refer to what Ibn Sina calls contingent beings (*mumkin al-wujud*), and the latter to the Necessary Being (*wajib al-wujud*). Bahmanyar posits the "being without a cause" as the "agent and *telos* of all [beings]".

Kitab al-Tahsil is divided into three parts or "books." The first part is devoted to logic and consists of three sections. Bahmanyar divides the first section of the book of logic into three sub-sections. The *Isagoge* deals with the definition and use of the science of logic, single and composite terms, demonstration, and the categories of genus and species. The *Categories* deals with univocal and equivocal terms in logic, predication, the categories of substance, quantity, quality, place, and position, and the concepts of prior and posterior in propositional logic. The *Peri Hermeneias* deals with such traditional topics of logic as the use of words, judgment, predication, and negation.

The second book of logic is devoted to analogical reasoning (*qiyas*). Bahmanyar discusses the types of analogy and divides it, *inter alia*, into complete (*kamil*) and incomplete (*ghayr kamil*). The third book of logic investigates demonstration (*burhan*) and other related subjects, including propositions, concept (*tasawwur*) and judgment (*tasdiq*), definition (*hadd*), and sophistry.

The second part or book of *al-Tahsil* is devoted to metaphysics (*ʻilm ma baʻd al-tabiʻa*) and consists of six sections. The first section defines the subject matter of metaphysics as being (*al-wujud*) and its various modalities. Like Aristotle and Ibn Sina before him, Bahmanyar uses the words "being" (*wujud*) and "existent" (*mawjud*) interchangeably when he says that "the subject matter of this science is the general principles of all things, and it is the existent-qua-existent, i.e., being." He goes on to say that the specific modalities of being are investigated in such sciences as mathematics and physics. While these sciences deal with being insofar as it is a number or a moving physical object, metaphysics deals with being-qua-being before and without breaking it down to its particular modalities. After this introduction, Bahmanyar discusses the major issues of Avicennan metaphysics, including the predication of being to individual entities through equivocality rather than univocality, division of being into necessary, contingent and impossible, the difference between "thing" (*shay'*) and being, substance and accident, hylomorphism or matter and form, and criticism of atomism. Bahmanyar's discussion of essence and existence appears to lend support to the idea of defining being as an accident of essence, an interpretation of Ibn Sina that became a matter of dispute among later Muslim philosophers and medieval scholastics.

The second section is devoted to a detailed analysis of ten Aristotelian categories. The third section, entitled "Priority and Posterity, Potentiality and Actuality," investigates individual entities as they relate to one another. Bahmanyar explains the order of being in terms of causal relations and as processes of actualization. The fourth section deals with several issues including perception (*idrak*) and mental existence. Continuing the tradition of Neoplatonic intellectualism, Bahmanyar begins with the proposition that the senses can perceive only physical objects whereas the intelligibles can be known through the intellect, thus establishing intellectual perception as the primary source of reliable knowledge. Other issues discussed include particular and universals and their epistemic status, multiplicity and individuation and the reason why God as a single being is not subject to multiplicity, the difference between genus as a category and matter, and the relation between differentia (*fasl*) and genus (*jins*).

The fifth section of the second book of *al-Tahsil* deals with causality. Here Bahmanyar discusses cause and effect, and defines all beings that have quiddity (*mahiyya*) as "caused" (*ma'lul*). The sixth section continues the question of unity and multiplicity but also contains short discussions about opposites, non-existence, and the incorruptibility of non-material substances.

The third part or book of *al-Tahsil* is called the "Knowledge of the States of the Essences of Beings," and it is further divided into two sections. The first section contains a relatively short discussion of theology. In this section, Bahmanyar takes up again the issue of God's absolute unity *vis-à-vis* the apparent multiplicity of the world. Other issues discussed include the impossibility of God's being a corporeal substance, the unity of intellect, intelligible, and intellection in God, the Ibn Sina doctrine that God intellects everything else by intellecting his own essence, that God knows things "in a simple [i.e., universal] manner," and finally God's names and qualities and their place in Ibn Sina's philosophical theology.

The second section of the third part or book of *al-Tahsil* is devoted to physics and cosmology. Bahmanyar discusses such concepts as nature, simple and composite objects, motion and its types, and generation and corruption. The next section carries the title of "the heaven and the cosmos" but goes beyond a mere discussion of astronomy. Among the issues addressed are the active intellects and their numbers, the goal of celestial movements, divine providence and the place of evil in it, the idea that this is the best of all possible worlds, and the eventual relativity of evil. The third section is physics and deals with the standard problems of Peripatetic physics.

The last section of the book contains Bahmanyar's discussion of the science of the soul (*'ilm al-nafs*). In fifteen sub-sections, Bahmanyar summarizes the traditional proofs for the existence of the soul and explains why the soul should be studied under physics. He then analyzes the faculties of the soul, including appetite and reproduction. The five senses and their place in sensation are also discussed. After a brief discussion of sight (*ibsar*), Bahmanyar turns to the intellect and its types. This is followed by an analysis of intellection, thinking, and the nature of intelligible substances. The last two issues discussed are the transmigration of souls and the immortality and final resurrection of the soul. Like other Peripatetic philosophers, Bahmanyar rejects transmigration, and presents ultimate happiness as grounded in spiritual and intellectual perfection rather than in bodily pleasures.

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IBRAHIM KALIN
MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

AL-BALKHI, Abu al-Qasim (al-Ka'bi)
(d. 319/931)

Head of the Baghdad Mu'tazila, Abu'l Qasim 'Abdullah b. Ahmad al-Balkhi al-Ka'bi came from Balkh and spent most of his life in Baghdad. He was introduced to Mu'tazilism by Abu'l Husayn al-Hayyat, and his views are often reported by writers on theology and philosophy. He is said to have founded his own theological school in Nasaf, and to have worked for Muhammad ibn Zayd, the Shi'ite ruler of Tabaristan. Like many Mu'tazilites, he argued that God has to create the best, and that his attributes are indistinguishable from his essence. By the time Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI left Rayy to debate with Mu'tazilites in Khwarazm and Transoxania in the last half of the sixth/twelfth century, he found nothing remaining of the ideas of al-Balkhi, which had been replaced by the Mu'tazilite school of Abu'l Husayn AL-BASRI.

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AL-BALKHI, Abu Zayd
(*c.* 235–322/849–934)

Abu Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhi spent most of his life in Iraq, but was born in Balkh and returned there at the end of his life. His father was a teacher in Sijistan, and the young al-Balkhi was a member of the Imamiyya sect, and it was to explore more of the theoretical basis of that sect that he traveled along the pilgrim route on foot to Baghdad. He was a pupil of AL-KINDI's disciple, Ahmad b. al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi (d. 286/899), and an important writer on a wide range of topics.

Al-Balkhi founded what came to be known as the Balkhi School of Geographers, and is known to have composed a text called *Suwar al-aqalim* which dealt with climates and areas of the world. One of the interesting features of maps of this school is that they are highly abstract and simplified, more diagrams than accurate representations of where places are in relation to each other. Yet we know that al-Balkhi would have had available to him the work by Ptolemy on longitude and latitude, because we know that al-Kindi had this text translated into Arabic for him, and other Muslim geographers from this period did use these concepts in their mapmaking. It seems that the Balkhi school were more interested in presenting the *masalik wa'l-mamalik* (routes and provinces, the name of one of the books of the Balkhi school) of the Islamic world in a way that facilitated their use by the reading public, as opposed to their more accurate presentation of places in proportion.

Apart from his work on geography, Abu Zayd wrote on medicine and a wide range of philosophical topics. In his writings on politics he takes a fairly realistic attitude, not paying particular attention to Islam but describing the state in general as though it could be assessed in entirely abstract terms. One of the distinctions which he makes much use of is that between different forms of motivation. The rulers should be encouraged to come to the right decisions, while those lower down the social scale need to be forced to act in the right sort of way. By "right" he has in mind what is in the interests of the community as a whole, and not necessarily some religious end of perfection. Al-Balkhi managed to combine a strict orthodoxy in religion with an enthusiasm for philosophy. The latter did get him into trouble occasionally, and he himself reports that various important people of the time declined to continue to support his work once some of this books with a philosophical bent emerged. He lived to be around eighty years old, and his religious works are no longer extant, but the praise for them by many authorities remains. A distinguished pupil was Ibn Farighun, whose *Kitab Jawami' al-'ulum*, or summaries of the sciences, presents a rather unique way of classifying the extant systems of knowledge in terms of their relationship to the Arabic language on the one hand, and to individual and social life on the other. As with all *adab* works, there is a fascination with presenting a total picture of culture and a retreat from any possible hint of specialization. Another of his important students was AL-'AMIRI.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-BANJARI, Muhammad Arshad
(1122–1233/1710–1818)

Muhammad Arshad bin Abdullah, better known as Shaykh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, was a renowned religious scholar of the eighteenth-century Malay world. He was born into a religious family in Banjarmasin, Kalimantan Borneo, Indonesia in 1122/1710. The nickname al-Banjari was attributed to his birthplace and his ethnic origin, Banjar. Not much is known about Muhammad Arshad's elementary education except that he was brought up and educated within his own family and at his birthplace of Banjarmasin. Apart from his outstanding ability in Qur'anic recitation, Muhammad Arshad is also said to have been a skilled artist. Impressed by his extraordinary abilities, Sultan Tahlilullah, who ruled Banjar from 1700 to 1734, adopted Muhammad Arshad and the latter began a new life in the sultan's palace. At the age of thirty, he was married to a local woman named Bajut or Tuan Bajut.

In 1739, Muhammad Arshad left Banjarmasin for Mecca on a full sponsorship from the sultan. He spent about thirty years in Mecca and Medina attending religious classes. While in Mecca he studied under several prominent *'ulama'*, including Shaykh Ata'ullah and Muhammad bin Sulayman al-Kurdi (a prominent Shafi'i scholar in Hijaz). He also had the opportunity to meet other students, including 'Abdul Samad of Palembang, Daud of FATANI, 'Abdul Wahab of Makasar, and 'Abdul Rahman of Betawi. These students later emerged as outstanding scholars in the Malay world. Like 'Abdul Samad al-Falimbani (Palembang), Muhammad Arshad was also exposed to Sufi teaching through Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdul Karim Samman al-Qadiri al-Khalwati al-Madani, the founder of the Tariqa Samaniyya (also known as Khalwatiyya). In fact he was commissioned, and he assumed the title of *khalifa*, the recognition that he could practise and was master of this Sufi order.

Apart from religious knowledge, Muhammad Arshad was also known to have had skill in astronomy. It was recorded that he visited several mosques in Indonesia and corrected the position of the *mihrab* (the direction of *ka'ba*), notably the mosques of Jambatan Lima, Luar Batang, and Pekoyan. Upon his return to Banjarmasin 1186/1772, Muhammad Arshad was appointed *qadi* by the sultan. He also established his religious school (in the same pattern of *pesantren* and *pondok*) at Dalam Pagar, a village outside Martapura, Banjarmasin.

Muhammad Arshad wrote several scholarly works, namely *Sabil al-muhtadin* (The Path of the Rightly Guided [People]), *Tuhfat al-raghibin* (Gift [to the] Desiring [People]), *Luqtat al-'ijlan fi bayan al-haid wa Istihada wa nifas al-niswan* (Quick Note on the Deliberation Regarding Women's Menstruation, Menstrual and Childbirth Blood), *Kitab Fara'id* (Book of Inheritance Law), *al-Qawl al-mukhtasar* (A Short Note), and others. Unfortunately, only some of these have survived. His book *al-Qawl al-mukhtasar fi 'alamat al-mahdi al-muntazar* (A Short Note on the Signs of the Awaited Mahdi), for example, contains discussions of the Islamic creed and mysticism (*tasawwuf*), while in *Luqtat al-'ijlan* (which is adapted from various Arabic books) he discusses women's menstrual blood and other related issues.

Muhammad Arshad's most important legacy is his *Sabil al-muhtadin*, published in two volumes with over six hundred pages, containing detailed discussion on various *fiqh* issues and religious practices. This book was written at the request of the sultan to be used as a textbook for religious students. This work later became one of the main sources of *fiqh* not only in Indonesia but also throughout the Malay world.

As a Shafi'i scholar, Muhammad Arshad's *fiqh* was very much influenced by his teacher Muhammad bin Sulayman al-Kurdi, especially in *Sabil al-muhtadin*. Like other

Muslim scholars in the region, Muhammad Arshad’s theological thought was very much of the Sunni school of the Ash‘ariyya. This line of thought can also be seen very obviously in his theology works such as *al-Qawl al-mukhtasar*. Muhammad Arshad died in 1227/1812 at the age of 108.

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ZAID AHMAD

AL-BANNA’, Hasan (1906–49)

Founder and general guide (al-murshid al ‘amm) of the Society of the Muslim Brothers (Jam‘iyyat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun), Hasan al-Banna’ was born in October 1906 in the village of Mahmudiyya, northwest of Cairo. He was assassinated by the secret police in the street outside the headquarters of the Young Men’s Muslim Association in Cairo on February 12, 1949.

Hasan al-Banna’ was the oldest son of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Banna’ al-Sa‘ati (1881–1958), a *ma’dhun* (authorized by a *qadi* to perform marriages), *imam*, and mosque teacher. Lacking certification in the Islamic sciences, he was sufficiently erudite to collaborate with Islamic scholars on several books on Islamic traditions (*hadith*), as well as complete all but two of twenty-four volumes of a subject-classification of Ahmad IBN HANBAL’s *Musnad*. A watchmaker by trade, Shaykh Ahmad al-Banna’s family was among the socio-economic elite of their village. But a move to Cairo in 1924 found them beset with the sort of financial insecurity symptomatic of the larger social and economic forces that swept through Egypt during the 1920s and 1930s.

Until the age of twelve, Hasan al-Banna’ attended the mosque school of Shaykh Muhammad Zahran, editor of the Islamic journal *al-Is‘ad*. After attending the Primary Teachers’ Training School at Damanhur, he completed his curriculum at Dar al-‘Ulum, thereby avoiding the more conservative and traditionalist orientation of hallowed al-Azhar University. Concurrent with his formal studies was the cultivation of a fondness for Sufism. Banna’ became a *murid* (initiated disciple) in the Hassafiyya order, attending weekly *hadra*, studying Sufi texts, and frequenting the tombs of its saints. Devotion to mysticism and the belief that Islam is “applicable to all times and places,” did not preclude equally ardent attention directed toward the political domain, as the Egyptian revolution of 1919 left an indelible impression on Banna' and other young men of his generation. Banna' established and participated in several Islamic reform societies that found fertile soil in the anti-imperialist—hence nationalist—climate of the 1920s. In particular, he played a formative role in the emergence of the Hassafi Welfare Society, a group that prefigured the Society of the Muslim Brothers.

In Cairo, Banna' visited the home of Muhammad Rashid RIDA (d. 1935). After Jamal ad-Din Asadabadi (AL-AFGHANI) (d. 1897) and Muhammad 'ABDU (d. 1905), Rida was an articulate exponent of one species of modernist Islamic reformism found within the Salafiyya (from *al-salaf al-salih,* the virtuous forefathers, or earliest generations of Muslims) movement. In 1939 Banna' acquired the right to renew publication of Rida's periodical, *al-Manar* (The Lighthouse). Banna' also made acquaintance with the founding members of the Young Men's Muslim Association (*Jam'iyyat Makarim al-Akhlaq al-Islamiyya*), men with impeccable religious and nationalist/anti-imperialist credentials who were quick to appreciate Banna's oratorical talents, organizational acumen, and energetic leadership skills. He benefited in myriad ways from their patronage, not the least of which was the publication of his articles in the Islamic journal *Majallat al-Fath* (The Conquest).

In the beginning, Banna's call for Islamic reform and renewal to counter the humiliation and bondage of British military occupation and foreign economic penetration focused on the need for moral and spiritual awakening, or "the purification of souls and moral rectification." He alerted his countrymen the dangers of blindly emulating all things Western but was shrewd enough not to dismiss Western modernity *in toto*: "we need to drink from the springs of foreign culture to extract what is indispensable for our renaissance" (quoted in Lia 1998: 78). Banna's preaching campaigns—in the idiom of the "Islamic call" (*da'wa*)—took place not only at the mosque (what he termed "the people's university"), but also in the spaces of civil society occupied by the lower and middle classes and thus not smothered by the state nor dominated by the exigencies of the urban marketplace: coffeeshops, but also clubs, weddings, and funerals, for example, were suitable forums for these campaigns.

The Society of the Muslim Brothers was established on Dhu'l-Qadah 1347/March 1928 in Ismailia where, a year earlier, Banna' was posted to teach at a primary school. Accounts differ as to the degree of continuity with the Hassafi Welfare Society and the founding role of his lifelong friend and later second-in-command, Ahmad Effendi al-Sukkari. All the same, Hasan al-Banna' was clearly, if not by consensual acclaim, the undisputed leader of the Society. Banna' adopted and adapted Sufi pedagogical practices, including its oath of allegiance (*baya*), weekly meetings, and the chanting of hymns. By the 1940s, however, younger members (those whom Banna' often admonished as "hasty and anxious") had purged all vestiges of Sufism from the Muslim Brothers. The Cairo branch of the Society opened in 1931 and Banna' was able to obtain a transfer to the 'Abbas Primary School the following year. These events, in turn, facilitated the move of the Society's headquarters to Cairo by the end of 1932. By the mid-1930s the Muslim Brothers were the largest Islamic movement in Egypt, and by 1945 the Society could claim about half a million members. Banna' deliberately nurtured a social movement base from the lower classes, sensitive to the socio-economic injustice that plagued Egyptian society.

Banna' ambitiously characterized the Muslim Brothers as "a Salafiyyah message, a Sunni way, a Sufi truth, a political organization, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural link, an economic enterprise and a social idea" (Enayat 1982: 85). He now attempted to combine the early inward, educational focus of the Society with a social, political, and economic program that evidenced the comprehensive nature of a somewhat vague but no less desirable "Islamic order" (*al-nizam al-islami*). Banna' was not a systematic political theorist nor profound political thinker but the Society did engage in concrete educational and welfare endeavors in lieu of participation in party or parliamentary politics. The Muslim Brothers built mosques, set up boys' and girls' schools, formed clubs, started small home industries, published newspapers, disseminated public health knowledge, brought medical care to the countryside (the Brothers often set the example, cleaning up unsanitary conditions in both rural and urban settings), opened clinics and dispensaries, and in short, put their moral values and political ideals into practice in a manner that encouraged collective self-reliance and a spirit of independence, not unlike what Mahatma Gandhi envisioned during this same period on Indian soil with the conceptions of *sarvodaya* (social good, public interest) and *swadeshi* (self-sufficiency, self-reliance; patriotism).

Unfortunately, Banna's charismatic leadership was part benevolent paternalism and part authoritarian guidance, as the organizational structure and decision-making methods and procedures of the Society were highly centralized and hardly democratic. Indeed, one suspects Banna' did not possess a sophisticated grasp of either democratic theory or practice. His notion of "constitutional consultative rule" for instance, seems only nominally democratic, and his dislike of party (read "parliamentary") politics, while understandable in the Egyptian setting, is disconcerting to the would-be democrat.

Banna' also permitted the formation of a secret military wing of the Society. In 1938 he explicitly sanctioned developments that had been taking place as far back as 1933, affirming that the Muslim Brothers were moving from "propaganda alone to propaganda by struggle and action" (quoted in Lia 1998: 251). Armed units of the Special Section of the Society took part in the 1926–9 Arab revolt in Palestine and the Arab-Israeli war of 1948–9. Some elements of the military wing were also responsible for periodic acts of political violence from 1945 to 1949. Yet the Society did not condone terrorism, nor did it attempt to destabilize the government or achieve revolutionary regime change. Sometimes members of the Society acted alone in committing acts of violence, indissolubly linking their deeds with the Muslim Brothers, in spite of repeated public disavowals from Banna' and others in the highest echelons of the movement. To be sure, the government's intransigence and refusal to integrate the Society into the political system only served to radicalize the Muslim Brothers, making the option for violence far more palatable than it might otherwise have been.

As formulated by Banna', the ideology of the Muslim Brothers critiqued (1) the crass materialism of Western civilization insofar as it idolized money, power, and secularism (i.e., the antithesis of the Arnoldian culture of "sweetness and light"); (2) British colonialism and economic imperialism; and (3) the traditionalist scripturalism of the Egyptian *"ulama."* Toward these ends, Banna' sought to carefully combine Egyptian patriotism, pan-Arabism, and "Islamic order." The vehicle for this ideology utilized the latest technological methods and means of modern mass communication and propaganda.

Banna' was briefly jailed in 1941 and was for a time transferred (exiled) by the Ministry of Education from Cairo to Qena in Upper Egypt. The World War II compelled the Society to make a number of compromises with the government (and the British), although this afforded the movement considerable organizational freedom and opportunity for growth.

Banna's assassination in 1949 resulted in the further fracturing of existing tendencies and differences within the Society, as the movement splintered into several distinct political directions, all of which persist to this day. The Ikhwan, or some variation thereof (like-minded Islamist groups and parties), remains a formidable force in Egyptian politics and, indeed, throughout the Islamic world, but especially in Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria, and Pakistan.

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AL-BASRI, Abu'l Husayn (d. 436/1044)

Muhammad b. 'Ali Abu'l Husayn al-Basri was born in Basra, and died in Baghdad on 5 Rabi al-Akhir 436/October 30, 1044. He was a Mu'tazilite theologian and an important Hanafite jurist.

There is not much information about his life. He spent most of his life in Baghdad where he first received his education and then pursued his scholarly activities for the rest of his life. There, Abu'l Husayn studied *hadith* with Tahir b. Labu'a, then became a student of Qadi 'ABD AL-JABBAR, (d. 415/1025) who was one of the last great thinkers of the Mu'tazilite school. As a result, he became a leading representative of the Basran school of the Mu'tazila. However, he was not a blind follower of the views of his teachers. On many issues, he held a different position from the earlier representatives of the school. His interest in philosophy seems to be the main reason for him taking this kind of independent line. According to one report, Abu'l Husayn studied philosophy with Christian philosophers such as Yahya b. 'Adi and Ibn al-Samh. He also taught a number of students, among whom Mahmud b. Muhammad al-Malahimi and Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Karkhi are worth mentioning here. The theological views of Abu'l Husayn were mainly transmitted by these students.

In theology, Abu'l Husayn mainly followed the Basran school. However, he differed from the leading members of the school on a number of issues. Against the mainstream view of the school, Abu'l Husayn held that no distinction can be made between essence and existence. In other word, essence and existence are the same. As a result of this, non-existence cannot be considered as something. Abu'l Husayn also rejected Abu Hashim's understanding of God's attributes. He rejected Abu Hashim's theory of state (*hal*). For him, God differs from other essences not by virtue of a state belonging to his essence but by virtue of his essence itself. Abu'l Husayn considered attributes of God as characteristics (*hukm*) that belong to God's essence. Hence, to say that God is powerful, for example, means that God possesses the capability of acting as an intrinsic fact of his essence.

Although Abu'l Husayn produced a number of works on theology and jurisprudence, only the works of jurisprudence have come down to us. His *Al-Mu'tamad fi usul al-fiqh* (Authority in Jurisprudence) is the first work on jurisprudence that was written according to the methodology of the theologians. In its introduction, Abu'l Husayn states that when commenting on the *Kitab al-Umad*, he followed its content and methodology. Later he realized that a number of topics were discussed repeatedly in the work, some of which were not related directly to jurisprudence. For this reason, he decided to write a systematic work which avoids repetitions and which does not include issues that have no direct relation with jurisprudence. His purpose in the work is to explore jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*). Hence, he starts with the definition of *usul* and *fiqh*, then he gives his definition of *usul al-fiqh*. This is followed by the presentation of his classification of the main issues of jurisprudence. He begins with the discussion of different forms of terms (*kalam*) such as real and allegoric meanings (*haqiqa* and *majaz*), univocal and equivocal words (*mufrad* and *mushtarak*), and goes on to the discussion of the command (*amr*), proscription (*nahy*), general and particular (*umum* and *khusus*), ambiguous (*mujmal*) and explicit (*mubayyan*), division of the actions of the responsible agent, and abrogation (*naskh*). This is followed by a discussion of consensus (*ijma'*), true reports, analogy, and the methodology of reasoning. He closes the work with a discussion of the issues related to muftis.

In the *Ziyadat al-mu'tamad* (Supplement to the Mu'tamad), Abu'l Husayn discusses again the issues of command, proscription, and abrogation. In the *Kitab al-Qiyas al-shar'i* (Book of Religious Analogy), he discusses analogy in more detail. His *Sharh al-umad* (Commentary on the Umad) is a commentary on the work of Qadi 'Abd al-Jabbar.

Abu'l Husayn was one of the last significant theologians of the Mu'tazilite school, and he influenced the theological views of the following generation of both Sunni and Shi'ite theologians. However, he was more influential in the field of jurisprudence. His new methodology in jurisprudence became a model for both the Hanafite and Shafi'ite jurists of the following generations.

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MUAMMER İSKENDEROĞLU

BEDREDDIN, Şeyh (1358–1416/759–819)

The influential Ottoman scholar, Sufi, and rebel, Badr al-Din Mahmud b. Qadi Samawna, known as Shaykh Badr al-Din (Şeyh Bedreddin in Turkish), was born in the town of Samawna (Simavna). He received his first education from his father, who was also a religious scholar. He studied in Bursa and Konya. He traveled to Cairo, Mecca, and Jerusalem. In Cairo, the Mamluk ruler appointed him as tutor to his son. It was in Cairo that Bedreddin met the Sufi *shaykh* Husayn Akhlati and, despite his earlier opposition to Sufism, became his disciple.

He traveled to Tabriz in 1402 where he met the famous ruler Timur. After spending some more time in Cairo, he went to Anatolia where he began to emerge as a controversial Sufi teacher and social activist. In Samawna, Bedreddin lived a solitary life of asceticism for seven years. Akşemseddin, Mehmet II the Conqueror's teacher, is said to have been among Bedreddin's students.

While in Edirne, he was appointed as a *qadi* by Musa Çelebi, one of the claimants to the Ottoman throne. Upon the victory of Sultan Mehmed I in 1413, however, he was deposed from his position and sent to Iznik. It was here that Bedreddin became openly the leader of a revolutionary movement against the Ottomans. His two friends and/or disciples Torlak Kemal and Börklüce Mustafa carried out a rebellion in 1416. The sources are inconclusive as to whether Bedreddin himself was actually involved in the revolt. His radical and non-conformist ideas, however, appear to have supported such a political movement. After the suppression of the 1416 rebellion, Bedreddin was executed as a traitor and instigator of violence.

Bedreddin was a revolutionary figure in both the intellectual and political senses of the term. He preached a daring form of mystical pantheism, and based it on IBN AL-'ARABI's notion of the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*). His charismatic personality and claim to exclusive esotericism must have played a role in his ability to attract many followers. He is said to have been respected as a religious figure even by some Christians. But Bedreddin was also an advocate of social justice and equality, to the extent that he is said to have preached a proto-communism by urging his followers to share everything except their wives.

His dramatic execution by the Ottomans has made Bedreddin a martyr in the eyes of his followers since the fifteenth century. Although he is portrayed as a heretical and incendiary figure in the mainstream Ottoman sources, he is held in high esteem in the Bektashi-Alawi tradition. Contemporary historians agree that his execution was political rather than religious. According to some sources, including a work by Bedreddin's son Halil b. Ismail, a scholar with the name of Mevlana Haydar-i Herevi was appointed to try Bedreddin for his alleged heresies. After examining Bedreddin and witnessing his in-depth knowledge of Islam, Herevi argued against the religious edict (*fatwa*) for the killing of Bedreddin. But Fakhr al-Din al 'Ajami, one of Bedreddin's old friends who had turned against him, finally approved the edict requested by the sultan.

In spite of his active and somewhat tumultuous life, Bedreddin was a productive scholar and wrote close to fifty works in different fields of scholarship. His *Jami' al-fusulayn* (That which Combines Two Chapters) is a work on Islamic law and has been widely used by traditional jurists. His other works in the field of law are *Lata'if al-isharat* (The Subtleties of Allusions) and *Kitab al-Tashil*. Bedreddin also wrote two works on Arabic grammar entitled *'Uqud al-jawahir* (The Knots of Substances) and *Charag al-futuh* (The Niche of Spiritual Conquests). *Al-Waridat* (Intuitive Revelations), Bedreddin's most important work on Sufism, contains his teachings on the unity of being and his mystical theology of the universe as a manifestation of God's names and qualities.

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BIRGIVI, Takiyuddin Mehmet

(928–81/1522–73)

The famous Turkish scholar and Sufi Takiyuddin Mehmed b. Pir Ali b. Iskandar al-Rumi al- Birgivi was born in Balıkesir. After completing his early education in his hometown, he went to Istanbul where he studied with the famous scholars of the time. He memorized the Qur'an, learned Arabic, and studied *hadith*, Qur'anic commentary, logic, and other traditional sciences. He taught at several schools in Istanbul. After holding several government posts in Aleppo and Edirne, he withdrew himself from public life and taught at a *madrasa* in Birgi near present-day Izmir, whence comes his title "Birgivi" or "Birgili." He was initiated by Abdullah Karamani into the Bayramiyyah Sufi order. He lived in Birgi and trained many students. He died of plague while on a journey to Istanbul.

Birgivi left several works. His two books on the Arabic grammar, *Izhar* (Making Manifest) and *'Awamil* (Factors), have been widely used in the Ottoman *madrasas* to teach Arabic. Traditional teachers still use these works in present-day Turkey. His other grammatical works include *Imtihan al-azkiya* (Examination of the Clever Ones), which is a commentary on Qadi Baydawi's *Lubb al-albab fi 'ilm al-i'rab* (Core of the Cores in the Science of Deflection), and *Kifayat al-mubtadi* (That Which is Sufficient for the Novice), another work on Arabic sentence structure.

Birgivi's most important works, however, are in the field of ethics and theology. Following the example of IBN TAYMIYYA (d. 1328), Birgivi fought against what he considered to be religious innovations (*bid'a*) practised or accepted by the *'ulama'* and ordinary people. He argued against accepting money for teaching the Qur'an, lighting candles at the tombs of saints, and listening to music other than that used by the Janissary army in times of war. His unrelenting character won him many foes. Among these, the most famous is the *qadi* Bilal-zadeh. The *shaykh* al-Islam EBUSSUD EFENDI was forced to issue a *fatwa* against Birgivi's bold reform attempts. In turn, Birgivi did not shy away from criticizing Ebussud Efendi, probably the most powerful religious figure of the time.

Birgivi's struggle and teachings inspired a powerful anti-Sufi revolt in the seventeenth century known as the Kadızade movement, led by Kadızade Mehmet Efendi and Vani Mehmet Efendi. Kadızade based his puritanical revolt against the Sufis on the writings of Birgivi, and wrote a commentary on his *Vasiyet-name*.

Birgivi's two principal works are *Tarikat-ı Muhammediye* (The Muhammadan Path) and *Vasiyet-name* (The Will). The *Tarikat*, written in Arabic, deals with various religious, ethical, legal, and theological issues. The book has the stamp of Birgivi's semi-puritanical and reformist character. Several commentaries have been written on the *Tarikat*, among which we can mention *al-Barakat al-mahmudiyya fi sharh al-tarikat al-muhammadiyya* (The Mahmudian Blessings in the Commentary on the Tariqat al-muhammadiyya) by Abu Said Muhammed b. Mustafa b. Osman Hadimi (d. 1176/1762) and *al-Hadiqat al-hadiyya sharh tariqat al-muhammadiyya* (The Garden of Guidance, Commentary on Tariqat al-muhammadiyya) by ʻAbd al-Ghani AL-NABULUSI. The book had a wide circulation in the Ottoman lands as well as in Central Asia and India. Since the seventeenth century, it has been a major source and inspiration for the Salafi reform movement.

Birgivi's most famous and popular book, *Vasiyet-name*, is a manual of various theological and ethical issues written from Birgivi's Salafi and semi-reformist point of view. The issues discussed in the book include God's names and qualities, angels, revealed books, prophets, faith, miracles, the night journey of the Prophet (*miʻraj*), the miracles of saints (*karamat*), signs of the doomsday (*qiyama*), Heaven and Hell, sin and its kinds, repentance, praying, schools of law (*madhhab*), ethics, and ritual prayers and their importance for religious life. Birgivi's primary goal in the *Vasiyet-name*, which is written in simple and clear Turkish, was to compose a simple yet concise manual of ethics, law, and theology for ordinary people. The book continues to be read widely in Turkey today.

His other works include *Jila' al-qulub* (The Polishing of the Hearts), a book of religious sermons; *Inqaz al-halikin* (The Salvation of the Perished), a severe criticism of the practice of teaching the Qur'an for money; *Zuhr al-muta'allihin wa'l-nisa'* (The Flower of the God-like Ones and Women), a treatise and catechism for women; *al-Risala fi usul al-hadith* (Treatise on the Principles of Hadith), a short treatise on the terms used in the science of *hadith*; *Sharh ahadith al-arbaʻin* (Commentary on Forty Hadiths), a selection of and commentary on forty Prophetic traditions; and *Tafsir surat al-baqara* (Commentary on the Chapter al-Baqarah), an incomplete commentary on the first two chapters of the Qur'an.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-BIRUNI, Abu Raihan Muhammad

(362–440 or 453/973–1048 or 1061)

Abu Raihan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Kharezmi al-Biruni was born in Kath (modern Khiwa), the capital of Kharezm, a region south of the Aral Sea that is now known as Uzbekistan but was then part of the Persian Empire, on 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 362/September 4, 973. He died in Ghazna, now Ghazni in Afghanistan, in either 440/1048 or 453/1061. He was a scientist and versatile scholar who wrote over a hundred books and treatises on various subjects, including astronomy, mathematics, physics, medicine, history, genealogy, geography, philosophy, and astrology.

Although there is a general tendency to attribute al-Biruni's origins to either an Arab or a Persian family, we do not have any firm information on his ethnic origin and hardly any about his parents. Al-Biruni himself frequently talked about his personal and intellectual life in his works, and seems to have deliberately avoided writing about his origin. However, as he himself identified his mother tongue as different from both Arabic and Persian and also regretfully indicated that it was not a language of science either, one can be sure that he was ethnically neither Arab nor Persian. In addition to this we have some evidence that from a young age he used to speak Turkish and had been acquainted with Turks. Indeed he mentions in one of his works an old Turkmen visitor to the royal family that he knew when he was a child. Moreover, he is known to have often used in his Arabic writings some Turkish words with a Pechenek accent. It is also known that he conducted his early observations of space in areas inhabited by Turks. Also, the name al-Biruni, meaning "outsider" in Persian, which was used for those coming from outside the city of Kath or even maybe Kharezm, proves consistent with al-Biruni's own statement that he was not one of the "natives of Kharezm." Perhaps this is why, to distinguish him from a famous AL-KHWARIZMI, the Arab mathematician and astronomer, he was called al-Biruni instead of AL-KHWARIZMI. As for the attempt to relate the origin of the name al-Biruni to a place located in India, it did not find much support among the historians, for neither al-Biruni himself nor Yaqut al-Hamawi, a celebrated Muslim geographer, mention such a place in their works (*Tahqiq ma li'l-hind* (The Book of India) and *Mujam al-buldan*, respectively). Although it is hard to determine al-Biruni's ethnic origin with certainty, in the light of the evidence it seems probable that he had Turkish parents, who migrated to Kath from another city or another country.

Al-Biruni lived in a brilliant epoch of Muslim literary, philosophical, and scientific advances and was a contemporary of IBN SINA (Avicenna), the famous Muslim physician, philosopher, and mathematician with whom he corresponded on the subjects of physics and astronomy. Al-Biruni was gifted with an outstanding ability to learn, and was distinguished by an enormous ambition and interest in science from an early age. This must have not gone unnoticed, for he soon won patronage at court and was first educated in mathematics and astronomy by Abu Nasr Mansur b. 'Ali b. 'Irak, a Muslim mathematician who also happened to belong to the royal family of the Kharzemshahs. Apart from Amir Abu Nasr, al-Biruni was also taught by 'Abd al-Samed b. 'Abd al-Samed al-Hakim, though not for long for he soon became his own teacher. He made his first observations of space when he was only seventeen. By the age of twenty-one he had already prepared a table of observations and measurements and had invented an astronomical circle.

Al-Biruni began his scientific observations and research in Kath, but then moved to Rayy after a political change in Kharezm. He then returned to Kharezm in 387/997 to restart his observations. One year later, al-Biruni won the patronage of Kabus b. Washmgir in Jurjan, to whom he dedicated his *al-Athar al-baqiya* (The Surviving Works from the Ancient Times). In 400/1009 al-Biruni moved back to Kharezm again following an invitation from Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. Ma'mun, and lived there for seven years not only to further his scientific discoveries and learn new languages such as Syriac and Greek, but also to serve as a special consultant to 'Ali b. Ma'mun in administrative matters. In 407/1017 when Kharezm was captured by the Ghaznawis, al-Biruni and his two teachers were among the scholars that Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi took with him to Ghazni. At first, life in Ghazni was difficult for al-Biruni. This was due mainly to his having been under surveillance in a castle for some time, and also to the existence of a radical circle in Ghazni with suspicious and even hostile attitudes toward scholars; this group was responsible for the killing of 'Abd al-Samed, a teacher of al-Biruni.

However, al-Biruni not only overcame these difficulties through his scholarly standing and his patience but soon managed to have a close relationship with Sultan Mahmud, who strongly supported him in his scientific discoveries. Al-Biruni's increasing interest in India and Indian culture was the result of this period when Sultan Mahmud conquered a large part of the Indus valley between 1002 and 1026. In his journeys to India, al-Biruni also learned Sanskrit and translated some Sanskrit works into Arabic, and in turn taught Greek philosophy to Indians. Although al-Biruni was not the first Muslim scholar to be in contact with India, he might be considered to be the first Indologist due to his great contributions to understanding Indian culture, religion, and geography. During the reign of Mas'ud and later that of Mawdud, two successors of Sultan Mahmud, al-Biruni carried on his academic studies as well as his service at the court as a scientific consultant. Al-Biruni traveled to many places including Mesopotamia, Persia, India, and the Arab peninsula and died in Ghazni, which he had called his "second homeland."

The most celebrated work of al-Biruni is *al-Athar al-baqiya* (390/1000) in which he discusses various calendars and systems of counting time and determining festivals as adopted by different cultures. In *Kitab al-Tahqiq ma li'l-hind* (421/1030), a masterpiece in the area of the history of religions, al-Biruni gives first-hand information on Indian civilization by discussing religious and philosophical ideas, various beliefs, rules, and rituals, and also by engaging in disciplines such as chronology, astronomy, and meteorology. Some of al-Biruni's other significant works include *Tahdid nihayat al-amakin* (Determination of the Limits of Places) (416/1025), considered to be a fundamental text for a new discipline that is today called geodesy; *al-Tafhim li awa'il sina'at al tanjim* (The Book of Instructions in the Elements of the Art of Astrology) (420/1029), an introductory work to astronomical disciplines; *al-Qanun al-mas'udi* (The Book of Principles of Astronomy for Mas'udi) (421/1030), another astronomical-astrological work, which he dedicated to Sultan Mas'ud; *Kitab al-Jamahir* (The Book of Multitudes) (441/1049), an eclectic book dealing with many issues such as psychology, physiology, sociology, medicine, mineralogy, physics, chemistry, history, ethics, law, and so on, and a medical-pharmacological work titled *Kitab al-Saydana* (Book on Pharmacy) (442/1050).

Al-Biruni was an unparalleled figure with his passion for research, observation, and discovery in both natural and social sciences, his ability to study and reconstruct the scientific and philosophical disciplines of his time, and his originality and objectivity in his writings. Indeed, all these qualities justly won him the titles such as "the greatest scientist of Islam" and "one of the greatest of all times."

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

BISHR IBN AL-MU'TAMIR, Abu Sahl
(d. 210/825)

Abu Sahl Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir al-Hilali was born in either Baghdad or al-Kufa or al-Basra. The date of his birth is unknown but he died at an advanced age in the year 210/825. He was the leader and founder of the Baghdadi Mu'tazilites. The details of his life are not reported, but it is certain that he studied in Basra, probably in the same school as Abu al-Hudhayl, the leader of the Basra Mu'tazilites. Later he moved to Baghdad where he worked as a slave merchant. Bishr was a Zaydite with especial concern for mission work; one source says that he promised to convert two persons to Islam every day. He also was very conscious of the importance of *jihad*, the expansion of and fight for Islam, and it seems that he provided stipends for those who were active in this. Although Bishr was not absolutely original in his theology, he is considered to be the godfather of the Baghdadi Mu'tazilites because he supported and collected together all the Mu'tazilite students of Baghdad and established the principles of the school.

Bishr seems to have been an active writer. Ibn al-Nadim attributes to him twenty-four titles, many of which seem to be polemics against other sects or critiques of Mu'tazilite colleagues such as AL-ASAMM, AL-NAZZAM, and his rival AL-HUDHAYL. Many of his works are written in the form of poems which were written with the intention of making his works popular in Baghdad and in order to give good linguistic support to his polemic works. Two of his long poems have survived in JAHIZ's *Kitab al-Hayawan*, but the remaining works survive only as fragments in some Mu'tazilite sources such as the *al-Intisar* of al-Khayat and the *al-Mughni* of 'ABD AL-JABBAR.

Of particular significance among Bishr's theological writings is his theory of *tawallud*, which analyzes the consequences of human acts. It is possible, however, that other earlier Mu'tazilites talked about this theory, as Van Ess (1991) maintains, because Abu al-Hudhayl, Bishr's contemporary, also used the word *tawallud*. This theory states that human acts generate a series of further acts which all belong to the one who intentionally initiated the first act. This means that humans are not only responsible for their acts but also for what their acts generate. Although this theory is mainly connected to the Greek theory of cause and effect, Bishr here is mainly concerned with the intended kind of acts which are performed according to a will. This theory sets a logical basis for their belief in the freedom of the human will. Bishr, however, is distinguished from most Mu'tazilites by considering that the human will is fully independent of God's will and works within its own merits. It seems that this concept made him unpopular among the Mu'tazilites and some accused him of unbelief mainly because he declared that God cannot influence the human will. This concept seems to have been formed out of a desire to avoid attributing any evil to God through the possibility that he might influence evil human acts. In contrast to many Mu'tazilites, however, Bishr neither considered that God must act for the best *vis-à-vis* His creations *fi'l al-aslah*, nor that he was obliged to assist them. Divine assistance is pure grace.

As the founder of the Baghdadi school of Mu'tazilites, Bishr established the practice of using many Mu'tazilite concepts but building one's own theology upon them, a concept which is clearly shared by many of the Baghdadi Mu'tazilite scholars after him.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

AL-BISTAMI, Abu Yazid

(161–234/777–848)

Abu Yazid Tayfur b.'Isa b. Sharushan al-Bistami was a controversial Sufi figure of early times, renowned for his *shatahat* (unorthodox utterances) like "Praise be to Me, how great is My Majesty!" Since no works are ascribed to al-Bistami, very little is known about his life. The information available is derived from stories found in secondary sources. As a result, there are conflicting reports about the details of his life. Most of the information about al-Bistami comes from *Kitab al-Nur* (Book of Light) by Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sahlagi, also a native of Bistam and a follower of Bistami tradition.

Al-Bistami was a native of Bistam, Khorasan, in what is today northeastern Iran. His grandfather was a Magian religious scholar who converted to Islam. His father, 'Isa, was known to be a devout Muslim, who had two daughters and three sons. His two brothers, both the older, Adam, and the other younger, 'Ali, were also known for their strict religiosity. Adam's son Abu Musa was one of the best and closest disciples and servants of al-Bistami, with whom he shared many religious secrets. Thus it is no surprise that many of the legends about al-Bistami have been transmitted by Abu Musa. His tomb in Bistam has always been an important pilgrimage place for many. Al-Sahlagi's suggested date for his death on 234/848 is regarded as the most feasible when compared with the other possibilities.

According to some records, al-Bistami decided to take up the Sufi way of life and left his native Bistam at the age of ten. He drifted for thirty years from place to place, learning and practicing the Sufi way until his return home at the age of forty. The age forty has a metaphorical meaning, referring to the prophetic call of Muhammad at the same age. In Bistam, he started teaching the people gathered around him. However, in another story, he neither approved of nor recommended travel to gain knowledge and experience. In fact, he is known to be one of the Sufis who performed *hajj* (Muslim pilgrimage) only once in a lifetime. This was when he was exiled due to his extreme statements. His master or teacher was a lesser-known Sufi called Abu 'Ali al-Sindi, from whom al-Bistami learned *tawhid* (the oneness of God) and *fana* (annihilation). Al-Bistami claimed to have been given gnostic knowledge direct from God.

Al-Bistami is reported to have had contacts with important Sufi masters, such as Dhu al-Nun al-Misri, Shaqiq al-Balkhi, Yahya b. Mu'adh al-Razi, and Abu Musa al-Daybuli. Among his disciples and caliphs were Ibrahim al-Harawi, Hasan b. 'Alawiyya, Musa b. 'Isa, and Tayfur b. 'Isa (known as Abu Yazid Junior).

In addition to his *shatahat* (paradoxical sayings), systematically speaking, al-Bistami is considered to have for the first time formulated the doctrine of *fana'* (annihilation), likened the Sufi journey to the Prophet's *mi'raj* (the Heavenly night journey) and possibly led the way to the pantheist (*wahdat wujud*) or panentheist (*wahdat shuhud*) interpretations in Sufism. He insisted on self-denial so powerfully that during the states of mystical trances he uttered *shatahat* like "Praise be to Me, how great is My Majesty!" and "There is nothing in this robe I am wearing except Allah", "My banner is better than Muhammad's," just to quote a few. Muslim scholars, including IBN TAYMIYYA, often accepted that these were declared in a state of intoxication (*sakr*) and tried to interpret them within the boundaries of orthodoxy. However, not everyone had the same good will toward him. Conservative theologians and jurists showed strong opposition to his unusual utterances, and even exiled him from Bistam for some time. Among Sufis, too, al-Junayd al-Baghdadi not only rejected al-Bistami's claims and his mystical path, leaning so heavily on intoxication (*sakr*), but developed against it an alternative way of sobriety (*sahw*). Unlike al-Bistami's assertion, al-Baghdadi believes that the most important thing in unification is not *fana* (annihilation) but *baqa*, keeping the newly found life in God. Hence even after unification, a Sufi must involve himself in worldly affairs and act as a guide to the community.

Another expression of al-Bistami's emphasis on self-denial which is taken as the proclamation of *wahdat wujud* is *hama ost* (everything is he). But it is unlikely that he himself was part of the pantheist group, since the movement was unknown in al-Bistami's time in the Islamic world. The later Sufis, such as IBN AL-'ARABI, who have portrayed him as a pantheist have caused such misunderstanding. From the evidence he can at most be a panentheist (*wahdat shuhud*). However, al-Bistami opened new horizons for Sufism by providing it with new concepts, images, and metaphors. He will undoubtedly remain one the most significant figures in Sufism.

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RIFAT ATAY

BOSNEVI, Abdullah
(992–1054)/1584–1644)

Abdullah Bosnevi was born in Bosnia in 992/1584. He began his education in Bosnia, but completed it in Istanbul. Then he moved to Bursa, which was then a center of Islamic scholarship and entered the Sufi circle of Hasan Kabaduz. He became the leading representative of the Bayrami Malami order. He followed the spiritual leadership of al-Shaykh 'Abdul Majid Halveti. During this period of his life, he went to Egypt and then to Mecca on pilgrimage. As a scholar and a Malami Sufi, he received great respect and consequently played a role in spreading the Malami order wherever he traveled. While returning from Mecca, he visited the shrine of IBN AL 'ARABI in Damascus and settled there, living an ascetic life for a time. After that he moved to Konya, where he remained until the end of his life. He died in Konya in 1054/1644, and was buried beside Sadr al-Din AL-QUNAWI.

Abdullah Bosnevi wrote an important commentary (*sharh*) and translation of the *Fusus al-hikam* of Ibn al-'Arabi. From this, he became known as the expert on the *Fusus* in the Islamic world. Katip ÇELEBI and other Ottoman scholars mentioned Abdullah

Bosnevi and his commentary of *Fusus* with respect. His only significant work is this commentary on *Fusus al-hikam*, which was entitled *Tajalliyat 'ara'isi'n-nüsus fi manassati hikemi'l-Fusus*. This book was published in Bulak in 1252/1836, and then in Istanbul in 1290/1870. In this work, Bosnevi deals with the issues of *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of being) in twelve chapters and examines various concepts such as *hatmi walayat* (the seal of sainthood), *ghaybı mutlaq* (absolutely unseen), *nubuwwat* (prophethood), *walayat* (sainthood), *'ilmi zahir* (exoteric knowledge), *'ilmi batın* (esoteric knowledge), and *muhabbat* (love). He wrote his commentary in Turkish since he believed that this would be more useful and more appropriate than a work in Arabic. In this book, he also suggests that the Sufis who could not attain spiritual perfection and those who preached in mosques should not read his commentary.

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ADNAN ASLAN

BOSTANZADE Yahya Efendi

(d. 1049/1639)

Bostanzade Yahya Efendi was a seventeenth-century Ottoman scholar and writer. He was originally from Sur (Tyre), and came from a well-known family known as Bostanzade. His father was Şeyhülislam Bostanzade Mehmet Efendi. There is no information on his date of birth. He was taught by his father and also began his academic career in the latter's company. In 1003/1594 he worked at several *madrasas* such as Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Medresesi, Sahn-ı Seman, Üsküdar Valide Atik Medresesi, and Süleymaniye Medresesi. From 1601 to 1614 he served as a *qadi* (chief judge) in several places including Aleppo, Galata, Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul. After his dismissal from his last post as a *qadi* of Istanbul, probably because of his criticism of the rulers of his time, he did not hold any official position until 1622. Then he was appointed as a *kazasker* (high judicial chief) of Anatolia in 1622, and then of Rumeli in 1629. However, he did not stay in either of those posts for very long. He died on 26 Rabi al-Awwal 1049/July 27, 1639, and was buried next to his father in Şehzade Camii.

Some of Bostanzade's important works include *Gül-i Sad-berg* (1030/1621), which explains the feasibility and the character of *mi'raj* (journey of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem) as understood in physical terms, and also discusses another hundred miracles (*mu'jiza*) as performed by the Prophet. *Mir'at al-akhlaq* (1022/1613) deals with the topics of ethical virtues and political and administrational responsibilities from a practical point of view, and thus sheds light on the understanding of ethics by Ottoman society and the intelligentsia of that period; Bostanzade also gives his critique of the rulers of the time. His *Tuhfah al-ahbab* (*Tarih-i Saf*) gives an account of approximately 300 Muslim and mostly Turkish rulers from fifteen dynasties, including the Ottomans, Abbasids, Umayyads, Fatimis, Ghaznawis, and Kharezmis.

S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

BRETHREN OF PURITY, *see* Ikhwan al-Safa'

BURSEVI, İsmail Hakkı

(1063–1137/1653–1725)

The Ottoman scholar, Sufi, poet, calligrapher, and musician İsmail Hakkı Bursevi was a famous *shaykh* of the Jalwatiyyah order founded by the *shaykh* Üftade and Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. He was born in Aydos, in present-day Bulgaria. He was educated in both Shariʿa sciences and Sufism at a very young age. His teacher was the famous Jalwati *shaykh* Osman Fazlı İlahi (d. 1102/1691). After completing his scholarly studies, Bursevi, like many Jalwati Sufis, went into a period of spiritual retreat (*khalwa*) for ninety days. Upon the order of his *shaykh*, he served at the Jalwati center by cleaning and cooking for other Sufis. He was then appointed as a preacher, replacing his master. He became a *khalifa* in 1675 and went to Skopje. He married the daughter of the famous Sufi *shaykh* Uşşaki (d. 1090/1679).

In 1685, he went to Bursa (whence his title "Bursevi"). It was there that Bursevi became a well-known scholar, Sufi, and preacher. He started his voluminous Qur'anic commentary called *Ruh al-bayan fi Tafsir al-qur'an* (The Spirit of Explanation in the Commentary on the Qur'an) and completed it in twenty-three years. He went on pilgrimage several times. He also lived in Damascus for about three years. He died in Bursa, where he is buried today next to the Muhammadi Mosque that he himself built.

A prolific writer, Bursevi authored over one hundred books and treatises in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. His most important works are in the field of Qur'anic commentary and Sufism, but he also wrote on *hadith*, jurisprudence, *kalam*, grammar, literature, and history. As we see in the case of other Ottoman Sufi-scholars, Bursevi's writings reflect the heavy influence of Ibn AL-ʿARABI, Sadr al-Din QUNAWI, and RUMI, and are in many ways a synthesis of the Akbari and Mawlawi perspectives; a synthesis that we see throughout Ottoman intellectual history. With respect to this kind of writing, Bursevi's commentary on the *Mathnawi* is particularly interesting.

Bursevi's commentary on the Qur'an is one of his most widely circulated works, and occupies an important place in the history of Sufi Qur'anic commentaries. As in his other writings, Bursevi combines his scholarship of traditional sciences with Sufi expositions, stories, and poems. As a preacher and spiritual teacher, Bursevi remained very close to the spirit of the ordinary believer while studying and commenting upon the metaphysical and poetical works of Ibn al-ʿArabi and Rumi. With this in mind, he continued the tradition of *tuhfa* (contemporary) writings, which are short treatises written in response to questions asked of him and/or in honor of certain people. In the case of Bursevi, almost all of his *tuhfa* writings pertain to various aspects of Sufism and pursuing a spiritual life.

His sizeable book *Kitab al-Natija* belongs to the genre of *waridat* writings, where the author explains those states and ideas that have come to him from Heaven. Bursevi's *waridat* works include a considerable number of subjects, ranging from commenting upon a famous poem or wisdom saying to metaphysics and cosmology. Bursevi also wrote an important commentary on Nawawi's famous *Forty Hadith* from a Sufi point of view.

In his extremely productive career, Bursevi combined the most important elements and tendencies of classical Islamic-Ottoman culture. As a Sufi master and scholar, he represents the culmination and synthesis of the major intellectual currents of classical Islam, including *kalam*, Sufism, poetry, and religious law.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

C

ÇELEBI, Katib Mustafa ibn ‘Abdullah
(1017–67 / 1609–57)

Katib Çelebi, who is also known as Hacı Kalfa (Hajji Khalifa), was born in Istanbul on Dhu’l-Qadah 1017/February 1609 and died in the same city on 27 Dhu’l-Hijja 1067/October 6, 1657. He was a historian, geographer, and bibliographer. His father ‘Abdullah, an Ottoman soldier, was brought up and educated in the Enderun Mektebi (the royal school). Katib Çelebi began his private education at the age of five. Among his teachers were İmam İsa Halife, İmam İlyas Hoca, and Böğrü Ahmed Çelebi.

At the age of fourteen he was employed as his father’s assistant in the Anadolu Muhasebe Kalemi (Anatolia Finance Office), where he learned accountancy and *siyakat*. He, together with his father, participated in the campaigns of Sultan Murat IV against Terjan (1033/1624) and Baghdad (1035/1626). For a time he worked for the Suvari Muhasebesi Kalemi. In 1038/1629 he returned to Istanbul and attended the lectures of famous scholars of his time such as Kadızade Mehmed Efendi. Between 1039/1630 and 1045/1635 he joined the Baghdad and the Erivan campaigns. When the army stayed in Aleppo, he went on *hajj*.

Returning to Istanbul once again, what he called returning from *jihad al-asghar* (the lower battle) to *jihad-al-kabir* (the higher battle), Katib Çelebi devoted himself to study. From 1053/1643 he attended the lectures of several scholars such as A’rec Mustafa Efendi, Kürt Abdullah Efendi, and Keçi Mehmed Efendi. He achieved a broad area of knowledge varying from medicine to astronomy, and also possessed a huge library. In 1055/1645, having failed to receive promotion, he resigned from his job at the Kalemi. In the three-year break after his resignation, he did some teaching and also wrote his celebrated chronology, *Taqwim al-tawarih* (A Chronology of Dates) (1058/1648). Due to its success and with the intervention of Abdurrahim Efendi, then Şeyhülislam (the Grand Judge), he was reappointed as the second head-clerk (İkinci Halife). He continued to produce more writings until his sudden death in 1067/1657. He was buried by the Zeyrek Camii.

Katib Çelebi is known as a versatile and an unconventional scholar who wrote and translated (mostly from Latin and Greek) over twenty books in different subjects, ranging from history to astronomy. He was particularly famous for his emphasis on the importance of using Western sources and for his critical views of the educational system in the *madrasas* of his time. Some of his important works include *Kashf al-zunun ‘an asami al-kutub wal-funun* (Uncovering the Titles of Books and Disciplines), the great bibliographical dictionary in Arabic which in its introduction deals with the classification of various branches of knowledge; *Taqwim al-tawarih* consists of chronological tables of events from the creation of Adam to the year 1058/1648. *Jihannuma* (the world map) is a geographical work written in two versions (1058/1648 and 1064/1654)—planned to be a great cosmography but never completed—of particular importance in introducing Western sources to the Ottoman science of geography. *Fazlaka al-tawarih* (An Outline of World History) (1052/1642) is a work in Arabic on world history up to 1049/1639. *Irshad al-khiyara ila tarih al-yunan wa al-rum wa al-nasara* (Illuminating the Learned Ones on the History of the Greeks, the Romans and the Christians) is an educative work on the religions and the administrative systems of European peoples and *Mizan al-haq fi ihtiyar al-ahaq* (A Standard of Accuracy for Choosing the Most Accurate) is his last written work in which he discusses and explains some burning issues of his time in the light of the sciences.

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

CEVDET, Abdullah (1869–1932)

The most outspoken positivist of his generation of Ottoman intellectuals, Cevdet, probably of Kurdish origin, was born in Arapkir, Turkey. He received his education in medicine but became a prolific writer at a relatively young age. He became one of the founding members of the Ottoman Society for Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti), the most important political movement to arise in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Because of his political activities and opposition to Abdulhamid II, he was arrested and sent into exile in Libya. From there, he went to Europe and joined other Ottoman intellectuals living abroad. He began to publish his famous journal *Ictihad* in 1904, which he continued with some interruptions until his death in 1931. Because of his political activities, he was sentenced again to life in prison in absentia. In 1905 he moved to Egypt, where he lived until 1911.

In addition to *Ictihad* and his other works on a variety of subjects, Cevdet translated a large number of books from French into Turkish with the goal of making modern European ideas available to the Turkish reader. His translation of Reinhart P. A. Dozy's *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme* (1897) as *Tarih-i islamiyet* (1908) led to criticism from many Islamist thinkers because of Dozy's polemical study of the life and personality of the Prophet of Islam. After the turn of the century, he devoted his whole time to writing and translation, and withdrew almost completely from politics. In addition to his modernist publications, he also produced a number of translations from RUMI and 'Umar KHAYYAM. Even though he was a radical modernist and positivist and many of his ideas were adopted by Kemal Atatürk and his followers, he did not take part in the politics of the newly established Turkish Republic. He died in Istanbul in 1932.

Cevdet promulgated a radical reform program for Muslim societies. He based most of his ideas about reform and modernization on the writings of the famous French psychologist Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931). Cevdet used Le Bon's ideas about mass psychology to modernize Muslim societies through a process of secularization. He himself became a champion of his radical ideas when he advocated replacing the Arabic-Ottoman alphabet with the Latin alphabet, changing the dress code, and introducing European institutions into Turkey and other Muslim countries. Under the influence of Le Bon's Eurocentric psychology of the races, he went so far as to argue for the union of German and Turkish races to create a hybrid race for the benefit of both races and humanity at large. Among his publications are *İki Emel* (Two Ideals) in 1898, *Fünun ve Felsefe* (Sciences and Philosophy) in 1906, *Mahkeme-i Kübra* (The Great Judgment) in 1908, and *Cihan-ı İslama Dair Bir Nazar-ı Tarihi ve Felsefi* (A Historical and Philosophical Look at the World of Islam) in 1922. Cevdet was well known among his contemporaries, and his publications had a wide-ranging impact. But his radical ideas of modernization and rather unpredictable political moves and associations alienated him from a whole generation of Turkish intellectuals.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

CREATION

Debates over the nature of creation were a running theme throughout the classical period of Islamic philosophy. The debate had ramifications for a whole host of issues, ranging from the physical sciences to theology and the unity of God.

The standard view in *falsafa*, or Greek-inspired philosophy, was the Neoplatonist view articulated by AL-KINDI and then in greater depth by IBN SINA and AL-FARABI. According to this view, the world is eternal, and so God did not create it out of nothing. Al-Farabi thought of creation as a gradual process; rather than a "big bang," the world came into being in a gradual way as God, the First Cause, slowly made his design clear. Al-Farabi also argued for states of creation, beginning at the most perfect level and gradually descending to the least perfect stage, the world of matter. The degree of perfection is measured by the distance from God, the first emanation. This view also played a role in al-Farabi's theories of beauty and pleasure, which he sees as coming about accidentally through the act of creation.

This was repudiated by AL-GHAZALI, who took an atomistic view of creation and argued that the world is not eternal; that quality belongs to God alone. If God created the cosmos at a certain moment in time, says al-Ghazali, then this implies a change in God, which contradicts the nature of the divinity. What is more, since each moment of time on the time scale is entirely similar, it is impossible then for God to choose a particular moment in time for creation. Time itself is a creation of God used as a measurement of change, and not a function of change as Aristotle and the philosophers claimed.

The argument that the world is eternal seemed to al-Ghazali and his followers to imply limits to the power of God. IBN RUSHD repudiated this view, maintaining with some skill that the concepts of the eternal world and divine omnipotence were not intrinsically opposed. However, the majority opinion sided with al-Ghazali, and the atomistic view of creation came gradually to prevail.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

D

AL-DABBAGH (d. 696/1296)

Abu Zayd ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn M. ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abdallah al-Ansari al-Maliki al-Qayrawani (d. 696/1296) had the nickname al-Dabbagh (“the tanner”). He wrote on a variety of topics, including law, *hadith*, and history, in particular, the history of al-Qayrawan. This text, and its account of the notable people who lived there, formed the basis of *al-Qasim ibn ‘isa al-naji’s ma‘alim al-iman fi ma‘arifat ahl al-qayrawan*. Al-Dabbagh’s *Kitab Mashriq anwar al-qulub wa-mafatih asrar al-ghuyub* provides an interesting account of love, a topic of great importance in the Sufi system of thought. He bases his argument a good deal on AL-GHAZALI, but is not a slavish follower, and constructs a careful and detailed analysis of the psychological states of the individual. Al-Dabbagh uses the methodology of Neoplatonism to develop an account of the links between this world and both God and the afterlife.

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AL-DASHTAKI, Sadr al-Din (d. 903/1497–8)

The Amir Sadr al-Din Muhammad al-Dashtaki (d. 903/1497–8) was well known for his protracted debate with Jalal al-Din AL-DAWWANI (830–908/1427–1502), which resulted in the production of much commentary and supercommentary, together with summaries of arguments and positions. Al-Dashtaki is reported to have developed young as a philosopher, and to have debated with al-Dawwani at the age of fourteen in front of his father Sadr al-Din. At twenty he is said to have mastered completely both Peripatetic and Ishraqi philosophy. Al-Dashtaki was promoted to the rank of *sadr* by Shah Tahmasp, but this success was short-lived, since he lost a debate with a theologian al-Karaki over the direction of the *qibla*, the indication in a mosque of the right direction for prayer toward Mecca. However, his philosophical output was considerable, apart from the celebrated debate with Dawwani, which also took place over the appropriate interpretation of AL-SUHRAWARDI’s *Hayakil al-nur*. His other works included theology, geometry, logic, and metaphysics, all displaying an ability to use a variety of different philosophical techniques.

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DAVUD, Abdulahad (1866–1930)

Abdulahad Davud was born in Urmiya, Iran, in 1866. His first education was at American College there. After his graduation he was brought to Propaganda Fide College in Rome by Christian missionaries, for religious education and to study philosophy. He was well educated in Christian theology. He became a priest in 1895. On his journey home he stayed in Istanbul for a time, and then joined the French Lazarist Mission in Urmiya. He was competent in many Eastern and Western languages.

Davud published the magazine *Qala-la-shara* (The Voice of the Truth) in modern Syriac in Urmiya. He attended Avharistiya Congress as a representative of the Eastern Catholics. In his paper submitted to the congress, he criticized the Catholic education system and drew attention to the dangerous activities of Russian religious leaders in the region. He was sorry to see that Christian sects in the region fought each other to convert the Syriac Christians to Catholicism. He rejected missionary activities because he believed that the main aim of the missionaries was to make people revolt against the authorities.

In 1900 Davud lived in seclusion in his native village. During this period, he experienced doubts as to whether Christianity was the true religion of God. Consequently, he decided to resign from the priesthood and informed the Archbishop of Urmiya of this decision, with a letter explaining the reasons behind his resignation. After that he worked in the postal services as an inspector, and also did some temporary jobs such as teaching and translation.

In 1903 Davud moved to England after joining the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. After a one-year stay there, he was sent back to his country for the organization of education. On his way to Iran, he stayed in Istanbul. Here he met Şeyhulislam (the chief *qadi*) Cemaleddin Efendi and other scholars, which resulted in his conversion to Islam. He then took the Muslim name Abdulahad Davud.

Following his conversion Davud stayed for ten years in Istanbul (1904–14), where he worked in several governmental offices and published works in various periodicals such as *The Tablet*, *Illustrated Catholic Missions*, and *The Levant Herald*. As a convert, life was difficult for him. He went to America to stay with his daughter to lead a better life, but even there he could not find the calmness he sought. He died in miserable circumstances in the United States.

Davud wrote *Incil ve salib* (The Gospel and the Cross) to explain why he chose Islam. The reason for writing his books, he explained, was to explore the facts in the Bible which were concealed by Christian theologians. These facts were the prophethood of Muhammad which was directly and indirectly mentioned in the Old and the New Testament, he claimed. He also claimed that there was reference to Muhammad in the Bible. He argued that it is a logical necessity for a prophet to mention the name or characteristics of his successor. Otherwise, it would be impossible to distinguish a sorcerer and a pseudo-prophet from a real prophet.

One of the most important issues in his books is the compiling of the Bible. He clearly stated that this issue was the main reason for his conversion. He claimed that the Bible was corrupted and the religion of Jesus as it was then was one of the pagan religions. He explained that the four gospels were not the work of Jesus himself, neither were they written in his lifetime; their original authors were unknown and they were compiled decades after the deaths of the Apostles. In his *Esrar-ı-iseviyye* (The Secrets of Christianity), he stated the reasons for writing the book as "to criticize all the arguments of the Christian missionaries one by one and to warn the Muslims of the dangers of missionary activities to corrupt the religion of Islam." In his view, the missionaries were not trustworthy people (1916: 6–7). In *Muhammad in the Bible*, a collection of articles written in English, he claimed that the real mission of Jesus was to give the good news of the *Melekut*, namely, Muhammad.

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IBRAHIM SUMER

AL-DAWWANI, Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn As'ad (830–908/1426–1502)

Al-Dawwani came from Dawan in Iran, where he studied with his father, the local *qadi*. His studies later took him to Shiraz, where he became *sadr* under Quyunlu Yusuf ibn Jahanshah before becoming *mudarris* at the Begum Madrasa. He held a variety of leading posts in local institutions. These were difficult political times, so he seems to have taken care to align himself with the regime in power at the time. He became *qadi* in Fars while Quyunlu was in power, but on the coming to power of Shah Isma'il in the region he headed for his home area, dying in the camp of Abu'l Fath Beg Bayandur. He is buried in Dawan. He managed to prevaricate between Sunnism and Shi'ism, never disclosing his precise religious affiliation.

Al-Dawwani's major work is *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*, a Persian commentary on AL-TUSI's *Akhlaq-i nasiri*, and his influence also rests on a prolonged debate with Sadr al-Din AL-DASHTAKI and then with his son Ghiyath al-Din in Shiraz. He had a lot to do with the way in which Peripatetic philosophy in Iran managed to become fused with Illuminationist thought, and even Sufism, to represent complementary rather than competing forms of thought.

Al-Dawwani's work appeared as part of a tradition of dealing with ethical issues in the Persian world, starting off with IBN MISKAWAYH's *Tahdhib al-akhlaq* (Cultivation of Morals) and followed by al-Tusi's *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* (Nasirean Ethics). Dawwani's book shares the same structure as al-Tusi's, with sections on ethics, economics, and politics, but jettisons most of the theoretical apparatus to replace it with something of a more Ishraqi flavor. Most of his other works are in Arabic, as are the texts dealing with the prolonged dispute with the Dashtakis. This combative spirit also infuses al-Dawwani's gloss (*hashiya*) on a commentary on SUHRAWARDI's *Hayakil al-nur* (Temples of Light). Much of the philosophical work of the time took the shape of commentaries and summaries of commentaries on celebrated earlier works, and as the creator of Illuminationism, al-Suhrawardi is clearly of the first importance. Thus commentaries on his work became much studied, and were the main route for philosophical discussion at the time.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

DHU'L-NUN AL-MISRI, Abu al-Fayd Thawban b. Ibrahim (180–245/796–859)

Thawban b. Ibrahim al-Misri was born in Ikhmim, the capital city of Copts in Upper Egypt, around 180/796 and died in Jiza in 245/859. He was an early major philosopher, mystic, and alchemist. He is generally credited with having introduced for the first time Neoplatonic concepts into Sufism and hence acclaimed as "the founder of theosophical Sufism." His father was a Nubian. Although his real name is Thawban b. Ibrahim, he is usually known by his nickname, Dhu'l-Nun (the man with the fish), which was given to him, possibly posthumously, on account of a miracle allegedly wrought by him, as recounted in 'ATTAR'S *Tadhkirat al-awliya,* based on an account in the Qur'an (21.87), though this symbolic title refers to the Prophet Jonah.

Very little is known about Dhu'l-Nun's early life. He is represented in the classical Sufi biographies as a legendary personality, a peerless genius of his age with a never-ending desire for learning. He seems to have studied medicine, magic, and alchemy from the available Hellenistic literature of his time. Because of his proficiency in alchemy and theurgy, his name was usually associated with the renowned alchemist Jabir b. Hayyan. The wisdom of Hermes, which Muslim tradition identifies with that of the Prophet Idris (Enoch), was among the subjects of his major interest, too. For the purpose of study, he made travels to such cities as Damascus, Antioch, and Mecca, where he had the opportunity to meet a variety of ascetics and self-taught pious people.

A certain Sa'dun from Cairo is reported to have been his spiritual master for some time. However, two figures, among others, appear to have been his real Sufi masters: Shuqran al-'Abid and Israfil al-Maghribi. During his sojourn in the Hijaz, as recorded in Ibn Khallikan's *al-Wafayat*, Dhu'l-Nun attended the lectures of the Imam Malik b. Anas, the author of the *Muwatta'* and the founder of the Maliki school of law. Ironically, he is said to have adopted the life of a Malamati, showing nearly no regard to the letter of the law and hence for most jurists from his native land. He was criticized vehemently in Egypt for exhibiting pantheistic tendencies in his poems and teaching "esotericism" publicly. At a certain point of his life, most likely toward the end, he was even charged with heresy (*zindiq*) and summoned to Baghdad for interrogation and then put in prison there. But, at the order of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, he was finally released and thereafter he returned to Egypt.

Meanwhile, as some sources indicate, he had faced, long before the above incident, the hostility of the Mu'tazilites because of his orthodox position that the Qur'an was uncreated. Dhu'l-Nun spent the remainder of his life in Egypt and, until his death, went on teaching his disciples Sufism and the science of esotericism (*'ilm al-batin*), a subject that deciphers the symbolic significance and magical efficacy of the divine names and formulas. Due to the difficulty of this subject, Dhu'l-Nun would usually give a preliminary test to his potential pupils prior to their formal training. Those who failed were not permitted to study further.

In almost every standard work of Sufism we find many original mystical ideas attributed to Dhu'l-Nun's authorship. Some of them are of doubtful authenticity, some are legendary, and some are accurate. It is claimed, for instance, that he was the first Muslim thinker to introduce the idea of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) into Sufism, which is in fact untrue, for such a conception had been in wide circulation among the ascetics long before him. Nevertheless, his elaboration of that concept, along with that of "gnostic" (*'arif*) is quite illuminating. *Ma'rifa*, he defines, is the direct knowledge of God, attained by or communicated to, the *'arif* without prior study, without observation, and without veils. Once he was asked how he knew God, he replied, "I know Him by Himself. . . . Whatever you imagine as God, He is utterly the opposite of that." Dhu'l-Nun also distinguishes gnosis from traditional knowledge (*'ilm*) and classifies the latter as having three features: one is common to all Muslims, another is peculiar to philosophers and sages, and the third one is exclusively reserved for the saints, which is the knowledge of the attributes of the Unity.

Being a philosopher, Sufi, and alchemist, Dhu'l-Nun was a freethinker par excellence and his ideas naturally bear all the elements of these three disciplines and others. This is why he can rightly be called a theosopher in the first place. To many Sufi concepts and practices, such as *hubb* (divine love), *hal* (state), *maqam* (station), *wajd* (ecstasy), *tawba* (repentance), and *sama'* (Sufi music), he has given fresh *theosophical* explanations. He applies the imagery of the wine and the cup to the mystery of divine love, which one cannot describe but experience in delight. Intimacy with God (*al-uns billah*) for him is the most desirable state that a gnostic can attain only after he completely cuts himself off from all worldly affiliations and purifies his heart from everything else other than God. At the end of this state the Sufi reaches inevitably the state of union and bewilderment (*hayra*). Possibly on account of his emphasis on the states and stations of the saints, as well as the miracles connected with them, later Sufi writers view him as the master saint, possessed of hidden knowledge. Muslim mystics, generally cite the common formula of invocation, "may God sanctify his secretive state," immediately after his name.

A number of treatises are attributed to him; but none has survived. Most of his theosophical views, mystical utterances, prayers, as well as poems have been preserved either by his contemporaries such as AL-MUHASIBI (d. 243/857) or by other Sufis who came after him. Most of the classical and medieval Sufi thinkers have not only benefited from his legacy but also devoted a considerable portion of their writings to his teachings. Several famous mystics and visionary thinkers of Islam, such as Ibn AL-'ARABI and Jalal al-Din AL-RUMI, have quoted Dhu'l-Nun frequently in their writings and explained some of their views with reference to his ideas.

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Al-Dihlewi, *see* Wali Allah

Dreses, *see* al-Idrisi

DJOZO, Hüseyin Efendi

(1330–1402/1912–82)

Hüseyin Efendi was born in Bare, a village of Gorajde (Bosnia) on 17 Rajab 1330/July 3, 1912, and died in Sarajevo on 6 Shawwal 1402/May 30, 1982. He was one of the outstanding Bosnian intellectuals and scholars. Having completed his primary education in his village, he started his further education in Mehmet Paþa Madrasa in 1341/1923. In 1343/1925 he moved to Merhemiç Madrasa and then to Atmeydanı. He graduated from this school in 1346/1928 and enrolled in the Jurist’s School in Sarajevo, and graduated from there in 1352/1933.

Hüseyin Efendi was then appointed as a teacher of religious studies and worked as a teacher in Sarajevo. He was sent to al-Azhar to complete his Islamic education. In 1358/1939, he graduated from the Faculty of Islamic Law in al-Azhar. In 1359/1940 he returned to Sarajevo and started working as a teacher of the Arabic language in Okruzna Madrasa. After a year, he was appointed a director of religious education in the Department of Religious Affairs in Yugoslavia. After the World War II, in 1364/1945, he was arrested and put into prison by the Communist regime. He remained in prison for five years until his release in 1369/1950. He was charged with treachery and banned from all his religious and scholarly activities and worked as a laborer in a leather factory.

In 1372/1953, Hüseyin Efendi was appointed as an office worker in the Department of Roads in Sarajevo, and between 1374/1955 and 1379/1960 he worked as a company accountant. In 1379/1960 he received permission to work for the Department of Religious Affairs. From this time until his death in 1402/1982 he worked in the section of religious education in the Department of Religious Affairs of Yugoslavia.

From 1384–99/1964–79, he was the head of the Scholars Association and editor of *Takvim* (Calendar), an annual journal of this association. Between 1390/1970 and 1398/1978, Hüseyin Efendi was the editor of the journal *Preporod*, which deals with Islamic issues. As an editor, he also played an important role in the publishing of books related to the history and culture of Bosnia. Hüseyin Efendi was not only a scholar but also a Muslim activist. After 1386/1966, he addressed Bosnian Muslim youth in various conferences and tribunals. He was among the founders of Sarajevo Theology Faculty and was a lecturer there.

Hüseyin Efendi was not only a scholar but also a Muslim intellectual who made use of his knowledge of the society in which he lived. Through his al-Azhar education, Hüseyin Efendi came to know the modernist thought of Muhammad ‘Abdu, al-Afghani and Rashid Rida. To some extent, Hüseyin Efendi adopted Islamic modernism, and because of this he was criticized by some local traditionalist scholars.

His short articles, previously published in various journals, were later edited and published as books. *Islam u Vremenu* (1976) contains various short articles which deal with issues which can be seen as representing a contemporary interpretation of Qur'an and Sunna, the issue of *ijtihad*, and the role of women in Islam. Hüseyin Efendi also wrote textbooks of Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*) for the Sarajevo Theology Faculty. Apart from this he also published *Fetve-Pitanja i Odgovori* (1996) and *Fetve II* (2006) that contain his *fatwas* (opinions) on various issues. Hüseyin Efendi wanted to produce a translation together with exegeses of the Qur'an in the Bosnian language, but he managed to translate only sixty pages from the Qur'an, published under the title *Prijevod Kur'ana sa Komentarom* (2006). He is remembered as a leading liberal intellectual-scholar who made a significant impact on Bosnian Muslim intellectuals.

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ADNAN ASLAN

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EBUSSUUD EFENDI, Mehmed
(896–982/1490–1574)

Mehmed Ebussuud al-Imadi, also known as Hoca Çelebi, was born in Iskilip, Turkey, and trained as a religious scholar. His father was a well-known scholar and Sufi. Ebussuud became a teacher at a relatively young age. He held teaching positions in different *madrasas*. In 1533 he became a *qadi*, a religious judge, first in Bursa and then in Istanbul. In 1545, he was appointed as the *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire, a position he held until his death. As the Grand Mufti of the Empire, he also became a close friend of Süleyman the Magnificent, whose high esteem for Ebussuud is well known.

Ebussuud played a central role in the enactment of many new laws under Süleyman, who is known in Turkish as "Kanuni," the lawmaker. Ebussuud succeeded in creating a harmony between the Islamic Shariʿa law and the administrative law of the Ottoman Empire known as *kanun*. Some of his *fatwa*s about such issues as land and endowments have survived. His *fatwa*s and unparalleled authority are largely responsible for the formation of classical Ottoman law. As a Hanafi scholar, Ebussuud based many of his legal views on the Hanafi school of law, but did not shy away from using legal opinions from the other Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence. It was also during Ebussuud's time that the office of the *shaykh al-Islam* gained further prominence in the Ottoman Empire.

Ebussuud was as prolific a scholar as his predecessor and teacher IBN KEMAL. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'an called *Irshad al-ʿaql al-salim* (Guidance of the Sound Mind), which he presented to Süleyman the Magnificent. The commentary had a wide circulation and several commentaries have been written on it. Ebussuud embraced some theoretical aspects of Sufism but was openly against the teachings of Ibn AL-ʿARABI and other Sufi ideas and practices that he deemed incompatible with the Islamic law. He is also known for his passion for flowers, especially the tulip.

Ebussuud's other works include *Risala fi bahthi iman al-fir'awn*, a treatise on whether the Pharaoh died as a believer or not, and *Maʿrudat* and *Risala fi waqf al-manqul wa'l-nuqud*, both of which contain Ebussuud's legal opinions; *Ghalatat-i Ebussuud*, a work on literature; *Risala fi bayan al-qada wa'l-qadar*, a treatise on predestination and free will; and *Duʿanama-i Ebussuud*, a collection of Islamic prayers in Turkish.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

ENAYETPURI, Khwaja (1886–1951)

Hazrat Khwaja Yunus Ali, popularly known as Khwaja Enayetpuri, was born at Enayetpur in the district of Sirajgonj, then in East Pakistan and now in Bangladesh, in 1886. He died in 1951. His father, Mawlana Khwaja Abdul Karim, who died when Enayetpuri was aged five, was enthusiastically involved in Sufism, as his forefathers were originally from Baghdad before migrating to Delhi and then to Enayetpur.

At the age of seventeen, Enayetpuri formally entered into the realm of *tasawwuf* under the guidance of the renowned Sufi master Syed Wazed ʻAli from India, with a view to achieving spiritual knowledge and right guidance to the path of God. Having studied a large body of literature on divergent aspects of Sufism and receiving direct spiritual teaching from his master for nearly two decades, he reached the culmination of the highest grade of theosophical, intuitional, and divine inspiration and became a most successful successor to his master, out of the latter's thousands of disciples. He then set up a *khanaqa* (monastery) at Enayetpur namely *Enayetpur Darbar Sharif* (Enayetpur Monastery) and started preaching Islam with the fundamental principles of his *tariqa* (Sufi order)—etiquette, intellect, love, and courage—from Assam (India) and Bengal. His *tariqa*, known as Khwaja Enayetpuri's Tariqa, was greatly influenced by the Sufi sects such as the Naqshibandiya and Mozaddediya.

In all his teachings, Khwaja Enayetpuri's main stream of thought involved the pursuit of peace, progress, and morality in all aspects of life, and he imbibed these qualities from the major Sufi orders. Unlike others, Enayetpuri never associated his *tariqa* with politics. Sufism gained momentum in the then East Pakistan, as he succeeded in convincing those apathetic to Sufism that his *tariqa* was not alien to Islam, as was commonly thought. In his lectures during his tours to different places, he aimed at bridging the gulf between Shariʻa and *tasawwuf*. To this end, he wrote *Shariyater Alo* (The Light of Shariʻa) and *Ganje Asrar* (The City of Mystery), the former on Shariʻa and the latter on *tasawwuf*. His messages such as "enliven your *qalb* before death," "fighting *nafs* is *jehad-e-akbari*," "*tariqa* is fruitless without Shariʻa," and so on stirred the religious sentiments of the ordinary people. As a result, hundreds of thousands of people embraced his *tariqa*. Some disciples maintained long devotional bonds to Enayetpuri while attaining spiritual truth, and subsequently set up *khanaqas* in different parts of the country. The largest of these is Biswa Zaker Manzil at Atrashi, while others are located at Shambhuganj, Chandrapara, and Paradisepara. Almost all classes of people from the highest rank of government officials to the laborers at the grassroot level congregate at Enayetpuri's *khanaqa* on several occasions (for example, *urs*, the anniversary of his death) to pay homage to the late *shaykh* and to promise God that they will resist all sinful attachments to the world. Khwaja Kamal Uddin is the present spiritual master of this *khanaqa* in Bangladesh, the biggest in the country.

Enayetpur Darbar Sharif is not only a meeting place of the Sufis in Bangladesh, but also a research center for academic scholars. Enayetpuri introduced a tripartite methodology of teaching: *bi'l kitabate* (by writing), *bi'l mawaejate* (by lecture), and *biddarese* (by *khanaqa*). His expositions of *nafs*, *qalb*, *tajalli*, *tawhid*, *faqr*, *zikr*, *latifa*, *sabr*, *tawaqqul*, *rabeta*, *shogol*, *morakaba*, *mohasaba*, *fana*, *baqa,* and so forth received a new dimension in his work and touched the right chord in the spiritual life of his often poverty-stricken followers.

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M. GOLAM DASTAGIR

EPISTEMOLOGY IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

The concept of knowledge in Islamic philosophy is often taken in a broad sense to make reference to much wider issues such as happiness, salvation, and political organization. Before we discuss these connections, the category of words relating to knowledge needs to be outlined. The most obvious term is *'ilm*, which occurs twenty-seven times in the Qur'an, and *'alim* 140 times. There are 704 references in the Book to words that derive from *'ilm*. Things associated with knowledge such as the book, pen, ink, and so on are referred to very frequently, and indeed the text itself starts with the phrase "iqra" or "read/recite" and the first human being, Adam, was from the start taught all the names, so knowledge seems to be a constant concern of the Book of Islam. The text frequently calls on its readers and hearers to reflect on what they are told, to consider whether it ought to be believed, how truthful it is and so on, so knowledge is obviously given a high regard in the text. But there is another term for knowledge, *ma'rifa*, and this has been developed in a slightly different way to represent mystical or deeper knowledge, knowledge linked with *hikma* (wisdom) as opposed to knowledge linked with *'aql* (reason). This distinction has played a persistent role in epistemology within the Islamic tradition, and Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1968) claims it has a wider reference to philosophy as a whole.

Human and divine knowledge

The Qur'an often states that God's knowledge is superior in quantity and quality to human knowledge, and that he knows secrets unknown to us (6:59; 11: 31). Our knowledge is in any case derived from God and it is only through his will that we can know anything at all (2:140; 2:32; 2:255). Many passages in the Qur'an identify religious faith (*iman*) with knowledge (*'ilm*) (30:56). Faith and knowledge are connected so those who believe will come to know (58:11; 2:26), and they will have certain knowledge (*yaqinun*) of the other world (2:4). Knowledge is frequently contrasted with ignorance (*jahal*), its opposite, which also means wrong conduct.

For AL-GHAZALI, there are three levels of knowledge that correspond with three levels of faith: the faith of the ordinary people (*'awamm*) is based on imitation (*taqlid*); the faith of the theologians (*mutakallimun*) is based on reason; and the faith of the mystics (*'arifin*) and saints *awliya'*) is based on the light of certainty (*nur al-yaqin*). These latter possess spiritual insight (*arbab al-basa'ir*). There are basically two ways of coming to know God; one is by reflecting on God's signs in the universe, and the other is by knowledge of man's soul. The first approach is rational in nature, and the second approach goes beyond reason and involves a direct experience of the soul. A pure soul is capable of this direct, intuitive experience and knowledge of God. For al-Ghazali, the organization of the soul is the key to the intuitive knowledge of God. This includes moral action and Sufi meditation. Al-Ghazali said: "The knowledge of God (*ma'rifa*) is the end of every cognition and the fruit of every science (*'ilm*) according to all schools of thought" (Rosenthal 1970: 142). This knowledge of the soul leads to the direct apprehension of God. This is the highest knowledge, known as *mukashafa* (literally "disclosing"). Prophets and saints possess this knowledge, and it is the knowledge of the illuminated soul, that comes to man through divine inspiration.

Light comes to us through the Qur'an where it states that God guides to his light (*nurihi*) whoever he wills (24. 35) (Rosenthal 1970: 157). The Verse of Light reads as follows:

> God is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is like a niche in which there is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, and the glass is like a glittering star. It is kindled from a blessed olive tree, neither of the East nor the West. Its oil will almost shine, even if no fire has touched it. Light upon light, God guides to His light whoever He pleases and gives examples to humanity. God has knowledge of everything (24:35).

The Verse of Light refers to the light of religious knowledge that God transmits to the prophets and believers. It also refers to the Sufi doctrine of God as the source of all illumination, being, life, and knowledge.

The Peripatetic view of knowledge

A basic distinction that is always made in the literature is between *tasawwur* (conceptualization) and *tasdiq* (assent), which represent the two states of knowledge that are produced in the intellect. Conceptualization is the way in which the mind comprehends particular essences or beings. Assent is the act of the intellect which makes a decision about truth value. Before we can assent to anything, we have to be able to form a concept of it, but the reverse is not the case, since we can form an idea of something without making any truth claim about it. How do we acquire concepts and make judgments about them? The general account of the Peripatetic philosophers is that we have experiences and put them together in certain ways that reveal what they have in common, and our mind abstracts them from their particular material context. The imagination is very important here; it is seen as both abstract and particular, in that it goes beyond our experience and yet works on the material of that experience. The mind comes into contact with the agent intellect (*'aql al-fa''al*) which is seen as the source of abstract ideas that have no material content at all, and which when further refined are able to be examined by the completely rational intellect.

The language used by philosophers tends to imply that there exist a whole variety of different intellects or minds. But this is not the case; what is at stake here is just a variety of different states of the same human mind. Our mind moves from potentiality to actuality and from actuality to reflection on that actuality, which we can describe in terms of possible intellect, actual or agent intellect, and acquired intellect. The last is called "acquired" because it is seen as borrowing ideas from higher divine realms, ideas that have nothing to do with experience and can only come from a more perfect and abstract realm. A huge controversy arose in Islamic philosophy from the views of those like AL-FARABI, IBN BAJJA, and IBN RUSHD, who argue that the mind is only eternal insofar as it concentrates on abstract and eternal subjects. The more we concentrate on eternal things, the more eternal our mind becomes, and vice versa. IBN SINA, by contrast, argues that the mind must be eternal as such since unless it was it could not comprehend eternal objects, based on the principle that the knower and the object of knowledge must share the same character.

Prophetic knowledge

We normally begin acquiring knowledge with sense experience, processing it using our imagination. We then use concepts on the processed sense experience to organize this experience and place it within a suitable context so that it can actually be used. There is another form of knowledge that is appropriate to prophets, and this does not start with sense experience but, rather, finishes with it. This sort of knowledge starts with abstract ideas which are then wrapped up in the appropriate imaginative and sensory language for them to be grasped by a particular audience. That is why the Qur'an uses different kinds of language, each of which is suitable for a particular kind of audience. The idea is that the same truth is going to be wrapped up in different ways so that everyone, in one's own way, can make sense of what one is told. Prophets are seen as people with a well-developed active intellect, since they can grasp how to present information in suitable ways by thinking abstractly. For most of us the process goes the other way; we start with sensory experience and end up with something more abstract.

IBN SINA puts forward an idea which is similar to Aristotle's notion of *agkhinoia* or quick wit. A thinker who has a good grasp of the very general principles based on which the world works can take a particular piece of information from his experience and work out what is going to happen. The general principles are the major premises in a syllogism, the piece of information is the minor premise, and the conclusion is inevitable as in any valid syllogism. This explains how a prophet can predict what is going to happen: he has access not to secret information, but to the nature of the principles behind the world and can use that knowledge to work out precisely what shape the future will take. Philosophers and prophets turn out to know similar things, although they have different abilities to transmit their message to the community at large. Prophets can do this easily since they are skilled in expressing abstract truths in symbolic language. Philosophers can understand the abstract truths that lie behind symbolic language, but are not necessarily able to undertake the reverse process of using that language to move an audience. In either case the abstract truth is the same for both groups, of course, the only thing that differs is the mode of delivery.

The *Ishraqi* view of knowledge

When we come to know something, according to AL-SUHRAWARDI, we have direct experience of something, and we do not need to use any of the five predicables or other abstract concepts to make sense of our experience. Suhrawardi's most important contribution to epistemological thinking is his notion of "knowledge by presence" (*al-'ilm al-huduri*), which is taken to be incorrigible and unquestionable, and is like the sort of experience we have when something is lit up before us. He uses terms like illumination (*ishraq*), presence (*hudur*), and manifestation (*zuhur*) to describe this. This sort of direct knowledge is "truthful witnessing" (*mushahada haqqiya*), and the perfect example of it is knowledge of the self, for which al-Suhrawardi uses the term *ana'iyya* which he finds in Ibn Sina. Most people cannot appreciate the truth so quickly and directly and they need to argue by using logic which starts with true premises and proceeds from them to the unknown.

Unlike the Peripatetics, al-SUHRAWARDI regards the basic sense experiences as "simple meanings" out of which concepts are constructed. In themselves they are perfectly simple and incapable of being analyzed further, and so we cannot form general ideas out of them. On the metaphysics of light and darkness, the first matter cannot be universal substance, and so cannot be the basis of individuation. For the Peripatetics it is matter that is the cause of the variety of things, but for al-Suhrawardi it is rather the degree of perfection (*kamal*) or degree of completeness by which this or that "universal meaning" is represented in the individual, and this can be explicated in terms of luminosity. "Illumination" means the direct lighting up of the soul by higher metaphysical lights. The soul itself is a light that has descended from the realm of light into the world of darkness and is not able to return to its original home. Since the soul and the higher levels of being are basically linked, there exists a foundation for the possibility of light being received in this way. Illumination discloses the truth (*haqq*) immediately and requires no assent or judgment (*tasdiq*). Our rationality, which is a very important way of finding out, is irrelevant at this level of direct knowledge, and has to be restricted to the less important and more distant forms of knowledge.

One of the most interesting defenses of the notion of *'ilm al-huduri* is that provided by Mehdi HA'IRI YAZDI, whose basic argument is that knowledge of ourselves is not to be classified as propositional knowledge, consisting of statements which could be true or false. If this knowledge was capable of being true or false then it would have to be assessable, yet any such assessment already presupposes the self which is doing the assessing. Experience of the self is so perfect that it is undeniable. The metaphor of light here is important, since once something is lit up, it is there in front of us and we are aware of it.

The Sufi view of knowledge

What is definitive of the Sufi view is the basic distinction between the inner and the outer, the esoteric and the exoteric, the hidden and the evident. We live in a world which gives us all sorts of opportunities for discovery, and we can use our senses and also our reasoning faculties. Yet this just gives us superficial knowledge, and if we are to acquire deeper understanding we need to look beyond that experience and the results of our reasoning. God is behind everything that occurs and we only really understand our experience and reasoning if we are able to put what we discover within that context. A favorite Qur'anic passage for the Sufis is *fa-aynama tuwallu fa-tamma wajhu llah* (Wherever you turn, there is the face of God (2:115)). When the truth appears in the mind it brings it to a complete rest because the knower finally resolves all the apparent contradictions that are part of ordinary experience. For example, in the above Qur'anic passage we may acknowledge intellectually that everything in the universe is part of God, but to experience the world in this way is very different from such an intellectual claim. It involves bringing together apparent contraries such as the one and the many, the now and the past and future, the same and the different, the transcendent and the immanent, the finite and the infinite. As the mystic progresses further and further on the path to perfection, the ability of language to describe the process becomes less useful.

What is important to understand is that the sort of intuitive knowledge that the Sufi defends as the pinnacle of knowledge does not rule out the acceptability of other forms of knowledge at lower levels of operation. So, for example, there is nothing wrong with using our senses, nor with using our rationality to work things out that are not immediately evident. On the contrary, we should make use of all our faculties, and intuitive knowledge is only relevant for those capable of accessing it, and then perhaps only for a limited time. This is a point al-Suhrawardi also makes in his Ishraqi account. The first half of his *Hikmat al-ishraq* is on the nature of the syllogism, and he wants to make sure that his readers can operate well first at the logical level before they try to transcend that level and move onto a higher level of knowledge. Many of the Islamic philosophers were committed to Sufism in one form or another, and they saw other forms of knowledge as explaining perfectly adequately what it is to know at different levels of being.

The concept of knowledge and Islamic science

As we have seen, prophets are the creators of symbolic knowledge. Like nature, the text of the Qur'an is symbolic of a deeper reality, and indeed the verses of the Book are referred to as *ayat* or signs. This has led to a theory that the world is just as symbolic as the words in a book; by contrast, Western science has become atomized and exploitative in its relationship with nature. On a theoretical level, Islamic science has remained wedded to mysticism and to the wider notions of wisdom and rationality that link modern thought with its ancient and medieval predecessors. Western science, by contrast, has abandoned this connection and has restricted knowledge to a very narrow range of ideas, consequently ending up etiolated and overly constrained. One of the best defenders of this thesis is Seyyed Hossein Nasr, who has sided here with the IKHWAN AL-SAFA' (Brethren of Sincerity) who put forward a basically Pythagorean view, one which stands in opposition to Aristotelianism and establishes an esoteric meaning by which pattern and arrangement represent the inner nature of reality.

One of the characteristics of Islam is said to be its stress on the unity of everything, based perhaps on the hermeneutics of IBN AL-'ARABI and the ways in which his thought was developed into a *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine, a doctrine of the unity of being. The Muslim sees everything in the world as connected to everything else, and ultimately as connected with what lies behind the visible, so the Muslim sees the world as having a meaning that lies behind it. God sent us rather than angels to represent him in the world, and as a result we must treat the environment as though it were a divinely created space. By contrast, secular scientists often see the world as a site to be exploited, as having no more meaning than we can derive from it, and so as ripe for development. Only a religious sensibility can appreciate the real status of the world as the creation of God, and only a religious sensibility can embody that status within actions designed to preserve and value our environment.

Nasr is entirely right in pointing to the contrast between what he calls the sacred and the traditional, on the one hand, and modernity on the other. The latter often involves a debunking of mystery, and the rejection of the idea that the meaning of the world lies behind the world. But it does not necessarily follow, as Nasr suggests, that anything goes. It might be argued that those who think that this world is all that there is have a greater incentive to look after it than those who regard it as symbolic of a deeper reality, for that very reason. This world is all that there is, so once it is gone and destroyed there is nothing left of significance. For the religious person the death and destruction of this world might be seen as of little importance compared with the perfection and immutability of the next world. There is really not any significant difference between Islamic science and any other form of science.

God's knowledge of particulars

There is one persistent source of controversy in Islamic philosophy related to knowledge, and that deals with the nature of divine knowledge, especially as it relates to particular things or events. It is generally accepted that God knows everything and, indeed as we have seen in the Qur'anic account, our knowledge is very much based on God. Not only does God know everything that is visible, he knows the secrets and everything that is hidden. One of the traditional attributes of God is, of course, omniscience, and we do normally expect God to know everything that takes place in our world, and beyond, in just the ways that the Qur'an describes. However, in his account of divine knowledge, Ibn Sina points to a problem which al-Farabi had also identified, and this is that God's knowledge is knowledge of general principles and ideas, not of particular facts. For him to have knowledge of particulars he would have to have senses and be limited in space and time, which is not the case. He could know particulars whose particularity is unique, in the sense that there can only be one of them given the conditions under which they arise, and Ibn Sina here gives the example of an eclipse. An eclipse has to take place at a certain place and time given the causal laws to which the planets are subject, and since God knows what those laws are, indeed created them himself, he knows that the eclipse took place. But he does not know how it took place, in the sense of what it felt like to watch it take place, since he does not possess the necessary equipment for such an observation.

Al-Ghazali complains with some justification that this is indeed a very radical thesis, because it implies that God did not know that Muhammad prophesied or who does good and who does evil, and so does not know how to reward or punish people in the next life, if he wishes to treat them in accordance with their deserts. The Qur'an certainly talks in a way to suggest that God knows all these things, and constantly reminds us of God watching us and being aware of what we do. On the other hand, even al-Ghazali would accept that something rather different must be meant by divine knowledge as compared with our knowledge. But the suggestion that God does not know about particulars is worrying from a religious perspective, since as al-Ghazali points out, so much of what is important to us occurs in the form of particulars. We ourselves are particulars, and we might expect God to be aware of us. Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina could argue that it would be beneath God's dignity to know everything that occurs in our world, but since he made it we might well expect him to know how it operates. According to them he does know this but only in general terms, since without sensory equipment he cannot actually identify ordinary objects. In any case if he knew everything that happened in the world of generation and corruption he would be constantly changing his consciousness, and God is supposed to be unchanging, so the idea that God is aware of everything we do on a daily basis cannot be understood as literally true.

But there is certainly a problem here, and an interesting way to resolve it was undertaken by Ibn Rushd. He suggests that we should take God's knowledge to be the paradigm of perfect knowledge and our knowledge as a pale reflection of God's knowledge. Then our knowledge of particulars can be seen as an imperfect version of the perfect knowledge that God has, and his knowledge as much more perfect than ours because he knows everything from a formal perspective. He knows how it came about, what in general is going to happen to it, and why it is as it is, while we know the specific parts of the whole structure that he grasps. This is not actually so much an epistemological issue as an issue in the theory of language (see MEANING IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY).

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OLIVER LEAMAN

ERTUĞRUL, İsmail Fenni (1855–1946)

The Turkish philosopher and writer Ertuğrul was born in 1855. He was trained as an accountant and held various positions in the Ottoman Empire. He lived a simple life and died in 1946. In addition to his writings on the school of Ibn AL-'ARABI and against philosophical materialism, he played several musical instruments and composed musical pieces, some of which are still performed today.

Following the tradition of his contemporaries, Ertuğrul wrote a dictionary of philosophical terms, called *Lügatçe-i Felsefe*, to introduce new philosophical ideas into the Turkish-speaking world. In his *İzale-i Şükuk* (The Dispelling of Doubts), he responded to Dozy's polemical history of Islam translated by Abdullah CEVDET. He wrote a refutation of philosophical materialism entitled *Maddiyun Mezhebinin İzmihlali* (The Destruction of the School of Materialism). In addition, Ertuğrul also wrote on the Andalusian mystic Ibn al 'Arabi and defended his doctrine of the transcendent unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*).

In his refutations of philosophical materialism, Ertuğrul used various arguments culled from the natural sciences and philosophy of the time. He rejected the claim of the materialists that nothing in the universe is created out of nothing or goes into nonexistence. With this, he sought to reject the absolutization of matter as an eternal and infinite substance. Since the infinity of matter could not be proven scientifically, it could only be a philosophical assumption. But it was impossible, Ertuğrul said, to conceive of matter as an infinite substance responsible for the creation and order of the universe. Against the rampant materialism and positivism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ertuğrul tried to revive traditional Islamic philosophy and focused on the school of Ibn al-'Arabi and his concept of being. He is probably the first modern Muslim philosopher to compare and contrast Ibn al-'Arabi's concept of the transcendent unity of being with pantheism and its various kinds in Western philosophy.

In his *Muhyiddin İbn Arabi ve Vahdet-i Vücut* (Ibn al-'Arabi and Wahdat al-Wujud) published in 1924, he defended Ibn al-'Arabi against the charges of pantheism, which he saw as incompatible with the Islamic concept of God and the created universe. Although he traced the origins of the idea of the unity of being to Parmenides and Plotinus, he considers Ibn al-'Arabi as the first major and most prominent expositor of it. In response to the traditional *kalam* criticisms leveled against Ibn al 'Arabi, Ertuğrul defended the transcendent unity of being as a metaphysical doctrine to be understood in terms of intuitive knowledge rather than pure reason and/or scientific experimentation. Like his contemporaries Ahmed Avni KONUK, Ferid KAM, and Şehbenderzade Ahmet Hilmi, he rejected the charge that the school of Ibn al-'Arabi obliterated the distinction between God and the world. Instead, he defined everything as coming from a single source and returning to it.

Ertuğrul's philosophical works contributed to the revival of the study of traditional metaphysics in the twentieth century. His rejection of philosophical materialism and defense of the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabi can be seen as a criticism of the radical positivism and materialism of nineteenth-century European thought. Among his works are *Küçük Kitapta Büyük Mevzular* (Big Issues in a Small Book), *Büyük Filozoflar* (Great Philosophers), *Lügatçe-i Felsefe* (A Small Dictionary of Philosophy), and the posthumous *Hakikat Nurları* (Lights of Truth).

Even though Ertuğrul remained outside any political associations, his works can also be regarded as a subtle criticism of the modernist policies of the newly founded Turkish Republic. Like many of the Islamist thinkers of the time, Ertuğrul also believed that Islam is not against scientific and technological "progress" (*terakki*).

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IBRAHIM KALIN

ESAT EFENDI, Yanyalı (d. 1722 or 1730)

Yanyalı Esat b. Ali b. Osman Efendi was born in the Epirus region of northwestern Greece. He received his early education in Yanya and Istanbul. He learned Arabic, Persian, French, Greek, and Latin. He was appointed a professor at the Eyüp *madrasa* in Istanbul, and became the chief religious authority (*qadi*) of Galata. He joined the Naqshibandiya Sufi order.

Esat is the first Muslim scholar to translate Aristotle's *Physics* directly from Greek into Arabic. His translation-cum-commentary was commissioned by the Ottoman grand-vizier Damat I.brahim Pasha, and is called *Tercumetu mucelled al-thamaniya li-Aristotalis* (Translation of Eight Works by Aristotle). His translations and commentaries were part of the Ottoman attempts to bring about a cultural renaissance in the eighteenth century known as the Tulip Era. In his introduction, Esat Efendi gives a brief discussion of the principles of traditional Greek and Islamic philosophy, and mentions Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. He also talks about the significance of "wisdom" (*hikmet*) and quotes several sayings of the aforementioned Greek philosophers. Given the steady decline of the study of natural sciences and traditional philosophy in the eighteenth-century Islamic world, these references can be read as a critique of the intellectual ambiance of Esat's era.

Esat also discusses such Western commentators of Aristotle as Albertus Magnus, John Duns Scotus, and St Thomas Aquinas. In addition to these figures, he refers to the works of AL-FARABI, IBN SINA, and IBN RUSHD, and praises the latter while not shying away from criticizing Ibn Rushd for his mistakes in physics. The fact that Esat mentions telescope and microscope in his explanations shows his study of modern science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Esat's other works include *Kitab Amal al-murabba' al-musawi li'd-da'ira* (The Book of Square Equal to Circle), which is a book on geometry. *Risala lahutiyya* (The Divine Treatise) deals with the *kalam* proofs for the existence of God. His other book called *Hashiya 'ala ithbat al-wujud* (Gloss on the Demonstration of Being) is also devoted to the same issue. *Al-Hashiya al-fathiyya 'ala al-sharh al-hanafiyya li'r-risalat al-'adudiyya* (The Victorious Gloss on Hanafi's Commentary on Adud al-Din al-Iji's Treatise) is an important gloss on the famous theologian Adud al-Din AL-IJI's *Sharh al-hanafiyya*. *Sharh manzuma-yi shahidi* (Commentary on Shahidi's Poetry) is a translation of and a commentary on Shahidi's Persian dictionary written in rhymes.

Esat was a poet of some repute and wrote poems in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. He also published translations of poetry from Latin, Arabic, and Persian, and collected his poems in his *Divan*.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

F

AL-FALIMBANI, ‘Abdul Samad

(*c.* 1116–1254/*c.* 1704–1838)

‘Abdul Samad al-Falimbani was one of the great and influential religious scholars in the eighteenth-century Malay Archipelago. Some historical sources recorded his father’s name as Faqih Hussein bin ‘Abdullah, while others stated that his father was Shaykh ‘Abdul Jalil bin ‘Abdul Wahab bin Ahmad al- Mahdani, or ‘Abdul Rahman bin ‘Abdullah bin Ahmad al-Falimbani. Biographers give discrepant accounts of his place of birth, but ‘Abdul Samad claimed to be of Arab origin. His father was said to be an Arab from San‘a, Yemen, who traveled to the Malay Archipelago on an Islamic mission and visited India, Java, and Palembang before settling in Kedah, the northern state of Malaya, where he was appointed as *mufti* (jurisconsult). While in Palembang, where he stayed for some three years, he was married to a local woman and from that marriage ‘Abdul Samad was born. The nickname al-Falimbani was derived from his birthplace Palimbang in Sumatra, Indonesia.

‘Abdul Samad began his early education in Palimbang and continued in Kedah under the close guidance of his father. He was then sent to Fatani for further religious education, where he met several prominent religious scholars. It is worth noting that Fatani was known in the Malay world as the “corridor to Mecca” for the *pondok* system, which was the center for traditional religious education. In Fatani, ‘Abdul Samad was exposed to *fiqh* and *usul al-din* or *kalam*. The *fiqh* teaching in Fatani at that time was confined within the Shafi‘i school, while *usul al-din* was based on the views of the Ahl Sunna wa al-Jama‘a, represented by the works of Abu al-Hasan AL-ASH‘ARI and Abu Mansur AL-MATURIDI. Both Abu al-Hasan and Abu Mansur were prominent in Islamic theology, particularly in speculative theology (*kalam*). From Fatani, ‘Abdul Samad went to Mecca and Madina for his advanced study. In Mecca he met several well-known scholars, including Shaykh ‘Ata’ullah and Shaykh Muhammad ‘Abdul Karim Samman al-Qadiri al-Khalwati al-Madani, a Sufi master and founder of the Sufi tariqa al-Sammaniyya.

Apart from his career as a religious teacher, ‘Abdul Samad was a prolific writer whose works were widely used and studied. Among his major works were *Hidayat al-salikin*, *Siyar al-salikin*, *Nasihat al-muslimin wa tadhkirat al-mu’minin fi fada’il al-jihad wa karamat al-mujtahidin fi sabil Allah*, *Sirat al-murid fi bayan kalimat al-tawhid*, *Kitab Ratib Abdul Samad al-Falimbani, Kitab al-Urwat al-wuthqa,* and *Kitab Anis al-muttaqin*. In the Malay world, ‘Abdul Samad was considered as the representative of AL-GHAZALI. *Siyar al- Salikin* and *Hidayat al-salikin* were seen as an adaptation of al-Ghazali’s *Ihya’ ‘ulum al-din* and *Bidaya al-hidaya*. Like the *Ihya’ ‘ulum al-din*, *Siyar al-salikin*, which is also considered as ‘Abdul Samad’s *magnum opus* (about 1,200 pages), contains basic moral and ethical teachings in Islam with a very strong Sufi flavor. Through this work, he became known as a Sufi practitioner and the founder of the Tariqa al-Samaniyya in the Malay world.

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ZAID AHMAD

FALSAFA

The Arabic word *falsafa* literally means "philosophy," but is more generally used to denote a certain kind of philosophy, that is, philosophical thinking as derived from classical Greek schools of thought, chiefly Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Neoplatonism. The foremost exponents of *falsafa* in Islamic thought, such as AL-FARABI, IBN SINA, and IBN RUSHD, to name only the most prominent, expounded a worldview that would not have been unfamiliar to their Greek forebearers. They saw philosophy as a vehicle for the pursuit of knowledge, across a wide range of spheres from metaphysics to medicine, cosmology to the natural sciences. Though they wrote—often copiously—on different branches of knowledge, they saw knowledge itself as being fundamentally indivisible.

The first aim of *falsafa* was the achievement of *hikma* (wisdom). This in turn led the philosopher to a greater knowledge and understanding of the nature of God, the prime mover or First Cause from which all else emanates. But in using the tools of reason to draw nearer to God, the followers of *falsafa* drew the ire of those who believed that it was impossible—and probably impious—to attempt a rational understanding of God, the All-Highest being beyond the ability of reason to comprehend. AL-GHAZALI's attack on *falsafa* undermined its intellectual credibility in many circles. Al-Ghazali proposed another way of achieving wisdom. Instead of achieving *hikmah* through reason and understanding, it was possible to achieve it through inner illumination, or *ishraq*.

Subsequently, *falsafa* fell into something of a decline in the Arabic world, though this may have as much to do with the political turmoil in that world and the lack of stable, safe havens for philosophers to work and study; much as philosophy had similarly declined in Greece itself. However, it did not die out completely, and outside the Arab milieu, in Persia and especially in Ottoman Turkey, *falsafa* enjoyed some temporary revivals. Later writers and thinkers such as MULLA SADRA made systematic attempts to harmonize *falsafa* and *ishraq* and other routes to wisdom. In the twentieth century, in Egypt and Turkey in particular, there was a revival of interest in philosophy among Islamic scholars, though this interest is now focused on modern doctrines such as positivism rather than classical philosophy.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

FANSURI, Hamzah (*c.* tenth/sixteenth century)

Due to the lack of historical records, the exact dates of birth and death of Hamzah Fansuri, and much of the details of his life are not known with certainty; and not surprisingly, there exists much debate among scholars on these matters. However, most scholars agree that he must have lived during the latter half of the tenth/sixteenth century. As to whether he died at the end of the tenth/sixteenth century or lived well into the eleventh/seventeenth century during the reign of Sultan ʻAla al-Din Riʻayat Shah (who ruled Aceh from 997–1013/1589–1604) is an open question.

Most scholars also agree that the epithet to his name indicates he was born in Fansur, or Barus as it was known locally, which was an important and prosperous trading port in the northwest coast of Sumatra during the tenth/sixteenth century, and most probably lived there for the major part of his life. However, S. M. N. al-Attas (1970), who made a major study of Fansuri's thought and rendered his works for the first time in English, holds the view that Fansuri was born in the city of Sharh-i-Naw or Ayuthia, the ancient capital of Thailand, based on the fact that Hamzah mentions that "he obtained his existence" there and refers to himself as Hamzah Sharh Nawi a few times in his poems. Drewes and Brakel (1986), who also did a study on Hamzah and examined the Javanese translations of the latter's works, believe that Hamzah was born in Fansur and had his major spiritual experience of realizing the Divine Self in his self in Sharh-i-Naw; hence Hamzah Sharh Nawi denotes the spiritually realized Hamzah.

In his poems, Hamzah Fansuri mentions that he was initiated into the Qadiriyya order in Baghdad and also received the *ijaza* or authority to instruct and initiate others into the brotherhood. He also made a pilgrimage to Mecca in order "to seek God in the House of Kaʻaba" but did not find Him there; instead he found God "in his house" or in his self. Hamzah also traveled extensively in the Malay world, to the Malay Peninsula and also to Siam or ancient Thailand, where there was a sizable community of Malay, Indian, Arab, Persian, and Turkish Muslims. This has led certain scholars to believe that Hamzah may have learned his Persian there and also become acquainted with the Islamic intellectual and spiritual developments and currents in the Indian subcontinent which influenced religious polemics in the Malay world.

After his travels, Hamzah returned to Aceh and taught there, and also at Barus or Fansur. Among Hamzah's greatest and most influential follower is the Sufi Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i (SUMATRANI) (d. 1039/1630) who was the *shaykh al-islam* of the kingdom of Aceh and the spiritual master of the reigning sultan then, Iskandar Muda (d. 1045/1636). Whether Hamzah actually taught Sumatra'i in person is uncertain, but the fact is that the latter was very much influenced by the former's spiritual and metaphysical teachings and is often considered as Hamzah's most important expositor and commentator, although their teachings are not identical.

Fansuri knew both Arabic and Persian, and wrote his mystical works in Malay for the benefit of those who are not proficient in the two languages. In Malay Islamic intellectual history, Fansuri is regarded as the foremost Malay Sufi poet, and the first to write of Sufi metaphysical doctrines and spiritual teachings in the Malay language.

His prose work, *Sharab al-'ashiqin* (The Drink of Lovers) is the first work on Sufism written in Malay; and to date, no other work has been discovered prior to Fansuri's. The other two prose works by Fansuri are *Asrar al-'arifin* (The Secrets of the Gnostics) and *al-Muntahi* (The Adept). In these prose works and in his poetry, Fansuri expounds IBN AL-'ARABI's doctrine of transcendent unity of Being or *wahdat al-wujud*, the ontological descents or self-determinations (*tanazzulat*) of the Absolute in the five grades of being (*al-hadarat al-ilahiyyat al-khams*), the relation between the divine Qualities and the divine Essence, the essential but not substantial relation between God and his creation, the doctrine of the Universal or Perfect Man (*al-insan al-kamil*) and on *fana'* (self-effacement), *'ishq* (rapturous love for God), and *ma'rifa* (experiential knowledge of God). Fansuri is often regarded as the Ibn al-'Arabi of the Malay world and the founder of the controversial Wujudiyya school. This was bitterly criticized by Nur al-Din AL-RANIRI (d. 1068/1658), who managed to convince the Sultan of Aceh that its teachings were heretical. This led to the persecution of the followers of the school and to the writings of Fansuri and Sumatra'i being burnt.

In the tradition of Malay literature, Fansuri is considered to be the first to introduce the forms of the *ruba' i* (rhyming quatrains) and the *sha'ir*; and also the art of *ta'wil* or spiritual hermeneutics. Fansuri's elegant prose, rhyming quatrains, and exquisite poetry are unsurpassed in Malay literary writings, and they remain the enduring source of emulation and inspiration for the many generations of Malay scholars and poets in Southeast Asia interested in Sufism. He was one of the most important and influential Malay thinkers whose works created a new intellectual vocabulary which facilitated discourse on profound spiritual and metaphysical matters in the Malay language.

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ZAILAN MORIS

AL-FARABI, Abu Nasr

(*c.* 258–*c.* 339/*c.* 871–*c.* 950)

Abu Nasr al-Farabi, whose full name is Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Tarkhan b. Uzlugh al-Farabi al-Turki (he is also known by the Latin names Alpharabius (also spelled Alfarabius) or Avennasar (Abunaser), was born in Vesic, Turkestan (modern Kazakhstan) in *c.* 258/871. He died or was killed probably in or near Damascus in *c.* 339/950. He was one of the most significant philosophers of the Muslim world and was widely regarded as the "second greatest philosopher/master" (*al-mu'allim al-thani*) next to Aristotle, who was considered as the "first master" (*al-mu'allim al-awwal*) in the Muslim intellectual milieu. Owing to the fact that very limited knowledge about his whole life is available, many extraordinary qualities have been attributed to him; for instance, his knowledge of more than seventy languages, his ascetic lifestyle, and the like. About his family, nothing is known for sure, except that his father was the commander of the Vecis castle in Turkestan. He studied the principal Islamic sciences, Arabic, and

Persian in Farab, one of the great centers of learning in the Samanid period.

Al-Farabi traveled to Baghdad, Damascus, Egypt, Harran, and Aleppo. In Baghdad, he furthered his Arabic knowledge with Ibn al-Sarraj (d. 298/929). While in this city, he also studied logic under the instruction of the Nestorian Christian Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunus. In Harran or Baghdad, it would seem that his logic and philosophy instruction was provided by Yuhanna b. Haylan. In general, his philosophical thinking was nourished in the heritage of Aristotelian teachings, and he wrote most of his books in the Islamic environment of tenth-century Baghdad. Later in Halab (modern Aleppo) al-Farabi met the Hamdanid prince Sayf al-Dawla, who became his patron, and he took up residence at the court of the latter in 329/942 and remained mostly in this city until his death.

Al-Farabi made a great impact on other important philosophical figures, one of whom was the Christian monophysite Yahya b. ʻAdi whom he taught in Baghdad. Yahya, following his master's path, gave a great impetus to the study of logic. Hence, one of his students, Abu Sulayman AL-SIJISTANI, the author of *al-Sijistani al-Mantiqi* (The Logician), was also a follower of al-Farabi. Abu Hayyan AL-TAWHIDI, a pupil of both Yahya and Abu Sulayman, Abu al-Hasan Muhammad b. Yusuf AL-ʻAMIRI, Abu Bakr al-Adami, Ibn Zurʻa, Ibn al-Samh, and Ibn al-Hammar were to a great extent influenced by the thought of al-Farabi. In Western Christendom, he exerted considerable influence on "Latin Averroists" like Thomas Aquinas. His ideas were also very effective in reconstructing the cosmology of Ismaʻili theology during the time of the Fatimids of Egypt (358–565/969–1171), which had been highly revolutionary, antinomian, and *prousia*-oriented (*qa'im*, "the imam of the resurrection"). With this reconstruction Ismaʻili theology became more in line with his principle that the community should live under divine law.

Though little is known about his life for certain, his unsurpassable imprint on philosophy is remarkable. Al-Farabi was the first known philosopher who made the paradigms of Hellenic philosophy, especially those of metaphysics, communicable with the epistemic categories of the Muslim philosophical tradition. He held that though religious truth is important, it provides truth in a symbolic form to nonphilosophers, who were not able to apprehend it in its more pure forms.

According to al-Farabi, while philosophy had come to an end in other parts of the world, it had a unique chance for new life in Islam. His notions of essence and existence as well as the hierarchical Neoplatonic model of intellection based on emanation (*sudur*) determined the general frame of IBN SINA's metaphysics and ontology. Besides being the foremost authority in metaphysics and epistemology, he was also very influential in the fields of logic, music, and political science. In metaphysics, he was accepted as the precursor of Neoplatonism in the Muslim intellectual world and the most preeminent person in the vein of this philosophy after Proclus. His Neoplatonic mode was reappropriated with Aristotelian concepts and approaches—yet never intermingled with each other—and shapes the general character of his philosophical works at large. To illustrate, in his famous *magnum opus*, *al-Madina al-fadila* (The Virtuous City), which is to a great extent unique and far from a Neoplatonic interpretation of Plato's *Republic*, he uses certain Platonic paradigms in politics and utilizes the Neoplatonic concept of God; yet his theology is detached from Platonism at large. In addition, in his writings, in some matters no Neoplatonism is used at all; but in other places Neoplatonic thought shapes much of his writing. In the areas of cosmogony, immortality of the soul, and eschatology, he seeks to reconcile the notions of Plato and of Aristotle. In cosmogony, due to his dependence on Neoplatonic metaphysics, he advocates the emanation theory, revealingly contradicting the Qur'anic concept of creation "from nothing" (*ex nihilo nihil*).

Essence and existence in God are mingled absolutely without any separation. He uses negative attributes (apophatic language) in describing the deity as a consequence of his Neoplatonic methodology. Using the Neoplatonic framework in the doctrine of emanation (*sudur*), he conceptualizes the hierarchy of being accordingly. At the top of the hierarchy is the divine being, called "the First," from whom a second being, named the First Intellect, emanates and, like God, this second being is an immaterial substance. The First Intellect emanates a total of ten intellects by means of thought; hence it comprehends God and thus produces a third being, which is the Second Intellect. The First Intellect comprehends also its own essence, and thence produces the body and soul of *al-Sama' al-ula* (the First Heaven). Each of the ensuing emanated intellects is associated with the generation of similar astral entities, such as the stars, the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. On the level of the Tenth Intellect, the heavenly and terrestrial realms are separated from each other. The Tenth Intellect or *al-'aql al-fa''al* (The Active Intellect) is designated to actualize the potentiality for thought in humanity, and emanates form to humanity and the world. The obvious consequence of this notion is that the God of Neoplatonism does not interfere directly with the matters of the sublunary world; yet, the same God is regarded, though indirectly, as responsible for everything that happens in this world due to the process of emanation.

Even when he discusses the Qur'an's description of God, he was under the influence of Neoplatonic cosmogony. In short, under the impact of Neoplatonism, al-Farabi conceives of creation as a gradual process. The world, he argues, came into being in a gradual way as the result of God's omnipresence. This creation begins at the most perfect level and descends to the least perfect stage, the world of matter (*hyle*). The degree of perfection is measured by the distance from the first emanation, for which all creations long. The soul, for instance, is trapped in the body and always craves for its liberation from its bodily prison to join the world of spirits, which is closer to the first cause and therefore closer to perfection. For him, God emanates not out of necessity but out of a free act of will. The emanation process is spontaneous, for it arises from God's natural and perpetual goodness, and it is eternal because God is always omnipresent.

In logic, following the tradition of the Hellenistic masters of the Athenian (Aristotelian) and Alexandrian (Neoplatonic) philosophical schools, al-Farabi expands the scope of philosophical enquiry and fixes its general framework. He pays great attention to the study of language and its relation to logic. In his many commentaries on Aristotle's works on logic, he explains for the first time the entire range of scientific and nonscientific forms of argument and establishes logic as an indispensable prerequisite for philosophical enquiries and studies. His detailed writings on natural science clearly lay down the foundation and assumptions of Aristotle's *Physics* and seek to debunk the arguments of Aristotle's opponents, and pagan, Christian, and Muslim philosophers and scientists.

In epistemology, al-Farabi has, to a great degree, a Neoplatonic and an Aristotelian outlook; at times the Qur'anic account of knowledge is present in his works. In the representation of his epistemological approach, the *Kitab Ihsa' al-'ulum* (Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences) is perhaps his best work, encyclopedic and highly sophisticated in expression. In this study, al-Farabi classifies knowledge as follows: the science of language, the science of logic, the mathematical sciences, physics and metaphysics, and civic science, or more aptly, political science, jurisprudence, and classical theology. Each section is also divided into several subdivisions within itself.

In his other great work, *Risala fi'l-'aql* (Treatise on the Intellect), al-Farabi gives his theories of epistemology. He groups the concept of *'aql* (intellect) into six main categories in the following manner: first, acumen or discernment to acquire the good; second, perspicuity with implications of "immediate recognition"; third, natural and inherent perception to ascertain essential truths, taken from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*; fourth, "conscience," an accumulated quality enabling the individual to choose the good; fifth, intellect *per se*, which is the most important in his theory of knowledge and divided into four categories: *'aql bi'l-quwwa* (potential intellect), *'aql bi'l-fi'l* (actual intellect), *'aql mustafad* (acquired intellect), and *'aql al-fa"al* (active intellect). This operates as follows: the potentiality to abstract forms, abstracting forms in action, active actualization of the object actualized, and actualizing potentialities. The sixth and last intellect is divine reason or God himself which is the source of all intellectual power and function.

In political philosophy, al-Farabi holds that pure philosophy cannot understand the practical and existential framework of religion as long as it concerns itself almost completely with its truth content and relegates the study of practical science to individualistic ethics and personal salvation. Analogous to the Islamic religious tradition and to its derivative sciences, such as *kalam* (theology) and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), al-Farabi constructs a kind of political theology where cosmology, psychology, and politics are all remodeled on an Islamic communal pattern. By clarifying the essentials of the Islamic community and defending its reconstruction along the lines of scientific enquiry, he sought to encourage philosophers to take an active role in practical political matters. In this new construction, the theoretical sciences are organized within a philosophic model so that metaphysics, logic, epistemology, physics, and mathematics culminate in a political science whose subject matter is the investigation of and search for happiness and how it can be realized and materialized in cities, communities, and nations. The main aim of this newly oriented political science is the founding of a righteous, virtuous, and excellent community. This hinges on perfect supreme rulers following the prototype, the qualifications of such rulers, and the regulation of the community so that its members achieve happiness as citizens of this felicitous city (*al-Madina al-fadila*). Once he establishes this new philosophical/political structure, al-Farabi conducts a philosophical investigation of all the constituents that characterized the Islamic community—the prophet-lawgiver, the aims of the divine laws (Shari'a), the legislation of beliefs, actions, and statements, the role and responsibility of the successors of the founding legislator, the grounds for the interpretation or reconstruction of the law—and more generally, the classification of human communities according to their doctrines in addition to their size, and the critique of four corrupt communities.

As is evident, most of al-Farabi's writings are directed at the problem of the correct ordering of the state. Just as God rules the cosmos, so should the philosopher, as the most perfect kind of man, rule the state. Thus, al-Farabi links the political upheavals and chaos of his time to the expatriation of the philosopher from government. In his magnum opus *al-Madina al-fadila*, al-Farabi explicates in detail his political theory. He uses Platonic, Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, and Islamic ingredients, as seen, for instance, in the usage of the First Cause, emanation theory, and the like. Al-Farabi divides this sublunary world into different strata and into various societal modes. The perfect, ideal city, or the "Virtuous City," is theoretically laden with goodness and happiness and destined to be so, and it is compared in its tasks with the limbs of the human body. People of this city, or *al-ijtima' al-fadil*, are expected to forge cooperation among themselves to achieve happiness (*sa'ada*). This is the gist of al-Farabi's political theory. And this perfect community is a model or paradigm for achieving the virtuous world (*al-ma'mura al-fadila*) by striving to achieve such an ideal state. The ideal sovereign of this city, who is regarded as united with the *al-'aql al-fa''al* (the active intellect), along with the perfect character of the five classes of the city have certain features, duties, and functions in order to make up such a perfect city. For instance, the sovereign is to have inherent ability to rule, good character, excellent rhetoric, strength in terms of body and intellect, and the like.

In sharp contrast with this virtuous city, al-Farabi constructs four different kinds of corrupt cities: the ignorant city (*al-madina al-jahiliyya*), the transgressing city (*al-madina al-fasiqa*), the renegade city (*al-madina al-mubaddala*) and the errant city (*al-madina al-dalla*). Many of the inhabitants of these cities are destined for complete extinction, both bodily and spiritually; yet their rulers and elites who have been the cause of their debauchery and corruption are reserved for eternal punishment.

In aesthetics and music, al-Farabi seeks to develop a two-fold understanding of beauty: the sensible beauty and intelligible beauty, love and pleasure being associated with each. Al-Farabi also discusses in *al-madina al-fadila* how the concept of intelligible beauty is included in the discussion of the names (*asma'*) and attributes (*sifat*) of God as expressed in the Qur'an. God has names pertaining to beauty, such as "beauty" (*al-jamal*), "brilliance" (*al-baha'*), and the like. For al-Farabi, beauty is essentially an ontological condition; thus there is an exact equivalence between perfection and beauty. Hence, although these names and attributes can be regarded at first sight to be visual and thus sensible, they are essentially intelligible and thus perfect. This is because the beauty of God is essential, not accidental, and its source in his own substance is manifested by his self-contemplation. Thus, the existence of God as most excellent in all aspects corresponds necessarily to the beauty of God.

On the other hand, the beauty of creation, which is accidental, is corporeal and sensible. Al-Farabi also thinks that pleasure and beauty are closely related to each other, and the former is attached to and modified by the apprehension of beauty. In the act of self-contemplation, uniting the subject and object, the excellence of God's perfection in his own beauty results in a pleasure of equal intensity, which is uninterrupted. Combining the Neoplatonic elements of divine transcendence and the Qur'anic categories of divine excellence and perfection, al-Farabi reorients the categories of aesthetics by reconstructing and relating such aesthetic concepts as beauty, perfection, and pleasure. Thus, beauty, both sensible and intelligible, exists insofar as its object reaches perfection; when this perfection is an object of contemplation, then it becomes a source of love and pleasure for the contemplating and beholding subject. Al-Farabi was also a great authority on music. One of his works is entitled *Kitab al-Musiqa al-kabir* (The Great Book of Music).

To sum up, the Peripatetic School (*Mashsha'un*) of Islamic philosophy was under the dominating influence of al-Farabi until the time of the death of Ibn Rushd (596/1198). His philosophical doctrines were carried on by his pupils throughout the Islamic world. His theories were also very effective on the theology of the Jacobite Christians and of the Isma'ilis. The theory of emanation, traced back to Plotinus (205–70), and its linked doctrines, such as *ittisal* (connection), *sa'ada* (happiness), and *nubuwwa* (prophecy), made a great impact on the Brethren of Purity (al-Ikhwan al-Safa) and Ibn Sina. Even a very different thinker like Ibn al-'Arabi utilized al-Farabi's theory of emanation in his doctrine of the unity of being.

His theory of prophecy was picked up and developed by Ibn Sina and adopted by the Jewish philosopher Maimonides, and resurrected again by Spinoza who, like al-Farabi, holds that revelation and inspiration are an existential function of imaginative power.

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SEVKET YAVUZ

FARGHANI, Ahmad ibn M. ibn Katir
(third/ninth century)

Al-Farghani worked in Samarra during the 'Abassid caliphate (836–92). He was born, as his name suggests, in Farghana. He worked as a civil engineer in both Egypt, where he is said to have died, and Iraq, although not very successfully, since according to Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, a canal on which he worked never actually functioned.

Al-Mutawakkil had entrusted the two sons of Musa ibn Shakir, Muhammad and Ahmad, with supervising the digging of a canal named al-Ja'fari. They delegated the work to al-Farghani, thus deliberately ignoring a better engineer, Sind ibn 'Ali, who, out of professional jealousy, they had caused to be sent to Baghdad, away from al-Mutawakkil's court in Samarra. The canal was to run through the new city, al-Ja'fariyya, which al-Mutawakkil had built near Samarra on the Tigris and named after himself. Al-Farghani committed a grave error, making the beginning of the canal deeper than the rest, so that not enough water would run through the length of the canal except when the Tigris was high. News of this angered the Caliph, and the two brothers were saved from severe punishment only by the gracious willingness of Sind ibn 'Ali to vouch for the correctness of al-Farghani's calculations, thus risking his own welfare and possibly his life. As had been correctly predicted by astrologers, however, al-Mutawakkil was murdered shortly before the error became apparent.

Al-Farghani is said to have escaped punishment for this by the skin of his teeth, and the story is often repeated as an example of how someone who is excellent at theory may know nothing about how to do something in practice. He is also said to have been in charge of the building of the Great Nilometer at Fustat, which was finished in 861. His major works were in astronomy, and his key work here is the *K. Jawami 'ilm al-nujum wa usul al-harakat al-samawiya* (Book of Principles of Astronomy and Celestial Movement), a summary of Ptolemiac astronomy that went on to be much translated into Latin and Hebrew, and much abridged and commented on in Arabic. Al-Farghani accepted Ptolemy's theory and value of the precession, but thought that it affected not only the stars but also the planets. He determined the diameter of the earth to be 6,500 miles, and worked out huge distances, including the diameters of the planets. He also wrote on the astrolabe and mathematics.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-FARGHANI, Sa'id al-Din
(seventh/thirteenth century)

Sa'id al-Din M. b. Ahmad Al-Farghani was born in Farghana and studied under Sadr al-Din QUNAWI, IBN AL-'ARABI's most important student. He is known to have written three works, and his most important work is certainly his commentary on a difficult but key Sufi text, the *Ta'iya al-kobra* (*Nazm al-suluk*) of IBN AL-FARID. Qunawi lectured on this text, and Farghani managed to convert these lectures, including no doubt his own thoughts on the text, into a fairly organized work that succeeds in explaining Ibn al-Farid's ideas. What Farghani did was important since he knitted together the highly sophisticated philosophical ideas produced by Ibn al-'Arabi and explained how they accorded with the rather subjective and direct accounts provided in Sufism.

It is quite clear from reading accounts that are critical of Sufism and Ibn al-'Arabi that it is the text of Farghani that was the source for the information on which the attacks were based. This shows how central his texts were in the Islamic world for those seeking to understand the theoretical implications of Sufism and how these relate to Ibn al-'Arabi. For example, IBN KHALDUN quotes him as a representative of what he calls the school of emanation, manifestation, and presence (*ahl al-tajalli wa mazahir wa hadrat*). The idea is that all existence comes from the manifestation of unity and there is an emanation of being from the divine source whose presence extends throughout everything.

Al-Farghani wrote his commentary in both Persian and Arabic, the latter called *Muntaha'l-madarik*, and both were much studied. Since it is essentially a commentary on a commentary on a poem, this was quite an achievement, as is the praise it received from the poet Jami (d. 898/1492) as the most organized account of mystical philosophy then available. Al-Farghani died in either 691/1292, 695/1296 or 699/1299, according to different authorities.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-FARISI, Kamal al-Din
(*c.* 658–*c.* 720/1260–*c.* 1320)

Kamal al-Din Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Farisi was born around 658/1260 in Tabriz, a district in the far northwestern territories of Iran, and died in that same locality about 720/1320. Little is known about his life. He was raised in a period marked by political turbulence that ensued from the destruction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, and the sack of Baghdad by the invading Mongol hordes in 1258. Henceforward, his life unfolded under the reign of the Mongol Ilkhanids (Ilkhan) dynasty, which governed Persia from 1256 to 1336, and under whose auspices the arts and sciences experienced a relative blossoming.

Kamal al-Din started his studies with the astronomer Qutb al-Din AL-SHIRAZI (1236–1311) sometime prior to 1290, and was one of his most outstanding pupils. Consequently, he acquired his education in a scholarly environment that was closely associated with the observatory of Maragha in Azerbaijan, which was once headed by Qutb al-Din's teacher, the famed mathematician and philosopher, Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI (d. 1274). Eventually, Kamal al-Din became the prime inheritor of the Maragha school, and a contributor to its systematic intellectual continuity in Tabriz. Upon studying his tutor's treatise, *Nihayat al-idrak fi dirayat al-aflak*, which constituted an astronomical tract that was drafted by Qutb al-Din in reference to al-Tusi's *Tadhkirah*, Kamal al-Din was not fully satisfied with its reported optical theories. Although Qutb al-Din's *opus*, the *Nihayat*, was a work in astronomy, it also contained a section treating topics in geometrical optics as well as investigating the formation of meteorological phenomena like the rainbow. Kamal al-Din's intellectual discomfort from what he encountered in that part of the *Nihayat* led to his attempted interrogation of al-Tusi's "over-philosophizing" interpretation of Euclid's mathematical *Optika* (drafted *c.*300 BC).

In forming this opinion, Kamal al-Din may have been partly influenced by IBN SINA's physical explication of vision as being an intromission theory, which was itself chiefly inspired by Aristotle's *De anima* as well as being associated with meteorological observations concerning phenomena like the rainbow. This line in scientific literature may have initially inspired Kamal al-Din's endeavor to study optics (*'ilm al-manazir*). At the time he became engaged in investigating the fundamentals of this science, whose origins date back to Euclid's and Ptolemy's systems, including the conjectures of Plato, Aristotle, Heron of Alexandria, and Galen. Moreover, the science of optics had been well developed in the works of thinkers like AL-KINDI (d. *c.* 866), IBN AL-HAYTHAM (d. 1039), Ibn Sina, and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi. Prompted by a question put to him by his tutor concerning the essence of refraction, Kamal al-Din was directed by al-Shirazi to consult the notable manuscript of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitab al-manazir* (The Optics; *c.*1027), which apparently was at the time recently acquired by Qutb al-Din from "a distant land" (arguably, from the al-Azhar school in Cairo).

Kamal al-Din originally intended to write a synoptic summary (*ikhtisar*) of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitab al-manazir*, to be subsequently followed by a commentary (*sharh*). However, after his careful reading of this monumental *opus* and the attempted assimilation of its findings, he opted to compose a critical revision (*tanqih*) entitled: *Tanqih al-manazir* *li-dhawi al-absar wa'l-basa'ir* (in short, The Revision of the Optics). Kamal al-Din completed the composition of this chief work, the *Tanqih*, between 1302 and 1311, prior to the death of his tutor Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi. This masterpiece included an appendage known as *Dhayl al-tanqih*, together with addenda (*lawahiq*) dealing with the rainbow (*qaws qoza*), the halo (*al-hala*), and the burning sphere (*al-Kura al-muhriqa*), and was ultimately further supported by an additional separate tract entitled: *Kitab al-Basa'ir fi 'ilm al-manazir* (Insights into the Science of Optics).

The unfurling of the *Tanqih* corpus did eventually constitute a principal breakthrough in the course of development of the scientific optical tradition, and, as its title indicates, it deservedly was an original critical revision that stood in its own right and cannot be reductively described as being a mere commentary (*sharh*) on Ibn al-Haytham's optical theories. Kamal al-Din's *opus* did ultimately lead to the furthering of the unfolding of a "physiological-geometrical" tradition in optics. His optical investigations were moreover grounded by a close anatomical examination of the eye that advanced the findings of Ibn al-Haytham, and presented a more systematic account of the structure of the eye than what was encountered with the Roman physician Claudius Galenus (Galen).

The most important part of Kamal al-Din's work is embodied in his theory of the rainbow (*qaws qoza*). Building on the meteorological observations of Ibn Sina's *Kitab al-Shifa'* (The Book of Healing), where it was stated that the rainbow results from the reflection of the sunlight rays on the totality of the water droplets dispersed into the atmosphere when clouds turn into rain, and equally appealing to Ibn al-Haytham's study of refraction in *Kitab al-Manazir*, and *The Burning Sphere* (al-Kura al-muhriqa), Kamal al-Din offered the first satisfactory mathematical explanation of the rainbow. He held that this phenomenon resulted from the refraction and reflection of light on rain droplets, while demonstrating that this theory was amenable to experimental verification and associated numerical tabulation. In his effort to verify his theoretical explication of the occurrence of the rainbow, Kamal al-Din enacted an experimental model fashioned after a transparent spherical glass vessel filled with water to represent a single rain droplet. Placing this installation in a dark room (*bayt muzlim*; *camera obscura*; the principle behind the pinhole camera), he subjected it to a light-ray passing by a controlled aperture, and observed the process of a modeled double refraction, between the surface of the glass container and the water it contained, with its associated reflections, which resulted in the generation of a rainbow-like coloration. Kamal al-Din was also able to show that the approximation obtained by his model was good enough to allow him to ignore the effects of the glass container. For, in the case of the actual miniscule rain droplets, the propagating light-ray encounters a double refraction, namely from air to water and water to air, while in the case of the glass model, light is refracted four times: from the air to the external surface of the glass envelope, then from the internal surface of the glass envelope to water, then through water to the inner surface of the glass envelope, and from the external surface of the glass envelope into air.

In addition to explicating the optical phenomenon of the rainbow, Kamal al-Din also tried to advance a new theory concerning the nature of color, grasping it as being the resulting effect of the interpenetration of different forms of an image with each other on a dark background. Although some argue that his theory of the rainbow was advanced under the explicit and direct influence of Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, it is more likely the case that the ascription of his accomplishment to his tutor remains dubious.

Besides his great contributions in the field of scientific optics, and his elucidation of the meteorological phenomena of the rainbow and the halo, Kamal al-Din also excelled as a mathematician. Of his achievements in that domain, once could principally cite his contributions to number theory. Following the tradition of Arabic mathematics, in appealing to Euclid's *Elements* and Diophantus' *Arithmetica*, Kamal al-Din further expounded Thabit IBN QURRA's (d. 901) theorem on amicable numbers (*al-a'dad al-mutahabba*; namely, a pair of numbers each of which equals the sum of the other's positive divisors). He moreover advanced the pair of amicable numbers (*mutahabban*) 220/284, and found the pair 17296/18416 (known as Euler's amicable pair) using Thabit's rule. He also introduced arithmetic elements of factorization based on Euclidean algorithm, together with associated combinatorial methods.

Nonetheless, Kamal al-Din's legacy remains most prominently attached to the course of development of optics, letting him ultimately appear as the last among the great scholars who contributed to the unfolding of this classical science in medieval Islamic civilization. Following Kamal al-Din's achievements, the most notable commentary on his *Tanqih* was eventually embodied in a tract titled *Nur hadaqat al-ibsar*, which was composed by the Syrian astronomer Taqi al-Din bin Muhammad bin Ma'ruf al-Dimashqi (d. 1585) under the patronage of the Ottoman Sultan Murad III.

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NADER EL-BIZRI

AL-FATANI, Dawud

(*c.* 1183–1263/*c.* 1770–1847)

Dawud bin Abdullah bin Idris al-Jawi al-Fatani al-Malayuwi is better known simply as Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani. The absence of reliable historical records has led to dispute among historians and biographers regarding his date and place of birth. At least three different years are ascribed to al-Fatani's birth: 1133/1721, 1153/1741 and 1183/1770. It is quite uncertain why his date of birth is so inconsistently reported. The same discrepancy also relates to his place of birth. According to one source he was born in a village called Kampung Parit Marhum, a village about seven kilometers south of Patani in South Thailand around 1183/1770. Another source has him born in Kampong Kerisek, also in Patani, south of Thailand.

We have little information about his early life, the details of his education or about his teachers, except that he was educated and brought up within the advanced religious spirit and environment of his own family. One of his instructors was said to be his own uncle, Shaykh Safiuddin. It was said that he spent the first five years of his education in Patani before heading to Aceh, where he spent another two years. It should be noted that Aceh at that time was considered as the corridor of Mecca, the place where students from all over the Malay world came for advanced religious education. The next destination was Mecca, where Shaykh Dawud spent some thirty years studying religion, after which he spent another five years in Medina to complete his studies. There is no exact date recorded as to when he arrived in Mecca.

While in Mecca and Medina, Shaykh Dawud had a chance to study under a number of leading religious scholars at that time, although of course in a very traditional milieu. Among these were Shaykh Muhammad Nafis bin Idris bin Hussayn al-Banjari (the author of *al-Dur al-Nafis*), who resided in Mecca, and Shaykh Abdul Samad al-Jawi AL-FALIMBANI, who also resided in Mecca and Taif. Shaykh Dawud, in his notes, mentioned four names who happened to be his instructors, namely Shaykh 'Ataullah, Shaykh Muhammad Zaid bin Faqih Jalaluddin Aceh, Shaykh Muhammad bin Abdul Karim al-Sammani al-Madani, and Sayyid Sulayman bin Yahya bin 'Umar.

Shaykh Daud enjoyed his fame as a leading religious scholar in the region whose writings had almost become "compulsory" textbooks in the Malay world. Any religious students who follow the traditional Malay *pondok* system (or *pesantren* in Indonesia) must have been acquainted with his books. Based on the latest historical account by Wan Muhammad Saghir (a leading biographer of traditional Malay scholars), Shaykh Daud produced a total of sixty-six publications in various forms, on various aspects, including theology, *fiqh*, *tasawwuf,* and history. Among the most read and studied of his works were *Furu' al-Masa'il; Bughyat al-tullab li murid ma'rifat al-ahkam bi al-sawab*; *al-Saydu wa al-zaba'ih*; *Tanbih al-ghafilin*; *al-Durru al-thamin fi 'aqa'id al-mu'minin*; *Minhaj al-'Abidin ila jannati rabb al-'alamin*; and *Munyat al-musalli* (to list only a few).

Based on his writings, it clearly shows that Shaykh Dawud was a follower of the Shafi'i school in *fiqh* and the Ash'ari school in theology. He was also a Sufi practitioner of the Shatari *tariqa*. However, as a prominent *faqih*, his most significant impact in the context of religious thought rests in his contribution as the proponent of Shafi'i's *fiqh* and *usul* (the principles of jurisprudence) in the Malay world. He was not a philosopher in the same manner as we regard, for example, AL-FARABI or IBN SINA, but his religious, philosophical, and theological thoughts could be seen in his works where he propagated his traditional religious ideas. The value of a work like *Furu' al-masa'il*, in which he dealt with many practical religious issues in society, is high. He portrayed his understanding of the ethos and reality of social and cultural life of traditional Malay society, and at the same time consistently maintained his strong attachment with the Shafi'i school. In the same vein, he propagated his Ash'ari line of theological thought together with his Sufi ideas and practices of the al-Shatari order in Malay society. Today, within Malay society in particular, the way Islam is practised is very much influenced by the works and thought of Shaykh Dawud. Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani died in Ta'if near Mecca in 1263/1847, leaving behind him a great legacy as an eminent religious scholar and *faqih* in the Malay and Islamic world.

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ZAID AHMAD

FENARI, Molla (750–834/1350–1431)

The first Ottoman *shaykh al-Islam* and the famous Sufi author Muhammad ibn Hamza ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad Shams al-Din Fenari was born near Bursa or, according to another view, in Transoxania. His early education was devoted to the study of traditional Islamic sciences. Fenari's father is said to have studied with the famous Ottoman Sufi philosopher Sadr al-Din AL-QUNAWI (d. 672/1273). Fenari himself studied under a number of prominent teachers including Jamal al-Din AL-AKSARAYI (d. 791/1388). He traveled in Anatolia and went to Egypt to further his studies. In 1369, he was appointed as a teacher at the Manastir *madrasa* in Bursa and became the chief religious authority (*qadi*) of the same city in 1370. In 1424, he was appointed as the first *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire.

In addition to the religious sciences, Fenari studied mathematics and astronomy. Like his father, Fenari was also a Sufi and wrote a number of books on Sufism. Thanks to his close relations with the Ottoman rulers of his time, he amassed a considerable wealth but lived a modest life. He was respected as a saintly person even when he was alive. His father must have played a major role in his initiation into Sufism. In fact, Fenari studied al-Qunawi's *Miftah al-ghayb* (The Key to the Invisible World), a book on the metaphysical principles of the school of IBN AL-'ARABI, with his father and later wrote an extensive commentary on it. Toward the end of his life, he built a school and mosque in Bursa where he is buried today. When he died, he is reported to have left a library of about ten thousand books.

As a jurist and Sufi and a typical example of Ottoman high culture in the fourteenth century, Fenari was a prolific writer. The full list of his works includes over one hundred titles. His works on the science of Qur'anic exegesis include a commentary on the opening chapter of the Qur'an and is called *Tafsir al-fatiha*. The *tafsir*, however, is not only a commentary on the *Fatiha* but also a summary of Fenari's hermeneutics of Qur'anic exegesis. Like his other works, the *tafsir* combines the transmitted sciences of *hadith*, grammar, and commentary with the metaphysical perspective of the school of Ibn al-'Arabi.

Fenari's most famous work on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence is *Fusul* *al-badayi' fi usul al-sharayi'* (Beautiful Chapters in the Principles of Religious Laws). Being Fenari's most voluminous work, the *Fusul* deals with all of the major issues of traditional Islamic jurisprudence. The book has been widely circulated among Ottoman scholars and several commentaries have been written on it. In addition to this, Fenari also wrote a number of works on such practical issues as ablutions, daily prayers, fasting, and so on.

In the field of *kalam*, Fenari wrote a gloss on Sayyid Sharif Jurjani's (d. 816/1413) commentary on Adud al-Din AL-IJI's (700–55/1300–54) famous *Mawaqif*, a classic compendium of Ash'arite *kalam*. Fenari had met Jurjani, and his glosses contain subtle allusions to his friend's commentary. In logic, Fenari wrote a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. He also wrote a gloss on the *Shamsiyya* of Najm al-Din 'Umar al-Qazwini (d. 675/1234).

Fenari's most important work on Sufism is entitled *Misbah al-uns bayn al-ma'qul wa'l-mashhud fi sharh miftah al-ghayb al-jam' wa'l-wujud* (The Light of Spirits between the Intelligible and the Visible in the Commentary on *miftah al-ghayb al-jam' wa'l-wujud*). It is a commentary on Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi's *Miftah al-ghayb*. The *Misbah* represents yet another step toward providing a "systematic" account of Ibn al-'Arabi's teachings at the hands of Ottoman and Persian Sufi thinkers, a long-term project that goes back to Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi and Dawud al-Qaysari. Fenari's language in the *Misbah* is thoroughly philosophical and metaphysical, and contains elements from both philosophy and theology.

Fenari's other works on Sufism include a gloss on al-Kashani's (d. 730/1329) *Istilahat al-sufiyya* (Sufi Terms), a dictionary of Sufi terms, a commentary on another work of al-Qunawi entitled *Sharh 'ala nusus li al-shaykh sadr al-din al-qunawi*, a small work on the "invisible men" called *Risala fi rijal al-ghayb* (Treatise on the Invisible Man), and a treatise entitled *Risala fi bayan wahdat al-wujud* (Treatise on the Explanation of the Unity of Being).

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-FIRUZABADI, Muhammad b. Yaqub

(729–817/1328–1414)

Al-Firuzabadi's full name and lineage is given as follows: Muhammad b. Yaqub b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. 'Umar b. Abu Bakr b. Ahmad b. Mahmud b. Idris b. Fadlillah b. al- Shaykh Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Shirazi al-Firuzabadi. He has also been referred to as Abu Tahir and Majduddin. As his title shows, he claims to be descended from Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi and ultimately from Abu Bakr, the well-known Companion of the Prophet. Contrary to the widespread references to Kazerun as his place of birth, which have been repeated by contemporary scholars, al-Firuzabadi's own statement in his *al-Qamus al-muhit* shows that he was born in Karzin in Firuzabad, Shiraz (Iran) in 729/1328.

Al-Firuzabadi received his early education from his father in his home town of Karzin. Shiraz, Wasit, and Baghdad were the scholarly centers of the time, and here al-Firuzabadi went on to study the Qur'an, *hadith*, and Arabic grammar and literature (737–50/1336–49). Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Zarandi (d. 747/1346) and 'Umar b. 'Ali al-Qazwini (d. 750/1349) were among al-Firuzabadi's teachers in this early period. In 750/1349 al-Firuzabadi studied in Damascus with the Shafi'i scholar Taqiyyuddin al-Subki (d. 756/1355) and his son Tajuddin al-Subki (d. 771/1370). With Tajuddin he went to Jerusalem, where he studied with renowned scholars of the time like al-Alai (d. 761/1359) and Taqiyyuddin al-Kalkashandi (d. 821/1418). He also traveled to Cairo and studied with al-Kalanisi (d. 765/1363), Izzuddin b. Jama'a (d. 767/1365), Ibn Hisham (d. 761/1359), and Ibn Nubata (d. 768/1366). On the other hand, he taught al-Baha' 'Abdullah Ibn 'Aqil (d. 769/1367), Jamaluddin al-Isnawi (d. 772/1370), Ibn Hisham (d. 761/1359), and Ibn Hajar al-Askalani (852/1448). In 770/1368 al-Firuzabadi went to Mecca where he stayed fourteen years, and the following five years he spent in India. In 796/1394 he traveled to Yemen. He stayed in Taizz for fourteen months. In 797/1395 he was appointed chief *qadi* of Yemen by Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Isma'il b. 'Abbas, who married al-Firuzabadi's daughter.

Over fifty treatises have been attributed to al-Firuzabadi. Among them the two most celebrated works are *al-Qamus al muhit* and *Basairu dhavit-tamyiz fi lataifi kitab al 'aziz*. Al-Firuzabadi acknowledges that he compiled his *al-Qamus* from *al-Muhkam* by Ibn Sida (d. 458/1065) and *al-Ubab* by al-Saghani (d. 650/1252). *Al-Qamus* has, on the other hand, formed the basis of some Arabic dictionaries compiled by Western scholars, such as A. Giggeius' *The Thesaurus Linguae Arabica* (Milan 1632), J. Golious' *Lexicon*, and Lane's *Lexicon*. *Al-Qamus* has also been translated into Persian and Turkish (by Asım Efendi (d. 1819)).

Al-Firuzabadi's work *Basa'iru dhavit-tamyiz fi latayfi kitab al-'aziz* was a product of its time, as the period between 1252 and 1517 has been understood by modern Arab historians as the time of the encyclopedia, when this type of work became popular. Two reasons for this have been suggested: efforts to reconstruct the cultural heritage destroyed by the Mongols, and the loss of creativity in the Islamic world. IBN KHALDUN's *Muqaddima* and al-Firuzabadi's *Basair* are examples of such treatises. From the Islamic studies point of view, however, the *Basa'ir* can also be considered among the literature of *Gharib al-qur'an* and *Ma'na al-Qur'an* like Raghib's (425/1033) *al-Mufradat* and Samin al-Halabi's (756/1355) *Umdat al huffaz*. Al-Firuzabadi's *Basa'ir*, however, gives a crucial place to mystical terminology, and this distinguishes his work from that of Raghib and Halabi. This comes from the mystic influence on al-Firuzabadi of Isma'il b. Abu Bakr al-Jabarti (806/1403) whose ideas were powerful in Yemen. It seems also that this mystic as well as political influence led him to write two *risala* and one *fatwa* in favor of IBN AL-'ARABI, whom Jabarti and his followers favored. Although al-Firuzabadi did not agree with Ibn al-'Arabi, a fact which was well known and revealed by his pupil Ibn Hajar, he seemed to be hesitant to antagonize the political power of the time and people like Jabarti, who had a crucial influence on the community and political power. Al-Firuzabadi died in 817/1414 in Zabid in Yemen.

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BILAL GÖKKIR

FUNDAMENTALISM

The term “fundamentalism” was originally used to refer to conservative evangelicals within the Protestant church, and has also been applied to the Catholic world (Ayubi 1991; Ruedy 1996; Caplan 1987). However, over the years, the concept of fundamentalism has increasingly been associated not with Christianity, but with Islam. Indeed, in the wake of attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the discourse relating to Islamic fundamentalism in the Western media has been on the increase to such an extent that the concept of “fundamentalism” seems to have become almost synonymous with that of “Islamic fundamentalism.”

Fundamentalism, if the concept is considered literally, refers to movements that are scripturalist and traditionalist in their nature, advocating the adherence to what these movements see as the original sources of wisdom. In addition to a strong scriptural inclination, which characterizes fundamentalist movements whether Islamic or Christian, Islamic fundamentalists adopt a holistic approach, setting these movements apart from most Christian fundamentalist groups. In short, Islamic fundamentalists maintain that Islam is not only a religion, it is a way of life and, as such, provides divine instructions for governing human affairs on earth, and the actions of states. In other words, to use religious terminology, it has instructions for *din* (faith), *dunya* (earth/world), and *dawla* (state) (Ayubi 1991; Esposito and Vol, 2001; Choueiri 1997).

Within Islam, three main groups of fundamentalists exist: Salafis, Islamic fundamentalists, and neo-fundamentalists. The Salafis believe in the good example of the Prophet Muhammad and the Companions of the early caliphs and jurists. Hence, they emphasize not only the teachings of the early Islamic texts, but also instructions in jurisprudence, known as *fiqh* in Arabic.

Because neo-fundamentalists groups are often the result of schisms and smaller factions splitting from a larger movement, neo-fundamentalist movements are very similar to their parent fundamentalist movements, but there remain notable differences between the two. What distinguishes these two groups from each other is mainly the neo-fundamentalists’ more eclectic position when it comes to the interpretation of the authoritative sources, and their usually more radical or militant orientation when it comes to practicing the interpretations (Ayubi 1991).

In contrast to the Salafis, Islamic fundamentalists and neo-fundamentalists are less inclined to refer to *fiqh*, stressing, above all, the importance of the early Islamic texts. Islamic fundamentalists and neo-fundamentalists can be differentiated further from the Salafis due to the former two putting a stronger emphasis not only on the political nature of Islam, but also on political activism, more often than not directed against their own states governing their countries of origin. Consequently, the term “political Islam” is frequently used to describe Islamic fundamentalists and neo-fundamentalists, while Salafis are generally excluded.

Revivalism: Islamic fundamentalism in the eighteenth century

Although it may appear to be the case that Islamic fundamentalism is a recent phenomenon, this is far from the case. In fact, the words *usul* (fundamentals), *usuli* (fundamentalist), and *usuliyya* (fundamentalism) have appeared in Islamic discourses since the first half of the eighth century, when they were first used to refer to the Mu‘tazili school of Islamic theological discourse founded in Basra (Martin 1997; Choueiri 1997). Although the Mu‘tazili school declined in importance by the end of the eleventh century, it continued to influence the Islamic theological debates of the next many decades due to the adoption of the school's principles in the ninth century by the ʻAbbasid empire. The influence of the Muʻtazili school spread across the Islamic world.

Despite the existence of Islamic fundamentalist movements as early as during the reign of the ʻAbbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun, these movements only really began their rise to prominence when the Islamic empires began to decline in the early eighteenth century (Choueiri 1997). After 1700, the central authorities in the Islamic world found themselves in the unfortunate situation that they were not only troubled by successive economic crises due to agricultural stagnation and mass migration to the cities, but also by both foreign and domestic threats to their position. As a reaction to the increased inefficiency of the central authorities, both with regards to tackling the economic crises and fighting off foreign rivals, and in a response to the growing prominence of the spiritualist and philosophical Sufi orders, religious revivalist movements began to flourish in the Islamic world (Lapidus 2002).

The aim of these Islamic revivalist movements was essentially to reinstate Islam in its original form. One of the first of several revivalist groups, and perhaps the one best known in the Western world, was the Wahhabi movement, which was formed in central Arabia during the first half of the eighteenth century. Inspired by the teachings of Muhammad BIN ʻABD AL-WAHHAB, who had traveled extensively in Ottoman Iraq and Syria, the Wahhabi movement, which had eventually consolidated into an alliance between its religious founder, ʻAbd al-Wahhab, and a number of tribes under the leadership of Ibn Saʻud, sought not only religious purification, but also social reform. In short, the aim was to bring about the unity of religion and the state in Islam. To achieve the movement's two core goals of purifying Islam from the heretical customs added over time, and creating a society in which there was no authority except the Prophet Muhammad himself, the Wahhabis mobilized the shaikhdoms and tribes of Najd against the central authorities in Mecca and the agents and clients of the Ottoman Empire (Zubaida 2001; Lapidus 2002; Karpat 2001).

In addition to the Wahhabis of central Arabia, several other revivalist groups existed across the Islamic world, stretching from Sumatra and the Indian subcontinent to central Arabia and northern Nigeria. Although these movements were often highly dissimilar, they had a number of shared characteristics. First, they sought *tawhid*, the return to the original Islam which stressed the oneness of God. Second, the revivalist movements promoted *ijtihad*, which is the exercise of individual judgment by a qualified legal scholar in matters of law, coupled with the shunning of the principle of *taqlid*, that is, blind obedience to the traditional canon. A third shared principle was the emphasis on the necessity of *hijra*, that is, the migration from the territories dominated by unbelievers (*dar al-kufr*) to those under the control of the House of Islam (*dar al-Islam*). It is important to note, however, that *hijra* was not seen by these revivalist movements as an end goal in itself, but as a step on the way toward the instigation of war in the name of the Islamic faith, *jihad*. Finally, the revivalist Islamic movements of the eighteenth century shared the belief in one single leader, either as the "renewer," *mujaddid,* or the "hidden" *imam*, the *mahdi* (Choueiri 1997; Zubaida 2001).

Reformism: Islamic fundamentalism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

As the puritanical Islamic revivalist movements were gradually defeated, either by urban political forces or by the armed forces of the European colonizers, another brand of Islamic fundamentalist movement slowly began to emerge. These were either created anew, or came about as a result of revivalist groups undergoing profound structural change and transforming into reformist movements. Whereas the revivalist movements had clashed with the central authorities, who were also of Muslim faith, the reformist movements directed their struggle against the colonial European powers.

The reformist movements' campaign against the European powers had two aspects. Within the Islamic world it challenged the status of the Europeans as colonizers. More broadly, it attacked the supreme position of Europe and its culture. In essence, the Islamic reformist movements maintained that it was indeed wrong for the Islamic world to aspire to become like Europe simply because Muslim societies had been subjugated by European powers. Islam continued to be self-sufficient and needed no inspiration from Europe, the reformists argued.

Among those who maintained, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that Islam continued to be self-sufficient, and that the perceived inferiority of the countries of the Islamic world was due to the degeneration and corruption of Islam rather than attributes of the religion as such, was Muhammad ʻABDU, the prominent Egyptian *ʻalim* (scholar of religion). In essence, ʻAbdu sought progress through enlightenment, arguing that the weakness and backwardness of the Islamic societies, and indeed their subordination to Europe, was due to ignorance, corruption, and fragmentation within these societies, particularly with respect to their religious and educational institutions. In contrast to what one might have expected, ʻAbdu did not advocate the imitation of Europe as the way forward for the Islamic world. Rather, he argued that the answer lay in the study of, and in the return to, the glorious past of the Islamic societies themselves. As ʻAbdu pointed out, at the time of the formation of the Islamic community by Muhammad in Medina in the seventh century, the Islamic societies were not only more powerful, but also much more knowledgeable than all other societies, including those of Europe. Hence, ʻAbdu argued for a return to Islam as practised during the time of Muhammad in Medina, but with some modern alterations. He anticipated that this would lead to the liberation of the Islamic societies from their weakness, their backwardness, and from foreign domination. In other words, for the first generation of Islamic reformists, Islam was seen as a means to achieve the aims of improved economic conditions, independence, and cultural superiority of the Islamic community once again (Choueiri 1997; Zubaida 2001; Lapidus 2002).

In addition to the emphasis on cultural and educational reform, the first generation of Islamic reformists centered their attention on the restructuring of the political system. In contrast to the fields of education and culture, with respect to the political system, the Islamic reformists maintained that lessons could be learned from Europe. What the Islamic reformists were referring to, in particular, were the concepts of political authority, administration, and bureaucracy, which they saw as a safeguard against tyranny, a form of rule deemed illegal by the *shariʻa*, which stipulated as a requirement consultation by the ruler with religious scholars.

Despite their objection to tyranny, the Islamic reformist movements did not advocate the introduction of a representative form of government based on popular elections. Rather, as the reformist movements held the view that parliamentary rule would interfere with not only stability, but also security, justice, and liberty in Islamic societies, they championed autocracy as the best way of governing the Islamic world. The Islamic reformist movements did not advocate all forms of autocracy, however. What was put forward as the ideal form of government was the introduction of a form of autocratic rule in which the ruler would not only consult, but also cooperate with a Western-educated elite of officials (Lapidus 2002; Choueiri 1997; Zubaida 2001).

By the late nineteenth century, at a time when the Islamic reformist movements were competing for popular affection against several secular groups seeking independence from foreign occupation, the character of the Islamic reformist movements began to change as they increasingly widened their scope to also include political organization and activism, in an effort to ward off their rivals. In 1928, the Egyptian school teacher and religious preacher Hassan AL-BANNA' formed al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, the Muslim Brotherhood, one of the most influential Islamic movements of all time. However, it was not until 1936 and the beginning of the revolt against British occupation in Palestine that the Muslim Brotherhood began to receive widespread attention, not only from the British authorities, but also from the communities of the neighboring Arab countries. With the aim of reconciling Islam with the modern world, and a strong emphasis on the importance of creating a modern political party based on an explicit and elaborate program, al-Banna' and the Muslim Brotherhood set a new tone for the religious fundamentalist movements of the twentieth-century Islamic world.

It was al-Banna's intellectual and organizational legacies which had the most profound effect on Muslim and Arab activists in the countries neighboring Egypt. Notwithstanding the fact that al-Banna' did not succeed in carrying out several of his declared goals, and despite the fact that the movement failed to develop into a full-fledged political party, the Muslim Brotherhood and its leader inspired activists in a wide range of countries, including Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Sudan to form Islamic movements, not only with a similar outlook, but also modeled on the organizational structure of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Indeed, such was the influence of al-Banna' that, to this day, nearly sixty years after his assassination, several Islamic movements continue to be inspired by his ideas and teachings (Choueiri 1997; Lapidus 2002; Zubaida 2001).

Early radicalism: Islamic fundamentalism 1930–70

Rather than being political movements (they did not have a strong ideological basis, an explicit program or the means to carry out such a program even if they had one) the Islamic reformist groups were cultural and educational in their outlook. However, with the rise of the radical movements later in the twentieth century, the character of Islamic fundamentalism changed as the new groups were decidedly political. While the Islamic revivalist movements were decidedly normative and idealistic, and the Islamic reformist movements sought to modernize and revitalize Islam, the radical Islamic movements were preoccupied with both sets of issues, making these latter movements a synthesis of their two predecessors.

The first Islamic radicalist movements began to emerge in the late 1920s. It is important to note, however, that until the mid-1940s these movements were often just as much reformist as radicalist in their outlook. In short, these initial movements were essentially a reaction to the changed political circumstances in a number of Arab countries (among them Egypt, Iraq, and Syria). The rise of patriotism, independence, and nationalism, as well as the introduction of parliamentary rule, industrialization, and the implementation of land reforms, all acted as pressures upon Islamic radical movements which continued to advocate, as in the previous era, the increased reliance upon Islamic principles. Hence, these groups can perhaps be most adequately described as neither radicalist nor reformist, but as bridging the gap between the two (Choueiri 1997).

Abu al-Al'a AL-MAWDUDI and Sayyid QUTB are generally referred to as the forefathers of Islamic radicalism, as virtually all major contemporary radical Islamic movements have based their ideological and political programs on the writings of these two scholars. Although publishing already in the 1930s, al-Mawdudi, an Indian religious scholar and political activist of the Jama'at i-Islami, was firmly located within the radical camp. The issues of particular concern to al-Mawdudi were those of secularism, nationalism, and democracy. With regards to secularism, al-Mawdudi maintained that this principle would lead not only to immorality, as the people would be free of the restraints of religious ethics, but also to political corruption, brutality, and eventually chaos. According to al-Mawdudi, because the laws adopted in a secular society would be changeable and temporary as they did not derive from God's commands, and hence would also not command respect among the community, they would not be possible to implement without the use of brutal force; the community would only voluntarily abide by laws to which it felt morally bound (Choueiri 1997).

Strongly linked to his resistance toward secularism were al-Mawdudi's objections to nationalism, which he saw as being against the essential tenets of Islam. In essence, al-Mawdudi associated nationalism with the pre-Islamic solidarity of *jahiliyya* (religious ignorance), in which people bonded as a result of interests that were non-Islamic, such as economic, racial, or linguistic concerns. Because al-Mawdudi viewed nationalism as a principle downplaying the role of Islam, just like he perceived secularism, al-Mawdudi spoke strongly against nationalism in his writings, encouraging instead the bonding between people on Islamic grounds, as the brotherhood of man, as one single religious community worshipping God and obeying his divine commands (Ayubi 1991; Choueiri 1997).

In contrast to the topics of secularism and nationalism, with respect to democracy, al-Mawdudi identified both positive and negative features. Although he viewed in a negative light the struggle for democracy as first initiated in the West, considering it a rebellion against authoritarian powers, al-Mawdudi contended that as this endeavor for democracy developed further into a movement aiming to achieve the goal of absolute freedom of the people to legislate and elect accountable governments themselves, the struggle for democracy became positive. However, because al-Mawdudi saw it as inevitable that the end product of any democratic struggle would be chaos and corruption, due to the reality that the will of the majority would be the ultimate source of law, he did not advocate democracy, but what he labeled "theo-democracy," the creation of the *khalifat*. In the *khalifat*, a vice-regency would be established in which an elected *amir* (a male chief) would reign as the representative of God on earth; however, this *amir* would not reign alone, rather he would be aided in his tasks by a consultative assembly (*majlis*) elected by the *khalifat*'s Muslim citizens (Choueiri 1997).

Writing a few decades later, Sayyid Qutb, the Egyptian scholar and member of the Muslim Brotherhood, found himself heavily inspired by the writings of al-Mawdudi. While sharing al-Mawdudi's animosity toward nationalism, Qutb, in contrast, did not spare much time for issues such as secularism and democracy, two of al-Mawdudi's main concerns. Instead Qutb focused on topics such as social injustice and economic development.

Qutb's concern with social injustice and economic development were linked to his fear of communism. Qutb maintained that because patriotism, which had been gaining ground in the Islamic world, did not adequately address some of the major concerns of the masses, such as poor economic performance and social injustice in the form of a population divided into masters and servants, communism continued to spread in the region. However, according to Qutb, the result of a communist revolution, which he saw as imminent unless measures were taken to decidedly alter the plight of the masses, was bound to be destructive as such a revolution would, due to its communist character, be leaderless, materialistically motivated, and again chaotic (Choueiri 1997; Caplan 1987).

Consequently, instead of promoting the adoption of communism as the means to drastically improve the economic and social situation of the masses in the Islamic world, Qutb put forward an Islamic solution to make up for the shortcomings of patriotism. According to Qutb, the Muslim masses were going to continue to suffer until they organized themselves effectively and put pressure on those depriving them, whether that be the imperialists, the politicians in parliament, or their landlords. Qutb maintained that socialism and communism were not going to provide the desired outcome, as organization under the former would be through corrupt political parties and under the latter utterly chaotic and leaderless. He saw an updated Islam as the solution. In response to those critical of Islam, he insisted that it was simply untrue that Islamic government was primitive in nature, that Sufi *shaykhs* (religious officials) and *dervishes* (members of Sufi orders) would come to dominate under the rule of Islam, that Islamic rule could be equated with tyranny, that Islamic religious texts and provisions were ambiguous, that the institution of the *harem* would be reinstated and, finally, that under Islamic rule the status of minorities would deteriorate. In contrast, Qutb asserted, the path of Islam was the way forward, only under Islam would the masses in the Islamic world be able to organize themselves effectively, and only Islamic law could provide the *umma* (Muslim community) with the tools to implement the much needed social and economic reforms (Choueiri 1997).

Qutb's thoughts on social injustice and economic development were published before the Egyptian revolution and the ascendancy of socialism in the country. Ten years later, taking the changed political circumstances into consideration, Qutb turned his eye to the topic of nationalism in particular. Whereas Qutb in the past had uttered support for Arab nationalism due to its assistance in unifying the Islamic community, with the disintegration of the Muslim Brotherhood as a result of Arab nationalism taking hold within the movement, he changed his position on the subject entirely. He now put forward the argument that Arab nationalism would eventually result in Arab tyranny and the marginalization of the Islamic community, which would be nothing short of a disaster. Instead, he suggested that the Arabs had another option available to them, the Islamic path, which would result in the Islamic community gaining respect in the world once again via the belief in the oneness of God and submission to his divine laws (Choueiri 1997; Caplan 1987).

Contemporary Islamic fundamentalism: radicalism from 1970 until the present

From 1970 onward, radical Islamic movements changed in character. From being mainly intellectual movements concerned with diagnosing what was wrong with the Islamic world, they became more active and political as the focus shifted from pre-occupation with the state of the Islamic world, to identifying the means and actions that should be taken to change this situation. Consequently, in this new era, the main concerns of the various radical Islamic movements shifted from issues such as secularism, nationalism, and democracy to the subjects of ideology, the vanguard (*tali'a*), and *jihad*.

As was the case during the previous decades, the radicalist debate continued to be dominated by Qutb as it entered into its next stage during the late 1960s. During his imprisonment from 1956 until 1964, Qutb's writings became increasingly more radical, while also changing in character from being intellectual to actively political, not only identifying the means to alter the state of the Islamic world, but also stipulating what Qutb saw as the necessary actions to be undertaken by the Muslim community.

Having identified what he saw as the problem of the Islamic world, that is, the decreased importance assigned to the adherence to God's laws in the new nation-states, Qutb centered his attention on ideology, which he saw as the vehicle of change. According to Qutb, the only way for the Muslim community to change the state of affairs was to remember and cherish the principle of the oneness of God, and of his exclusive sovereignty, by replacing the existing political systems of the new nation-states with Islamic rule. In other words, whereas the revivalist fundamentalists had been championing the exclusive sovereignty of God in an effort to undermine the power of Sufi orders, the radical Islamic fundamentalists maintained the means but replaced the target of the campaign with the state (Caplan 1987; Choueiri 1997).

What troubled Qutb in particular, and what continues to be one of the main driving forces of radical Islamic fundamentalism today, was the level of what he saw as moral corruption, which he identified as the reason why the Islamic world had entered into a state of crisis. According to Qutb, many Islamic societies, while continuing to uphold the principle of the oneness of God, had begun to either pay lip service to Islam, relegating legislative authority to parliamentary assemblies, or they had declared their states to be secular. While Qutb acknowledged some of the positive features of secular Europe, such as for instance the development of a material culture, Qutb argued that secularism was unable to provide material progress in conjunction with an authentic and positive way of life. Only Islam was able to unite these two objectives, as it was not only a political system but also a way of life (Choueiri 1997).

Qutb did not believe it possible, however, to bring about an organized Islamic community, unless a select elite of believers emerged. This corps of believers, which he labeled the vanguard (*tali'a*), was tasked with guiding the *umma* through a struggle to this desired end stage. The struggle to be undertaken consisted of a number of stages, according to Qutb. To begin with, the Muslims would have to consider their strengths and weaknesses in order to realistically assess what they could achieve. This insight would, in turn, allow them to formulate a successful long-term strategy, which would lead to the creation of Islamic world leadership and put an end to *jahiliyya*, which Qutb held consumed the entire world at the time (Choueiri 1997).

The struggle to reinstate Islam as a political and social system, however, was not going to be easy, Qutb declared, as it would largely take the form of *jihad*, war in the name of the Islamic faith. In Qutb's opinion, the struggle to overtake political power would take place within each nation-state as a war between two strongly demarcated groups: the believers and the unbelievers. To the believers, Qutb maintained, *jihad* would be an obligation; in any situation where the principles of Islam were violated, the believers would be compelled to disassociate themselves. In other words, the believers would have to adopt a policy of noncooperation within their own nation-states at the political, educational, and administrative levels, and withdraw into a new society rejecting the laws of the old one. In practical terms, this entailed—as it often still does today—the creation of separate mosques, medical clinics, schools and financial institutions, among others (Caplan 1987; Ayubi 1991; Choueiri 1997).

Qutb's call for *jihad* against the unbelievers is presently being followed up by various radicalist Islamic fundamentalist movements, among them al-Qaeda, which is perhaps the best known of them all. The principal ideologue of al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri, is largely inspired by the writings of Qutb, particularly by the latter's emphasis on the belief in the oneness of God and his exclusive sovereignty and authority. However, al-Zawahiri is not simply a follower of the Qutbist tradition, as he also draws extensively on the teachings of the Wahhabi movement, creating his own brand of radical Islamic fundamentalism which is effectively a hybridization of the two (Kepel 2004).

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LISE STORM

AL-FUWATI, Hisham ibn ʻAmr

(third/ninth century)

Hisham ibn ʻAmr al-Fuwati, a Muʻtazilite thinker attached to the Basra school, died in Baghdad before 230/845. He was a student of Abu'l AL-HUDHAYL, whom he nonetheless criticized in some of his work. He was an Arab, and apparently well traveled, being a merchant who dealt in textiles imported from India.

Al-Fuwati had a trenchant style, and although he was part of the Muʻtazilite theological school, he criticized many of its main thinkers such as AL-ASAMM, al-Hudhayl, and the Bakriya. Some of his disagreements were on technical issues such as the precise nature of the atomism that was to be accepted, and the links between the Qur'an and the command of God. His most startling thesis was that the Qur'an is not miraculous, and not a proof of God. He has equally radical views on politics, portraying the historical era of early Islam on which the Shiʻi and the Sunni so strongly disagree as a confused time in which it is impossible to be sure who was right and who was wrong. In political matters, he argued, independent judgment or *ijtihad* is the appropriate means for solving differences.

The radical nature of al-Fuwati's views were recognized by his contemporaries and his writings did not exercise much influence after his death. We owe our knowledge of him to reports from others, so it is not certain how accurate these reports are. Ibn al-Nadim says he was a very unusual Mu‘tazilite, while al-Baghdadi comments on his highly antagonistic views on killing people. Yet AL-SHAHRASTANI reports that he approved of the murder of those opposed to the Mu‘tazilites.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

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GASPIRALI, Ismail (1851–1914)

The famous Turkish intellectual, political activist, and educationist of czarist Russia, Gaspıralı (also known by the Russian version of his name, Gasprinski), was born in Bahçesaray, Crimea. He was educated in his native Crimea. He traveled extensively between Russia, Europe, Turkey, India, and Egypt. He spent a good part of his career writing about the Muslims of Russia and defending their rights under czarist rule. He published many books and several newspapers in Tatar, Turkish, and Russian. His reputation as a spokesman for the Muslims of Russia reached many intellectual circles from Istanbul to Cairo. He sought to unite the various Muslim communities living in Russia under the banner of a loosely defined Islamic-Turkish nationalism. He became a champion of the educational reform movement by opening new schools and writing textbooks for Muslim children. He died at his home in Bahçesaray, and was buried there.

As a political activist of Pan-Turkism first and Pan-Islamism second, Gaspıralı tried to create a stronger common identity among the Tatar Muslims of Russia. The unity of all Turks under the Ottoman Empire was his ideal. But the political realities of the time as well as the precarious situation of Muslims under czarist rule prevented him from pursuing an actively Ottomanist politics. Instead, he became a champion of Turkish irredentism. Equally important was his indefatigable work in the field of education. Politically as well as ideologically, Gaspıralı fought against two groups of people: Russians and conservative Tatar Muslims (mullahs). Against both groups, he developed a new system of education, which he called the *usul-i cedid* (the new/modern method). He criticized the traditional *madrasa* system, in which he himself was schooled, and sought to modernize it by incorporating modern pedagogical techniques into Islamic schools. The test case for the new system was a local school in Gaspıralı's hometown, in which Gaspıralı introduced Turkish together with Arabic as a medium of instruction. Several other Muslim schools in Russia followed Gaspıralı's example, but his influence remained confined to Russia.

In his famous newspaper *Tercüman* (Translator), he defended the rights of women, advocated the unity of all Muslims, and encouraged the Muslims of Russia to learn Russian and study Russian history. Gaspıralı drew many of his reform ideas from the writings of Jamal al-Din AFGHANI and Muhammad 'ABDU. He tried to organize congresses in the Islamic world, without much success. His larger appeal for the unity of the Islamic world is reflected in the motto of his newspaper, which read "unity in language, thought, and action."

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IBRAHIM KALIN

GELENBEVI, İsmail

(1143–1205/1730–91)

İsmail Gelenbevi, who also referred to himself by the nickname Şeyhzade, was born in Gelenbe, Manisa, in 1143/1730 and died in Mora, Yenişehir, in 1204/1790. He was a famous Ottoman mathematician and a scholar of logic.

Gelenbevi came from an important and highly educated family. His father, Mustafa Efendi, and his grandfather, Mahmut Efendi, were both *muftis* and *mudarrises* in Gelenbe. However, Gelenbevi, having lost his father at a very early age, did not have any proper education until he reached fourteen. After having started his first education in Gelenbe at around that age, he later attended Fatih Medresesi in Istanbul, where he studied Arabic and the Islamic sciences as well as logic, mathematics, and physics. Among his teachers were the great scholars of the time such as Yasincizade Osman Efendi and Müftizade Mehmet Emin Efendi. In 1177/1763, after having passed the required exam (*imtihan-ı ruus*), Gelenbevi became a *mudarris* in the same *madrasa*. He also carried on taking some advanced lessons on mathematics and physics with Mehmet Emin Efendi.

Despite his deep knowledge and competence in both Islamic and natural sciences, Gelenbevi, who had by that time a large family to look after, encountered some financial difficulties in these early years of his career. However, during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit I (1774–89), Sadrazam (Grand Vizier) Ispartalı Halil Paşa and Kaptan-ı Derya (Chief Captain) Cezayirli Hasan Paşa helped him find a post at the Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun as a professor of mathematics. Later, Sultan Selim III (1789–1807), who was impressed by Gelenbevi's success in mathematics and physics, granted him the title of Yenişehir Feneri Mevleviliği and appointed him as a *kadı* (judge) at Mora in 1204/1790. Sultan's favor toward Gelenbevi raised a deep feeling of jealousy in Hamizade Mustafa Efendi, the Şeyhülislam (chief cleric of Islam) of the time, who wrote a letter full of accusations against Gelenbevi. It is apparent that, having been extremely hurt by this letter, Gelenbevi had a sudden stroke and eventually died in 1205/1791.

Gelenbevi was one of the last Ottoman scholars who were trained in the traditional *madrasa* system, studying both Islamic and natural sciences, and whose reputation went beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. But despite the traditional education that he experienced, Gelenbevi taught in the new academic institutions of his time as well as the traditional ones. He also followed the innovations in mathematics and thus his works served as a bridge between classical and modern mathematics. Gelenbevi, who lived in a period when the science of logic, alongside other disciplines, began to decline in the Ottoman Empire, came as the last ring in a long chain of Muslim scholars of logic. Although in his lifetime Gelenbevi had been overshadowed by two scholars, Yasincizade Osman Efendi and Mehmet Emin Efendi, Gelenbevi, unlike his teachers who had no writings of their own, left some thirty-nine books which still give witness to his stature as a scientist and a scholar.

Some of Gelenbevi's mathematical works include *Sharhu jadawil al-ansab*, an important book on logarithms and the usage of logarithmic tables; *Qusurat al-hesab* (1200/1789), a Turkish work on mathematics and algebra; *Risala azla' al-musallasat*, another important treatise in the history of mathematics, which discusses angles and other geometrical issues; and *Risala al-kibla* (1189/1775), an Arabic treatise on trigonometric calculations which shows how to calculate the *qibla* (the direction of the Ka'ba) in different places. As for some of his important works on logic, grammar, and philosophy, they include *Galanbawi 'ala isaguji*, an Arabic *sharh* on the *Isaguji*, the celebrated work on logic by al-Abhari (1265/1663); *al-Burhan fi 'ilm al-mizan*, one of the rare works on classical logic from the eighteenth century; *Risala al-qiyas* and *Risala al-imkan,* another two treatises on logic; and *Hashiya al-tahzib al-mantiq wa al-kalam*. He also wrote several works on different issues of *kalam* such as *Risala fi al-taqaddum*, *Risala fi tahkik wahdat al-wujud*, and so on.

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

AL-GHAZALI, Abu Hamid
(451–504/1058–1111)

Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ghazali al-Tusi, also known as Hujjat al-Islam (Proof of Islam) al-Ghzzali, or by the Latin name Algazel, was born in Tus (near Meshed in eastern Iran) in 451/1058 and died in the same city in 504/1111. He was the greatest Shafi'i *faqih* (jurist), *mutakallim* (theologian), and mystical thinker within the Ash'arite tradition of Sunni Islam, and one of the most pre-eminent *'ulama'* (scholars) of the Muslim intellectual milieu.

Al-Ghazali was educated in various branches of the traditional Islamic religious sciences in Tus, especially by al-Razkani, then in Jurjan by Isma'il b. Mas'ada, and finally at Nishapur (Neyshabur) in northern Iran. At Nishapur, one of his masters was the prominent theologian Imam al-Haramayn AL-JUWAYNI. After his savant's death in (478/1085), al-Ghazali was invited to the court of the great vizier of the Seljuq sultans, Nizam al-Mulk. Impressing the latter, al-Ghazali was thus appointed as chief *mudarris* (professor) in the Nizamiyah *madrasa* of Baghdad in 484/1091. At Baghdad, he was engaged in teaching a great number of students and in scholarly activities, in illuminating the community of Baghdad in religio-social cases, and in debunking Neoplatonist philosophical theories advocated by the Peripatetic philosophers such as AL-FARABI, IBN SINA (Avicenna), and the like.

Toward the end of the year 488/1095, following the assassination of the vizier Nizam al-Mulk and the death of the Sultan Malik Shah, he experienced a spiritual and intellectual crisis which impeded his teaching capabilities and communal life for a time. Thus, in Dhu'l-Qadah 488/November 1095, he abandoned his teaching post and left Baghdad on the pretext of going on the *hajj* to Mecca. He made preparations for the pilgrimage, but he changed his mind and adopted abstemious Sufism and even damaged his health during this spiritual crisis. Wandering for nearly two years in Damascus and then in Jerusalem, he performed in the end his *hajj* in Dhu'l-Hijja 489/November 1096, and decided to settle in his hometown, Tus. Many Sufi disciples joined him in this city, creating an ever-expanding community. At the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, most probably affected by a consideration that a *mujaddid* (renewer) of Islamic life was expected at the beginning of each century, he was persuaded to return to lecturing at the Nizamiya *madrasa* of Nishapur. He continued lecturing in Nishapur until 1057/1110, when he returned to Tus. He died there in the following year at the age of fifty-three.

More than 400 works are attributed to al-Ghazali. However, the same work can be found with different titles in different manuscripts and many works have also been falsely ascribed to him. Nevertheless, at least fifty genuine works of al-Ghazali are known for certain so far.

Al-Ghazali devoted himself to Sufism in 489/1096 after a spiritual crisis. During this time he created a series of original masterpieces on Sufism and ethics. In this vein, al-Ghazali's *magnum opus* is *Ihya' 'ulum al-din*, written just before his retirement. This book, consisting of forty sections, seeks to reconstruct the *fiqh* (prayer-rituals and praxes), *kalam* (creedal and theological matters), and devotional dimensions of Islam in a new mode. By doing so, he tries to make orthopraxis of the Islamic tradition the basis for a devotional way of religious life which enables the individual to achieve the higher levels of Sufism. Based on his personal experience, he tried to revive the religion of Islam by the use of Sufism through the theoretical paradigms of logic, sometimes regarded as a branch of philosophy.

Giving a kind of soteriological role to Sufism in alleviating the diseases of the time, al-Ghazali claimed that he was able to reconstruct the traditional sciences and to reinsert religious certainty (*yaqin*) into religious life by means of Sufi experiential knowledge. The connection between spiritual experience and ratiocinative cognition is discussed in detail in his masterpiece *Mishkat al-anwar* (The Niche of the Lights). Shortly before his retirement he composed the *Mizan al-'amal* (The Balance of Action), and wrote other books on Sufism, such as *Kitab al-Arba'in fi usul al-din* (The Forty Chapters on the Principles of Religion), *Kimiya'-yi sa'ada* (The Alchemy of Happiness), *Nasihat al-muluk* (Counsel for Kings), and others.

Like the literary genre of "confessions" in the Christian milieu, al-Ghazali wrote his autobiographical "confession" called *al-Munqidh min al-dalal* (The Deliverer from Error), in which he defended his decision to leave an official post in Baghdad in favor of a devotional Sufi lifestyle. This account of personal spiritual development has been a subject of study by Western scholarship for a long time. In this work, al-Ghazali confessed that he became trapped in a cycle of skepticism, doubting the senses and reason as well. With the help of God, he reached spiritual enlightenment. It seemed to him that the paths to the truth of philosophers, the Isma'ilis, and the *mutakallimun* (theologians) are in no way conclusive.

On the other hand, after experiencing a severe ratiocinative and spiritual crisis, al-Ghazali came to realize that there is no way to certain knowledge, be it revealed or acquired, except by means of Sufism, a path to achieve knowledge of true reality by following a devotional lifestyle. The path of the Sufis is in his view a sound way to reach the truth, and he argued that Sufism should be a respected and legitimate model for achieving truth in the Islamic community. In his transition from the path of theologians to that of Sufis, apart from personal, political, and doctrinal causes, socio-religious reasons may have been important. This is because there was then a very divided intellectual arena and Sufi structural modalities seemed to help construct a more coherent and integrated communal life within the *Dar al-Islam* (Abode of Islam).

In philosophy, al-Ghazali's philosophical engagement is expressed in his treatises on logic and philosophy. In order to prepare his readers for his later work *al-Tahafut al-falasifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), he wrote on the teachings and doctrines of the philosophers in his *Maqasid al-falasifa* (The Aims of the Philosophers), which was translated into Latin in the same century and had considerable impact in European philosophical circles. In this book, which seems to be very similar to IBN SINA's Persian *Danashnamah-e 'Ala'i* (Book of Scientific Knowledge), he gives very succinct and systematic information about philosophy. His philosophical profession achieves its highest form with his *al-Tahafut al-falasifa*, written in Baghdad before his spiritual crisis. In the *al-Tahafut*, al-Ghazali sought to reframe and defend Islamic principles against the "incoherent" and "discrepant" views of such philosophers as AL-FARABI, Ibn Sina, and the like. Though accepting what he took to be the positive aspects of philosophy, such as logic, he was on the other hand very critical of it. The most salient aspect of his criticism was that the metaphysical arguments of philosophers are not strong enough to withstand the critique of reason.

In logic, al-Ghazali divorced logic from the domain of philosophy; since at the time logic was no longer regarded as being so closely linked with philosophy and was viewed as a tool that could be profitably utilized in any field of study, even on behalf of theology against philosophy itself. As opposed to the generally negative stand of traditional theologians, al-Ghazali regarded logic as both a means for reconstructing the religious sciences on a firm, exact, and derivative foundation, and a tool for refuting and debunking the claims of heretics. Al-Ghazali composed three works on Aristotelian logic: *Mi'yar al 'ilm* (The Standard Measure of Knowledge), *Mihakk al-nazar fi'l-mantiq* (The Yardstick of Proof in Logic), and *al-Qistas al-mustaqim* (The Just Balance). The first two were written after the *al-Tahafut* in order to help understanding of the latter. *Al-Qistas*, on the other hand, was written after his retirement to refute the "heresies" of the Isma'ilis. Detailed information on logic is given in the introduction of his jurisprudential tract, *al-Mustasfa min 'ilm al-usul* (The Essentials of Islamic Legal Theory).

In metaphysics, there is a salient difference between the metaphysical views of al-Ghazali and the Neoplatonic philosophical framework. Neoplatonic metaphysics, which was based on the theory of emanation, was severely criticized by al-Ghazali in twenty points, three of which are especially prominent in that these, for al-Ghazali, touch the fundamentals of the Islamic faith. These deal with the cosmogonical—the philosophers' belief in the eternity of the world; the epistemological—the philosophers' belief that God knows only universals, not particulars; and finally the eschatological—the philosophers' belief in spiritual resurrection only, not corporeal resurrection. In refuting these "incoherent" views of the philosophers, al-Ghazali relies only on philosophical methods utilizing rational argument throughout.

Firstly, the world is not eternal. The philosophers claim that the emanation of the First Intellect and other emanated intellects and beings is the result of the necessary causality of God's essence (*dhat*). If so, the world as a whole should be concomitant, coeternal, and coeval with his existence. Yet, if God created the cosmos at a certain moment in time, this implies a change in God, which contradicts the nature of the divinity. What is more, since each moment of time on the time scale is entirely similar, it is impossible then for God to choose a particular moment in time for creation. Time is, on the other hand, a creation of God used as a measurement of change, not a function of change, as claimed by Aristotle. Therefore, the world is not eternal in terms both of space and of time.

Secondly, God knows both particulars and universals. Philosophers deprive God of knowledge of particulars and confine it to his self-knowledge, because for them to associate the knowledge of God with particulars is to change his divine nature and to turn the divinity into plurality. On the contrary, al-Ghazali claims, if God has pre-eternal and post-eternal knowledge of an individual as a whole with every change and development, there cannot be any change in his absolute eternal knowledge.

Thirdly, in the hereafter, humans will resurrect with body and soul together. The philosophers, such as Ibn Sina, reject corporeal resurrection by claiming that "resurrection" means in fact the separation of the soul from the body with death. Recompense and punishment after the "resurrection," according to them, mean the pleasures and pains which the soul solely tastes after death. Criticizing the philosophers' notion of causal necessity, al-Ghazali argues that on the limited facts of experience humans consider causality to represent what happens regularly. Yet it is not correct to think that the same causal correlation and continuation will necessarily occur in the future. This continuation of causality is ephemeral and transient due to the lack of logical necessity between a certain cause and a certain effect. Hence, God as the sole creator and sole causal actor of all causes and effects can change what is normal at any moment in time and resurrect the dead corporeally and spiritually.

Therefore, according to al-Ghazali, the philosophers' arguments cannot withstand philosophical criticism. Yet, in order to verify the precepts of the revealed truth, it is necessary to have rational verification. In spite of his systematic and virulent criticism of philosophy, the philosophizing tradition continued in the discursive genres of *kalam* and Sufism. What is more, contemporary scholarship in the study of al-Ghazali is reconsidering his relation to philosophy and to theology while at the same time recognizing his distance from philosophy. In epistemology, al-Ghazali values a mode of *sapiential* knowledge or wisdom that the Sufis can acquire in their spiritual experience and journey (*sayr*). The masses or ordinary people are at times allowed to glimpse the world of the *al-Lawh al-mahfuz* (Preserved Tablet) in Heaven, when the veil between that world and the soul is lifted temporarily in their dreams. Accordingly, they are bestowed with foreknowledge and other forms of metaphysical knowledge.

In the view of al-Ghazali, human beings consist of soul and body, but their essence is the soul, which is a spiritual substance (*jawhar*), occupying no space, totally different from the body. Every human being carries with it something divine (*amr ilahi*), which makes it possible for humans to know God. Constructing the soul as a spiritual substance, not as "the subtle body" of the theologians, al-Ghazali sees the body as an instrument of the soul on the way to the hereafter and having several faculties to maintain the bodily functions. When the main faculties of appetite, anger, and intellect are moderate and proportionate, then we find the virtues of temperance, courage, justice, and wisdom. There is the possibility of imbalance in each faculty, and as a consequence of this there are vile and vicious discourses and actions among human beings. At this juncture, it is necessary, in his view, to have religious exercises in order to cure these evil dispositions, and to approach God by "transforming them in imitation of God's characteristics" (*takhalluq bi-akhlaq Allah*). What is more, in order to preserve the earthly existence of the body as an instrument of the soul, the everyday world and society are necessary. Through this view, he tries to reconstruct the traditional mode of community, society, and Islamic law in its prescribed form.

Al-Ghazali was engaged to a considerable extent in the fields of jurisprudence and theology. In jurisprudence, toward the end of his life, al-Ghazali wrote on general jurisprudential rules (*usul al-fiqh*) with the title *al-Mustasfa min ʿilm al-usul* (The Essentials of Islamic Jurisprudence). In theology, his writings follow to a great extent the classical theological doctrines of the Ashʿarite school. One of his most important theological tracts was *al-Iqtisad fi al-Iʿtiqad* (The Middle Path in Belief), probably written in Baghdad before he became a Sufi and before his *al-Tahafut*. His other theological tract, *al-Risala al-qudsiyya* (The Jerusalem Epistle), was written after his Jerusalem journey. He also composed a polemical work against the militant, irredentist movement of AL-HASAN AL-SABBAH, the Assassins (Isma'iliya), and a tract criticizing Christianity.

In the classical classification of *kalam* (Islamic theology), there are three interconnected subjects: theology or nature, essence and the attributes of God, including prophecy; cosmogony and cosmology, and, finally, eschatology. In the matter of the essence (*dhat*) and attributes (*sifat*) of God, following Ash'arite theology, which was juxtaposed to a considerable extent against the background of the Mu'tazilite school, al-Ghazali regards them as "something different from, yet added to, God's essence." Hence, God has attributes (*al-sifat al-thubutiyya*) such as knowledge, life, hearing, seeing, will, power, and speech, which are "added to" God's essence. Pertaining to the relationship between God's essence and his attributes, he holds that both are said to be "not identical, but not different," following the view of Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767).

As for the attributes for acts of God (*al-sifat al-fi'liyya*), the attributes of God do not change in accord with the changes in the realm of *hadath* (creation). For al-Ghazali, all the phenomena of this world are caused by God's will, knowledge, and power; as a consequence of this theory, there are two powers (divine and human) in action. God created both human power and act. In this case, human action becomes a creation (*khalq*) of God and an acquisition (*kasb*) of this *khalq* by humans at the same time. This acquisition operates in the volitional phase, not in the process of creation.

Al-Ghazali articulates that whenever God wants to prescribe any obligations and restrictions on humans, he can do so without any obligation and restriction on his part; so it is neither incumbent on God (*aslah 'ala Allah*) to do what is best for humans, nor is he obliged to give rewards and punishments according to their deeds. This is because God is free without limitation and under no obligation (*wujub*). It is essential that God be not under any kind of obligation to do the best for humans; however, this does not mean that God will not do or act to the best of his own free will. What is more, the acts of God are beyond ethical judgments set by human beings, but whatever is ordered or done by God is good (*husn*), not bad (*qubh*) for humans due to the belief that God commands and acts only benevolently, which corresponds in human judgment to the ethical category of good.

In cosmogony, under the impact of Ash'arite theology, al-Ghazali seeks to prove the existence of God from the concept of *hadath* (createdness) of the cosmos, presupposing atomistic premises. What is more, al-Ghazali holds that the phenomenal world is created and continues to be created by God in all moments of time in accord with his determination. Unlike the emanationist deterministic cosmogony, he argues that once divine determination is freely made, the phenomenal world, or al-*'alam al-mulk*, changes constantly and evolves according to a predetermined chain of causes and effects.

In cosmology, imitating the notions of the Sufi Abu Talib al-Makki, al-Ghazali divides the cosmos into three realms: the world of *mulk* (the phenomenal world); the world of *jabarut* (the intermediate world); and the world of *malakut* (the invisible world). The first world, *mulk*, is the phenomenal world which is an incomplete replica or shadow of the realm of *malakut*. The third world, *malakut*, is the world of reality and of the essence of things. Very akin to the Platonic world of Ideas, or to the Avicennan world of intelligibles, this realm is the world of God's determination and creation, a world of angels free from any kind of change. As the realm of God's determination, the realm of *malakut* is the *'alam* (world) of the Preserved Tablet in Heaven where God's will and order is inscribed. The only difference between the first and the last realms is that the first *'alam* continues to be created by God moment by moment in a continual manner; yet, the world of *malakut* is created once and for all by God. And for al-Ghazali, this phenomenal world, according to those who are given experiential or sapiential knowledge, is the most perfect and best possible realm.

In eschatology, al-Ghazali rejects the analogy of this world and the next world as proposed by the Mu'tazilite theologians, since according to al-Ghazali, all the details of the hereafter are based on religious authoritative data (*nass*) and so it cannot be ascertained that these events are rationally impossible. For example, the seeing of God (*ru'ya Allah*) in the hereafter is a kind of certain knowledge beyond human understanding; thus, it cannot be denied in rational terms. The ultimate goal of humankind in the Islamic tradition is salvation in the hereafter by reaching Paradise, in which the multitude of sensuous pleasures and joy at the vision of God are reserved for the believers. The greatest happiness, in the view of al-Ghazali, is the seeing of God in the sense of a beatific vision. What is more, for al-Ghazali, the spiritual experience (*fana'*) of the Sufis is a foretaste of and rehearsal for the real vision of God in the hereafter.

To sum up, al-Ghazali's influence in all branches of the Islamic sciences was significant. In *kalam* (theology) he contributed prominently to the usage of rational methods of logic in theological problems in the Muslim world. In logic, al-Ghazali was the first to apply the principles of logic in theology without any reserve and introduce this methodological tool to the sciences of *fiqh* and *kalam*. In Islamic jurisprudence, he enthusiastically applied the rational principles of logic to the study of the principles of Islamic legal theory (*usul al-fiqh*) as represented in his *al-Mustasfa min 'ilm al-usul* (The Essentials of Islamic Legal Theory), in which he included a very long introduction regarding logic and ratiocinative methods. In ethics he brought rigor into the Ash'arite interpretation of human action and morality.

Nevertheless, it is also true that philosophy declined in the Sunni world after al-Ghazali's criticism of philosophy. Though nearly a century later, IBN RUSHD (Averroes, d. 594/1198) in the eastern part of the Islamic world made attempts to stop the downfall of philosophy by his response such as the *Tahafut al-tahafut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence), aiming to negate the claims of al-Ghazali's *Tahafut* and the *Fasl al-maqal* (The Decisive Treatise), philosophy was, however, gradually channeled into the theoretical frame of Sufism and was further developed in the form of theosophical mysticism or mystical philosophy, especially in the Shi'ite world. In the Sunni world, on the other hand, Aristotelian logic was incorporated into theology and Sufism, and was represented, albeit to a limited extent, philosophically.

In medieval Europe, al-Ghazali was known as a great philosopher. Like overt Averroism and covert Avicennism, there was also an implicit Algazelism in Europe which was facilitated through the Latin and Hebrew translations and represented, to some extent, by Peter of Spain, Alexandre of Hales, Vincent of Beauvais, Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Siger of Brabant, Henry of Ghent, Robert Grossteste, Jean Peccham, Matthew of Aquasparta, Pierre d'Abano, and Augustino Nifo. More explicitly, al-Ghazali's criticism of philosophy and his mystical thought are sometimes compared to the philosophical and theological thought of Thomas Aquinas, Nicholas of Autrecourt, and even to Descartes and Pascal.

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SEVKET YAVUZ

GILANI, 'Abd al-Qadir, *see* al-Jilani

GÖKALP, Ziya (1876–1924)

Considered to be the foremost ideologue of modern Turkish nationalism, Gökalp was born in Diyarbakır, Turkey. He received a traditional Islamic education in his hometown, and began to write at an early age. He enrolled in a veterinary school in Istanbul, but his real interest was in the social sciences. Later, this would lead Gökalp to study Durkheim closely and make his ideas available in Turkey through his various publications.

It was during his years in Istanbul that Gökalp became familiar with the ideas and political program of the Ottoman Society for Union and Progress, of which many of his contemporaries were secret members. Due to an intellectual crisis and perhaps social pressure, he attempted suicide and was saved by Abdullah CEVDET. In addition to his political activities, he became closely associated with a group of writers known as Genç Kalemler (Young Pens), which initiated a new literary movement in modern Turkish. After the Revolution of 1908 led by the Society for Union and Progress, he became an ideologue of Turkish nationalism, which, by now, had separated itself from Islamism and Ottomanism led by Namık Kemal and others. His secular and modernist ideas prepared the ground for many of the Kamalist reforms after 1923. He died in 1924 as a member of the Grand National Assembly.

In his early writings, Gökalp followed Namık Kemal and others in arguing for the unity of all "Ottoman subjects," that is, the different ethnicities under the Ottoman rule bound together by religion and common history. As the Ottoman Empire disintegrated and nationalist movements gained momentum in Europe, the Balkans, and the Arab world, Gökalp, like many of his contemporaries, became disillusioned with Ottomanism and turned to Turkish nationalism with strong secular tendencies. His new ideology of Turkish nationalism was aligned more with cultural association than racial identification. To that effect, he made a distinction between "culture" (*hars*) and civilization, and defined culture as the sum total of the institutions, ideas, beliefs, and values of a nation which distinguish it from others that belong to the same civilization. As a sociologist, Gökalp wrote extensively on the ancient cultures and mores of pre-Islamic Turks, and tried to clarify his definition of culture through numerous examples.

Gökalp considered Islam to be a part of Turkish culture to the extent to which it was a long-held belief system of the Turkish people. But for him, this Turkish-Islamic synthesis was the past of the Turkish nation. Its future lay in the newly emerging modern European civilization with a new set of values based on science and progress. Gökalp summarized his new politico-cultural program in his famous book *Türkleşmek*, *İslamlaşmak*, *Muasırlaşmak* (Turkicization, Islamization, Modernization) published in 1918. He tried to reconcile these three tendencies by seeking to create a "modern Turkish Islam." In this sense, Gökalp did not dissociate himself from traditional Islamic values completely. In keeping with his philosophical idealism, he praised IBN AL-'ARABI as the "closest sage to modern philosophy."

Gökalp's philosophical modernism led him to play an active role in a number of areas. In literature, he defended the "purification movement" in the Turkish language whereby Arabic and Persian words that had entered Turkish were replaced with either old Turkish words or with newly invented ones. In politics, he expanded his idealistic Turkish nationalism to the Turkish nations of Central Asia under Russian rule. In the field of law, he advocated reforming traditional Islamic legal systems and reconciling their differences with modern secular law. In international relations, he proposed to turn the traditional caliphate into a non-political organization to regulate the relations between the Muslim nations.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

GÖLPINARLI, Abdulbaki
(1317–1402/1900–82)

Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı was born in Istanbul on 10 Ramadan 1317/12 Ocak 1900 and died in Istanbul on 6 Dhu'l-Qadah 1402/August 25, 1982. He was an outstanding interpreter of Sufism, especially the Mawlaviyye and Bektashiyya schools. His father was Ahmed Agah Efendi, and his mother was Aliye Şöhret Hanım. His family was by origin from Gence (Azerbaijan), and his father worked as an Ottoman civil servant in Rusjuk (Bulgaria), then moved to Istanbul during the Turkish-Russian War 1294–5/1877–8. His father was a journalist and worked for *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Interpretation of Truth) newspaper. He was also a Bektashi Sufi in Rusjuk, who after moving to Istanbul entered the Naqshibandiya order. When Gölpınarlı was eight years old, he began attending Mawlavi circles in Bahariye (Istanbul). He was brought up in the cultural and mystical atmosphere of the Sufi orders.

When Gölpınarlı was in secondary school, his father died and he was forced to leave school and start work as a teacher of Persian and geography, also in a secondary school. Facing hardship in Istanbul, he decided to move to Alaca to work again as a schoolteacher. In 1343/1924 he returned to Istanbul in order to complete his lycée education, and graduated from İstiklal Lyçée in 1344/1926. While working as a schoolteacher, he attended the Faculty of Literature in Istanbul University. Having graduated from the university he then worked as a teacher of Turkish literature in the Anatolian cities of Konya, Kayseri, and Balıkesir.

In 1358 / 1939, Gölpınarlı was appointed to teach in Ankara University. In 1361/1942, he moved to the Faculty of Literature in Istanbul University and taught the history of Sufism and Sufi literature. In 1364/1945, he was detained as a Marxist activist but released after ten months. Having retired from Istanbul University in 1368/1949, he devoted himself to research on Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi and the Mawlavi order. He died on 6 Dhu'l-Qadah 1402/August 25, 1982, in Istanbul, and is buried in the Shi'ite graveyard in Üsküdar.

From his early years Gölpınarlı entered different Sufi orders, but never became committed to any of them exclusively except to the Mawlaviyye. Sometimes he appeared to be a cynical writer criticizing Marxism, at other times he was a Marxist activist. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to describe his exact thought. It can at least be said that he was a Bektashi and a Mawlavi and loyal to Shi'ism. He was a skilled interpreter of the history of Sufism. He wrote in various academic and popular journals, such as *Türkiyat Mecmuası* (Journal of Turkish Studies), *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* (Journal of Oriental Studies), and *Türk Dili* (Turkish Language).

Gölpınarlı was prolific, writing, editing, and translating around 114 books and more than 400 articles. His works on Yunus Emre and Mawlana Jalaleddin Rumi are among the most important. His first important book, *Melamilik ve Melamiler* (The Malami Order and the Malamis), published in 1931, was his dissertation written for the Faculty of Literature. This book established his scholarly status. He also wrote many biographies of Turkish poets such as Baki, Fuzuli, Kaygusuz Abtal, Pir Sultan Abtal, Hataî, Kul Himmet, Şeyh Galib, and Nesimi. His book *Yunus Emre, Hayatı* (Yunus Emre, His Life), published in 1936, is a revealing work on the famous Turkish poet Yunus Emre. It was an important attempt to bring together various facts in order to illuminate the dark side of Yunus' life. *Mevlana Celaleddin: Hayatı, Felsefesi, Eserleri ve Eserlerinden Seçmeler* (Mawlana Jalaleddin: Life, Philosophy, Works and Some Selections from His Works), published in 1951, is a detailed study of Rumi's life and his works. Gölpınarlı also translated some works of famous Persian poets such as Faruddin ‘Attar, Şebüsteri, Omar Khayyam, and Hafız into Turkish. He was a prominent translator of Rumi’s works into Turkish. He edited and published the *divan*s of famous Turkish poets such as Fuzulî, Yunus Emre, Nedim, and Şeyh Galib. He wrote many books on Shi‘ism such as *On İki İmam* (Twelve Imams), *Mü’minlerin Emiri Hz. Ali* (The Amir of Believers, Imam ‘Ali) and *Tarih Boyunca İslam Mezhepleri ve Şiilik* (Islamic Sects and Shi‘ism Throughout History). He prepared and published a Turkish translation of the Qur’an in 1958, and because of his Shi‘ite interpretation, this translation was severely criticized. He also wrote many entries for various encyclopedias.

Gölpınarlı has made a significant contribution to the revival of Turkish culture in modern Turkey by writing works and translating and editing the works of various famous Turkish poets. Many of his books have become indispensable for those interested in the history of Sufism as well as students of the history of Turkish literature.

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ADNAN ASLAN

GUÉNON, René (1886–1951)

Guénon was born in Blois, France, on November 15, 1886. He devoted the early years of his life to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He went to Paris in 1906, where he maintained regular contact with various spiritualist groups. Guénon was initiated into Sufism in 1912, and took the Muslim name ‘Abd al-Wahid Yahya. He finished his university education in 1916 with a thesis called “Leibniz and Infinitesimal Calculus.” The same year, he met the Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain. In 1921, he prepared his doctoral dissertation under the title “General Introduction to the Study of Hindu Doctrines.” Guénon’s thesis was rejected by his doctoral committee, which led to his eventual abandonment of academia in 1923. In 1924, he published *Orient and Occident*, to be followed in 1927 by *The Crisis of the Modern World*, perhaps his most famous and widely read book.

A year after the publication of *The Crisis of the Modern World*, Guénon’s wife died. He went to Egypt in 1930 as part of a project for the study and publication of some Sufi texts. He never left Egypt again. He married the daughter of the Sufi *shaykh* Muhammad Ibrahim in 1934, and settled in a house near al-Azhar University where he had regular contact with ‘Abd al-Halim Mahmud, the president of al-Azhar and a scholar of Sufism. Although Guénon received occasional visits from such members of the Traditionalist school as Titus Burckhardt, Frithjof Schuon, and Martin Lings, he remained largely a recluse during his years in Egypt, working on his major books and articles. He died in Cairo on January 7, 1951.

Guénon’s writings span a wide array of subjects from metaphysics and symbolism to the critique of the modern world. One of the constant themes of his corpus is the sharp contrast between the traditional worldview shared by the major religions of the world and modernism, which he considered to be an anomaly in the history of mankind. His works present the fundamental teachings of the Traditionalist school in a precise and compelling language. His *The Reign of Quantity* *and the Signs of the Times*, *Multiple States of Being* and *Fundamental Symbols of Sacred Science* are devoted to the revival of traditional doctrines and have been instrumental in the rise and spread of the Traditionalist school, represented by such figures as Frithjof Schuon, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Titus Burckhardt, Marco Pallis, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, and Martin Lings. Guénon's other works, including *The Symbolism of the Cross*, *Man and His Becoming According to the Vedanta*, *Introduction to the Study of Hindu Doctrines*, and *the Grand Triad*, deal with various themes within specific religious traditions.

Guénon's metaphysical views contain all of the basic tenets of the Traditionalist school. According to Guenon, the primordial and perennial Truth, which manifests itself in a variety of religious traditions and metaphysical systems, has been lost in the modern world. The modernists seek to reduce all higher principles and levels of reality to their manifestation in the world of multiplicity and relative existence. Modern philosophy carries this out by reducing everything to the individualistic horizon of the subject and by relegating objective reality to the discursive constructions of the knowing subject. In the field of natural sciences, positivism and its scientistic allies similarly reject any reality that is beyond the reach and scrutiny of the quantitative measurement of physical sciences. In the social realm, the moral and esthetic principles are left to the arbitrary decisions and consensus of the majority, thus jeopardizing the objective reality of the truth.

For Guénon, the malaise of the modern world lies in its relentless denial of the metaphysical realm, the metaphysical world being comprised of both philosophy and spirituality. Guénon sees everything in the world of creation as an application and manifestation of the metaphysical principles that are contained in the perennial teachings of religions, and applies them to numerous subjects that he examines in his works. Both the value of the traditional sciences of nature and the misguided claims of modern secular science are judged in proportion to their proximity or distance from these principles.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

GÜNALTAY, M. Şemseddin (1883–1961)

Günaltay was born in Erzincan, Turkey. He received his early education in Istanbul and went to Switzerland to do research in natural history. In 1914 he joined the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in Istanbul, and became its dean in 1915. He joined the Ottoman Society for Union and Progress and for several years served as its president. He became a member of the People's Republican Party, founded by Kemal Atatürk. He was a member of the Grand National Assembly until 1954. In 1949 he became the fourteenth Prime Minister of the Republic. He served as the president of the Turkish Historical Society from 1941 until his death in 1961.

Günaltay's prolific career combined political activism with the productive scholarship of a scholar and historian. Despite the anti-Islamic and pro-Western outlook of the People's Republican Party, Günaltay can rightly be called an Islamic thinker. He was largely responsible for the establishment of the Ankara Divinity School, the first of its kind in modern Turkey, as well as the introduction of mandatory religious classes into the Turkish school system.

Günaltay considered religion an essential component of society. He did not have any particular interest in the mystical aspects of religion. In fact, he openly criticized the Sufi orders for causing the decline of classical Islamic civilization by preaching fatalism and passivism, and sheltering fugitive soldiers and other public servants. But he opposed all forms of atheism and agnosticism imported from the Enlightenment philosophers of Europe. Like other Muslim modernists, he believed that the "gate of *ijtihad*" was open, implying that Islamic culture and law could find a place for itself in the modern world. Where there is a conflict between reason (*akıl*) and revelation (*nakil*), he reiterated what he took to be the traditional Islamic notion that advocated the use of reason to interpret revelation.

Like many of his intellectual peers, Günaltay criticized European countries for their double standards and hypocrisy. As a scholar and politician who flourished in the early twentieth century, Günaltay was acutely aware of the devastating impact of European colonialism on the Islamic world. He ridiculed European intellectuals for trying to teach the norms of civility to Muslim countries while their own governments were occupying Muslim lands. In keeping with his critical attitude toward Europe, he believed that the Europeans were afraid of the success of Turkey because of Turkey's potential leadership role for the rest of the Islamic world.

Günaltay sought to create a *modus vivendi* between his personal attachment to the Islamic tradition and the secularist policies of the new Turkish Republic. In the first edition of his book *Zulmetten Nura* (From Darkness to Light), for instance, he advocated the development of the Turkish language and the study of foreign languages, including Arabic and Persian, the two major languages of classical Islam. As the new Republic adopted a radical program of nationalist modernization-Westernization, he took out Arabic and Persian from the later editions of the book. In a broad sense, we find Günaltay concurring with the politico-cultural program of Ziya GÖKALP, who saw the future in the synthesis of Turkicization, Islamization, and Westernization. His works include *İslam Tarihi* (History of Islam) (1922), *Maziden Atiye* (From the Past to the Future) (1923), *İslamda Tarih ve Müverrihler* (History and Historians in Islam) (1923), *Zulmetten Nura* (From Darkness to Light) (1925), *İbn-i Sina'nın Şahsiyeti ve Milliyeti Meselesi* (The Question of Ibn Sina's Personality and Nationality) (1940), and *İran Tarihi* (History of Iran) (1948).

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IBRAHIM KALIN

H

HACI PAŞA (*c*. 740–827/*c*. 1339–1424)

Hacı Paşa was born in Konya (Turkey) in about 740/1339 and died in Birgi in about 827/1424. He was known as the Anatolian Ibn Sina, a scholar of medical sciences as well as a theologian. His real name was Celaleddin Hızır, but he was commonly known as Hacı Paşa. His father was Ali and his grandfather was a merchant known as Hoca Ali. Hacı Paşa started his early education in a *medrese* of Konya and later was sent to Egypt for further education by his family. He studied the religious and rational sciences with the famous Hanafi jurist Akmal al-Din al-Baberti in the Shayhuniyya Madrasa in Cairo. His success in these areas of knowledge in Cairo made him famous in Anatolia. Among his colleagues in Egypt there were famous Turkish scholars such as Molla Fenari and Bedrettin Simavii Seyyed. Sharif al-Jurjani was also among his colleagues. Subsequently he attended the circle of Qutb al-Din al-Tahtani in Damascus.

During his education in Cairo, Hacı Paşa suffered a serious illness, which eventually led him to study the medical sciences. He studied with leading thinkers such as Jamaladdin ibn al-Shawbaki, and was appointed as a doctor in the hospital of al-Malik Mansur Kalawun, where he served for a long time. When he received an invitation from his sponsor Aydınoğlu İsa Bey, Celaleddin Hızır returned to Anatolia. He was appointed as a judge (*kadı*) for the Anatolian town of Ayasaluk. After this appointment the title of Hacı Paşa was given to him by İsa Bey. He was not only a judge in Ayasaluk, but also a lecturer in Birgi Medrese, and he served as a medical doctor in the court of İsa Bey.

After the death of İsa Bey and because of some political unrest in Aydın, Hacı Paşa left Aydın for Konya after 800/1398. How long he stayed in Konya is not precisely known. Having presented his exegesis of the Qur'an to the Ottoman Sultan Murat II, it is understood that he returned to the Anatolian town of Birgi, where he died.

Hacı Paşa wrote several books in three major fields, namely, medical sciences (*tıb*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*), and theology (*kalam*). Apart from two Turkish books, he mainly wrote in Arabic. One of his most important books in medicine was *al-Ta'lim fi 'ilmi al-tıb* (The Instruction in Medical Sciences), which he completed in 771/1370. This was written according to the Ibn Sina tradition. In this book, Hacı Paşa gave a brief account of theoretical as well as practical aspects of the medical sciences. He also spoke of food and drink, and the causes and treatment of some bodily illnesses. At the end of this book, Hacı Paşa gave advice to doctors. This book has not been published but there are a few manuscripts in Istanbul libraries. Hacı Paşa wrote *al-Farida fi zikri al-aghiza al-mufida* (On Beneficial Foods) in 771/1379 in Cairo. This was a brief summary of his *al-Ta'lim fi 'ilmi al-tib*. It has not yet been edited or published.

Shifa al-askam wa dawa'u al-alam (Curing of Illnesses and Remedies of Sufferings) is one of Hacı Paşa's most important books on medicine. This book has also been known as *Shifa-yı Hacı Paşa* and *Kanun-ı Hacı Paşa*. It was written in 782/1380 in Ayasuluk and presented to İsa Bey. It contains practical as well as theoretical aspects of medicine at that time. In this book Hacı Paşa follows the method of Ibn Sina and explains the features of drugs and foods, illnesses and their treatments. There are many manuscripts of this book in Istanbul libraries but it has not been edited or published.

Kitab al-Sa'da wa al-iqbal (Book of Happiness and Prosperity) is another summary of his *Shifa al-askam*, completed in 788/1386 in Ayasaluk. This book was later translated into Turkish and presented to the Ottoman Sultan Beyazıt II. *Muntehab-ı Şifa* (Selections of *Shifa al-askam*) is a Turkish summary of his *Shifa al-askam* written by himself. This book is one of the earliest Turkish books on medicine. It was transcribed into Latin and published in 1410/1990 in Ankara. *Majma' al-anwar fi jami' al-asrar* (Gathering of Lights in All Secrets) is a *tafsir* (exegesis) of the Qur'an, presented to Ottoman Sultan Murat II. Although it seems to be one of the largest of Hacı Paşa's works and was completed in about ten volumes, only two of them are extant. He also wrote some books of commentary (*sharh*). These include a commentary of *Metali' al-anwar* of Siraj al-Din al-Urumawi on logic and a commentary of *Tawali' al-anwar fi 'ilm al-kalam* of Kadı Baydawi on theology.

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ADNAN ASLAN

HADITH

After the Qur'an itself, the most important source for Islamic philosophy is the body of works known as *hadith* (literally, Traditions) concerning the Prophet and his Companions. The *hadith* can be seen as a kind of supplement to the Qur'an; they are not divinely sent in the manner of the latter, but they represent the thinking of the Prophet and his Companions.

The *hadith* in turn have been a rich source of inspiration for thinkers and philosophers in the Islamic world down to the present day. In the words of Nasr (1996: 36), the Qur'an and the *hadith* "have provided over the centuries the framework and matrix for Islamic philosophy and created the intellectual and social climate within which Islamic philosophers have philosophized. Moreover, they have presented a knowledge of the origin, the nature of things, humanity and its final ends and history upon which the Islamic philosophers have meditated and from which they have drawn over the ages."

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OLIVER LEAMAN

HA'IRI-YAZDI, Mehdi (1923–99)

Mehdi Ha'iri-Yazdi grew up in a distinguished family in Iran, and like them became a part of the religious establishment in the country. He was born in Qom in 1923, and his father, Ayatollah Abdokkarim Ha'iri-Yazdi, was the *marja‘ al-taqlid* or main legal Shi‘i authority of the time. He was also the founder of the Qom seminary, which proved to be the main center for the ayatollahs in Iran.

Ha’iri-Yazdi left the country in 1959 for Washington DC to represent Ayatollah Boroujerdi, and while there set up the Association of Islamic Students in North America that came to wield a considerable presence from then on. He became interested in Western philosophy and took the unusual step of enrolling for an undergraduate philosophy degree at Georgetown University, following this up with further study at the universities of Michigan and Toronto, from the latter of which he received his doctorate in philosophy. While he was in the West he taught at a variety of institutions and gained a good knowledge of how philosophy was both taught and studied in the West.

The Islamic Revolution in 1979 put him in temporary charge of the embassy in Washington. The new leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, asked him to undertake this task, and there were close family and teaching links between the Khomeini and the Ha’iri-Yazdi families. In the summer of 1980 he returned to Iran, having given up his responsibilities in the USA after disagreements, and returned to teaching at the University of Tehran, but he was no longer on friendly terms with the leader of the country and his travel overseas was subsequently banned until 1983. Ha’iri-Yazdi remained rather out of favor because of his views, subsequently published, that the whole idea of clerical rule, very much the basis of the 1979 revolution, was not supported by religion. He largely stayed out of politics up until his death in 1999.

From a philosophical point of view, Ha’iri-Yazdi’s most important work manages to combine what he takes to be insights from both Western and Islamic philosophy. A good example of his approach can be found in his book on epistemology, in which he analyzes some basic issues in the theory of knowledge as discussed by Ibn Sina and al-Suhrawardi through the use of modern Western thinkers such as Russell and Wittgenstein. He has also written books titled *‘Ilm-i kulli* (Universal Knowledge), *Kawishha-yi ‘aql-i nazari* (Investigations of Pure Reason), *Agahi wa guwahi* (Concept and Judgement), and *Kawishha-yi ‘aql-i ‘amali* (Enquiry into Practical Reason), which is a work on ethics.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-HALLAJ, Abu al-Mughith al-Husayn (244–309/857–922)

Abu al-Mughith al-Husayn b. Mansur al-Hallaj, a famous mystic, was born in Tur, to the northeast of al-Bayda in Fars, in about 244/857–8, the son of a wool carder. He died in Baghdad 309/922. When the boy was still young, the father left Tur for a better textile-producing region between Tuster and Wasit. At Wasit, al-Hallaj, who would not have been more than about twelve years old, probably lost his ability to speak Persian through his intensive study of the literary Arabic of the Qur’an. Even then he was eager to learn the inner meaning of the Qur’anic verses, and later joined the Sufi school of Sahl al-Tustari.

At the age of twenty, al-Hallaj left Tuster to live in Basra. There he learned the Sufi teachings of ‘Amr al-Makki and became his disciple. However, his marriage with the daughter of a rival of al-Makki caused problems with his *shaykh* and teacher. The family of his wife seemed to have been involved with the Zinj movement, supported by Qaramite Shi'i, who led a revolt against the 'Abbasid authorities. The movement called for better treatment of the slaves (both African and Indian) and the poor peasants. No doubt Hallaj took some part in this revolt, a position which made many scholars consider him a Shi'i *da'i* or missionary. This claim, however, is refuted by Massignon (1957), who collected the works and doctrines of al-Hallaj and gives a very detailed account of his life. Some Sufis of the time, such as al-Junayd, disapproved of al-Hallaj's connections with this movement and advised him to withdraw. For various personal and political reasons, al-Hallaj then left Basra for Mecca to perform his first *hajj*.

Al-Hallaj remained in Mecca for a year, and it seems that he spent this period in silence and fasting in preparation for the experience of unification with God. After his stay in Mecca, al-Hallaj left for Khuzistan where he preached to the people the importance of seeking mystical knowledge of God and the importance of developing the spiritual side of the individual for the welfare of society as a whole. His call here was for the social salvation of the individual against the injustice of the authorities. With about 400 followers, al-Hallaj made his second pilgrimage to Mecca, where he was accused by many of performing magic and miracles. Al-Hallaj then left Mecca intending to visit India and other regions.

Encountering the wisdom of Indian mysticism no doubt gave al-Hallaj a deep mystical knowledge which contributed to his theory of the complete unification with God known as *'ayn al-Jam'*. In 290/903 he returned to Baghdad and spent a period of contemplation in which he sought complete unification with God. Soon, however, he began his third and last pilgrimage. It was after this *hajj* that al-Hallaj attained full unification with God, uttering his famous saying, '*ana al-Haqq*' (I am the Truth). After his return to Baghdad, he started to preach the love of God in connection with suffering and pain through sentences such as "God neither leaves me to myself nor takes me fully to a final rest in him," or "God has made my blood lawful to you; kill me." He also produced the most beautiful poetry as an expression of his suffering. Probably after his last mystical experiences he was seeking an actual annihilation in God through a final destruction of the body.

Because of the immense anxiety felt by the masses, many traditionalists such as Muhammad b. Dawud the judge of Baghdad advised that al-Hallaj should be arrested. He was accused in 301/913 of blasphemy and jailed for nine years. This judgment, however, seems to have had a political dimension; it came about through his preaching against injustice, which was made use of by the Isma'ili rivals of the 'Abbasids and he was jailed by the Isma'ilis when they established their rule in Morocco. In prison, however, he continued to preach to the prisoners. His continual preaching increased the number of his followers, which led Hamid, who was the vizier, to fear that the Shi'i power of the Daylamites would increase, for it was already growing in the eastern part of the empire where they had taken over Rayy. For this reason the vizier reopened the case of al-Hallaj and gathered a number of theologians and Sufis to condemn his teachings. After a trial which lasted about a year, al-Hallaj was executed by crucifixion in 24 Dhu'l-Qadah 309/March 27, 922.

Al-Hallaj was unique among the early Sufis for the great emphasis he laid on love as the dynamic connection which moves the Sufi from one state to another. These states, he insists, are gifts from God which descend upon the Sufi independent of his will. It does seem, however, that al-Hallaj mainly emphasized the state of unification with God rather than the mystical stages which lead to it. He was calling his followers to purify themselves from love of the world, to concentrate on their desire for unification through love and to wait for God's *tajjali,* revealing himself, to them. Although al-Hallaj, like many Sufis of his time, believed that the mystical state should be concealed, he also deemed the mission of the Sufi to effect social and political reform to be just as important. The Sufi is equally responsible for preaching virtue and for calling people to purify their souls, which leads to a just and healthy society. Although Hallaj was condemned by many Sufis (for he declared an identification of his essence with God's essence through using language which can be used only by God in the Qur'an, such as identifying himself with *al-Rahman al-Rahim*) he inspired many Sufis and illuminated the way to Gnostic mysticism which flourished 200 years later in the hands of AL-SUHRAWARDI. AL-GHAZALI also demonstrates in his book *Mishkat al-anwar* an acknowledgment of the sainthood of al-Hallaj, though he had some reservations about his attainment of mystical status.

Al-Hallaj left many poetic works which his disciples preserved, and also composed *Kitab al-Tawasin,* which is a series of eleven short works. There are also descriptions of his death by many of his followers. In additions we have also twenty-seven anecdotes collected by his disciples in a form of *hadith*, known as *Akhbar al-Hallaj*. The French scholar Massignon collected all these works in a famous set of four volumes with the title *The Passion of al-Hallaj* (1957).

In formulating his theory of unification, which is known as *'ayn al-jam'*, al-Hallaj seemed to have passed through different stages. The first stage is the absolute desire of knowing God; this knowledge is not approachable through the intellect's perceiving God's work but through contemplation and love. At this stage the Sufi is able to make a clear distinction between the created and the creator and realize their duality. The second stage is when the Sufi through his love recognizes this duality and wishes to witness the creator and not His creation. There follow then four further stages in which the Sufi moves out of his individuality to enter into the unity of divinity. The stage of *'ayn al-jam'* is experienced when the witness is fully in contemplation of the witnessed; at this stage he receives the divine *tajjali,* self-revelation, which descends upon the Sufi (the witness). At this stage God uses the Sufi as an instrument and speaks or writes through him. Such a stage is known as *hulul*, indwelling, but as-Hallaj himself recognizes, it is a divine *tajjali* rather than an entering of the human body and acting through it. He was asked at his trial who had written a letter in which it was said that it had come from "the most gracious, the most merciful (*al-Rahman al-Rahim*)," which are the Qur'anic attributes of God. He answered: "God is the writer and I am only his instrument." The last stage, however, is when there is no distinction between witness (*shahid*) and witnessed (*mashhud*) but rather the human soul is fully transformed into the divine reality and what remains is only God.

Although many ambiguities surround Hallaj's Sufism and his rejection by many Sufis, in particular, his teachers al-Makki and al-Junayd, because of his unusual approach to Sufi doctrines, he produced some very deep and philosophical poems which reflect a wise saint whose thirst to be unified with God was not sufficiently apprehended by many, scholars and Sufis alike. However, his *tariqa* continues to be practised and today even those who reject his methods still admire his intense love of God.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

HAMADANI, Mulla Husayn-qali

(*c.* 1268–1332 or 1337/*c.* 1850–1915 or 1920)

One of the major figures of the Qajar period, Mulla Husayn-qali Hamadani, was born in Hamadan. Very little is known of his life. He received his early education and spiritual training from Aqa Sayyid ʻAli Shushtari (d. 1866). He also studied with the famous philosopher Mulla Hadi SABZIWARI. He had a reputation as an extremely pious person with mystical visions and states (*ahwal*).

In addition to being an accomplished Sufi, he was also known for convening "gatherings of ethics," (*majlis akhlaq*) in which he must have given his expositions on such ethical and spiritual matters as the cleansing of the soul, contentment, and the importance of companionship. Another constant theme in these gatherings was the knowledge of the self in both the epistemological and spiritual senses of the term. He is also said to have kept a copy of IBN AL-ʻARABI's *al-Futuhat al-makkiyya* (The Meccan Openings) by his side during his lectures. He wrote a commentary on God's beautiful names (*asma al-husna*) and a Sufi commentary called *al-Shumus al-taliʻa fi sharh ziyadat al-jamiʻa* (The Dawning Suns in the Commentary on Ziyadat al-Jamiʻa).

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-HAMADHANI, ʻAyn al-Qudat

(492–525/1098–1131)

ʻAyn al-Qudat al-Hamadhani, the popular name for Abu al-Maʻali ʻAbd Allah ibn Muhammad al-Miyaniji, was born in Hamadan. His family originated from Miyaniji in Azerbijan. He had a conventional religious education and seemed to be set for a traditional legal career, but his introduction to Sufism and meeting with Ahmad al-Ghazali, the brother of Abu Hamid AL-GHAZALI, led him on a rather different path. ʻAyn al-Qudat started to express an interest in mysticism that resulted in writings on topics such as sainthood, love, belief, and rationality that shocked the orthodoxy of the time. He ended up in prison in Baghdad and then, on his return to Hamadhan, was tortured and killed in the night of 6–7 Jumada II 525/May 5–6, 1131.

His writings include *Zubda al-haqa'iq* (The Best of Truths, 516/1122), *Maktubat* (Letters, between 517/1123 and 525/1131), *Tamhidat* (Prefaces, 521/1127), and *Shakwa' al-gharib* (The Complaint of the Exile, 525/1131). He lived during difficult times, where the local Seljuq leadership was keen to stress its orthodoxy and impose Hanafite values on the state. Philosophy as a whole was under great suspicion, and Sufism similarly was widely rejected by the political authorities as a valid Islamic path. ʻAyn al-Qudat was committed to both philosophy in the style of IBN SINA and to Sufism, and as a result in 525/1130 he was arrested in Hamadan and sent to prison in Baghdad. This is where he wrote the *Shakwa'*, which represents his defense of his life and work. In it, he addresses the various issues that attracted the charge of blasphemy and replies to his accusers. For example, in his account of the nature of the messengership of the Prophet, he introduced a notion of understanding that goes beyond the merely rational. In his account of the *imam*, or religious leader, he seemed to have come close to the views of the Shiʻa and, especially, the Ismaʻilis, who had very recently been a major threat to orthodoxy in Iran. He had argued, like the Ismaʻilis, for the necessity of an *imam* as a spiritual guide; hence the charge of blasphemy. However, in the *Shakwa'*, he says that he is an advocate of the rational basis for God's existence, while the Isma'ilis insist that the only way of establishing divine existence is through the *imam*. Of course, it would not have escaped his accusers that he was defending himself on one charge, of being unorthodox, by implicitly accepting his guilt on another aspect of that charge, since philosophy was then seen as evidence of unorthodoxy. In fact, the whole book is rather like Socrates' *Apology* in that the author apologizes for nothing and seems to go out of his way to annoy his enemies and accusers.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

HAMKA (1326–1401/1908–81)

Haji 'Abdul Malik bin Karim Amrullah, better known by the acronym HAMKA, was a renowned Indonesian religious scholar who was also famous throughout the Malay world. He was one of the most prolific writers of modern Southeast Asian Islam. Above all, Haji Abdul Malik was described as an eloquent speaker, and certainly one of the most sought after religious speakers, not only in Indonesia, but also in the region. He was at one time appointed as the leading *imam* (leader of the mosque) at al-Azhar Mosque in Jakarta. He was one of the most respected religious scholars of the twentieth century in the Malay archipelago.

Haji 'Abdul Malik was born into a religious family in a small village of Kampung Tanah Sirah, Sungai Batang, Maninjau, in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra on February 17, 1908 (14 Muharram 1326). His father, Haji 'Abdul Karim Amrullah, known as Haji Rasul, was also a distinguished religious scholar in Minangkabau and said to be a keen proponent of modern Islamic reform or *islah* movement of Kaum Muda (the young faction) who mooted and later championed the idea of Islamic reform in the Malay world. In order to reform society, he struggled consistently to eliminate all kinds of superstitious beliefs. His grandfather, Amrullah, was also a prominent and influential religious scholar in Minangkabau. His mother was Siti Safiyah binti Gelanggar, known as Bagindo Nan Batuah. In 1941 his father, Haji 'Abdul Karim, was detained and isolated in Sukabumi, West Java, by the Dutch colonialists because of his fierce criticism; he remained in prison under the Japanese and died on June 21, 1945, approximately two months before the declaration of Indonesian independence.

Haji 'Abdul Malik was brought up in a religious environment under the close guidance of his own parents. He was taught to read the Qur'an and some basic religious knowledge, and learned traditional martial arts. He was also sent to a village school. Later he lived with his father in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, where his father worked as a religious teacher in a center called Thawalib. 'Abdul Malik also joined the center, where he had the opportunity to learn religious sciences and Arabic. It is said that he never completed his education at the center because he was not that keen on the formal method of study, and instead loved to travel, learn martial arts, listen to traditional music, and read books. However, his reading habits acquainted him with the thought of various leading scholars. His good command of Arabic enabled him to grasp the works of prominent Middle Eastern thinkers, including Zaki Mubarak, Jurji Zaydan, ‘Abbas Mahmud AL-‘AQQAD, Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti, Hussayn Haykal, and others. Apart from these works, he also read the works of French, English, and German scholars and philosophers such as Albert Camus, William James, Freud, Toynbee, Sartre, and Karl Marx.

As a teenager, ‘Abdul Malik went to Java and later to Yogyakarta, where he was exposed to Islamic political movements and organizations such as Parti Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyya. He joined Muhammadiyya and later became its leader. While in Java he met several prominent Indonesian figures such as Omar Said Chokroaminoto, Haji Fakhruddin, and Ki Bagus Hadikusomo. At the same time he developed his skill at oratory. In 1927 at the age of nineteen, Haji ‘Abdul Malik went to Mecca on pilgrimage. He spent some six months in Mecca and worked in a publishing house. Upon returning to Indonesia, he was married to Siti Raham and settled in Padang Panjang. He established a school named Kulliyat al-Muballighin.

Haji ‘Abdul Malik’s career began as a religious instructor in Medan in 1927 and Padang Panjang in 1929. He also lived in Makassar for some three years as *muballigh* (missionary). While in Makassar he wrote a number of articles and published them in Jakarta and Medan. Later he moved to Medan to direct a magazine called *Pedoman Hidup* (Life Guidance). It was through this magazine that he produced Islamic books such as *Tasawwuf Modern*, *Falsafah Hidup*, *Lembaga Hidup*, and *Lembaga Budi*. He was appointed lecturer in Universitas Islam Jakarta and Universitas Muhammadiyya in the year 1957–58. Later he was Rector of Perguruan Tinggi Islam and a professor in Universitas Mustapo, Jakarta. In 1957 he was made the chairman of the new government-sponsored Indonesian Council of Ulama. He resigned from the post in 1980, following a political conflict with the Minister of Religion.

Politically, Haji ‘Abdul Malik was a leading figure in the struggle for national independence in Indonesia. He became politically active and was elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1955, serving until its dissolution by President Sukarno. Following an accusation that he was engaged in a plot to overthrow Sukarno in 1964, he was imprisoned for twenty months. While imprisoned, he started to outline his thirty-volume opus *Tafsir al-Azhar*. As a scholar and prolific writer, Haji ‘Abdul Malik wrote over 100 books, ranging from philosophy, politics, Minangkabau *adat*, history and biography, Islamic doctrine, ethics, mysticism, *tafsir*, and fiction. About twenty of these have been reprinted, and many of his works are available today. Among his popular books were *Falsafa Hidup*, *Tasawwuf Modern*, *Perkembangan Tasawwuf*, *Di Bawa Lindungan Ka‘ba*, *Keadilan Ilahi*, *Merantau ke Deli*, *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Vijck*, and *Di dalam Lemba Kehidupan*. His significant contribution in philosophy and Islam may be seen in his *Tafsir al-Azhar*, *Falsafa Hidup*, *Pedoman Mubaligh Islam*, *Tasawwuf Modern*, and *Revolusi Agama*.

Haji ‘Abdul Malik was a thinker who struggled for freedom of thought and expression. He fervently criticized the colonial mentality of his own people. He called for freedom of heart and soul, as it is part of Islamic teaching. To him, the fundamental doctrine of *tawhid* requires humanity to detach itself from any form of slavery. He spoke his mind and was not happy with the prolonged dispute between *Kaum Muda* (Young Faction) and *Kaum Tua* (Old Faction) in local politics. He viewed this dispute as a waste of time, and called on the Muslims to unite and speak with one voice. His philosophy of life was founded on the Islamic concept of equilibrium between the spiritual and temporal. His view on Sufism was a dynamic one. For him Sufism should not be seen as an obstacle to development. Instead, it should be perceived as an internal force and inner strength of the Muslim to stand and face their temporal challenges. Regarding Islam and nationalism, he accepted nationalism insofar it is not corrupted with chauvinism. For him, chauvinism is against Islam, while nationalism in its original context is not. He played an important role in bridging the gap between the nationalist group and those who view nationalism as against the basic Islamic doctrine.

In recognition of his scholarship, Haji ‘Abdul Malik received an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters at the National University of Malaysia in 1974. He died seven years later in Jakarta on July 24, 1981 (22 Ramadan 1401) at the age of seventy-three, a few months after publishing the final volume of *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

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ZAID AHMAD

HAMZAH FANSURI, *see* Fansuri

HAMZAH OF PANSUR, *see* Fansuri

AL-HARAWI, ‘Abdullah Ansari
(396–481/1006–89)

‘Abdullah Ansari was born in Herat on Sha‘ban 2 396/May 4, 1006, and died in the same city on 22 Dhu’l-Hijja 481/March 8, 1089. He was a major thinker within the Hanbali tradition of Sunni Islam. His father was a Sufi who had been brought up in Balkh, and when ‘Abdullah was around ten, his father abandoned his family in Herat and returned to his Sufi circle in Balkh. As a result the family was impoverished, but this does not seem to have interfered with ‘Abdullah’s education in the Islamic sciences, which was largely carried out by Sufis. When he was twenty he moved to Nishapur to continue his studies in the *ahadith* (Traditions). He then returned to Herat where he headed the local *khanaqa*, and made several unsuccessful efforts to make the *hajj* to Mecca.

Of particular significance to his development was his meeting with Abu’l-Hasan Kharaqani in 424/1033. Perhaps as a result of this meeting, he decided to abandon ecstatic Sufism and work and live instead within a far more restrained version of Sufism. His disagreement with the Ash'arite theology, then powerful at court, led to his being summoned by the sultan to defend his views, which he did successfully; but this initiated a period of increasing difficulties, when the religious authorities periodically banned him from teaching and even imprisoned him. Instability characterized his career; at times he was very poor and in political disgrace, at other times he was honored and obviously held in great respect by the court. When he was seventy-four he became blind, but this did not reduce his productivity, and he switched to dictating his works on the Qur'an and on Sufism. His blindness and increasing age did not diminish his combativeness either, and his supporters actually burnt down the house of a visiting theologian in Herat, resulting in them all being banished to Balkh for a time. Yet when he was eighty he was allowed back to Herat, returning apparently in triumph and resuming his teaching of the Qur'an.

'Abdullah Ansari played an important role in defining what became quite a trend in Islamic philosophy, the non-ecstatic approach to Sufism. Most Hanbalis such as IBN TAYMIYYA and Muhammad IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHAB were hostile to Sufism, seeing in it a lack of concern for orthodoxy and an excessive concentration on a supposed personal communication with God. Yet for 'Abdullah, Sufism is an integral part of Islam; it does not conflict with the Qur'an or the Sunna and indeed brings out their truth. He bitterly criticized the Ash'arite theologians of his time for not respecting the Traditions, and it is of course the Traditions which are given such a key role in Islam by the Hanbali school. The latter responded by criticizing what they took to be his literal approach to the text of the Qur'an. However, despite his support for Sufism, 'Abdullah had little patience for the pursuit of ecstasy or for the overblown reverence for spiritual masters, which he saw as being far too prevalent in Sufism, and he advocated by contrast a sober and calm attitude to spiritual experience.

Most of 'Abdullah's significant writings are in the Dari version of Persian, with a few being in Arabic. In Arabic, he produced the *Kitab Manazil al-sayirin* (Book of the Stations of the Wayfarers), a late work from 475/1082 dictated to his students, since he was then blind. It consists of pithy statements, based on the Qur'an, explaining different ways of attaining *tawhid* or unity with God. It has an interesting structure, being organized in a numerical pattern to make learning the different routes to spiritual growth more perspicuous, and this no doubt has helped secure it such a popular place in the world of Sufism. An earlier version of this book is his *Sad Maydan* (Hundred Grounds), written in Dari, and which is also a manual presented in a mnemonic form of the different stages of development available on the Sufi path. Perhaps his most influential work is his *Munajat* (Discourses), also written in Dari, which is in rhymed prose and consists of pithy and eloquent sayings of considerable mystical depth.

'Abdullah Ansari's attempt to combine Hanbalism with Sufism may have been an unusual strategy in Islamic thought, but his texts are acceptable to most varieties of Sufis, and as such have continued to be much read and studied. His continuing influence owes perhaps as much to the elegance of his language as to the profundity of his thought.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

HARPUTI, ʻAbdullatif
(1258–1334/1842–1916)

ʻAbdullatif Harputi was born in Harput in 1258/1842 and died in Istanbul on 16 Şevval 1334/August 16, 1916. He was an Ottoman scholar who belonged to the New Science of Kalam (Yeni İlm-i Kelam) movement. Apart from the information that his ancestors settled in Germili village of Harput three centuries prior to his birth, nothing is known about his family. He completed his primary education under his close relative Ömer Naimi Efendi in Harput. Afterward he traveled to Istanbul to study in the Fatih Madrasa. Upon graduation, he went to Adana, where he got married and worked as a teacher. Later, he returned to Istanbul with his family. He was appointed as a professor (Dersiam) in the Beyazıt Mosque, and was also appointed to the Commission on Religious-Legal Research (Meclis-i Tedkikat-ı Şerʻiyye).

Harputi also worked as a consultant to the minister of commerce, Zihni Pasha. When the latter was appointed as a governor of Thessalonica in 1308/1891, Harputi accompanied him for around ten years. In 1319/1901, Harputi returned to Istanbul and began working as a professor of Islamic theology, *kalam*, in the newly opened university, Darulfünun. He was promoted to the Chair of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, Haremeyn, on 29 Cemaziyelahir 1319/October 13, 1901. He also gave lectures on Islamic theology in the School of Preachers (Medresetü'l-Vaizîn) until his death in 1334/1916.

Harputi advocated that religions in general and Islam in particular are not obstacles for progress; nor are they in conflict with science. Harputi stood with a group of progressive Ottoman scholars who called for the revival of Islamic theology in the light of the new developments and changes in the fields of science and philosophy after the Enlightenment in the West. Harputi's progressive approach is reflected in the new arguments he introduced into Islamic theology, with the aim of grounding the Islamic creed concerning divinity and prophethood by using the new scientific understanding of his time. He argued that religious creed is permanent, but the means which are used to prove it in theology are open to change. For this purpose, he made references to the new discoveries in physics concerning heat, light, power, and electricity. He also tried to establish links between the new developments in astronomy, chemistry, biology, and psychology and theology.

Harputi presented his ideas on the revival of *kalam* in his major book *Tenkih al-Kalam fi ʻAqaid Ahl al-Islam* 1327/1909). The introduction of the book deals with the definition of *kalam*, its subject matter and purpose. In the other sections the issues of divinity, prophethood, and the next world (eschatology) are elaborated in the same great detail as in the classical *kalam* literature. Harputi mentions that when he began to teach *kalam* at Darülfünun he looked for a textbook, but he could not find one with solutions to the problems of his own time, and consequently he wrote *Tenkih al-kalam*.

Harputi argued that the existing classical texts on *kalam* had been written to struggle against heretic sects, which long ago were extinguished, and also against the ideas borrowed from Greek philosophy. He argued that such texts were no longer capable of providing answers to new heretics and defending religious belief against philosophical orientations such as positivism. Harputi also authored another book on the history of Islamic theology *Tarih-i İlm-i Kelam* (1332/1913). In the first chapter of the book he introduced major denominations and sects in Islam. In the second chapter he introduced the belief systems of the major religions of the world. In the third section, he provided a brief history of philosophy in general, while in the concluding chapter he drew attention to the atheist currents in his time.

Majalis al-anwar al-ahadiyya wa majami' al-asrar al-muhammadiyya (Istanbul 1306/1889) is another book by Harputi on Islamic faith and practice. It is a book of preaching, which was written for the general public, and consists of advice derived from the Qur'an, sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, and parables. These efforts gained Harputi a respected place among Muslim theologians, especially those who saw Islam as suffering from inertia in the new world where its traditional responses were no longer suited to the contemporary cultural climate.

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MUSTAFA SINANOĞLU

AL-HASAN BIN AL-HAYTHAM, *see* Ibn al-Haytham

HAYREDDIN PAŞA OF TUNIS
(1820 or 1825–89)

The nineteenth-century statesman and political reformist, Hayreddin Paşa (Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi), was born of Circassian origin. He was brought to Istanbul as a child and then sent to Tunisia. Trained as a statesman, he quickly became a favorite of Ahmad Bey, the governor of Tunisia. He spent the years 1853–7 in Paris, where he studied French culture and other European countries. Upon his return to Tunisia in 1857, he was elected president. In spite of his relatively successful reforms, he was forced out of Tunisia in 1877. He was then invited by the Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid II to Istanbul. In 1878, he served as the Ottoman grand vizier for a short period of time. He resigned from his position because of a conflict between himself and the sultan. He died in Istanbul.

Hayreddin's most important work is a book of both political philosophy and comparative politics. The book is called *Aqwam al-masalik fi ma'rifat ahwal al-mamalik* (The Surest Path to Knowledge Concerning the Condition of Countries). The Arabic original was published in 1867. Its French translation, authorized by Hayreddin, appeared in 1868 under the title *Essai sur les réformes nécessaires aux états musulmans*. It was also translated into Turkish in 1878 and attracted considerable attention.

The book is divided into three sections. In the Introduction, Hayreddin outlines his program of political reform and modernization, and presents a number of religious justifications for borrowing from European institutions. Part I is a detailed comparative study of twenty-one European states. Part II is a summary of the main points of the book, with a table on the correspondence between Islamic and Western calendars.

In the Introduction, which is the most important part of his book, Hayreddin outlines his political philosophy and his program of reform. His goal is to make a convincing case for political reform by calling upon the scholarly class (*'ulama'*) for support. Considering that Hayreddin did not belong to the scholarly elite, this call is significant in that it shows Hayreddin's desire not only to have the religious backing of the scholars, but also to involve them in a substantial reform movement. In keeping with the overall purpose of the book, Hayreddin uses traditional language culled from Islamic history and jurisprudence.

Hayreddin's relatively moderate program of political reform shares the basic outlines of nineteenth-century modernist Islamic thought. His calls for reform aim at salvaging Muslim nations from their deteriorating political conditions. He sees no essential conflict between traditional Islamic teachings and new European institutions. He attributes the decline of the Islamic states to the absence of the *'ulama'* from the political arena, and urges them, almost in a Platonic way, to take up their responsibility as the defenders and negotiators of the public sphere.

In all of these ideas, Hayreddin remained more or less within the purview of medieval Islamic thought. He defended Islamic internationalism on the basis of the concept of *umma*. Like many of his contemporaries, he urged the young generations of Muslims to learn new European sciences and based his argument on the famous saying of the Prophet of Islam, which urges Muslims to "seek knowledge even unto China." As a Muslim internationalist and member of the Ottoman ruling class, he opposed the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire given its implications for the unity of the Islamic world, and he was against the expansion of European colonialism.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

HAYRULLAH EFENDI (1820–66)

Hayrullah Efendi was a physician, historian, and statesman. His father Abdulhak Molla (1786–1853) was also a famous physician. He completed his medical training in 1843, and took a number of government positions in the Ottoman Empire. In 1863, he went to Europe for medical reasons, and recorded his observations in *Yolculuk Kitabı* (The Journey Book), which is both a guide and Hayrullah's personal account of European life in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1865, he was appointed to the Turkish consulate in Iran. He died in Tehran, where he is buried.

Hayrullah Efendi wrote essays for *Mecmua-yi Fünun* (The Journal of Sciences), published by Münif Paşa. In his scientific and philosophical essays, he sought to reconcile the differences between the creationist and evolutionary theories about the origin of humankind and the universe. These included "Hikaye-yi İbrahim Paşa be İbrahim -i Gülşeni" (The Story of Ibrahim Paşa to Ibrahim-i Gulseni), "Devlet-i Aliyye-yi Osmaniye Tarihi" (The History of the Ottoman Empire), and "Avrupa Seyahatnamesi" (The European Travelogue). He completed a medical work started by his father Abdulhak Molla and his uncle Mustafa Behçet Efendi, and published it as *Hezar Esrar* (Thousand Secrets). He wrote a multi-volume history of the Ottoman Empire and utilized, probably for the first time, some Western sources to draw up a new chronology of the Ottoman Empire.

His son Abdulhak Hamid Tarhan (1852–1937) became one of the most famous poets of modern Turkish literature. The latter's theatrical work/novel called *Hikaye-yi İbrahim Paşa be İbrahim-i Gülşeni* (The Story of Ibrahim Pasa to Ibrahim-i Gulseni), written in 1939 but published in 1959, is considered to be the first novel of modern Turkish literature.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-HELMY, Burhanuddin

(1329–89/1911–69)

Burhanuddin bin Haji Muhammad Nor, better known as Burhanuddin al-Helmy, was a thinker-cum-politician in the transition era of pre- and post-independence Malaysia. He was born into a middle-class Malay family in Changkat Tualang, Perak, Malaysia on August 28, 1911 (3 Ramadan 1329). His father, Haji Muhammad Nor, was a religious teacher, said to be originally from Minangkabau, Sumatra, and his mother was Sharifah Zaharah binti Habib Othman, of Arab origin, whose family settled in Kampung Changkat Tualang, Perak, Malaysia. Burhanuddin was the eldest of the seven children from the marriage of Muhammad Nor and Sharifah Zaharah. While in Mecca, Muhammad Nor met some of the prominent religious scholars of the city, among them Shaykh Mohamad Khatib Minangkabau. In 1908 Muhammad Nor came to the Malay Peninsula and joined the Sufi order of al-Naqshabandi.

Burhanuddin's early informal education was by his parents, who exposed him to the Islamic sciences and Islamic spiritual life. Between 1917 and 1923 his parents enrolled him in a formal elementary Malay school in Behrang Ulu, Perak, and another school in Bakap. Upon completing school in 1923, Burhanuddin was sent to Sungai Jambu, Sumatra, the homeland of his father, to enter into traditional religious studies. However, he was not entirely satisfied with the method of religious studies conducted at the center. Therefore, he left the center for another traditional center in Pulau Pisang, Kedah, where too he stayed hardly a month.

After leaving the center in Pulau Pisang, he entered Madrasa al-Mashhor in Pulau Pinang (Penang), a relatively "modern" religious educational center. Madrasa al-Mashhor was a religious studies center initiated by Kaum Muda, a young Muslim intellectual movement which was very much influenced by the idea of reformism. The Kaum Muda emerged partly as a result of the reform (*tajdid*) movement espoused by reformers like Jamaluddin AL-AFGHANI and Muhammad 'ABDU. During that time, there was a prolonged dispute between Kaum Muda (the young faction) and Kaum Tua (the old faction) over various religious issues. In al-Mashhor, Burhanuddin was introduced to other "modern" subjects such as mathematics and English language, apart from the Arabic language and religious sciences. As a result, he mastered both Arabic and English. He completed his studies in 1933.

While still in al-Mashhor, Burhanuddin was exposed to the reform ideas propagated by Waliyullah Dehlawi, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Ahmad Khan, Muhammad 'Abdu, Rashid RIDA, Hassan AL-BANNA', Said NURSI, and others. It is worthwhile noting that the reform movement of Kaum Muda in the Malay world was very closely associated with the ideas of those reformists. In 1934, Burhanuddin left Pulau Pinang for India. While in India, he entered the University of Aligarh (founded by an Indian reformist, Sir Seyyed Ahmad Khan) to study philosophy and Arabic literature. Here, he finally received his doctorate degree. On his return to Malaysia, as among the first few Malaysians to hold the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and the first from the University of Aligarh, Dr Burhanuddin was appointed as an Arabic teacher in Singapore around 1938. During his tenure as an Arabic teacher, he took the opportunity to study homeopathy and later became a qualified doctor in the field. He was said to be the first Malay to practise homeopathy.

Apart from his formal education, Burhanuddin also acquainted himself with Sufi works and ideas, not only those of the Naqshibandiya school, but also other Sufis such as AL-GHAZALI, al-Rifa'i, AL-RUMI, and AL-QUSHAYRI. While at the University of Aligarh in India he was also exposed to the works of the Indian reformer Shah WALI ALLAH Dehlawi, who was known as one who tried to synchronize the spirit of Sufi ideas and practices and the social and cultural life of the Muslim. Sufism should not be seen as merely a series of spiritual activities. Rather, it must also play roles in other aspects of social life, including politics, economics, and education. Burhanuddin was very much influenced by these reformist ideas. This can be seen by his move to call on the Sufis to get involved in the struggle against the British colonialists, as he believed this was a religious duty for every single Muslim in the country. He stressed the importance of good character (*akhlaq*) in assuring the rise and decline of a nation.

Burhanuddin's inclination toward politics started when he was at the University of Aligarh, where he witnessed the movement led by Mahatma Gandhi against the British. Gandhi's movement might have inspired him in his later involvement in the struggle against the British in the Malay world. Burhanuddin's serious involvement in politics was in Singapore, when he published a magazine named *Taman Bahagia* (The Garden of Happiness). Through *Taman Bahagia* he started to propagate anti-British ideas. As a result, the authorities stopped the publication of *Taman Bahagia* and Burhanuddin was detained and charged with spreading anti-British sentiment and later imprisoned for six months. The imprisonment did not affect Burhanuddin's struggle. He became more active in the political movement, including becoming an active member of Kesatuan Melayu Muda or KMM (The Young Malay Union) and Kesatuan Melayu Singapura or KMS (The Malay Singaporean Union). He was introduced to some of the nationalist leaders at that time, including Ibrahim Yaacob and Ishak Haji Mohammad.

During the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, Burhanuddin was a religious officer in Taiping Perak. He was instrumental in maintaining the existence of Ma'had Ehya' al-Sharif, a famous religious school run by his friend Abu Bakr al-Baqir. At the same time, Burhanuddin continued his political and social activities, propagating the idea of Melayu Raya (Greater Malay), which consists of the whole of the Malay Archipelago. His political career reached its peak in 1956 when he became a member of the Pan Malayan Islamic Parti (PMIP or better known as PAS) and soon became its president. In 1959, he won the parliamentary seat for Besut, Terengganu, the east coast state of Malaysia, and became member of parliament up to 1964.

Being an active politician and social activist did not stop Burhanuddin from generating his own philosophical ideas. He left around eleven books, six of which are on homeopathy, while the rest were on politics and Sufism. On politics he wrote *Perjuangan Kita* (Our Struggle), *Falsafah Kebangsaan Melayu* (The Philosophy of Malay Nationalism), *Agama dan Politik* (Religion and Politics), and *Ideology Politik Islam* (Islamic Political Ideology), while on Sufism he wrote *Simposium Tasawwuf dan Tariqa* (The Symposium of Tasawwuf and Tariqa). He left only a few books, but one can still sense and feel the spirit and excitement of his religious and political thoughts.

Burhanuddin was known in the Malay world for propagating the idea that Islam is not contradictory to nationalism. His political philosophy was based on the idea that politics is an integral part of religion. While religion is transcendent and unchangeable, politics is the manifestation of human thought and ideology, which is changeable. The essence of Islam is not an ideology and therefore it cannot be changed. By contrast, politics and ideology are based on human ideas and experience and can be altered in line with religious concerns. In the context of Malay nationalism, Burhanuddin was of the view that it cannot be segregated from the basic Islamic teachings. Malay nationalism must be founded and developed upon fundamental Islamic values. He relates his notion of nationalism with the idea of *'asabiyya* advanced by IBN KHALDUN. Therefore, it is apparent that his idea of Malay nationalism is very similar to Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'asabiyya* (group feeling). He believed that Malay nationalism must be viewed positively as a struggle to protect the Malay nation and homeland, in accordance with Islamic teachings.

At the same time, he was well aware of the danger of chauvinistic types of *'asabiyya* as was clearly mentioned in one of the prophetic *hadith*. He argued that *'asabiyya* is in line with Islamic teachings as long as it is used to uphold the law of God. The paramount aim of Islamic politics is to produce people with noble characters such as patience, generosity, tolerance, and so on. He saw the importance of tolerance in maintaining stability in society and advocated cooperation between races. He cited a prophetic saying "love of one's country is part of faith" (*hubb al-watan min al-iman*) to support his concept of nationalism. There are four elements that make up this concept: faith, physical body, race, and homeland. These four elements are located in one physical body and cannot be separated. Therefore, it is natural for a person to have a strong feeling toward his faith, race, and homeland. However, this feeling must be developed in accordance with the principles of justice and equality.

It is through Burhanuddin that the spirit, concept, and philosophy of Islam and Malay nationalism was properly formulated and interpreted. He tried to lay the foundation on which Malay nationalism and Islam can be positioned in harmony. From his educational and political achievements, it is obvious that Burhanuddin was a versatile person with many skills. At a personal level, he was described as a pious Muslim with indulgence and gentleness. Because of these characteristics, some of his friends called him Abi Halim, from which he eventually used "al-Helmi" or "al-Hulaymi" as his nickname. He was then known as Burhanudin al-Helmy.

Burhanuddin died on October 10, 1969 (28 Rajab 1389) in Taiping, Perak, North Malaysia, at the age of fifty-eight, leaving his legacy as one of the progressive Muslim thinkers in the twentieth-century Malay world.

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ZAID AHMAD

HIDAJI, Akhund Mulla Muhammad

(1270–1314/1853–97)

An important member of the school of Mulla Sadra in the late nineteenth century, Akhund Mulla Muhammad Hidaji was from Zanjan. He studied with the most famous philosopher-scholars of his time, including Mulla Hadi SABZIWARI and Muhammad Mudarrisi Zanjani. Following the tradition, he received a basic training in the religious sciences and linguistics before turning to philosophy and mystical thought.

He was known as a pious teacher. This seems to have played an important role in his gaining respect and popularity among his students. Like many of his contemporaries, he trained many students and seems to have focused more on teaching than writing. As a result, most of his teachings have remained oral.

As an Azari Turk, he composed works and wrote poetry not only in Arabic and Persian but also in Azari Turkish. His most well-known work is a gloss of Sabziwari's famous *Sharh al-manzuma*, a summa of traditional metaphysics and ontology as formulated according to the school of MULLA SADRA. He also wrote glosses of Sadra's *Asfar*. He produced a diwan of poetry. He is buried near the tomb of Qadi Sa'id Qummi.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

HIKMA

The Arabic term *hikma* literally means wisdom. In terms of Islamic philosophy, the usual connotation is the knowledge of first principles, that is, of God. True wisdom brings one closer to God and to a true understanding of the world and God's design for it. On the purpose of wisdom, all sides in Islamic philosophy tend to agree. As to the best nature of achieving it, however, there is dispute. Followers of Greek-influenced philosophical systems, such as AL-FARABI and IBN SINA, argued for a scientific-based approach to wisdom, while AL-GHAZALI and philosophers of Sufism and other mystical traditions believed that true wisdom came through inner illumination or *ishraq*.

This was not just a simple clash of reason versus revelation, however. Again, there is common agreement among Islamic thinkers that the bedrock of their thought-system, the Qur'an and the *hadith*, contained both outer and inner meanings. Thus the followers of *falsafa* do not usually deny the importance of inner meaning and of spiritual approaches to wisdom and truth, while al-Ghazali and others like him are quite prepared to employ the rational and logical tools of philosophy, even if only to attack it. Later Islamic thinkers tried to develop pluralistic approaches to *hikma* combining both reason and illumination, though with mixed results.

OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-HILLI, ‘Allama
(648–726/1250–1325)

‘Allama al-Hilli is one of the best known Shi‘i thinkers in the areas of law, jurisprudence, and theology. Hasan ibn Yusuf ibn al-Mutahhar was born in 648/1250 in al-Hilla. His distinguished uncle Najm al-Din Abu'l-Qasim Ja‘far ibn Hasan (d. 676/1277) initially taught him the religious sciences, in accordance with the Shi‘i approach to such issues. He may well have moved onto Maraghah to study with Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI and al-Katib al-Qazwini. He seems to have worked on IBN SINA, logic, and theology, and eventually was to write commentaries on logic and theology, in particular on the works of his two teachers. He moved to Baghdad where he studied with Shams al-Din al-Kishi (d. 695/1296) and broadened his learning to include texts by IBN AL-‘ARABI.

He later studied the works of AL-SUHRAWARDI with ‘Izz al-Din al-Faruthi al-Wasiti, the latter's student, and wrote a commentary on his *Talwihat*. Although he apparently wrote many philosophical works, most of them have been lost (there is an extensive bibliography in Schmidtke (1991)) but he did have a powerful influence on the nature of the Shi‘i educational curriculum. This was to include all the religious sciences, of course, but also a significant amount of philosophy, since al-Hilli managed to impress on his successors the value of rational and in particular philosophical techniques in developing and defending Shi‘i principles.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

HILMI ZIYA, *see* Ülken

AL-HINDI, Rahmat Allah (d. 1306/1888)

Khalil al-Rahman b. Rahmat Allah al-Hindi was an important figure in the history of Muslim-Christian polemics. He was a leading theologian of the nineteenth century in India, and wrote polemical works, systematically analyzing and responding to major Christian themes. At that period, India was facing intensive Christian missionary activities; as a result, he was involved in many public debates with the missionaries.

Al-Hindi wrote his *Idhar al-haqq* (The Exposition of the Truth) to refute the claims of C. G. Pfander as found in his *Mizan al-haqq* (The Scale of the Truth). *Idhar al-haqq* is important, as unlike other Muslim polemical books, it frequently refers to the Bible. His other important book is *Bayan al-haqq* (The Expression of the Truth). He is however most famous for *Idhar al-haqq*, which was originally written in Urdu and later translated into many languages, including Persian, Arabic, French, and Ottoman Turkish. One of the Arabic translations of the *Idhar al-haqq* was published in Egypt in 1991 in two successive volumes. The first volume consists of four chapters. The first chapter is about the Old and New Testaments. In this chapter, the subjects under scrutiny are the lack of the narrators' chain in the Bible up to Jesus and the contradictions in it. He deals with *tahrif* (fabrication) in the Bible and tries to establish his claim. Al-Hindi is of the opinion that there are several signs of fabrication in the Bible, such as the replacement, addition, and removal of certain words from the original texts. In Chapter 3, he tries to establish as a fact that Islam via Muhammad abrogated Christianity. The fourth chapter is about the refutation of the doctrine of Trinity. Here, he employs the statements of Jesus as evidence as well as logical argument. The second volume of the book argues that the Qur'an is the word of God and Muhammad is his Messenger. In order to establish the prophecy of Muhammad he examines the word *Parakletos*. In the same chapter, he claims that the *ahadith* of the Prophet Muhammad are authentic.

Al-Hindi examines the issue of *tahrif* from the Islamic point of view. In his view, for a Holy Book to be considered as authentic revelation, there must be an uninterrupted link between its Prophet and the Book. He strongly believes that this is not the case with the Bible. Following his Muslim predecessors, he examines the issue of contradiction and mistakes in the Bible. Using the text of the Bible as evidence, al-Hindi concludes that the belief in the Trinity is false and that the divinity of Jesus is illogical. As has been done by other Muslim writers, he uses the miracles attributed to the Prophet Muhammad as evidence for his prophecy.

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IBRAHIM SUMER

HISHAM B. AL-HAKAM, Abu Muhammad (d. after 186/802)

Abu Muhammad Hisham b. al-Hakam al-Kindi al-Shaybani, one of the most celebrated theologians of Imami-Shi'i Islam in the time of the Imams, was born in Wasit in the first half of the second century/718–67. The exact date of his death is also uncertain. The dates vary between 179/795–6 and 199/814–5. However, the date given by Ibn al-Nadim as "after the downfall of the Barmakids in 186/802" seems more reliable since some accounts show that he survived the Imam al-Kazim who died in 183/799. He was the *mawla* (dependent) of the Kinda tribe. After growing up in his birthplace, he first moved to Kufa, then to Baghdad, where he owned a shop in al-Karkh bazaar.

Hisham is reported to have been a sectarian of the Jahmiyya, the adherents of pure determinism. It is also said that he was a pupil of the famous dualist Abu Shakir al-Daysani. However, when he was still young, he came in contact with the Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq. After several meetings with the Imam, he became convinced in the truth of Shi'ism. Despite all the miscellaneous views he held at different periods of his life, he had an intimate relationship with 'Abdallah b. Yazid, a prominent scholar of the Ibadi-Khariji group.

Hisham b. al-Hakam was also an associate of the 'Abbasid vizier Yahya b. Khalid al-Barmaki. The latter commissioned Hisham to direct symposia that were arranged in his palace. There or on other similar occasions he met and debated with many distinguished theologians of the time such as the Mu'tazilis 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, Dirar b. 'Amr, BISHR B. AL-MU'TAMIR, Thumama b. Ashras, AL-NAZZAM, Abu AL-HUDHAYL al 'Allaf, Abu Bakr AL-ASAMM, and Sulayman b. Jarir, the founder of a Zaydi group, the Sulaymaniyya.

Although several philosophic ideas of his are reported to have been explicitly rejected by the Imams Musa al-Kazim and ʻAli al-Rida, Hisham b. al-Hakam seems to have been a sincere Imami. He is recorded in the list of those who acknowledged the imamate of al-Kazim immediately after the death of al-Sadiq. An account that describes him as a *Qatʻi* means that he accepted the imamate of al-Rida after al-Kazim. Beside his scholarly activities, he undertook some operative duties in the group organization. When he was in Baghdad, al-Kazim wanted him to assist ʻAli b. al-Yaqtin, who was a high official at the ʻAbbasid court and a secret agent of the Imam. It is also reported that al-Kazim deposited with him a large sum of money and asked him to invest it for the benefit of the group. The Caliph Harun al-Rashid was annoyed about Hisham's appreciation of Shiʻi ideas as well as his involvement in the Imami organization and initiated a campaign of persecution against him. He had to escape from Baghdad, and died in Kufa when he was still in hiding.

Sources illustrate Hisham's intelligence, influential speech, and quickness at repartee. His group, the Imami party, also appreciated his popularity. His contribution to the Imami ideology became significant. He was presented as "the one from those who ripped words open about the imamate doctrine and rectified the sect (*madhhab*) and the theory (*nazar*)." He wrote several books on the subject, in which he defended the *wasiyya* (the testamentary appointment to the imamate) and the necessity of the imamate of *al-afdal* (the most excellent one). He also composed some treatises in the form of refutation of different ideas such as those of Naturalists, Muʻtazilis, Aristotle, ABU JAʻFAR AL-AHWAL, and AL-JAWALIQI, the last two of whom were also Imami theologians. These books are not extant. His view on the impeccability of the imams was generally accepted later by the authoritative Imami theology. He acknowledged the Shiʻi tenet of *bada'* (the change in God's will), *rajʻa* (the return of the dead before the Resurrection), and the possibility of suppression of some parts of the Qur'an. Hisham's teachings on the imamate doctrine continued to be defended by Muhammad b. Khalil al-Sakkak (or Shakkal) and ʻAli b. Mansur.

Hisham b. al-Hakam was an anthropomorphist. He claimed that God was a body (*jism*), but this had no resemblance with worldly bodies. He denied the eternal nature of God's attributes. He separated human actions as *ihtiyari* (free) and *idtirari* (constrained). His views on *ruh* (the spirit) and physical concepts, such as *jawhar* (atom), *jism* (substance), and *qalb* (modification in form), were later developed by the Muʻtazili al-Nazzam.

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M. ALI BUYUKKARA

HISHAM AL-JAWALIQI, *see* al-Jawaliqi

Hisham b. Salim, *see* al-Jawaliqi

Hizir, Celaleddin, *see* Hacı Paşa

HOCAZADE (Muslihiddin Mustafa) (1434–88)

The famous Ottoman scholar and philosopher Muslihiddin Mustafa b. Yusuf b. Salih al-Bursavi was born in Bursa. He hailed from a family of traders but he chose the path of knowledge. He completed his early education in Bursa where he studied Arabic, logic, linguistics, *hadith*, and other basic sciences. After the conquest of Istanbul, he went to the city and joined the circle of scholars formed by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II. He became a teacher to Mehmed II.

He was appointed a professor at different schools in Bursa and Istanbul. He also taught in Iznik where he served as a religious judge (*kazasker*). He became a *qadi* of Edirne in 1466 and of Istanbul in 1467. He finally settled in his hometown Bursa, where he was the president of the Sultaniye *madrasa*. He held the position of the *mufti* of Bursa until his death.

Hocazade was a well-known scholar through the Ottoman lands and Central Asia. He received many students from different parts of the Islamic world. In addition to the religious sciences, he was extremely well versed in the philosophical and scientific disciplines. His discussion of ebb and flow with the famous Ottoman scientist Ali Kuşçu (Kushji) has been recorded in the sources. Hocazade's most famous work is *Tahafut al-falasifa* commissioned by Mehmed II to revisit the main arguments of AL-GHAZALI and IBN RUSHD in their respective *Tahafut* books. The Persian scholar 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1482) was also appointed with the same task of giving his account of the debate. Both scholars wrote their *Tahafut*s and presented them to Mehmed II. Both were then awarded ten thousand dirhams for their work, but Hocazade was also given a robe of honor. 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi is reported to have been offended by this and left Istanbul. Tusi's *Tahafut* called *Kitab al-Dhakhira* has been critically edited and published by Rida Sa'ada.

In his *Tahafut*, which he had written in four months, Hocazade discusses a number of issues dealing with physics and metaphysics. His point of view is clearly tilted toward al-Ghazali and against Ibn Rushd, and this is in keeping with the theological proclivities of the Ottoman scholarly tradition. Hocazade's *Tahafut* has been published on the margins of the *Tahafut* edition by Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi in 1886, but no critical edition has been published so far. An extensive analysis of Hocazade's *Tahafut* together with that of al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd has been given by the Turkish scholar Mübahat Türker-Küyel in her *Üç Tehafüt Bakımından Felsefe ve Din Münasebeti* (1956).

In addition to the *Tahafut*, Hocazade authored a number of works. His *Hashiya 'ala sharh al-mawaqif l-sayyid sharif al-jurjani* (Gloss on the Commentary on Jurjani's *Mawaqif*) is a gloss on the most important kalam work of the Ash'arite-Maturidi tradition. *Hashiya 'ala sharh hidayat al-hikma* (Gloss on the Commentary of *Hidayat al-hikmah*) is a gloss on the famous work of Athir al-Din Abhari dealing with a number of scientific and logical problems. Hocazade also wrote a short gloss on Baydawi's *Tawali' al-anwar* under the title *Hashiya 'ala sharh tawali' li'l-isfahani. Risala fi i'tirad 'ala dalil ithbat wujudiyyat al-bari* (Treatise on Objecting to the Proof for the Existence of God) is a work dealing with the question of attributing physical attributes to God. Another theological treatise called *Risala fi'l-tawhid* (Treatise on the Divine Unity) is devoted to a discussion of God's essence, names, and qualities. *Risala fi bahth al-'ilal wa'l-ma'lul* (Treatise on the Investigation of Cause and Effect) is a short work written to explain the parts of Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI's *Tajrid al-kalam* (Freeing of Discourse) dealing with causality. *Risala fi anna kalamallha qadim* (Treatise on Proving that God's Word is Eternal) is another work of *kalam* on the eternity of the word of God. Hocazade also wrote short treatises on theodicy, Arabic grammar, and the physics of light.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

HÜDAYI, 'Aziz Mahmud

(948–1038/1541–1628)

Mahmud b. Fadl Allah b. Mahmud, known more commonly by his penname "Hüdayi," was born in Koçhisar. Virtually nothing is known about his early life. He was trained in the traditional sciences and initiated into Sufism. He became a deputy (*na'ib*) to the *qadi* Nazirzade, but lost his position shortly thereafter. In Bursa, he became a disciple of Shaykh Üftade, the founder of the Jalwatiyyah order. He lost his position as a teacher and went through a period of financial difficulties. He finally settled in Istanbul and was appointed as a preacher (*wa'iz*) at the Fatih mosque. He also preached regularly at the Blue Mosque. He built a mosque in Üsküdar, Istanbul. He is buried next to this mosque, which is named after him.

Through his ethical and mystical poems written in plain Turkish, Hüdayi gained the respect of his contemporaries. He played a significant role in the development and spread of the Jalwatiyya order. Hüdayi wrote short works on some ethical-religious issues. He also wrote a diary in which he recorded his discipleship under his master Üftade. This incomplete diary is called *Kalimat an al-tibr al-mashkuk fi ma jara bayna hadrat al-shaykh wa bayna hadha al-fakir fi athna' al-suluk* (Discourse on the Doubtful Gold Dust Concerning What Took Place Between the Honourable Master and This Poor Novice During [his] Spiritual Journey). His *Khulasat al-bayan* (The Summary Explanation) is a spiritual history of the world seen through the personality of the Prophet of Islam. Hüdayi explains the creation of the world before and after the coming of Islam while defining the Prophet Muhammad as the ultimate *telos* of the generation of the cosmos.

Hüdayi's position as the "shaykh of the sultans" in the Ottoman Empire and the tremendous respect he has been accorded by posterity shows the significance of the Sufi-scholar type in Ottoman history. Like many of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, Hüdayi combined scholarship with a charismatic Sufi personality while keeping good relations with the ruling class. His memory is still cherished in the Turkish world, and his hymns are sung in mosques and Sufi centers.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-HUDHAYL, Abu'l Hudhayl al-'Allaf (*c.*135–235/*c.*752–850)

Abu'l Hudhayl Muhammad b. al-Hudhayl b. 'Abd Allah al-'Allaf al-Basri was born in Basra around 135/752, and died in Samarra around 235/850. He was one of the great thinkers of early Islam and a founder of the Basran branch of the Mu'tazilite school of thought.

There is not much information about his life. He was probably of Persian descent. Abu'l Hudhayl spent a great part of his life at Basra, where he studied with 'Uthman b. Khalid al-Tawil, Bishr b. Sa'id, and Abu 'Uthman Zafarani, all students of Wasil b. 'Ata. From an early age, Abu'l Hudhayl joined scholarly debates, and also studied philosophy through the Arabic translations which were available to him. Later when he moved to Baghdad, Abu'l Hudhayl was admitted to the court circle during the time of Harun Rashid and Ma'mun, and there he met with a number of scholars and had lively discussions with them. He spent the last years of his life in Samarra, where he died at the age of a hundred years.

Abu'l Hudhayl, together with Wasil b. 'Ata and Amr b. 'Ubayd, was an important figure in the formation of the Mu'tazilite school of thought. He taught a number of students, among whom were NAZZAM, Shahham, Thumama b. Ashras, and Ja'far b. Harb. Abu'l Hudhayl was also a prolific writer; he wrote a number of works related to different theological issues and polemical works against different religious and philosophical groups. None of his works are extant, hence the only way to determine his views is to look at the works of figures such as AL-ASH'ARI, AL-BAGHDADI, AL-SHAHRASTANI, Khayyat, and 'ABD AL-JABBAR.

For Abu'l Hudhayl, apart from the senses, reason and true reports are the sources of human knowledge. Any religious report can be accepted only if it is reported by at least one of the candidates for Paradise, in other words, by a true believer. He was also committed to atomism. Bodies are agglomerates of atoms held together through the accidents of composition, juxtaposition, contiguity, and conjunction. There are basic accidents inherent in every single atom, such as movement or rest, contiguity or isolation, and being. Some of the accidents may endure over a succession of moments, some of them are instantaneous. Since atoms are finite and hence created, the world is also finite and created. Abu'l Hudhayl defines man as this visible body which eats and drinks. Although he uses the terms soul (*nafs*), spirit (*ruh*), and life, their relation with the body is not clear. Our power of acting is the permanent accident that characterizes us as fundamentally moral. Only voluntary actions belong to us. Will presupposes knowledge which is either innate or acquired. Abu'l Hudhayl considers sense perception, natural knowledge of God, perception of good and evil, and that the good may be pursued and evil avoided as innate.

Although he affirms in God a number of attributes, Abu'l Hudhayl does not consider God's essence different from his attributes. God created humanity for their well-being. Hence, although he is able, God's doing evil to them is inconceivable. Again, God always does what is most salutary for mankind. Abu'l Hudhayl considers the Qur'an as the greatest miracle. For him there will always be some saints in the world, protected from committing any sin. There will be reward and punishment in the life to come. However, since the world has a beginning and an end, at a certain moment all movement in

Heaven and Hell will cease and will be converted into a state of eternal consummation.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

HUSAYN AL-NAJJAR, *see* al-Najjar

HUSAYN, Taha (1889–1973)

Taha Husayn is best known for his contribution to Arabic literature, but he was a significant philosophical thinker also. Born in upper Egypt in 1889, from the age of two he went blind. He memorized the Qur'an and went to Cairo in 1902 to study at al-Azhar. He was thoroughly dissatisfied with the institution, and left it later for the new University of Cairo, al-Azhar in the meantime failing him in his final examinations. In his research at the University of Cairo he used Western interpretive techniques to understand Islamic thought, something that was to characterize his work throughout much of his career.

In 1918 Husayn was awarded his doctorate at the Sorbonne in Paris, having been sent there to study on a government scholarship. He returned to Cairo to teach but the publication of his book on poetry, *Fi al-shi'r al-jahili* (On the Poetry of the Jahaliyya), which came out in 1926, caused a huge controversy. He argues that much of the early poetry had been forged by later poets for religious motives, and that the type of Arabic used was not right for the location of the poets themselves. He narrowly avoided a conviction for apostasy, and this blighted his career as far as official service was concerned. He rose quickly through the academic system, though, eventually returning to the government as a minister of education in the early 1950s where he did a great deal to expand and make more accessible both schools and universities. In the last two decades of his life poor health restricted his activities, but he was widely acknowledged as a major figure in Arabic literature, both as a critic and as a writer himself.

In his controversial book on poetry, Taha Husayn had for the first time challenged the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry on theoretical and literary grounds. In his *Mustaqbal al-thaqafa fi misr* (Future of Culture in Egypt) of 1938, he questions Egypt's Arab identity, linking it culturally with Greece and the Mediterranean rather than with much of the rest of the Arab world. He sees the Islamic world, in general, as even more distant from Egypt culturally. So when Islamic philosophy took off, inspired by Greek thought, it was merely continuing a long tradition of contacts that had existed in the past, and it made Egypt a firm member of the Greek cultural world. For him, the moral is that Egypt should side with Europe and modernity and abandon what Husayn saw as Eastern despotism and ignorance. Religion is not relevant to the issue since it applies to the emotional side of human beings, while reason is what links Egypt with Europe. The European idea of the separation of religion and state allows everyone to perform their religious duties in their own way. But when one engages in matters that are rational, one needs to embrace the cultural world established by Greece.

Much of Husayn's work is uncontroversial, and his views on Islam are pretty standard from a doctrinal point of view. On the other hand, there is a constant theme in his work that refers to the protracted decline that Islam entered, he claims, when it refused to change and adapt, with its scholars insisting on its unchanging nature. What was needed, according to him, was the revival of the past and catching up with the West, with its innovations across the board, so that Egypt and, indeed, the Arab world did not separate itself from the West but joined it just as their ancestors had done. In these remarks, Husayn touches on a theme in much of Islamic thought, which is the direction in which Arabic thought should go, whether it should align itself with the secular world represented by Europe and the West, or with the more religious forms of thought found in the Middle East. Husayn set himself against what he saw as reactionary forces in Egypt and the Arab world, and continued a debate that was to become very heated in modern Islamic philosophy.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

HUSAYNI, Shah Tahir b. Radi al-Din
(d. *c.* 956/1549)

A learned theologian, poet, stylist, and an accomplished diplomat, Shah Tahir Husayni was also the most famous imam of the Muhammad-Shahi branch of Nizar Isma'ilism. He was born in the final decades of the ninth/fifteenth century in the village of Khund, near Qazwin in northern Persia, where his forefathers known locally as the Khundi Sayyids had lived and acquired some following after the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. The most detailed account of Shah Tahir is contained in the *Tarikh-i Firishta* (History of Firishta), composed around 1015/1606 by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Astarabadi, better known as Firishta, the celebrated historian of the Deccan who knew members of this family.

Shah Tahir's father, Imam Shah Radi al-Din, who had led the Muhammad-Shahi Nizaris of Quhistan and Sistan in eastern Persia, later established his rule over a part of Badakhshan where he had many followers. Shah Radi al-Din was murdered in 915/1509 and his head was taken to Mirza Khan, a local Sunni Timurid ruler who persecuted the Isma'ilis of Badakhshan. Shah Tahir succeeded his father to the imamate of the Muhammad-Shahi Nizaris. It seems that from early on in his life and as a form of *taqiyya* or precautionary dissimulation, Shah Tahir presented himself as an Ithna'ashari or Twelver Shiʿi, and this explains why he composed several commentaries on the theological and juridical treatises of a number of well-known Twelver scholars such as ʿAllama HILLI (d. 726/1325). He was also in contact with Sufi circles and wrote a commentary on the *Gulshan-i raz* (The Rose Garden of Mystery), the famous *mathnawi* poem of the Sufi master Mahmud SHABISTARI (d. after 740/1339).

Owing to his learning and piety, in 920/1514 Shah Tahir was invited by Shah Ismaʿil, the founder of the Safavid dynasty in Persia, to join other Shiʿi scholars at his court in Sultaniyya. However, in a manner which is not clear, Shah Tahir soon aroused the anger of the Safavid monarch and was banished from the court. Subsequently, he was permitted to teach at a theological seminary in Kashan, where countless numbers of his own followers also attended his lectures. Shah Tahir's popularity in Kashan once again aroused the jealousy of the local Twelver scholars, who complained about his "heretical" teachings to Shah Ismaʿil. The Safavid monarch now ordered Shah Tahir's execution, but in 926/1520 the Nizari imam succeeded in fleeing from Kashan, sailing to Goa in India. After his initial failure to attain a position at the court of Ismaʿil ʿAdil Shah in Bijapur, Deccan, he was invited to join the entourage of Burhan Nizam Shah. In 928/1522 Shah Tahir arrived in Ahmadnagar, the capital of the Nizam-Shahi dynasty in the Deccan, where he was to spend the rest of his life; hence, his surname of al-Dakkani.

Shah Tahir became the most trusted advisor of Burhan Nizam Shah (914–61/1508–54) and delivered weekly lectures on religious matters in the fort of Ahmadnagar. Shah Tahir's success, while still closely disguising his Ismaʿili identity, culminated in his conversion of Burhan Nizam Shah from Sunni Islam to Twelver Shiʿism, which also enabled the Deccani monarch to cultivate friendly relations with the Twelver Safavids of Persia. In 944/1537, Burhan Nizam Shah also adopted Twelver Shiʿism as the official religion of his kingdom. Subsequently, Shah Tahir rendered great diplomatic services to the Nizam-Shahis of the Deccan. Shah Tahir's successful *taqiyya* practice thus explains the strange phenomenon of the Twelver form of Shiʿism being propagated by an imam of the rival Ismaʿili Shiʿi branch. Shah Tahir's *Diwan* or collection of poetry and other compositions exist in manuscript form.

Shah Tahir died between 952/1545 and 956/1549 in Ahmadnagar, and his remains were taken to Karbala and interred in Imam al-Husayn's shrine there. He was succeeded in the Muhammad-Shahi Nizari imamate by his son Haydar (d. 994/1586). Shah Tahir had three other sons, all attaining high positions at the courts of various Deccani rulers.

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FARHAD DAFTARY

I

Ibn ʻAbd Ahmad, *see* Shah Muhammad Ibn ʻAbd Ahmad

IBN ʻABD AL-WAHHAB, Muhammad
(1115–1206/1703–92)

Muhammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhab ibn Sulayman ibn ʻAli ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Rashid al Tamimi was born in 1115/1703 in ʻAyina to the north of Riyadh, in what is today Saudi Arabia, during the reign of ʻAbdulla ibn Muhammad ibn Hamd ibn Muʻammar. He was known for his religious learning even as a young child, becoming a *hafiz* and leading prayers at an early age. His studies took on a very Hanbali flavor, and he was enthusiastic about the works of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim. He went on *hajj* and then to Medina, which at that time was led intellectually by ʻAbdulla bin Ibrahim ibn Sayf. Ibn al- ʻAbd al-Wahhab became well respected by Shaykh ʻAbdullah and was allowed to transmit *hadith*, a very significant aspect of the Islamic sciences, especially within the Hanbali tradition.

He then moved on to Nejd, Basra, and Syria for the purpose of furthering his studies. He stayed for a long time in Basra, where he pursued his studies under Shaykh Muhammad Majmui in particular. It was at this stage that he started writing his very critical studies of what he regarded as innovations, superstitions, and deviations from Islam in the ordinary practices of the inhabitants of the Arab world with which he was familiar. This did not go down well with the locals, and both he and Majmui were driven out of Basra. He left for the town of Zubayr and almost died of heat and thirst. He was obliged due to lack of means to stay in the area, and went to Ahsa to study with ʻAbdulla ibn ʻAbd al Latif Shafiʻi.

He next went to Harimala to live with his father, who died in 1153 AH. Around this time his campaign to cleanse Islam had some success, and he gained local adherents, but the local ruling tribes remained hostile to him and his message. He left Harimala for his hometown of ʻAyina, where he recruited ʻUthman bin Hamd bin Muʻammar to his cause. Together they destroyed trees that were being worshipped, the dome on a major tomb, and also supervised the stoning of a woman who had been found guilty of adultery. The ruler in the region managed to bring this cooperation to an end by threatening to withdraw funds from ʻUthman unless he expelled Ibn al-Wahhab, and the latter was obliged to leave town on foot and cross the desert until he arrived at Dariya. Here he found many supporters, which included the two brothers of Prince ʻAbdul ʻAziz bin Muhammad bin Saud. He arranged a meeting with the prince, who became a supporter of Ibn al-‘Abd al-Wahhab, who in turn promised to support him as a ruler of the region. A prolonged military campaign got underway, with Ibn al-Wahhab as its spiritual head, ending with the conquest of Riyadh in 1187 AH. At this point the Sauds were left to rule, and Ibn al-Wahhab retired to continue writing up to his death in Dhu’l-Qadah 1206.

Ibn al-Wahhab was critical of anything he saw as deviating from pure Islamic teaching. He classified as *shirk* or polytheism a range of activities then current at Mecca and Medina, like the excessive glorification of the graves of the Prophet and his Companions. These have in many cases been destroyed, based very much on Ibn al-Wahhab’s approach, by the Saudi regime that came into power. Other practices of which he disapproved were anything connected to Sufism, and any practice or belief that involves regarding someone like a *shaykh* as being an intermediary between humanity and God. All these customs that had grown up were regarded as aspects of *taqlid* or conformity to tradition, and Ibn al-Wahhab advocated rejecting this entirely since it had come to replace the centrality of the Qur’an and the traditions in Islam.

Ibn al-Wahhab argued that *ibada* or worship is nothing but exclusive obedience to God and compliance with his commands. The forms of worship which are to be offered to God alone include *salat* (prayers), *sawm* (fasting), *zakat* (charity), and the various rituals common in Islam that emphasize the unity (*tawhid*) of God. He was particularly opposed to pilgrimages to any mosques except the three most important in Islam, those in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. He was also a critic of visiting graves and building over them to commemorate the deceased, and all the other innovations (*bid‘a*) that he regarded as having crept into Islam, like Sufism and over-elaborate prayers and ceremonies. His ideology became dominant in what is today Saudi Arabia.

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(*c.* 590–668/*c.* 1194–1270)

Muwaffaq al-Din Abu al-‘Abbas Ahmad ibn Abi Usaybi‘a was a physician based in Damascus, and also in Cairo. He wrote an important text, the *‘Uyun al-anba’*, a compilation of 380 biographies of Islamic and classical physicians. This is an extraordinarily useful text with information about these personalities, many of whom were of course involved in philosophy as well as medicine.

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IBN ‘ABIDIN, Ahmad b. ‘Abdulghani
(1238–1307/1823–89)

Ahmad b. ‘Abdulghani b. ‘Umar al-Dimashqi was born in Damascus in 1238/1823 and died at the same city on 26 Rabi al-Thani 1307/December 19, 1889. He was a jurist in the Hanafite school of Sunni Islam. Ibn ‘Abidin belonged to a prominent family known as Ibn 'Abidin. His family's genealogy goes back to Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. He was a nephew of Ibn 'Abidin Muhammad Amin (d. 1252/1836), who was also a prominent Hanafi jurist. He studied Islamic law and Prophetic traditions (*hadith*) with his uncle Ibn 'Abidin Muhammad Amin and with Hashim al-Taji. He attended the study circles of Sa'id al-Halabi. Ibn 'Abidin also studied with Muhammad al-Hatti and Abu Bakr al-Kilali who were prominent scholars of his time. He had also close relations with mystical groups. He succeeded his father as a preacher and imam at the local mosque and also held a teaching post there.

Ibn 'Abidin worked as a jurisconsult in Wadi al-'Ajam, Ballan, and Damascus. Because of his close relation with Muhammad al-Hani, a Naqshibandiya leader, Ibn 'Abidin joined the Naqshibandiya Sufi order. He also joined the Khalwatiyya order because of his relationship with Muhammad Mahdi al-Maghribi. Ibn 'Abidin's mystical interest was deepened through his readings of Muhyiddin IBN AL-'ARABI's books. He defended the mystical doctrine and approaches of Ibn al-'Arabi. Ibn 'Abidin produced some small epistles in which he presented knowledge about the nature of mysticism and praised the mystical approaches of Ibn al-'Arabi. Ibn 'Abidin has written the *Tanbihu zawi al-irshad fi nafy al-hulul wa'l ittihad* (A Warning to the Broadcasters of the Refutation of Incarnation and Union) in order to defend Ibn al-'Arabi's approaches. He rejected the monistic (*ittihadiya*) and incarnationist (*hululiya*) approaches which have been attributed to Ibn al-'Arabi.

Ibn 'Abidin produced more than twenty works in the fields of theology (*kalam*), Islamic law (*fiqh*), Prophetic traditions (*hadith*), and mysticism (*tasawwuf*). His *al-Hibat al-ilahiyya bi al-'aqida al-ilahiyya* (The Divine Graces with the Divine Creed) is a commentary on *al-'Aqida al-islamiyya* (The Creed of Islam) of Mahmud Hamza. *Sharh al-ilmihal* (The Commentary on the Catechism) is also a commentary on the catechism of Amin al-Jundi who was one of the jurisconsults of Damascus. In his *al-'Aqa'id al-qalbiyya* (The Creeds of the Heart), he outlines dogmatic issues. In his *al-Risala fi al-masa'il al-'aqa'id* (A Treatise on the Issues of the Creed), he discusses theological issues such as divine predetermination.

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

IBN ABI'L-KHAYR, Abu Sa'id Fadlullah (967–1049)

Abu Sa'id was born in Mayhana in Khurasan (present-day Turkmenistan) on 1 Muharram 357/December 3, 967, and died there on 4 Sha'ban 440/January 12, 1049. He made seminal contributions to Sufi institutional and ritual practices, including the pedagogical use of the Persian poetical form, the quatrain (*ruba'iyat*), while boldly instantiating fidelity to the values and principles of mystical psychology and philosophy (*'ilm al-tasawwuf*).

Abu Sa'id's father Babul Bu'l-Khayr, a druggist, regularly attended Sufi gatherings, to which he brought his son along at the urging of his wife. This exposed the young boy to *sama'*, that is, dancing to music and poetry as part of the devotional ritual of *dhikr* (what Franklin Lewis calls a kind of "motile meditation or deliberative dancing, a mode of worship and contemplation").

Abu Sa'id's first spiritual teacher was Qasim Bishr Yasin (d. 380/990), who was fond of teaching through verse. Indeed, many of the quatrains attributed to Abu Sa'id may have been those of his first mentor in mysticism, especially if we take at face value his direct disavowal: "I have never composed a poem myself. What you hear from my tongue comes from able men (*mardan-i saturg*), the most part from Abu'l-Qasim Bishr" (quoted in Graham 1999: 95). In fact, there are no written works that can be reliably attributed to Abu Sa'id.

An education in Shafi'i jurisprudence (*fiqh*) was obtained by Abu Sa'id in the city of Merv, under Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad Khidri (d. after 373/983). Khidri's death five years later prompted him to seek out another prominent Shafi'ite jurist, Abu Bakr 'Abdullah ibn Ahmad Qaffal Mervazi (d. 417/1026). Thus his legal education acquainted him with Ash'arite theology, which was typically paired with the Shafi'i *madhhab*. Expertise in the citation of *hadith* (Prophetic traditions) was assured some years later under the tutelage of Abu 'Ali Zahir Sarakhsi (d. 389/999) in Sarakhs, closer to his hometown of Mayhana. At some point during his studies in the religious sciences, Abu Sa'id's interest in Sufism was rekindled—as signified in early biographical accounts—by an encounter with the "saintly fool" (*'aqil-i majnun*), Luqman Sarakhsi. Luqman formally passed Abu Sa'id on to his new Sufi master, Abu' l-Fadl Muhammad ibn Hasan Sarakhsi (d. 414/1023).

In Nishapur, Abu Sa'id accredited a number of *muhaddithun* (scholars of Prophetic traditions), including the renowned Shafi'ite jurist and Ash'arite theologian Abu'l-Ma'ali 'Abd al-Malik Juwayni (d. 468/1075). In the words of Terry Graham: "as the most important teacher of the famous Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazali (d. 505/1111) . . . Juwayni served as a direct conveyor of Abu Sa'id's teaching to the most celebrated theologian in the history of Islam" (Graham 1999: 87). Abu Sa'id's skills in the Islamic sciences were employed at Nizamiyya College, the founder of which, the vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), was a generous benefactor of the Shafi'ite *madhhab* and, later, of Abu Sa'id's *khanaqa*. Yet scholarly acumen was soon dwarfed by a prolonged if not extravagant immersion in asceticism, tales of which resound throughout Sufi lore. Practised at the family home in Mayhana, at Abu'l-Fadl's *khanaqa* in Sarakhs, and in the surrounding wilderness, his ascetic exercises were interrupted by a visit to Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (d. 412/1021) in Nishapur to receive the "cloak of guidance" (*khirqa-yi irshad*). Soon thereafter, Abu'l-Fadl sent him back to Mayhana a Sufi master. He received the "cloak of blessing" (*khirqa-yi tabarruk*) from Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad Qassab.

Abu Sa'id established his *khanaqa* in Nishapur. Famous for his ascetic feats, popular veneration of this energetic Sufi was equally extreme: "one day as I chanced to be riding a mule who deposited its droppings, people rushed over to rub them onto their scalps and faces" (quoted in Graham 1999: 91). Yet the sources of his popularity were multifarious, as the eventual abandonment of asceticism proved disconcerting to those who believed it set apart the holiest of lives. And although miracle-mongering is frowned upon by the great Sufi masters as "snares along the way to God," the presence of pure motivation, however rare, marks the permissible exception. Abu Sa'id is said to have frequently relied upon *firasat* (heart-discernment) or clairvoyance, specifically telepathy, to win over his detractors or persuade the constitutionally skeptical. With its roots in the poetic forms, themes, and New Persian court language (dari) that circulated in the "streets and marketplace," his use of the *ruba'iyat* and *dubayti* (double couplet) was at once didactic and devotional. This preaching in verse and aphorism, and on occasion giving voice to ecstatic states (cf. *ishara*, *hikam* and *shath*), likewise endeared him to the masses.

In the person of Abu Sa'id there is a complex intertwining, hence reconciliation, of three distinct Khurasanian currents that were not always compatible: the *jawanmardi* (ethical chivalry; *futuwwa*), *qalandariyya* (wherein God-intoxication or mystical states sanction antinomian behavior) and *malamatiyya* (path of blame) ideologies. The preference for *sama'* (for which the heart must be alive and the passions dead) as definitive of collective *dhikr*; the wearing of silk garments; instructing students who longed to take the *hajj* to rather circumambulate the tomb of his beloved teacher, Abu'l-Fadl; his own decision not to undertake the *hajj* (for which he proffered reasons: Kharaqani/KHARAKANI (d. 426/1034) told him that *he* would serve as the Ka'ba around which the devout would circumambulate and, in any case, "the true man of God sits where he is and the *Bayt al-Ma'mur* [heavenly archetype of the Ka'ba] comes several times in a day and night to visit him and perform the circumambulation above his head") (Nicholson 1921: 62); the giving up of (at least conspicuous) asceticism in favor of comparatively luxurious living; his reputed ecstatic utterance that "there is nothing inside this coat except Allah"; the not infrequent use of telepathic powers; and the preaching in poetry rather than Qur'anic verses and litanies; all find ample justification in what has been termed the "divine right of the saint," or in what for Abu Sa'id was the unadulterated love of God, meaning "no anxiety or fear concerning what befalls you ... [nor] worry about incurring blame or reproach from others" (quoted in Graham 1999: 128).

From Abu Sa'id come the first formalized rules for the Sufi convent (*khanaqa*) he helped shape by grafting the hospice onto the existing Sufi monastic institution. One function of such rules is the tempering of those elitist tendencies intrinsic to an ascetic or monastic regimen. For example, Rule Eight instructs the residents to "welcome the poor and needy, and all who join their company," and to "bear patiently the trouble of (waiting upon) them." In keeping with his belief that the "shortest, best, and easiest way to God is to bring comfort to someone else," Abu Sa'id saw to it that "service to others" or "selflessness in intention and conduct" was the central ethic of the *khanaqa*. This might also be construed as a logical continuation of his earlier ascetic engagement with "service of the poor" (*khidmati-i darwishan*). In short, the conduct countenanced by Abu Sa'id is not, strictly speaking, antinomian, but instead indicates the infusion of an egalitarian or democratic ethos into otherwise rarefied spiritual practices and beliefs. Further evidence for this proposition comes from his comment that the "true saint goes in and out among the people and eats and sleeps with them and buys and sells in the market and marries and takes part in social intercourse, and never forgets God for a single moment" (quoted in Nicholson 1921: 55). The monastic functions of the *ribat* and *zawiyya* found in the *khanaqa* are henceforth bound up with the fulfillment of concrete ethical objectives and social obligations, as their unique values are liable to more thorough "interiorization."

A Sufi master with a rather large family, an uncommon mystic who exemplified selfless generosity (*ithar*), a charismatic preacher who subdued sectarian strife and, in time, silenced the legal and clerical cries of heresy and apostasy, Abu Sa'id put flesh and bones on his definition of the true saint (*wali*) while embodying the truth of Junayd's maxim that "the water takes on the colour of its cup." Although Khwaja 'Abdullah Ansari (d. 481/1089) disapproved of Abu Sa'id's *qalandariyya* character or *malamati* temperament, and although Abu'l-Qasim QUSHAYRI (d. 465/1074) failed to include him among the famous Sufis subject to hagiographical sketches in his influential *Risala ila's-Sufiya* (Treatise on Sufism), such treatment would not have disturbed him. Nor should it prevent us from fully appreciating his creative and enduring contributions to Sufi institutions and devotional practices.

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PATRICK O’DONNELL

IBN ‘ABJIBA, Abu’l-‘Abbas ibn Muhammad
(*c*. 1160–1/1740 or 1747)

Abu’l-‘Abbas ibn Muhammad ibn al-Mahdi ibn ‘Abidja or ‘Ajiba al-Hasani was born in the village of al-Khamis on the Moroccan coast. His early education was in the Islamic sciences. He then moved to Tetuan to work with ‘Abd al-Karim ibn Kurish, Muhammad Janwi, and Muhammad Warzizi. He later on went to Fez to get his *ijaza* from Tawdi ibn Suda and Muhammad Bannis. When he was about thirty he returned to Tetuan, and his orientation changed toward *tasawwuf*, apparently after reading the works of Ibn ‘Ata’ Allah. In 1208/1794 he became a student of Shaykh Muhammad al-Buzidi, who was himself a disciple of Mawlay Darkawi, who founded the Darkawa Sufi movement. Ibn ‘Abjiba abandoned his previous life and became an ascetic, renouncing his material possessions. He got into trouble with the local authorities, as was not unusual, and his views were regarded as innovations and unacceptable. However, he traveled around the villages of the Jbala and established many *zawiyas*. He died of plague in his teacher’s house in Ghmara on 7 Shawwal 1224/November 15, 1809. His tomb is the major building in the hamlet of Zammid, which is about 12 miles southeast of Tangiers and is the site of an annual *mawsim* celebrated by his followers.

Ibn ‘Abjiba was a prolific author, and he covers the usual wide range of Islamic literature. In philosophy he wrote a number of fairly brief texts on metaphysics, covering the range of issues that arise within Sufism. So we find discussions of what is equivalent to *wahdat al-wujud*, the oneness of being, of the different ways in which the oneness of God is able to remain perfectly one and yet enter into existence with a myriad world, and the complexity of the notion of unity. One of the less metaphysical themes of Ibn ‘Abjiba’s work is the necessity to bring the exoteric and the esoteric into harmony. They are just two sides of the same coin, he argues, and there is nothing about Sufism that contravenes Islamic law and practice, and vice versa.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN AL-‘ARABI, Muhyiddin
(560–638/1165–1240)

Born in Murcia in southeast Spain on 17 Ramadan 560/July 27, 1165, during the final flowering of the Moorish culture of al-Andalus, Ibn al-‘Arabi died in Ayyubid Damascus on 22 Rabi al-Thani 638/November 8, 1240. These two simple geographical facts about the beginning and end of his life, embracing both the West and East of the Islamic world at a time of high cultural achievement, are emblematic of the spiritual and inner development of arguably the greatest mystical genius that Islam has produced.

Abu ‘Abdallah Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. Muhammad Ibn al-‘Arabi al-Ta’i al-Hatimi, as he signs himself, is one of those rare spiritual men who have the engaging habit of providing many details of their own inner and outer life, although one should note that he only does so in order to make a didactic point or illustration. Hence his biography, especially the early years, can be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy. He was born into a well-to-do Arab family at the time of Almohad expansion in Spain, and his father served as a professional soldier in the entourage of Ibn Mardanish, a local warlord who had carved out a petty kingdom for himself in Murcia and Valencia. This southeastern part of Spain retained a formal allegiance to the ‘Abbasid caliphate, but was absorbed into the emerging Almohad empire when Ibn al-‘Arabi was seven years old. In 567/1172, the family moved to Seville, then the provincial capital of the Almohad court, and his father entered the service of the sultan, Abu Ya‘qub Yusuf I. It was to be expected that the young Ibn al-‘Arabi would follow in his father's footsteps, as a member of the sultan's bodyguard, but inner events propelled him in an entirely different direction.

One of the earliest experiences which he records is a triple dream-vision when he was about fifteen years old and had had no formal religious or spiritual training. Apparently under the impulsion of an irresistible inner demand, he fled Seville to be in seclusion in the old Roman ruins and tombs outside the city walls. Here he had a vision of the three prophets of the Western Semitic tradition, each of whom gave him spiritual instruction. Jesus, whom he referred to affectionately as his first teacher, encouraged him to practise renunciation and detachment (*zuhd wa tajrid*); Moses, whom Ibn al-‘Arabi regarded as the exemplar of the recipient of Divine inspiration, offered him the prospect of being given knowledge by God directly, without intermediary, in the manner of the immortal Khidr; and finally Muhammad, who rescued him from a group of armed men who were about to kill him, embraced him and said: "Hold fast to me and you will be safe." This, Ibn al-‘Arabi says, was the reason that he began to seriously study *hadith*, which would remain a lifelong passion.

As a direct consequence of this visionary experience, Ibn al-‘Arabi's father sent him to Cordoba to meet the great philosopher, IBN RUSHD. Ibn al-‘Arabi's account of this meeting between himself, a beardless unknown, and a luminary in the twilight of his years is justly celebrated, as it delineates one of his fundamental teachings on the nature of the spiritual path and the use of reason. In reply to Ibn Rushd's question on the nature of mystical illumination, whether it produces the same results as rational enquiry, Ibn al ‘Arabi famously replied: "Yes and no, and between the yes and the no spirits take wing from their matter, and necks are separated from their bodies." It is clear that for Ibn al-‘Arabi, the mystical way is more encompassing and more complete, and involves a more penetrating perception than intellectual thought.

Despite these indications, Ibn al-‘Arabi only finally broke with the career that his father had marked out for him in 580/1184. His withdrawal from the army, he says, occurred when he saw the sultan praying in the Cordoba mosque and he suddenly realized that this ruler, for all his worldly power and glory, was a mere servant before the Almighty. This startling thought (*khatir*) was the impetus that made him commit himself irrevocably to a life devoted to God alone, and he began to seek out the company of spiritual masters in Andalusia. Unlike most aspirants, Ibn al ‘Arabi already had a deep understanding of essential aspects of the spiritual path and a sense of being subject to no exterior authority, which made his relations with spiritual teachers somewhat ambiguous. In his *Ruh al-quds* (Epistle of the Spirit of Holiness), he gives first-hand accounts of the teachers and companions he had in the Maghrib. Many were poor and illiterate but blessed with formidable spiritual grace, like his first teacher, al-‘Uryani, whom he describes as totally devoted to the remembrance of God (*dhikr*), or Fatima, a woman in her nineties who admired Ibn al-‘Arabi for his exceptional concentration: “when he rises up, it is with all of himself, and when he sits, it is with all of himself, leaving nothing of himself elsewhere. That is how it should be on the Way.”

Other spiritual masters with more learning introduced Ibn al-‘Arabi to the central texts of Sufism, such as Qushayri’s *Risala* or the *Mawaqif* of al-Niffari, as well as to the spiritual way of two major currents of Western Sufism, the one represented by the “school of Almeria” (Ibn Barrajan, Ibn al-‘Arif, and Ibn Masarra) and the other personified by the great saint of North Africa, Abu Madyan. Although they never met in person, Ibn al-‘Arabi often refers to Abu Madyan in his writings, and always as “our *shaykh*.” This spiritual training also involved lengthy retreats, one of which lasted at least nine months, and which culminated in a vision in Cordoba in 586/1190: he describes seeing all the prophets and saints in their spiritual reality, from Adam to Muhammad, and having a conversation with the prophet Hud. This grand vision prefigured the meaning of his own destiny as what he would call the Seal of Muhammadian Sainthood, the saint who is given to understand and expose the full inner weight of the message of Muhammad.

Many of these Andalusian teachers and companions were Abu Madyan’s direct disciples. Perhaps the most important was his friend and mentor, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Mahdawi, who lived just outside Tunis and seems to have shared Ibn al-‘Arabi’s passion for the deepest spiritual knowledge. Ibn al ‘Arabi clearly held him in the highest regard, since he not only made a special journey to stay with him for six months in 590/1194, but also dedicated important books to him in later life. After this first journey outside Andalusia, Ibn al-‘Arabi composed what was probably his first work, *Mashahid al-asrar al-qudsiyya* (Contemplation of the Holy Mysteries), a series of fourteen visionary episodes and divine dialogues reminiscent of the style of al-Niffari, written specifically for al-Mahdawi’s disciples. Writing became then a dominant feature of his life, often in response to direct requests from friends or disciples. From this early period he also recounts three extraordinary meetings with the immortal figure of Khidr, the guide of those who have no earthly teacher, as if to emphasize that his inner life was entirely under divine direction.

With the death of both his parents within a few months of returning to Seville, Ibn al-‘Arabi found himself responsible for his two sisters, and as the clouds of war gathered (prior to the Battle of Alarcos in 1195, the final Almohad victory over the resurgent Christian armies of the north), he took his sisters across the straits to the city of Fez, where he arranged for them to be married. Freed from family commitments, he remained in Fez for the next two years, with an ever-deepening spiritual life and meeting with remarkable men such as the Pole of the Time (*qutb*) and a circle that engaged in the “highest form of spiritual sustenance” of reciting the Quran day and night. It was here that he experienced his mystical ascension in imitation of the Prophet, a theme that he first described autobiographically in *Kitab al-Isra’* (The Night-Journey) and which he would often return to in different ways in other works.

In 595/1198 Ibn al-‘Arabi began what was to be a final tour of the Iberian Peninsula. In the company of his Ethiopian servant, disciple, and companion, Badr al-Habashi, he revisited many of his early teachers, and several major works (for example, *Mawaqi‘ al-nujum* and *‘Anqa’ Mughrib*) were written as they traveled. In Cordoba he describes the poignant scene of Ibn Rushd’s funeral, with the philosopher’s coffin strapped to one side of a donkey and counterbalanced by his works on the other. The death of the Almohad sultan, Ya‘qub al-Mansur, in January 1199 brought about a change in the political climate, and this may have been partly responsible for Ibn al-‘Arabi’s decision to leave his homeland for good. Making the effort to collect together his writings and leaving copies with a friend (these Maghribi copies seem to have disappeared in the Christian reconquest), he set off for Morocco in 596/1200 on the first leg of his pilgrimage to Mecca.

In early 597/1200, as if reflecting the fact that he had left behind everything familiar, he found himself utterly alone in a new spiritual condition. He was consoled, he says, by the spirit of a long-dead Sufi from the East, Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, who explained to him that this was the Station of Closeness, a degree of direct inspiration shared with Khidr. As he passed through North Africa, his inner journeying continued, with a vision in Bejaia (Bougie) of being united with all the stars of Heaven and with all the letters of the Arabic alphabet. For eight months in 598/1201 he stayed with his friend, al-Mahdawi, near Tunis, composing *Insha’ al-Dawa’ir* (The Description of the Encompassing Circles), a work delineating the degrees of existence and knowledge. After spending Ramadan 598/1202 in Cairo, Ibn al-‘Arabi then physically re-enacted his mystical ascension by passing through all the major sites of pilgrimage, Hebron, Jerusalem, Medina, and finally Mecca, where he arrived in time for the pilgrimage season.

In Mecca

The two-year period which Ibn al-‘Arabi spent in Mecca represents in many ways the fulcrum of his life, with some thirty-seven years spent in the Maghrib and a further thirty-six to be passed in the Mashriq. This pivotal centrality is reflected in three dramatic events that irrupted into his inner life in his *annus mirabilis*, 598. While circumambulating the Ka‘ba, he encountered a mysterious youth, whose very constitution displayed the *coincidentia oppositorum* (“both speaker and silent, neither alive nor dead, both complex and simple”), and who described himself without words as Knowledge, Knower, and Known. Ibn al-‘Arabi says that he saw within this youth’s being the genesis of his *magnum opus*, *al-Futuhat al-makkiyya* (The Meccan Illuminations). This would be the definitive work of Islamic esotericism in 560 chapters, into which many of his shorter writings were eventually subsumed. Then, in the Preface to the *Futuhat*, Ibn al ‘Arabi describes a vision of the Prophet that occurred in this same year, confirming his status as heir to the Muhammadian Station and Seal of Sainthood, a position which was further corroborated the following year in a dream where he saw himself as two bricks, one gold, and one silver, completing the walls of the Ka‘ba.

The third episode took place again at the Ka‘ba, where he met a young woman who upbraided him for the content of a poem that he had just composed; this girl, Nizam, “surpassed all the people of her time in refinement of mind and cultivation, in beauty and knowledge,” and would play a crucial role in awakening Ibn al-‘Arabi to the love of women. This outpouring of yearning not only led to his marrying the daughter of a Meccan family, Fatima, and having his first child, Muhammad ‘Imaduddin, but also would result in the composition of one of his greatest poetic works, *Tarjuman al-ashwaq* (The Interpreter of Ardent Desires), which was dedicated to Nizam herself. These odes in the style of the Arabic *qasida* transform the classical image of the lover seeking out the ever-elusive caravan of the beloved into a powerful metaphor of yearning for the Divine Beloved who is ineffable, and they required Ibn al-‘Arabi to add an explanatory commentary to deflect the charge that he was simply writing erotic love poems.

In the Mashriq

These years in Mecca not only saw Ibn al ‘Arabi embarking on family life and composing several works, including a collection of 101 *hadith qudsi* (*Mishkat al-anwar*) and a book of love-letters to the Ka‘ba (*Taj al-rasa'il*), but also brought him for the first time into close contact with people of the eastern lands of Islam. These included direct disciples of the great Baghdad Sufi, ‘Abd al-Qadir AL-JILANI, as well as the vizier of the Seljuk sultan in Anatolia, Majduddin Ishaq al-Rumi. The latter became both a close friend and patron, and in 601/1204 invited him north to Konya to meet the sultan. Over the next few years Ibn al-‘Arabi traveled extensively in the Levant, making contacts with rulers and princes across the region and continuing to write. Although we have no surviving autobiographical record of the people he met in the Mashriq, at least one work demonstrates his response to the whole tradition of Sufi teaching in the East, *al-Tajalliyat al-ilahiyya* (The Divine Revelations), in which he alludes to the spiritual attainments and limitations of previous teachers such as AL-JUNAYD, Tustari, and AL-HALLAJ. Details of his personal life are harder to come by, but he seems to have settled his family in Malatya under the patronage of Majduddin Ishaq. He had at least two wives and three children, two sons and a daughter, and on Majduddin's death, took on responsibility for the latter's son, Sadruddin al-Qunawi (1209–74), who was to become his main spiritual heir and influential disciple. The bond with Anatolia would have profound consequences for the evolution of spiritual teaching in the region, as Ibn al ‘Arabi's teachings became part of Ottoman and Iranian culture.

On the death of his companion and servant, al-Habashi, in Malatya in 618/1221, Ibn al-‘Arabi decided to move to Damascus and settled there for the remainder of his life, under the patronage of a wealthy family, the Banu Zaki. His reputation as an inspirational spiritual teacher is attested in the accounts of those who met him and also in the numbers of people attending readings of the *Futuhat* in his house. The listening certificates (*sama‘*) reveal a complete cross-section of the religious elite of Damascus, sometimes numbering as many as thirty or more, and it is unsurprising that Ibn al-‘Arabi became known as “the greatest Master” (*al-shaykh al-akbar*) and also as the “reviver of religion” (Muhyiddin), echoing his great predecessor, Abu Hamid AL-GHAZALI, who had taught in the same part of the Umayyad Mosque a century before. In addition to these more public teachings, Ibn al-‘Arabi demonstrated particular affection for his closest disciples, especially his step-son, Sadruddin al-Qunawi, who spent several years studying and copying works at the feet of the master.

The first draft of the *Futuhat* was completed in 629/1231, in thirty-seven volumes, and a second recension of the entire work seven years later. In addition, there were other masterpieces, notably his huge collection of poems (*Diwan*) completed in 1237, and what is regarded as the quintessence of his teaching, *Fusus al-hikam* (*The Bezels of Wisdom*), which he stated was given to him by the Prophet himself in a dream in 627/1229. Ibn al-‘Arabi himself considered the *Fusus* to be special, forbidding it to be bound with other works, out of consideration for its Muhammadian origin. The twenty-seven chapters, each related to a particular wisdom in the person of a prophet, represent the different modalities of human spirituality, facets that display the composite jewels of Divine Wisdom, the full meaning of which is understood through the jurisdiction and collective wisdom of Muhammad as Seal of the prophets. The book has had a perennial appeal, giving rise to at least 100 commentaries in several languages and over many centuries, and these constitute a whole history of Islamic mystical thought in themselves.

Writing and verifying accurate copies of works continued apparently until the last moments of Ibn al-‘Arabi's life. In addition to the works above, we may mention *Kitab al-‘Abadila* (The Book of Servants), *Kitab al-Mubashshirat* (Dream-Visions), *Nasab al-khirqa* (The Mantle of Initiation), and two autobibliographies (the *Fihris* and *Ijaza*). By the time he died in 638/1240, his prodigious output had reached at least 300 works, ranging from short treatises of a couple of pages to the monumental thirty-seven-volume *Futuhat*. Approximately 110 of these works are known to have survived in verifiable manuscripts of excellent quality, with some eighteen in Ibn al-‘Arabi's own hand. This unique legacy is in part due to the meticulous efforts of his immediate disciples in preserving Ibn al-‘Arabi's own originals, some in Mecca, Aleppo, and Damascus but probably the majority in Sadruddin's private library in Konya.

Importance and influence

We may delineate at least four aspects of Ibn al-‘Arabi's genius, which mark him out in the field of Islamic mysticism. The first is his visionary capacity, manifesting in dreams and inspirations that seem to have characterized his whole life. These, he says, occurred not only in the realm of the imagination (*khayal*), but also in the world of direct meanings without intermediate form. His visual ability is also evident in the way he depicts tables and diagrams, one of which has been shown to have inspired the layout of the Taj Mahal. Secondly, he had a thorough comprehension of all the traditional sciences, not only Qur'an and *hadith* that feature so prominently in his work (there are constant references to the Qur'an and deep insights into the meaning of various verses, and he was considered a consummate *muhaddith*, for example), but also every aspect of the medieval worldview in the form of alchemy, cosmology, philosophy, numerology, and letter symbolism. As recent scholars such as Michel Chodkiewicz have shown, his thought is underpinned and inspired by the revelation of the Qur'an, which he takes both literally and symbolically, and he adopts the rich vocabulary of spiritual phenomenology which previous mystics had built up, giving it both a scriptural basis and an ontological root.

Thirdly, we may note his facility with the Arabic language, which allowed him to write with equal ease in prose or poetry and most especially, rhyming prose without meter or measure (*saj'*), and to derive fresh meanings from Arabic wordplay. Lastly, and by no means least, there is his remorseless use of paradox, and an extraordinary ability to express the subtlest of ideas, in a network of interrelations that defy simplified understandings and demand the most strenuous intellectual application on the part of his readers. In addition, there is his claim that these paradoxical flashes of thought, which some have characterized as so lacking in logical coherence, were in fact the effect of direct divine inspiration, making his writing quite unlike that of ordinary authors.

It has been tempting for scholars to characterize him as a mystical philosopher, a term which is definitely at odds with his own teachings on the limitations of rational thought.

As he mentions in a letter to the theologian Fakhhruddin AL-RAZI, philosophical thought is akin to being nourished from beneath one's feet, the fruit of one's own efforts and labor, while the mystic, whose aspiration is constantly raised up toward God alone, is fed from above through Divine Generosity and Grace. According to him, intelligent people will seek to purify their heart of reflective thinking in order to be empty enough to receive divine inspiration. Not only are their methods different, but the fruits of their endeavors are also different, since only the mystic, he says, can reach true happiness. He himself considered there to be three levels of spiritual life and hence of his readership: the ordinary mind of believers, who have faith but lack direct knowledge, the elite comprehension of gnostics, who have direct experience of certain realms, and then the elite of the elite, who are those who have penetrated into the secrets of true realization (*al-muhaqqiqun*), who have reached the station of no-station (*maqam la maqam*) and can properly be termed Muhammadian.

While he has long been associated with the doctrine of Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujud*) and described as a Sufi, neither attribution in their common meanings really hold water with regard to his teachings. The monotheism of the Oneness of God (*tawhid*) was for him not simply a formula but a meaning to be discovered in the human heart. He always stresses two major factors: on the one hand, the true status and rank of the Perfect Man (*al-insan al-kamil*) as the eye-pupil of God, the vicegerent (*khalifa*) who unites the Divine Form and the form of the world, the perfect servant whose whole existence conforms to the Divine purpose, and whose paradigm is the Prophet Muhammad. This leads him to emphasize the importance of servanthood (*‘ubudiyya*), inheritance from the Prophet (*wiratha*), and a sober equilibrium with regard to spiritual experience and action, and he is at pains to point out that men and women have equal capacity to reach perfection; and on the other hand, the all-encompassing centrality of Divine Mercy and Compassion (*rahma*) as both the cause and result of existence, leading to his assertion that Mercy is the final end of all creatures.

Ibn al-‘Arabi exerted an unparalleled influence, not only upon his immediate circle of friends and disciples, many of whom were considered spiritual masters in their own right, but also on succeeding generations, affecting the whole course of subsequent spiritual thought and practice in the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian-speaking worlds. In recent years his writings have also become increasingly the subject of interest and study in the West, leading to the establishment of an international academic society in his name. His teachings have been at the heart of almost all Sufi doctrine throughout the Islamic world, more or less overtly, revealing a universal character that made the founding of a particular dervish order in his name impossible. We commonly find his terminology being used in explanation of other well-known texts (for example, Isma‘il al-Anqarawi's [ANQARAVI'S] (d. 1631) famous commentary on RUMI'S *Mathnawi*). The list of his direct followers includes some of the most famous masters and authors in Sufism: from his adopted son and heir, Sadruddin al-QUNAWI (d. 1274), who transmitted the heritage of Ibn al-‘Arabi to succeeding generations both through his own teaching and by preserving so many of his works in his library, to Mu'ayyiduddin Jandi (d. 1300), ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Kashani (d. 1329), Da'ud al-Qaysari KAYSERI (d. 1350), and ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jami (d. 1492), to name but a few of the more well known who were particularly involved in disseminating commentaries on the *Fusus al-hikam*. His work also inspired poets such as Fakhruddin ‘Iraqi (d. 1289), who studied with Sadruddin al-Qunawi, and Mahmud SHABISTARI (d. 1320), the author of the *Gulshan-i-raz* (The Rose-Garden of Mystery). His influence is evident in a wide range of writers and times: the Yemeni ‘Abd al-Karim AL-JILI

(d. 1428), Mulla Sadra of Shiraz (d. 1641), the Ottoman ‘Abdullah Bosnevi (d. 1644), and ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1731), who like Ibn al-‘Arabi is buried in the Salihiyya area of Damascus. There were many others who did not write books of their own but had a very deep spiritual affinity with Ibn al-‘Arabi, such as Mehmet Uftade (d. 1580), one of the great Ottoman masters who numbered Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent among his disciples.

While his writings may have been publicly adopted by some countries at certain times, notably the Ottoman Empire and Iran, as the basis of a spiritual and religious education, they were certainly not universally accepted within the Islamic world and were often rejected outright. Later Muslim scholars tended to fall into two diametrically opposed camps with regard to his teaching: some hostile to what they saw as philosophical heresy that might endanger the whole moral framework of the community, others equally keen to defend his religious orthodoxy and spiritual stature. At the center of this long polemic over Ibn al-‘Arabi's legacy, which has lasted until the present day, one can discern both the multifaceted nature of "the Greatest Master" himself, and the central importance of the issues that he addressed.

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IBN AL-'ARIF, Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad
(481–536/1088–1141)

Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Musa ibn 'Ata' Allah al-Sahaj ibn al-'Arif was born on 2 Jumada al-Awwal 481/Monday July 24, 1088, dying in Marrakesh on 23 Safar 536/September 27, 1141. His *laqab* comes from his father, who had been in charge of the guard in Tangier, and so acquired the name "knowing." Although he started off in the textile business, he quickly moved into earning his living as a Qur'anic reader and poet, and above all as a teacher of the Islamic sciences, in Saragossa, Valencia, and Almeria.

Almeria was at that time the center of Sufism and the main focus of opposition to the legal authorities in al-Andalus. It was there that Ibn Hamdin, the Cordoba *qadi*, issued a *fatwa* denouncing the works of AL-GHAZALI for, in part, his advocacy of Sufism. There already was a solid Sufi presence in al-Andalus as a result of the influence of IBN MASARRA and his students, and the arrival of the works of al-Ghazali obviously gave the local Sufis something of a boost. There was a substantial group of Sufis connected to Ibn al-'Arif, people like IBN BARRAJAN of Seville, Abu Bakr al-Mallurqin of Granada, and Ibn Qasi. When they were summoned to explain themselves before the Almoravid ruler 'Ali ibn Yusuf in Marrekesh, Abu Bakr ran away, Ibn Barrajan obeyed the summons and died in prison, while Ibn al-'Arif managed to get off the charge of blasphemy. However, he died soon afterward, and suspicion has fallen on his main accuser, the *qadi* of Almeria, Ibn al-Aswad. Ibn Qasi himself managed to avoid the summons to North Africa and remained in the Algarve until his death in 560/1165 as the head of a large and committed group of Sufis, determined opponents of the Almoravid regime that had been so antagonistic to Sufism.

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IBN AL-ATHIR, Abu al-Fath (558–637/1163–1239)

Abu al-Fath Nasr Allah ibn Muhammad al-Jazari Diya al-Din ibn al-Athir was born in what is today Turkey, into an important family. His brothers were also significant intellectual figures, one being a *hadith* scholar and the other a historian. Al-Athir was involved in working for Saladin and then for the latter's son in Damascus, and finally he went to Mosul to act as an administrator.

Ibn al-Athir was certainly no enthusiast for philosophy; he was an opponent of *falsafa* in its Peripatetic form, and in the protracted conflict between grammar and philosophy he took sides with grammar. His literary output is very impressive and he is an exemplary stylist. Al-Athir argued that one has to learn from the Qur'an how to write, since that text is so replete with wonderful linguistic devices that one can continually mine it and come up with new forms of expression. Many of his writings deal with poetry and poetic form, and it is clear that he is critical throughout of the philosophical project of using Aristotle's *Poetics* to analyze poetry. Such a general work, which seeks to describe the essence of poetry in general, is useless, Ibn al-Athir argues, since it is only through detailed understanding of a particular language that one can understand the poetic structure of that language. Like so many enemies of philosophy, his desire to refute his opponents led him to use philosophical principles of argument and debate as well as many of his opponents' views on language.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN 'ATA', Wasil (80–131/699–748)

Wasil ibn 'Ata', also known as al-Ghazzal, was born probably around the year 80/699 and died in 131/748. He was a famous *khatib* (preacher) and theologian and is considered by the Mu'tazilite biographers to be the founder of the Mu'tazilite school.

The sources are in dispute about the land of his origin and early education. Ibn al-Murtada is inclined to consider him a *mawla*, a freed slave who owed gratitude to his master, Benu Hashim, who lived in Medinah, while Ka'bi mentions that he was a *mawla* of Benu Aabba, who moved to Basra. Although Wasil spent most of his life, as far as we know, in Basra, some sources mention that he was considered a foreigner there. Nevertheless, Van Ess considers that his connection with Medinah was probably due to some late Mu'tazilites who wanted to connect him with the Shi'i 'Alites of Medinah on the one hand and on the other to create a blood relationship with the Prophet's family through the claim to be the brother-in-law of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya ibn 'ALI b. Abu Talib. Some late Mu'tazilites consider him to have been brought up by Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya and to have studied in his school, but Ibn al-Hanafiya died in the year 80/699, at a time when Wasil had probably just been born. Through this connection, the Mu'tazilites may have wished to relate their religious views to the Prophet himself.

As is the case with most early Muslim theologians, Wasil left no details of his life and early education, nor have any of his books survived. The earliest source which gives some information about him is al-Jahiz's *Kitab al-Bayan wat-tabiyyn*. Here JAHIZ considers Wasil to be a *khatib* (preacher), rather than a *mutakallim* (theologian). Wasil was famous for his talented preaching and his inspired use of the language in persuading other Muslims and non-Muslims of his views. He also had a problem in pronouncing the letter "r" and could produce sermons which avoided words which contained it and instead incorporated exact alternatives. As for his nickname al-Ghazzal (the spinner), the sources are not clear whether he was a merchant who sold cloth or simply liked spending time in the marketplace, probably in order to offer his *zakat* (alms) to needy women and widows, as Ibn AL-NADIM claims.

All sources agree, however, that Wasil started to become known as *katib* and *mutakallim* through his connection with the circle of al-Hasan al-Basri in Basra. Of particular importance is his meeting with 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, one of al-Basri's students. Wasil and 'Amr seem to have disagreed with al-Hasan on some issues; many sources consider their debate with al-Hasan to have been on the status of the Muslim sinner. This could possibly be considered as a confirmation that Wasil was the first to form the concept of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn,* the intermediary position, which is considered one of the five Mu'tazilite principles. Some sources also mention that Wasil and 'Amr became close friends, founding their own new circle of teaching and separating themselves from al-Hasan. Some sources consider that this is why they were called al-Mu'tazila, the ones who separated themselves from the main teaching. However, the sources are uncertain as to whether 'Amr or Wasil is the real founder of the Mu'tazilite school. It is also claimed that Wasil married the sister of 'Amr, but this may be, as Van Ess points out, an invention aimed at strengthening the relationship between Wasil and 'Amr, for neither Wasil nor 'Amr was interested in women and no source mentions that they ever had children.

Concerning Wasil's *kalam* career, he was thought to have had a connection to the Kharijites, the followers of 'Ali, and the Qadarites, the upholders of the concept of free will. Some sources consider him to have been a Kharijite before joining al-Hasan's colloquium. On the question of the status of the Muslim sinner, Wasil refused to consider the sinner as an infidel, *kafir*; nevertheless, he accepted the Kharijite concept that infidels will be punished with eternal Hellfire. His connection to the 'Alawis is through a supposed connection to Benu Hashim and it has been proved that on the question of the Imamate Wasil preferred 'Ali to Mu'awiya, though he also accepted the imamate of *al-mafdul,* the less legitimate caliph. As regards his Qadarite tendency, some sources mention that Wasil learned the concept of free will from Abu Hashim b. Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya or his brother al-Hassan, both known as Qadarites, in his early years in Medinah. He also composed in his late years a *khutba* (ceremony) for the governor of Basra 'Abdullah b. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz which proves a Qadarite tendency. SHAHRASTANI also considers Wasil to be the real author of *al-Risala*, which is attributed to al-Hasan al-Basri and whose author defends the Qadarite position.

Wasil seems also to have composed many important works. Ibn al-Nadim attributes to him the titles of eleven books, but unfortunately none has survived. The most important of these titles, however, are *Kitab al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*, *Kitab al-khutab fi al-'adl wat-tawhid* and *Kitab ma'ani al-qur'an*. Wasil's original contribution to the Mu'tazilite *kalam* was his concept of the status of the grave sinner. He considered him to be neither an infidel nor a believer but someone who stands in a position between infidelity and faith which he called *fisq*. This concept later became one of the five principles of the Mu'tazilite belief. Shahrastani and other Mu'tazilite biographers consider Wasil to be responsible for the basic form of all five Mu'tazilite principles, a claim which Madelung and Hans Daiber seem to have accepted. Van Ess, for his part, argues that Wasil's concept of God's attributes is quite primitive and does not reflect the Mu'tazilite concept of *Tawhid* that was developed later. Nor are his reflections on *'adl* compatible with the principle of *'adl* held later by the school. Thus, Wasil seems to be mainly the founder of the principle of *al-manzil*, the intermediary position.

Yet it does seem from many sources that Wasil did know the concept of *Ta'wil* (allegorical interpretation), and probably his book *Ma'ani al-qur'an* was an attempt to interpret the *mutshabih*, the ambiguous verses of the Qur'an. As to the concept of *al-amr bil ma'ruf wal-nahy 'an al-munkar* (calling for good and prohibiting evil), it is not clear whether Wasil adopted it, but it was already well known through Jahm and al-Ja'd. We also should not forget the missions which Wasil sent to North Africa and Eastern Iran calling Muslims to the Mu'tazilite cause. These missions seem to have turned Idris ibn Idris, the governor of Morocco (177–213), to the Mu'tazilite position. Thus the followers of Wasil in these areas must have preached more than Wasil's concept of *al-manzila* alone.

In conclusion, Wasil's role seems to have been enlarged by the Mu'tazilites who came later to be seen as something like the school's godfather. However, since we no longer possess any of the original texts of Wasil, it is nearly impossible to judge his real role and influence upon the Mu'tazilites of succeeding generations. Nevertheless, there is no clear proof against the Mu'tazilites' claim that Wasil was the real founder of the basic principles of their school.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

IBN BAJJA, Abu Bakr al-Sa'igh

(470–533/1077–1139)

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahya b. al-Sa'igh al-Tujibi al-Sarakusti, generally known as Ibn Bajja or Avempace, was a philosopher, scientist, musician, and poet. While the source of the designation Ibn al-Bajja is not known, Ibn Sa'igh means the son of the goldsmith in Arabic. Ibn Bajja was possibly born in Saragossa in Muslim Spain sometime between 470 and 475/1077 and 1082. He died in Fez in Morocco in 533/1139 where he was very much the target of resentful courtiers in the Almoravid capital. The details available on his life are limited, and the accuracy of some reported accounts cannot be ascertained.

Ibn Bajja belonged to the ruling family al-Tujib in Saragossa. Therefore, he must have been educated properly in classical Islamic and secular sciences. Although the sixteenth-century Andalusian traveler Leo Africanus (1485–1554) suggests that his original Arabic name was al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-Fasi, and asserts that Ibn Bajja's parents were Jewish, there is no evidence to support this account. Some Muslim historians report that he memorized the whole Qur'an in his early childhood as part of a classical Islamic training. His extant works range from philosophy and medicine to literature and botany, and show that he was educated in both the literary and natural sciences.

We do not have any information about his tutors, and little about his students. Among his disciples were Abu al-Hasan al-Judi, Ishak b. Sham'un al-Yahudi al-Kurtubi, Abu Amr al-Himara, Abu Amr Osman b. 'Ali b. Osman al-Ansari, and Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abdulaziz ibn al-Imam. The last of these disciples has a special importance, as he copied and preserved Ibn Bajja's writings. Al-Amir al-Muqtadir b. Hud (438–74/1046–81), who was the ruler of Saragossa, a mathematician, and philosopher at the same time, was Ibn Bajja's contemporary. Some historians suggest that the celebrated Spanish philosopher IBN RUSHD (520–95/1126–98) was also among his students. Considering the dates of their birth and death, this assertion does not seem to be realistic. Ibn Rushd could have attended the lectures of Ibn Bajja when the former was twelve years old at the earliest. In addition, the Jewish philosopher Maimonides (1138–1204) attended some study sessions of one of Ibn Bajja's students, but we do not know his identity. Although some historians report that another Spanish Muslim philosopher, IBN TUFAYL (500–81/1106–85), studied philosophy with Ibn Bajja, the former wrote in the introduction to his book *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* that he had not met him.

At the beginning of his career Ibn Bajja worked as a physician at Saragossa, and was the vizier of Abu Bakr b. Ibrahim al-Sahrawi, the governor of Saragossa. Just before Alfonso I of Aragon invaded the city in 513/1118, he left for Seville. He lived there for some time, and then went to Shatibah (Jativa) in northwest Africa. There Ibn Bajja was imprisoned on a charge of heresy. The father or grandfather of Ibn Rushd, who was the *qadi*, interceded for his release. After he was set free, he met the Almoravid governor Abu Bakr Yahya b. Yusuf b. Tashfin and won his favor. The latter appointed Ibn al-Bajja as a vizier, in which post he served for twenty years.

Before Ibn Bajja there were thinkers in Andalusia occupied with philosophical matters such as IBN AL-MASARRA (269–319/882–931) and IBN HAZM (384–456/994–1064). However, it was Ibn Bajja who was the first to be deeply involved in studying philosophy and writing philosophical works extensively in this region. In addition, his writings prepared the ground for influential Muslim philosophers of the next generation, such as Ibn Tufayl and Ibn Rushd. Through his own observatory and works on astronomy, he laid the foundation for the "Andalusian revolt" against the Ptolemaic system. He was also a gifted musician, a professional composer, and a skillful performer of the lute. However, we do not have a substantial amount of musical work to support these historical accounts. Ibn Bajja's love of music was used against him by the traditionists and conspirators throughout his lifetime. Some of his poems on various topics reached us in the work titled *Qala'id al-'iqyan* (506/1112) by Fath b. Khakan, who was interestingly among his fiery critics.

Ibn Bajja wrote extensively on a variety of subjects such as the soul, thought, the union of the soul with God, and human perfection. He also wrote a book titled *Tadbir al-mutawahhid* (Governance of the Solitary) and commentaries on Aristotle and AL-FARABI. However, some of these works are believed to be incomplete, and some others are, as Ibn Bajja also admits, ambiguous and unsystematic. Nevertheless, his works with all their shortcomings were regarded highly from Ibn Rushd onward, not only in the Muslim world but also in Western thought. Most of his writings have been translated into Latin, Hebrew, and other languages from the fourteenth century onward. In modern times the Spanish scholar Miguel Asin Palacios (1871–1944) published a considerable number of Ibn Bajja's manuscripts in their original language along with Spanish.

As a rational philosopher in line with Aristotle and Farabi, Ibn Bajja exalts the notion of human intellect and its crucial role in human perfection. His *Tadbir al-mutawahhid* is an epitome of his philosophy. *Mutawahhid* signifies the virtuous person who lives a solitary life in an imperfect milieu. In this work, Ibn Bajja raises the question of how a man of integrity or even a philosopher can preserve his character and reach happiness in an immoral society. This person in such a context cannot possibly stay happy for a long time. Therefore, he needs to lead a solitary life, continue his research, and, if necessary, emigrate to a righteous community. This is important to preserve his character and establish a virtuous society.

In the treatises *Risala al-wada'* (Farewell) and *Ittisal al-'aql bi al-insan* (Union of the Intellect with Humanity), though they seem to be incomplete, Ibn Bajja deals with the matters of the first mover, the purpose of human existence, and the union of human intellect with God. He argues that the last of them is the ultimate aim of human beings in this world. This experience can only be realized through philosophical thought and speculative contemplation. This contrasts with the traditional mystical practice centered on the heart or on emotion (*qalb*) rather than the intellect (*'aql*). But he does not explain clearly how exactly human intellect unites with the divine. According to Ibn Bajja, mysticism is a mistake and mystical practices are misleading. In this sense, AL-GHAZALI, the presenter of Muslim mystic thought, is himself mistaken and misleading others. In these three works there are allusions to the writings and concepts of Plato and al-Farabi. On the other hand, Ibn Bajja's main concern here, as opposed to Plato and al-Farabi, is the individual human being or the philosopher himself, not the ideal ruler and state. Here Ibn Bajja does not develop a political theory in the sense Plato does in *The Republic* or as al-Farabi does in *al-Madina al-fadila*. In addition, Ibn Bajja seems to contradict himself when he explains the last stages of human fulfillment. While he insists from the beginning that human perfection can only be achieved through the intellect, later he argues that human development is completed through God's throwing his light into the hearts of those who deserve it. In this way that person becomes a part of the glorious community comprising prophets, saints, and martyrs who praise God. Here these two notions, that is, divine intervention and chosenness, do not seem to be in accord with his earlier explanations.

Kitab al-Nafs is Ibn al-Bajja's work on human psychology. This is one of his most important works on human nature. Here one can find similarities with Aristotle's book bearing the same title. In this book, Ibn Bajja looks at the theories of *nafs* developed in the past. He then develops the definition of *nafs*, its true nature, and other related aspects. After that he looks closely at the notion of thought. However, this work is incomplete. Therefore, we are not able to see the whole picture.

Ibn Bajja, like AL-MA'ARRI and AL-TAWHIDI, was accused of heresy. The conspiracies surrounding his death were also based on this accusation. However, we do not have any indication in his works as to his alleged disbelief. His opponents must have distorted Ibn al-Bajja's strong rationalism and accused him of heresy. In addition, his involvement in philosophy, astronomy, and music might have been an important factor in this charge as these endeavors only resulted in creating a negative image in the eyes of the majority of the Spanish Muslims then. Ibn Bajja was in search of happiness and tranquillity throughout his life; but it is difficult to say whether he found it.

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MUHSIN AKBAŞ

IBN BARRAJAN, Abu'l-Hakam
(sixth/twelfth century)

Abu'l-Hakam 'Abd al-Salam ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Lakhmi ibn Barrajan was born in North Africa and spent some time teaching in Seville. Committed to mysticism, he soon fell foul of the Almoravid authorities in al-Andalus, and was summoned to Marakesh by the prince 'Ali ibn Yusuf, along with IBN AL'ARIF and Abu Bakr al-Mallorqi. Ibn Barrajan died in prison in 536/1141, and the prince ordered his corpse to be thrown on a dung heap, an accurate reflection of the contempt he had for Sufism. Ibn Barrajan in particular had been an important organizer in al-Andalus for the Sufi cause, and so in the eyes of the local theologians a very dangerous fellow. He wrote several books that took a Sufi approach to understanding texts. So for example his commentary on the Qur'an stresses the hidden features of the text. Similarly his book on the names of God explores the esoteric aspects of those names in an intellectual *tour de force* that must indeed have made a good many readers impressed with the Sufi approach.

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(d. 770/1368–9 or 779/1377)

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Battuta was a North African traveler whose account of the Islamic world that he visited played an important role in introducing his contemporaries to the extent of that world. He left Tangiers in 725/1325 for the east, going to Mecca on the *hajj* and investigating the Arabian peninsula. Then he went down the Red Sea to Yemen and East Africa, then back to Arabia, Constantinople, and southeastern Europe. He went east again to what is today Pakistan and India, visiting also the Maldives, Sri Lanka, Southeast Asia, and China. His return took him to the central Asian Islamic regions, Mecca again, North Africa, and Spain. Finally in 753–4/1352–3 he went south to the Niger and neighboring parts of Africa.

The eventual book based on his travels is obviously occasionally inaccurate, and one does not know how much it represents his accounts or those inserted by editors. There is nothing theoretical about the work, it is mainly descriptive, but its importance is that it reveals the state of the Islamic world at the time, and how linked each part of that area was to other parts of the Islamic world.

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IBN AL-DAYA, Ahmad Ibn Yusuf

(third/ninth century)

Ahmad ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim Abu Ja'far came from an important political family based in Baghdad that later moved to Fustat in Cairo when their fortunes went into something of a decline. Ibn al-Daya worked on astronomy and philosophy. Few of his books survive, and then often only as parts of other people's work, but he seems to have contributed quite broadly to the production of philosophy and history during his time, covering logic and commenting on Greek works.

As part of what might be regarded as popular philosophy, he wrote the *Kitab al-Mukafa'a* (Book of Compensation) which presents a rather Stoic attitude to the ups and downs of everyday life. It is very well written, and although the tone is uniformly pessimistic, it calls for an acknowledgment of the changeability of human fortunes in all our actions.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN AL-FARID, 'Umar ibn 'Ali Abu'l-Qasim al-Misri al-Sa'di

(576–632/1181–1235)

Ibn al-Farid was born in Cairo on 4 Dhu'l-Qadah 576/1181 and died there on 2 Jumada al-Awwal 632/1235. Venerated as a saint within a generation of his death, Ibn al-Farid was—and is—the most celebrated Sufi poet in Arabic. He has been favorably compared to English metaphysical poets like John Donne (d. 1631) and Henry Vaughan (d. 1695), as well as the Spanish Carmelite mystic and poet John of the Cross (1542–91).

Ibn al-Farid's family was from Hama in Syria, and later migrated to Cairo where 'Umar was born in 576/1181. His father was a noted religious scholar and women's advocate at court, a *farid*, hence the poet's name. 'Umar is said to have accompanied him to court proceedings and as a young man identified with the Shafi'i *madhhab*. He studied *hadith* (traditions) with al-Qasim ibn 'Ali ibn Asakir (d. 600/1203), of the Banu Asakir from Damascus, a family line that produced notable Shafi'i scholars for almost two centuries. While still in his youth, 'Umar was drawn to Sufism, undertaking ascetic practices and devotional exercises in the hills east of Cairo. After the death of his father, learning and piety took him to Mecca, where he remained for about fifteen years before returning to Cairo and taking residence at the Azhar mosque. He supported his young family by teaching *hadith* and poetry.

Ibn al-Farid had at least one daughter (without name in the sources) and two sons, 'Abd al-Rahman and Kamal al-Din Muhammad. A grandson (whose mother was a daughter of the poet), Abu al-Hasan Nur al-Din 'Ali al-Misri ('Ali as Sibt Ibn al-Farid), edited a *diwan* (collection) of his grandfather's poetry, to which he prefaced a hagiography of some biographical value: the *Dibaja* (Adorned Poem). According to 'Ali, in 628/1231 Ibn al-Farid once more took the pilgrimage to Mecca, this time accompanied by his two sons. In the holy city they met the accomplished Sufi, Abu Hafs 'Umar SUHRAWARDI (d. 632/1234), who proceeded to invest the poet's sons with the *khirqa*.

Although the Ayyubids, as was the dynastic custom in Islamic civilization, "encouraged and patronized poetry for purposes of propaganda and legitimation" (Homerin 2001: 22–3), neither political nor panegyric poetry can be attributed to Ibn al-Farid. He thus avoided the sort of moral morass often paid for such court patronage. He wrote nothing in prose, and his *Diwan* is comparatively small, in this case quantity inversely proportional to quality, for one cannot help but be struck by the "intense passion and glowing rapture" of his verse, "the style and diction resembl[ing] the choicest and finest jewel-work of a fastidious artist" (Nicholson 1994: 167–8). The best of the Arabic poetic tradition; doctrines, motifs, figures and allegories from the Qur'an and Sunna; and the fruits of mystical experience and expression, are exquisitely and lyrically interwoven in Ibn al-Farid's poems of spiritual love, longing and union (with the divine). From among his love poems (*ghazal*), odes (*qasida*), a wine ode (*khamriya*), and several dozen quatrains and riddles, the *al-Khamriya* (Wine Ode) and the *al-Ta'iya al-kubra* (The Greater Poem Rhyming in "T"), also known as

Nazm al-suluk (Poem of the Sufi Way), are frequently singled out as uncommonly appealing and representing the quintessence of Ibn al-Farid's verse. The former relies on pre-Islamic poetic wine allegories and the use of "sobriety" and "intoxication" as metaphors for exalted states of mystical consciousness. Recalling that the Qur'an forbids the consumption of wine, not a few of its verses declare a Heavenly vintage to be the drink of Paradise (e.g., 56: 11–18, 83: 21–6). In the Sufi tradition known to Ibn al-Farid, wine came to symbolize the love between God ("the beloved") and his devotee ("the lover"). The *Wine Ode* is widely acclaimed as "the finest poem on mystical wine in Islam" (Homerin 2001: 42).

The greatest poem from the pen of Ibn al-Farid, however, is the *al-Ta'iya al-kubra,* one of the longest poems ever written in Arabic. It is stylistically composed in the mannerist (*badi'a*) convention of the court poets of the time, but evidences a broad knowledge of the Islamic sciences and a profound grasp of Sufi theosophy and psychology. It is an altogether remarkable "Pilgrim's Progress" for the Sufi disciple, although its esoteric allusions, metaphorical inversions, and clever word play make its themes of love, longing, and union at once delicate, dense, and beautiful. It is difficult in detail for all but the most learned Sufi, however inviting its arabesque rhetorical form, images, and allegories.

Historically, Ibn al-Farid's name has been associated with his contemporary, al-Shaykh al-Akbar, IBN AL-'ARABI (d. 638/1240). There is no evidence that these two great Sufis knew each other or ever corresponded. But several of Ibn al-'Arabi's followers wrote well-known commentaries on both the *Wine Ode* and the *Poem of the Sufi Way,* using their master's conceptual palette to illuminate the spiritual meaning of the respective poems. Ibn al-Farid's sophisticated use of technical language from Islamic law, theology, and mysticism and the corresponding elaboration of metaphysical, psychological, and moral themes dear to Sufis, accounts for the preeminence of Ibn al-'Arabi's students in the exegetical tradition that surrounds Ibn al-Farid's best verse. Given the poet's vision of divine unity and his use of the feminine gender to refer to God, one is not surprised to discover that periodic charges of heresy were provoked by his poetry. For example, acting in his capacity as chief judge, no less a personage than the historian IBN KHALDUN (d. 808/1406) issued a ruling that, among other items, called for the destruction of the bulk of Ibn al-Farid's poetry.

But our poet has had the last word, his verse now firmly embedded in Egyptian culture, be it in the popular songs of Sufis or in the work of the Egyptian novelist and Nobel Prize laureate Najib Mahfuz (b.1911). The Arabic poetry of Ibn al-Farid can be mentioned in the same breath as the major Sufi poets who wrote in Persian: SANA'I of Ghazna, 'ATTAR, RUMI, and Jami.

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IBN FARIS, Abu'l-Husayn
(308–395/920–1004)

Abu'l-Husayn Ahmad b. Faris b. Zakariyya b. Muhammad al-Razi al-Qazwini al-Hamadhani was born in Kursuf, a village near to Qazwin, in 308/920. Despite the assertions in some sources that he came from a peasant background, Ibn Faris himself mentioned among his first tutors the name of his father, Faris b. Zakariyya (369/978), a Shafi'i scholar and a linguist who taught him Ibn Sikkit's *Islah al-Mantiq*.

Ibn Faris traveled to the important study centers of the Islamic world of the time but he lived most of his life in Qazwin, Hamadhan, and Rayy. While in Qazwin in 332/943 he studied Khalil b. Ahmad's *Kitab al-'Ayn* with Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Ibrahim al-Qattan (d. 345/956) and attended the circle of 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Mahrawayh (d. 335/946). The most significant influences on his linguistic understanding, however, came from one of the scholars of the Kufan grammarians' school, Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Hasan al-Khatib, who taught him in Zenjan. In Isfahan, he studied with Abu'l-Qasim Sulayman b. Ahmad al- Tabarani (d. 360/970); in Hamadhan with 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hamdan al-Hamadhani (342/953); in Baghdad with Abu'l- Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah al-Wasifi (365/975) and Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Duri; and in Miyanij with a *hadith* scholar Abu 'Abd Allah Ahmad b. Tahir al-Miyaniji (d. 360/970).

Among his students we see significant scholarly as well as political figures of the time. Among them were the author of *Maqamat*, Badi al-Zaman al-Hamadhani (d. 398/1007), and the vizier of Buwayhids, Sahib ibn 'Abbad (d. 385/995), after whom Ibn Faris called his work *al-Sahibi fi fiqh al-lugha wa sunan al-'arab fi kalamihim*. Ibn Faris is the first known author to use the term *fiqh al-lugha* in Arabic linguistics, thus establishing on a systematic basis the notion of linguistic rules of operation. Ninety books, most of which concern the study of Arabic linguistics, have been attributed to Ibn Faris. His well-known works are *al-Sahibi*, *Mujmal al-lugha*, and *Maqayis al-lugha*, and all make significant contributions to the etymological and semantic study of Arabic vocabulary.

In his etymological approach in these treatises, Ibn Faris tried to establish a semantic link to the root meaning of the word. This of course led him to etymologize words from foreign languages and find for them an Arabic root. Therefore, in the discussion of the existence of foreign vocabulary in the Qur'an we observe that Ibn Faris took a place among the major protagonists, such as Imam al-Shafi'i, who were against the theory that foreign words existed in the Qur'an. As representative of this attitude, Ibn Faris believed that accepting the existence of a word from a language other than Arabic in the Qur'an would raise a suspicion that Arabic was imperfect as compared with other tongues, and so it had to be revealed in a language they did not know. In this respect, his choice of heading in the relevant chapter of his *al-Sahibi* is quite revealing of his attitude: "On the language in which the Qur'an was revealed, and that in the Book of God there is nothing beside the language of the Arabs."

Ibn Faris studied in what were then important centers of Arabic linguistics, Qaswin, Baghdad, and Mecca, and spent most of his career in Hamadan, dying in Rayy in 395/1004. His main achievement is his work on language, and his opposition to the approach of Sibawayh, who dominated the area of Arabic linguistics intellectually. Like so many intellectuals of the time, he was hostile to philosophy even while at the same time using it a good deal in his work.

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IBN FURAK, Abu'l Hasan
(*c.* 330–406/*c.* 941–1015)

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Hasan b. Furak was born in Isfahan around 330/941 and died in Nishapur in 406/1015. He was an important figure in the Ash‘arite tradition of Sunni Islam as a systematizer of Ash‘ari's views.

There is no information about his family. He started his education in Isfahan where he learned Shafi‘ite *fiqh*, then he moved first to Basra, then to Baghdad where he studied *kalam* with Abu'l Hasan al-Bakhili and Ibn Mujahid al-Tai, both were the students of Ash‘ari. In Baghdad he also met with Baqillani and Isfaraini. At around 360/970 he returned to his hometown and became a leading proponent of the Ash‘arite theology there. In 368/978 he moved to Nishapur to begin a teaching career in his *madrasa* where he taught a number of students, among whom was ‘Abdulkarim AL-QUSHAYRI, a famous Sufi. At around 404/1013 he accepted the invitation of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and went to Ghazna, where he defended Sunni Islam against the Karramites who were powerful in the region. Ibn Furak's success aroused the enmity of the Karramites and led them to complain to the sultan of his alleged heretical views, such as believing that the Prophet Muhammad lay dead in his grave and that his prophethood ceased, for the soul is an accident and the soul of the Prophet ceased with his death. Ibn Furak showed the sultan that all these allegations were baseless. After receiving the sultan's generosity, he decided to return to his hometown. On the return journey, Ibn Furak died and was buried at Hira.

Although he had a deep knowledge of every branch of the Islamic sciences, Ibn Furak is particularly important on Qur'anic commentary, Sufism, and theology. His partially available *Tafsir al-Qur'an* gives an idea about his methodology in the commentary. He is also interested in *hadith* to resolve dogmatic problems. His student Qushayri's reports are our main source of Ibn Furak's Sufi views. According to Ibn Furak, to become a Sufi or an ascetic one must be content with the worldly things that are necessary for life.

Theology is the main branch of the Islamic sciences that particularly interested Ibn Furak. For him, reason is an important criterion that differentiates truth from falsehood.

Although reason is an important source of knowledge, in religious matters what scripture says must be accepted. Sometimes reason can provide judgments that are contrary to scripture. Prophetic traditions can be a source of knowledge if they are authentic and if their meanings are clear. Although Ibn Furak is a Sufi himself, he does not consider intuition to be a source of knowledge. After all, different Sufis can have different intuitions on the same issue. He also considers consensus of the community as a source of knowledge in solving dogmatic issues. To prove the existence of God, Ibn Furak uses the createdness of substances and accidents, and claims that the basis of this argument can be found in the Qur'an. For him, God's attributes must be identified on the basis of scripture, and their meaning must be interpreted in such a way that is appropriate to God's essence. Contrary to the generally accepted view of the Ash'arites, Ibn Furak thinks that prophets must be male. Prophets are protected from disbelief or from committing sin, though they can make some small mistakes.

Ibn Furak produced a number of works, some of which have come down to us. In the *Mujarrad maqalat al-shaykh abi'l hasan al-ash'ari* (Summary of Shaykh Abi'l Hasan al-Ash'ari's Treatises), he gives a summary of the views of AL-ASH'ARI. In the *Kitab al-Hudud fi'l usul* (Book of Definitions on the Foundations [of Law]), he explains a number of *kalam* and *fiqh* terms. In *Mushkil al-hadith wa bayanuh* (Ambiguity of the Hadith and its Explanation), he gives interpretations of the anthropomorphic attributes of God.

Ibn Furak, together with his friend Baqillani, made a significant contribution to the development of the Ash'arite school of thought. In some theological issues, he followed a new line within the school and his approach influenced the later representatives of the school.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

IBN AL-HAITHAM, *see* Ibn al-Haytham

IBN HANBAL, Ahmad (164–241/780–855)

Abu 'Abdullah Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal al-Shaybani al-Marwazi was born in Baghdad in 164/780 and died at the same city on 12 Rabi al-Awwal 241/July 31, 855. He was a founder of one of the four Sunni legal schools in Islam.

Ahmad b. Hanbal belonged to an Arab family known as the Banu Shayban. His family moved from Marw to Baghdad. His genealogy reaches to one of the grandfathers of the Prophet, Nizar. His own grandfather Hanbal b. Hilal was a governor of Sarakhs during the reign of the Umayyads, who supported the 'Abbasid revolution and then served in the 'Abbasid army. Ahmad b. Hanbal was initially educated in Baghdad where he memorized the Qur'an and then studied Arabic grammar, Islamic law (*fiqh*), and Prophetic tradition (*hadith*). He continued his education with eminent teachers such as Hushaym b. Bashir, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Mahdi, Sufyan b. 'Uyayna, Yahya b. Sa'id al-Kattan, and Imam SHAFI'I. He learned Islamic law (*fiqh*) and Islamic legal methodology (*usul al-fiqh*) from Shafi'i. Ahmad b. Hanbal taught a number of students such as the famous traditionists Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmidhi, and Nasai.

Under the influence of Mu'tazilite scholars, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (813–33) had pressured Ibn Hanbal to accept the Mu'tazilite dogma of the createdness of the Qur'an. Ibn Hanbal refused to accept this dogma, which he considered to be contrary to orthodox belief. Because of his refusal, he was persecuted and imprisoned. The caliph al-Mu'tasim (833–42) adopted the same policy and Ibn Hanbal remained in prison where he was severely tortured. Once the adoption of orthodoxy reasserted itself in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847–61), Ibn Hanbal was able to continue his teaching activity.

Ibn Hanbal was one of the leading defenders of th*e* Salafi position. His main theological views can be summarized as follows. For Ibn Hanbal, one must believe in God as described in the Qur'an. For him, the nature of God's attributes cannot be known rationally. We cannot understand how we can ascribe attributes to God rationally. In this respect, he rejects negative theology (*tanzih*) and anthropomorphism (*tashbih*). For Ibn Hanbal, the attributes and the names of God are eternal. Considering the issue of human action, he adopted a middle approach between the doctrine of the Mu'tazila and the Jabriyya. For him the Qur'an is the eternal speech of God and it is uncreated. He bitterly criticized the Mu'tazilite dogma of the createdness of the Qur'an. For him faith consists of acceptance by heart, outward expression, and action. Although the sinner is liable to punishment, he or she remains a believer. Faith can increase with good action and decrease with bad actions. His theological views were developed and defended by scholars of the following generations such as Abu Sa'id al-Darimi, Ibn Abi Ya'la, IBN TAYMIYYA, and IBN AL-QAYYIM.

A number of works were attributed to Ibn Hanbal. Among them only the *Musnad*, which is a collection of around 30,000 traditions, was written by him directly. Other works were collected and written by his son 'Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Hanbal and by his other students upon his death. Ibn Hanbal gave traditions (*hadith*) a key role in Islamic law and theology. His legal approach was centered on revealed texts, that is, the Qur'an and the traditions and on the sayings of the Prophet's Companions. He opposed using personal opinion (*ra'y*) and analogical reasoning (*qiyas*) in his legal theory. On the methodological level, he had a literal approach to the text of the Qur'an and the traditions.

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, Abu 'Ali al-Hasan (354–430)/965–1039)

The prolific Arab polymath Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham al-Basri al-Misri, known in Latin as Alhazen, was born in Basra in 354/965, and died in Cairo in 430/1039. He was raised in Basra, which in that period was under the reign of the Shi'ite Buwayhid dynasty, whose amirs (*Shahanshas*) were of Persian descent from the territories at the fringes of the Caspian Sea, and who governed Iraq alongside the 'Abbasid Caliphs from 945 to 1055, before being removed from power by the Sunni Seljuq Turks.

While in Basra, Ibn al-Haytham reached a conclusion at a young age that religious doctrines and tenets did not lead to the "one truth." Turning away from theological deliberations, he became increasingly interested in mathematics, physics, and astronomy. Prior to leaving Basra, it is reported that he acted as a civil servant under the Buwayhids (Buyids). Some even claim that he feigned insanity in that period in order to relinquish his perfunctory civil service office and to fully immerse himself in the pursuit of his scientific endeavors.

Becoming an established scholar, Ibn al-Haytham was by then motivated to take up some applied forms of technology and science; he thus sent a proposal to the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (reigned 996–1021), delineating an ambitious plan to construct a dam to control the ebb and flow of the Nile, and to regulate the destructive flooding of this great river, as well as store its waters to be used for irrigation in the seasons when its levels are low. This crucial event in Ibn al-Haytham's career is likely to have occurred around 1008–10, in a period where the reputation of al-Hakim's reign and the riches of the Fatimids reached great heights among the Shi'ite communities of Iraq, and probably prior to 1016 when al-Hakim was enigmatically proclaimed by Hamza ibn 'Ali as being an Earthly Incarnation or Embodiment of the Divine. Impressed by Ibn al-Haytham's proposed plans, the Caliph-Imam al-Hakim invited him through an emissary to visit Egypt in order to take up the post of chief engineer, to oversee the design and construction of the structure he proposed for the Nile.

During their militant reign over Iraq, the Buwayhid regents, together with the 'Abbasid caliphs, were in open conflict with the Fatimids of Egypt, and it is unclear why Ibn al-Haytham decided to leave Basra and settle in Cairo in an epoch that was marked by political mistrust and instability. Although his appointment to the office of chief engineer was assumed under the sponsorship of a capricious and eccentric ruler, al-Hakim was nonetheless a generous patron of science and art, who also had a significant interest in astronomy. He had founded an observatory on Jabal al-Muqattam in Cairo, and continued the generous funding of the research of the astronomer and mathematician Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Yunus al-Safadi (*c.*950–1009), who was a contemporary of Ibn al-Haytham, and authored the *al-Zij al-hakimi al-kabir*. Moreover, following the Fatimid interest in the sciences, al-Hakim founded *Dar al-hikma* (The House of Wisdom), or *Dar al-'ilm*, which during this period almost equaled the fame of the *Bayt al-hikma* (The House of Wisdom) founded by 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (reigned 813–33) in Baghdad, and additionally competed with the al-Azhar school, which was founded by the Fatimid conqueror of Egypt, Jawhar al-Siqilli, in the name of the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu'izz (d. 975) in 970. Originally known as *Jami' al-qahira* (The Mosque of Cairo), the al-Azhar eventually came to house the famed university in 988, which, unlike *Dar al-hikma*, was not mainly restricted to Isma'ili missionary teaching (*da'wa*).

Accepting al-Hakim's offer to act as the chief engineer at the Fatimid court, Ibn al-Haytham embarked on a mission to Upper Egypt (*Sa'id misr*), accompanied by an engineering team, to survey a potential site for the erection of the proposed dam on the Nile. It is perhaps during this period that Ibn al-Haytham acquired the nickname al-Muhandiss al-Basri al-Misri, "The Engineer of Basra and of Egypt." After a thorough inspection of a designated gorge called al-Janadil (The Cataracts), which is located south of Aswan, and represented an optimal location for the construction of a dam, Ibn al-Haytham soon came to the conclusion that his project was unrealizable given the conditions of the river, its banks, the capacities of the workers, and related issues of construction. Some reports even mention about difficult budgetary problems that may have added to the inability to build such a structure. As reported by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, in his *'Uyun al-anba' fi tabaqat al-attiba' wa tarikh al-hukama'*, Ibn al-Haytham exclaimed that "had it been possible, the Ancient Egyptians [whom he admired] would have done it!" The Nile runs across a desert and vast arid territories of stone, and had verdant banks adorned with architectural temples. It is customarily said that those who encountered this river had their fate changed, and this seems to have been the case for Ibn al-Haytham.

Returning to Cairo with his engineering team after their field-trip mission, Ibn al-Haytham confessed to his patron al-Hakim that the design objectives were unrealizable. Disappointed with the applied technological abilities of Ibn al-Haytham, al-Hakim terminated his appointment as engineer and assigned him an administrative function so as to maintain his revenue or allowance. Growing weary of his patron's intentions and becoming increasingly concerned about his own well-being and safety, Ibn al-Haytham feigned madness, as some held he had previously done in Basra under the Buwayhids. Parting ways with al-Hakim, it is said that Ibn al-Haytham remained confined in his house until the death of the Fatimid Caliph in 1021. Some have pointed to the mercilessness and untrustworthiness of al-Hakim, reporting that Ibn al-Haytham fled Egypt to escape persecution and save his life, and settled in Syria for the rest of his life. Others maintain that he visited Syria and Baghdad during that period, but subsequently returned to Cairo. His own autobiography, which dates back to around 1027, rarely mentions matters related to his personal everyday life and rather focuses on his scientific and intellectual development. It is reasonable to think that following the death of al-Hakim, Ibn al-Haytham remained in Cairo until he died in 1039.

During those eighteen years, he lived near al-Azhar, and may have conducted his investigations in that university. His writings were focused during that period on mathematics, optics, physics, and astronomy, and he earned his livelihood from teaching as well as copying manuscripts of classic scientific texts. As Ibn al-Qifti reports, based on what is related by the Jewish physician Yusuf al-Fasi al-Isra'ili (d. 1227), Ibn al-Haytham apparently earned 150 Egyptian dinars as annual proceeds for his work as *warraq* (copier of manuscripts) reproducing classic scientific and mathematical texts like Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. In that period also, Ibn al-Haytham gradually started to revive his scholarly investigations in optics, geometry, and astronomy at the al-Azhar, an institution that by then had become the most established of the intellectual centers in Egypt, and had acquired a relative independence from the sectarian strictures associated with the Dar al-hikma.

Once described by 'Ali ibn Zayd al-Bayhaqi (d. *c.* 1169) as being "the new Ptolemy," Ibn al-Haytham excelled in his knowledge of astronomy, and his *Dubitationes in Ptolemaeum* (*al-Shukuk 'ala batlamiyus*), a critique directed at Ptolemy's *Almagest*, *Planetary Hypotheses* and *Optics*, had a major influence on the unfolding of that science. He also investigated the density of the atmosphere, and enquired about the nature of the eclipse, the twilight, and the moonlight; his *Risala fi-daw' al-qamar* (Treatise on Moonlight) talks about the last of these phenomena. In his *Shakl banu musa* (The Proposition of Banu Musa), he presented sets of demonstrations addressing the interpretation of Apollonius' *Conics* that was advanced by the Banu Musa (fl. *c.*850–70) These were the famous three sons of Musa ibn Shakir, Muhammad, Ahmad, and Hasan, the teachers of the Harranian Sabian polymath, THABIT IBN QURRA (d. 901). Ibn al-Haytham became also renowned for his famous lemmas, which in the seventeenth century came to be known among the European scholars as "Alhazen's Problem," which describes a solution to the following optical question: "How can we, from any two points opposite a reflecting [curved] surface, find points on that same surface at which the light from one of these two points reflects upon the other?"

Following Thabit ibn Qurra, Ibn al-Haytham also endeavored, like many Arab mathematicians, to solve Euclid's fifth postulate in the *Elements*. He, moreover, investigated the application of motion to geometric demonstrations (a "cinematographic" account), and elaborated the rudiments of analytical geometry by deploying algebra in geometrical constructions, as well as developed infinitesimal mathematics and conics. In number theory he built on Thabit ibn Qurrah's understanding of amicable (*mutahabbah*) and perfect (*tammah*) numbers, including the further systematizations introduced by Thabit's grandson, the mathematician Ibrahim ibn Sinan (d. 946). In mechanics, he worked on the first law of motion according to which it is stated that a body perpetually moves unless it is prevented from doing so by an external agent or force that arrests its movement or alters its direction. As noted in his explication of the phenomenon of the attraction between masses, Ibn al-Haytham seems also to have been aware of the magnitude of acceleration that results from a principle that is tangentially akin to the force of gravity. In supporting his theoretical investigations and hypotheses, he was also keen on developing methods of experimental verification, including pioneer forms of controlled testing. He, moreover, grounded his empirical inclinations with attempts to design, modify, and perfect the use of scientific instruments and experimental installations.

While Ibn al-Haytham was indeed a brilliant polymath, and his prolific contributions covered myriad disciplines in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics, his most remarkable accomplishment is attested in the field of optics, as principally embodied in his chief work *Kitab al-Manazir* (The Optics) (*c.*1027). This monumental *opus* was translated into Latin as *De aspectibus* (*c.*1270; Risner's *Thesaurus Opticus*, Basel, 1572), and its reception in Europe had a major impact on the unfurling of the *perspectivae* traditions in medieval science and Renaissance art. Among others, Ibn al-Haytham influenced Franciscan scholars and medieval authorities like Roger Bacon, John Peckham, and Witelo. His optical tradition also had a lasting impact on the unfolding of Renaissance art and architecture theories, principally as attested in the writings of scholars and artists like Leon Battista Alberti, Lorenzo Ghiberti, and Ignazio Danti. However, while his *Optics* was widely disseminated and carefully studied and integrated by the European *literati*, its circulation in the medieval Islamic civilization remained marginal. The principal assimilation of Ibn al-Haytham's theories of vision and light in the context of the history of ideas in Islam did not take a serious turn until Kamal al-Din al-Farisi's *Tanqih al-manazir* (The Revision of the Optics).

Ibn al-Haytham's theories constituted the most remarkable accomplishment in the maturation of the science of optics from the times of Claudius Ptolemy (d. *c.* 165) to those of Johannes Kepler (d. 1630). His novel optical theories resolved the ancient dispute among the Greeks over the nature and comportment of vision and light, which was divided between a physical account of the *intromission* of the form of a visible object into the eye, and a mathematical model of the *emission* of a light ray from the eye in the shape of a cone of vision. The latter theory finds its earliest geometrical constructs in the *optika* systems of Euclid and Ptolemy. It also partially builds on Plato's Pythagorean account of vision in the *Timeaus* (45b2–46a2), wherein it was stated that vision (*horan*) results from the *emission* of the soul's non-consuming fire as a gentle light that gets dispersed into the surrounding air in view of meeting external sources of light or lit entities. The eyes were thus fashioned to be bearers of light, and to channel the non-burning pure internal fire of the soul in its flow toward kindred fire in the ambient environment; transmitting as well the motion of what it comes into contact with to the soul via the eyes. This picture accorded with the views of Empedocles, and it was also reconfirmed by the physician Claudius Galenus (Galen), who supplemented this theory with a thorough examination of the anatomy of the eye, whereby he claimed that vision is caused by the eye's spirit, which radiates unto the external environment as a light ray that is propagated at an infinite velocity after passing through the luminous channels of the eye's optical nerve. This series of emission theories reflected mathematical models that were supported by a geometric description of the propagating eye's light ray as having the form of a cone of vision. In contrast, the physical model of the intromission of the form of the visible object into the eye, as primarily advanced in Aristotle's *De anima* (*Peri psuche*, Treatise on the Soul), remained ambivalent in terms of its elucidation of the comportment of light and seeing; however, it was less counter-intuitive than the mathematical emmissionist explication. After all, it was unclear how visual perception resulted from the introduction of the form of a visible object without its matter into the eye.

Although Euclid's *Optika*, which was rendered into Arabic as *Kitab uqlidus fi ikhtilaf al-manazir*, was commented on by figures like Hunayn ibn Ishaq (Johannitius, d. *c.*873) and AL-KINDI (d. 866), the most distinguished progress to be made in the science of optics from its Greek sources is attributed to the ingenuity of Ibn al-Haytham. Rethinking the findings of the ancients, mathematicians (*ta'limiyyin*), and physicists (*tabi'iyyin*) alike, Ibn al-Haytham rejected the claim that vision occurs by way of the emission of a light ray from the eye, and he moreover systematized the intromission account by showing that sight resulted from the introduction of the light ray or the luminous form of a visually perceptible object into the eye following a rectilinear propagation of light through a transparent medium in the form of a virtual geometric cone (*makhrut*) of vision. In accounting for visible properties (*al-ma'ani al-mubsara*), he also stressed that visual perception was not a mere sensation but was principally an inferential act of discernment or judgment. Ibn al-Haytham's ocular investigations were also grounded by anatomical examinations of the structure of the eye, as well as being supported by experimental installations designed to detect visual illusions, together with the studying of phenomena like the *camera obscura* (the darkroom principle behind the pinhole camera).

Parallel developments in optics were at the time being undertaken by IBN SINA (Avicenna, d. 1037) in his *Kitab al-Nafs*, who also advocated an intromission theory of vision that slightly deviated from that of Aristotle following Galenic anatomical examinations of the eye, its optical nerve and crystalline. Unlike Ibn al-Haytham, Ibn Sina's explications were ultimately not grounded on a working geometric model. Following Aristotle, he might have still considered the science of optics to be "the most physical of the geometrical disciplines," though not construing the theories of vision and light as being part of an *ars doctrinalis* (*'ilm ta'limi*), as noted in the optical writings of Ibn al-Haytham or al-Kindi. Consequently, Ibn Sina's theory of vision may have suffered from the ambivalence that marked the physical and psychical explication of visual perception by way of talking about the introduction of the form of the perceptible object without its matter into the eye. Although Ibn Sina's theory of light had a warm reception among the medieval Latin scholars, his explication of vision remained marginally integrated in comparison with Ibn al-Haytham's lasting and profound influence on the unfurling of the *perspectivae* traditions in Europe up to the Renaissance.

Ibn al-Haytham's theory of light, as noted in *Kitab al-Manazir*, was supplemented by a study in his *Risala fi'l-daw'* (Treatise on Light), where he examined the essence of light as well as enquired about its rectilinear propagation through a variety of transparent media. He, moreover, supported his theory of vision with explorations in catoptrics, using finely polished surfaces or mirrors, as well as studying the effects of lenses and magnifications. His optical theories were, moreover, tied to explorations in meteorology and his exploration of the workings of refraction and reflection in accounting for a phenomenon like the rainbow (*qaws quza*). His findings in this domain were subsequently subjected to a critical experimental and theoretical revision in *Tanqih al-manazir* of the Persian mathematician and astronomer, Kamal al-Din al-Farasi (d. 1320), who partly relied in this endeavor on Ibn Sina's meteorology. Furthermore, Ibn al-Haytham's optical findings were implicitly recollected in a commentary on the *Tanqih* that was composed by the Syrian astronomer Taqi al-Din bin Muhammad bin Ma‘ruf (d. 1585) in a treatise entitled *Nur hadaqat al-ibsar*.

In a thorough critique of the conception of place (*topos*) as set out in *Book Delta* of Aristotle's *Physics*, Ibn al-Haytham used geometrical demonstrations in his *Risala fi'l-makan* (Treatise on Place) to question the definition of place as being a two-dimensional boundary of a containing body that is at rest and that is in contact with what it contains. In contrast, he attempted to show that *al-makan* (place, *topos*) is an imagined three-dimensional void (*khala' mutakhayyal*) between the inner surfaces of the containing body. Consequently, Ibn al-Haytham accounted for *al-makan* (place) as being analogous to a *room* or *space* in a manner that anticipated the seventeenth-century conceptions of *extension*, particularly those advanced by Descartes.

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NADER EL-BIZRI

IBN HAZM, Abu Muhammad
(384–456/994–1064)

ʻAli b. Ahmad b. Said b. Hazm al-Andalusi was born in Cordova on the last day of Ramadan 384/November 7, 994, and died in Niebla on Shaʻban 456/August 1064. He was a prominent Spanish-Arabic Muslim theologian, philosopher, jurist, logician, poet, and historian. He belonged to a rich and influential family in Cordova. The information given by his biographers about his genealogy is controversial. He grew up in a period of disruptive ethnic rivalries. In his time, the Umayyad caliphate declined at Cordova, and some small kingdoms had been established and begun to fight among themselves. His father Ahmad b. Said (d. 1012) was a vizier during the reign of Ibn Abu ʻAmir al-Mansur and ʻAbdulmalik al-Muzaffar. After the death of al-Muzaffer there came a disruptive period for his family, which continued until the fall of the Ummayyads in 1031.

Ibn Hazm's life and thought can be considered the product of this chaotic situation of the Muslim state. In order to re-establish the Ummayyad caliphate, he engaged in political affairs. He was imprisoned and then exiled from Cordova for his Umayyad sympathies. He returned to Cordova three years later and worked as a vizier first in the service of ʻAbdurrahman al-Murtaza in Valencia and then in the service of ʻAbdurrahman V for several months. After the death of ʻAbdurrahman V, Ibn Hazm was imprisoned again until the time of Hisham III, who was the last Umayyad caliph of Spain. He also worked as a vizier under Hisham III for a short time. Because of the rivalry of the Berbers, he fled Cordova for Jativa in 1026. He suffered from the effects of this political chaos and for this reason, he avoided further political engagements. After his withdrawal from public and political life, Ibn Hazm devoted himself to studying and writing and spent the rest of his life quietly in Niebla till his death.

Ibn Hazm received a wide-ranging education in religious sciences and literature. In his early years, he was educated by the women in his father's harem. This early learning had a great impact on Ibn Hazm's character and writings. His harsh temperament and sharp tongue were due to this learning. Ibn Hazm first memorized the Qur'an. Then, from Abu al-Qasim ʻAbdurrahman b. Abu Yazid al-Azdi he learned tradition (*hadith*), language, dialectics (*jadal*), and theology (*kalam*) in Cordova. Ibn Hazm also had a deep knowledge of literature, history, logic, and philosophy. He studied logic under Muhammad b. Hasan al-Mazhici al-Kattani. He also studied with other notable teachers such as ʻAbdullah b. Rabiʻ, ʻAbdullah b. Yusuf, and Abu Bakir Humam b. Ahmad al-Qadi. Since he was a master of many disciplines, including theology, law, history, grammar, poetry, genealogy, and logic, Ibn Hazm was considered by the biographers as a prominent scholar in each field of the religious sciences. He held debates with scholars such as Abu'l Walid al-Baji, who was a prominent Malikite jurist of his time. In the field of *qira'at* (the science of the recitation of the Qur'an), he had debates with Makki b. Abu Talib. Ibn Hazm took a critical position not only against the scholars of his time, but also against his predecessors. Hence, much opposition was stimulated against him by scholars of his time. Some of his books were publicly burned as a mark of his punishment. However, even his opponents and enemies acknowledged the depth of his learning.

Ibn Hazm started his *fiqh* education first by reading the *al-Muwatta* of Imam Malik. Later he opposed the Malikite school of law, which was the strongest legal school in Spain at that time. He first belonged to the Shafiʻite school of law, but later changed his legal approach and adopted the views of the Zahirite school which was devised originally by Dawud b. al-Isfahani (d. 270/883). The first main methodological principle of the Zahirite teaching was to accept the Qur'an and the authenticated traditions as the only criteria for arriving at juridico-theological decisions. The second principle was to accept the external meaning (*zahir*) of the Qur'an and tradition (*hadith*) and to reject the use of analogical reasoning (*qiyas*) and personal opinion (*ra'y*).

In accordance with the Zahirite teaching, Ibn Hazm systematized his legal theory. For him, the texts of the Qur'an and the Traditions have to be interpreted in a literal sense without additions and restrictions. He applied this literalist approach not only to law, but also to dogmatic theology. At the methodological level, Ibn Hazm severely criticized the use of personal opinion (*ra'y*), the use of analogical reasoning (*qiyas*), the methods of juristic preference (*istihsan*), and the pursuit of values for the common good (*istislah*). He considered analogical reasoning (*qiyas*) to be an innovation (*bid'a*) that should, like all innovations, be rejected. However, he validated the use of *qiyas* in the physical sciences. He restricted the concept of consensus (*ijma'*) solely to the consensus of the Companions of the Prophet. In his legal theory, he adopted five juridical categories (*ahkam*) of human acts, namely obligatory (*wajib*), recommended (*mandub*), disapproved (*makruh*), lawful (*halal*), and forbidden (*haram*). The human acts falling into one of the first four categories must be approved by the texts (*nusus*) of the Qur'an or the traditions (*hadith*). Those acts which are based on these textual materials are lawful. He was opposed to the adoption of previous authority (*taqlid*) in his legal theory.

Ibn Hazm's Zahirite epistemological approach has a theoretical basis. One of the fundamental bases of his epistemology is the linguistic theory applying to the issue of the origin of language. There is a close inter-connection between his *tawqifi* (periodical instruction) linguistical theory and Zahirite epistemology. According to him, the originator of language is God and man learns language through revelation (*wahy*) and periodical instruction (*tawqif*). So, for him the devotion to the rules of language means devotion to the divine rules. The language itself provides all that is necessary for the understanding of the texts within its own rules. Hence, in the interpretive process of texts, he adopted a Zahirite grammatical concept in which he argues that the texts should be understood grammatically in its immediate and general sense.

In the field of theology, he criticized severely the Sunni theological schools, particularly the Ash'arites and the Mu'tazilites. Ibn Hazm's main theological views can be summarized as follows. For him, knowledge is believing in things as they are which depend on the senses and on the obvious rules of reason. Knowledge and science have practical aims, and they are formed by revelation. The main object of science is to understand the divine orders of God. At the epistemological level, the sources of human knowledge are our senses, reason, and true reports. Rational knowledge must be based on obvious principles and premises. Human reason constitutes an instrument to know the world, facts, and the truthfulness of religious knowledge. However, human reason cannot of itself produce a religious judgment (*hukm*). He rejected human criteria in theological and legal matters. Although he denies causation (*ta'lil*) in religious matters, he adopts it in the sphere of physics (*tab'iyyat*). Because of the absence of any textual evidence (*nusus*) in the Qur'an and the Sunna, he refuses to ascribe attributes to God. He criticized the use of analogy between God and physical entities, which involves applying the unseen to the seen (*qiyas al-ghayb 'ala al-shahid*). For him, God's attributes, such as his face and hand, are the same as his divine essence. Faith consists of knowledge, acceptance, and outward expression. The eternal decree (*qadr*) is God's eternal knowledge of his creatures. Human actions are created by God. By giving them the will and the power of acting, God makes us responsible for our acts.

Ibn Hazm was also interested in the study of the history of other religions and sects. During his stay in Almeria, he had debates with Christians and Jews. He adopted a critical position against different systems of religious beliefs and philosophies. He categorized these into six groups: skeptics, materialists (*dahriyyun*), philosophers, dualists (Zoroastrians), Sabeans, and Brahmans. He first explains the views of each group and then criticizes them. In this context, he discusses the issue of the createdness (*huduth*) of the world and the problem of the unity of God (*tawhid*). He also criticizes the trinity in Christianity. He stresses the necessity of prophethood (*nubuwwa*) in his critical review of Brahmans. He opposes the doctrine of reincarnation (*tanasuh*). Ibn Hazm argues that there are contradictions and man-made modifications (*tahrif*) in the Old and the New Testaments. He brings some evidence from the Old Testament itself in order to prove his argument.

A prolific writer, Ibn Hazm contributed extensively to Islamic literature. He wrote numerous works in various fields of Islamic sciences. According to some of his biographers, Ibn Hazm wrote nearly 400 works. His chief work was the *Kitab al-Fasl fi'l milal al-ahwal wa'l nihal* (Book of the Distinction Between Religions and Sects). In *al-Taqrib li hadd al-mantiq* (An Introduction to the Definition of the Logic), he emphasizes the importance of logic and presents a summary of Aristotelian logic. However, he has been criticized for having misunderstood Aristotle's conception of logic. In his *Kitab al-Akhlaq wa'l-siyar* (Book of Morality and Behaviour), he deals with human character and provides practical advice. In the field of law (*fiqh*) and legal theory (*usul al-fiqh*) he also produced works. In *al-Ihkam fi usul al-ahkam* (The Judgment on the Principles of Divine Commands), he explained his legal methodology. The *al-Nabza al-kafiya fi usul ahkam al-din* (The Sufficient Particle on the Foundations of the Judgements of Religion) is also a short treatise dealing with the methodological matters of law. In *Mulahhas al-ibtal al-ra'y wa'l-qiyas wa'l-istihsan wa'l-taqlid wa'l-ta'lil* (A Summarized Treatise on the Rejection of Personal Opinion, Analogical Reasoning, Juristic Preference, Imitation and Causation) he criticized the use of personal opinion (*ra'y*), analogical reasoning (*qiyas*), juristic preference (*istihsan*), and causation (*ta'lil*) in legal theory. In his monumental work *Kitab al-Muhalla* (Book of the Ornaments), he applies the legal methodology of Zahiri legal theory and rejects the adoption of previous authority (*taqlid*). In the field of literature, he wrote *Tawq al-hamama* (The Ring of the Dove), which was a treatise on the art and practice of Arab love. The *Jamharat al-ansab al-'arab* (The Collection of the Genealogy of Arabs) is a famous work on Arab genealogy. Ibn Hazm was the most important systematizer of Zahirite doctrine, and influenced generations of those who both belonged to and opposed that legal school.

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

IBN AL-JAWZI, Abu al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahman (*c.*511–97/*c.*1116–1201)

Abu al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Ali ibn al-Jawzi was an extraordinarily prolific author. He is said to have composed somewhere between 200 and 2,000 books. He wrote on virtually every subject then known, including history, theology, love, and his sermons are particularly important. He was a Hanbali and a very determined adherent of this approach to jurisprudence. As a preacher he was said to have been very popular, and when one reads his sermons one can see why; they combine passion and lucidity, and must have had a significant impact on the hundreds of thousands who, it is said, heard them. During his time in Baghdad he was in charge of a number of *madrasas* (all at the same time, apparently), but later in life he was exiled to al-Wasit (590–5/1194–9).

Ibn al-Jawzi's father died when he was three, and he was raised by his aunt. He was educated by a series of *hadith* specialists, including his first teacher Ibn Nasir, and then in turn became a highly influential authority in this area. Even by the standards of the time, which encouraged enormously productive efforts, Ibn al-Jawzi was regarded as extraordinary. According to IBN KHALLIKAN, it was said that he kept the parings of pens with which he wrote on *hadith*, and by the time he had finished there was quite a pile of them; upon his death these were used to heat the water for washing his corpse, and apparently there was more than enough (*Wafayat al-a'yan* iii, p. 141).

One of the interesting effects of Ibn al-Jawzi's work is the combination of Hanbalism and Sufism, two apparently incompatible doctrines. In his *Talbis Iblis* (The Devil's Delusion) he is particularly critical of what he sees as the wrong sort of mysticism and the innovations to which it leads. By contrast many of the famous Sufis of the past were seen by him as pious and traditional thinkers. Other thinkers followed him in making this distinction, Ibn Taymiyya notably among them. He was a determined Ash‘arite on theological topics, denouncing *tashbih* (anthropomorphism) on every possible occasion, and wrote more than 700 books (he claimed 2000), for which he was often criticized since he did not of course have the opportunity to check the accuracy of everything he wrote given the amount of his writings. In particular, Ibn al-Jawzi frequently attacks others for the unreliability of their *hadith* quotations, but he himself was often similarly criticized. His criticisms of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani led to his imprisonment, banishment from Baghdad and exile in Wasit, which only ended when he was around eighty years old because his son Yusuf managed to persuade the mother of the caliph to pardon him. On his death it is reported that there were crowds of remarkable size accompanying the body to burial, so he was obviously popular, but his acerbic wit and determination to insist on a particular interpretation of Hanbalism made him many influential enemies.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN JULJUL (332–after 384/944–after 994)

Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn Hassan al-Andalusi was born in Cordoba and practised as a physician. Of particular significance among the many books he wrote on medicine is his history of physicians (*Tabaqat al-atibba'*), which gives an excellent account of the views of medicine and physicians in the Islamic world at this time. It is an early work of course, but contains fifty-seven biographies and draws on classical accounts of the Greek physicians and thinkers. Many of them concern Asian authors, and the rest refer to African and Andalusian scholars. He also wrote a number of medical works, and rose to become the personal physician of the caliph.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN KAMMUNA, Sa‘d ibn Mansur (d. 682/1284)

Sa‘d b. Mansur b. Hibat Allah b. Kammuna al-Isra'ili, known as "‘Izz al-Dawla," was a distinguished philosopher, physician, and mathematician from a learned Jewish family in Baghdad. His father was one of the famous philosophers of his time. There are conflicting stories about Ibn Kammuna's religious affiliation. Some refer to him as a Jew, while others claim that he converted to Islam in the latter years of his life. According to Ibn al-Futi, the publication of Ibn Kammuna's *Tanqihat fi al-milal al-thalath* (Enquiries Into the Three Faiths) caused a riot in Baghdad in 682/1284 because of what Ibn Kammuna said regarding prophecy. To placate the mob, the prince Majd al-Din b. al Athir ordered the author burned at the stake. With the help of some friends, Ibn Kammuna fled to Hilla, where he stayed until he died later in 682/1284. Despite this controversy, Ibn Kammuna was a distinguished figure among the scholars of his time. A colophon of a manuscript of one of his works, *al-Tanqihatfi sharhi al-Talwihat* (The Refinement: A Commentary on Intimations), indicates that it was copied in the Nizamiya school in 676/1278, which shows that he was well known in this leading academic institution of Baghdad.

Ibn Kammuna's contribution to philosophy was an attempt to refine and synthesize two major philosophical systems, the Peripatetic and the Illuminationist, into one unified system of thought. In the course of his work, he introduced a set of paradoxes concerning such philosophical topics as the possibility of the existence of two necessary beings, the existence of non-existence and self-reflection in language. These paradoxes later become known as Ibn Kammuna's fallacies. His ingenuity in constructing them earned him the title "devil of philosophers" (*shaytan al- hukama'*). Ibn Kammuna's main philosophical works are *al-Jadid fi al- hikma* (The New Philosophy), *Sharhı al-Isharat wa al-tanbihat* (Commentary on the Remarks and Admissions), and *al-Tanqiḥat fi sharḥal-talwihat* (The Refinement and Commentary on Suhrawardi's Intimations). Through his works, Ibn Kammuna, following Ibn Sina and al-Suhrawardi, examined and redefined some Aristotelian problems concerning logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. In the introduction of *al-Jadid fi al-hikma* he expresses his dissatisfaction with Aristotelian philosophy, claiming that human happiness cannot be obtained by demonstrative knowledge alone. Rather, it must be gained by what he calls "the science of wisdom" and through the epistemological process of assent and conception.

Following Ibn Sina, Ibn Kammuna defines logic as a set of rules that determine the validity and invalidity of thoughts. However, he argues that such rules should not be applied to the logical structure of a given sentence only. Rather, they should be concerned with the signification of each term in the sentence and with the essential relation between the semantic and logical structure in any given sentence. On this basis, Ibn Kammuna meticulously investigates and reconstructs Ibn Sina's theory of demonstrative science. He argues that there are two processes of thinking by which one can obtain the object of knowledge. The first is the explanatory process by which one can attain a conception (*tasawwur*). The second is the process of proof by which one can attain an assent (*tasdiq*). He further argues that the principles of demonstrative science must be grounded on self-evident conceptions or assents. If, on the other hand, one uses an unknown or indefinable object as a basis for reasoning, one will arrive at merely tautological results.

Another important contribution to the subject of logic is Ibn Kammuna's discussion of the Liar paradox. This paradox can be stated as follows: the sentence that "this sentence is false" is false if it is true and true if it is false. Ibn Kammuna treats this paradox as one of the five fallacies to be avoided. He offers two solutions to this paradox. The first is to reject the bivalence principle of truth, according to which the sentence is either true or false, and to introduce instead a third truth-value, according to which that "liar sentence" is neither true nor false. The second solution is to argue that the liar sentence is a false sentence because, unlike an ordinary sentence, the subject and its predicate fail to be distinguished.

With respect to natural philosophy, Ibn Kammuna, following Ibn Sina, defines the natural body as a substance extended in length, width, and depth. He further argues that substance must be part of the definition of a natural body in order to distinguish between a natural body and a mathematical body. For him, a mathematical body is merely a quantitative continuum and has no substance. His view of the natural body leads him to revisit the well-known debate between the *mutakallimun* (dialectical theologians) and the philosophers concerning the singular atom. Ibn Kammuna argues against the *mutakallimun* who (with exception of AL-NAZZAM) believe that the world consists of two distinct elements: ultimate indivisible matter and accidents. For Ibn Kammuna, the ultimate indivisible matter must have a spatial orientation and thus must be subject to division; otherwise, it does not exist. He also discusses al-Nazzam's view that it is possible to have a "leap" over a finite number of atoms, such that the movement from position a_1 to position a_{10} need not go through every intervening atom. Influenced by al-Suhrawardi, Ibn Kammuna argues that a "leap" is nothing but what it appears to be: a "swift movement" of atoms. Hence, the movement from a_1 to a_{10} goes through each and every atom, but so quickly that it appears to leap from a_1 to a_3 without passing a_2. Moreover, Ibn Kammuna argues that every atom exists in space and cannot be passed over, for "passing over" would mean that motion does not take place through space, which in his view is impossible.

In addition to the Aristotelian notion of space, Ibn Kammuna discusses a specific notion of space: the "locus" (*hayyiz*). According to Ibn Kammuna, locus means two things: first, something which is identical with the Aristotelian concept of place, merely, the innermost motionless boundary of what contains a thing; and second, something like a "positional point" (*haya wad'iyya*) used to indicate spatial direction as perceived by the senses.

His investigation of natural philosophy leads him to the more general topic of eternity and the creation of the world, to which he devotes a whole chapter in *al-Jadid fi al-hikma*. According to Ibn Kammuna, creation can be explained in two ways: creation by essence and creation by time. Creation by essence means that the existence of a thing depends on something else; whereas creation by time simply signifies the existence of something prior to another thing in time, such that its existence does not necessarily depend on that thing. In addition, creation by time requires the existence of two things: matter and motion. In the course of his discussion, Ibn Kammuna treats the notion of priority in more depth. The notion of priority for Ibn Kammuna has two meanings: priority by essence and by nature. In the case of priority by essence, the existence of what is prior necessitates the existence of what is posterior. In the case of priority by nature, while the non-existence of the prior object necessitates the non-existence of the posterior, the existence of the former does not necessitate the existence of the latter.

In metaphysics, Ibn Kammuna, following Ibn Sina and al-Suhrawardi, argues that the notion of being is a primary and indefinable notion. According to Ibn Kammuna, the term "being" can be used in many ways: as something synonymous to "something within," as a conjunction between the subject and its predicate, and finally as a reference to the essence of something. Ibn Kammuna questions the relation between "thingness" (*shay'iya*) and "being" (*wujud*), concluding that such a relation needs to be understood in two ways. First, "thingness" is more general than "being," for the term "thingness" includes things which are intelligible and cannot exist in reality. Second, unlike "being," the term "thingness" can be used in reference to what exists as well as to its essence. However, Ibn Kammuna asserts that this would be the case only if one defines being as something attributed to a tangible object. Second, "being" and "thingness" are synonymous terms signifying different things: "being" signifies tangible objects, while "thingness" signifies intelligible things.

For Ibn Kammuna, everything has an essence, which defines what it is to be that thing and not something else. Essences have a certain kind of existence that is independent of any condition or of having any attribute, including the attribute of being. For example, the essence of blackness is not a particular black thing; rather, it is blackness *per se*, apart from any additional attribute or properties. In making this argument, Ibn Kammuna appeals to Ibn Sina's doctrine of the distinction between essence and existence. For both, while essence can be present in actual things or in the intellect, it can exist, independently from either, in itself.

Ibn Kammuna divides "being" into three categories: being by itself and for itself (the necessary being), being for itself and not by itself (the essence), and finally being not for itself and not by itself (the accidental thing). The notion of being leads Ibn Kammuna to discuss the nature and the unity of the necessary being. In *al-Jadid fi al-hikma*, he introduces six arguments for the unity of the necessary being. The first argument contains the assumption of the possibility of the existence of two necessary beings. This assumption was formulated later by such philosophers as MULLA SADRA, SABZAWARI, and LAHIJI, under the label of "the fallacy of Ibn Kammuna." In his exposition of this fallacy, Ibn Kammuna shows that if there are two necessary beings, then they must share the same essence and yet have different identities. It follows that each necessary being must be composed of what it shares with the other and of what distinguishes it from the other. Another related paradox concerns the existence of non-existent things. The paradox centers on the assumption that, ontologically speaking, "non-existence" (*'adam*) must be in contrast with "what exists." However, for Ibn Kammuna, there seems to be an aspect of "non-existence" (*'adam*) which does not entail a contradiction to what is real, and therefore "non-existence," in a way, exists.

With respect to comparative religion, Ibn Kammuna uses an interesting methodology to investigate the principles of the three monotheist religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) in the *Tanqihat fi al-milal al-thalath*. In the introduction, he purposes to first investigate and refine, chronologically, the principles of the three religions, especially the principles of prophecy. He then pursues the investigation without predisposition to any faith. Rather, he examines each faith in light of its own ultimate purpose. For each religion, he states its creed with reference to revealed scriptures and rebuttals of them. Historically, this work documents the beliefs of his contemporaries and the existence of extensive debates among them. Moreover, it reflects the intellectual development of theologians in the three traditions, and it bridges between theological and philosophical positions (such as those of AL-FARABI and Ibn Sina) concerning the theory of prophecy. Throughout his works, Ibn Kammuna warned theologians and religious scholars against being misled by the belief that revealed texts alone could solve their metaphysical problems. He emphasized the importance of natural reasoning and open debate among theologians of the three faiths. By and large, theologians reacted negatively to his methodically rationalistic positions.

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AHMED ALWISHAH

IBN KARRAM, Muhammad
(*c.*190–255/806–68)

Abu ʻAbd Allah Muhammad b. Karram (Karam or Kiram) was born in Zarang, Sistan, in around 190/806 and died in Ramla in 255/868. He is the founder of the Karramiyya school in Islam. There is not much information about Ibn Karram's family. He was allegedly of Arab descent. He is reported to have traveled to Khurasan in search of knowledge. He studied with Ahmad b. Harb, Ibrahim b. Yusuf, ʻAli b. Hujr in Marw, and ʻAbd Allah b. Malik in Herat.

Ibn Karram then moved to Mecca and stayed there five years. Then he returned to Sistan and sold all his possessions in favor of an ascetic lifestyle. The local governor expelled him from Sistan for causing unrest. As a result he went to Ghur, Gharjistan, and rural areas of Khurasan to preach to the masses. In his sermons he was opposed both to Sunni and Shiʻi ideas. For this reason, the Tahirid governor Muhammad b. Tahir b. ʻAbd Allah (230–48/844–62) jailed him for eight years. Upon his release in 251/865, Ibn Karram left Nishapur for Jerusalem. Due to his public declaration of his views about *iman* (belief), his books were burned and he was expelled from Jerusalem by the governor to Ramla. He died there in Safar 255.

Though his theological views were criticized by the Hanafis, Ibn Karram followed Abu Hanifa in legal issues. His main contribution to Islamic theology is his unique idea concerning the definition of *iman* (belief). He held that *iman* (belief) is equivalent to *iqrar* (vocal declaration). In major heresiographical works, especially in AL-ASHʻARI's *Maqalat al-Islamiyyin* (The Ideas of the Muslims), Ibn Karram is presented as a founder of one of the Murji'i sub-sects, namely al-Karramiyya. His idea that *iman* (belief) is only confirmation by tongue is severely criticized not only by the Ashʻaris but also by the traditionalists who held that *iman* consists of consent by heart, confirmation by tongue, and physical acts. For the traditionalists, defining *iman* (belief) as Ibn Karram did entails that a person thus declaring his faith remains a *mu'min* (believer) even if he is an unbeliever in Muhammad's prophethood. In his work *ʻAdhab al-qabr* (The Punishment of the Grave), Ibn Karram bitterly criticizes the view of the traditionalists that *iman* consists of consent by heart, confirmation by tongue, and *ʻamal* (act or deed) and defends the view that *iman* (belief) is only declaration by tongue. Furthermore, Ibn Karram, like the followers of other Murji'i sub-sects, holds the view that the belief of an ordinary believer and that of Gabriel is equal. For him, there is no increase and decrease in belief. In line with the mainstream Murji'is, he also holds that grave sins have no effects on *iman* and it was only rendered null by apostasy.

Ibn Karram was also accused by his opponents of holding anthropomorphic ideas. He is reported to have held that God was a substance (*jawhar*) and that he had a body (*jism*). Asceticism was a very strong element in Ibn Karram's theological understanding and his daily practices (hence his nickname *al-ʻabid*, the devotee). This was also one of the main characteristics of the Karramiyya school through its history. Apart from being an eminent theologian, Ibn Karram was also a hellfire preacher. He was an active preacher of the significance of moral and mystical values, and his preaching attracted large crowds.

There are several books attributed to Ibn Karram, such as *Kitab al-Sirr* (The Book of Secrets), *Kitab al-Tawhid* (The Book of Unity), and *Kitab al-Qabr* (The Book of Punishment), though none of them has come down to us. Only the last played a considerable role in its day. We have access to this book only through quotations in several *tabaqat* works (biographical dictionaries) and heresiographical works, including al-Baghdadi's *al-Farq bayn al-firaq* (The Difference Between the Erroneous Groups). Ibn Karram contributed to Islamic theology not only through his theological ideas but also through his involvement in the Islamization of Central Asia. It is reported that as a result of his preaching and missionary activities, thousands converted to Islam. He was one of the leading figures in the early religious history of Central Asia.

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IBRAHIM HAKKI İNAL

IBN KEMAL (873–940/1468–1534)

The famous *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire and one of the most prolific writers of Ottoman intellectual history, Shams al-Din Ahmad b. Sulayman b. Kamal Pasha, known more commonly as Ibn Kemal, was born in Tokat, Turkey. Hailing from a family of court officials, Ibn Kemal was always close to the center of political power. But after seeing the enormous respect given to the famous scholar Mulla Lutfi, he devoted himself to the study of traditional Islamic sciences at a relatively young age. After holding positions as dean of various *madrasa*s in different parts of the Ottoman Empire, he was appointed as the *shaykh al-Islam* in 1526, a position he held until his death in 1534.

A prolific writer, Ibn Kemal authored around 200 works in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. His works include commentaries on the Qur'an, treatises on *hadith*, Islamic law, philosophy and theology (*kalam*), logic, Sufism, ethics, history, several books on Arabic and Persian grammar, literature, and a small *diwan* of poetry. His history of the Ottoman Empire entitled *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (The Histories of the Family of Osman) remains to this day one of the important sources of Ottoman history. Even though many of his treatises have been published, we are far from having a complete edition of Ibn Kemal's work.

Ibn Kemal's philosophical works and open admiration for the ideas of IBN AL-'ARABI have been a source of inspiration and controversy for later generations of Ottoman thinkers. Especially compared with his successor the *shaykh al-Islam* EBUSSUD EFENDI, who was known for his opposition to Ibn al 'Arabi and other Akbarian tendencies, Ibn Kemal appears to be closely aligned with metaphysical Sufism. In his capacity as the supreme religious authority and jurist of the Ottoman Empire, Ibn Kemal did not shy away from issuing a religious edict (*fatwa*) to defend Ibn al-'Arabi as the "greatest master" (*shaykh al-akbar*) against those who ridiculed Ibn al-ʻArabi by calling him the "master of the most infidel" (*shaykh al-akfar*).

Among his philosophical works, the *Hashiya* (Gloss) on the *Tahafut* of the Ottoman scholar HOCAZADE (Khojazadeh) Muslih al-Din Mustafa is an important work in the long tradition of the Tahafut debate in Islamic thought. AL-GHAZALI's famous attack on AL-FARABI and IBN SINA in his *Tahafut al-falasifa* (Incoherence of the Philosophers) caused IBN RUSHD to write a rebuttal called *Tahafut al-tahafut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence). In the fifteenth century, the Ottoman sultan Mehmet the Conqueror revived the debate by commissioning the Persian scholar ʻAla al-Din TUSI and the Turkish scholar Hocazade to write two sequels to the works of al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd. Ibn Kemal continued this tradition by writing his *Glosses* on Hocazade's *Tahafut* and defending thereby al-Ghazali against Ibn Rushd. Ibn Kemal's *Gloss* reveals his profound knowledge of the major themes of traditional Islamic philosophy, and testifies to his interest in philosophical and theological problems. Ibn Kemal also wrote independent treatises on philosophy. In his *Risala fi ziyadat al-wujud ʻala'l-mahiyya* (Treatise on the Addition of Existence over Essence), he defends the primacy of being over essence, concurring with the school of Ibn al-ʻArabi on the one hand, and prefiguring MULLA SADRA's defense of the primacy of being in the seventeenth century, on the other. In the *Risala fi bayan al-ʻaql* (Treatise on the Exposition of the Intellect), Ibn Kemal gives a summary of the views of the philosophers on the intellect and its types. His other philosophical works include *Risala fi tahqiq maʻna al-lays wa'l-lays* (Treatise on the Investigation of the Meaning of Existence and Non-existence), *Risala fi al-wajib mujib bi al-dhat* (Treatise on the Necessary Being that Exists by Its Own Essence), and *Taqdim al-ʻilla ʻala'l-maʻlul* (Priority of the Cause over the Effect).

In the field of philosophical *kalam*, Ibn Kemal wrote a number of works from an Ashʻarite point of view. His *Risala fi fadilat al-nabi ʻala' sa'ir al-anbiya'* (Treatise on the Excellence of the Prophet (Muhammad) over All Other Prophets) was written as a response to the famous Mulla Kabiz incident. Mulla Kabiz, a Sunni Ottoman Muslim, had caused a controversy by claiming that Jesus was superior to Muhammad. At the request of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, Ibn Kemal wrote the aforementioned treatise in which he refuted Mulla Kabiz's claims.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

IBN KHALDUN (732–808/1332–1406)

Wali al-Din Abu Zayd ʻAbd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abu Bakr Muhammad b. al-Hasan, known as Ibn Khaldun, was born in Tunis on 1 Ramadan 732/May 27, 1332, into an Arab family, claimed to be originally from the Hadramawt, whose members migrated and settled in Seville since the beginning of the Muslim conquest. In his childhood in Tunis, he underwent a traditional Islamic religious education, the usual pattern of religious education of the time, including study of the Qur'an and of the Prophet's *hadith* within the tradition of the Maliki school of law, to which he belonged. His first teacher was his father. Ibn Khaldun tells us that he read and learned the Qur'an by heart, studied different modes of recitation, together with grammar and rhetoric. He was also exposed to other religious subjects, including the fundamentals of Islamic theology, the rudiments of the religious law, as well as the elements of mysticism. At the same time, he also studied the rational sciences, including logic, mathematics, natural philosophy, and metaphysics, together with linguistics, biography, and history, as well as the art of scholarly writing. In his comprehensive autobiography, he mentions names of the books he studied as well as his teachers.

Ibn Khaldun was deeply rooted in an Islamic tradition both intellectual and social, at the same time holding several high government posts in Granada, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt. While in Egypt, for example, he became a much sought-after speaker, and scholars and students flocked from all parts to see him. Ibn Khaldun was entrusted to deliver lectures at al-Azhar, the most prestigious academic institution in the Muslim world, on *hadith* and Maliki jurisprudence, apart from other areas of his interest, including social theories, the significance of solidarity, the foundation of sovereignty, the rise of states, and other subjects dealt with in his *Muqaddima*. Among significant scholars who were recorded to have attended his lectures were Taqi al-Din al-Maqrizi (d. 845/1441) and al-Hafiz ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449).

Despite his notable achievements in various social and political spheres, his actual fame rests on his great intellectual legacy. He was praised as someone who broke with traditional Islamic culture. His monumental work, the *Muqaddima*, has been much admired by scholars throughout the ages, though some of them seem to have offered exaggerated praise. Toynbee, for example, describes Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima* as "the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place" (Toynbee 1934). Robert Flint remarks that "Ibn Khaldun had no equal in any age or country until Vico appeared more than three hundred years later" (Flint: 1893). Ibn Khaldun's influence in various subjects, including history, sociology, political science, and education, has been remarkable throughout the ages. His book has been translated into many languages and has remained inspirational and perhaps instrumental in the subsequent development of these sciences. As al-Azmeh remarks, he was a distinctive phenomenon (al-Azmeh 1981). Nevertheless, within the Islamic philosophical milieu, Ibn Khaldun was not listed in the class of philosophers, not at least in the rank in which AL-KINDI, AL-FARABI, IBN SINA, and IBN RUSHD were identified as such.

For the most part, Ibn Khaldun's philosophical ideas are centered on his most celebrated text, the *Muqaddima*, the prolegomena to history. As a scholarly corpus, the *Muqaddima* is in fact more than a mere introduction to history but it really represents a kind of literary genre that manifests the author's curiosity. This *magnum opus*, which takes Arab and Berber history as its backdrop, displays his philosophical insights in the complexities of human history, society, and civilization. Ibn Khaldun died in Cairo 26 Ramadan 808/March 16, 1406.

Philosophy of history

Ibn Khaldun as a thinker is strongly identified with the philosophy of history. His *Muqaddima*, being the introduction to history and the study of society and civilization, reveals his brilliant outlook into the vast and complex features of human society. In his analysis of society, which he called "*'ilm al-'umran*," he draws a distinction between urban and rural, between *hadari* and *badawi*, and above all between civilized and uncivilized. *'Umran* can be understood as the study of social urbanization or civilization. His theory of cooperation, which he calls '*ta'awun*' as a basic formation of a society, is akin to the modern conception of the division of labor.

Ibn Khaldun characterizes the features of urban and rural people and sets a certain standard and quality they must possess to be considered as civilized. The establishment of any civilization is based on political, economic, and educational factors. That is why the formation of a dynasty that is transformable into a systematic political institution is a prerequisite for civilization. Other than that, he sees the importance of economic provisions in terms of division of labor and supply and demand factors. With this in mind, he recognizes the need for an established political system. His political theory is centered on the notion of *khilafa*, in which he sets a fine balance between religious and temporal affairs. In his view, *khilafa* is both religious duty and socio-political obligation. He sees the very function of *khilafa* as to "protect" religion and to manage the temporal affairs of the community.

In a very important section of the *Muqaddima*, Ibn Khaldun introduces for the first time in Muslim history the concept of '*asabiyya* (group feeling or social solidarity) as a dynamic group relationship. This is opposed to the negative views held by most Muslim scholars. For him, group feeling is not only positive but also a prerequisite to the establishment of a strong political system. Of course, the notion of group feeling does not in any way mean chauvinism. This is because Islam categorically rejects chauvinism.

There are many prerequisites connected with the emergence and establishment of civilization. In this regard, Ibn Khaldun sees the continuity or "*sanad*" in educational and scholarship tradition as paramount. Education is a continuous process and is part of urban culture. Continuity of scientific tradition depends very much upon political stability, without which the tradition will collapse and all related institutions will cease to function.

Furthermore, civilization is achieved when a society has the ability to provide and fulfill its basic needs. Ibn Khaldun's theory of civilization is chiefly centered on the notion of luxury trades. In other words, Ibn Khaldun proposes that civilization can only be fully achieved when members of the society start producing luxury items; he particularly mentions the example of language and literature as manifestation of human psychological expression. Ibn Khaldun sees literary productions (in the form of poetry and prose) as one of the important indicators to measure civilizational achievement of any society.

Lastly, it should be noted that, although the state of being civilized is something very much sought after by any society, Ibn Khaldun never fails to point to its potential negative impacts. Civilization is identical with urbanization, while the process of urbanization usually brings about moral corruption. He establishes a cyclical theory where the rise and fall of a dynasty is due to cyclical change, caused by moral and intellectual decadence as well as the absence of political stability. Paradoxically, urbanization results in deterioration of group feeling. Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory has influenced many later scholars, in particular Malik Bennabi.

Attitude toward philosophy

Ibn Khaldun's treatment of philosophy as an academic discipline gives the impression that he is critical and indeed skeptical of its results. This can be seen in a section of Chapter 6 of his *Muqaddima* where he speaks about philosophy in a rather disapproving manner. The section named "A Refutation of Philosophy and the Corruption of Its Students" reveals his attack on philosophy, describing it as dangerous and a threat to faith. He views philosophy as a discipline that is much cultivated in the cities and therefore is considered the subject of the elite. He regards the philosopher as a noble person, an intellectual who has extraordinary mental ability and is well respected in society.

However, Ibn Khaldun is particularly concerned about the possible harmful effects of philosophical ideas to religion. Ibn Khaldun does not speak about philosophy in its conventional sense. Instead, he speaks about a specific set of philosophical ideas pronounced by a specific group of philosophers, in this case the Neoplatonists. This is very much in line with his predecessor, AL-GHAZALI.

His attack on the ideas advanced by Neoplatonism is apparent when he further explains that the philosophers to whom he refers are those who believe in the superiority of reason over revelation. This group believes that essences (including those beyond sensual perception) can be perceived by human mental speculation and intellectual reasoning. This includes the articles of faith. In other words, true and false can be distinguished based entirely on speculation and logic. Like al-Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun, prior to his rebuttal, has equipped himself with adequate philosophical knowledge. This is apparent when he further explains the philosophical notion of mental process that makes it possible to distinguish between right and wrong. In his own words, Ibn Khaldun explains that mental speculation, which makes it possible to differentiate true and false, concentrates on ideas abstracted from individual experience. This shows quite demonstratively what he has in mind when he speaks about the philosophical process of knowledge. This is undoubtedly based on Aristotle's thoughts. That is also why when he discusses the status of *tasawwur* and *tasdiq* (perception and apperception), he primarily refers to "the books of the logicians." Philosophers, he says, give *tasdiq* precedence over *tasawwur* at the end, while at the beginning or during the process of instruction, they give *tasawwur* precedence over *tasdiq*. Human beings can rationally determine virtues and vices even if no religious law had been revealed. Happiness is attained when the soul becomes virtuous, while eternal pain is the result of ignorance of morality. This is the meaning of bliss and punishment in the other world. Again, all this is derived from Aristotle as interpreted in Islamic Neoplatonic thought.

Ibn Khaldun mentions the status of the science of metaphysics, where some essences are completely unknown. The philosophers admit that through the science of metaphysics they cannot perceive the spiritual essences that are completely unknown, much less perceive the spiritual essences and abstract further quiddities from them, because the senses constitute a veil between us and them. They also reveal that they have no logical arguments for them and have no way whatsoever of affirming their existence. Ibn Khaldun supports his argument here with a statement by Plato, who said that no certainty can be achieved with regard to the divine, and one can state about the divine only what is most suitable and proper.

Another point of contention is the concept of happiness (Greek *eudaimonia*). The philosophers believe that happiness can be attained by means of logic; in other words, when human beings come to perceive the nature of existence. Ibn Khaldun at the very outset rejects this notion. He devotes ample space in his writings to explain the concept of happiness based on the principle of the dual nature of man, corporeal and spiritual. Anyone who has perceptions will greatly enjoy whatever he perceives, be it corporeal or spiritual. He gives an example of a child having his first corporeal perception, although through an intermediary, so that the eyes will greatly enjoy the light the child sees. Based on this analogy, he argues that there will be no doubt that the soul will find even greater joy and pleasure in perceptions that come from its own essence without an intermediary.

Ibn Khaldun believes that perception by the soul cannot be achieved by intellectual speculation and science. Instead, he is of the opinion that it can be attained only by the removal of the veil of sensual perception and ignoring all corporeal perceptions. He refers here to the Sufis, who are very much concerned with attaining great joy by having the soul achieve that kind of perception. For this reason, Ibn Khaldun disagrees with the philosophers who believe that we are naturally good and can work out intellectually how we are to behave. This is in his view against the basic teachings of Islam, since those ethical matters have to be referred to religious law.

Despite attacking philosophy from various angles, Ibn Khaldun admits that the science of philosophy has some benefits; for example, it can sharpen the mind in the orderly presentation of proofs and arguments, so that the habit of valid argument is strengthened. However, he reminds those who intend to study philosophy that they should be aware of its dangers. Such students must at first be well equipped with knowledge of religious law (Shari‘a), *tafsir*, and *fiqh*.

In his earlier discourse, philosophy covers all intellectual sciences that are the products of our ability to think. They are neutral by nature in the sense that they are not restricted to any particular religious group. They have existed since civilization had its beginning. Based on this notion, it is simply understood that all kinds of sciences other than traditional conventional sciences should be considered as in the category of philosophy and wisdom. Moreover, in this respect, it would not be possible for Ibn Khaldun to reject philosophy. Furthermore, the major implication of its total rejection is the destruction of the whole theory of civilization, which has already been established and constitutes the main theme of the *Muqaddima*.

The repudiation of philosophy here seems to be based on several assumptions centered primarily in the issues of the essences and the conditions of existence. It should be emphasized at the very outset that Ibn Khaldun's rejection is entirely focused on the philosophers' basic premise that the whole of existence, its essence and conditions, including those beyond sensual perception, as well as their reasons and causes, can be perceived by mental speculation and intellectual reasoning and is therefore harmful to religion.

The essential fault of philosophy, as singled out by Ibn Khaldun, is that it attempts to perceive the whole of existence, including what is beyond discursive reason. We can be sure that what worries Ibn Khaldun is the violation of the nature of the mind by philosophy. His message is clear: philosophy must operate within its limits. It must not go beyond its boundary. If it does, it has not only trespassed its limit but is also harmful to religion. We can conclude that Ibn Khaldun's critique of philosophy should not be taken to mean a total rejection of philosophy as a source of knowledge and argument.

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ZAID AHMAD

IBN KHALLIKAN, Ahmad ibn Muhammad (608–81/1211–82)

Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Khallikan was born in Irbil on 11 Rabi al-Thani 608/1211, and died on 26 Rajab 681/1282. He is chiefly famous for his long history of the learned thinkers in the Islamic world. His career was characteristically tumultuous, often being in a position of high authority as chief judge or *qadi al-qudat* in Damascus, but on occasion also losing that position. While on his extended visits to Cairo he composed, over a long period, his *Wafayat al-a'yan wa-anba' abna' al-zaman*, which contains biographies of notable Muslims, a work started in 654/1256 and completed in 672/1274. It is a personal selection, which leaves out people whose biographies are well known and the Prophet's Companions. However, it is a goldmine of information about his contemporaries and earlier figures who would otherwise be little known.

Many of the figures he discusses are philologists and grammarians, and it is clear from the book that Ibn Khallikan was fascinated with language and literary achievement. The book itself is a significant literary event, and it is peppered with catty and gossipy remarks, all of which adds to its charm. It does convey a picture of a culture that did not always take itself very seriously, and valued highly style and social poise.

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IBN AL-LABBAD, *see* al-Baghdadi, 'Abd al-Latif

IBN MASARRA, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah (269–319/883–922)

Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn al-Masarra was born in Cordoba into a commercial family, to a father given to theological speculation, since it is said that he traveled to Basra to explore the doctrine of Mu‘tazilism. The collapse of the family business led the family to move to Mecca when Ibn Masarra was seventeen, and this temporary residence in the holy places obviously had a strong effect on the young man. On his return to Cordoba he took an ascetic path, and created a community of Sufis that sought seclusion in the more remote places in al-Andalus. He seems only to have written two books, which were denounced by the more orthodox Muslim scholars of the time. Subsequently, he seems to have avoided direct persecution, perhaps by moving out of the way at the right time.

The accession of ‘Abd al-Rahman III (300/912) introduced a more relaxed policy with respect to religion, and Ibn Masarra seems to have been left alone to attract sizable numbers of supporters in his base at the mountain by Corboba. His theoretical writings are probably based on pseudo-Empedocles and are difficult to piece together, but their practical consequences call for an ascetic lifestyle, the valuing of silence, poverty, humility, and the characteristic features of mysticism, all with the aim of enabling the soul to rise up the spiritual levels until it came as close as possible to the source of reality. Clearly the thought of Ibn Masarra had a huge impact on a later mystical Andalusi thinker, Ibn al-‘Arabi.

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IBN MAYTHAM, ‘Ali (d. after 183/799)

‘Ali b. Isma‘il b. Shu‘ayb b. Maytham al-Tammar, a Shi‘i theologian, was probably born in the first half of the second/eighth century, the exact date of his birth being uncertain. He was originally from Kufa, but lived in Basra. The date and place of his death are also uncertain. However, a report mentioning his discussion with the Waqifis indicates that he survived the imam al-Kazim, who died in 183/799. His grandfather Maytham was one of the heroic supporters of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib’s cause against his political opponents. ‘Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad (d. 67/686), the governor of Kufa on behalf of the Umayyads, had tortured and executed Maytham in Kufa.

'Ali ibn Maytham seems to have been a champion of the Imami party in Basra. He is reported to have engaged in discussions with Basran Mu'tazilis Dirar b. 'Amr, ABU AL-HUDHAYL al-'Allaf, and AL-NAZZAM. He also participated in philosophical symposia arranged by the 'Abbasid vizier Yahya b. Khalid al-Barmaki in his palace in Baghdad. In these occasions, 'Ali probably gained the assistance of HISHAM AL-HAKAM, the famous Shi'i theologian, who was a close associate of the Barmakid vizier. He is also reported to have been in prison for some time. This likely occurred after 176/792 when the Caliph Harun al-Rashid commenced a general persecution against Shi'i notables.

Some heresiographers included 'Ali ibn Maytham among the masters (*shuyukh*) of the Imami Shi'a. They also described him as the first Imami who wrote in theological terms about the doctrine of the imamate. His nonextant books, *al-Kamil* (the Completed) and *al-Istihqaq* (the Entitlement), probably reflected his views on the legitimate rights of the specific imams from the descendants of 'ALI b. Abi Talib to undertake Muslim leadership. His other works were about legal matters related to marriage and divorce. Another of his books, *The Book of Hisham b. al-Hakam's Sessions*, might have contributed toward the transmission of Hisham's thoughts and stories about his debates in symposia to later historians and heresiographers. Although there is no report about his contact with the imams Musa al-Kazim and 'Ali al-Rida, he is seen in a narration disputing with the Waqifi leaders who denied al-Kazim's death and declared that he had gone into *ghayba* (occultation). He called the Waqifis *al-mamtura* (the rain-drenched dogs).

'Ali ibn Maytham's opinion on "the imamate of the inferior (*al-mafdul*)" was surprisingly close to the Zaydi point of view rather than to that of the Imamiyya. According to him, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib was the most excellent one (*al-afdal*), so Muslims committed sin not because they acknowledged Abu Bakr and 'Umar, but because they relinquished *al-afdal*. He also believed that those who fought against 'Ali were unbelievers. These views belonged to a Zaydi group, namely the Nu'aymiyya.

Sources have presented 'Ali ibn Maytham's philosophical ideas along with those of other Imami theologians. He shared the ideas of his compatriots Hisham b. al-Hakam and Hisham al-Jawaliqi on the subject of God's will, except on points of detail. He claimed that God's will is his movement. When God wanted to make something, he only needed to move to make that thing come into existence. However, 'Ali ibn Maytham disagreed with the two Hishams on the point whether God's will is external to his essence.

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Ibn Miskawayh, *see* Miskawayh

IBN AL-MUQAFFA‘ (d. 137/755 or 139/756)

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was born in Firuzabad, a town in the Persian province of Fars, and died in Basra in 137/755 or 139/756, reportedly at the age of thirty-six. He was a prolific translator from Pahlavi (Middle Persian) into Arabic, and the author of several works on ethics and statecraft. He appears to have been descended from a family of landowners or provincial officials during Sasanian times; his father worked for the Umayyads as collector of the land-tax in Iraq and Fars. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was unusually well educated in the Persian literary legacy that was already disappearing under the influence of Islam and Arabic. Later sources cite him as an authority on the languages and dialects of Persia and the scripts used to write them. He was equally well educated in Arabic, to the point of making himself obnoxious by correcting native speakers of the language.

After studying Arabic in Basra, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ followed his father into state service. He worked as a secretary, drafting documents for Umayyad governors in Shapur and Kirman. In Kirman, he amassed considerable wealth and made a name for himself by spectacular demonstrations of generosity. When the ‘Abbasid revolution came, he managed to escape the purges that claimed many of his colleagues (including ‘Abd al-Hamid al-Katib, whom he reportedly tried to shield from the ‘Abbasid militia). He eventually secured a position as secretary to the ‘Abbasid princes of Basra, one of whom supervised his conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam. When his employers tried and failed to unseat the reigning caliph al-Mansur, they asked Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to draft a letter petitioning the caliph for a full pardon. Al-Mansur reportedly objected to the language of the letter and expressed a wish that someone do away with the author. The governor of Basra, who had allegedly been insulted by Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, was happy to take the hint. Summoning the secretary on a contrived pretext, he ordered him executed, reportedly by being chopped to pieces.

In his short career, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ produced a substantial number of works, many of them translations from Middle Persian. As far as can be determined on the basis of the extant passages, much of the translated material dealt with pre-Islamic history, statecraft, and courtly conduct. According to the Sasanian authors, the well-being of the state depends upon the preservation of the social hierarchy. Obedience to the ruler is a sacred duty, although the ruler has a reciprocal obligation to treat his subjects justly. To maintain their status within this strictly regimented system, officials and courtiers must display competence in matters ranging from military tactics to polo playing. Such competence, described by the Persian word *ayin* (the right way of doing something) made its way into Arabic as *adab*, which in addition to its original meaning of “custom” took on the sense of “refined conduct.” The other sense of *adab*, namely “prose literature of an edifying character,” appears to owe its origins to the Persian *andarz*, a genre of advice and wisdom literature commonly directed at princes.

Of all Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s translations of Sasanian wisdom literature, by far the most famous is the collection of fables titled *Kalila and Dimna*. The original was reportedly brought from India to Persia by a traveling physician, Barzawayh, in the sixth century. Barzawayh prefaced the text with his spiritual autobiography, probably the first such composition to appear in Arabic. Although Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ claims merely to have translated the text, many critics, medieval and modern, have held him responsible for the opinions it expresses. Because of its frank critique of religion, the text became one of the most notorious in Arabic literature, and confirmed to many readers the translator's reputation for heresy.

In his preface, Barzawayh reports that he abandoned the practice of medicine when he found it useless against the ills of the soul. He then sought guidance in religion. To his disappointment, he found that piety was inevitably the result of blind imitation, compulsion, or the desire for worldly gain. Even the scholars he consulted did no more than praise their own religion and criticize the faiths of others. At the same time, each professed certain beliefs of which he could approve. He therefore decided to confine himself to "those practices that reason deems good, and that all religions agree upon." These practices amount to truthfulness, asceticism, and belief in reward and punishment after death.

Kalila and Dimna itself is a collection of fables, most of which have been traced to Indian sources. The stories convey a variety of morals, most of them resolutely practical. The animal characters are motivated by hunger and the human ones by greed. Ingratitude is usually punished, but so is gullibility; and virtue is not always rewarded. The best way to achieve one's ends is to be persuasive, circumspect and—when necessary—deceitful. Princes, whether human or animal, are cruel, fickle, and easily misled; the reader is advised to avoid them unless he can be sure of outwitting them.

A similar vision is evident in one of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘'s original works, *al-Durra al-yatima* (The Unique Pearl), known today as *al-Adab al-kabir* (The Greater Adab). This is a work of advice directed at princes, courtiers, and persons seeking counsel on how to conduct themselves in society. In the "mirror for princes" section, it lays out the basic principles of good conduct—religion, health, courage, generosity, proper speech, and economy—and illustrates their application. In his address to the courtiers, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ enjoins them to be loyal, obedient, and deferential, or at least to cultivate a reputation for being so. To anyone seeking advice, he recommends saving money, avoiding procrastination, making friends, being a good listener, and winning the trust of those in power. He also recommends periodic written reviews of one's conduct with the aim of identifying one's strengths and weaknesses. Such a practice helps instill the supreme virtue of *‘aql*, the reasoned self-restraint that protects a man from the snares of the world. Yet even the most prudent conduct offers no guarantee of success. Rather than meddle in the affairs of princes, one should devote oneself to piety and good works, which will at least redound to one's credit in the afterlife. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ does not seem to expect that his readers will follow this particular recommendation; certainly he himself did not.

In *al-Risala fi l-sahaba* (The Epistle on the Caliph's Companions), Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ offers advice to the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Mansur. The most important general question raised in the letter is that of obedience to state authority. To those who claim that one's duty to God outweighs one's duty to the sovereign, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ responds that this holds true only in matters of religious observance. In all other matters, one must defer to the caliph on the grounds that God has appointed him leader of the Muslim community. Had God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad the answer to every question that would arise until the end of time, the revelation would have been impossibly large. Therefore, human judgment is also necessary; and the exercise of judgment is the privilege of the ruler. In accordance with this principle, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ recommends that the caliph issue a creed to prevent the spread of heresy. He also advises him to create a legal code instead of allowing individual judges to rule as they please.

Of uncertain attribution to Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is a dualist tract which survives only in polemical citations. The extant passages present the Manichean vision of the world as divided between light and darkness. God, who is the light, made living creatures, but they rebelled against him, plunged the world into darkness, and killed the prophets he sent. He has therefore afflicted mankind with bodily infirmities in this world and threatened them with damnation in the next. In the meantime, false religions have arisen, of which the most pernicious is Islam, because it proposes a boastful and arbitrary God who created the world out of nothing.

The attribution of this text is open to question for several reasons. Before converting to Islam, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was reportedly a Zoroastrian, not a Manichean. No matter what his original faith, it also seems uncharacteristic of him to argue strongly on behalf of any revealed religion. Finally, he was something of a public figure, and it seems unlikely that he would endanger himself by attacking Islam. If the attribution is false, it may have arisen because Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was a famous translator of Persian; any work on pre-Islamic religions could therefore be plausibly attributed to him. Of a similarly scandalous character are the passages, preserved in another polemical account, in which Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ supposedly tries to imitate the language and style of the Qur’an. This he may not necessarily have done with blasphemous intent. Given his healthy appreciation of his own abilities in Arabic, he may have been unable to resist the challenge of mimicking a text that declares itself inimitable.

Given his fame as a translator, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ has been credited with works he did not in fact translate. The most persistent error of this type concerns a synopsis of Aristotle’s *Organon*. According to AL-JAHIZ (d. 255/868 or 869) and Ibn AL-NADIM (d. ca. 380/991), a certain Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ translated parts of the *Organon*. Because ancient treatises on logic had reportedly been translated from Greek into Persian in Sasanian times, some modern scholars have thought it possible for Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ to have translated them later from Persian into Arabic. Yet the manuscript of the work in question reveals that the original language was probably Greek. Moreover, the translator’s name is Muhammad, not ‘Abd Allah, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ indeed had a son named Muhammad, and it has been proposed that it was he who did the translating. But this suggestion is problematic. As a Persian Muslim whose father had converted from Zoroastrianism, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s son would have had no opportunity to learn Greek (or Syriac). Therefore, the likeliest possibility is that an unrelated Muhammad Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, perhaps a Christian convert to Islam (as the name “Muhammad” suggests), is the actual translator of the *Organon*.

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was too controversial a figure to be cited as anyone’s teacher or exemplar. Nevertheless, his translations from Middle Persian and his original works contributed substantially to the crystallization of *adab* as a social ideal. *Adab* might be defined as a way of life that acknowledges the fallibility of human beings, including oneself. In its various meanings (good manners, wisdom literature, and so on), it became a central principle of self-understanding and self-presentation, and still is in many places today. Less often discussed is the extent to which Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s works address fundamental matters of theology and of ethics. The positions he adopts are not the ones dictated by a strict application of logic (which was still unknown), or by one or another infallible authority. Rather, they are the answers that seem likeliest to procure some definite gain, whether in this world or the next. Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s unapologetic practicality, as well as his thinly veiled contempt for rulers and religions, make him an unusual figure in the history of Near Eastern thought.

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MICHAEL COOPERSON

IBN AL-NADIM, *see* al-Nadim

IBN AL-NAFIS, 'Ali ibn Abi al-Haram

(607–87/1210–88)

'Ali ibn Abi al-Haram ibn al-Nafis was born in Syria, studied in the hospital in Damascus, and later moved to Cairo to pursue a career as a physician. He became the head physician there, serving as the personal physician of the ruler. He wrote commentaries on important medical writers and philosophers, and some original work on medicine. He contributed also to law and theology, allying himself most firmly with the Shafi'i school. His most significant philosophical work is his *Risala al-kamiliyya fi al-sira al-nabawiyya* (Letter on Perfect Prophetic Conduct), a rather charming story about someone who comes into existence spontaneously and by himself manages to work out the most important principles of nature, philosophy, and theology. One of his medical works, the *Kitab al-Shamil*, was meant to be 300 volumes but, luckily for students, only reached eighty. His commentary on anatomy in IBN SINA's *Qanun* was very influential, providing a clear account of pulmonary circulation and a concise summary of the Avicennan text. He went on to write several summaries of Ibn Sina, leading to his lasting popularity in the medical community.

A very popular and concise book was Ibn al-Nafis's *Mujiz al-qanun fi tibb* (Abstract of Ibn Sina's *Canon of Medicine*). It has been claimed—probably unfairly—that the tedious prolixity of Ibn Sina's *Canon of Medicine*, together with the incomprehensibility of some of its statements, and Ibn al-Nafis's *Abstract of Avicenna's Canon of Medicine*, with its undue brevity and popularity among Arabic-speaking students of medicine, led to the decline of late medieval medical education. He died in his eighties on December 17, 1288 (11 Dhu'l-Qadah 687), leaving his house and library to the Qalawun Hospital in Cairo.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN AL-NU'MAN, *see* Abu Ja'Far al-Ahwal

IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYA
(691–751/1292–1350)

Abu 'Abdullah Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Abi Bakr b. Ayyub al-Zurai was born in Damascus on 7 Safar 691/January 29, 1292 and died at the same city on 13 Rajab 751/September 16, 1350. He was an important figure in the Hanbali tradition of Sunni Islam. He belongs to a family which came from Zura, at the south of Damascus. His father Abu Bakr was a superintendent (*qayyim*) of the al-Jawziyya school (*madrasa*).

Ibn al-Qayyim received his first education from his father. He then studied theology (*kalam*) and jurisprudence (*usul al-fikh*) from Safiyyuddin al-Hindi. In 712/1312 he joined the study circle of Taqiyy al-Din Ahmad IBN TAYMIYYA and became his closest disciple. As a disciple of Ibn Taymiyya he defended, popularized, and propagated his teacher's views. He compiled and edited most of Ibn Taymiyya's works. Ibn al-Qayyim also studied the teachings of Sufi masters known in his time and was strongly influenced by them. Because of their views, both Ibn al-Qayyim and his master Ibn Taymiyya were persecuted and imprisoned in the central prison of Damascus several times. Ibn al-Qayyim was set free from the prison upon the death of his master. After the death of Ibn Taymiyya, he formed a study circle and taught Islamic jurisprudence at al-Sadriyya school in Damascus. Later he held a teaching post in the Jawziyya school. He taught a number of students in his circle among whom we can mention Ibn 'Abd al-Hadi, Ibn Rajab, and Abu'l-Fidai ibn Kathir.

In his theological approach, Ibn al-Qayyim followed Ibn Taymiyya. His main theological views can be summarized as follows. For him, the sources of human knowledge are true accounts based on experience, reason, and sense experience supported by reason. At the epistemological level, knowledge can be divided into necessary (*zaruri*) and probable (*zanni*). On the methodological level, he criticized the theologians, philosophers, and Sufis for their interpretation (*ta'wil*) of the texts of Qur'an and Sunna in accordance with their philosophical, theological, or mystical approaches. For him, reason cannot fully comprehend the nature of the divine attributes. In respect to the attributes of God, he adopted mainly two principles. The first principle is to prove God's attributes without anthropomorphism (*tashbih*). And the second is to negate God's resemblance to his creatures (*tanzih*), without denying (*ta'til*) his attributes.

Ibn al-Qayyim has contributed extensively to Islamic literature. He wrote about a hundred books in various fields of the Islamic sciences. Most of his works deal with theology, Qur'anic commentaries, and the Prophetic traditions. In the field of theology, he wrote a number of books, some of which are worth mentioning here. In his theological books, Ibn al-Qayyim criticized severely the theologians and defended the Salafi approach. In his *al-Qasida al-nuniyya* (The Eulogy of the *Nun*), he explains the theology of Sunni orthodoxy. He also produced a number of works in the field of Islamic law (*fiqh*) and jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*). In his *I'lam al-muwaqqi'in an rabbi al-'alamin*

(The Declaration for Those Who Decide From the God of the Universes), he discussed the historical improvement and development of Salafi legal methodology from the time of the Prophet. In his *al-Turuk al-hukmiyya fi al-siyasa al-shariyya* (The Methods of Judgement in Islamic Politics) he explained Islamic law. In the field of ethics and mysticism he wrote the *Madarij al-salikin* (The Paths for the Followers), a commentary on ‘Abdulla Harawi's *Manazil al-sa'irin* (The Stations of the Seekers), a commentary which can be considered as the masterpiece of Hanbali mystical literature.

Ibn al-Qayyim as a prominent thinker of neo-Salafi teaching had a deep influence in the Salafi and Wahhabi traditions. He can be considered as the representative figure of the neo-Hanbalist tradition after his master Ibn Taymiyya.

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

IBN AL-QIFTI, Jamal al-Din (d. 646/1248)

Jamal al-Din ‘Ali b. Yusuf al-Qifti wrote a biographical dictionary which consists of information about the lives and work of 414 physicians, philosophers, and astronomers. However, this text is only part of the original *Kitab Ikhbar al-‘ulama' be-akhbar al-hukama'* (Account for Scholars of Reports on Learned Men) which survives today in its truncated form as the *Ta'rikh al-hukama'* (History of Learned Men). This summary was made only a year after Ibn al-Qifti's death.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN QURRA, Thabit (211–88/836–901)

The polymath Thabit ibn Qurra was born in the ancient Mesopotamian town of Harran in 211/836 and died in Baghdad on Thursday 26 Safar 288/February 19, 901, at the age of seventy-seven lunar years. Based on the tenth-century *Kitab al-fihrist* (The Index) of the Iraqi scholar, Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn al-Nadim (d. *c.* 995), Thabit's full name was Abu'l-Hasan Thabit ibn Qurra ibn Marwan ibn Thabit ibn Karaya ibn Ibrahim ibn

Karaya ibn Marinus ibn Salamanus. However, it is argued that his grandfather, who was most probably a pagan, was rather called Zahrun, or Harun, instead of Marwan, and it is more common to refer to Thabit under the name Thabit ibn Qurra ibn Zahrun al-Sabi'i al-Harrani. As his nickname (*kunya*): *al-Sabi'i al-Harrani* indicates, Thabit was of Sabaean (Chaldean Sabian) descent, and was born into an affluent family that held a high standing in the Harranian community. As a young man, it was purportedly reported that he started his career as a money exchanger (*sayrafiyan*) in Harran. Given the intellectual richness of the learned Harranian Sabian *milieu*, living in that locality and descending from a rich family meant that Thabit had the opportunity to receive a good education and cultural upbringing.

The Harranians (known as *al-Harraniya al-Kaldaniya*) were famed for their Hellenist inspirations. Being originally star-worshippers who had a great reverence for the workings of astral bodies and stellar constellations, the Harranians studied mathematics and astronomy, while acquiring a good command of the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic tongues that facilitated their learning. Harran was an ancient Akkadian, Assyrian, and Babylonian city, located on major trade routes in the northern region of Mesopotamia. It was mentioned in the Bible (Gen. 11.31–2) under the name "Haran," in reference to the township to which Abraham is said to have migrated from Ur. Historically, the Harranians were pagans who venerated the stars, the planets, rites, and idols. Their chief Deity was associated with the Moon-God, known in Akkadian as Sin and in Sumerian as Nanna. In the Christian era, their cult of the Moon-God became entangled with Trinitarian doctrines that became linked to the constellation of worship of the Near Eastern ancient figures of Ishtar and Shamash. The Harranians, who integrated Greek Hellenic culture, also assimilated the *Hermetica* corpus of the mysterious Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus. Prior to the 'Abbasid period, it is said that the Harranians used to be described as Manchaeans, Mandeans, or even as Nabataeans, who, along with the Syriac community, played a focal role in the courts of the Umayyad dynasty. It is reported that their mode of dress consisted of short gowns, and that they had long hair with sidebangs or ringlets, similar to what Ibn al-Nadim observed regarding Thabit's own hairstyle. Their clothing and garb attracted the attention of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (reigned 813–33) who came across this community en route to a campaign he was leading against Byzantium. Wondering about their religious beliefs, al-Ma'mun enticed them to declare the provenance of their articles of faith. Upon the return of the caliph from the land of the Byzantines, and fearing the sovereign's persecution, the Harranians declared themselves to the caliph's vizier or chamberlain as Sabaeans. In the hope of gaining legitimacy and eschewing harassment, the Harraniya claimed to be affiliated with the Sabaeans mentioned in the Qur'an, who were identified with the Christians of St John. As *Ahl al-kitab* (the People of the Book), Sabaeans, Christians and Jews were not to fear wrath nor grieve, for they were promised God's protection and mercy if they followed the righteous path. Their reference in the Qur'an is noted under the appellations: 'al-Sabi'un or 'al-Sabi'in', as indicated in three verses: *al-baqara* (the Heifer) 2:62; *al-ma'ida* (the Spread Table) 5:72; *al-hajj* (the Pilgrimage) 22:17. The declaration of the Harranians that they were *Sabi'a* constituted a remarkable episode in the history of sects in medieval Islam.

This event remained surrounded by disputations over the candidness of the conversion of this pagan community into a sect that is associated with monotheism; a mystery that led some to continue to see them as remaining infidels. However, this historic development did allow many Harranians, including Thabit ibn Qurra, to become more accepted politically and culturally by the ‘Abbasids, as well as allowing them to benefit in many respects from the lucrative patronage of the Caliphate. In consequence of the hospitality shown to the people of Harran at large, Thabit had the fortunate occasion at an early stage of his scholarly formation to meet the mathematician Muhammad ibn Musa ibn Shakir, the son of Musa ibn Shakir and the eldest of the three celebrated geometers known as the Banu Musa brothers—the other two being Ahmad and Hasan (*fl. c.*850–70). Impressed by the erudition of the young Thabit and his knowledge of languages, Muhammad invited him to Baghdad in order to pursue a course of study. This proved to be a turning point in Thabit's career as a scholar. Henceforth, he had the opportunity to study with the Banu Musa, and subsequently joined a group of astronomers sponsored by the ‘Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. Following the pathways of the Banu Musa school of thought, Thabit endeavored to further their accomplishments in the domains of geometry, astronomy, and mechanics.

Maturing in his own right, Thabit eventually became a proficient affiliate of circles associated with the *Bayt al-hikma* (The House of Wisdom), the center of learning founded by the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (reigned 813–33), which was frequented among others by the eminent Arab natural philosopher, Abu Yusuf Ya‘qub ibn Ishaq AL-KINDI (801–66). It is said that after establishing his offices as an affiliated scholar of the court during his sojourn in Baghdad, Thabit returned on a short visit to Harran. By then, his philosophical views may have considerably deviated from the religious beliefs held by the Sabaeans, and the nature of his theological persuasion may have been ambivalent. He eventually was challenged in an official court of law, which led to his admonishment as well as to him being accused of views bordering on heresy. Escaping discrimination and potential persecution, Thabit left Harran and returned to Baghdad. There he was appointed as the astronomer of the ‘Abassid court, following the return of the caliph al-Mu‘tadid (reigned 892-9-02) to the capital in the aftermath of the quenching of the revolt of the *zanj* in Iraq (868–83). Thabit directed the workings of the sophisticated observatory institution in Baghdad, in continuation of the endeavors of his tutors, the Banu Musa, and consequently became their chief successor, as well as chairing the school that was associated with their name. His scholarly achievements eventually led to a systematic maturation of the knowledge accrued in his time in the domains of mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics. From what is known about his life, it seems that he did not return to Harran, and that he stayed in the ‘Abbasid Capital, Baghdad, for the remainder of his life, having a long and influential scholarly career.

Besides making important strides in his contributions to the development of the mathematical and astronomical sciences, Thabit also undertook the task of translating a variety of classical texts from Greek to Syriac and Arabic. He also directed team efforts focused on this undertaking, and continued the endeavors of the Banu Musa who used to send messengers to collect Greek manuscripts from Byzantine libraries in order to translate them into Syriac and Arabic. It is also said that a courtier associated with the ‘Abassid caliph al-Mutawakkil (reigned 847–61) commissioned Thabit to translate a manuscript attributed to Archimedes of Syracuse; and also a tract by pseudo-Archimedes entitled: *On Geometrical Elements* (*fi'l-usul al-handasiyya*). Besides this work, Thabit supervised the translation of Archimedes' *Lemmata* and *The Sphere and the Cylinder*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, Apollonius of Perga's *Conics*, and Nichomachus of Geresa's *Prolegomenon to Arithmetic*. He also presented a decisive revision of Hunayn ibn Ishaq's translation of Euclid's *Elements* (*Kitab uqlidus fi'l-usul*) under the patronage of the caliph al-Ma'mun, following two versions (*al-Haruni* and *al-Ma'muni*) rendered by al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf ibn Matar during the reign of the ʻAbbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (reigned 786–809). While most of Thabit's treatises were composed in Arabic, the *lingua franca* of the medieval Islamic civilization, he did nevertheless draft a few tracts in his Syriac East Aramaic dialect.

Thabit was regarded as the Arabic equal of Pappus of Alexandria, the author of the *Synagoge*, who was described as being "the last among the great Greek mathematicians." In his mathematical endeavors, Thabit built on the art of *al-jabr* (algebra) and algorithm (systematic numeration) of Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khawarizmi (*c.*780–850), which may have been initially influenced by the *Arithmetica* of Diophantus of Alexandria, and partly oriented by the reception of the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perga by the Arab algebraists. Displaying his mathematical ingenuity, Thabit also applied geometry to algebra, as for instance in the thirty-six propositions of his *Kitab al-Mafrudat* (Book of Data), which constituted an unprecedented development in the history of mathematics that prefigured the systematic founding of the seventeenth-century field of analytical geometry by Descartes. Of his other major contributions in mathematics, Thabit investigated spherical trigonometry, conics, and integral calculus (on the *quadrature* of the parabola). He additionally contributed to the rudimentary forms of an *ars analytica* (*sinaʻat al-tahlil*) by way of his reflections on analysis and synthesis, wherein he joined the *ars demonstrandi*, which covers acquired knowledge, with the *ars invenniendi*, which points to knowledge that ought to be discovered. While geometry was seen as being a form of synthetic logic, algebra was construed as being a mode of analytic logic (*Tashih masa'il al-jabr bi'l-barahin al-handasiyya*). He, moreover, prepared the grounds for the "de-ontologization" of the elucidation of the definition of place (*makan*) that assisted Ibn al-Haytham in his geometric conception of place and the associated critique of Aristotle's definition of *topos* in *Book Delta* of the *Physics*. In addition, Thabit further systematized some of Euclid's theorems, and applied arithmetical directives to geometrical constructs, as noted in his composition of numerical accounts of quantitative ratios, along with his construal of geometrical magnitudes as being algebraic entities. He was also involved in furthering the understanding of infinitesimal mathematics, as well as in the investigation of parabolic figures and trisections. He, furthermore, advanced a geometrical generalization of the "arbitrary triangle theorem" of Pythagoras of Samos. For instance, he showed that: if we construct AX and AY from the vertex A of an arbitrary triangle ABC, with a line from A intersecting BC at points X and Y, then "if $\angle AXB = \angle AYC = \angle BAC$, then: $\angle AXB = \angle AYC = 90°$."

Another of Thabit's noted breakthroughs in mathematics was attested in the *lemmas* of his number theory as advanced in the ten propositions of his *Maqala fi istikhraj al-ʻadad al-mutahabba* (Book on the Determination of Amicable Numbers), which was partly drafted in response to authorities like Pythagoras and Euclid. He found pairs of "amicable numbers" (*a'dad mutahabba*), namely a pair of numbers each of which equals the sum of the other's aliquot parts—the smallest of these pairs is 220/284. For instance, if we take $s(n)$ to be the sum of the *aliquot parts* of the divided number n (namely the sum of the positive integer divisors of n, excluding n itself), then $s(220) = 1 + 2 + 4 + 5 + 10 + 11 + 20 + 22 + 44 + 55 + 110 = 284$ and $s(284) = 1 + 2 + 4 + 71 + 142 = 220$. This arithmetical disclosure was later expounded by figures like the polymath al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen, 965–1039), who classified the perfect number (*al-ʻadad al-tamm*), namely a numeral whose positive divisors, excluding it, sum up to itself. For instance, 6 is the smallest perfect number, wherein $6 = 1 + 2 + 3$. The next two perfect numbers are 28 (1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28) and 496 (1 + 2 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 31 + 62 + 124 + 248 = 496). In addition, Kamal al-Din AL-FARISI (1260–1320) eventually offered the numerals 17,296 and 18,416, as substantiations of Thabit's rule for discovering amicable numbers, such that each is the sum of the proper divisors of the other.

In the domain of astronomy, Thabit advanced a critical reading of Ptolemy's corpus in view of reforming the thrust of its inquiries, as well as endeavored to systematically mathematize its method and scope. He also composed astronomical tables and observed phenomena related to the eclipses and equinoxes, as well as tracked the movement of the sun and the moon and the construction of associated sundials. His *opus Kitab fi'l-qarastun* (The Book on the Beam-Balance), which carried the title of a tract attributed to Banu Musa by Ibn AL-NADIM in the *Fihrist*, was itself translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona. This masterpiece dealt with mechanics and the applied physical science of *statics*. Studying the comportment of structural elements in accommodating load-bearing stresses, bending-beams, and strains, he expounded the principle of levers in equipoise and investigated the distribution of continuous loads. It must also be noted that, besides his accomplishments in mathematics and astronomy, Thabit was also an able physician who composed more than eight tracts in medicine, including his *Dhakira fi 'ilm al-tibb* (Treasury of Medicine).

The monumental legacy that Thabit handed down constituted a school of scientific and mathematical inquiry that had a great impact on several notable mathematicians from the ninth century until the fourteenth century. This impact included the authority he exerted on the maturation of his grandson, the brilliant polymath Ibrahim ibn Sinan ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah (908–46), the impression he left on the mathematical preoccupations of Ibn al-Haytham (the famed figure behind the unfolding of the European *perspectivae* tradition), as well as the influence he exerted on Kamal al-Din al-Farisi. Of his direct disciples who continued his tradition, we note the name of his pupil, the Christian Iraqi scholar Abu Musa 'Isa ibn Usayyid al-Nasrani, together with his son, the physician Abu Sa'id Sinan ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah (*c.*880–943), and his eminent grandson Ibrahim ibn Sinan. It is worth noting that Sinan ibn Thabit was renowned for his expertise as a physician who directed hospitals under the reign of the caliph al-Muqtadir (908–32), and who lost his post during the period of al-Qahir (932–4), the caliph who persecuted the Sabaeans. Eventually, his office was restored to him under the sovereignty of al-Radi (934–40), and he continued in part the tradition of his father by composing three tracts in mathematics, one of which was focused on Archimedes. Nonetheless, it is Thabit's grandson, Ibrahim ibn Sinan, who was the most influential of his direct disciples in mathematics. He became famous in his own right for his integral calculus, and his work on algebra, trigonometry, and geometric astronomy, including his investigation of the *quadrature* of the parabola and his demonstrations in conics, regarding mathematical entities such as the ellipse and hyperbola, together with his elaboration of the astrolabe stereographic projections and the drafting of maps. Following the teaching of his grandfather, Ibrahim ibn Sinan also furthered the application of motion to geometric transformations in his *Fi misahat kat' al-makhrut* (*Mensuration of the Parabola*). He thus anticipated the "cinematographic" turn attested by Ibn al-Haytham's demonstrations in *Fi hall shukuk kitab uqlidus fi'l-usul* (*The Solving of the Doubts Concerning Euclid's Elements*), and in his elaboration of Thabit's findings, he facilitated Ibn al-Haytham's notable demonstration of an "algebraic equation to the fourth degree," deploying the conic intersection of a circle and a hyperbola.

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NADER EL-BIZRI

IBN AL-RAWANDI (d. *c.* 910)

Very little is known definitively about Ibn al-Rawandi; even his name is a matter of dispute. He was presumably born in Rawand, near Isfahan, and seems to have spent most of his life in Baghdad. In his earlier years there he aligned himself with the Mu'tazilite school of theology, but once it faced political difficulties he promptly abandoned it and attacked it in a work called *Fadihat al-mu'tazila* (The Disgrace of the Mu'tazilites). He quickly gained a reputation for being a hired pen, writing for whoever paid him, and extorting money from anyone who paid him to not refute instantly what he had written on his/her behalf. Since the only reports we have of him are from others, particularly from those not likely to represent him in a positive light, it is not clear how fair these remarks are. Of his many works only a few fragments remain, again as part of the work of others such as Mu'ayyad, al-Jawzi, and al-Khayyat. It is remarkable how everyone, even those tarred to a degree with the brush of free thinking, is rude about him. He is said to have spent his career defending and attacking a variety of positions, including Judaism and Shi'ism, and finally ended up an atheist.

In this role he particularly criticized Islam, and its claim to prophecy. There is nothing special about the Qur'an, he argues, and its style is nothing very exciting either, so there is no point in making a fuss about how wonderful it is. Prophets are like magicians and their role is to play tricks on people. Arguments designed to show that the world requires a cause to fail because the world is eternal, and so God had no part to play in its construction. The afterlife is a poor joke since God has made people likely to err and end up in Hell while pretending they got there of their own accord. Heaven is unexciting and certainly nothing to get enthusiastic about. In fact, Ibn al-Rawandi takes a consistently pessimistic attitude to everything, and describes God as a bad-tempered tyrant. He was by far the most determined free thinker in Islam, if the reports we have of him are at all accurate.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN RUSHD, Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad (520–95/1126–98)

Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Rushd is one of the most outstanding Islamic philosophers. He was born in Cordoba into an important local family (his grandfather in particular was well known for his legal expertise) and he played a notable role in the Almohad state. He experienced many reverses in his career, sometimes being the chief *qadi* or judge in his part of al-Andalus, sometimes being exiled to a remote part of the country or even to North Africa. He was the chief interpreter of the Maliki school of jurisprudence in al-Andalus at the time, and wrote on a wide variety of topics ranging from astronomy to medicine. One of his functions at the court when he was in favor was to act as a physician to the ruler, and many philosophers during this period were physicians.

Ibn Rushd's philosophical education was certainly influenced by Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl, the latter in particular being very significant for his career. Ibn Tufayl worked for the caliph Abu Yaʻqub Yusuf as the court physician and philosopher, and the caliph had a real interest in philosophy. Ibn Tufayl introduced Ibn Rushd to him in 1169, and the caliph impressed the young philosopher with his grasp of the discipline. This meeting had important effects, since it led to the caliph apparently asking Ibn Rushd to produce commentaries on the main Aristotelian texts, so that a wider audience could learn from them. The caliph initially put this request to Ibn Tufayl, but such a proposal was of little interest to the older thinker, as he was by this stage more interested in mystical thought than in Peripatetic philosophy. Ibn Rushd started his project of producing three types of commentary on the texts he had available to him, and he wrote for some of those books a long, medium, and short commentary. He commentated not only on Aristotle, but also on Alexander of Aphrodisias, Plato, Porphyry, Ptolemy, and Nicolaus of Damascus. It was these commentaries that led to his popularity in Christian and Jewish Europe, since there was a real interest in Aristotle for many centuries after Ibn Rushd's death, and Ibn Rushd was regarded as the supreme interpreter of the Greek thinker whom he admired so much.

Ibn Rushd's career was not always smoothly successful. The successor in 1184 to the caliph, his son Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, continued to support him, but in 1195 Ibn Rushd fell into disgrace. The reasons for this are not clear. It may have been that the Maliki lawyers finally managed to get their negative view of him more widely accepted. Although Ibn Rushd was a Maliki, it may have been that his support for philosophy was felt to go beyond the bounds of that approach to jurisprudence. His biographers refer to a variety of causes for his downfall, and it may be that the reason was simply political. Those in the state who were of a different grouping managed to get rid of him. He did come back into favor a year or so before his death, and returned to a high position.

After his death Ibn Rushd almost disappears from the Islamic world, until the *Nahda* of the nineteenth century. But his works became very popular in the Christian and Jewish intellectual worlds, and many of them were translated into Latin and Hebrew. From the number of translations that were made we can see how their popularity continued, and his Latin name, Averroes, comes up a good deal in the philosophical traditions of the People of the Book. Jewish Averroism became a significant theme in Jewish philosophy, and in Christian Europe the works of Averroes were held to be so controversial that they were specifically condemned on a number of occasions. This did not prevent a strong Averroist movement from coming into existence in countries like France and Italy, and there can be little doubt about the continuing significance of the thought of Ibn Rushd, albeit perhaps interpreted in ways not entirely faithful to Ibn Rushd himself.

One of the doctrines with which he is credited is that of double truth, where a statement is held to be true in religion but not in philosophy, and vice versa. This is held to be his response to the incompatibility of reason and religion, to argue that they are different ways of speaking and so subject to different rules. He does indeed claim this, but he never suggested that a statement could be both true and false when seen from different perspectives. It is rather the case that religion and reason are two different routes to the truth, to the same truth, and both are acceptable and will get the traveler to the right place. However, philosophy is not appropriate for most people; it is the role of religion to present theoretical truths in ways that will resonate with the community at large. Those who are interested in philosophy should also involve themselves in the religious life of their community, while at the same time pursuing the philosophical route to truth. It is easy to see how this doctrine could be developed in radical ways, however, since the insulation of philosophy and religion from each other suggests that religion at the very least is far from the best way of understanding the world.

Apart from his commentaries, Ibn Rushd wrote a large number of philosophical works, and many also on medicine, law, theology, science, and so on. Some of these, like his *Fasl al-maqal* (Decisive Treatise), argue very aggressively for philosophy as against theology or law as the means to understanding fundamental questions, including fundamental religious questions. It is hardly surprising that many in the religious hierarchy of his time were not pleased by his assertion that the Qur'an's difficult passages can only really be understood by philosophers. Ibn Rushd has a calmly combative style that is very effective but must also have been very annoying to his opponents. His response to AL-GHAZALI in his *Tahafut al-tahafut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence) is a careful analysis of the latter's *Tahafut al-falasifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers). In this book al-Ghazali sought to show that philosophy, in the sense of Peripatetic thought or *falsafa*, is incoherent even when examined with its own premises. He also charged *falsafa* with being heretical or at the best innovative, two very serious charges from an Islamic point of view. The chief target in the book was IBN SINA, then the main representative of philosophy. Ibn Rushd, in his response, wished to defend philosophy while at the same time not accepting everything that Ibn Sina had to say.

One of the interesting aspects of Ibn Rushd's thought is that he tries to get back to what he regards as genuine Aristotelian thought, avoiding the Neoplatonic accretions that had built up over the centuries since Aristotle's death. Ibn Sina is a prime example of a thinker who used Aristotle in ways that did not really represent much of the original thinker himself, or so Ibn Rushd often argued. So in defending philosophy he was fighting with one hand tied behind his back; he, like al-Ghazali, frequently disagreed with philosophy's main representative Ibn Sina, but unlike al-Ghazali, Ibn Rushd did not want to throw the baby out with the bath water.

Ibn Rushd defended a number of theses that were challenging to traditional religion. One is his doctrine of the soul, which he sees as not enjoying an individual afterlife. To have such an afterlife, the soul would have to be associated with a body, and the body cannot, according to Ibn Rushd, be resurrected. Any hope of immortality rests on our ability to think abstractly, not a happy prospect for the simple but sincere believer. Another difficult thesis is the idea that God does not really know what goes on in the world of generation and corruption, since this would involve God's knowledge being like ours. Ibn Rushd also accepted the common thesis of *falsafa* that the world is eternal, and so God did not create it out of nothing. This seems to imply that God has very little to do with creation, and very little to do with the way things happen in the world. These philosophical positions formed the basis of criticisms that al-Ghazali brought against philosophy, but Ibn Rushd certainly managed to defend them. But the Islamic world tended to think that al-Ghazali was correct concerning the religious basis of his attack. Despite Ibn Rushd's brilliant defense of philosophy, it went into serious decline after his death in the Arab world. This should not be over-emphasized, however, since philosophy in the Peripatetic tradition continued in both the Turkish and the Persian intellectual worlds, and, of course, in Christian and Jewish Europe.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN SAB'IN, Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Haqq b. Ibrahim (614–69/1217–70)

Ibn Sab'in was born in Valle de Ricote, Murcia, in 614/1217 and died in Mecca in 669/1270. He was one of the great Sufi philosophers of Islam. He was a member of a distinguished Arab family of Andalusia called Banu Sab'in. Ibn Sab'in received his first education in his hometown where he studied Arabic language and literature, Ash'arite theology, Maliki jurisprudence, logic, and philosophy. He was also interested in medicine and occult sciences.

Ibn Sab'in was influenced from the works of Abu Ishaq b. Dahhaq (d. 611/1214), who was a student of Abu 'Abdullah al-Shuzi, founder of the Shuzi Sufi order. In 640/1242 when he was already a famous scholar, Ibn Sab'in migrated to North Africa with a group of his students and settled in Ceuta where he produced most of his work. There, his ascetic life aroused the interest of the public and his philosophical and mystical views gradually spread. When Frederick II, ruler of Sicily, sent a letter to the Almohad sultan 'Abd al-Wahid al-Rashid asking answers to his philosophical questions, Ibn Khalas the governor of Ceuta commissioned Ibn Sab'in for the task. He wrote *al-Kalam ala'l-masa'il al-siqilliyya* (Statement Concerning Sicily Issues) for this purpose. His replies aroused the envy of the jurists and as a result he was forced to go into exile.

Ibn Sab'in first went to Badis, then to Bougie where he met Abu'l Hasan al-Shushtari (d. 668/1269) who became one of his best students. He then went to Tunis; but he could not settle there and as a result of the hostility of the Sunni scholars, particularly of Abu Bakr al-Sakuni, who declared him a heretic, Ibn Sab'in left the city. When he arrived in Egypt around 648/1250, he had already been labeled there as a heretic, for the North African scholars had informed the Egyptian scholars about his heretical views. Consequently, he could not stay there, and he thought that Mecca was the only safe place for him. Ibn Sab'in went to Mecca, where he was well received by the ruler, Abu Numayy. He was also popular with the people of Mecca, but there again he could not escape from the enmity of the scholars. He met with scholars such as Shaykh Safiyyuddin al-Hindi, and had philosophical discussions with them. Ibn Sab'in died in Mecca while he was considering moving to India. There are different accounts of his death. According to some biographers, he committed suicide, while according to others he was poisoned.

Ibn Sab'in had a very controversial life. Throughout it, although he had a number of enemies, he had also very faithful students. The Shuzi Sufi order was very influential in Andalusia. The philosophical tendency of this order definitely influenced Ibn Sab'in's thought. Later in his life, Ibn Sab'in became a leader of a Sufi group which came to be known as the Sab'iniyyun. The followers of this order propagated Ibn Sab'in's views all over the Islamic world. What makes this order fundamentally different from other Sufi orders is that while the chain (*silsila*) of the other orders goes back to the Prophet Muhammad, the chain of the Sab'iniyye, as it was called by Shushtari, goes back to Hermes and includes such figures as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, AL-HALLAJ, AL-SUHRAWARDI, IBN MASARRA, IBN SINA, AL-TUSI, Ibn Tufayl, IBN RUSHD, and IBN AL-'ARABI. The order survived for some time.

The philosophy of Ibn Sab'in is based on the concept of the absolute unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*). For him, this unity can be known not through reasoning but intuitionally. His concept of the unity of being differs from that of Ibn al-'Arabi in that while the latter admits the distinction between the existence of God and everything else, Ibn Sab'in thinks that there is no real distinction between the two. Only God has a real existence; all the things in this world have only conceptual existence. His main criticism of other thinkers arises from this understanding of being. His criticism of the views and methods of the philosophers shows his deep knowledge of philosophy. Ibn Sab'in uses this knowledge to support his teaching, but thinks that it is necessary to go beyond this level of knowledge. Although he sometimes criticizes the Sufis, Ibn Sab'in puts mystical elements at the center of his teaching. As a result, his teaching seems to be a rational mysticism.

Ibn Sab'in has produced a number of works, some of which have come down to us. In the *Budd al-'arif* (Guide to the Gnostic), he presents his understanding of logic and physics. He starts from the Peripatetic position, but then goes beyond Peripateticism to engage with oriental philosophy (*hikma al-mashrikiyya*)that could be traced to Hermeticism. He tries to harmonize philosophy and Sufism from the viewpoint of this system of thought. In this context, Ibn Sab'in criticizes the philosophers, the Sufis, and the theologians. His criticism of IBN BAJJAH, IBN TUFAYL, Ibn Rushd, AL-FARABI, Ibn Sina, AL-GHAZALI, and Ibn al-'Arabi seems to be inaccurate. For example, he accuses Ibn Rushd of blindly following Aristotle. Although he criticizes al-Farabi, he thinks that only al-Farabi is a real philosopher. In the *al-Kalam ala'l-masa'il al-siqilliyya*, Ibn Sab'in discusses the philosophical questions raised by Frederick II. These are Aristotle's proofs for the eternity of the world; the aim of metaphysics and its premises; categories and their number; and the proofs for the immortality of the soul and the differences between Aristotle and Alexander on the issue. Ibn Sab'in also produced a number of epistles to express his philosophical and mystical views.

Ibn Sab'in's concept of unity of being has been criticized by a number of thinkers. The most influential and systematic criticism came from IBN TAYMIYYA, who thought that there is a parallelism between this concept and the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi, and that, in fact, it was taken from Ibn al-'Arabi. But according to IBN KHALDUN, the two concepts express different things. For while Ibn al 'Arabi accepts the reality of each hierarchical being, Ibn Sab'in does not. Ibn Sab'in's concept expresses pantheism, for it suggests that God is the totality of all visible and invisible things. In this context, his system can be compared with that of Spinoza.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

IBN AL-SAIGH, *see* Ibn Bajja

IBN SAFWAN, JAHM, *see* Jahm ibn Safwan

IBN SHADHAN, *see* al-Nisaburi

IBN SINA, Abu 'Ali al-Husayn ibn 'Abd Allah (370/980–428/1037)

Abu 'Ali al-Husayn ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Sina was born on Safar 370/August-September 980 in Afshana, a village near Bukhara (in present-day Uzbekistan), and died in 428/1037 at Hamadhan. He is buried in Hamadhan in Iran. Ibn Sina is famous as a philosopher, physician, and advisor of princes. He is known as *al-Shaykh al-ra'is* (the great master) in the Islamic world, and Avicenna in the West.

According to his autobiography, Ibn Sina's father was a government administrator and a Persian. Since it was an ancient Silk Road city, Bukhara was a center for the exchange of ideas as well as merchandise: strands of Buddhism and Hinduism remained in the vicinity. His mother was a local woman; therefore he was ethnically Persian and Central Asian. Persian was his native language, but he wrote most of his books in Arabic, the language of the educated elite. Ibn Sina also says he had a younger brother.

By the age of ten Ibn Sina had memorized the Qur'an and studied literature. He denies accepting Isma'ili doctrines, as his father and brother did. Philosophy is the only science Ibn Sina found difficult; Aristotle's *Metaphysics* nearly defeated him until he read al-Farabi's commentary. Ibn Sina also studied medicine and law. His first royal patient was the Samanid Amir Nuh II; as payment, the amir allowed Ibn Sina to use the Saminids' extensive library. Ibn Sina claims he learned all he knew by eighteen. He says he had a better memory at eighteen, but adds that he did not learn anything new afterward, although his knowledge became more mature.

The political situation changed drastically in 388/998 when Mahmud of Ghazna broke his ties with the Samanids to ally himself with Baghdad as the champion of Sunni Islam. This was only an excuse for empire building; he eventually conquered large swathes of northern India and Central Asia for the Ghaznavid Empire; Mahmud died in 421/1030. As he approached Bukhara, Ibn Sina fled. Mahmud "invited" philosophers, poets, and artists to embellish his court; al-Biruni was at his court as was the poet Firdawsi, though only for a time. Ibn Sina fled west to escape his grasp, crossing the Karakum Desert to Gurganj. He worked for a succession of princes while continuing to move westward. In Hamadhan he worked for Shams al-Dawla. After that ruler's death, Ibn Sina was imprisoned for four months in 440/1023 in the city of Hamadhan. 'Ala' al-Dawla attacked the castle, released Ibn Sina and employed him at the court. Ibn Sina worked at 'Ala' al-Dawla's court for thirteen years until his death in 428/1037. Ibn Sina wrote *Daneshnamah-i 'Ala'i* (Book of Knowledge for 'Ala') for 'Ala' al-Dawla. The *Daneshnamah* is a short form of the *Shifa'*, Ibn Sina's encyclopedia of knowledge, written in Persian. It was while accompanying 'Ala' al-Dawla on a campaign that Ibn Sina died.

Ibn Sina was both a political animal and a philosopher. He frequently worked all day and then wrote all night, describing in his autobiography how he drank wine to stay awake. He was also known for writing his books while on horseback, moving from one place to another (Hourani 1966: 41). The *Life* was completed by his disciple al-Juzjani, and also includes a bibliography of books Ibn Sina wrote. No matter how suspect many of the details of his autobiography are, the picture that emerges is of a driven man, a man who never quit his day job as advisor or physician, while pursuing full-time writing.

Ibn Sina's *Qanun fi al-tibb* (The Canon on Medicine) is a long study of the body, the brain, diseases, and drugs. The *Qanun* consists of five books covering the body, organs, medicine and herbs, fevers, and various surgery and treatments for everything from bites to poisons. Ibn Sina's treatise on pulse is among the best known. The *Qanun* was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, and used as a text in the universities of Europe for centuries to teach medicine, such as the universities of Montpellier, Padua, and Bologna through the fourteenth century. With the Renaissance it enjoyed further interest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as new editions were published and commentaries written (Siraisi 1987: 6–7). Alpago also translated it into Latin. Shorter medical treatises were translated into Latin. The general consensus is that Ibn Sina's overall theoretical organization and presentation was the best among Islamic physicians, although AL-RAZI (d. 925 or 935) was considered the most acute empirical observer of diseases. However, al-Razi's writing was not organized as a comprehensive text.

Kitab al-Shifa' (The Book of Healing) is his philosophical encyclopedia. It covers the areas of science which philosophers included as essential such as physics, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, as well as other subjects such as meteorology, mineralogy, plants, and animals. It is also famous for the *Kitab al-Nafs* (Book of the Soul, known as his Psychology). *Kitab al-Najat* (The Book of Salvation) is a precis of texts from the *Shifa'*, selected by Ibn Sina.

Because his supposedly major work *Kitab al-Insaf* (The Book of Impartial Judgement) is mostly lost, there is no way to know if it is different from his other works. The *Shifa'* is usually considered very Aristotelian. Variation in the way Ibn Sina treats topics among surviving texts consists mainly in emphasis and degree of detail. For example, he treats the impossibility of *tanasukh* (physical reincarnation) in similar ways in *al-Najat* and *al-Adhawiyya*.

Like AL-KINDI, Ibn Sina wrote a *Kitab al-hudud* (Book of definitions). This genre was a particular innovation of Islamic philosophy to introduce Arabs to the concepts used in philosophy; its program comprises short pithy definitions of basic terms for physics and metaphysics, written for students unfamiliar with these philosophic concepts.

Al-Adhawiyya fi al-ma'ad (On the Afterlife) is of particular interest because, in some subtle ways, it is so self-consciously Islamic. For instance, he quotes the Qur'an to make his points. He describes the beliefs concerning the afterlife of Christians, Zoroastrians, and probably Hindus (those who believe in reincarnation). This was long before SHAHRASTANI's (d. 1153) discussion of religious differences in his famous *Milal wa al-nihal* (Book of Religions and Sects). Not only does Ibn Sina mention their beliefs, but he also does it in a way that shows he was very familiar with those beliefs. He also does not condescend to those believers and uses objective language. Throughout *al-Adhawiyya* his attitude is one of investigation and rational analysis, which gives the work an atemporal quality. He also refers to people taking on the qualities of animals whose vices they resemble and projecting that image. Again, this is an Islamic idea found in the Qur'an and repeated later by MULLA SADRA. Ibn Sina says that the person who is vicious in his carnal appetite becomes like a pig, the one who is vicious in business dealings will become a fish (no doubt because of his slipperiness), while the angry one becomes a wild beast and the hunter what he used to hunt. Although these qualities may be seen as fanciful, it is also interesting that Ibn Sina begins with the lustful person, considering the rumors that have swirled around him concerning his carnal appetite. These qualities make Ibn Sina's *Adhawiyya* specifically Islamic in its orientation, not Hellenistic.

Hourani points out in his close analysis of Ibn Sina's language in the *Secret of Destiny* that his opponents were those with Mu'tazili and Shi'i leanings, and not those belonging to the Ash'ari school, which was not well known in eleventh-century Persia (Hourani 1966: 39). Even the *Ilahiyyat* section of the *Shifa'* is Islamic, not Hellenistic in its orientation. Consider the long discussion of God as the Necessary Existence. Here we see the importance of monotheistic culture as the matrix for the Islamic worldview. An awareness of one God permeates the text in a way one never sees in the Hellenistic philosophers.

Ibn Sina is frequently viewed as a seriously Hellenistic philosopher and heir of Aristotle and Plotinus. This view has some truth, but only up to a point. In view of his Qur'anic exegesis, writings on the afterlife and other religious questions, and orientation within the matrix of Islamic society, he should rather be considered as the Islamic philosopher par excellence. Ibn Sina also bridges the gap between Hellenistic philosophy and Scholastic philosophy in the West, serving as a frequent reference point for Thomas Aquinas.

Ibn Sina was responsible for developing many of the philosophical issues that engaged philosophers for centuries. The questions of essence versus existence, the Necessary Existence and possible existence, and physical resurrection are among those developed by him. The essence versus existence controversy had its roots in his writing. He considers things to be essences and the existence of an individual to be separate from its essence. On occasion subsequent philosophers have interpreted this to mean that Ibn Sina believed an essence could exist without existence, in some sort of extra-existing or pre-existing state. However, he denies this in the *Najat* (among other places) where he emphasizes that souls do not pre-exist bodies (Rahman 1952: 56). Therefore it does not appear this is what he had in mind. Furthermore, it appears to be a mistake to think that Ibn Sina considers existence an accident in the same category as whiteness. For instance in his discussion of the soul's existence in the *Psychology* (*Najat* Bk. II, Ch. VI), he clearly recognizes that problems arise from considering essence and existence as separate notions, but he steadfastly refuses to ignore them. Finally, in discussing how a particular soul and body can be joined when neither has pre-existed, he says it is a mystery

(Rahman 1952: 57–8). However, he does not duck the issue; he spells out two possibilities: (a) that multiple souls—which are pure form with no distinguishing particularities—come into existence at once and (b) that a numerically single soul exists in two bodies. Of course both these situations are impossible. He cannot find an acceptable answer, but he acknowledges the problem.

Although he may not be able to work out the ontological relationship of the essence and existence joined in one entity, we should not think he did not see the full problem. Thomas Aquinas is occasionally lured into false beliefs about Ibn Sina because the Latin translation failed to make delicate distinctions present in the Arabic original. Ibn Sina analyzes existence into necessary and possible. God is *wajib al-wujud* (the Necessary Existence). This means God alone is without causes, totally simple. The Latin translation led Thomas Aquinas to claim that Ibn Sina thought God had no essence. This is inaccurate. Rather Ibn Sina says that God's essence is the same as God's existence. Everything else in the world is possible in that it is caused and may or may not exist, although it has a secondary necessity (Flynn 1973: 59–60).

One may point out in passing that this view is consistent with the Qur'anic depiction of God as above everything else, that there is nothing like God. The difference is that Ibn Sina expresses this concept in extremely abstract language and the Qur'an expresses it in metaphorical terms of power and glory, such as seen in the Throne Verse (2: 255). Seen from this perspective Ibn Sina conforms to Islamic culture. Western scholars will not come to an accurate assessment of Ibn Sina until they consider him in an Islamic matrix. By focusing on whether or not Ibn Sina was a good Muslim, westerners fall into the trap set by Muslim theologians, who try to discredit him by portraying him as an unbelieving philosopher. While Ibn Sina does reject anthropomorphical expressions about God, he states that these should be understood as symbolic or metaphorical statements (*al-Adhawiyya* 1984: 99–100). As in many cultures, theology is hostile to philosophy; in Islamic culture it is perceived as foreign—because of its Greek origins—and incompatible with faith because of its emphasis on reason. Ibn Sina's writings were criticized for these reasons, but he still belonged to a monotheistic culture, rather than Hellenistic culture, that speculated about God's nature and the afterlife.

Rather than denying physical resurrection—a tenet whose meaning was in flux in his day—Ibn Sina poses the following question: after the soul has escaped the limitations and appetites of the body by separation from the body, why would the soul want to re-submit to this? In his opinion, the same body cannot reunite with the soul again. Matter once corrupted cannot be restored to its identical previous state. It becomes apparent that resurrection was viewed as a type of reincarnation by the philosophers. Primarily, Ibn Sina discusses *tanasukh* (reincarnation), an idea which he rejects; this is the case for all the philosophers.

AL-GHAZALI (d. 1111) disagrees with Ibn Sina on the resurrection of the body, God's knowledge of particulars, and the eternity of the world. Al-Ghazali's comments on his predecessor's views concerning resurrection are particularly interesting. Although al-Ghazali chides Ibn Sina harshly for denying the resurrection of the body and its reunion with the soul to enjoy the bodily pleasures of Paradise, al-Ghazali then states that the soul reunites with a body, which he says could either be a new body or the old body since the person's identity comes from the soul. (Marmura 1997: 223) If one really pays attention to Ibn Sina's *Adhawiyya* he says basically the same thing. Ibn Sina argues that spiritual pleasures are higher than bodily pleasures and, furthermore, that without consciousness we would feel neither pain nor pleasure, due to a lack of awareness. Thus, the attitudes of these two philosophers are very similar, it is only that al-Ghazali has set up Ibn Sina as a whipping boy, by presenting the latter's views in a prejudicial way. Despite al-Ghazali's protestations to the contrary, Muslim dogma on the physical resurrection did not become fixed for a long time; furthermore, the Qur'an only has a few ambiguous references to how humans shall experience the afterlife. It does not categorically state that humans will be resurrected with their original bodies and souls; this is the interpretation of later theologians.

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KIKI KENNEDY-DAY

IBN TAYMIYYA, Taqi al-Din
(661–728/1263–1328)

Abu'l 'Abbas Taqi al-Din Ahmad b. 'Abd Al-Halim was born in Harran on 10 Rabi al-Awwal 661/January 22, 1263, and died in Damascus on 20 Dhu'l-Qadah 728/September 26, 1328. As a jurist and a theologian he was a leading defender of the Hanbali School of Sunni Islam. Ibn Taymiyya belonged to a well-known family that produced a number of scholars. His grandfather Majd al-Din 'Abd al-Salam was a leading authority in Islamic law (*fiqh*), jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*), the traditions (*hadith*), and related sciences. His father Shihab al-Din 'Abd al-Halim was also a prominent authority in the Hanbali legal tradition. When he was six years old, he fled to Damascus with his family during the Mongol invasions in 667/1269. His father then held a teaching post at a *hadith* school (*Dar al-Hadith*) in Damascus. He held a chair at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus on Fridays. Ibn Taymiyya succeeded his father at the same mosque, where he gave lectures on Qur'anic exegesis. During his lifetime, because of the Mongol invasions and the Crusades, the prevailing political and military conditions in the Muslim world worsened. He grew up in a period of turmoil. In this disruptive and crucial period, he engaged in active politics.

Ibn Taymiyya started his education at an early age in the Sukkariyya *hadith* school of Damascus. He received his education under the direction of more than 200 prominent scholars of his time. Among these scholars, Majd al-Din Ibn 'Asakir, Ibn Abu al-Yusr al-Tanuhi, Qasim al-Irbili, Zaynuddin Ibn al-Munajja, and Abu'l Faraj al-Qudama al-Maqdisi are worth mentioning here. Ibn Taymiyya first memorized the Qur'an in Damascus, and then studied Arabic grammar and lexicography under Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Qawi al-Tuft. He studied a number of *hadith* works, such as the "six books of *hadith*" (*kutub al-sitta*) and the *Musnad* of Ahmad IBN HANBAL. He read enthusiastically books on sciences such as logic, philosophy, and theology (*kalam*). From his early youth, Ibn Taymiyya had scholarly debates with local intellectuals. When he was nineteen years old, he started giving juridical opinions (*fatwa*). In 695/1296, Ibn Taymiyya held a chair of *fiqh* after the death of his master Ibn al-Munajja as a teacher at the Hanbaliyya school (*madrasa*) in Damascus.

Ibn Taymiyya taught a number of students, most of whom were the renowned Muslim scholars of that time: IBN QAYYIM al-Jawziyya, Shams al-Din ibn Muflih, Sham al-Din ibn 'Abdulhadi, Abu'l Fida ibn Kathir, and al-Dhahabi. Ibn Taymiyya kept Ibn Qayyim in his company as his closest disciple. Because of their views, both the master and his disciple were persecuted and humiliated by the local authorities.

Due to his severe criticism of Ash'arite thought and what he regarded as extremist Sufi doctrines, Ibn Taymiyya faced problems. His opponents condemned and charged him with unbelief (*kufr*) for his legal opinion (*fatwa*) prohibiting "travel to the tombs of the Prophets and Saints." The Maliki chief judge al-Akhnai and four other chief judges of Cairo issued their decision that he be imprisoned. Ibn Taymiyya was duly imprisoned in the citadel, and died there some two years later. While he was in prison he wrote a refutation of his opponent al-Akhnai. The latter complained to the ruler, who ordered that Ibn Taymiyya be deprived of the opportunity to write. It was perhaps as a result of this severest punishment that he died in 728/1328.

Ibn Taymiyya's main theological views can be summarized as follows. He opposed the theological approaches of the Ash'arites, and very firmly represented the Hanbali school of law at his time. He declared his opposition to the philosophical theology of the Ash'arites in his popular work on creed ('*aqida*) which he wrote at the request of the people of Hama in 1299, known as *al-'Aqida al-Hamawiyya*.

In this book Ibn Taymiyya discussed the issue of God's being on the throne (*al-istiwa*), a controversial issue since the question was how an immaterial deity can sit on anything. Another creed was the *'Aqida al-wasitiyya*, written at the request of Radi al-Din al-Wasiti, who was one of the judges of Wasit (Iraq). Because of his views on faith in these works he was charged by his opponents with anthropomorphism (*tashbih*). In both these works, he relied on the ways of the Companions (of the Prophet) who were inspired by their understanding of the Qur'an and the Sunna (Prophetic reports). Consequently, his Salafi doctrine can be considered as a revelation-centered theology. As opposed to the theological approach of the Ash'arites, for Ibn Taymiyya, the goal of human life is neither to know God, nor to speculate about God nor to love God; rather, the main goal of humanity is to serve God through worship and obedience. Concerning the divine attributes, he adopted the classical traditionalist doctrine which goes back to AL-SHAFI'I and to Ahmad IBN HANBAL. For him, God should be described "as he has described himself in his book and as the Prophet has described him in his Sunna."

Ibn Taymiyya criticized the philosophers, in particular the logicians, and wrote the *al-Radd 'ala al-mantiqiyyin* to attack them. In his refutation, he criticized Aristotelian logic. Jalal al-Din AL-SUYUTI wrote an abridgement of this refutation. He also criticized the monistic position (*ittihadiya*) attributed to IBN AL-'ARABI and the incarnationist Sufis (*hululiya*). For him, Ibn al-'Arabi's claims that God's existence is everywhere and that he and his creation are identical are in contradiction to the Qur'an, the Sunna and to the understanding of the Companions. For this reason, he declared Ibn al-'Arabi to be an unbeliever (*kafir*). Ibn Taymiyya condemned Sufi practices as heretical innovations. He totally rejected the Sufi doctrines of pantheism and agnosticism. In spite of his severe opposition to the Sufis, he was complimentary to some Sufis such as 'Abd al-Qadir AL-JILANI who lived during his time, and commended al-Jilani's *Futuh al-ghayb*.

In the field of theology, Ibn Taymiyya criticized Shi'ite doctrines and thoughts. In his *Minhaj al-sunna*, he strongly criticized the theological views of the Shi'ites and the Qadariyya. He also criticized the deterministic approach of the Jahmiyya and the Jabriyya who deny man's responsibility for his actions. He also opposed the rationalistic approach of the Mu'tazila, who consider human free will to be the basis of human action. On many other issues of theology, he opposed the mainstream views of his time. For him, Islam was a perfect and complete religion at the time of the Companions of the Prophet. The passage of time had led to many subjective interpretations being added to the religion by the Sufis and the theologians. He considered these approaches as deviations and innovations in Islam.

Ibn Taymiyya also criticized blind adoption of previous authorities (*taqlid*). He emphasized the importance of investigating the sources of knowledge. Ibn Taymiyya declared war against innovation (*bid'a*) and deviation. In this context, he attacked many practices such as accepting people like Ibn al-'Arabi as holy. We can also see his polemical perspective in his scholarly debates with Christian scholars. In his *al-Jawab al-sahih li man baddala din al-masih*, which he wrote against the Christian missionaries, he tried to show the contradictions and man-made modifications of the Bible. His theological and legal views inspired the late eighteenth-century Wahhabi school of thought, founded by Muhammad IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHAB (d. 1792). Ibn Taymiyya's views guided the Wahhabi movement.

As a prolific writer, Ibn Taymiyya produced approximately 700 works in various fields of the Islamic sciences. His pupil Ibn al-Qayyim gives the list of his main works in his treatise *Asma mu'allafat shaykh al-islam ibn taymiyya* (The List of the Works of Ibn

Taymiyya). His works deal with theology and creed, Qur'anic exegesis, the Prophetic traditions (*hadith*), Islamic law, Islamic jurisprudence, philosophy, logic, and the history of religions and sects. In the field of theology he wrote *al-Sarim al-maslul 'ala shatimi al-rasul* (The Sharp Sword Drawn Against the Reviler of the Messenger). In the field of Qur'anic exegesis he wrote *Muqaddima fi usul al-tafsir* (An Introduction to the Methodology of Exegesis) and *al-Tibyan fi nuzul al-qur'an* (The Exposition in the Revelation of the Qur'an). In the field of Islamic law and jurisprudence he wrote *al-Siyasa al-shariyya fi islah al-rai wa'l raiyya* (The Governance According to Religious Law in Reforming Both the Ruler and His Flock), *al-Hisba fi al-islam* (The Institute of Weights and Measures' Control in Islam), *Risala fi manasiq al-hajj* (A Treatise on Rituals of the Pilgrimage), *al-Istihsan wa'l-qiyas* (Juristic Preference and Analogical Reasoning), and *al-Qiyas fi shar al-islami* (Analogical Reasoning in Islamic Law). In the field of the history of religions he wrote *al-Jawab al-sahih li man baddala din al-masih* (The Right Answer to Those Who Changed the Message of Jesus Christ) and *Qawa'id al-adyan* (The Principles of the Religions). In the field of philosophy and logic he wrote *Naqd al-mantiq* (The Revocation of the Logic) and *Al-Rad ala falsafa ibn rushd al-hafid* (A Refutation to the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd al-Hafid). It can be said that nearly all of his works were in the style of a refutation or a critique.

Ibn Taymiyya was an outstanding thinker of Salafi doctrine in the intellectual history of Islam. His teachings profoundly influenced many revivalist movements of the modern age.

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

IBN TUFAYL, Abu Bakr Muhammad
(d. 581/1185)

Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Tufayl al-Qaysi was born in the first decade of the sixth century/twelfth century. Born in Wadi Ash (Guadix), near Granada, he died in Morocco in 581/1185. He was known in Christian Europe as Abubacr or Abubakr. He is said to have introduced IBN RUSHD to the caliph in 1169, a meeting that resulted in Ibn Rushd commencing his huge commentory on the works of Aristotle. Ibn Tufayl would clearly have been uninterested with such a project not only due to his fairly advanced age by then, but also because his philosophical interests lay much more in mystical thought.

His main and only surviving work is *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* (Living Son of the Vigilant). The title and topic is taken from a couple of IBN SINA’s philosophical works and local folklore. It very much takes the form of a philosophical novel, and raises an issue that was quite often discussed at the time: whether someone could work out for himself how to live and what to believe using reason alone. Could someone who was brought up in complete isolation and lived outside society establish a feasible life and come to appreciate some of the most important conclusions of education? If so, then it suggests that much of the social and indeed religious training that is regarded as vital to humanity is considerably less important than is often thought. Can an individual work out the fundamentals of religious faith without instruction, and would such a form of faith be worse, or indeed superior, to that held by the majority in society?

Ibn Tufayl starts off by placing his discussion within a wider theoretical context by looking at some of the basic principles of AL-FARABI, Ibn Sina, AL-GHAZALI, and IBN BAJJA. Al-Farabi is criticized for the range of distinct views that he produced on the afterlife. Ibn Sina is praised for, in particular, what Ibn Tufayl takes to be his oriental wisdom, which he understands as Ibn Sina’s advocacy of the mystical path. Ibn Bajja is grudgingly praised but said to have only gone so far, since he did not appear to countenance mystical knowledge, and so limited human knowledge to what we can grasp rationally. Al-Ghazali is acknowledged as someone who was in favor of mysticism, but Ibn Tufayl does not really comment on the significance of the former’s works because, unfortunately, they never reached him. This is an interesting fact if true, since it shows how philosophical and theological literature was often rather limited to particular geographical areas.

In Ibn Tufayl’s novel, Hayy is an infant who is discovered living completely by himself on a warm island. How did he come to be there? Ibn Tufayl has the philosophers claiming that he was born spontaneously when a mixture of elements reached the right balance to receive a human soul from higher realms. Others suggest that he is the son of a woman who kept her marriage to her relative, Yaqzan, secret from her brother who ruled a neighboring island and who did not think anyone was good enough to marry his sister. They say the woman put the infant in a solidly made box and threw the box into the sea, and the infant eventually floated to the island. A deer who had just lost her son saved him by feeding him and taking care of him. Ibn Tufayl adopts this explanation to take the story forward. The deer dies when the infant is seven. At that age he speaks like the animals he meets and covers parts of his body with leaves after noticing that animals are covered with hair or feathers. He takes the death of the deer as an opportunity to investigate the carcass of the animal, and he cuts her up with sharp stones in order to find out why she died. This brings him to a basic grasp of how animals function physically, and also to a realization that bodies are temporary and fallible, and life itself must have its source elsewhere.

Left to himself he embarks on an investigation of the nature of things around him and this inevitably involves, according to the author, the concepts of matter and form, cause and effect, unity and multiplicity, the earth and the heavens, and other abstract ideas. This leads him to cosmological speculation about the age of the Earth, whether it was created or otherwise and by whom. While there is much on which he cannot conclude satisfactorily, he raises most of the issues that are very controversial and prolonged items of debate in Islamic philosophy. He starts to wonder at the limits of perception and whether there is a reality that lies behind those limits, and if so how one might gain access to such a reality. At this stage he also appreciates that his rational faculties are not taking him any further, and starts to engage in physical exercises to copy the motions of the heavens in an attempt at aligning himself both physically and spiritually with the universe at large. This might be seen as bringing out some of the arguments that Ibn Sina produces on the difference between rational and mystical thought. The former is limited and tries to grasp things that are essentially incomprehensible from its perspective; other and deeper methods have to be employed, as Hayy discovers, in order to pierce the veil of perception and reason and ascend higher in the understanding of the unity of everything.

Absal moves to Hayy's island from a neighboring realm which is ruled by Salaman. Absal is described as someone with mystical tendencies and a love of solitude who finds the religion of his hometown inauthentic and limiting. He teaches Hayy human language, after which he hears from Hayy what his experiences and life on the island by himself had been like. When Hayy ventures into more abstract ideas, though, Absal is impressed by the similarity of the ideas of his religion with the ideas that Hayy had managed to work out by himself. The difference is that for Hayy there is no need to use symbols to express religious truths, since he is a simple and sincere person who does not require symbols to understand. He after all taught himself what those truths are, and so could express himself to himself in precisely the way necessary. Public religion, by contrast, has to express itself in a way that is suitable for a large group of people, and cannot direct its mode of expression to just one person.

Hayy, full of enthusiasm, goes to Absal's island to tell people how to practise their religion without recourse to symbols. He soon discovers that the intellectual elite are not interested. They start to criticize him for the ways in which he interprets scripture, making far too simple and straightforward a process out of something which is in their view very complex and specialized. Hayy comes to appreciate that his unvarnished approach to truth is not suitable for most people who need a more indirect access to how things really are and a way of performing rituals that gives them that access without getting too close. Although he is disappointed, Hayy is realistic enough to understand that this is as far as most people are likely to get on the religious path, and he advises them to continue in the future with what they have been doing in the past, with the sole suggestion that they curb their materialism.

As one might imagine this account has proved to be popular ever since it was written, the idea of a sort of philosophical Robinson Crusoe allowed Ibn Tufayl to mix some rather dramatic personal facts about his main protagonists with philosophical speculation. The rather depressing conclusion is that Hayy and Absal need to return to a solitary life on Hayy's island since any attempt at getting society to acknowledge the best way of approaching reality is doomed to failure. On the other hand, this brings out nicely how mystical philosophy saw itself in relation to other ways of working and living. In the hierarchy of knowledge mystical knowledge comes at the top, but lower forms are still forms of knowledge and should be respected and permitted. Indeed, they are the best that most people can attain. Ibn Tufayl's dramatic story has been much discussed and explored ever since he wrote it.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IBN TURKA (d. 835/1432)

Sa'in al-Din 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Afdal al-Din Muhammad Turka al-Khujandi al-Isfahani, usually known as Ibn Turka, started a trend in Shi'i philosophy that was to become the prevalent style. He merged the different philosophical approaches, namely, the Peripatetic, Ishraqi and Sufi, and so applied them at the same time to the issues he was discussing. He came from the Isfahan area, and had to leave for Samarkand when Tamerlane invaded, only returning after Tamerlane's death. Ibn Turka produced fifty-seven works on philosophy, including commentaries on IBN AL-'ARABI's *Fusus al-hikam* and other mystical texts. His best-known work is his *Tamhid al-qawa'id*, a commentary on Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Isfahani's *Qawa'id al-tawhid*, which itself is a Peripatetic analysis of Ibn al-'Arabi, thus establishing the trend of mixing the different philosophical techniques.

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IDRIS 'IMAD AL-DIN, Sayyid
(794–872/1392–1468)

An eminent Isma'ili theologian and historian as well as the supreme leader of the *da'wa* or missionary organization of the Tayyibi Mustaʻli branch of Ismaʻilism, Idris ʻImad al-Din b. al-Hasan b. ʻAbdullah b. ʻAli b. al-Walid al-Anf hailed from the prominent al-Walid family of Quraysh in Yemen, who led the Tayyibi Ismaʻilis for more than three centuries. He was born in 794/1392 in the fortress of Shibam in the mountainous region of Haraz in Yaman, a stronghold of the Ismaʻilis. Nothing is known about his life until 832/1428 when he succeeded his uncle, ʻAli b. ʻAbdullah b. ʻAli, as the nineteenth *daʻi mutlaq* or supreme leader of the Tayyibi Ismaʻilis, with full authority over the affairs of their *daʻwa* in Yemen and the Indian subcontinent.

Idris was also a statesman and warrior and participated in the political affairs of Yaman (Yemen) to the advantage of his community. He supported the southern Yamani dynasties of the Tahirids and Rasulids and fought battles against the Zaydis of northern Yemen, seizing several fortresses from them. Idris also helped the spread of the Ismaʻili *daʻwa* in Gujarat, western India. After leading the Tayyibi Ismaʻilis for four decades, the *daʻi* Idris died on 19 Dhu'l-Qadah 872/June 10, 1468, and was succeeded as the head of the Tayyibi *daʻwa* by his son al-Hasan.

Idris ʻImad al-Din is considered to be the most famous Ismaʻili historian. Utilizing a vast array of Ismaʻili and non-Ismaʻili sources, many of which have not survived, he produced three historical works, notably the *ʻUyun al-akhbar* (Sources of Information), a seven-volume comprehensive history of Ismaʻilism from its origins until the second half of the sixth/twelfth century. This work also covers the Fatimid dynasty and the history of the Ismaʻili Sulayhids who ruled over Yaman on behalf of the Fatimids. His second historical work, *Nuzhat al-afkar* (The Pleasure of the Thoughts), in two volumes and still unpublished, deals with the history of the Tayyibi *daʻwa* in Yaman from the collapse of the Sulayhids until 853/1449. Thirdly, his *Rawdat al-akhbar* (Garden of Information) is a continuation of the preceding history, covering the events of the Tayyibi *daʻwa* of his own time from 854/1450 to 870/1465.

Idris was also a learned theologian and produced a major treatise, *Zahr al-maʻani* (Flower of the Meanings), on esoteric Ismaʻili doctrines and their elaboration according to the distinctive Yamani Tayyibi tradition. This work represents the high mark of Tayyibi writings on the *haqa'iq*, or the gnostic esoteric system of religious thought with its specific cosmology, eschatology, and soteriology, propounded by the Yamani Ismaʻilis who drew particularly on the *daʻi* Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani's metaphysical system. Idris produced several other theological and polemical works as well as poetry, mostly in praise of Ismaʻili imams.

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FARHAD DAFTARY

AL-IDRISI (493–*c*.555/1099–*c*.1162)

Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Idris al-Qurtubi al-Hasani was born in Ceuta, Spain, in 1099 and educated in Cordoba. He was something of an itinerant scholar, ending up at the Norman court in Palermo, Sicily. He died around 1162.

Al-Idrisi made a major contribution to the knowledge of medicinal plants. After his review of the literature he came to the conclusion that little had been done since the Greeks, so he set about carrying out some experimental work on such plants. He followed a similar approach to the study of geography, supplementing what was already in the Greeks with his own acquisition of information. He described the world in *al-Kitab al-Rujari* (Roger's Book), also entitled *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-a'faq* (The Delight of Him Who Desires to Journey Through the Climates). This is a geographical encyclopedia of the time. Al-Idrisi compiled another geographical encyclopedia, larger than the first, entitled *Rawd-unnas wa-nuzhat al-nafs* (Pleasure of Men and Delight of Souls) also known as *Kitab al-Mamalik wa al masalik*. Apart from botany and geography, Idrisi also wrote on fauna, zoology, and therapeutical topics. His work was soon translated into Latin and his books on geography remained popular both in the East and the West for several centuries. They do not seem to have been widely available in Latin until long after they would have proved useful.

After a brief description of the earth as a globe, which he computed to be 22,900 miles in circumference and judged to remain stable in space like the yolk in an egg, and of the hemispheres, climates, seas, and gulfs, al-Idrisi launches into a long and detailed account of the regions of the earth's surface. He takes up the seven climates in order, dividing each climate into ten longitudinal sections, an artificial arrangement started earlier by Islamic astronomers. These seventy sections are described minutely, illustrating each section with a separate map. When put together, these maps constitute a rectangular world map similar to the Ptolemaic design.

Al-Idrisi used a combination of Greek ideas about climatic zones and the more recent information he had collected about different parts of the world for this map. He even went so far as to have constructed a large silver model of the map, which must have been very beautiful, but did not survive a local riot. In 1154, manuscripts of the book in Latin and Arabic were completed, together with the rectangular map, which was drawn on seventy sheets, along with a small circular world map. From a theoretical point of view the maps of al-Idrisi are interesting for their accurate accounts of different parts of the world which he insisted on fitting into a strictly Ptolemaic view of the world. His work is regarded as highly scientific by contrast with many similar efforts at map-making.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-IJI, 'Adud al-Din
(*c.*700–756/*c.*1300–55)

'Adud al-Din al-Iji was born at Ij, near Shiraz, where he served as *qadi* and teacher. His main work was on *kalam*, Islamic theology, and his efforts here are noted for their systematization of the genre. Al-Iji produced a commentary on the Qur'an, and, in *Matali' al-anwar* (The Rising of the Lights), a description of the scope of *kalam* itself. Much more complex than either of these works is his *Kitab al-Mawaqif* (Book of Stations) which divides theology into six stations or topics. These are epistemology, ontology, the theory of basic substance or essence, the accidents that characterize that substance, the nature of the soul, and, finally, religious issues such as eschatology and the nature of prophecy.

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IKHWAN AL-SAFA'

Ikhwan al-Safa' wa Khillan al-Wafa', customarily rendered in English as The Brethren of Purity and the Friends of Loyalty, or in short as The Sincere (or Candid) Brethren, is the name of an esoteric Mesopotamian coterie that arguably dates back to the middle or last quarter of the fourth century/tenth century, to the eve of the Fatimid conquest of Egypt (*c.*969). The members of this brotherhood principally operated from the city of Basra in southern Iraq, while having a significant branch of their fraternity in the 'Abbasid capital, Baghdad. As they themselves held, the appellation of their secret organization was suggested by the designation used in reference to a group of amicable doves in the second chapter of the classic *Kalila wa dimna* fables, titled "The Ring-Dove," or "The Love of Sincere Friends," which was available at the time in Arabic through the adaptation of 'Abd Allah IBN AL-MUQAFFA' (*c.* 724–759).

As the name of this society indicates, its adepts and initiates were themselves known as the Ikhwan al-Safa', who sometimes also referred to themselves as being *awliya' Allah* (from *walaya*), namely, saints' or "righteous friends" of God, who constantly obey him, and who are loyally gathered in the purity of their souls within a professed utopian mystical city. The identity of the anonymous affiliates of this esoteric group of lettered urbanites has hitherto remained shrouded with mystery. Nonetheless, the textual legacy that they handed down attests to the focal role they played in the unfolding of the history of ideas in medieval Islamic civilization due to the dissemination of their teachings and widely circulated encyclopedic compendium entitled *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* (The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity). The authors of this corpus and the dating of its composition, which may have taken a prolonged period between the initiation of the drafting and its definitive completion, all continue to be unsettled issues. Matters relating to the authorship of the *Rasa'il*, the period and number of individuals involved in composing, revising, and editing this corpus, all depend on the chronology associated with its production, and vice versa.

The most common narrative regarding the presumed identity of the brethren of this society is usually grounded in the authority of Abu Hayyan AL-TAWHIDI (*c.*930–1023) in his *al-Imta' wa'l-mu'anasa* (*c.*981). In reply to a question put to him by Ibn Sa'dan, the vizier of Shamsham al-Dawlah, the Buwayhid ruler, al-Tawhidi noted that the leaders of this coterie were identified as men of letters who were named: Abu Sulayman Muhammad ibn Ma'shar al-Busti (bearing also the nickname al-Maqdisi), the Qadi Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Harun al-Zanjani, Abu Ahmad al-Mihrajani (also known as Ahmad al-Nahrajuri), and Abu'l-Hasan al-'Awfi. Moreover, all were said to be the companions of a secretarial officer at the Buwayhid Chancellery or Governorate of Basra known as Zayd ibn Rifa'a, who seems to have been one of the personal acquaintances of AL-TAWHIDI, and reportedly claimed to be a member of the Ikhwan. The *qadi* of Rayy, the Mu'tazilite 'ABD AL-JABBAR Ahmad al-Hamadani (*c.*936–1025), also corroborates al-Tawhidi's story. He, furthermore, mentions a secretary and obscure astronomer by the name Abu Muhammad ibn 'Ali'l-Baghl as also belonging to this fraternity. The approach of al-Tawhidi was also accepted by Hajji Khalifa, and it was partially reconfirmed by Abu Sulayman AL-SIJISTANI al-Mantiqi, as well as being subsequently reaffirmed by figures like al-Bayhaqi (d. 1169), AL-KHAWARIZMI (d. 1220), IBN AL-QIFTI (d. 1248), AL-SHAHRAZURI (d. 1285), while being also partly alluded to by IBN TAYMIYYA (d. 1324). Some scholars rely on this line of narrational relegation in view of questioning the claims that closely connect the Ikhwan al-Safa' to the Isma'ili community.

Some also argue that the figure of Zayd ibn Rifa'a ambivalently shows a close connection to the Buwayhid dynasty (the Buyids), who were of Persian descent, coming from territories at the fringes of the Caspian Sea, and who came to forcibly act as the regent guardians of the 'Abbasid Caliphate by instituting their rule through military means. Although the Buwayhids, who were followers of a vague offshoot of Shi'ism, did control the 'Abbasid regime, they did not assume the title caliph and rather revived the Persian designation *shahanshah*. Moreover, they did not openly challenge the suzerainty of the 'Abbasids, and were furthermore their allies in the conflict with the Fatimids. As a result, some scholars tend to question the presumed Fatimid lineage of the Ikhwan, or at least figures like Ibn Rifa'a or other associated Buwayhid secretaries.

The *madhhab* (doctrinal school) of the compilers of the *Rasa'il* remains a matter of debate, as is the case with their pedigree. Some wonder whether the Ikhwan were Sunni or Shi'i, and more specifically, if they were Sunni, whether they were Mu'tazilite or Sufi, or if Shi'ite, whether they were Twelvers (*Ithna 'Ashariyya*) or Isma'ili. Some Sunni scholars accentuated the praise made in the *Rasa'il* (Part IV, *Epistles* 42, 52) of the sovereignty of the *Khulafa' al-rashidin*, the vicegerents Abu Bakr (632–4), 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (634–44) and 'Uthman (644–56), together with an apparent admiration shown to the figure of 'Ayishah (Part I, Epistle 9), as being all indicative of a potential Sunni affiliation of the Ikhwan. However, others note that in the same context where the *Khulafa' al-rashidin* are mentioned (Part IV, Epistle 52), the Brethren also praise *Ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet's Household) and *al-Sahaba* (the Prophet's Companions). Others consider the Ikhwan's epistle on the essence of mystical love (*Risala fi mahiyyat al-'ishq*; Part III, Epistle 37) as being laden with Sufi themes and temperament. While some see this as being indicative of a Shi'ite lineage in Sufism, others maintain that it is Sunni in nature. Operating as an underground organization within the "'Abbasid Caliphate, the Ikhwan al-Safa" concealed their identity, in contrast with the openness of the exponents of the Mu'tazilite schools of *kalam*. The Ikhwan did, moreover, criticize the proponents of *kalam* in their *Rasa'il*. Consequently, scholars present these dimensions as being clear indicators that the Ikhwan were not associated with the Mu'tazilites.

Concerning the Shi'ite lineage of the *Rasa'il*, it is clear that the Ikhwan venerated the persona of the imam 'ALI ibn Abi Talib (reigned 656–61), and regarded the progeny of the Prophet as the guided imams. Toward the end of the *Rasa'il*, in an epistle on the essence of magic (Part IV, Epistle 52), the

Ikhwan appeal to a Prophetic saying, according to which the Prophet, metaphorically speaking, is the City of Knowledge (*Madinat al-'ilm*) and '"Ali its Gateway," and which affirms that those who desire to enter the City had to pass through its Gateway. The Ikhwan also pledged allegiance to the Prophet's household (*Muhammad wa aluh*), whom they described as being *al-A'imma al-hudat* (Guiding Imams; Part II, Epistle 22), and were repelled by the battle of Karbala in Iraq, and commemorated the remembrance of 'Ashura in respect to the memory of 10 Muharram, the day the imam al-Husayn was martyred (680), while also considering this episode in the history of Islam as being marked by disgrace. However, the Ikhwan did also criticize the doctrine of awaited imam of the Twelver Shi'ite (Part III, Epistle 42), which was associated with the guiding figure of al-Mahdi (*al-Imam al-fadil al-muntazar al-hadi*), arguing that he had not remained concealed (*mukhtafin*). In this, the Ikhwan seem to have been partially in resonance with parallel Isma'ili claims that the Mahdi appeared in North Africa (*Ifriqiya*) upon the founding of the Fatimid Caliphate.

Basing themselves on the reports of Isma'ili propagandists and guides, some scholars hold that the Fatimid character of the *Rasa'il* is "no longer in dispute." Some appeal to the Yemeni *da'i* (missionary or summoner) Ja'far bin Mansur al-Yaman (d. 970) in affirming the Isma'ili provenance of the *Rasa'il*; thus claiming that it was authored by the imam Ahmad (al-Mastur); others proclaim that it ought to be ascribed to his father 'Abd Allah. Some scholars also evoke the Tayyibi Isma'ili missionary from Yemen, 'IMAD AL-DIN bin al-Hasan Idris (d. 1468), who in his *'Uyun al-akhbar* claims that the *Rasa'il* were composed by the hidden ninth imam Ahmad bin 'Abd Allah bin Muhammad bin Isma'il bin Ja'far al-Sadiq. Others propose the name of the imam Taqi Muhammad, who reportedly was based in Salamiya, a town in northeastern Syria, as being the principal figure behind the collective composing of the *Rasa'il* and their dissemination in mosques during the rule of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (reigned 813–33). It is furthermore reported by some Isma'ili sources that the authorship of the *Rasa'il* may even date back to the times of the imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (*c.*700–65) himself, passing by the contributions of his three imamate hidden successors (*al-a'imma al-masturin*). According to this Isma'ili *stemma*, the *Rasa'il* would have been compiled over a very long period from the eighth century until the beginnings of the tenth century, at the eve of the emergence of the Fatimid dynasty in Ifriqiya (present-day Algeria and Tunisia), and even prior to the Fatimid conquest of Egypt by the army of Jawhar al-Siqilli (*c.*969) in the name of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah (d. 975).

However, most academic scholars adopt a later chronology that situates the composition of the *Rasa'il* compendium around 961–86. One of the difficulties that confront us with the reporting of the names or nicknames of the hidden Isma'ili imams is mainly due to the secrecy and concealment that surrounded these figures, and the precautionary dissimulation (*taqiyya*) of their identities during the 'Abbasid period. In further accentuating the Isma'ili derivation of the *Rasa'il*, some scholars place a special emphasis on the Ikhwan's belief (Part III, Epistle 42) that the religious law (*al-shari'a*, or *'ilm al-din*) had two aspects: one exoteric (*zahir jaliy*) and another esoteric (*batin khafiy*). Some maintain that this distinction entails a respective ascription to ritual forms of worship as well as philosophical modes of devotion that accentuate the need for an esoteric hermeneutics (*ta'wil*) of the Qur'an, which does seem to accord with Isma'ili practices. Those who affirm the Isma'ili affiliation of the Ikhwan do also differ in terms of the particulars of this association. While some accentuate the Fatimid character of the Ikhwan's beliefs, others maintain that they were equally close to the Qarmatians of Bahrain (Carmathians, *al-Qaramitah*) who staunchly opposed the Fatimids. Some even highlight that the Ikhwan's legacy was rarely mentioned in Fatimid literature and rather found its widest reception and flourishing among the Tayyibi Isma'ili community in Yemen in the twelfth century, when their corpus was introduced to that society by the missionary Ibrahim bin al-Husayn al-Hamidi (d. *c.* 1162).

Nonetheless, and in spite of extensive studies that have been conducted on the genealogy of the Ikhwan al-Safa', the specific particularities of their descent and their exact doctrinal affiliations are not yet without incongruities, and they consequently remain far from being conclusive or decisively settled. Having this in view, some scholars tend not to confine the Ikhwan's lineage within strict doctrinal or affiliation bounds, rather seeing them as being "free agents" or "liberal thinkers." While this vague interpretation might not satisfy most historians of ideas, it nonetheless gives a faithful expression to the intellectual spirit that pervades the *Rasa'il*.

Marked by a liberal openness to otherness, and eschewing fanaticism, the *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* seem to embody a form of heterodoxy in Islam. Manifesting a tolerant inclination to accommodate miscellaneous pagan and monotheistic traditions in thought, the Ikhwan valued the philosophical sciences as well as the Prophetic ones. Encountering "veracity in every religion," the Ikhwan did respect the Torah of Judaism and the Canonical Gospels of Christianity, besides their pious observance of the Qur'anic teachings of Islam. This is primarily to be noted in their consideration of the question of prophecy. As well as being indirectly influenced by ancient Babylonian, Indian, and Persian traditions, the Ikhwan in addition sought to integrate the sciences of the ancient Greeks. Grasping knowledge as being a pure form of the nourishment of the soul, the Ikhwan associated the quest for happiness and the soteriological hope of salvation with the painstaking unfurling of rational and intellectual pursuits. They consequently aimed at establishing a harmony between faith and reason, as part of the project of reconciling monotheistic revelation with philosophy, in a manner that is partially reminiscent of what was encountered in the works of the intellectual authorities in Islam of the caliber of AL-FARABI, IBN SINA, and IBN RUSHD. The Ikhwan did accordingly attempt to assimilate and disseminate the teachings that they attested in the legacies of the likes of Pythagoras, Hermes Trismegistus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Euclid, Ptolemy, Porphyry, and Iamblichus.

The Ikhwan emulated the Pythagoreans in their pursuit of arithmetical and mathematical sciences, together with their cosmological import. Oriented by a literal interpretation of the classic microcosm and macrocosm analogy, as it was primarily noted in their conception of the human being as a *microcosmos* (Part II, Epistle 26) and of the universe as a *macro-anthropon* (Part III, Epistle 34), the Ikhwan also did attempt enthusiastically to reinstate the equipoise between the psychical directives of the soul and their corresponding cosmological determining impulses. Their plain analogical line in thinking was, furthermore, guided by Pythagorean modes of arithmetic and numerological explications of the structuring "layered orderliness" of the visible universe. Moreover, in the attempt to further ground their effort to reconcile philosophy with revealed religion, they adaptively integrated a Neoplatonist account of creation by way of emanation within their onto-theology and its cosmological bearings, while imbuing the whole outlook on the universe with Pythagorean and Platonic symbols and themes. They were also attracted to the Delphic Socratic injunction, "know thyself!," by placing on it a religious significance by way of construing it as being a pathway to "knowing the Creator." In geometry they followed the methods of

Euclid, and in astronomy they were partly influenced by Ptolemy's observations. They also offered synoptic abridgements of the classical logic of Aristotle and Porphyry, as well as exhibiting a penchant to study occult and hermetic arts following the received traditions of Hermes and Iamblichus.

Their fascination with mathematics and astronomy, as well as their observance of hermetic teachings, may have originated under the influence of the Chaldean Sabaeans of Harran in Mesopotamia, in emulation of their longstanding interest in cosmic order and the religious symbolism associated with astral constellations and stellar configurations.

In synoptically gathering the sciences and wisdom of the ancients and the moderns of their time, which, according to them, embodied the realities of the world, the Ikhwan were superstitiously motivated by the astrological initiation of a new cycle in time that will entail great political changes in Islam. This observation may have been associated with astrological calculations and talismanic interpretations of stellar conjunctions, which supposedly may have led the Ikhwan to anticipate the fall or radical weakening of the ʻAbbasid Caliphate, as well as pointing to the rise of a competing center of power in Islam, seen by some as being none other than the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt.

One could recognize the political implications of the Ikhwan's call for a pursuit of happiness in this world and the salvation of the soul in the hereafter which, in aiming at regaining the original purity of the self in its journey back to its Source and Creator, requires the translation of one's acquired knowledge into good deeds. For, in promoting an earnest companionship of virtue, and in counseling their coreligionists with kindness and affection (Part IV, Epistle 48), they saw proper governance as being that of *Dawlat al-khayr* (The State of Goodness); namely a utopian spiritual city that perhaps represented their own version of a virtuous city (*Madina fadila*), following al-Farabi, or an adaptation of the *Republic* of Plato. Moreover, in accentuating the political significance of their beliefs, the Ikhwan encouraged their followers not to acquiesce to the pressures of power or authority when these do potentially accommodate forms of injustice. Giving a creditable representation of Islam, they strived to enact a spiritual sanctuary that transcends the sectarian divisions plaguing their epoch as well as overcoming fanaticism. As they claimed, their brothers and friends came from all stations in society and across its classes, including individuals who were the sons of "kings, emirs, viziers, secretaries, tradesmen and workmen" (*Rasa'il,* Part IV, Epistle 47), and they ultimately pictured the ideal human being as a noble being who is graciously "*Persian* in breeding, *Arab* in faith, *Hanafi* in jurisprudence, *Iraqi* in culture, *Hebrew* in tradition, *Christian* in comportment, *Syrian* in piety, *Greek* in knowledge, *Indian* in contemplation, *Sufi* in intimation and lifestyle" (Part II, Epistle 22).

Generally enumerated as fifty-two epistles, or sometimes as fifty-one or even fifty, the *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* aimed at offering synoptic explications of the classical sciences of the ancients and the moderns of the age. Occasionally verbose, and beset by circumlocution, the Ikhwan's epistles were nonetheless composed in an eloquent literary classical Arabic style. They moreover display a commendable lexical adaptability that encompasses the languages of mathematics, logic, natural philosophy, along with the diction of religious enunciations and occult invocations, as well as poetic verses, and didactic fables and inspiring parables. The *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* corpus was also accompanied by a concise tract entitled: *al-Risala al-jamiʻa* (The Comprehensive Epistle), which acted as the *summarium et summae* for the whole corpus, and was itself supplemented by an abridged appendage known as *Risalat jamiʻat al-jamiʻa* (The Condensed

Comprehensive Epistle). While some manuscripts wrongly attribute the composition of the *Risala al-jami'a* to Maslamah bin Ahmad bin Qasim bin 'Abd Allah al-Majriti al-Qurtubi al-Andalusi (d. 1007), others ascribe its authorship to the Isma'ili imam Ahmad bin 'Abd Allah bin Isma'il bin Ja'far al-Sadiq. These attributions confront us with the same difficulties that are attested with the identification of the lineal descent of the clandestine authors of the *Rasa'il* as a whole. Moreover, being primarily a debating society that met periodically in secret, the Ikhwan al-Safa' supplemented their writings with teachings in seminars (*majalis*), which may have been themselves partially recompiled in the epistles as the notes that accompanied these scenes of instruction.

The *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* is a voluminous compendium divided into four epistolary parts. The first part, which consisted of fourteen epistles, dealt with the mathematical sciences, treating a variety of topics on numbers, geometry, astronomy, geography, music, and arithmetic. It also comprised tracts on logic covering selections from the *Isagoge*, the *Categoriae*, the *De Interpretatione*, *Analytica Priora*, and *Posteriora*. The second part of the *Rasa'il*, which grouped seventeen epistles, addressed the body together with the physical and natural sciences. It treated themes on matter and form, generation and corruption, metallurgy, meteorology, the essence of nature, the classes of plants and animals, the composition of the human body and its embryological constitution, in addition to a cosmic grasp of the human being as being a *microcosmos*, and the investigation of the phonetic and structural conditions of languages and their differences. The third part of the corpus is dedicated to ten tracts on the psychological and intellectual sciences. These addressed the "opinions of the Pythagoreans and of the Brethren of Purity," as well as accounted for the world as being a *macro-anthropon*, and examined the distinction between the intellect and the intelligible, and explicated the symbolic significance of temporal dispositions and cycles, together with a mystical expression of the essence of love (*'ishq*), and an investigation of resurrection, the species of motion, causes and effects, and definitions and descriptions. The fourth and last part of the *Rasa'il* dealt with the nomic together with legal and theological sciences in eleven epistles. These addressed the differences between the varieties of religious opinions and sects, the "Pathway to God," the virtues of the companionship of the Brethren of Purity, the traits of genuine believers, the nature of the Divine Nomos (*al-namus*), the call to God, the actions of spiritualists, *jinn*, angels and recalcitrant demons, as well as examined the species of politics and the layered ordering of the world. The *Rasa'il* finally ended with a lengthy account of the essence of magic and talismanic incantations.

In spite of the influence that the *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* might have had on the course of development of the intellectual history of Islam, and on the Shi'ite and Isma'ili lineage in particular, the Brethren's erudition does not rank them among the authorities of their age in the realms of science and philosophy, primarily in the domains of mathematics, logic, natural and psychical sciences, which were noted in the *Rasa'il* in a synoptic diluted fashion that is sporadically confused with spiritual directives. Nonetheless, their accounts of religiosity and piety, as well as their ecumenical syncretism and tolerance, together with their praiseworthy efforts to gather the sciences of their epoch and to compose a pioneering encyclopedic compendium, are all signs of originality. In spite of the rather noticeable shortcomings that may be associated with the Ikhwan's scholarship in mathematics, logic, and the natural sciences, their corpus exemplifies the masterpieces that represented a unique erudite and popular adaptation of knowledge among the learned Mesopotamian urbanites of the tenth-century medieval Islamic civilization.

Acting as a significant intellectual catalyst in the course of maturation of the history of ideas in Islam, the legacy of the Ikhwan al-Safa' does reasonably merit the privileged station it has been traditionally allocated among the distinguished Arabic classics of Islam.

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NADER EL-BIZRI

IKHWAN AS-SAFA', *see* Ikhwan al-Safa'

İLERI, Celal Nuri (1882–1936)

Celal Nuri İleri was born in Gallipoli (Gelibolu) in 1882 and died in Istanbul on November 2, 1936. He was a liberal Turkish thinker, politician, and journalist who lived during the period of the Second Constitutional Revolution and in the early days of the Turkish Republic. His father Nuri Bey, who held several positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy, was also a member of the *Meclis-i A'yan* (Senate). His mother Nefise

Hanım was the daughter of Abidin Paşa, the translator of *Mathnawi*.

Due to his father's job, which required him to travel a great deal around the country, Celal Nuri received his early education in different places. Later he attended *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi* in Istanbul. After his graduation from *Mekteb-i Hukuk* (the Faculty of Law), he first worked as a lawyer. In 1909 he began to write for *Courier d'Orient*, which was later published with the title *Le Jeune Turc*. In 1916 he published a journal called *Edebiyat-ı Umumiye Dergisi* (the Journal for Literature). In 1918 he began to publish another journal called *Ati* (Future) and immediately after its closure in 1919 he changed the title to *İleri* (Forward). When *İleri* was also closed down in 1920, he then published *Ahval* (State of Affairs). He also wrote for other Turkish journals and magazines such as *Tanin* (Timbre), *Hak* (Right), *İctihad* (Independent Judgement), *Hürriyet-i Fikriyye* (Freedom of Thought), and *İkdam*. Because of his criticism of the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası* (Party of Freedom and Agreement) he had to flee to Rome. On his return he became an MP (*meb'us*) for Gallipoli (1919). And after the creation of the Republic of Turkey he retained that seat from 1923 to 1934. In 1924 he also worked as a reporter at the Commission of the Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi*) and played an important role on the reformation process of the Turkish alphabet.

İleri was one of the most prolific and reformist writers of his time. He wrote on many areas such as politics, law, history, religion, and literature. In his writings he dealt with popular issues and problems, including women, language, tradition, ethnicity, and Islamic rules, and stood for reformation in every facet of life. He held that the power of the Ottoman Empire was its ability to make new laws to adapt to the change in conditions, but in later periods the lawmakers had not been successful in keeping up with the trends. In his article "Mecelle Meselesi" (The Problem of Majalla), İleri criticized Ahmet CEVDET Paşa, the author of the *Mecelle* (Imperial Constitution) for not being reformist enough and used the example of Imam A'zam (Abu Hanifa) against him.

Some of his important works include *İttihat ve Terakki Kongresi'ne Muhtıra* (Memorandum to the *İttihad ve Terakki* Congress, 1909), which deals with topics such as the dangerous ambitions of the Western countries toward the Ottoman Empire, the question of Europeanization, the basis and the duties of government, and so on; *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniyye* (The History of the Ottomans' decline, 1911), which discusses the reasons for the decline and fall of the Ottomans; *İttihad-ı İslam* (The Unity of Islam, 1912), in which the future of the Muslims and the idea of the Islamic unity are reflected upon; *Türk İnkılabı* (Turkish Revolution, 1926), in which, apart from a re-examination of the process of Turkish revolutions, the concepts of civilization, Westernization, and language are discussed; and *Kadınlarımız* (Our Women, 1912). In this latter work, which examines the social and legal status of women within the society, İleri points out that the reason why women were kept outside public life is not related to Islam but rather to society's interpretation of it. *Şimal Hatıraları* (Memories of the North, 1911) gives an account of İleri's travels to Scandinavia and Russia. *Kendi Nokta-i Nazarımızdan Hukuk-i Düvel* (International Law From Our Own Standpoint, 1911) and *Havaic-i Kanuniyyemiz* (Necessities of Our Legislation, 1912) both contain İleri's articles on Islamic and Western understandings of law and a comparison between the two, as published in several journals.

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

‘Imad al-Din Idris b. al-Hasan, *see* Idris ‘Imad al-Din

Imam al-A‘zam, *see* Abu Hanifa

Imam al-Haramayn, *see* al-Juwayni

Imam Shafi‘i, *see* al-Shafi‘i

IQBAL, Muhammad
(1289–1356/1873–1938)

Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot in the Punjab, within a poor but religious environment. He received a secular education in the British school system in India and went on to Lahore to study philosophy with Thomas Arnold. He then went to Trinity College Cambridge to study philosophy from 1905 to 1907, before going on to Germany for doctoral research in Persian philosophy. He returned to India in 1908. He represented a new kind of student brought up within the colonial empire, someone who was prepared to take from Western philosophy what it had to offer but not be overawed by it. Iqbal was certainly enthusiastic about many Western thinkers, in particular Nietzsche, Bergson, and McTaggart, but he used them to explicate what he took to be basically Islamic ideas.

Iqbal returned from Europe in July 1908 and became professor of philosophy and English literature at the Government College in Lahore, and also began his law practice. While in London, he had passed the bar exams. In 1911 he abandoned teaching and made his living as a lawyer, allowing him to be more independent as a result. Iqbal became involved to a degree in the Muslim League. In 1924 Iqbal became a member of the National Liberal League of Lahore; in 1926 he became a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly; and in 1930 he became president of the All-India Muslim League. He participated in the Second and Third Round Table Conferences held in London. Iqbal was knighted on January 1, 1923. He died in 1938 and was buried near the gate of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, to displays of great public grief.

One of the factors that has made Iqbal so popular was his skill as a poet, largely influenced by Mirza Dagh Dehlavi, one of the leading advocates of Urdu poetry. Poetry was a cultural form that appealed to a very wide audience, and Urdu represented the culture of Indian Muslims, so Iqbal’s verse struck a deep public chord. His *Asrar-e-khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) in 1915 initiated his extensive work on the topic of the self. It was followed by *Rumuz-e-bekhudi* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), which dealt with the development of the communal self, in 1918; *Payam-e-mashriq* (The Message of the East) represents his response to Goethe’s *West-Östlicher Divan*, in 1923; *Zabur-e-ajam* (The Persian Psalms) in 1927; *Javid nama* (The Pilgrimage of Eternity), Iqbal’s *magnum opus* modeled on Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, in 1932; *Musafir* (The Traveller) in 1934; *Bal-e-Jibril* (Gabriel’s Wing) in 1935; and several other Urdu and Persian poetic and prose works appeared. Of particular interest to philosophy is his doctoral thesis, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, published in 1908. His lectures, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, were first published in 1930.

The philosophy of the self is one that sees the developing consciousness of humanity as the prime source of significance in theoretical thought. The story of Adam in the Qur’an is very different, according to Iqbal, from the Biblical view: there is no fall but merely a development in consciousness of Adam and his successors. There is no end to this development, and it is wrong to contrast a perfect static world that existed in the beginning with the world today, the earlier world merely represents an earlier stage in the human growth of consciousness. There is a self that changes and a more basic self that lies behind all change; although the latter also changes to a degree, it remains throughout the context within which more frequent changes in our lives take place. There are similarly two concepts of time, one that represents the familiar changing features of our world, and the other that remains unchanging and can be experienced occasionally during meditation and deep mystical thought. Our relationship with God is of overwhelming significance for Iqbal; through this relationship we can strengthen the deeper aspects of ourselves, and gain access to a deeper level of reality. He points to the empirical nature of many of the features of the Qur'an and suggest that this shows that the book advocates gaining empirical knowledge and becoming involved in science. He is very critical of Sufis and other mystics who turn away from the ordinary world, claiming that Islam advocates close engagement with the world and a practical attitude to our lives and each other. On the other hand, an uncritical enthusiasm for reason without embedding it first in faith is an error, and we should not try to separate ourselves as thinking beings radically from ourselves as emotional beings.

Although Iqbal is often credited as the intellectual father of Pakistan, his writings on politics are careful in avoiding exclusivism. In just the same way that he sought not to establish dichotomies between self and the other, faith and reason, science and emotion, so he was keen not to contrast Islam with other faiths as a basic political category. On the other hand, his defense of Islam as a political system and in particular his championing of Urdu as a literary language gave the push toward Islamic nationalism on the Indian subcontinent a considerable intellectual boost.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

IRANSHAHRI, Abu'l-'Abbas Muhammad

(fourth/tenth century)

Abu'l-'Abbas Muhammad ibn Muhammad Iranshahri came from the city of Nayshabur in the eastern part of Iran. We know neither the exact date of his birth nor his death, but we do know that he was a contemporary of AL-KINDI. Our knowledge of him is entirely based on what NASIR-I KHUSRAW in *Zad al-musafirin* and AL-BIRUNI in *al-Athar al-baqiya* and *al-Qanun al-Mas'udi* have made available to us. Nasir-i Khusraw tells us that Iranshahri was the teacher of Muhammad Zakariyya' RAZI and taught him not only philosophy but also knowledge of such religions and sects as Dasaniya, Muhammara, and Mannaniyya. Razi's book, *al-Radd 'ala sayasn al-munani*, clearly shows the extent of the influence of Iranshahri.

Biruni tells us that Iranshahri had a thorough knowledge of Abrahamic religions as well as Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. Based on the writings of Muhammad ibn Shaddad ibn 'Isa Musa, known as Zarqan, Iranshahri was also somewhat familiar with Hinduism. Biruni further tells us Iranshahri did not belong to any religion but advocated his own religion and composed two sacred texts in Persian titled *Kitab-i Jalil* and *Kitab-i Athir* which he claimed to have been revealed to him by the angel *Hasti* (Existence) calling for an understanding of the concept of unity. Iranshahri allegedly claimed that his book is the Persian Qur'an and just as Muhammad was the prophet of Arabs he was the prophet of Persians. Since none of Iranshahri's works have survived, the above claims cannot be independently verified.

Iranshahri may have believed in four eternal substances: matter, space, motion, and time, with the last of them a substance that is in a state of flux. Unlike al-Kindi who also advocates the same substances, Iranshahri seems to have understood them in a more Neoplatonic context. Iranshahri is somewhat comparable with the Presocratics since he was interested in the fundamental governing principles of the world. Using the Neoplatonic scheme, Iranshahri proposed that such a governing principle emanates from the unfolding of the ultimate Being. Nasir-i Khusraw summarized Iranshahri's philosophical views thus: "time, matter and duration [time] are names whose meanings are derived from one substance. Time is a sign of divine knowledge just as space is a sign of divine power and motion is a sign of divine action and an existent being is a sign of God's ability. Each of these four are limitless and eternal."

Since our only sources of knowledge for Iranshahri's views are what Nasir-i Khusraw and al-Biruni have told us about them, it might be helpful if a few of such quotations are mentioned here. Nasir-i Khusraw reports:

> Iranshahri said that God, Most High, was always a creator (*Sani'*), and there was not a time when He was not creating such that His state from being non-creative would change to being creative. Since it is necessary that He always be creator, then of necessity that, upon which His creation appears, is eternal. His creation appears in matter, therefore matter is eternal. Matter is a sign for the apparent power of God and since matter is in space and that [matter] is eternal, necessarily space is eternal.
>
> Among the *hukama* [there are] those who said matter and space are eternal and conceived of a substance for time and said that time is a substance, long and eternal. They rejected the opinion of those *hakims* who conceived of time in terms of the movements of bodies. They said if time was the number of the movements of objects, it would not be the case that two objects in motion at one time would move in two different degrees. Hakim Iranshahri has said that time, matter and duration are all names whose meanings are derived from the same substance.
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> (*An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia*, 2008)

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

AL-ISFAHANI, Abu Nu'aym (d. 430/1038)

Abu Nu'aym Ahmad b. 'Abdullah b. Ishaq al-Isfahani was born in 336/948 in Isfahan. His father Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah b. Ahmad (d. 365/976) traveled to Syria and Iraq to collect *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad and was famous for the enormous number of *hadith* he had memorized. His son started to learn *hadith* from the age of seven, first of all from his father and then from Abu 'Ali 'Abdurrahim b. Muhammad (d. 343/954). In order to acquire yet more he began to travel. First, he went to Askerimukram in 356/967, then he visited Wasit, Ahwaz, Kufa, Jurjan, Nisabur, Iraq, Baghdad, Khorasan, Hijaz, Mecca, Basra, and other places.

Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah b. Ja'far IBN FARIS, Abu Ahmad al-Assal, Abu'l-Qasim al-Tabarani, and Abu'l-Hasan al-Daraqutni were some of his teachers. He actually transmitted *hadith* to Abu Bakr al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Abu Salih al-Muazzin, and Abu 'Ali al-Haddad. Because his *hadith* had 'Ali *isnad* chains which have the fewest narrators up to the Prophet Muhammad, many *hadith* specialists in the Islamic world visited him when he was living in Isfahan, where he lived after he completed his traveling, and where he died on 20 Muharram 430/October 22, 1038, in Isfahan at the age of 94.

During his lifetime, Abu Nu'aym wrote about 150 books, but his most famous work is *Hilyat al-awliya wa tabaqat al-asfiya*, which is considered a *hadith* and *tasawwuf* source.

In that monumental work he discussed the lives of famous mystics and ascetics, and provided data on about 700 scholars. In his work, he put *tabaqat* (groups of *hadith* reporters) into an order which reflects their *fadilat* (qualities in *hadith* science). He introduced in his work techniques for ranking different Companions and followers of the Prophet. The most famous work done on *al-Hilya* was written by IBN AL-JAWZI (d. 597/1200) with the title *Sifat al-safwa*. In that work, Ibn al-Jawzi gave information on the life of about 1,031 scholars; 600 of them are scholars that are mentioned in *al-Hilya*, and he himself added the rest in his book. He was not uncritical of al-Isfahani, nor was IBN TAYMIYYA, but both thought him *siqa* (reliable) and an enormous *hadith* authority. He wrote in a wide variety of the Islamic sciences, but it is definitely his work on *hadith* that made him so well known.

Abu Nu'aym was a follower of the Shafi'i *madhhab* in action (*amal*) and was a follower of the Salafi view in belief. But he agreed with the Ash'arites in believing that the Qur'an was created, and consequently the Hanbalis expelled him from Isfahan. Although some Shi'i scholars claimed that he was a Shi'i, this claim was rejected by some other Shi'i scholars like Muhsin al-Amin and Ibn Shehrashub. They said that he was an *Ahl al-Sunna* scholar. Because of his usage of *Akhbarana* as one of the ways of obtaining *hadith* without mentioning whether it was based on listening (*qira'a*), or based on permission (*ijaza*), and because of his narration of fabricated *hadith* without mentioning their being fabricated and because of his being against ABU HANIFA he was often regarded as controversial.

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YUSUF ZIYA KESKIN

AL-ISFAHANI, al-Raghib (d. 502/1108)

Abu al-Qasim al-Husayn b. Muhammad b. al-Mufaddal was born in Isfahan (Iran). His date of birth is not known. According to Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, he died early in the sixth/twelfth century. There is no strong evidence that al-Raghib ever left his native Isfahan. We have extremely scanty information about him and his life. Although he wrote popular works in Islamic studies, and had influence on famous Muslim scholars such as AL-GHAZALI, al-Raghib's name is missing from almost all the standard biographical dictionaries. Despite some claims that he was a Mu'tazili scholar, Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI describes him otherwise.

Al-Raghib focused mainly on Qur'anic studies, especially exegesis and ethics. One of the scholars who had been mostly influenced by his works was al-Qadi al-Baydawi, the famous commentator on the Qur'an. Al-Raghib's best-known work, *al-Mufradat fi gharib al-qur'an*, whose influence can be traced in later *tafsir* traditions as well as in lexicography, is a unique Qur'anic lexicon. He is known in the Muslim world mostly through this work.

According to Yasien Mohamed, all that is available in English is a chapter by Majid Fakhry, which gives only a brief description of some of the contents of al-Raghib's ethical treatise, *al-Dhari'a ila makarim al-shari'a* (The Means to the Noble Qualities of the Law). *Al-Mufradat* is one of a series of monographs on the Qur'an by him. In its introduction, al-Raghib refers to his previous works: *Risala Munabbiha 'ala fawaid al-Qur'an* and *Risala fi al-qawanin al-dalla 'ala tahqiq munasabat al-alfaz*. These are important but lost works. The other books that are lost are *al-Akhlaq*, *al-Iman wa-kufr*, *Tahqiq al-bayan fi ta'wil al-Qur'an*, *Afanin al-balagha*, *Kitab Mutashabihat al-qur'an*, and *Kitab Kalimat al-sahaba*.

Al-Raghib's extant works are *al-Dhari'a ila makarim al-shari'a* (The Means to the Noble Qualities of the Law), *Mufradat fi gharib al-qur'an*, *Tafsil al-nash'atayn wa-tahsil al-sa'adatayn*, *Kitab al-I'tiqadat*, *Muqaddimat al-tafsir*, and *Muhadarat al-udaba'*. E. K. Rowson describes the *Muhadarat* as a comprehensive *adab* encyclopedia, organized in twenty-five chapters covering such topics as intellect, rulership, crafts, food, courage, love, death and animals, and including poetry and short prose anecdotes from all periods of Islamic history in approximately equal proportions; particularly prominent are verses by al-Mutanabbi and al-Sharif al-Radi and poetry and prose by Ibn 'Abbad. Majid Fakhry classifies the ethics of al-Raghib as "religious ethics" rather than "philosophical ethics" as he considers it to be more firmly rooted in the Qur'an and the traditions. In one of the works that is lost, *Tahqiq al-bayan fi ta'wa al-Qur'an,* al-Raghib deals with a series of standard *kalam* topics, such as the attributes of God and the problem of free will, but much of his argumentation is philosophical, including his conception of God as the necessary existent (*wajib al- wujud bi-dhatihi*) and the unmoved mover. As Rowson points out, al-Raghib is significant as a precursor of al-Ghazali in accepting and utilizing a more diffuse form of *falsafa* in maintaining a rationalized but relatively conservative Islamic stance.

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HARUN SAHIN

ISHRAQ

The concept of illumination, *ishraq*, lies at the heart of most Islamic mystical philosophy. The most important exponent was AL-SUHRAWARDI, who developed the notion of *al-'ilm al-huduri,* a form of knowledge that is so direct and unmediated that it cannot be doubted. Knowledge is like light flooding into the soul, and the wisdom of light, *hikmat al-ishraq*, becomes in every sense a form of enlightenment. Although Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy also discussed illumination, al-Suhrawardi's conceptions are probably derived from earlier Indo-Persian mystical systems of thought and belief. Al-Suhrawardi's genius lay in incorporating these into the existing system of Islamic thought, providing methods where by inner meanings and symbols can be explored. His ideas were taken up by many others, notably Qutb al-Din AL-SHIRAZI. The concept of illumination was mistrusted by some such as IBN SINA, who thought excessive reliance on it could lead to pantheism.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

İZZET, Mehmet (1891–1930)

The Turkish thinker and writer Mehmet İzzet was born in Istanbul. He finished his school education at Galatasaray high school where he received his training in French. He received his PhD in philosophy from Sorbonne University. He was appointed an instructor in philosophy at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (*Daru'l-fünun*) in 1919. He also taught French.

İzzet is usually considered to be an idealist philosopher. Under the influence of the American philosopher and psychologist James Mark Baldwin and the German Romantics, he sought to formulate a humanistic idealism. Like Baldwin, he divided human history into three stages. The first stage, called "pre-logic," refers to the period when nature and human spirit were one and the same thing. The second, called the "logic," refers to the period when spirit and nature are separated from one another, leading to a radical cleavage between spirit and nature/matter. The third, called the "post-logic," designates the modern period where spirit and nature have been reunited.

İzzet was opposed to the social determinism of Ziya GÖKALP. He argued that Gökalp's theories about society and culture left no space for individual freedom and invalidated moral accountability. Instead of defining social forces as the primary determinants of human life, İzzet reasoned, we should formulate a philosophy that would give equal weight to the individual as well as to society.

Against the followers of Gökalp, he made a distinction between nation and nationalism on the one hand, and ideal and idealism on the other. Rather than defining nationalism as the collective ideology of a group of people that belong to the same ethnic stock, he posits an "ideal" to be the defining element of national unity and nationalism. For him, nationality is an ideal rather than a physical or racial reality. It is this ideal that brings people of various backgrounds under the banner of a common cause and ideal. To further elaborate this point, İzzet explained the concept of nationality within the context of democracy, freedom, science, economy, and politics.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

J

JABR

The concept of *jabr* (free will) has been a perplexing one in Islamic philosophy, and goes right back to the time of the Prophet. At its heart is the question of *qadar* (decree), by which it was usually assumed that whatsoever God decrees will come to pass, as he is omnipotent. This was taken by some early theologians to mean absolute predestination. However others, the imam ‘ALI among them, stated categorically that human beings have a measure of free will and can choose their own actions for good or evil. The early theological school known as the Qadarites argued that people have power over their own actions, and the Mu‘tazilites affirmed that people have not only the freedom to choose their actions, but the responsibility to choose wisely.

However, just as in Christian philosophy, this position raises the problem of where human responsibility ends, where the buck stops. The Mu‘tazilites, while asserting freedom of choice, seem to indicate that this freedom is granted to us by God. IBN HAZM was later to take up much the same position; he argued that without divine guidance, human souls incline naturally to evil. Those who commit evil acts do so of their own free will for they have chosen to defy God, and are therefore punished for their disobedience. This in turn leads to the problem of evil, of why God can permit people to act in evil ways, when he has the power to stop them from doing so. AL-KINDI tried to get around this by asserting that God is without attributes and is therefore beyond such moral judgments as “good” and “evil.” ‘Ayn al-Qudat HAMADANI proposed that what we perceive as evil is in reality good in the long run, like taking unpleasant medicine to cure an illness.

A more compelling argument was that of Abu Bakr AL-RAZI. He argued that a measure of free will was essential if human beings were to truly know God, for the acquisition of knowledge is itself an act of will. In order to understand God’s guidance and turn away from evil, we must at the same time exercise our intelligence and turn away from ignorance (*jahiliyya*). Free will and knowledge thus become closely linked, as do ignorance and evil.

OLIVER LEAMAN

JAHILIYA

The term *jahiliya* (ignorance) has several meanings. One is a general reference to those lacking knowledge, specifically, “knowledge of the Qur’an and the faith of Islam,” indeed, knowledge of God. Opinions have been and remain divided as to how to treat those who are ignorant, ranging from peaceful toleration and pity to more forceful actions.

Jahiliya can also mean the “time of ignorance,” that is, the time before the Prophet.

Islamic philosophers have always had a somewhat ambivalent view of the time of ignorance. Without access to the true knowledge of God vouchsafed to Muhammad, these people were condemned to ignorance whatever their other qualities might have been. The partial wisdom granted to earlier prophets such as Moses and Jesus meant that Christians and Jews, "people of the book," were somewhat less ignorant than others such as pagans and idolaters, but they were still possessors of a sort of second-class knowledge.

On the other hand, it could not be denied by philosophers that people of earlier periods possessed wisdom of their own. Aristotle, Plato, and Neoplatonists such as Plotinus and Proclus were undoubtedly wise, and so too were early scientists such as Ptolemy and Galen, who had worked out many of the problems of the physical world. Equally, there were sources of wisdom to be tapped in the pre-Islamic ideas and writings of India and Persia. The wise figures from these worlds resemble the "virtuous pagans" of Dante, condemned through no fault of their own and respected for their ideas and wisdom. The problem facing Islamic philosophers was in many cases one of how to take these ideas from non-Islamic models and make them conform to Islam and acceptable to religious authorities. Quite often they failed, which is why so many Islamic philosophers, especially in the early period, led rather perilous lives.

OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-JAHIZ (d. 255/868)

Abu ʻUthman ʻAmr ibn Bahr was born in Basra, and appeared to have come from a humble background. His grandfather may have been a black slave, and his father died while he was very young. His early education appears to have been quite haphazard, but certainly successful since he picked up a good deal of philosophy from his association with the Muʻtazilite al-Nazzam, and a general facility in the use of language by listening to people in the markets and mosques. This was a period when a young man without connections had to impress through his accomplishments in order to get on, and al-Jahiz, as he came to be known (it means "the goggle-eyed") evidently did not have good looks to assist him. According to a popular account, the ʻAbbasid ruler al-Mutawakkil engaged al-Jahiz as a tutor to his children before seeing him, and then offered to pay him off, since he thought the teacher would frighten the children given his appearance.

Al-Jahiz is said to have written, before 202/817, a book on the imamate that was well received, and won the favor of the caliph al-Ma'mun. Presumably this was not unrelated to the support that the book gave to the legitimacy of the ʻAbbasid regime. Hence al-Jahiz moved to the capital, Baghdad, where it was rightly thought he would be an effective advocate in literature of the ideology of the regime. In particular his links with the Muʻtazilite AL-NAZZAM can have done him no harm in the firmly Muʻtazilite atmosphere of Baghdad, and he acquired a number of important political figures as his sponsors and supporters. This was useful in the tumultuous political upheavals that frequently rocked the court, and al-Jahiz usually found that when a supporter fell from favor, he could be replaced with someone else. He was, however, obliged to leave the capital and retire to Basra, where he spent the rest of his life.

Al-Jahiz typified the world of *adab*, often translated into French as belles-lettres, a form of literature very popular at the time, and having more than just literary import. It involved graceful style and vivid expression, combined with moral force and educational aims. It is difficult to describe his style, since it is often prolix, which should make it tedious to read, but the reverse is actually the case. His language is fresh and lively throughout, perhaps even more so when he is piling up example on example. He is able to display virtuosity even when discussing apparently minor issues. For example, in his *Kitab al-Hayawan* (Book of Animals), he makes some very serious observations about the animal kingdom that reveal a deep understanding of the relevant science. On the other hand the book is very much a potpourri of facts and ideas, and he spends a lot of time comparing animals, as though it mattered whether sheep were superior to goats, for instance. What does matter is the language he uses to make such implausible cases sound almost plausible, since it is highly innovative and stretches normal meanings as far as they will go, and perhaps a bit further. A feature of many of his books is this sort of comparison, of one animal compared with another, of one type of human compared with another, of one religious sect compared and contrasted with another.

Al-Jahiz does try to write on language also from a theoretical perspective, but as is so often the case, the practitioner is not that good at understanding how his skill works and why. It might be that al-Jahiz felt he should not plunge too deeply into the theoretical issues he investigated—and there were an enormous number of these—since this might tire or annoy the reader. He, of course, relied on such readers to protect him, and if they became bored with his output then that protection could be withdrawn, not to mention the funds that accrued with it. His work often suggests a clash between coherence and style, as though a concentration of just one would be problematic. Too much logical rigor would make the text boring, while too much concentration on style would make it empty of significance. It is important in *adab* for content and form to be matched in a harmonious way, so that the text is neither too serious nor too frivolous. This can be observed in some of the topics that al-Jahiz selected, some serious and dealt with lightly, and others even scatological but considered with all the ponderous seriousness of a scientific investigation.

Al-Jahiz is full of wit, satire, irony, and an eclectic erudition based on sharp observation of character. His language is both literary and inspired by the rhythms of ordinary speech. He moves smoothly from the serious to the amusing (and back again) for the entertainment of his readers. His work frequently has a combative aspect; he is usually defending some position or theory and his use of digression and anecdote is an attempt at disarming his opponents.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

JAHM IBN SAFWAN (d. 128/745)

Jahm ibn Safwan, also known as Abu Mihriz, an early theologian and politician, was born in Khurasan. The year of his birth is not known, but he was executed in the year 128/745. Jahm was a *mawla*, born into a family of slaves, but he was set free and showed his gratitude to Benu Rasib. He spent his early years in Tirmidh; of his education and teachers we know nothing, but it seems that in his early days he worked in Tirmidh as an administrator on the river border and a tax collector. His biographical details are not known and Ibn Kathir's claim that he went to Kufa where he met al-Ja'd b. Dirham, the important theologian and philosopher, and studied under him, seems to be apocryphal. Instead, Van Ess maintains that there may be some truth that he made a journey to Harran and probably met al-Ja'd b. Dirham there. However, Van Ess is inclined to think that he never actually left the province of Khurasan.

Jahm seems indeed to have spent most of his life in Tirmidh, where he became popular and had most of his followers, as many sources confirm. Al-Malti and other early heresiographers, however, mention a journey to Balkh where he met Muqatil b. Sulayman, the famous anthropomorphist and interpreter of scripture. It is not clear whether Jahm went there in order to debate with him or sought to learn from him; in any case, Muqatil, according to Tabari, influenced Jahm's expulsion from Balkh. After spending some time in Tirmidh, he joined the revolt against the Umayyads which was led by al-Harith b. Surayj, and both were killed in 746/128.

The doctrines of Jahm are vague and usually confused with what is also known as Jahamiya, a group or different groups of followers of Jahm who appear in different provinces: Khurasan, Jibal Baghdad, and even in Medina until the end of the fourth Hijri century. Heresiographers are confused about his theological position; Nawbakhti and AL-ASH'ARI consider the Jahamiya to be one of the Murji'a groups because of its belief that faith is based only on true knowledge of God and not on performing certain acts, while IBN TAYMIYYA and other heresiographers consider him to be a Mu'tazilite because of his rational interpretation (*ta'wil*) of the Qur'an and his rejection of the eternal essential attributes of God.

Unfortunately, none of Jahm's writings have survived; to reconstruct his views we must wholly depend on secondary material. The most important early sources which provide detailed information about Jahm are the *Kitab al-Radd 'ala al-jahmiya* attributed to IBN HANBAL, al-Malti's *al-Tanbih fi al-radd 'ala ahl al-ahawa'*, AL-ASH'ARI's *Maqalat*, and Khayat's *Kitab al-Intisar*. His major themes seem to have concentrated on the nature of God and his relationship to humanity and the world. Jahm divides existence into immaterial and material objects, or the eternal and the created. God for him is immaterial and the only eternal, the creator of all other beings. Everything save God is corporeal and created. It seems, however, that he lays great emphasis on God's immaterial nature in order to fight the anthropomorphic trend which was widespread in Khurasan under the leadership of Muqatil b. Sulayman. He also introduces the method of allegorical interpretation in order to interpret verses of the Qur'an which present God's image in an anthropomorphic literary style. He may have learned this method from Ja'd ibn Dirham in his alleged journeys to Kufa or to Harran.

Jahm is also linked to the group of upholders of Jabriya, God's decreeing of all events. However, Jahm mainly believed in a necessary determination of everything which presents God as the only agent of all events and acts. Although this determination seems to have been influenced by Neoplatonism, Jahm identifies God with the events on earth and makes him will and be responsible for them all. According to Jahiz, Jahm believed that this determinism cannot be related to nature, since to his mind God is the director and the only agent. This concept is also connected with his belief that God exists everywhere and in no specific place; He is therefore fully inside and also outside the world and nothing escapes his presence or his power. Thus all acts, including human acts, are in reality only his own. This also explains Jahm's concept of God's invisibility to human vision; this lies not in his immateriality and the impossibility of sense perception to perceive him, as the Mu'tazilites believe, but simply because of his inseparability from all things and the impossibility to be in one place alone. It is possible here to find connections between his theory of the immanence of God and the Stoic theory of pantheism; nevertheless, Jahm makes clear that God is the creator and the willing agent of all things. Thus he is both above all things and in all things. This concept is used by Ibn Taymiyya to link Jahm with the mystical philosopher Muhyi al-Din IBN AL-'ARABI.

Jahm seems also to have introduced the first psychological concepts of human perception. Al-Malti and AL-TABARI mention an anecdote about Jahm and his debate with the Sumaniya, probably an Indian Buddhist sect who lived in Balkh and elsewhere in Khurasan. (According to Van Ess, there was a famous Buddhist monastery in the area of Balkh before the advent of Islam, which was then destroyed and its members dispersed.) The debate with the Sumaniya, as mentioned in IBN HANBAL's *Radd* and many other sources, was proposed on the condition that the vanquished should embrace the faith of the victor. Parts of their argument ran as follows:

> Sumaniya: You assert that you have a God?
>
> Jahm: Yes.
>
> Sumaniya: Have you seen your God?
>
> Jahm: No.
>
> Sumaniya: Have you smelled Him?
>
> Jahm: No.
>
> Sumaniya: Have you sensed Him in anyway?
>
> Jahm: No.
>
> Sumaniya: Have you touched Him?
>
> Jahm: No.
>
> Sumaniya: Then what makes you believe that he is God?

Jahm was puzzled and for forty days did not know whom to worship. He finally supplied an argument similar to the one used by Christians. Christians allege that the spirit of Jesus is from God's essence. Jahm argued in the same fashion.

> Jahm: Do you assert that you have a spirit in you?
>
> Sumaniya: Yes.
>
> Jahm: Have you seen your spirit?
>
> Sumaniya: No.
>
> Jahm: Have you heard it speaking?
>
> Sumaniya: No.
>
> Jahm: Have you sensed it in any way or touched it?
>
> Sumaniya: No.
>
> Jahm: Similarly with Allah.

(While Ibn Hanbal in his book considers that Jahm was using a Christian argument, a similar debate is in fact mentioned in Plato's *Sophist.*)

The same story, however, is repeated by the late Mu'tazilite, 'ABD AL-JABBAR. Here Jahm seemed to have asked for help from Wasil IBN "ATA" in Basra, who agreed to help him and sent him Hafs b. Salim. The main answer to this dilemma was the explanation that rational perception, unlike the five senses, can perceive what is immaterial. However, as Van Ess points out, Jahm's view of human perception is quite different from this idea and from other answers ascribed to him by his opponents. Jahm believes that humans are not able to perceive God, for neither the senses nor the intellect is able to identify him. Humans know God, not through necessary knowledge which was implanted in them from birth, as the

Mu‘tazilites believe, but only through the knowledge which God bestows upon them. God chooses his people according to his own will. Thus Jahm, through his determinist theory, *jabr*, declares the inability of the human intellect and senses to perceive God. Hence this story, though mentioned in many sources, seems to be a legend.

From Jahm's opponents we also hear of his rejection of most of the traditions which are derived from *hadith*. He rejects the concept of punishment in the grave due to his objection to the eternity of Paradise and Hell. Paradise and Hell will be the place of reward and punishment on the day of resurrection and judgment and therefore neither is yet created; consequently it is absurd, in his view, to have punishment in the grave before judgment.

The Jahmite doctrines mentioned above can be easily seen to have links with many theological schools such as Mu‘tazilism, Ash‘arism, and philosophical mysticism. It does seem, however, impossible that Jahm can have been responsible for all the theories mentioned above while also maintaining a clear political revolutionary position which led to his death probably at a relatively early age. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to consider that many of these concepts were developed by his followers, known as the Jahamiya, although the heresiographers do not specify any of their names. The term Jahamiya, however, survived at least until the end of the thirteenth century, which proves the existence of its adherents.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

JALAL AL-DIN MUHAMMAD AL-RUMI, *see* al-Rumi

JANGIDOST, ‘ABD AL-QADIR IBN ABI SALIH, *see* al-Jilani

AL-JAWALIQI, Hisham b. Salim

(d. after 183/799)

Abu Muhammad (or Abu al-Hakam) Hisham b. Salim al-Jawaliqi was an Imami theologian of the second/eighth century and one of the two Hishams, with Hisham b. al-Hakam, from whom heresiographers derived the name of the Hishamiyya, an anthropomorphist school of thought in Shi‘i Islam. He was from Juzjan in North Khurasan. Little is known about al-Jawaliqi's life. He was brought to Kufa as a slave and sold to Bishr b. Marwan. After accepting Islam, he was freed. He lived in Kufa, trading in provender. The date and place of his death are unknown. However, a report displaying his debate with a Waqifi leader indicates that he survived the imam al-Kazim, who died in 183/799.

Hisham al-Jawaliqi was a disciple of the imams Ja‘far al-Sadiq and Musa al-Kazim. Before being introduced to al-Sadiq in Medina, his first acquaintance with Shi‘i ideas probably took place in Zurara b. A‘yan's circle in Kufa. His stand during the crisis following the death of al-Sadiq seems to have been very crucial. When ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far al-Aftah, the eldest living son of al-Sadiq, was acknowledged as the new imam by the majority of the Imami party, al-Jawaliqi, with his friend, ABU JA‘FAR AL-AHWAL, visited ‘Abdallah and questioned him on some religious matters. ‘Abdallah's answers did not satisfy al-Jawaliqi. His decision was that

ʿAbdallah's knowledge was inadequate for the imamate. He then went to al-Kazim with other notables, questioned him and, being satisfied, acknowledged him publicly as their new imam. This event caused a break within ʿAbdallah's camp. For this reason, there were several attempts to assault al-Jawaliqi by the frustrated followers of ʿAbdallah. His service on behalf of the suppression of the activities of the Waqifis, who denied al-Kazim's death and declared that he had gone into *ghayba* (occultation), is also worth mentioning. He debated with Muhammad b. Bashir, the leader of the extremist wing of the Waqifa. It is said that Muhammad was defeated by al-Jawaliqi in argument.

Hisham al-Jawaliqi was an anthropomorphist. According to him, God was a form of man, who had the qualities of limitation. He possessed five senses and had hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose, and mouth as well as thick black hair, which he described as "light black." His upper part was hollow, the rest was full and solid. Al-Jawaliqi also claimed that the object he worshipped as God was in the image of man, but he was not a body formed from blood, flesh, and bones. He was rather a diffused white light. However, al-Shahrastani reports on the authority of the Muʿtazili al-Warraq that al-Jawaliqi gave up these ideas and adopted a Salafi or traditionalist line by keeping silent about anthropomorphic issues in theology.

Al-Jawaliqi denied the eternal nature of God's attributes: God's knowledge is "produced" and thus modifiable. His will is equivalent to His movement: When He wanted to make something, only He moved, and then it existed. All that exists in the universe, including man's acts as well as his belief and disbelief, are bodies (*ajsam*) which exist by God's will. Accidents (*aʿrad*) have no real existence. The ability to act (*istitaʿa*) does not mean human free ability to perform. It is simply health (*sihha*), and every healthy man has the ability to act. With these ideas, al-Jawaliqi stands in between pure determinists and thinkers who advocated the free will of humanity.

According to al-Jawaliqi, infallibility (*al-ʿisma*) was not an essential prophetic attribute even though the imams were necessarily infallible. He held this on the grounds that the prophets could be corrected by revelation and turned away from sin, whereas the imams had no chance to receive revelation. He also defended the *wasiyya*, Muhammad's testamentary appointment of ʿAli b. Abi Talib to the imamate. Except for his teachings about the imamate, al-Jawaliqi's philosophical ideas generally contradicted the later authoritative Imami theology. However, Imami traditionists represented him as a very trustworthy narrator in *hadith*. The books attributed to him are not on theology. Three nonextant works of his on the pilgrimage, the exegesis of the Qur'an, and *al-miʿraj*, the miraculous midnight journey of Muhammad to Heaven from Jerusalem, are recorded.

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M. ALI BUYUKKARA

AL-JILANI, ‘Abd al-Qadir
(470–562/1077–1166)

Born in Naif in the Persian province of Gilan, south of the Caspian Sea, in 470/1077, ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani was the eponymous founder of one of the earliest Sufi *tariqat* (from *tariqa,* “path,” meaning a Sufi order or school), the Qadiriya. A renowned preacher, Hanbali jurist, and exemplar of what came to be known as “sober Sufism,” Jilani died in Baghdad in 562/1166.

‘Abd al-Qadir’s early life is shrouded in hagiographic legend, the contents of which are pedagogically designed for ethical and religious edification, not biographical elucidation. His father was Imam Sayyid Abu Salih Musa Jangi Dost, his mother, Sayyida Umm al-Khayr Amat al-Jabbar Fatima. It does appear that his mother and an aunt were formative influences on his spiritual development, a role assumed by not a few women in the lives of prominent Sufis.

In 488/1095, at the age of eighteen, ‘Abd al-Qadir went to Baghdad, then the center of religious learning in the Islamic world, for formal pursuit of the traditional spiritual “sciences,” *hadith*, *kalam*, and *fiqh*. He was schooled in Hanbali jurisprudence courtesy of Abu al-Wafa’ ibn al-‘Aqil (d. 513/1119) and the *qadi* (judge) Abu Sa‘d al-Mubarak al-Mukharrimi, from whom he also received the Sufi *khirqa* (the patched frock or mantle of Sufi investiture). However, his spiritual mentor in Sufism was Shaykh Hammad al-Dabbas (d. 523/1131). Like ‘Abdullah Ansari AL-HARAWI (d. 481/1089) before him, ‘Abd al-Qadir’s spiritual practice and theology demonstrates the absence of inherent conflict between the Hanbali *madhhab* (“school” of Islamic law) and Sufism; indeed, strict observance of Shari‘a (divine law) and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence proper) are a necessary condition for embarking on the Science of the Inner Spiritual Path (*tariqa*), Direct Knowledge (*ma‘rifa*), and Reality (*Haqiqa*). In other words, revelatory knowledge is reflected in an epistemological division of labor between the “exoteric” and the “esoteric,” the former pertaining to that which is methodically derived from the interpretation of sacred law (by way of the Qur’an, *hadith*, and analogical reasoning), the latter signified by the Sufi valuation of *ma‘rifa* (“gnosis,” direct intuitive understanding or mystical knowledge).

This *Muhyi’d-din* (Reviver of the Religion) and *sultan al-awliya’* (The Sultan of the Saints)—among other honorific appellations—spent twenty-five years wandering in the desert outside Baghdad upon completion of his religious curriculum. Yet ‘Abd al-Qadir’s asceticism went hand in hand with raising a rather large family (as with their Kabbalistic counterparts, Sufi ascetic practices need not require celibacy). Remarkably, his career as a preacher did not commence until about 521/1127, at the age of fifty-one. It is this legacy of lectures over about a forty-year period: at the hostel, in the *madrasa*, and at the *‘idga* (open-air space), that served to secure his reputation as one of the most popular saints in Islam. Many of Jilani’s manuscripts are collections of these public exhortations, notably, *Al-Fath ar-rabbani* (The Sublime Revelation) and *Futuh al-Ghayb* (Revelations of the Unseen). These lectures, technically termed *maqalat* (utterances), are a bit more sophisticated than the traditional *khutba*, the sermon accompanying Friday’s noon prayer at the mosque. And this genre of Islamic discourse is spontaneous, without text or notes, and may involve question-and-answer between the speaker and his audience. Jilani’s *Al-Ghunya li-talibi tariq al-haqq* (Sufficient Provision for Seekers of the Path of Truth) is a conventional text that testifies to his exegetical skills as Hanbali *mufti* and theologian, detailing the variegated religious, ethical, and social duties of a conscientious Muslim. Although it holds fast to the aforementioned distinction between the exoteric and esoteric domains of religious knowledge, the latter receives comparatively brief coverage, and is thus best read alongside his *Kitab Sirr al-asrar wa mazhar al-anwar* (The Book of the Secret of Secrets and the Manifestation of Lights). Among the myriad themes and topics treated is a hierarchical typology of Islamic religious figures ranked according to criteria of spiritual authority and attainment: messenger (*rasul*), prophet (*nabi*), "friend of God" (*wali*), shaykh, seeker (*murid*), "substitute" (*badal*), trusted one (*siddiq*), and martyr-witness (*shahid*); and, the essential elements of the Sufi path involving the "greater *jihad*" (*mujahada*) against the lower self (*nafs*), the passions, natural impulses, and habits that darken one's heart (*qalb*) and require purging through purificatory ascetic practices.

Jilani was entrusted with the *madrasa* of al-Mukharrimi, to which pious endowments permitted the construction of an attached *ribat* used to house his family and provide services to the poor and needy. The Qadiriya order was not well established for some time after his death, but several of his sons, their descendants and devoted followers were instrumental in this *tariqa* spreading, over the course of several centuries, from West Africa to Southeast Asia, making it one (if not the most) expansive of Sufi orders. The Ottoman patronage of Sulayman the Magnificent (d. 974/1566) restored his mausoleum with a *turba* in 945/1535, as this sanctuary remains a place of pilgrimage, especially on his *mawlid* (anniversary celebration), 11 Rabi' al-Thani.

While Jilani is reputed to have said, "my foot is on the neck of every saint of God," and although his name is intimately associated with tales of the miraculous, perhaps neither attribution detracts from his status as a sober Sufi, for the respective portraits combined may account for his singular standing among Islamic saints.

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AL-JILI, 'Abd al-Karim

(*c.* 1366–1408 or 1417)

The author of the renowned work *al-Insan al-kamil* (The Universal Man), 'Abd al-Karim b. Ibrahim al-Jili, was born in Jil, Baghdad, and became a well-known name in much of the Islamic world from Turkey to Indonesia. Little is known of his life. The dates of his birth and death have not been firmly established. His family lineage goes back to 'Abd al-Qadir al-JILANI, the celebrated founder of the Qadiriyya order of Sufism. Certain passages of his spiritual autobiography scattered throughout his writings indicate that he traveled in India and lived for some time in Yemen. Some historians credit him with introducing the Qadiriyya order into India. He wrote about two dozen works. His most famous work, however, is *al-Insan al-kamil*, a classic manual of Sufi metaphysics and spiritual psychology.

Jili continued the tradition of IBN AL-'ARABI (d. 1240) by expanding and commenting upon such key terms of the school of Ibn al-'Arabi as the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*), exterior (*zahir*) and interior (*batin*), and the self-disclosure (*tajalli*) of God. The concept of "universal" or "perfect man" was developed first by Ibn al-'Arabi as a synthesis of traditional cosmology and spiritual anthropology. According to al-Jili, the human state is a microcosm of the various names and qualities of God. The phrase *al-Insan al-kamil* refers to the highest state of human perfection. In the tradition of Ibn al-'Arabi and al-Jili, the universal man is ultimately the Prophet of Islam who functions as the pole of sanctity and prophecy in the Islamic tradition. Even though the spiritual master is occasionally referred to as the universal man, the title is reserved primarily for the Prophet.

One of the central themes of Jili's work is the relationship between God and his creation on the one hand, and God and the human world, on the other. The first question pertains to the multiplicity of the world in view of God's absolute unity, which underlies Islam's strict monotheism. Jili explains the relationship between Divine unity and manifest multiplicity by referring to such concepts as the transcendent unity of being and the theophany or self-disclosure of God. Drawing on Ibn al-'Arabi, Jili develops a doctrine of unity-in-diversity and diversity-in-unity. God's absolute being and unity, however, transcends all multiplicities and contingencies and is not tainted by them. The second question, that is, the relationship between God and man, is explained by considering the human state as a microcosm of the universe and the universe as a macrocosm of the human state. Man is called the "small universe" and the universe the "big man." This view takes all creation to be an act of God's unveiling and self-disclosure.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

JILWAH, Mirza Abu'l-Hasan
(1238–1314/1822–96)

One of the prominent philosophers of the nineteenth century, Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Jilwah or Jilwa was born in 1238/1822 in Ahmadabad in Gujarat, India. Jilwa's father had migrated to India and held some government positions there. When he returned to Isfahan with his son, Jilwah was a young boy. Jilwah received his education in religious sciences, philosophy, and medicine in Isfahan. Jilwah studied with Aqa Mirza Hasan Chini Ali al-Zahiri, Akhund Mulla Abd al-Jawad al-Tuni al-Khurasani, and Mulla Muhammad Ja'far Langharudi. In 1856, he moved to Tehran where he taught until his death in 1896. He trained many students, some of whom continued to teach Islamic philosophy until the first part of the twentieth century.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Jilwah was a straightforward Peripatetic philosopher. Even though he studied and taught the works of AL-SUHRAWARDI and MULLA SADRA, his forte was in the works of IBN SINA. Jilwah displays no particular taste for the kind of mystical philosophy we find in the later interpretations of Suhrawardi and Sadra. In his glosses on Sadra's *Asfar*, he criticized Sadra for taking ideas from different philosophers and not acknowledging his sources. Jilwah was unusually diligent with the classical texts he studied and taught. He has even corrected the texts of Ibn Sina's *Shifa*, RUMI's *Mathnawi*, and IBN TURKAH Isfahani's *Tamhid al-qawa'id*. His rationalist predilection did not prevent Jilwah from composing poetry in the traditional style.

Jilwah wrote a number of treatises of his own and glosses on the classical philosophical texts he taught in his career as a teacher. Almost all of his works deal with the problems of traditional ontology, epistemology, and theology. His own works include the following: *Risala fi bayan kayfiyyat istijabat al-du'a'* (Treatise Explaining the Nature of God's Response to Prayers); *Risala fi'l-tarkib wa ahkamihi* (Treatise on Composition and Its Principles); *Risala fi'l-jism al-ta'limi* (Treatise on the Mathematical Object); *Risala fi'l-harakat al-jawhariyya* (Treatise on Substantial Motion); *Risala fi'l-rabt al-hadith bi'l-qadim* (Treatise on Connection Between the Temporally Generated and the Eternal); *Risala fi'l-kulli wa aqsamihi* (Treatise on the Universal and Its Divisions); *Risala fi wujud al-suwar al-naw'iyya* (Treatise on the Being of the Forms of the Species); *Risala fi'l-wujud* (Treatise on Being).

Jilwah's other works include glosses (*ta'liqah*) on Sadra's *Asfar*, in which he shows the sources of some of Sadra's ideas; a gloss on Ibn Turkah Isfahani's *Tamhid al-qawa'id* (Arrangement of Principles); a gloss on SABZIWARI's *Sharh al-manzumah* (Commentary on the Manzumah); a gloss on Mulla Sadra's *Sharh al-hidayah* (Commentary on the Hidayah [of Abhari]), *al-Mabda wa'l-ma'ad* (The Beginning and the Return), and *Kitab al-Masha'ir* (The Book of Metaphysical Penetrations); a gloss on Ibn Sina's *Shifa*' (Cure); a gloss on Rumi's *Mathnawi*; a gloss on 'Abd al-Rahman Jami's *Misbah al-uns* (The Key to the Souls of People); and a gloss on Dawud al-Qaysari's commentary on IBN AL-'ARABI's *Fusus al-hikam*. Jilwah has also a diwan of poetry.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-JUNAYD, Abu al-Qasim

(215–296 to 298/827–908 to 910)

Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd was born and brought up in Baghdad, where his ancestors had emigrated from the Persian province of

Jibal. His date of birth can be conjectured based on different accounts as 215/827, and his death was almost certainly between 296 and 298/908 and 910. Al-Junayd's father died while he was still a boy. His uncle, the famous Sufi Sari al-Saqti, adopted him and brought him up as his own son. Al-Junayd was a somewhat reserved person by nature; he preferred the company of the small circle of his uncle's followers. His education was mainly in Baghdad and concentrated on Islamic traditional sciences such as *hadith* and *fiqh*. After completing his studies he became a recognized jurist, though he never, in fact, practised this career. Instead he immersed himself in studying Sufism in his uncle's school. Later he himself led the school and became a distinguished Sufi master. Several important Sufis studied under him, such as Shibli, Jurayri, Ja'far al-Khuldi (who recorded some parts of his teaching in his book *Hikayat al-awliya'*), and Abu Sa'id al-'Arabi. Abu Yazid al-Bistami and AL-HALLAJ, in addition, seem to have been influenced greatly by al-Junayd but they were probably rejected as students in his school because of their concept of *hulul*, indwelling. Toward the end of his life, al-Junayd and his school were attacked by the orthodox traditionalists and accused of heresy, and some of his students were brought to trial. Afterward al-Junayd withdrew completely from public life and remained with his closest disciples until his death.

Baghdad in the time of Junayd was known for its two important Sufi schools: the school of AL-MUHASIBI, which taught traditional Sufism based on the Qur'an and Sunna, and the school of Sari al-Saqti which, although also traditionally based, introduced a kind of Gnostic Sufism which aims at unification with God. Al-Saqti himself was a student of the famous Gnostic Sufi Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 200/812). Ma'ruf came probably from a Sabaean family which was influenced by Manichean Gnosticism, though 'Abd al-Qadir considers that Ma'ruf could well have derived his Sufi system from Neoplatonic sources which were also available in this early period. The school of al-Saqti was deeply immersed in doctrines which had as their aim and hope unification with God. Unfortunately we possess no writings either from Saqti nor from Ma'ruf; our main source here is the anecdotes reported by al-Junayd. The relationship between al-Saqti and al-Junayd is rightly reported as a Socratic-Platonic association. The teaching of al-Saqti seems to be in the form of questions to stimulate al-Junayd and other followers in order to let them produce the desired mystical system. It also seems that much of what we know about al-Saqti comes more or less from al-Junayd, although it seems to come from the lips of al-Saqti. Nevertheless, it seems clear that al-Saqti was the godfather who inspired most of al-Junayd's doctrines.

Al-Junayd's school was of particular importance in introducing Gnostic mysticism, which is rooted in a belief in the eternity of the human soul and its hope of returning to an unification with its source. This Sufi tendency, although it started in Baghdad, became one of the important features of Persian Sufism and gave an impulse to the illuminative mystical philosophy of SUHRAWARDI and IBN AL-'ARABI.

Al-Junayd left a good number of works and his writings are apparently the first of their kind, which, despite their clear sense of being inspired and their mysterious terms and concepts, are clear and introduces his teachings systematically. His main output is in the form of letters and short treatises dedicated to his closest students. He also wrote some works on the following subjects: the Godhead (*al-Uluhaiya*), unification (*tawhid*), annihilation (*fana'*), the divine covenant (*mithaq*), and sobriety (*sahaw*).

Al-Junayd's main doctrines are based on the concept of *tawhid* and seem to have been introduced by his uncle al-Saqti. In his book *Kitab al-Tawhid*, he explains that God as the first and the last of everything has produced the souls of all beings in himself, but at some point in the process of creation these souls have experienced separation from their source. Hence these souls are strangers in this world and seek salvation through re-unification with God. This unification restores them to unity and is the true expression of the Islamic concept of *tawhid*. *Tawhid*, for al-Junayd, has four levels: (1) the concept held by the masses of the non-association of any god beside God; (2) the realization by the pious that *tawhid* comes through discarding the worship of anything else besides God; (3) the *tawhid* of the Sufis who hope only to see God but still preserve their feeling of individuality; and finally (4) the *tawhid* of the Sufi saint who has totally lost his individuality and became fully one with God. This concept of unification has influenced many Sufis since al-Junayd; an example of this influence is AL-GHAZALI's explanation of *tawhid* in the fourth volume of his book *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*, which is taken completely from al-Junayd. From another angle, *tawhid*, according to al-Junayd, is the separating of the eternal from what has its origins in time. By this he means the absolute recognition of God, for he is not as humans perceive him; the absolute recognition of God again is reserved for the elect of the Sufis alone. However, while *tawhid*, the absolute aim of this kind of Sufism, is the hope of a return to the origin of humanity in the divinity, the re-separating and return from the stage of unification to the earthly realm has its importance and its place in al-Junayd's system. This stage he calls *sahow*, sobriety. It is the return in a new garment unveiling the richness of the Sufi's unique experience to his true disciples. This final stage reminds us of Plato's system in which the philosopher returns to the cave after he has experienced the light, demonstrating the role of the philosopher toward his disciples. The concealing of the mystical experience of *tawhid* from the public who do not possess the capacity to grasp such a concept was also an important principle for al-Junayd and his school. This led al-Junayd and his followers to reject Sufis such as Bistami and al-Hallaj, who publicly spoke of their mystical experience.

'Abd al-Qadir, the editor of al-Junayd's treatises and short books, provides some links and points out the differences between al-Junayd's mysticism and the Neoplatonic mystical interpretation of the position of the human soul *vis-à-vis* the universal soul and its happiness at returning to its origin. Of particular importance, however, is al-Junayd's drawing on Qur'anic verses linked to concepts such as the *mithaq* (covenant), the covenant which God makes with the human soul before it exists. In his book *Kitab al-Mithaq* he shows that the foundation of *mithaq* is found in Qur'an 7:171: "then the Lord drew forth from the children of Adam from their loins their descendants and made them testify concerning themselves: am I your Lord? They said: yea we do testify; lest ye should say on the day of judgement: of this we were never mindful." This demonstrates the Islamic and Qur'anic side of his mysticism.

The Qur'anic picture of God, according to al-Junayd, suggests a clear awareness of the human souls' existence in God and of his plan for them; it implies their rejection or acceptance of his guidance. The linking of these verses to his mysticism is deep enough to present God's perception and will as they touch the whole story of human existence: its origin, creation, infidelity, faith, and finally its return. This insight expresses neither Greek nor Neoplatonic philosophy and is clearly inspired by concepts based on religion. Most Sufis after al-Junayd made similar use of these verses of the covenant; in his *Kimiya' al-sa'ada*, al-Ghazali presents the same image of the human soul on the basis of these verses.

Although this kind of Sufism was adopted by many different kinds of Sufis and in some ways strayed into pantheistic directions, al-Junayd encouraged his followers to preserve their rituals and to support their experiences by the Qur'an and the Sunna. This stood to his credit among many orthodox theologians, such as IBN TAYMIYYA and others. There is no doubt that al-Junayd was the first Sufi to introduce the concept of unification and the absolute annihilation of the soul in clear and systematic mystical and philosophical writings which contributed to and stimulated a new understanding of the relationship between God and humanity.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

JUNPURI FARUQI, Mulla Mahmud (1015–62/1603–52)

Mulla Mahmud Junpuri ibn Shaykh Muhammad Junpuri was born in Junpur in Ramadan 1015/1603. His father died while he was young and he was raised by his maternal grandfather Shaykh Shah Muhammad, a distinguished scholar. He moved on to work with Shaykh Muhammad Afdal and Mulla Shams Bronvi, and Junpur became something of an intellectual center during this period. Perhaps the most significant step he took was to visit MIR DAMAD in Safavid Persia in Isfahan en route to Mecca for the *hajj*. Although from what we are told, the two thinkers were often in disagreement, they are said to have respected each other deeply.

Junpuri became an enthusiastic Sufi, joining the Qadariyya order under the teaching of Miyan Mir Lahori. Shah Jahan was also sympathetic to this order, and Junpuri took the Emperor's son Muhammad Shuja' to Bengal to meet Shaykh Ni'mat Allah Fayruzpari, an important thinker in the movement. Despite the rather critical attitude of the Sufis to the court and its extravagances, Junpuri seems to have had no problems in maintaining both his mystical contacts and having good relationships with the authorities. He was certainly highly regarded by his contemporaries, and his death in 1062/1652 shocked many. His output consists mainly of commentaries and textbooks that became much used and influential in philosophical training.

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AL-JURJANI, 'Abd al-Qahir (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081)

'Abd al-Qahir Abu Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahman Majd al-Din al-Jurjani was born and raised in Jurjan and died in 471/1078 or 474/1081 in the same city. Though information about his life and his time is very limited, it is clear that he was a Shafi'i jurisconsult (theologian) and Ash'ari *mutakallim*; but he was primarily known as a grammarian and *adib* (orator) in the field of *balagha* (rhetoric) in the Islamic intellectual milieu.

His teacher was Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Farisi, whose reputation was very high in the Islamic world in the eleventh century. His most famous students were ʻAli b. Abi Zayd al-Fasihi, Abu Nasr Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Shajari, Yahya b. ʻAli Abu Zakariyya al-Tabrizi, and Ahmad b. ʻAbdullah al-Darir.

Al-Jurjani was a proud man and lived a pious life. He might have tried to gain the favor of political power holders, especially that of the great vizier of the Seljuq state, Nizam al-Mulk, but this attempt became abortive. Being a *faqih* and *nahwi* (grammarian), he probably considered himself a candidate for a variety of official posts in the Nizamiyya *madrasa* system. The Seljuq leaders were in general extremely pro-Hanafi and, therefore, anti-Ashʻari and anti-Shafiʻi in their religio-cultural attitudes. The Ghaznavids, especially the Sultans Mahmud and Masʻud, were also Hanafi and distributed official appointments mainly among the Hanafis as well. His affiliation to the Shafiʻi school of *fiqh* may have worked against him in Seljuq, Iran, where the Hanafi legal school was to a great extent practised. Thus, the rationalist methodology of the Ashʻarite theologians was excluded from the religio-cultural policies of the Sultanate. What is more, his intellectual frame of mind and methodology seem to have prevented him from holding any official position and appointment. His disenchantment with the era he lived in led him to a degree of intellectual seclusion.

Among his works are *Dala'il iʻjaz al-Qur'an* (Proof of the Inimitability of the Qur'an) and *Asrar al-balagha* (Secrets of Rhetoric), and his broad and short commentaries on Abu ʻAli al-Farisi's *al-Idah* (Amplification): *Kitab al-Mughni* (Book of the Clarification) and *Kitab al-Muqtasad* (Book of the Concise Explanation) along with *Kitab al-ʻAmil* (Book of the Efficacious) and *Kitab al-Jumal* (Book of the Abridged [Version]).

In his works, especially in *Dala'il iʻjaz*, he tried to find a common ground between the Muʻtazilite and the Ashʻarite approach to the issue of the created or uncreated status of the Qur'an. Being one of the most salient figures in medieval Arabic literary theory, he strongly advocated the study of poetry in order to understand correctly the *iʻjaz* (inimitability) of the Qur'an. One of his outstanding successes in what is now known as literary theory was the treatment of discourse (*kalam*) composed of *lafz* (wording or expression) and *maʻna* (meaning). His treatment of *maʻna* is extended to include the categories of epistemic content and esthetic mode, both of which he suggested are inherently connected to each other. Thus, the Qur'an is inimitable, for it has both unique and special content and a distinctive mode of expression. With this literary paradigm, he replaced the hyperbolic emphasis on outward form (*lafz*) at the expense of content or meaning (*maʻna*), and in the art of poetry he allowed equal importance both to the idea and to the way it was expressed.

Al-Jurjani's constructions and reconstructions of literary terminologies, such as *sura* (form), *takhyil* (imagery), *nazm* (composition) and its precursor *damm* (joining of words), *ramz* (cipher or allusion), and the like contributed to his persistent influence in medieval and modern Islamic literary theory. His *Asrar al-balagha* (Secrets of Eloquence) deals with the literary techniques which make metaphor work. He develops his theory further in *Dala'il al-iʻjaz* (Proofs for the Miracle) where, while referring to the miraculous nature of the Qur'an, he presents for the first time in Arabic esthetics an account of meaning that is entirely presented on the basis of syntax. A traditional defense of Islam is the presence of the Qur'an, which is taken to be so perfect a text that only God could have produced it. Yet it is surely possible to replace many of the sentences in the text with different sentences that have the same meaning. How then could the text be miraculous or inimitable? Al-Jurjani argues by contrast that only one syntactic combination could express the meaning that is required of it, the very combination of words that we find in the Qur'an. This set off a wide series of similar books seeking to prove that the Qur'an is inimitable in style, and al-Jurjani very much establishes the model for what was to become an enduring literary and theological theme in Islamic thought.

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SEVKET YAVUZ
OLIVER LEAMAN

JURJANI, Mir Sayyid Sharif (b. 740/1339)

Our knowledge about the life of Jurjani is rather sparse. We know his family was originally from Astarabad and that he was born in Gurgan in 740/1339. His contemporaries referred to him as Mir Sayyid Sharif Jurjani. He was a contemporary of TAFTAZANI, a pupil of Qutb al-Din Razi and the teacher of Jalal al-Din DAWANI. Jurjani was both a great theologian and a Sufi who, in the tradition of many other great sages, traveled extensively to different parts of the Islamic world. Having lived in the Timurid era (766/1365) he traveled to Herat, then to Egypt, and then to Constantinople in 776/1375. From there he traveled to Shiraz where Shah Shuja' appointed him as the tutor to the children of dignitaries. Following the death of Tamerlane in 1405, Jurjani, who had spent a few years in Samarqand, returned to Shiraz where he spent the last few years of his life.

There is some controversy about his sectarian affiliation. Even though by most accounts Jurjani was a Sunni, some have argued he was a Shi'ite. In his major work *Majalis al-mu'minin* (The Assembly of Believers), Qadi Nur Allah Shustari, the Safavid Shi'ite scholar, aligned a number of scholars to the cause of the Imamate, one of whom was Jurjani. Also, Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh, the eponym of the Nurbakhshi Sufi tradition, and the philosopher Ibn Abi Jumhur AHSA'I both considered Jurjani to have been a Shi'ite.

Jurjani's major work *Sharh al-mawaqif* (Commentary on the Stations) is a detailed commentary on AL-IJI's *Kitab al-mawaqif* (The Book of Stations). In this work, Jurjani treats the question of good and evil and their relationship to religious laws and in doing so he quotes Mu'tazilite views. Among his other works we can name *Kitab al-Ta'rifat* (The Book of Definitions), a lexicon of technical and philosophical terminology which attracted the attention of Western orientalists in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Jurjani also wrote *Risala al-wujud* (Treatise on Being). In this treatise, Jurjani discusses the doctrine of the "Unity of Being" and attempts to synthesize the doctrines of the "Unity of Being" associated with the school of IBN AL-'ARABI and the Illuminationist philosophy (*ishraq*) of SUHRAWARDI.

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

JUWAYNI, Imam al-Haramayn
(419–78/1028–85)

Abu'l Ma'ali Rukn al-Din 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allah was born in the village of Bushtanikan near Nishapur on Muharram 18, 419/February 17, 1028, and died in the same village on Rabi' al-Thani 25, 478/August 20, 1085. He was an important thinker in the Ash'arite tradition of Sunni Islam.

Juwayni received his first education from his father, who was a famous teacher in Nishapur, and from his uncle, 'Ali b. Yusuf. When his father died in 438/1047, Juwayni took his father's teaching post at a very young age while he was still continuing his education. While teaching, he took courses in different branches of Islamic science from the leading figures of the region. He also took part in scholarly discussions and became a leading defender of the Ash'arite tradition, which was gaining strength in the region. However, the political situation prevented this development. The Seljuk sultan Tughrul Beg's vizier 'Amid al-Mulk, who was a Shi'ite-Mu'tazilite supporter, banned the Ash'arites and other opposing groups from teaching and preaching. As a result of this, a number of scholars, including Juwayni and Qushayri, left their country. Juwayni first went to Baghdad and then in 450/1058 he reached the Hijaz. He lived in Mecca and Medina for four years where he continued his teaching, and as a result received his honorary title of imam al-Haramayn (imam of the two holy cities).

After the death of Tughrul Beg, the new sultan Alp Arslan replaced the vizier 'Amid al-Mulk with the famous vizier Nizam al-Mulk. The new vizier favored the Ash'aris and invited them to return home. He also founded a number of *madrasas* called Nizamiyya in different cities such as Baghdad and Nishapur, to spread the Ash'arite version of Islam. Upon this invitation, Juwayni returned to Nishapur and was appointed to the Nizamiyya where he taught to the end of his life. His courses were followed by a number of students, among whom AL-GHAZALI is worth mentioning here.

Juwayni spent all his life studying, teaching, and writing. Although he was interested in different branches of the Islamic sciences, Juwayni was particularly important in jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*) and theology (*kalam*). In jurisprudence, though he followed the Shafi'ite tradition, he tried to develop his own methodology. This can be seen in his *Kitab al-Burhan fi usul al-fiqh* (Book of Demonstration on Jurisprudence). Juwayni contributed more to the development of *kalam* than to any other branches of the Islamic sciences. In *kalam*, he can be considered as a link between the old (*mutakaddimun*) and new (*muta'ahhirun*) theologians. Juwayni generally followed the Ash'arite tradition, but on a number of issues he gave the tradition a new orientation. He used philosophical methods more than any of his predecessors. Hence, he considered rational enquiry about God's existence to be a religious duty. To solve the problem of God's attributes, Juwayni inclined toward the Mu'tazili Abu Hashim's theory of modes (*ahwal*). Although he used the argument from the createdness of atoms and accidents and from the finitudes of time to prove the createdness of the world, he considers the argument from particularization (*takhsis*), which is the combination of the argument from createdness and from contingency, as the strongest for the purpose. His rejection of determinism prepared the way for his student al-Ghazali to develop it in more detail.

Juwayni wrote a number of works on *fiqh*, *usul al-fiqh*, and *kalam*. On Shafi'ite *fiqh*, he wrote *Nihayat al-madlab fi dirayat al-madhhab* (End of the Quest in the Knowledge of the School). On jurisprudence, he wrote a number of works among which *Kitab al-Burhan fi usul al-fiqh* (Book of Demonstration on Jurisprudence) is worth mentioning here. Juwayni also wrote a number of works on theology and the creed. His *al-Shamil fi usul al-din* (Summa on the Principles of Religion) and *al-Irshad* (Guidance) give a systematic discussion of *kalam* issues. In *al-'Aqida al-nizamiyya* (Nizamian Creed) and *Luma' al-adilla fi qawaidi ahl al-sunna* (Radiance of Proofs on the Creed of the People of the Sunna) he briefly gives the creed of Sunni Islam. Juwayni is an important figure not only within the Ash'arite school but also within Muslim theology in general. He is a representative figure of the intermediate period between the old and new methods of theology.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

AL-**JUZJANI, Hisham b. Salim**, *see* al-Jawaliqi

K

KALAM

The term *kalam* means literally “speech” or words. In philosophy it is usually translated as “theology” or “speculative theology,” and refers to discussions of religious questions and issues. *Kalam* is usually taken to be a form of philosophy, since it uses many of the tools and methods of philosophy, even though followers of *kalam* were usually keen to distance themselves from *falsafa*, or Greek-inspired philosophy, which is closer to how many Western scholars understand the term. Quite early on, it became common to refer to *kalam* as a science, and the Mu‘tazilites among others used scientific methods of inquiry to understand theological problems.

This notion of *kalam* as science has led some to posit that it too has Greek or Syrian origins, and shares common ground with the Graeco-Roman methods of debate and exegesis used by the early Christian Fathers. But it is also suggested that there are eastern influences—most schools of *kalam*, for example, hold to a form of atomism—and it seems clear that much of the development of *kalam* came within the later Islamic tradition, for example, the split between the followers of AL-ASH‘ARI and the Mu‘tazilites. Whatever its sources, however, *kalam* relies on rational thought and inquiry for the solution of problems. It thus occupies a middle ground between Arisotelian and Platonic *falasifa* and mystical schools of thought such as the Illuminationists.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

KAM, Ömer Ferit (1280–1363/1864–1944)

Ferit Kam was born in Istanbul in 1280/1864 and died in Ankara in 1363/1944. Kam’s father Ahmet Muhtar Paşa was a military physician, and his grandfather Sadık Efendi was a retired scribe at the military council. His maternal father Müderris Süleyman Efendi happened to be the adopted child of the mother of Sultan Abdülhamit II. Kam had his first education in Beylerbeyi Rüşdiyesi and also received some private lessons. In 1880 in accordance with his father’s wishes, he enrolled at Mekteb-i Tıbbiyeyi Mülkiye (the school of medicine). However, two years later, having realized that he was not medically inclined, he left the school of medicine and enrolled at Mektebe-i Hukuk (the school of law). Because of his father’s sudden death in 1883, he had to halt his education once again. During that time he took some private lessons on Arabic, Persian, and French. In pursuing self-education he received great help and support from Nüzhet Efendi, one of the well-known scholars of his time. He also attended lessons at Fatih Camii and was granted, in 1905, the *icazetname* (teaching license in Islamic sciences) from Müderris Mustafa Asım Efendi.

Kam had several jobs throughout his career. First, he worked in the department of translation at the Foreign Office between 1886 and 1888 and later was appointed as a teacher of French in Beylerbeyi Rüşdiyesi. In 1905 he was granted the imperial order of Shir u Khurşid (Lion and Sun) by the Iranian government, for his successful translation of a Persian poem written by Rıza Danış Han, ambassador of Iran in Istanbul, on the occasion of the Lahey Peace Conference. The same year Kam received a promotion as a senior teacher, and in 1908, became a deputy head teacher. In 1914 he was given a higher position as a professor of Turkish literature at the Darulfünun (Academy of Art) but later in the same year he decided to retire from his post. In 1917 he taught history of philosophy at Süleymaniye Medresesi, and one year later became a member of the Daru'l-Hikmetu'l-İslamiye (Academy of Islam).

After the World War I when his lessons were removed from the program due to university reform, Kam had to stop teaching. But in 1919 he returned to academia to give lectures at the Faculty of Literature. In 1922 he became a member of the Tetkikat ve Telifat-ı İslamiye Heyeti (Society of Islamic Research and Writing) in Ankara. During that time he had some of his works published. In 1924 he was appointed back to the Darulfünun as a professor of history of Iranian literature. In 1924 when the Darulfünun was closed down to give way to new universities, he left academia again. From 1933 to 1943, with bitter feelings of redundancy and loneliness, he spent his days reading and doing research. Eventually in 1943 the Ministry of Education appointed him as a professor at the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in Ankara. This was his last post before his death.

Kam, having an extraordinarily investigative mind and an extremely suspicious nature, went through a serious intellectual crisis. It is recorded that he managed to overcome it with the help of RUMI's *Mathnawi*. Kam's intellectual interests and his writings were focused on three areas: literature, religion and philosophy. He believed that philosophy should be a combination of ideas that confirms religion. He was particularly interested in the history of literature and examined the works of famous Turkish poets. His *Asar-ı Edebiye Tetkikatı Dersleri* (Lectures on the Study of Literary Works), in which he discusses the relation between art and ethics, and *Şerh-i Mutun* (Commentary on Literary Texts) were based on his lectures that he gave at Darulfunun and the Faculty of Literature, respectively. Kam's other works on literature include *İran Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of Iranian Literature) and *Sabit ue Baki Hakkında İnceleme* (Study on Sabit and Baki). Some of his important works on religion and philosophy are: *Felsefe Tarihi Notları* (Postscripts on the History of Philosophy), in which he compares the studies conducted on eastern and Western philosophies; *İlm-i Ahlak* (The Art of Ethics), a work on the study of ethics; and *Vahdet-i Vücud* and *Dini ve Felsefi Musahabeler* (Conversations on Religion and Philosophy), both of which are based on his articles published in several journals and magazines.

S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

AL-KASHANI, *see* Afdal al-Din

AL-KASHANI, Afdal al-Din
(*c.* 1006–90/1598–1679)

Afdal al-Din al-Kashani, who was either born in 1006/1598 or a year later and died in 1090/1679, did a great deal to place Sufism on a metaphysical basis. As his name suggests, he was born in Kashan, and his family was wealthy and intellectually distinguished, so the young Fayz had no difficulty finding books to read. He moved later on to Isfahan and Shiraz to study and was certainly a member of the circle of Baha' al-Din AL 'AMULI, and was perhaps associated with MIR DAMAD also. In 1029/1620 he went to Mecca on *hajj* and stayed there for a time before returning to Iran to take up residence in Qom with MULLA SADRA. This was obviously a highly profitable period for Kashani and allowed him to fuse the Ishraqi thought of Mulla Sadra, the Sufism of IBN AL-'ARABI, and the legal approach of the traditionists whom he had encountered in Mecca.

Shah 'Abbas II appointed Kashani to head a *madrasa* in Isfahan, and he became a prayer leader in the city, even praying in front of the king on occasion. He remained in Isfahan after the death of the king, eventually returning to Kashan for his last years. Although he often had the support of the king, Kashani had difficult times in Iran, especially in his relationship with a clergy very suspicious of Sufism, which they regarded as largely a Sunni doctrine. Perhaps his greatest contribution was his transformation of AL-GHAZALI's *Ihya'* into an apparently Shi'i text, something that Kashani did by thoroughly weeding the book of its specifically Sunni references such as the Traditions approved by the Sunni authorities, and replacing them with Traditions and other references that fitted in well with the Shi'i.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-KAYSERI, Dawud (658–751/1260–1350)

Dawud al-Kayseri was born in Kayseri (Turkey) around 658/1260 and died in İznik on 2 Safar 751/on March 11, 1350. He was a prominent Ottoman thinker and Sufi as well as a scholar. We know little about his family. But we know that he first started his early education in Kayseri and that he moved to Egypt in order to advance his knowledge of the religious sciences. When he moved to and returned from Egypt is not known. But it is known that he got acquainted with Abdurrazzaq al-Kashani, probably in Iran. When the Ottoman Sultan Orhan established the first Ottoman university (*madrasa*) in İznik in 736/1336, he appointed Dawud al-Kayseri as the rector (*mudarris*). He served until his death, around fifteen years later, as a professor, and as the rector of the first Ottoman university. He taught not only Islamic sciences such as *fiqh* and *hadith* but also rational sciences such as logic and philosophy.

Al-Kayseri became a prominent Sufi thinker. In his Sufi thought, he was heavily influenced by IBN FARID, IBN AL-'ARABI, and 'Abdurrazzaq al-Kashani. Dawud al-Kayseri made great use of the doctrine of the transcendent unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*). He was really the first Sufi thinker to put forward a philosophical account of the doctrine of the transcendent unity of being. His attempt to criticize Aristotle as well as Abu'l Barakat al-Baghdadi gives us some hint of the breadth of his philosophical talent. Intellectually he was a committed follower of Ibn al-'Arabi.

In the thought of Dawud al-Kayseri, the universe, which is defined as a totality of the spiritual and corporal things, is seen as a theophany (*tajalliyat*) of God's names and attributes. According to him, everything in the universe is composed of atoms (*juz*) and molecules (*murakkab*). He employed the language of the Qur'an to develop a philosophy of nature, taking energy to be the essence of matter, and water to be the essence of animate things. He interpreted this not from the perspective of science but from the perspective of theosophy, particularly in the context of the transcendent unity of being. Criticizing

Aristotle and Baghdadi's notion of time, he attempted to develop his own philosophy of time drawing on Sufism. He also defended the concept of the love of God against the criticism of jurists (*fuqaha*) who considered such a notion inappropriate. The concept of unity of God (*tawhid*) played an important role in his philosophy. This unity has three aspects, religious, rational, and ontological. The unity of God is achieved through following the teachings of religions and the prophets and this can be called religious unity. To reach the existence of God through rational analysis can be considered rational unity. To experience nature through the consciousness that God is everywhere can be seen as ontological unity.

The most significant writing of Dawud al-Kayseri is his commentary on *Fusus al-hikam* of Ibn al-'Arabi. This book, which was called *Matla'u husus al-kilem fi ma'ani fususi al-hikem*, contains his philosophical Sufism. The introduction of this book is quite original and therefore sometimes studied and copied independently from the rest of the book. It was first published in Bombay in 1299/1882. Another important book, which mainly contains some issues of Sufism, is *Sharhu qasida al-ta'iyya*. This is a commentary of a poem (*qasida*) composed by Ibn Farid. *Sharhu al-qasida al-mimiyya* is another commentary of a poem (*qasida*) written by Ibn Farid. He also wrote a number of treatises. One, which is on time, was called as *Nihayat al-bayan fi dirayat al-zaman*. Another, which was named as *Tahkik ma al-hayat wa kashfu asrar al-zulumat*, is on al-Khadir. His *Kashf al-hijab 'an kalami Rab al-Arbab* is on Islamic theology. His treatises are mainly in manuscript form and have not been published yet.

Dawud al-Kayseri was a typical Ottoman thinker in combining theology and philosophy on the one hand, and Sufism on the other. His influence on Ottoman and central Asian Turkish scholars has been significant. Through the works of Khaydar AL-AMULI he has also been influential on some Iranian thinkers.

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ADNAN ASLAN

KHAYYAM, Omar (*c.* 1048–*c.* 1122)

Abu'l Fath Omar ibn Ibrahim Khayyam, known as Omar Khayyam (or Khayyami), was a Persian philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician of the twelfth century. Known for his quatrains (*Ruba'iyyat*), he was born around 1048 and died around 1122. He was born in the district of Shadyakh of the old city of Nayshabur in the province of Khurasan in the eastern part of today's Iran. Khayyam, meaning the "tent maker," may have been the profession of his father, Ibrahim.

Omar Khayyam studied first with Imam Qadi Muhammad, who taught the young Omar Arabic grammar, literature, and Qur'anic studies. He next became a pupil of Khawjah Abu'l-Hasan al-Anbari with whom he studied branches of mathematics, astronomy, and traditional cosmological doctrines, in particular, the major work of Ptolemy, the *Almagest* (*Mujasta*). Khayyam pursued his advanced studies with Imam Muwaffaq Nayshaburi, who taught him Qur'anic sciences and jurisprudence; he never showed any interest in the latter subject. Finally, he pursued his interest in philosophy under the direction of Shaykh Muhammd Mansur, who taught Khayyam the writings of Ibn Sina, particularly the *al-Isharat wa'l-Tanbihat* (Directives and Treatments).

Khayyam, who was given such titles as "Hujat al-Haq" (The Evidence of Truth), "Ghiyath al-Din" (The Patron of Faith), and "Imam" indicating his significance as a religious figure, did not participate much in the scholarly debates and circles of the time, and remained aloof from public life. Among the scholars with whom he did associate we can name Khayyam's son-in-law, Imam Muhammad Baghdadi, Ahmad al-Ma'muri al-Bayhaqi, Muhammad 'Ilaqi, Nizami 'Arudi Samarqandi, Muhammad Hijazi Qa'ni, and 'Abd al-Rafi' Hirawi, who may have been the author of *Noruz namah*, a treatise usually attributed to Khayyam. There were also the poet Sana'i, the great theologian Zamakhshari, Maymun ibn Najib, and Imam Muzaffar Isfizari, with whom he collaborated to make a new calendar, and finally Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. It is reported that Khayyam may have taught Abu'l-Ma'ali 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-Miyanji, also known as 'Ayn al-Qudat al-Hamadani, but this is highly unlikely.

In 1076, Nizam al-Mulk, the grand vizier of the Seljuq royal court, arranged a meeting between Khayyam and Sultan Malik Shah in the city of Marv, where Khayyam was commissioned to work on a new calendar. With the assistance of Maymoun ibn Najib Waseti, Abu'l-Muzafar Isfizari, Abu'l-'Abbas Lawkari, and 'Abd al-Rahman Khazeni, Khayyam produced a new calendar known as 'Jalali Calendar', which is still today the official calendar of Iran.

Philosophically, Khayyam, who refers to Ibn Sina as his teacher, was a Peripatetic. As indicated by the title of Khayyam's six philosophical treatises, he treated most of the traditional Peripatetic problems. These were addressed in *Khutbah al-ghurra' Ibn Sina* (A Translation of Avicenna's Lucid Discourse), *Risala fi'l-kawn wa'l-taklif* (On Being and Necessity), *Darurat al-tad.ad fi'l-'alam wa'l-jabr wa'l-baqa'* (The Necessity of Contradiction in the World, Determinism, and Subsistence), *Risala hal-diya' al-'aqli fi mawdu' al-'ilm al-kulli* (The Light of the Intellect on the Subject of Universal Knowledge), *Risala dar 'ilm kulliyat-i wujud* (On the Knowledge of the Universal Principles of Existence), and *Risala fi'l-wujud* (On Existence).

Khayyam's contributions in mathematics were significant. He wrote very little, but what he did write was groundbreaking. His works in this domain are *Al-qawl 'ala ajnas al-ladhi bi'l-arba'a* (On the Proposition that Says Genera Are of Four Types), *Risala fi sharh mashkal min muṣadarat kitab uqlidus* (On the Elaboration of the Problems Concerning the Books of Euclid), *Risala fi qisma rub' al-dai'ira* (On the Division of a Quadrant of a Circle), *Risala fi barahin 'ala masa'il al-jabr wa'l-muqabala* (On Proofs for Problems Concerning Algebra), *Treatise on Dividing the Quarter of a Circle*, and *Risala fi'l- ihtiyaj lima'rifat miqdari al-dhahab wa'l-fiḍah fi jism murakkab minh* (On the Deception of Knowing the Two Quantities of Gold and Silver in a Compound Made of the Two).

Whether Khayyam was actually the author of the famous *Ruba'iyyat* (quatrains) has been the subject of great debate. Scholars seem to agree that a limited number of the *Ruba'iyyat* may have been written by Khayyam himself, but the majority of what is extant today are attributed to him. His *Ruba'iyyat* presents a cynical view of life, human existence, and major tenets of faith such as life after death. Some have interpreted his *Ruba'iyyat* as advocating an agnostic-hedonist view, and others interpreted them as the symbolic utterances of a Sufi master. His *Ruba'iyyat* became renowned in the West when Edward FitzGerald, the outstanding English poet, made a rendition of them. The *Ruba'iyyat* became popular in America, and through such organizations as Omar Khayyam Club of London and later Omar Khayyam Club of America, it became the basis of a literary tradition.

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

AL-KHARAKANI, Abu'l-Hasan
(d. 425–1033)

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Kharakani, as his *nisba* suggests, came from Kharakan in Iran, not far from Astarabad. There are not many details of his early life, and like many Sufis he was said to have had a humble occupation, that of a herdsman, and little or no education. He seems to have boasted of his lack of education, being *ummi* (illiterate) like the Prophet, and he was also someone very disinclined to travel. At his remote spot he received many distinguished visitors working within the Sufi tradition, visitors such as Abu Sa'id IBN ABI'L-KHAYR, 'Abd Allah al-Ansari AL-HARAWI, and Abu'l-Qasim AL-QUSHAYRI, and he is even said to have been visited by the great *faylasuf* IBN SINA, although this is unlikely.

Al-Kharakani's status did not depend on his acquisition of academic qualifications or the granting of a *khirka* from an existing Sufi *shaykh*. It was more indirect, based on a dream in which Abu Yazid Tayfur AL-BISTAMI conferred this spiritual status on him. This form of transmission is not that unusual within Islamic tradition, and Shihab al-Din AL-SUHRAWARDI even credits al-Kharakani with being someone who transmitted to him esoteric knowledge from Iranian pre-Islamic sources.

Given his lack of academic background, it is not surprising that al-Kharakani did not write any books, but his sayings are well known through their reproduction in the works of RUMI and 'ATTAR. They provide evidence of a strong commitment to an unintellectual form of Sufism, where any success one might acquire on the mystical path is entirely dependent on the will of God. Al-Kharakani stresses the significance of asceticism and humility, and yet sometimes he seems rather confident that he has access to the unseen world and the ability to represent people before God. On the whole his approach to Sufism is dour, and he has a negative view of the likelihood of success for the searcher after truth to achieve his goal. Again, it is this emphasis on the overwhelming power of God to accept or reject whom he wills that makes the mystical process so difficult. Al-Kharakani is convinced that most Sufis underestimate the difficulties of extinguishing the self (*fana'*) and remain too attached to the created world. His thoughts on this topic survive to a degree in reports of later thinkers such as 'Attar and Rumi. He died on 10 Muharram/ December 5, 1033.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

KHAYR AL-DIN AL-TUNISI, *see* Hayreddin Paşa of Tunis

AL-KHO'I, Ayatullah al-Uzma Sayyid Abul-Qasim (1317–1413/1899–1992)

Al-Kho'i was born on 15 Rajab 1317 (November 19, 1899) at Kho'i in Iranian Azerbaijan. On Saturday 8 Safar 1413 (August 8, 1992), Ayatullah al-Uzma (Grand or Supreme Ayatullah, the highest theological degree in Shi'a Islam) Abul-Qasim al-Kho'i died at his Kufa home of heart failure. As a child al-Kho'i was well versed in religious Persian and Arabic poetry and languages, including Turkish. In 1330/1912 al-Kho'i, then only thirteen years old, moved to al-Najaf, known to the Shi'a as al-Najaf al-Ashraf (the distinguished) in Iraq, to further his education. He was to stay there for seventy years, making this higher education center into what it subsequently became, the leading center for Shi'i studies in the world, and in particular graduate studies, where he took on the legacy of Shaykh AL-ANSARI and continued the tradition of teaching the principles of law and religion.

His writings covered Islamic law, religious biographies, philosophy, and commentary of the Qur'an. Particularly significant are his smaller and more popular works that have been transmitted throughout the Shi'i world and serve as a source of inspiration to that community. He was obviously a skilled administrator. He presided over Najaf's theological school, known as *al-hawza al 'ilmiyya*, the school of knowledge and scholarship, in 1970 after being elected successor to the late Ayatullah al-Uzma Sayyid Muhsin AL-TABATABA'I al-Hakim. Al-Kho'i attained the title of Ayatullah when he was in his early thirties.

The *hawza* at al-Najaf has been attracting students from all over the world for the past ten centuries. The main topics taught at the *hawza* are philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence, and the number of its students and teachers has reached 10,000. It is famous for its libraries and also for the concentration of scholars in the city, but many depredations took place at the hands of the Baathist government and during the fighting after Saddam Hussein's fall and the American occupation of Iraq. Al-Kho'i himself was imprisoned by Saddam Hussein, albeit briefly, and spent the last ten years of his life under house arrest. When he died the government tried to prevent large public displays of grief and cut off the cities of Najaf and Kufa, but prayers were conducted by Ayatullah 'Ali al-Sistani, and there was a considerable degree of obvious public grief at his demise. The institutions he established, both in Najaf and overseas, continued to pursue their educational and charitable aims, and his works remain classics in modern Shi'i philosophy.

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AL-KHWARIZMI, Abu Jaʻfar Muhammad ibn Musa (early third century/*c.* 780–850)

The presence of "al-Khwarizmi" in Abu Jaʻfar Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi's name may seem to indicate that he hailed from Khwarizm, south of the Aral Sea in Central Asia. But al-Tabari gives him the additional epithet "al-Qutrubbulli," indicating that he came from Qutrubbull, a district between the Tigris and Euphrates not far from Baghdad, so perhaps his ancestors, rather than he himself, came from Khwarizm. Another name given to him by al-Tabari, "al-Majusi," would seem to suggest that he was an adherent of the old Zoroastrian religion, yet this was either in the past, or perhaps refers to his ancestors, since he makes the appropriate Islamic references in the preface of his book on algebra.

Harun al-Rashid became the fifth caliph of the ʻAbbasid dynasty on September 14, 786, about the time that al-Khwarizmi was born. Harun ruled, from his court in the capital city of Baghdad, over the Islamic empire which stretched from the Mediterranean to India. He brought culture to his court and tried to establish the intellectual disciplines which at that time were not flourishing in the Arabic world. He had two sons, the eldest al-Amin and the younger al-Ma'mun. Harun died in 809, following which there was an armed conflict between the brothers. Al-Ma'mun won the armed struggle and al-Amin was defeated and killed in 813. Following this, al-Ma'mun became caliph and ruled the empire from Baghdad. He greatly encouraged the sciences and philosophy, and it is not surprising to expect that he would have supported al-Khwarazmi.

Much of al-Khwarizmi's work was on mathematics. He wrote on algebra, arithmetic, and geometry, on calculating the times of prayer, and on astronomy and geography. It is clear that for astronomy and geography he had access to Ptolemy, but it is not at all certain that he knew about Euclid when he wrote on geometry. One of the interesting and novel aspects of his work is that he obviously used the translations of Sanskrit material on mathematics that were produced in Baghdad. It is the combination of Indian and Greek work on mathematics that makes his work so innovative. That he was able to produce such rich theoretical material is evidence of the breadth of research that was taking place in Baghdad at the time of al-Ma'mun.

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AL-KINDI, Abu Yusuf Yaʻqub ibn Ishaq (185–252/801–66)

Abu Yusuf Yaʻqub b. Ishaq al-Kindi, known as the philosopher of the Arabs, was born around the beginning of the ninth century, probably in 185/801, and died in 252/866 in Baghdad. Al-Kindi's origins were probably in the famous south Arabian tribe of Kinda. Ibn al-Nadim and Ibn Usaybiʻa give a long list of his ancestors, the most important of whom was al-Ashʻath b. Qays, who was an important leader in the army of Abu Bakr. There were also al-Ashʻath b. Qays' son Muhammad and grandson ʻAbd al-Rahman b. al-Ashʻath, the latter being the one who led the famous revolt against the Umayyad rulers in the time of the caliph ʻAbd al-Malik b. Marwan. In the time of the ‘Abbasid dynasty, al-Kindi’s family were able to win the favor of the ‘Abbasid caliphs and his father became the governor of Kufa. But he unfortunately died while al-Kindi was still a boy.

The details of al-Kindi’s early life are not known to us but he probably studied in Basra, an important cultural center for the study of Islamic theology and Arabic literature and grammar, the subjects which al-Kindi is known to have studied at first, like most Arab men of noble family. However it seems that he also studied philosophy in Baghdad, where he probably met Syrian and Persian scholars who pursued the learning of Greek sciences in the new capital. Scientific studies in this early period were mainly mastered by Christian and Persian scholars; al-Kindi is the first Muslim Arab who immersed himself in the Greek sciences in depth and followed the Greek curriculum of mastering logic, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, and theology. Whether he also learned the Greek and Syriac languages is in dispute; some sources mention that he translated many Greek and Syriac works into Arabic and also corrected the Arabic of the work known as *Theologia Aristotelis*, which was falsely attributed to Aristotle. Other sources, however, mention that he commissioned the translation of some Greek works especially for himself, which would mean that his knowledge of Greek was poor.

Al-Kindi had won the patronage of the caliphs al-Ma’mun and al-Mu‘tasim and was appointed as the private teacher of Ahmad, the son of al-Mu‘tasim. However, when al-Mutawakil became the new ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Kindi lost favor in the court due to intrigues against him by the two brothers Ahmad and Hassan of the famous scientific family of Banu Musa. As a result, al-Kindi was dismissed from the caliph’s service and his library was confiscated. Later, however, his books were restored, but not his position with al-Mutawakil. Thus, he withdrew himself from the political stage and led nothing more than an intellectual life until he died in 252/866.

Al-Kindi was one of the most important mathematicians, physicians, astronomers, and philosophers of the time. Although he was mainly known later as the philosopher of the Arabs, his actual specializations were astronomy/astrology and mathematics. However, he was the first to introduce Greek philosophy with its long curriculum into Islamic scholarship, even though the Mu‘tazilites before him had also been acquainted with some of the Greek philosophical works. It was he who introduced the Greek metaphysical and theological works through his many commentaries on the works of Aristotle and by introducing the Neoplatonic work (*Enneads* 4-6) wrongly attributed to Aristotle known as the *Theologia Aristotelis*.

However, the importance of al-Kindi does not only lie in the fact that he was the first to introduce Greek philosophy to Arab thought, but also in his attempt to reconcile some important Islamic concepts with it. This reconciliation was not limited to the sentences which he includes at the beginning of his important work *On the First Philosophy*, in which he maintains that philosophy and revelation present the same truth, but comes mainly from his adding at the end of the same work his own theory of evaluation. Al-Kindi believed that the human intellect, though it receives enlightenment from the First Intellect (by which he probably meant the Active Intellect), is not able to reach absolute truth. It is revelation which can unveil the positive truth about God and this is, therefore, superior to philosophy. Having confirmed this theory at the end of his *On the First Philosophy*, al-Kindi presents in the same work a kind of metaphysics which follows Aristotle. Although al-Kindi follows Aristotelian metaphysics, he argues that the world with its material and intellectual beings is created according to a willing creator.

Before presenting al-Kindi's argument, it is appropriate here to give a brief summary of the Aristotelian world as it is described by al-Kindi. The world consists of three kinds of beings: sensible, intellectual, and Mover(s) (God). The sensible beings are all those which consist of matter and form (humans, animals, and plants); intellectual beings are concepts which have no matter and form as in the case of sensible beings but have the function of arranging and explaining the sensible world, such as time, movement, place, genus, species, morality (good and evil), etc. Intellectual concepts, which exist secondarily and in absolute connection with sensible beings, exist only in the mind and have no world of their own. God is the only immaterial non-sensible being who exists eternally and independently of the sensible world. Here, al-Kindi is arguing that all beings save God are finite and created. For Aristotle, in contrast, whatever exists had previously a state of potential existence. This state of potentiality is simply called matter, which functions as the basic possibility of existence for whatever actually exists. Since matter is possible existence which has always existed, the role of God for Aristotle is mainly to provide the power of movement which transfers matter from its potential existence into an actual existence. This process has happened eternally, since matter is the possibility which eternally exists; consequently, movement and time, which surround each material actual existence, are also eternal.

Al-Kindi argues here, and in his treatise *On the Unity of God and the Finitude of the Body of the Universe*, against this Aristotelian proposition in a manner which is based on John Philopponus in his argument against Proclus in *On the Eternity of the World Against Proclus*. His main argument is that finite bodies cannot exist infinitely or become a part of the infinite body of the universe and since all bodies are finite their movement is also finite; consequently time, which measures this movement, is also finite. Although al-Kindi in the two treatises mentioned above presents a metaphysics which partly agrees with some Aristotelian concepts and partly seeks to prove the Qur'anic concepts of creation out of nothing, he rejects, as Ivry points out, the Aristotelian eternal Immovable Mover, demonstrating the difficulty for philosophy of proving the existence of an eternal attribute to any entity. Here he makes clear that the human intellect is not able to prove or to perceive God and therefore while we can know what God is not, we cannot affirm any of his qualities. Thus God is only accessible by revealing himself to humanity through revealed scriptures. In the same manner, al-Kindi shows that the concept of the resurrection of the human body is best argued for in the Qur'an: "who shall quicken the bones when they are decayed? Say: He shall quicken them, who originated them the first time" (36: 78–9). He suggests that the Qur'anic argument here is strong because it proves that if there was a first creation then the second or re-creation is even more plausible.

Moreover, al-Kindi also proves the unity of God in a Platonic manner in Chapters 3 and 4 of the *First Philosophy*, showing that nothing in the world is simple and invisible except the only eternal One (God); all created beings have the feature of being combined and divisible. In addition, AL-SIJISTANI presents in *Siwan al-hikma* some of al-Kindi's sayings in which he accepts God's knowledge of His creatures and opposes those who reject such knowledge. These arguments establish the uniqueness of al-Kindi as an independent philosopher, demonstrate the depth of his belief in the Qur'anic concepts concerning the reality of God and His relation to creation. Later philosophers were accused of having denied these principles and moving beyond Islamic beliefs, as AL-GHAZALI shows in his *Tahafut al-Falasifa*.

Many interpreters consider al-Kindi as mainly a Mu'tazili philosopher rather than an independent philosopher. Walzer and Abu Rida have produced some evidence in support of this possibility. The fact that al-Kindi was supported by all the caliphs who were the patrons of the Mu‘tazilites and who treated their rational theology as the official state theology is considered here as evidence that he was probably also considered by the caliph to be a Mu‘tazilite. The internal evidence comes mainly from the points mentioned above, which show the Islamic side of al-Kindi. Davidson argues, however, that the reason for the similarities of the Mu‘tazilites' arguments concerning the finitude of the created world to those of al-Kindi is that both depend on the argument of John Philopponus. Ivry, in addition, shows that although al-Kindi adopts the concept of creation *ex nihilo*, he also accepts the Aristotelian concept of the incorruptible nature of the different spheres, inserting the condition that this happens by God's will.

While Ivry is willing to accept the affinity of al-Kindi to some of the Mu‘tazilites' concepts of his time, he argues at the same time that there are vital differences between the two which prove the independence of al-Kindi from the beliefs of the Mu‘tazilites. Al-Kindi, after all, rejected the physical interpretation of the world through the concept of atomism (a theory which explains that everything can be divided into atoms and that these atoms function through different qualities and accidents which God creates in them) and believed that there is no evidence for the existence of an indivisible atom; the only simple indivisible substance or being is to his mind the First Cause (God). Instead al-Kindi adopts a type of Aristotelian cosmology which demonstrates the independence of the series of causes and effects from the First Cause; this conflicts with the Mu‘tazilite cosmology in which God is constantly creating the different accidents which cause change and corruption. Moreover Atiyeh, the author of *Al-Kindi the Philosopher of the Arabs*, makes another important point which separates al-Kindi from the Mu‘tazilite theology. He shows that al-Kindi adopts a kind of astrology which relates the circumstances of each human and earthly event, both now and in the future, to the movements of the spheres and the different positions of the various stars and planets, thus attaching a natural universal determinism to earthly events. This is supported by the fact that al-Kindi dedicated many treatises to astrology and astronomy, which were his areas of specialization. Unfortunately, *al-Istita‘a*, the only treatise of his which could shed light on this subject, is lost.

Al-Kindi was above all a scientist in the fields of mathematics and astronomy as well as a physician. Ibn al-Nadim mentions in his *Fihrist* some 260 works of his, and Atiyeh identified the places where manuscripts of his work are held and gave an account of published editions of about forty-seven of his works. Unfortunately, most of the rest is lost. They seem mainly to have consisted of short treatises; the longest work which has reached us is the first part of *On the First Philosophy* mentioned above. His works covered all branches of knowledge: logic, physics, metaphysics, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, politics, ethics, and even Arabic literature and grammar. His treatises on human psychology are an important contribution. He composed in this field seven treatises but unfortunately only three have survived, namely: *On the Soul Abridged from the Books of Aristotle and Plato and from the Other Philosophers*, *On the Intellect*, and *A Discourse on the Soul*. In the first treatise, al-Kindi tries to reconcile the opinions of Plato and Aristotle and other philosophers on the concept of the soul but, in fact, he inclines to the views of Plato. However, al-Kindi does not seem to believe, like the Neoplatonists, in a separate collective concept of a Universal Soul which is the source of all souls and is the place where all souls hope to return.

Nevertheless, he was the first to introduce the immateriality and substantiality of the human soul to Islamic theology and philosophy. Muslim theologians, including the Mu‘tazilites, seem to have believed in the material nature of the soul and its presence in the body; they probably relied on their belief in the unity of the soul and the body and the supporting belief in the resurrection of both soul and body after death. Al-Kindi, in his treatise *That There Exist Substances Without Bodies,* refutes the materialistic ideas of the Epicureans and the Stoics who believed in the material nature of the soul. The soul for al-Kindi is an immaterial substance which, though it exists in the body, does not merge with it but rather uses it as its instrument and its window to the material world. The body is considered as its prison; the earthly world is only a bridge which the soul uses to reach its ultimate hope of being near to its creator. This basic mystic understanding of the soul became an important concept for many Muslim philosophers and Sufis after al-Kindi, such as IBN SINA and AL-GHAZALI. His treatise *On the Intellect* also proved to be an important guide for many thinkers after him and introduced to Islamic thought the Aristotelian analysis of the human perception of knowledge.

Al-Kindi presents here four kinds of Intellect. The first of these is obscure; he calls it the First Intellect but he seems to be referring to a separate intellect which is similar to the Aristotelian Active Intellect. (Nevertheless, in his metaphysics al-Kindi rejects the concept of the existence of separate immaterial entities such as the Universal Intellect or Universal Soul or the world of Platonic Ideas.) All the other three intellects exist in the human soul and represent the different stages of perceiving knowledge. The first of the human intellects is the intellect in its potential form before it receives any knowledge; the second of these is the acquired intellect and represents the stage of the intellect when it acquires the universal concepts (movement, place, growth, decay) which subsist in material things, and the third human intellect is the stage when knowledge is preserved in the intellect and can be called upon when the soul wishes. The function of the separate First Intellect seems to be to shed light on universal concepts so that the acquired second human intellect can recognize them. In other words, it guides the acquired intellect in its perception but the actual process of perception depends on the unification of the acquired intellect with universal concepts so that it becomes one with them. Thus the universal concepts are the chains which connect the First Intellect to the human process of knowledge. This process is later, however, modified by Ibn Sina, who considers that the Active Intellect (First Intellect) is the one which provides theoretical knowledge to the human mind through direct intuition. This understanding of the human intellect and its functions guided all philosophers and many theologians after al-Kindi.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

KIRMANSHAHI, Aqa Mirza Muhammad Hasan (d. 1336/1918)

Aqa Mirza Muhammad Hasan Kirmanshahi was born as his name suggests in Kirmanshah, Iran. After completing his early education, he moved to Tehran where he studied philosophy with Ali Zunuzi and Abu'l-Hasan JILWA. When Zunuzi died, Kirmanshahi succeeded him as the chief instructor at the Siphasalar *madrasa* in Tehran. He taught there until his death in 1336/1918.

Kirmanshahi was trained in traditional philosophy and became a major expositor of the works of IBN SINA and other Muslim Peripatetic philosophers. As part of the tradition of studying philosophy, however, he also read IBN AL-‘ARABI’s *Fusus al-hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) and MULLA SADRA’s *al-Asfar al-arba‘a* (The Four Journeys). Even though this shows his interest in and presumably considerable knowledge of “transcendent philosophy” (*al-hikmat al-muta‘aliya*) as developed by Sadra and his later followers, his forte was in the Peripatetic works. He was known for his exceptional mastery of Ibn Sina’s *Shifa’* and other works. In this sense, he represents the “Peripatetic wing” in the Tehran school of philosophy which was mostly dominated by the works of Mulla Sadra and his followers.

Kirmanshahi’s few works that have survived consist of glosses of Ibn Sina’s *Shifa’* and Mulla Sadra’s *Asfar*.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

KONUK, Ahmet Avni (1871–1938)

A. Avni Konuk, one of the last great Turkish commentators on RUMI and IBN AL-‘ARABI, was born in 1871. He received his law degree in 1898. He worked as a legal consultant in various government positions. He retired from his position in 1933. He also taught at Istanbul Technical University.

Konuk was a member of the Mawlawi Sufi order. Even though he lost both of his parents when he was around nine years old, he received a good education, learned Arabic and Persian as part of his early education, and memorized the Qur’an. He also spoke French. He became a student of Zekai Dede, considered to be one of the greatest composers of classical Turkish and Sufi music. Konuk composed around forty classical songs including three Mawlawi ceremonies (*ayin*). He also designed two new musical *maqam*s. His compositions are still performed in the Mawlawi Sufi centers in Turkey.

In addition to his musical career, Konuk produced a large number of works on Sufism. He translated Rumi’s *Mathnawi* into Turkish and wrote a commentary on it. His *Mathnawi* commentary in thirty-six volumes is the largest commentary written on Rumi’s *magnum opus*. He also translated Ibn al ‘Arabi’s *Fusus al-hikam* into Turkish and wrote a major commentary on it. His other works include the Turkish translation of and commentaries on Ibn al-‘Arabi’s *Tadbirat al-ilahiyyah*, Rumi’s *Fihi Mafihi*, and Iraqi’s *Lama’at*. Konuk represents an important synthesis of the Mawlawi and Akbari lines of Sufi thought in the late Ottoman and early Republican era. His four-volume commentary on Ibn al-‘Arabi’s *Fusus al-hikam*, written in Ottoman Turkish, combines the perspectives of the two Sufi masters to whom Konuk was equally attracted. He also wrote a small treatise in which he rejected Ahmad al-Sirhindi’s accusations of pantheism and idolatry against Ibn al-‘Arabi. This work has not been published.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-KUBRA, Abu'l Jannab Ahmad ibn 'Umar Najm al-Din (540–617/1145–1220)

Najm al-Din al-Kubra was born in Khwarazm in Central Asia in 540/1145, and died at the hand of the Mongols during their conquest of Khwarazm in 617/1220. A renowned Sufi *shaykh*, Najm al-Din justly earned the sobriquet *Wali-tarash*, "sculptor of saints," as many of his disciples stood out as Sufis of distinction in their own right. He was, directly or indirectly, the founder of the *tariqa* (order) that bears his name, the Kubrawiyya.

Although born in Khwarazm, Najm al-Din travelled throughout the Muslim world of his time, pursuing a vocation as a scholar of Islamic Traditions (*hadith*) and theology (*'ilm al-kalam*). In Egypt, his attention was drawn to Sufism by the Persian *shaykh* Ruzbihan al-Wazzan al-Misri (d. 584/1188), a disciple of 'Abd al-Qahir Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi (d. 564/1168) and to whom the Suhrawardiyya order traces its lineage. In furtherance of his theological studies Najm al-Din ventured to Tabriz, only to find himself deepening his acquaintance with Sufism under the tutelage of one Baba Faraj Tabrizi. Still in Tabriz, he became a *murid* (Sufi novice) under two masters from whom he received the ritual *khirqa* (sign of investiture, initiation ceremony): 'Ammar ibn Yasir al-Bidlisi (d. ca. 596-7/1200) and Isma'il al-Qasri (d. 589/1183). Upon returning to Egypt, Shaykh Ruzbihan granted him spiritual authority to teach and initiate disciples. While he was no longer preoccupied with the traditional Islamic sciences, training therein led to disputational skills believed responsible for the surname "Kubra," from the Qur'anic phrase *al-Tammat al-kubra* (79, 34), meaning "the Great Calamity."

Najm al-Din eventually came back to his native Khwarazm, establishing a *khanaqah* (Sufi cloister and hostel) from which emerged a comparatively large number of individuals whose later stature as prominent Sufi masters and writers brought fame to this formidable teacher. And both the teacher and his students are liable for the equally remarkable number of derivative initiatic lines: the *Firdawsiyya*, *Nuriyaa*, *Rukniyya*, *Ashrafiyya*, *Ightishashiyya*, *Hamadaniyya*, *Dhahabiyya*, and *Nurbakhshiyya* among others. From the ranks of those fashioned by Najm al-Din we find worthy of mention Sa'd al-Din Hammuya (d. 650/1253), a Persian Kubrawi master, Majd al-Din Baghdadi (d. 616/1219), master of Najm al-Din Razi (d. 618/1221), Sayf al-Din Bakharzi (d. 659/1261) of Transoxiana, and Radi al-Din 'Ali Lala of Samarqand (d. 642/1244).

Kubra penned a lengthy commentary on the Qur'an left unfinished by his death but picked up by Najm al-Din Razi and a later Kubrawi, 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnani (d. 736/1336) (oft-cited for his confident critique of IBN AL-'ARABI's formulation of *wahdat al-wujud*, "Oneness of Being" or "Unity of Existence"). One of several similar treatises is a short work entitled *al-Usul al-'ashara* (The Ten Principles) which covers Sufi norms of conduct (*adab*), incorporating eight rules previously laid down by the great Persian mystic and master of the Sufis of Baghdad, Abu'l Qasim AL-JUNAYD (d. 298/910). To Junayd's fundamental disciplinary rules Kubra adds "sleep as little as possible" and "observe moderation when breaking the fast." This manual circulated widely beyond the Kubrawi order. But far and away Kubra's greatest work is the *Fawa'ih al-jamal wa fawatih al-jalal* (loosely, "Aromas of Beauty and Preambles of Majesty"), a didactic journal that includes details of his visions and ecstatic experiences re-told for the benefit of the *murid*. This manual of mystical psychology prepares the novice for the possible states (*ahwal*), stations (*maqamat*), and "interior events" (*waqi'a*) such as dreams or visions that may be encountered on the Sufi path. In effect, it provides the language with which to make sense of spiritual experiences and the criteria necessary for discriminating the real from the illusory, the significant from the trivial, the para- or non-rational from the irrational. This process of discernment and discrimination is not the solitary enterprise of the student, but requires the experience and wisdom of a spiritual teacher. Thus what has been called Kubra's "hermeneutics of gnostic supra-formal perception," enunciates a common conceptual vocabulary for the master and *murid* whereby the psychological, moral, and spiritual attributes and perspectives that mark degrees of spiritual growth can be represented and identified. In so doing, lines are drawn that serve to differentiate the aspirant's spiritual experiences from debilitating symptoms of mental illness or the narcissistic display of private fantasy.

Details of the luminous and colorful visions and/or auditory perceptions experienced by the "interior organs of perception" (*lata'if*) can differ in details from student to student, another reason for invoking the analytical prowess of the *murid*'s *shaykh*. The body's seven subtle organs of perception are purified by *dhikr* (literally "recollection, mentioning, or remembering God"; ritual recitation of formulaic prayers to God) and other disciplinary exercises and ascetic practices. If successful, this progressive unveiling will reveal the angelic world, satan, both Hell and Paradise, even the Divine Throne itself, as found within the heart of the mystic (Meier 1957: 32). The Kubrawiyya proceeded to develop an elaborate color symbolism and Kubrawi saints influenced mysticism on the Indian subcontinent, perhaps in part owing to the elective affinity of Kubra's mystical psychology with the psycho-physiology of yoga.

Najm al-Din Kubra died while physically resisting the Mongol conquest of Khwarazm in 617/1220. The Kubrawiyya would later extend itself throughout Central Asia and as far east as the Muslim regions of China.

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KUŞÇU, Ali (d. 879/1474)

Alaaddin Ali ibn Muhammed Semerkandi Ali Kuşçu is believed to have been born in Samarkand, a region in Uzbekistan which was then the center of the Mongol Empire of the Timurids, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. He died in Istanbul on 7 Sha'ban 879/December 16, 1474. He was a significant Turkish astronomer and mathematician. Ali's father Muhammad was the chief falconer of Ulugh Beg (Uluğ Bey), the ruler of Turkestan and a grandson of Timur (Tamerlane). Because of his father's occupation Ali received the nickname "kuşçu" (kushji), which means "related to birds" in Turkish.

Ali had his first education in mathematics and astronomy from Bursalı Kadızade Rumi (d. after 844/1440), Ghiyathaddin Jamshid al-Kashi (d. 832/1429), and Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449), who was also a learned astronomer and mathematician. After his first education Ali secretly went to Kerman to further his study, which angered Ulugh Beg. There he wrote his *Sarh al-Tacrid*, a commentary on *kalam*, and *Risala fi hall ashkal al-qamar*, a treatise on the movements of the moon, which would later be treated with great respect by Ulugh Beg. After having completed his study in Kerman he returned to Samarkand and, upon the death of Kadızade Rumi, became the new director of the famous observatory built by Ulugh Beg in 823/1420. Ali also assisted him in his work called *Ziyj*, which is an astronomical table showing the locations and movements of the planets.

After Ulugh Beg's assassination in 853/1449, Ali left his post in the Samarkand *madrasa* and fled to Tabriz. There he was well received by Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Akkoyunlu State, and was convinced to stay and work for him. During a visit as emissary to the Ottoman Empire, Ali had an even stronger impact on Sultan Mehmet II (Fatih), the Conqueror, who invited him to live in Istanbul to enrich the scientific life in the city's *madrasas*. Ali accepted that invitation on the condition that he would first complete his duty in Tabriz. Such a reaction only increased the Sultan's admiration, as it proved that Ali was not only a learned man of science but also possessed good manners and idealism. Two years later he returned to the capital of the Ottoman Empire with his family and companions. At his arrival he was welcomed with a big ceremony and was immediately appointed as a *mudarris* in the Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia) Medresesi with a good salary. He also became the director of the Sultan's personal library and retained those positions until his death in 879/1474.

Ali Kuşçu was not only a leading astronomer and mathematician of his time but also a distinguished teacher who greatly contributed to the education of well-known Turkish astronomers, such as Mirim Çelebi, who was also his grandson, Hoca Sinan Paşa and Molla Lütfi. Alongside his celebrated writings on the subjects of mathematics and astronomy he produced some important works on *kalam* and philology as well. Among the latter are his commentaries on Nasiruddin AL-TUSI's *Tacrid al-kalam* and Adududdin's *Risala al-adudiyya*, and a philological work called *Unkud al-zawahir fi nazm al-jawahir*. The former commentary, which is later called *Sarh al-jadid*, is what won Ali Kuşçu the title of *al-Mu'allif al-thani*. However, he still owed his well-deserved reputation particularly to those writings that he wrote on astronomy and mathematics, such as *Risala fi hay'a* (861/1457), a celebrated astronomical treatise, and *Risala fi al-hesab* (876/1472), another important treatise on algebra and calculations. Both works were written in Persian and later, to be offered to Sultan Mehmet II, translated into Arabic as *Risala al-Fathiyya* and *Risala al-Muhammadiyya*, respectively. There was also a famous commentary on Ulugh Beg's *Ziyj* and an encyclopedic work called *Mahbub al-hama'il fi kashf al-masa'il*.

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

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LAHBABI, Muhammad Aziz (1922–93)

The Moroccan writer and philosopher Lahbabi was born in Fez. He received his academic education in Paris. His doctoral dissertation was published in two volumes as *De l'être à la personne* (From Being to Person, 1954) and *Liberté ou libération* (1956). Upon his return to Morocco, he taught at the University of Rabat, Muhammad V University, and the University of Algiers. He founded the Union of the Arab Writers of the Maghrib and became an editor of the review *Afaq* (Horizons).

Lahbabi played an important role in the intellectual and academic life of Morocco in the second half of the twentieth century. The Moroccan thinker Muhammad 'Abid al-Jabri wrote his doctoral dissertation under Lahbabi's supervision.

As a prolific writer, Lahbabi wrote a number of works on contemporary thought in Arabic and French, including several books of poetry and a novel entitled *Espoir vagabond* (1972). He authored a book on the economic history of Morocco called *L'Économie marocaine: notion essentielles* (The Moroccan Economy: Essential Elements, 1977), the first volume of which is *Les Fondements de l'économie marocaine* (The Foundations of the Moroccan Economy, 1977). He also gave his assessment of the "Third World" in his *Le Monde de demain: le Tiers-Monde accuse* (The World of Tomorrow: the Third World Challenges, 1980).

Lahbabi's philosophical works are devoted to the development of an Islamic personalism as a "philosophy of liberation." In the *Le Personnalisme musulman* (1964), Lahbabi sought to assert the centrality of the "person" or the individual through such concepts as the autonomy of the person, self-consciousness, and individual responsibility. His "personalist methodology" borrows elements from the writings of such French philosophers as Henri Bergson and Emmanuel Mounier, as well as from the Qur'an and other traditional Islamic sources.

In *Liberté ou libération?*, Lahbabi formulates his "realist personalism" and attempts to give a full account of the "ontology of the individual" without falling into the trap of individualism and subjectivism. As in his other works, he relies heavily on Bergson, and seeks to present a philosophy of personalism that leads the individual from a "moment of liberty" to a "process of liberation." Like Bergson, Lahbabi considers the unity of spirit and matter to be a condition and ultimate goal of liberation.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

LAHIJI, 'Abd al-Razzaq (d. 1072/1662)

'Abd al-Razzaq b. Ali b. Husayn Gilani al-Lahiji was one of the major scholars of the late Safavid period. Little is known of his life other than the fact that he was a student and son-in-law of MULLA SADRA. He wrote a number of works on philosophy and philosophical *kalam*. His overall philosophical tone is less mystical than that of Mulla Sadra. Furthermore, he did not fully agree with the two key ideas of Sadra, that is, the principality of being (*asalat al-wujud*) and substantial motion (*al-harakat al-jawhariyya*). But he sought to reformulate the concept of *hikmat* as philosophical wisdom and theology, a train of thought whose roots can easily be found in Sadra.

His philosophical works combine elements from IBN SINA, SUHRAWARDI, Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI, and his own teacher Mulla Sadra. His *Hashiya-yi Kitab-i Isharat* (Gloss over Ibn Sina's *Isharat*) is a commentary on Tusi's commentary on the *Isharat*, Ibn Sina's last major work. Tusi's influence on Lahiji is also to be seen in his commentary entitled *Shawariq al-ilham fi sharh tajrid al-kalam* (The Dawn of Intuition in the Commentary on al-Tusi's *Tajrid al-kalam*). This is probably Lahiji's most important work in philosophical *kalam*. His commentary on Suhrawardi's *Hayakil al-nur* (Temples of Light) points to Lahiji's interest in the Illuminationist tradition. Like Suhrawardi and Mulla Sadra before him, Lahiji develops a doctrine of *mundus imaginalis* (*'alam al-mithal*) as an intermediary stage between the world of pure spirits/intelligible substances and the world of corporeal existence. He distinguishes the world of archetypes from the world of Platonic Forms by saying that while the Platonic Forms are completely disengaged from matter and designate "*universal* forms of knowledge," the beings of the archetypal world are "particular forms that are separate from matter but by no means from all material envelopes."

Lahiji's two Persian works are *Gawhari Murad* (The Desired Substance) and *Sarmaya-yi Iman* (Faith's Capital). These are devoted mostly to the development of a philosophical *kalam* with strong Illuminationist and mystical tendencies. In the *Gawhar*, Lahiji compares and contrasts the methods of the philosophers and the mystics without necessarily opting for one over the other. Nevertheless, in comparing the two paths of the "exoteric" (*zahir*) and "esoteric" (*batin*), he says that the former leads one to the knowledge of God whereas the latter to the Divine himself. Lahiji also discusses representational (*'ilm husuli*) and presential knowledge (*'ilm huduri*) as two distinct modes of knowledge.

Lahiji was also a poet of some stature and wrote a *diwan* containing over five thousand verses. Like many of his colleagues in the "School of Isfahan," Lahiji's poetry is more mystical than his prose writings.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

LARIJANI, Aqa Sayyid Radi

(d. 1270/1853–4)

A thinker who, as his name suggests, hailed from Larijan near the Caspian Sea, Larijani traveled to Isfahan to be taught by Mulla 'Ali Nuri and Mulla Isma'il Isfahani. The curriculum seems to have been very much based around the thought of MULLA SADRA. Larijani became well known for his philosophical skill, and the way he combined it with an interest in mysticism and hidden knowledge, in particular the works of IBN AL-'ARABI. He became even more famous for his esoteric knowledge, and this caused him some difficulties with the authorities, suspicious as they were of this form of Islamic thought for its putative heterodoxy. Larijani was saved by being declared insane and so he was left alone. He found refuge in the home of Mirza Isma'il Gurgani, who had influence in the Qajar court, and lived for the last years of his life in Tehran. Larijani had a lot of influence on thinkers like QUMSHA'I and did a great deal to institute the teaching of Ibn al-'Arabi alongside Mulla Sadra, something that has remained a feature of Persian philosophy ever since.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-LAWKARI, Fadl b. Muhammad

(d. 517/1123–4)

Lawkari was a famous student of BAHMANYAR b. Marzuba, who himself was the most celebrated student of IBN SINA. Lawkari was born in Lawkar and flourished during the twelfth century. The dates of his birth and death have not been fully determined. Lawkari wrote mostly to explain in simple terms the ideas of his master Bahmanyar and those of Ibn Sina. As an advocate of philosophy, he trained many students. Bayhaqi, a classical biographer and the author of the *Tatimat siwan al-hikmah*, refers to Lawkari as having played a significant role in the spread of philosophy in the Khurasan region. He collaborated with several scholars of his time, including Abu al-Fath 'Umar KHAYYAM, Maymun b. Najib al-Wasiti and Abu'l-Muzaffar Isfazari, to establish a solar calendar at the request of the Saljuqid sultan Jalal al-Din Malik-shah. It came to be known as the Jalali calendar, and is still in use today.

Lawkari was well trained in the philosophical sciences of his time. In addition to his mastery of logic, metaphysics, and cosmology, he was well-versed in mathematics and astronomy. Biographical sources describe him as a pious person. Lawkari's most important work is *Bayan al-haqq bi-diman al-sidq* (The Explanation of Truth from the Point of View of Trust). It is a restatement of the basic teachings of Ibn Sina as interpreted by Bahmanyar. In his exposition, Lawkari seeks to reconcile the differences between AL-FARABI and Ibn Sina. The *Bayan*, however, also contains quotations from Aristotle and Bahmanyar.

The *Bayan* consists of three books: logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. The book on logic begins with a definition of knowledge and its parts, and discusses the main concepts of traditional logic in nine sections, which include the single terms used in logic, categories, phrases, analogy, demonstration, dialectic, sophistry, eloquence of speech, and poetry. The second book is devoted to natural philosophy and comprises the following sections: heavens and the universe, generation and corruption, minerals, effects of supra-lunar beings on the sub-lunar world, psychology, plants, and animals.

The third book comprising metaphysics is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the definition of metaphysics (*ma ba'd al-tabi'a*) as "universal science" (*al-'ilm al-kulli*), which "contains the principles of all sciences." It discusses being (*wujud*) and its divisions, substance and accident, matter and form, causality, oneness, unity, multiplicity, individuation and relationality, potentiality and actuality as they pertain to corporeal beings, the universals, and the Platonic Forms. The second part of the book of metaphysics, which Lawkari calls "*uthulujiyyah*," referring to the pseudo-theology of Aristotle, is devoted to theology or "divine science" (*al-'ilm al-ilahi*), and comprises the following subjects: God as the necessary, perfect, and absolute Being, the oneness of God, his Names and Qualities, Avicennan cosmology, the emanation of multiplicity from the One through a series of hierarchical beings, theodicy, resurrection, prophecy, and revelation, and the necessity and benefits of prayers.

In addition to his *Bayan*, Lawkari wrote an index (*fahrasa*) for Ibn Sina's *al-Ta'liqat*. Lawkari also has a small divan of poetry comprised of Arabic and Persian poems.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

LOGIC AND ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Is logic acceptable in Islam?

One of the things that interested the early Islamic world in Greek culture was logic. The Greeks had of course been working on logic for a long time and had developed complex and detailed theories of argumentation, theories that showed in satisfying ways how one gets from certain statements to other statements in a secure and valid manner. This was useful not only to ensure that one's arguments were based on something solid—thus proving to be the basis of science and the advance of knowledge—but also to provide people with ways to persuade each other of the truth of what they believed. One of the tasks of the new religion of Islam was to persuade those outside the religion to embrace it, since force was not always appropriate nor even desirable. As the Qur'an advises, people should be introduced to Islam with "beautiful preaching" (16:125; 29:46). One aspect of this is often taken to be solid argument and rational persuasion since there are few if any religions that put such an emphasis on argument as does Islam. The Qur'an is full of suggestions that readers and hearers consider what they are told and assess it. In any case, the Muslims advancing through the civilized world of the Middle East and beyond did not want to seem like hicks and as if they were incapable of holding their own in discussions with the locals. So it was important to learn the rules of argument, and since the Greeks had spent a lot of time working on these, one might as well acquire this information and use it for the cause of promoting Islam, or for whatever other purpose one might have in mind. In IBN SINA's view, three kinds of assent (mentioned below) are similar to wisdom, beautiful preaching, and arguing in a good way that are found in the following passage (16: 125): "invite all to the way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching, and argue with them in a way that is the best and most gracious." For him, wisdom in this verse resembles demonstration, beautiful preaching resembles rhetorical assent, and disputing in a better way resembles topic (*jadal*). The reason why beautiful preaching is placed before disputing in a better way is due to its benefits for society (*Kitab al-Shifa'*, *al-Mantiq*, *al-Hataba*, pp. 5–6.)

This was one approach to logic, and it prevailed as the argument that allowed the relevant texts to be translated into Arabic and incorporated in the educational system of the Islamic world. Yet the introduction of logic was not uncontroversial. There was a celebrated debate in front of the court in Baghdad on the merits of a logic that comes from outside the Islamic world and seeks to impose itself on Arabic culture. Those who defended logic saw it as just a tool or instrument and argued that just as a Muslim may use an implement from an unbeliever in order to carry out some useful task, it is just as permissible to use a technique that stems from the world of the unbelievers if it can add value to what is being done. Yet there is another view of logic, and this is to see it as bringing with it a whole range of presuppositions and principles that do not have a neutral effect on what they touch. On the contrary, logic transforms the material on which it works and so should be kept at a distance lest it infects the pure material of religion. So the first debate that took place was whether logic is a tool and something that can be used independently of philosophy, or whether it is part of philosophy and thus replete with theoretical assumptions.

In the debate, the argument of AL-SIRAFI that logic is undesirable often takes on rather unpleasant xenophobic strains, since he complains of the project of importing this new technique as though it represented the invasion of a foreign set of ideas. His opponent Bishr ibn Matta is a Christian and not a native Arabic-speaker, and that is not ignored in the debate by his Muslim opponent either, but al-Sirafi does make a sensible point when he wonders whether a logic that stems from the Greek language can really deal with issues in Arabic. The argument that seems to have won out is later on quite brilliantly expressed by AL-FARABI who says logic represents the deep structure of all languages, and so the language in which logic is expressed is irrelevant to understanding how it operates. After all, logic can be translated into purely formal language, a language of symbols which is completely independent of all natural language. It was in this spirit that logic entered the Islamic world, as an abstract and effective methodology for assessing arguments, in just the same way that any useful article or practice might be taken up and adapted to local use.

Yet it is worth mentioning here three very significant critiques of Greek logic that arose within the Islamic world, one from the perspective of Sufism, a second from the Salafiyya or traditionalists, and a third finally from the Ishraqi or Illuminationist thinkers. The Iberian thinker IBN SAB'IN was highly suspicious of logic for its tendency to break things down into their elements, which he saw as interfering with the basic unity of everything in God. The principle of unity or *tawhid* is crucial to Islam, and some Sufis take this to mean that it is a mistake to divide the world up into parts, since everything is one. Yet what Aristotelian logic does is precisely to break up a statement into its parts, assess the links between those parts and use it to derive other statements, which themselves are then reduced to their parts and then put together again in such a way that we can work out how to get from one statement to another in an acceptable and valid manner. What is wrong with that? Nothing logically, of course, but metaphysically it suggests that things are really made up of their parts and it is only if we examine those parts that we really understand the things. Yet for Ibn Sab'in precisely the reverse is the case, it is only if we look on the world as just one thing, a thing indistinguishable from its creator, that we approach having a clear and true view of it.

Of course, what Ibn Sab'in is criticizing is not only the use of logic, but what amounts to the whole of *kalam* or theology, which certainly cannot proceed without argument and, accordingly, rules of argumentation. IBN TAYMIYYA took this point up directly and attacked the Aristotelian notion of definition (*hadd*) for assuming that there is a basic distinction between the essential and accidental properties which a thing has. In order to understand what a thing is on the Aristotelian account, we have to be able to distinguish between its essential and merely accidental qualities. The essential properties are those it must have to be the thing it is, while the accidental properties are those it can have but need not. What is useful about this approach to logic is that we can then be clear in our use of concepts; we can refine our concepts and use them subsequently to define what we find in the world. We can use concepts even if there are no instances of them in the world, and thus even fictitious concepts have essential and accidental features.

Ibn Taymiyya is a determined nominalist, and argues that universals or general terms should be analyzed in terms of the individuals who constitute them. We can construct universals, but we should always be aware that they are merely a shorthand for grouping together particulars, and possess no independent existence of their own. The problem is that we tend to use universal notions as though these represent something which really exists. We should be aware, he tells us, of the role of God in creating the particulars out of which the universals are abstracted, and not go on to make the next mistake of assuming that the universals have independent existence and in fact influence or restrict the activity of God. The universals are things we construct, and they bear no more reality than anything else that we put together from what we find around us.

When we use definitions we think we have really grasped a concept, since we have aligned it with its necessary properties. But how do we know what is essential to a concept? If we put together various diverse things to make one broader concept how do we know which of those things is essential and which is accidental? This is a vital aspect of the theory of definition, that we can work out what properties a thing has to have to be the thing it purports to be. This is the problem with the notion of definition, in that we never know whether we get it right in distinguishing between its essential and its accidental properties, since our experience will not provide us with this sort of information. Experience gives us evidence of the existence of objects, but it does not provide information about what features they must possess and what they could do without and still be the same sort of object. So our experience and reasoning faculties are insufficient to provide us with knowledge, even knowledge of abstract ideas such as those produced by logic. We need divine assistance if we are to know anything, and for this we need to look at the Qur'an and other sources of religious knowledge, not to Greek logic. The ontology with which Ibn Taymiyya is working is one of an atomistic world, whose deity is solely responsible for creating the facts that we see around us. In this case the reification of concepts is even more extravagant than when treating the material world as though it were independently subsistent and real, since when we construct our concepts we pretend to ourselves that we have the power to understand what we see before us. Ash'arite thinkers see the world as constituted of atoms and accidents, with no independent existence, and so entirely dependent on God's grace for its continuing existence.

Illuminationist (Ishraqi) thought is also suspicious of logic and sets out to replace Peripatetic thought by replacing the notion of definition with that of immediate or intuitive knowledge. The Aristotelian or Peripatetic view is that reasoning starts with definition in terms of genus and differentia, a process of explaining something by breaking it down into its smaller parts. Illuminationist thinkers such as AL-SUHRAWARDI (1154–91) argue that this amounts to explaining the unknown in terms of something even less known than itself, which is pointless. They also replace deductive knowledge, the sort of knowledge we get from using the principles of Aristotelian reasoning, with knowledge by presence, which they describe as knowledge that is so immediate that it cannot be doubted. The notion of light is used here with the idea being that such immediate knowledge is lit up in a way which makes it impossible to doubt, and this is a result of the way in which light flows through the universe and brings to existence and awareness different levels of being. The differences between things depend on degrees of luminosity or light, not on their essences. Again we see a philosophical argument that sets out to work without Aristotelian logic, since the argument is based on very different presuppositions.

Islamic philosophy and the *Organon*

The Peripatetic (*mashsha'un*) philosophers, the *falasifa* like IBN RUSHD and his predecessors such as al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, used the *Organon* of Aristotle as an example of how arguments may vary in form and, in particular, in the universality of their conclusion. The *Organon* is an account of the variety of deductive techniques that apply to concepts, resulting in a hierarchy of argumentative strength, with demonstration at the summit, where we operate with true premises and use them to arrive at valid and entirely general conclusions. Next comes dialectic, where the premises we use are those supplied by the side with which we are debating, and so we have no reason to think they are true. They might be, but they might not, and we might not be able to find out. After this a number of other argument types follow; rhetoric and poetry, for example, where the point is to change people's mind by the use of imagination and appeals to emotions, and where the validity of the conclusion may be limited only to a particular audience within a particular context on a particular occasion. That does not mean that there is anything wrong with the argument. It is a perfectly acceptable argument of its type, but not up to the standard of demonstration or even dialectic.

The Qur'an is full of such arguments; arguments that appeal to our understanding of what is in our interest and how we should live our lives. These are indeed arguments, but we should bear in mind the warnings of the *falasifa* who acknowledged that they are only as strong as their premises are true. The *falasifa* are quite clear on this, and in their analysis of different sorts of writing and speech they sharply distinguish between different levels of logical strength in the variety of language forms that are available to us, and they argued that each form of argument is appropriate to a particular kind of human activity. So, for example, poetry, which they argued has a logical form just like any other argument, is often intended to produce not a conclusion but an emotion; similarly, rhetoric might also be expected to produce agreement with an opinion, albeit perhaps not agreement based entirely on the logic of the argument. Agreement might be evinced through someone being persuaded of the truth of the argument whereas a stricter examination of the argument might reveal gaps and problems. So for example a political leader may move a crowd to action by telling them things that have an emotional impact, yet if those things were to be examined closely they would not seem like good reasons for taking that particular action. In this case, the connection between the premises and the conclusion is certainly logical in the sense that there is a rational connection, yet the argument is not as powerful as a demonstrative argument, the gold standard of argument, where the argument starts with premises we know to be true, or even necessarily true. In a political or rhetorical argument we start with premises that are far weaker, perhaps dealing with the desirability of a particular kind of living arrangement or a kind of political organization.

In their political works the *falasifa* often point to the links between different kinds of argument, different kinds of professional activity, and different kinds of state. For example, if the government is run by philosophers, the best possible arrangement, then the standard of conversation will be demonstrative, insofar as this is possible, and the state will be organized in the most efficient and generally satisfactory way. After all, with demonstrative reasoning we have a perfectly clear and rigorous form of argument that exposes all aspects of the issue, and so all participants understand entirely where the truth lies. On the other hand, if we are dealing with lawyers, by contrast, then the form of argument will be dialectical, since they operate on the basis of the law, which is a series of rules laid down in a specific way and at a specific time and in a specific place. There is no need for those rules to be good rules, or based on a rational analysis of what is needed, and the job of the lawyer is to act on the basis of whatever the rules are, and follow the implications of those rules. The argument form should be rigorous, but can only work from the nature of the premises, and if these premises are imperfect, then this affects the status of the conclusion we can draw from them. A state which is run on dialectical premises will suffer accordingly, since the nature of debate will be based on what are accepted as the right premises, and if these are imperfect then so will be the state.

This does not mean that all arguments ought to be demonstrative, since this would not be suitable for the variety of people who exist in society. For many people, demonstrative argument is not appropriate since they would not understand it, and in any case it might not be appropriate for the emotional side of their lives. The function of religion is to express to the community at large what the truth is in a way that can be generally recognized, while for a small number of intellectuals a more rational approach would be appropriate. Is this to suggest that the Qur'an is not using the best form of argument, demonstrative argument, as its main argument form? On the contrary, as a religion it employs a whole variety of what from a logical point of view have to be called weaker forms of argument: rhetorical, sophistical, poetic, and so on. The justification would be to point out that different audiences and different situations call for different sorts of argument. One of the ways in which *tafsir* or commentary often operates is to discuss the particular situation in which a *sura* was revealed. So if it occurred at a certain time and place, perhaps in Medina after a particular event, then we can understand what the text was designed to do. It is helpful to understand the context if we are to understand the *sura*. The audience of the time would have had certain experiences at that point, and so they would be addressed in a certain way which takes account of where they are.

Although the precise dating of the *suras* is often difficult to make, it does seem broadly clear which are Meccan and which Medinan, and what the order of revelation is. This is important if we are to understand why passages are expected to work when they do, and why they are constructed in a particular way. But if the argument in the text is perfectly clear, why do we need to know anything about the context? The answer is that the argument is not perfectly clear, since if it were the audience would not understand it; what they can understand is an argument that links up with their own background and the situation in which they find themselves. The logic of religion then pays particular attention to the more popular forms of argument, since this is going to be most effective in reaching the widest possible audience.

The logic of the argument we find in scripture lies in the production of reasons that make a particular conclusion plausible, albeit perhaps not compelling. This is also an important topic for the *falasifa*, since for them many issues and ideas can be seen from a variety of perspectives each of which represents what works for the individual, each of which links up with the truth, but none of which looks like the other. To take an example from AL-FARABI, the normal religious idea of the prophet is that he is someone of sterling moral character chosen by God to transmit a message. From the philosophical point of view he is someone of sterling moral character whose mind is in line with the active intellect and so knows how to persuade an audience of a particular point of view. The philosopher and the believer both grasp the same thing, the prophet, and analyze what they see differently, but both judgments are true. It would even be wrong to see one of the judgments as primarily intellectual and abstract and the other as "popular," since the sort of language that surrounds religious description is hardly simple and perspicuous. Often theology is more complex than philosophy, and the views of the ordinary believer more complicated than those of the thinker who can organize his thought into clear and distinct categories. The *falasifa* argued that each way of talking is valid, although there can be little doubt that they thought that the philosophical account is more accurate than many of its competitors. What we see here yet again is the idea that there is an underlying logic to language which beneath the surface works to explain the validity of what is being asserted and how it links up with other statements. That is how very different forms of language can all be said to have a similar logical structure, because the form of argument that language rests on is independent of the natural language itself, a point made early on by Bishr ibn Matta when trying to justify the applicability of logic to any form of linguistic expression.

Universals and definition

Porphyry's *Eisagoge* was taken by Islamic philosophers to serve as an introduction to Aristotle's categories, and one of the advantages of this view is the neatness of the approach to universal statements that Porphyry notes. The five predicables, as they came to be known consist of genus, species, difference, property, and accident. Genus refers to the common nature of all the species that fall under it, such as "ambulant" for "sheep," "dog," "cat," and so on. The genus informs us of what the general nature of a thing is. Species refers to the common nature of all the individuals that fall under it, such as "philosopher" for "Ibn Sina," "Ibn Rushd," and so on. The species gives us information on what the specific nature of a thing is. Difference is what differentiates the members of the genus, such as "mortal," which differentiates the species of being a physical creature from other species of thing; differentiation tells us what thing something is. These three universals are essential to a thing, for without them the thing will not have the properties that define it. Then there are properties of a thing that it can either have or not have, they are not essential to it, and these are called property and accident. Property is something that necessarily attaches to one universal only, such as "can tell jokes" for "humanity." Accident refers to a quality that attaches to more than one universal, such as "white" for "swan." A definition represents the essence of a thing by laying out its general and specific essential qualities, that is, its genus, species, and difference. A looser account of the thing is based on the property instead of the difference. As a result it is incomplete since it produces a description that could apply to a lot of things, not just things whose definition falls under a certain essence.

Logic in Islamic philosophy

A number of features characterize logic in Islamic philosophy. First of all there was the development of a tradition of commentary on the major Greek logical texts, commentaries that often were very perceptive in their scope. Some of these were to be translated into Latin and become much used in Christian Europe when philosophy was taken up there, a long time later than its career in the Islamic world. Some thinkers were far more than commentators, though. Ibn Sina (Avicenna) made several bold moves away from the Greeks, developing the notion of "second intentions" or "secondary concepts" by contrast with "first intentions." The secondary nature is a characterization of the second order activity of the logician, in that the technique is applied to an existing subject matter and so is intrinsically secondary and reflective on something already existing. This idea led him to posit also a sharp distinction between existence and essence, a distinction that was to play a large role in later Islamic and European philosophy. He also did a lot to construct the theory behind modal logic, the area that operates with the concepts of possibility and necessity. Later thinkers developed views on the nature of the syllogism, the issue of universals, the link between predication and existence, and the constant issue of logic and its relationship with grammar.

One of the problems of logic in Arabic is the absence of the copula from the Arabic language, something that must have been very noticeable to the majority of Islamic philosophers who were in any case usually Persians. There is a copula in Persian, so translating Greek logic into Persian was much simpler than translating it into Arabic, the scholarly language of the Islamic world during the early centuries of Islam. There is also in Arabic a clear distinction between the existential and predicative functions of terms, so that it is clear when something is being said to exist and when it is said to have some quality or other. This is often said to have interfered with an appropriate distinction in Arabic and Islamic philosophy between being and existence, by contrast with Greek which is rich in such ontological abstract ideas. However, the evidence does not suggest that this proved to be much of a problem for the Islamic thinkers, who were usually immediately aware of the issue of how Greek and Arabic differed in these ways. In fact, if we look at the technical vocabulary that came to be created to discuss these terms it becomes immediately obvious how the distinctions are made logically when not made naturally in the language. As we have seen, this is entirely in line with the theory of logic as a technique that lies behind language, and so the issue of creating neologisms to express logical ideas not present directly in grammar is only to be expected, and as far as we know was not regarded at the time as in any way perplexing. However, the history of Islamic philosophy displays a constant fascination with the concepts of being and existence and thinkers used these to characterize their philosophies and their differences from those of their opponents. This is not only true of the early period of Peripatetic thought, but continued into the era of Ishraqi (Illuminationist) philosophy in Persia, where these ontological terms become very much the main topics of controversy. The two main Ishraqi thinkers, al-Suhrawardi and MULLA SADRA, take diametrically opposed views on how being and existence are to be explicated, and this gives us a clear view of how crucial basic logical distinctions are in characterizing philosophical positions. The followers of each philosopher usually start by describing the ontological position they are upholding and why, and how the thinker they are lining up behind presented the correct view of the relationship between being and existence.

The influence of logic on theology

It is worth saying something about the influence of logic on theology, since this gives us an example of how philosophical discussions moved into the wider cultural sphere of the Islamic world. Some theologians like IBN TAYMIYYA, as we have seen, rejected the use of logic and so their theology is ostensibly logic-free. Other thinkers such as AL-GHAZALI argued that while philosophy was objectionable, logic was acceptable since it is only an instrument and not part of philosophy itself. His position here did a lot to naturalize logic within the Islamic world while philosophy itself was in disgrace. Al-Ghazali even goes so far as to argue that one can create a logic out of an examination of the Qur'an itself, since the work itself demonstrates how reasoning is supposed to operate. This brings out a difficulty in the Ibn Taymiyya position that will have been obvious, and that is, how can one argue to a conclusion that logic ought to be excluded, since any such argument is either valid or otherwise, and how would one know without employing logic of some kind? Although Ibn Taymiyya is very critical of both logic and philosophy, he argues very well for his conclusions, and expects others to accept his arguments. Presumably then he adheres to some theory of how arguments work and what makes them valid, and that is what logic is, of course.

To a certain extent Ibn Taymiyya rejects the notion of definition because it implies the independent existence of essences. However, it might be argued that there is no problem in being a nominalist and combining this with the Aristotelian notion of a universal. There is nothing wrong with generalizing over individuals and constructing as a result a universal concept, which then represents the common features which all the particulars possess. Of course, for a nominalist like Ibn Taymiyya the problem would be that one could never be sure that one really had an accurate view of what all those particulars have in common, so that any such construction of universals would need to be provisional. This is the problem with the notion of the definition; we would never know whether we had got it right in distinguishing between the essential and the accidental properties, since our experience cannot help us here. Experience would give us evidence of the existence of objects, but what features they must possess and what they could do without, and still be the same sort of object, has nothing to do with experience. In fact, it is what Ibn Sina calls an issue of secondary intention, it reflects on the concepts produced through experience, not on experience itself. For Ibn Taymiyya, knowledge has to be based on experience and its basis in divine grace. One should trust certain kinds of authority on the meaning of the Qur'an by going straight to the interpretive tradition itself based on theology, as opposed to reason (*'aql*). All that can be learned through reason is confusion and contradiction. It is revelation which provides a secure source of information and instruction, and any attempt to replace or supplement revelation with recourse to logic is undesirable. The issue is who is to have the authority to interpret texts, and who is able to assess arguments and understand the world. He rightly perceives that the logician sets out to acquire this authority, and the logician bases this claim on no theological background at all. As Ibn Taymiyya was well aware, the early Greeks were certainly not Muslims, nor even monotheists on the whole. If they could be looked up to as intellectual authorities, what need is there for religion and religious authorities to help us resolve issues of what arguments work and why?

A slightly different attack on the use of logic in theology is provided by IBN KHALDUN (d. 1406), best known as a social historian and philosopher of history. Logical techniques are, he suggests, important if we are to be clear on the nature of any issue, but it does not follow that we must have confidence in the capacity of reason to reveal to us the ultimate truths which are accessible to us only through religion. Often called an anti-rationalist position, this view is in fact quite different. It is a rational position based on concerns about the limits of reason to reveal the truth. Arguing that there are limits to reason is not to attack reason but is rather to suggest that it be restricted by being used with some other technique, perhaps religious knowledge, and that we remain aware of our limited grasp of how far we can operate with it. Both these views seek to restrict the scope of logic to deal with theological issues, although in Islamic theology as it developed a great deal of reliance on logic did become common, especially after al-Ghazali's argument in favor of its acceptability. The real object of concern was an argument such as that of IBN RUSHD in his *Fasl al-maqal* where he suggests that the ultimate authority on theological issues is not the theologian but the philosopher, since only the philosopher has the skill to understand the appropriate syllogistic principles that lie behind interpretive issues in religion, and only he can resolve such issues once and for all. This would place logic ahead of theology in terms of who has the right to claim an understanding of religion; however, the idea that they are basically redundant did not seem to impress the theologians. Logic is necessary for everyone who wants to reach true knowledge, according to Ibn Sina, and if this is accepted then the balance of power between theologians and logicians will be radically changed.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

M

AL-MA‘ARRI, Abu’l ‘Ala’

(363–449/973–1058)

Al-Ma‘arri was born in Ma‘arra al-Nu‘man, an ancient Syrian town between Aleppo and Hims, in 363/April 27, 973, and died in the same town in 449/May 1058. He was a famous Arabic prose author and poet.

Al-Ma‘arri was the second child of three. When he was four years old he lost his eyesight due to smallpox. His early Islamic training was given by his parents at home. He then studied linguistics and literature with the scholars from Ma‘arra and Aleppo such as Muhammad b. ‘Abdullah b. Sa‘d. Additionally, there are reports that he traveled to Antioch, Latakia, and Syrian Tripoli, worked in their libraries and was involved in discussions with men of letters and clergy. However, the historical facts that the Byzantine authorities expelled Muslims from Antioch and that there was neither a library nor a scholar from which to acquire knowledge there at that time seem to conflict with these reports. A similar historical difficulty lies with the accounts that he visited the library in Tripoli. Since the first one was built in 472/1079, there was no library there at that time. On the other hand, two couplets of al-Ma‘arri cited in *Mu‘jam al-buldan* suggest that he may have visited Latakia. An important event in al-Ma‘arri’s life was his father’s death. Having lost his father, al-Ma‘arri lived off thirty dinars a year which came from a family trust. He gave half of this to his maid and managed to live off the other half. Al-Ma‘arri’s uncles in Aleppo offered their support to him as well.

A turning point in al-Ma‘arri’s life was his move to Baghdad. This was the city of libraries and intellectual gatherings where theological, philosophical, and literary discussions took place. IBN KHALLIKAN reports that al-Ma‘arri traveled to Baghdad twice. The reason for this odd account may be the historical fact that al-Ma‘arri left Ma‘arra at the end of the year 398/1007 and arrived in Baghdad only the following year: in 399/1008. Al-Ma‘arri attended many intellectual assemblies, recited his poems, and found the opportunity to involve himself in the lively discussions there. It is even argued that al-Ma‘arri attended some of the meetings of the IKHWAN AL-SAFA’ (the Bretheren of Purity). Generally speaking, he was regarded highly by scholars during his stay in Baghdad.

Having stayed seventeen months, al-Ma‘arri left Baghdad in 400/1010. One reason, perhaps the most likely, for his leaving might have been the shortage of money. Since he did not approve of living by writing eulogies, the amount coming from the trust scarcely covered his expenses, and as a result he was forced to return to Ma‘arra. Another factor reported to have led to al-Ma’arri’s departure from Baghdad was his disagreement with some people there such as Nakib al-Ashraf al-Murtada. In a literary assembly, when al-Murtada criticized the famous Arab poet al-Mutanabbi, whom al-Ma'arri held in high regard, the latter responded by praising al-Mutanabbi. As a result al-Ma'arri was dragged out of the salon by his feet. Immediately after this event he is said to have left Baghdad. An odd historical account for al-Ma'arri's departure is, according to some, his opposition to the Shafi'i jurists for their ruling of hand excision for theft. However, no other historian reports such an event.

For whatever reason al-Ma'arri returned to Ma'arra and lived a secluded life at home till his death even though his uncles insisted that he should stay in Aleppo with them. The only exception to his seclusion was his mediation between the inhabitants of Ma'arra and Salih b. Mirdas, the ruler of Aleppo. A woman from Ma'arra accused her Christian employer, a winehouse owner, of molestation. The townsmen destroyed the winehouse; and Salih imprisoned the leading figures of the uprising among whom was al-Ma'arri's brother Abu al-Majd. The inhabitants of Ma'arra persuaded al-Ma'arri to intercede with the ruler. Salih spared the city when he recognized al-Ma'arri. The last phase of al-Ma'arri's life was the most fruitful period since he devoted his whole time to producing his writings and training students. Khatib al-Tabrizi, 'Abd b. Muhammad al-Abhari, Abu Tammam Galib b. Isa al-Ansari, and Hilal b. 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Qazwini were among his disciples.

There are conflicting views about Abu'l 'Ala''s worldview. Some describe him as a skeptic and agnostic; others see him as a faithful, pious, and godly person. He has been occasionally accused of being the "arch-heretic in Islam." Some of these aspects were attributed to him by those who were jealous of his prominence in Arabic language and poetry. However, he had a pessimist outlook apart from his views on God, and this gloomy prospect seems to have kept him away from human beings and worldly pleasures.

Al-Ma'arri is the author of more than seventy works, the majority of them written during his secluded life in Ma'arra. They can be classified into two groups, prose writings and poems. One of his first collections of poems is *Saqt al-zand* (The Spark from the Flint), which was written before his journey to Baghdad. This *divan* comprises of sixty-three eulogies amounting to 3,000 couplets, which are brought together without any historical and subject order. The themes in *Saqt* are mainly panegyric, wisdom, and piety. *Daw' al-saqt* (Light of the Spark which Falls) is al-Ma'arri's commentary on *Saqt al-zand*, which was written before he set out for Baghdad. This work includes a group of poems called *al-Dir'iyyat*. It is devoted to armor, and monologues are put into the mouths of armor and its owner.

Luzum ma la yalzam (Obligation For What is Not Obligatory) or *Luzumiyyat* (Obligations), also known as *al-A'nat*, *al-Tashtit*, and *al-Tadyiq*, is al-Ma'arri's poetical collection written in an unconventional form. The title refers to the self-imposed duty with regard to rhyme. While the last letter of the second line of each couplet usually forms a rhyme in classical Arab poems, al-Ma'arri composed his poems in *Luzumiyyat* using the last two letters as rhymes. The poet starts with an introduction where he explains his motives for writing this work, the topics covered, and his notion of poetry. The poems in *Luzumiyyat* deal with many areas of knowledge, ranging from belief in God, the problem of evil, the meaning of life, death and the hereafter, soul and body, reincarnation, reason and faith, individual and social ways of living to ascetic life. Al-Ma'arri dictated *Rahat al-luzum*, *Bahr al-zajr*, and *al-Rahila* as commentaries and explanatory annotations to *Luzumiyyat*.

Risala al-ghufran (The Epistle of Forgiveness) is al-Ma'arri's satire written in 424/1033. In this work al-Ma'arri approaches various ethical, philosophical, and psychological problems through a literary style. Here a hypocritical scholar called Ibn Qarih, namely ‘Ali b. Mansur al-Halabi, is taken to Heaven first, and then to Hell, where he meets scholars and poets. In the first abode al-Ma‘arri has him meet some angels, Adam, and famous men in literature such as A‘sha, Hassan b. Sabit, and Kisa’i; and in the latter Satan, demons, and the heretic poets such as Imru’l-Kays, ‘Antara, and Bashshar b. Burd. There he asks whether they are forgiven or condemned. Al-Ma‘arri’s presentation of Heaven and Hell has many similarities with that of the Qur’an. One can see similarities also with Ibn Shuhayd’s (426/1035) *Risala al-tawabi‘ wa al-zawabi‘* and Dante’s (1265/1321) *Divine Comedy*. Although the resemblance between these works are striking, we have no concrete information that al-Ma‘arri was aware of al-Shuhayd’s *Risala* or Dante of al-Ma‘arri.

Al-Ma‘arri’s *Risala al-sahil wa al-shahij* (The Epistle of the Neigher and the Brayer) is a recently discovered fable in which he speaks through the mouth of a horse, a mule, and other animals. It was written for the amir ‘Aziz al-Dawla Abu Shuja‘ b. ‘Abdallah, the Fatimid governor of Aleppo. Here al-Ma‘arri discusses some political problems of the time. *Risala al-mala’ika* (The Epistle of Angels) is al-Ma‘arri’s work on Arabic morphology and etymology. It was written as a response to the questions asked by Abu al-Qasim ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. Humam. Al-Ma‘arri’s account of the origin of words like angel (*malak*), Munkar, Nakir, or Azra’il is the topic of the epistle. It is widely accepted that this work displays al-Ma‘arri’s knowledge of Arabic language at its most sophisticated level.

Al-Ma‘arri’s works reflect his rational as well as religious views on God, the world, human beings, ethics, and the political situation of his age. His prose writings and poems are also examples of his high command of the Arabic language and through his works and disciples he had a great impact on Arabic literature.

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MUHSIN AKBAŞ

AL-MAKASSARI, Yusuf, see al-Maqassari

AL-MALATI, Abu 'l-Husayn (d. 337/987)

Abu'l-Husayn Muhammad b. Ahmad ʻAbd al-Rahman al-Malati was born at Malatya, a city in the southern part of modern Turkey. His date of birth is unknown. He died at ʻAsqalan in 337/987, hence the nisba of al-ʻAsqalani which he also bears. He was a Shafiʻi *faqih* (jurist), theologian, and specialist in Qur'anic recitation. He received his early education in his home town of Malatya. Due to political turmoil in the city, some of the citizens of Malatya immigrated to the neighboring cities. Al-Malati and his family moved to Syria. He attended the courses of *qira'a* (Qur'anic recitation) in Aleppo, Harran, and Antioch. ʻAdiyy b. ʻAbd al-Baqi, Haysama b. Sulayman, and Ahmad b. Masʻud al-Vasiti were among his teachers. Al-Malati left Syria for ʻAsqalan, Egypt, and stayed there until his death in 337/987.

Al-Malati was accused of being an anthropomorphist due to his interpretation of some *mutashabih* (obscure) verses about God in a literal sense and sharing the ideas of Muqatil b. Sulayman about the anthropomorphic nature of God. Al-Malati was against indulging in political disputes regarding the position of the caliph and also did not approve of revolt against the ruler. He advocated literal interpretation of and obedience to the Prophetic sayings.

Al-Malati wrote a *qasida* (an ancient Arabic poem) of fifty-nine verses on Qur'anic recitation. Some books on Islamic law were attributed to him. However, he is best known for his book, the *Kitab al-tanbih wa'l-radd ʻala ahl al-ahwa wa'l-bidaʻ* (The Book of Warning and Refutation of the People of Desire and Innovation), one of the oldest treatises on heresiography. It has been edited and published many times. In *al-Tanbih*, al-Malati based the classification of the Muslim sects on the well-known seventy-two sects *hadith* (Prophetic saying) which reads that "the Jews are divided into seventy-one sects and the Christians into seventy-two, but my community will be divided into seventy-three sects." Like other heresiographers after him, al-Malati adopted various devices to ensure that the number of heretical sects was exactly seventy-two.

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IBRAHIM HAKKI INAL

AL-MAQASSARI, Muhammad Yusuf (1036–1110/1626–99)

Yusuf al-Maqassari was born in Gowa in south Sulawesi in 1036/1626, and died in 1110/1699 in Cape Town in South Africa. In the Malay world, he is remembered as a scholar, a brave warrior who fought against the Dutch, and an eminent Sufi *shaykh* with special powers (*karama*). His tombs (*maqam*) in both Gowa and Cape Town are still venerated today.

Al-Maqassari's life story is full of legends due to the veneration accorded to him. He grew up in Gowa and had his early education there. In 1054/1644, al-Maqassari left the island of Sulawesi to further his education in the Arabian Peninsula, where he spent the next twenty years studying the various Islamic disciplines under several important teachers. Among his teachers were Nur al-Din AL-RANIRI (d. 1068/1658), the Hadhrami scholar who was extremely influential in seventeenth-century Aceh; Muhammad Baqi al-Mizjaji al-Naqshbandi, a leading scholar in Yemen; Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1101/1690) in Medina who had numerous students and disciples from many parts of the Islamic world; and Ayub al-Dimashqi al-Khalwati (d. 1071/1661). From these teachers al-Maqassari not only learned the Islamic sciences but was also initiated into several Sufi orders or *turuq*. He was initiated into the Qadiriyya *tariqa* by al-Raniri, the Shattariyyah by Ibrahim Kurani, the Naqshibandiya by his teacher in Yemen, and the Khalwatiyyah by Ayub al-Dimashqi. Yusuf al-Maqassari also bears the title of "Taj al-Khalwati" (The Crown of Khalwati).

Armed with two decades of Islamic learning both exoteric and esoteric, and with the permission to instruct and initiate others into the Sufi path, Yusuf al-Maqassari returned to Maqassar and later moved to Banten in West Java where he married the sultan's daughter. He was appointed to the highest religious office, that of the *mufti* or chief judge of the sultanate, and also viceroy. As chief judge and viceroy, al-Maqassari was extremely influential, and given his knowledge of Islam and involvement in Sufism, he gained a large number of followers and was instrumental in the spread of Islamic teachings in general and of Sufism in particular, not only in Java but also in Sulawesi.

In 1092/1682, al-Maqassari was involved in a power struggle between the old sultan Ageng and his newly appointed son Sultan Haji, who had the Dutch as his ally. The old sultan and al-Maqassari were defeated, and fearing further rebellions from al-Maqassari, the Dutch had him and his followers exiled to Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) in 1094/1684, and later in 1104/1694 to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. While in Ceylon and South Africa, al-Maqassari continued to write and to spread the teachings of Islam and *tasawwuf*. Al-Maqassari died on May 23, 1699, in South Africa, where he was buried. His burial place is referred to as "Maqam Shaykh Yusuf" by the local population. Even before his death, the Sultan of Gowa requested the Dutch several times to allow al-Maqassari to return to Sulawesi but to no avail. However, the sultan's request that al-Maqassari's remains be brought back to Gowa was honored by the Dutch. Thus, Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassari's remains are buried in his birthplace, Gowa, where a special tomb was built to mark his final resting place.

During his lifetime, al-Maqassari wrote twenty-one works, mostly dealing with Sufi doctrines and practices such as *Matalib al-salikin* (That Which is Sought by the Seekers), *Taj al-asrar fi tahqiq masrab al-'arifin* (The Crown of Secrets at the Drinking Place of the Gnostics), and *Fath kayfiyyat al-dhikr* (Explanation on the Method of the Remembrance of God).

Like 'Abd al-Ra'uf AL-SINGKILI (d. 1105/1693), another venerated Malay Sufi *shaykh* of the seventeenth century, al-Maqassari emphasized the transcendence of God over his immanence in creation, and the supreme importance of the Shari'a in the practice of *tasawwuf*. He also believed that only the intellectually and spiritually qualified should be taught Sufi doctrines and metaphysics.

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ZAILAN MORIS

MARDINI, Fakhraddin (512–94/1118–98)

Fakhraddin Mardini was born in Mardin in 512/1118 and died in Mardin on 21 Dhu'l-Hijja 594/October 24, 1198. He was a scholar of the medical sciences, as well as philosophy. His family was originally from Jerusalem. When the Artuqid commander Najm al-Din il-Ghazi conquered Jerusalem, he invited Fakhraddin's grandfather 'Abdurrahman to Mardin, where the family then settled. His father was known as a jurist.

Fakhraddin grew up in the tolerant atmosphere of the Artuqid period. He studied philosophy with Najm al-Din Abu al-Futuh Ahmad bin Sirri, known as Ibn al-Salah, and the medical sciences with Ibn al-Tilmidh, who was then a famous doctor in Baghdad's Adud al-Dawla Hospital. Together with his teacher Ibn al-Tilmidh, he examined IBN SINA's *al-Qanun* and suggested some amendments. After that he became known as a master of *al-Qanun*. In return for learning medical science from Ibn al-Tilmidh, he taught the latter the logic of Ibn Sina. He spent most of his time in the court of his sponsor Najm al-Din il-Ghazi, teaching him medicine. He later went to Damascus, where he taught the famous doctor Muhadhab al-Din 'Abd al-Rahim bin 'Ali known as Dahvar. However, Fakhraddin was not happy in Damascus and wanted to leave. His student Dahvar offered him a substantial salary in order to stay, but he rejected this offer since it seemed to him to be like selling himself.

Mardini left the city in 589/1193. While returning to Mardin, he visited Aleppo and met al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi. Upon the insistence of al-Malik, Fakhraddin stayed in Aleppo and lectured in various subjects. He then returned to Mardin, where he spent the remainder of his life. Before his death, he donated his rich collection of books to the *madrasa* of Artuqid Husam al-Din. Ibn al-Raqiqa, one of his students of philosophy and medicine, later noted that the famous founder of the school of Illumination (*al-ishraq*) AL-SUHRAWARDI met al-Mardini and became his student. The young Suhrawardi with his ability in philosophy and with his courage drew Fahraddin's attention. When Suhrawardi was executed, Mardini was upset and said that he predicted such an event would occur.

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ADNAN ASLAN

AL-MARWARRUDHI, *see* al-Marwazi

AL-MARWAZI, al-Husayn ibn 'Ali
(d. after 306/918)

The amir al-Husayn ibn 'Ali al-Marwazi was a powerful supporter of the Isma'ili movement, and he eventually became the chief *da'i* or missionary in his region of Khurasan. He collected around him an intellectual circle of some distinction, including Abu Zayd AL-BALKHI and the amir's successor as *da‘i*, Muhammad al-Nasafi. Al-Marwazi financed al-Balkhi’s work until the latter came out with views that were held to be too non-Isma‘ili to pass muster. He himself may well have written a work entitled *Sulwat al-arwah* (Consolation of Souls), in which it is argued that generation occurs through a causal process where the agent may have nothing in common with the effect. So the species of rational being, for example, need not itself be brought about by a rational being.

Al-Marwazi had an exciting career in local politics. He succeeded Abu Sa‘id al-Sha‘rani and moved his center of operations from Nishapur to Khorasan. During the rule of Ahmad ibn Isma‘il (295–301/907–14), he commanded the Samanid forces in Sijistan in 298/910 and again in 300/913. Abu Zayd al-Balkhi (235–322/850–934) wrote his *Suwar al-aqalim* in 308/920, and mentions al-Marwazi. It is said that al-Marwazi hoped to be appointed governor of Sijistan as a result of his public service, but was disappointed. His career ended when he lost a battle near Marw in 306/918. He was imprisoned in Bukhara, but was spared and allowed to return to Khorasan, where he resumed his activities on behalf of the Isma‘ilis.

OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-MAS‘UDI, Abu al-Hasan

(*c*.283–345/896–956)

Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas‘udi was born in Baghdad and is chiefly known as an *adib* or man of letters, whose very entertaining works bring out the self-confidence and curiosity of this period in the Islamic world. He was certainly well acquainted with the wide range of translated texts then available of Plato, Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Proclus, and Philoponus and their Islamic successors such as AL-KINDI. He traveled to most of Persia, Syria, Arabia, Central Asia, East Africa, and India, and possibly beyond, and wrote about his journeys, expanding on each area by classifying the people in terms of climate, ecology, astrological projects, and so on, and producing a very witty discussion of the varieties of humanity and their environment. He also wrote histories that follow a similar, but less extravagant structure, and his work is often said to be characterized by the *adab* spirit of urbanity, erudition, tolerance, and curiosity. Although his accounts of non-Muslims are generally condescending, there is obviously an effort to be objective in much of his work, and the style is splendid throughout.

Al-Mas‘udi died in Cairo and was said to have aligned himself with the ‘Alids, although we do not know how reliable such reports are. His *Muruj al-dhahab* (Meadows of Gold) is a tremendous ragbag of information, reliable or otherwise, anecdote, personal remark, account of adventures, measurements, interviews, reflections, scientific speculation, account of something wonderful, historical discussion, religious enquiry, and so on.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MATURIDI, Abu Mansur
(*c.* 247–333/*c.* 861–944)

Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Mahmud was born at Maturid, a locality in Samarkand, Transoxiana. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but it seems that he was born during the reign of Caliph Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61). He died in the same city in 333/944. He was a founder of a theological school within the Sunni tradition of Islam which bears his name.

There is not much information about Maturidi's life. There is a report which traces his descent back to Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, a renowned Companion of the Prophet, and claims an Arab origin. However, this claim does not have any strong backing in his writings nor in the writings of the biographers. There is no record of Maturidi's travel outside of Samarkand or Transoxiana. Hence, it seems that he lived all his life in his hometown which was under the rule of the Samanids. During his lifetime, the followers of various Muslim sects, such as the Mu'tazila, Karramiyya, Hashwiyya, Shi'a, and Isma'ilis, as well as other religions, were active in the region.

Maturidi received his Islamic education from the Hanafite scholars of his region. Thus, he studied with Abu Nasr Ahmad b. 'Abbas al-Ayadi, Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Ishaq al-Juzjani, Muhammad b. Muqatil al-Razi, and Nusayr b. Yahya al-Balkhi. There is little information about these scholars. It seems that they specialized in Islamic law and jurisprudence (*fiqh* and *usul al-fiqh*) and theology. Through them, the chain of Maturidi's teachers reaches back to ABU HANIFA. Hence, there is a close link between the theological views of Abu Hanifa and those of Maturidi. He became a leading exponent of the Hanafite school in the region of Transoxiana. He defended the Sunni doctrine against other groups in the region, and with his help the Sunni tradition was gradually established. Since he elaborated and systematized the theological views of Abu Hanifa, the term "Hanafiyya" gradually began to be applied to the legal school only, while the term "Maturidiyya" became the name of the theological school. Maturidi produced a number of works, not only in theology but also in Qur'anic commentary and jurisprudence, and taught a number of students such as Ishaq b. Muhammad al-Samarkandi, 'Ali b. Said al-Rustughfani, Nasr b. Muhammad al-Samarkandi, and 'Abd al-Karim b. Musa al-Bazdawi.

Maturidi's theological views can be found in his masterpiece, the *Kitab al-Tawhid* (Book of Unity). Maturidi opens his work by explaining that blindly following others' teaching is unacceptable. A true faith must be based on intellectual arguments. For Maturidi, there are three sources of knowledge: reports (*khabar*), sense experience, and reason; Maturidi tries to support the principles of religion through these sources. Hence, the createdness of the world can be established through these three ways. For the Qur'an clearly states that everything is created. Again, perceptual arguments, such as arguments from dependency, corruptibility, composition, finititude, change, and annihilation all indicate that the world is created. Further, he supports the createdness of the world with the arguments from the nature of matter, time, motion and rest, potentiality, causality, celestial spheres, and the nature of the mixture of good and evil in the world. Hence, the world is created. Then, it must be created by an eternal, living, knowing, and powerful agent who cannot be other than God. Maturidi tries to establish the existence of God by means of cosmological and teleological arguments. He then tries to establish God's attributes. God is not a body, he is not in a place nor in time. However, God will be seen in Heaven. Maturidi does not feel it is appropriate to inquire into what was stated in scripture since it must be accepted without qualification and without knowing how it means what it says (*bila kayf*). Similarly, God's sitting on the throne must be accepted, but this does not mean that he is in a place. God is eternal, everlasting, self-sufficient, and unique. Attributes such as knowledge, life, hearing, sight, speech, omnipotence, will, creation, mercy, and other attributes of essence and attributes of actions must be ascribed to God. Both these kinds of attributes are eternal.

In defining faith (*iman*), Maturidi states that it consists of assent (*tasdiq*). Belief does not presuppose knowledge about the object of belief, nor is it conditioned by good deeds. Faith is grounded in our trust in God, his angels, and his prophets. Maturidi tries to establish the necessity of sending a prophet in a number of arguments. Although we can reach some knowledge of reality through reason, we cannot reach all the knowledge which is necessary. Hence, we need someone who can receive necessary knowledge through revelation and inform others. Again, the existence of disputes among people necessitates the sending of someone who can arbitrate among them in accordance with justice, and this man cannot be other than a prophet who is supported with a divine revelation. Maturidi tries to establish the prophecy of Muhammad through his miracles as well as by indicating his perfect moral life and the superiority of his teachings.

In discussing man's actions, Maturidi states that man is free in determining his own actions and that he knows this psychologically. The actions of man are created by God, but they are acquired (*kasb*) by man. In this sense, Maturidi affirms power in man to make him responsible for his actions. Since actions are created by God, whether good or evil, they are predetermined (*qadar*) and decreed (*qada*) by him. However, the commission of them is not the work of God, but of humanity. Hence, Maturidi affirms on the one hand the actual power in human beings and on the other hand tries to preserve the absolute power of God. In this sense, his position can be seen as intermediate between the Mu'tazilites and the Ash'arites. In treating ethical problems, Maturidi holds that values have an objective existence, that they can be known through reason. However, his rationalism differs from that of the Mu'tazilites. For him both the objective reality of a thing and reason come from God. In that case, there cannot be a conflict between the reality of things and the ethical judgment of God.

Maturidi developed a theological system which, together with the system of his contemporary AL-ASH'ARI, became one of the mainstream schools of Sunni Islam. In dealing with theological issues, he took more of a rational stand than al-Ash'ari. However, he also avoided the excessive rationalism of the Mu'tazilites. Consequently, he presented a new kind of a synthesis between revelation and reason.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

AL-MAWARDI, Abu'l Hasan
(364–450/974–1058)

Abu'l Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad was born in Basra in 364/974 and died in Baghdad on 30 Rabi al-Awwal 450/May 27, 1058. He was an important *faqih* (legal thinker) in the Shafi'ite tradition and a famous political theorist and moral thinker of Sunni Islam.

There is not much information about his family and his early life. His father was a manufacturer. Al-Mawardi received his early education in Basra where he studied *hadith* with Hasan b. Muhammad al-Jabali, Muhammad b. Adiy al-Makri, Muhammad b. al-Azdi, Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Baghdadi, and *fiqh* with Abu Qasim al-Saymari. He then went to Baghdad where he studied *fiqh* with Ahmad b. Tahir al-Isfarayini. He also studied other branches of religious and secular sciences and became a teacher. Ahmad b. 'Ali, known as Khatib al-Baghdadi, was one of his famous students. In addition to his teaching post, al-Mawardi also worked first as a judge in different towns, then as a chief judge in Ustuwa, near Nishapur, and then in Baghdad. There he was given the honorific title of "judge of the judges." From 381 to 991 onward al-Mawardi took part in a number of diplomatic missions between the 'Abbasid rulers of Baghdad and the Buyids who were ruling in Iran. Although he was a Sunni scholar, al-Mawardi was also respected by the Shi'ite Buyids who consulted him on difficult issues.

Al-Mawardi produced a number of works, most of which have come down to us. In the *al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya* (The Laws of Islamic Governance), al-Mawardi presents his theory of imamate and discusses in detail various issues related to it. He also discussed similar issues in his *Adab al-wazir* (The Right Conduct of the Vizier) and *Adab al-qadi* (The Right Conduct of the Judge). In these works, al-Mawardi tries to establish for the first time in the history of Islam a theory of governance. For him from the religious point of view, it is necessary that there be a leader of the Muslim community who is a successor to the Prophet and has the responsibility to manage the affairs of the community. Imamate is not something that is inherited or divinely appointed, but is determined by the election of the community. The candidate must possess such qualities as justice, knowledge, health, courage and must be from the Quraysh tribe. Al-Mawardi enumerates the main duties of the imam. These include such principles as defending religion, and establishing and distributing justice in the Muslim lands. The discussion of imamate is followed by the discussion of different issues related to governance.

His *Adab al-dunya wa'l din* (Right Conduct in Secular and Religious Matters) is one of the most important works on Muslim morality. It is divided into five main chapters: He starts with the discussion of the virtue of reason and then goes on to the discussion of the virtue of knowledge, in particular religious knowledge. This is followed by the discussion of the rule of religious conduct, secular conduct and finally personal conduct. In the *al-Hawi al-kabir fi fiqh madhhab al-imam al-shafi'i* (The Great Compendium on the School of Imam Shafi'i), al-Mawardi presents in detail the legal system of the Shafi'ite school to which he belonged. In the *A'lam al-nubuwwa* (Evidences of the Prophecy), he discusses some theological issues related to prophecy. In the *al-Nukat wa'l 'uyun* (Anecdotes and Sources), al-Mawardi comments on the ambiguous verses of the Qur'an. He generally presents the interpretations of earlier scholars and avoids entering into theological discussions.

Al-Mawardi's main contributions to Islamic thought were in the field of Islamic governance and religious morality. With his theory of imamate he tried to find a solution to the troubled status of the caliphate, and his theory influenced subsequent thinkers. His work on morality presented the spirit of Islamic morality in a more direct way than those of many other Muslim theologians or Muslim philosophers.

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MUAMMER İSKENDEROĞLU

AL-MAWDUDI, Sayyid Abul A'la
(1903–79)

Sayyid Abul A'la al-Mawdudi was born in Aurangabad in India, and displayed a precocious intelligence, translating Qasim Amin's *Al- mar'a al-jadida* from Arabic into Urdu at the age of fourteen. In 1926 he received his *ijaza*, his certification that he was an *'alim*, a Muslim scholar. He took a radical stance on the nature of Islam and how Muslims should behave politically, and disseminated these ideas through the journal *Tarjuman al-qur'an* and his *tafsir* or commentary on the Qur'an, *Tafhim al-qur'an*, very much his life's work. This interesting work is on the one hand just a commentary, but on the other it is also a lively presentation of his political and philosophical views as he develops them from the Qur'anic passage and other sources that he admired.

Al-Mawdudi argues for an Islamic state, and considers Pakistan merely a stage on the way to world rule by Islam, as advocated by his political party the Jama'at-i-Islami which he founded in 1941 and which has been influential in opposing anything that is seen as un-Islamic in Pakistan and elsewhere. The sort of Islamic state that Mawdudi advocates involves the toleration of non-Muslims, but only in a subservient role, and he sees justice and an end to poverty only coming when the rulers of a country are wholeheartedly trying to recapture the original principles of Islam. Government has to be based on Islam, as does the law, since Islam represents a perfect way of life, and it is the right, and indeed duty, of Muslims to struggle violently if necessary to establish such a desirable state of affairs.

Like AL-BANNA', whom he no doubt read, and later thinkers such as Sayyid QUTB and Shariati, he sees a revolutionary message in Islam that needs to be embodied in political action. Mawdudi played a leading role in the development of the idea of an Islamic state, an idea that was much discussed in the early centuries of Islam and which was revived in the twentieth century.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MAWLANA JALAL AL-DIN AL-RUMI, *see* al-Rumi

AL-MAWSILI (*c.* third–fourth centuries/tenth century)

Bakr ibn al-Qasim ibn Abi Thawr is known only as the author of *Fi'l nafs*, a book on the soul. This was written between 278/900 and 328/950 and deals with the nature of the rational soul, using Plato's *Phaedo* to suggest that we do not acquire our ideas through contact with a transcendent being but by self-reflection. Through clear rational thought we can avoid the obscurities of imagination and grasp the central and basic truths that never change or decay.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MEANING IN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Before we look at the concept of meaning in Islamic philosophy, it would be useful to see what role that concept played in Islam itself. As is normal in religion, issues of meaning are paramount. A religion based on a book has to determine what the book means, and although this might have been crystal clear to those who were around when the revelation of the Qur'an was given in the seventh century, it certainly is not after that date. There is evidence that it was not entirely clear to the early Muslims either since they asked Muhammad for advice on interpretation very frequently, and out of these questions arose many of the *hadith*, the traditional sayings of the Prophet and those close to him which are used to make sense of the letter of the text. There is nothing unique to Islam in this, all language requires interpretation and all religions divide up into different groups often based on different interpretations of the text. In fact, there is a famous *hadith* in which the Prophet predicts that after his death Islam will divide up into seventy-three sects, and all will go to Hell except for one. He acknowledges that this process of breaking up into sects is not only true of Islam, but also of Christianity and Judaism. Examining the different strategies for determining meaning often gives us the parameters for the different groupings in religion.

Grammar versus logic

An early debate in Islam took place between those who thought that the grammar of Arabic is enough to resolve issues of meaning, and those who thought that it needed to be supplemented by something else such as logic. This is discussed in the entry on logic, and here it will be examined from the perspective of what it tells us about the structure of the debate on meaning. The issue came down to who was the right person to determine issues of meaning, those who understood the *alfaz* or literary aspects of the text, or those who were best able to assess the *ma'ani* or meanings. We would normally not distinguish between these notions, and indeed they are linguistically closely linked, since the way in which words are used clearly relates to the meaning they present. On the other hand, the logicians pointed out that different languages can use different symbols to make the same point, and so there is something to be said for the idea that the meaning of a text is something that lies behind the text and which is common to a variety of distinct languages. Such a meaning is very general and is not the prerogative of the grammarian since the grammarian is only concerned with the grammar of one or two languages, while the logician is interested in how meaning is involved in all languages. To derive this meaning one would need to add another range of hermeneutic techniques to the syntax and semantics itself, and it looks very much as though the philosopher would have to be acknowledged as the specialist in this.

However, before we take this line it is worth saying something about how the rules of interpretation of the Qur'an may make a strong claim to be the only viable route to the meaning of the Book. It is difficult to overemphasize the range of techniques that may be applied in the case of the need to interpret a particular passage. First of all, the language of the passage is examined and the words are related to other similar passages in the Book. The examples of *jahaliyya* (pre-Islamic) language may also be studied if they are relevant. Then the question will arise of the context in which this revelation arose. Was it given in Medina or Mecca, and what was the precise context? This is very important since it gives another dimension to the passage; after examining its syntax and semantics, we run the passage through pragmatics in order to try to understand it. Then we examine the *hadith* or Traditions that have arisen and are relevant to the text, if there are any;, and if there are not then there may well be some similar passages which are worth comparing. The *hadith* themselves are classified in terms of degrees of reliability and we may differentiate them not only in terms of the reliability of the chains of transmission but also based on the status of those making the report or the judgment. Was it the Prophet or a lesser person? Then, depending on what sort of Muslim one is, one can go to particular authorities like imams, *'ulama'* (scholars), and *fuqaha'* (lawyers) in order to resolve the issue. Each of the legal schools in Islam have developed rules in terms of which scripture is to be understood, and one would pass the passage through the rules of the particular *madhhab* or school to which one belonged. Finally, some Muslims think that the door to interpretation was closed a long time in the past, but others do not; so it might be that an individual or community would think they were in a position to make an independent judgment on the meaning of the passage despite competing versions. A religion changes over time, and in this way remains vibrant and relevant, so interpretations have to change in order to ensure this happens, or so it might be argued. In fact, the issue of whether the door of interpretation is open or closed is a bit of a red herring. Even those who think it is closed and who claim that there is no possibility now for independent judgment might operate with the existing hermeneutical material in a very original way, and so in fact do what is said to be ruled out.

This is not the place to discuss the interpretation of the Qur'an, but it obviously proved to be something of a paradigm of how to determine meaning for Muslims. The debate between philosophers and theologians became so heated because the latter felt with some justification that their approach to the assessment of meaning was so complex and sophisticated that nothing else could compare with it for accuracy. Yet many theologians had a theory in accordance with which it is a mistake to seek to limit God's power in any way, except in the sense that even God could not break the rules of language. God could not make a circle square, since we mean something entirely different from squareness when we talk about circles, and the same would need to be the case for God. But the rules of nature, the objects in the world and our experience of how things work are all mutable phenomena, they only take the form they do due to divine grace and at any time they could change and go in different directions. The world that appears to us to be a realm of stable and persisting objects is in fact a mass of atoms held together by God, and it is only his action that gives us the impression we have of the world. We form general notions of what exists, but again this is very much something we do and it has no backing in reality, which in fact exists in whatever way God desires, and anything there can happen.

Meaning and ontology

Yet are ontology and meaning connected? That is, must the theory of what exists impinge on the theory of meaning? Surely God can do whatever he wishes, since he is the creator of the world, and having created it he remains in control of it. In the same way that I can organize my desk in any way I want, he can organize the world in any way he wants. This is something that AL-GHAZALI discusses in his *Tahafut al-falasifa*, where he suggests that there is no such thing as natural necessity. The philosophers speak, he argues, as though the world has to be the way it is, and if that were the case then the power of God would be thoroughly threatened. He would be constrained by the way in which the world has to be, and would be consigned to the sidelines as a spectator rather than actor. How does this theory affect meaning? According to al-Ghazali, we can imagine God making it happen that fire touches a piece of cotton and it does not burst into flame. We can imagine someone without a head writing a book because if God were to legislate that heads were no longer required by human beings, then we could carry on with our normal tasks headless. He is right in the sense that we can imagine these states of affairs, and if we can imagine them this means that they are possible, since anything logically possible is within God's power. If they are possible, then this shows that the meaning of the terms we use when contemplating such changes in the normal courses of things are unaffected by the change.

IBN RUSHD responds to this claim by arguing that the course of nature and meaning are connected. What we mean by the words we use is not unaffected by how what they refer to in the world behave. For example, we have a word in our language that means "human being" and the meaning of that word is connected with what we know about human beings. One of the things we know about them is that they cannot do things without heads. Yet we just had the example from al-Ghazali of the headless writer. It is also not an infrequent event in horror movies for someone to lose his head and carry on as, or better than, normal, so does this not suggest that heads for human beings are optional? Ibn Rushd suggests that if we really contemplate a world in which human beings operate without heads then we shall have to change our idea of what a human being is. This is because Ibn Rushd thinks of meaning in terms of definition, and everything must have a precise definition in terms of which it is the thing that it is and not another thing. We do not have to share his enthusiasm for definitions to agree with him that there is a link between meaning and how things actually behave in the world. If I came across a headless person writing I would be justified in wondering whether this was really a human being, since it is a fairly basic aspect of our concept of human being that people have heads. We could change our concept, and perhaps we should were the world to change, but the concept as we have it now cannot be stretched too far in any direction without breaking and turning into a different sort of concept.

What Ibn Rushd is arguing is that the classic logical distinction made by all the philosophers, and by him also, between *tasdiq* (assent) and *tasawwur* (conceptualization) should not be taken too far. The distinction says that what we say about a thing and whether it exists or not are two separate questions. Al-Ghazali is operating on a theory of meaning taken from IBN SINA, in accordance with which the concepts in our language have a range of meanings in abstraction from their truth-value. What something is and whether it is are two different issues. Ibn Rushd agrees with the logical distinction, but claims that it is only a logical distinction, and issues of existence do affect meaning. A human being who could operate without a head would not be a human being, a piece of cotton that remained unburnt after contact with fire is not what we mean by a piece of cotton, and so on. The meaning that we apply to words is linked with how the objects those words refer to in the world behave, Ibn Rushd argues. Imagination is really a poor indication of what is possible in terms of meaning, since it creates a symbolic world in which a thing seems to be able to do very different things as compared with our world, yet when we think about it would we really apply the normal term to that thing given that strange behavior? In *The Book of Remarks and Admonitions* Ibn Sina makes the following thought-experiment: "Examine your soul and say, when you are fit, or even not, but accurately know what is happening, did it ever happen that you did not know yourself or did not comprehend your soul. . . . Imagine that your self has just been created and is in its right mind and character, but does not see any of its parts . . . but it is spread and suspended in time in pure air. Then you will see that it notices nothing, except that it observes the constancy of its oneness (*ana'iyya*)" (Ibn Sina 1957, Pt 2, pp. 319–20). This experiment is supposed to show that the "I" is always present to itself, this is basic to our consciousness and does not need to be proved since we directly perceive it in experience.

We can discover this through imagination. But can we? Another reading of this experience would be that without any external experience we would not know what to say, and the inner feelings we feel might not be assigned to a unitary consciousness. It is not the same as waking up suddenly and not knowing where we are, since in that case we know who we are and what preceded that experience, and what is likely to follow. In Ibn Sina's example of the mind existing and experiencing itself without the body, it is not obvious that we should share his interpretation of what we would experience or conclude on its basis. Another reading is that the mind without the body would have no idea what to make of what was happening, and so the basic unity of the person that Ibn Sina thinks would still be experienced might be entirely missed or misinterpreted. What would we mean by a mind without experience of a body or anything apart from oneself? This has been much discussed by philosophers, and several like Kant and Strawson are dubious of its possibility as being what we call a mind. Whoever is right here is not that crucial to the discussion, for we are not assessing the detail of Ibn Sina's example, but the very notion of such an example as showing anything about meaning. Ibn Rushd would say that it is only when we relate the mind to our ordinary world and our ordinary selves that it makes sense. So the meaning of the terms we use is connected to the way in which the world is, which suggests that imagination about how the world might change would result in equal changes in meaning.

Meaning and divine attributes

One of the main issues in Islam is how we can talk about God. This became a very controversial theological issue, the problem being in knowing how to talk about someone who is so different from us while using the same language we use when we talk of ourselves. On the one hand we have in the Qur'an language about God which makes him out to be rather similar to us in that he does things and feels emotions. On the other hand we have a lot of reasons to urge that God must be distinguished from his creation, and that treating him as though he were just like us, but more so, is not far from idolatry (*shirk*). Al-Ghazali is not sure which direction to go in, since he wants to give God a role of power and influence in line with the descriptions that are provided in the Qur'an, and yet he realizes how unsophisticated these descriptions are when compared with the stature and uniqueness of the deity. Nonetheless, he insists that there is no difficulty in applying predicates or qualities to God, and they are taken to mean what they mean when we apply them to ourselves, but of course there is a big difference in terms of quantity. Ibn Rushd does not accept this approach, especially since he agrees with Aristotle that there can be no priority or posteriority within the same genus, which surely God is. Just applying predicates to God would not work since we would end up with someone too close to us, an entirely unsatisfactory prospect.

But it is important that we can say something about God, and Ibn Rushd suggests treating him as like us equivocally, so that there is no direct line from us to him. Then his possession of qualities may be seen as paradigmatic, and our possession of them is merely a pale reflection of something perfect. We can get some idea of what it is like for him to have those properties because we know what it is like for us to have them, but we cannot simply think of him as having the same things. Rather, we should think of him as having those qualities perfectly, and we might well not understand all aspects of what is involved in that, since we do not know what it would be to be, for example, perfectly just, perfectly good, and so on. But we can form a vague idea of it through working from what we count as just and good, and the process of working from where we are to where God is will be more than cumulative. The important thing is that enough connection semantically can be taken to hold between our use of a term when applied to us and when applied to God for it to make sense for us to use it in both those ways.

Meaning and Sufism

When al-Ghazali writes from a Sufi perspective, he becomes much more sympathetic to the idea that there are real difficulties in stretching meaning to cover both divine and human attributes. The whole mystical enterprise involves stretching language and creating a whole range of neologisms that are supposed to explain stages on the way to spiritual advance. How far Sufism can be communicated in language and how far it just has to be experienced is a moot point, and one that applies across the mystical tradition. One of the aims of Sufism is to go beyond Peripatetic philosophy which claims that we can go no higher in perfecting our consciousness than the active intellect, which really is not that high in the metaphysical order. It is often represented by the moon, the lowest planet in our galaxy. Sufis think they can approach God much more closely, and in their language they reject the knowledge of the philosophers for what they call the taste (*dhawq*) which is their description of valuable knowledge. Taste is the right description since their path involves both understanding and experience, and the combination is important. But we come to examples of language that seem quite mysterious, since familiar words are often used in very unfamiliar ways, and it is not always obvious that they have maintained enough of their ordinary meaning for them to be extendable in this way. There is a tendency for Sufis to say that if one is on the path to perfection, then one would understand what the words mean, but otherwise not, and the higher on the path the more one understands. This is reasonable, especially when certain sorts of esoteric experience are important as components of the words, but it leaves the unenlightened at a bit of a loss in trying to work out what the Sufis mean.

Meaning and politics

What is the link between religious and philosophical language? It is often argued by the *falasifa* that the religious thinker and the philosopher are doing the same thing, but they express themselves in different ways because they have different audiences in mind. The philosopher addresses an intellectual elite capable of understanding rigorous argument while the religious speaker deals with the community as a whole, where it would not be right to expect to have such an audience. Yet the meaning of what they say is the same, or so it is argued. This comes very much to the fore in the thought of Ibn Rushd who as Averroes was often credited in Christian Europe with a double truth theory, in accordance with which something that is true in one area (philosophy) is not true in any other (religion) and yet both truths can be held together at the same time. Such a thesis cannot be found in Ibn Rushd, although many of the things he said do give some justification for taking such an interpretive line. The truth must be the same for everyone and yet the explanation of the truth can easily be different. There are words that are loose enough to encompass a variety of meanings, and these are the main tools of religion. They enable us to address the public at large in a reasonable manner while keeping contact with the meaning of the word at the philosophical level.

Let us give as an example here: the issue of the afterlife. As is well known, the Qur'an provides a graphic account of a physical afterlife that is going to occur to everyone, either in Paradise or in Hell, and there is a waiting period also in a realm which might be compared to limbo. Al-Ghazali objects to the philosophers, saying that their account of the afterlife, where they have one, is something entirely spiritual, yet the Qur'an is quite clear on the corporeal nature of the afterlife, and it might be said that for many, the idea of an afterlife that is not physical is not of much interest, since I might want to think that it is me, body and soul, that survives death, not just some pale shadowy bit of me like my soul. There are two difficulties with this objection, and one actually occurs to al-Ghazali when he discusses the afterlife from the perspective of Sufi thought. How far is the meaning of the language dealing with the afterlife to be treated as symbolic or metaphorical, and how far should it be taken literally? Careful examination of the Qur'anic verses mentioning *houris* suggests that they are placed in the text in a very specific order, to reveal a transition from a more material form of description to something more spiritual. In the first Meccan period (from the first to the fifth year of the Prophet's mission, 612–17) we find references to very desirable young ladies awaiting the virtuous, but by the time of the Medinan Period (i.e., 622–32) the language has changed even more, and so we get references to "purified spouses" (2:25; 3:15 and 4:47). One way of understanding this development is by suggesting that they represent a transition from a more material to a more spiritual awareness of the nature of the next world. The pagans of Mecca required the sort of language we find used during that period, while by the time of the Medinan revelations a more abstract form of imagery became feasible. This is perfectly in line with what the philosophers often said about the way in which religion works, that it is based largely on imaginative language, and imagination is a faculty linked to our lives as material creatures. Images themselves only make sense to creatures who can visualize things in physical forms. We can progressively perfect our thinking about religious topics and make that thinking less material and more abstract, and one can see this happening in the case of discussions of the *houris*. At first they were described in ways that would resonate with a public fascinated with material images and appetites, but once they had become more refined in their thinking, and possibly more confident of their religious attitudes, they could be introduced to a more abstract and sedate notion of what *houris* actually are.

So there is plenty in the text of the Qur'an alone to suggest that we ought to ask questions about how we should understand the meaning of that text. Even so, it has to be admitted that the account of the afterlife provided by the philosophers, and in particular by Ibn Rushd, are very distant even from the Medinan rendering. For Ibn Rushd, not only is the afterlife not physical, it is not even individual, since he contemplates the merging of all consciousnesses into one thinking thing united in its contemplation of an abstract subject matter. Is there a problem in identifying the meaning of this thesis with what looks like the very different thesis in the Qur'an?

Ibn Rushd's *Kitab fasl al-maqal wa taqrir ma bayna al-shari'a wa al-hikma min al-ittisal* (Decisive Treatment Establishing the Connection Between Law and Wisdom) argues that the world of discourse of "wisdom" (that is, philosophy) and "law" (religion) are distinct. So the rules of operation within philosophy and theology are different and it would be wrong to expect there to be some general principle that one would have to apply to both disciplines. But does that not mean that the meanings of common terms like "afterlife" are in fact also distinct? This would be the case in a theory of meaning like that expressed by Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali in terms of which meaning is expressed in terms of definition. In this case if we had different accounts of the afterlife it would be plausible to suggest that we had at least two different meanings in operation. But Ibn Rushd creates a more subtle theory of meaning in terms of which terms may shade into each other and one may be a paradigmatic instance and other uses of the term may be linked with it, but not identical. This is after all how language works when applied to God and to his creatures, according to Ibn Rushd.

In comparing the two uses of the term "afterlife," we need, according to him, to examine the user of the term. The point of the afterlife in religion is not (only) to describe a fact, some future realm of existence, but to establish why such an idea is important. It is important because we need to realize that our actions have consequences that range more widely than our own experiences and even our life, since they affect others and resonate on the life of the community as a whole. This is quite an abstract idea, and for many not capable of moving them to act in appropriate ways, since for them it is material ideas that establish how one is to act, since for many people it is matter, their physical selves, that dominates their thinking. For them we need to provide an explanation of the notion of the afterlife in physical terms, and the Qur'an sets out the story in terms of Paradise and Hell, and the *barzakh* which serves as a sort of waiting room en route. For the philosophers the afterlife may be seen as entirely spiritual, or for Ibn Rushd as one common consciousness concentrating on the abstract, and that conception might be rejected by many as not capable of motivating them to behave in one way rather than another. How are the two notions of the afterlife linked? According to Ibn Rushd, they both express the same truth, but they express it in different ways; hence they are linked in meaning, but not in expression.

Of course, we might as many do take a cynical interpretation of this strategy and understand by what Ibn Rushd says as an attempt to conceal his real opinion. This is that the stories in religion about the afterlife are just myths and are designed to make people behave themselves, while the philosophers can understand what scope there really is for an afterlife. This would make the meanings of "afterlife" when used by the philosopher and the ordinary believer distinct. But there is no need to adopt this approach since it is neatly sidestepped by the theory of meaning that Ibn Rushd adopts. Words are seen by him as having a wide range of meanings, and we can only rule out a role for the word along that continuum of uses if it really bears no link with other more standard uses of the word. As we have seen this is not the case for afterlife which clearly does have a range of interpretations, some more material and some more spiritual and abstract. They all can be seen as linked, and this shows that it would be a mistake to argue that words with new meanings are being created here. So Ibn Rushd does establish a plausible argument for a subtler theory of meaning that can make sense of the reconciliation of religious and philosophical language.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MIR DAMAD (950–1041/1543–1631)

Mir Burhan al-Din Muhammad Baqir Astarabadi, later known as Damad, was born into a distinguished family. His father Mir Shams al-Din was the son-in-law of the famous Safavid Shi'i thinker 'Ali ibn 'Abd al 'Ali, and the title "Damad" or "son-in-law" stayed in the family to acknowledge this, along with "Astarabadi" to represent the town of Astarabad from where the family stemmed. Mir Damad himself was born in Astarabad but educated in Mashhad, where he received a solid grounding in the thought of IBN SINA.

Mir Damad reached prominence in Isfahan, where he was recognized as the outstanding thinker of his age, labeled the *shaykh al-Islam* between 1621 and 1631. He conducted the coronation of the Shah Safi in 1629. He died on pilgrimage to Karbala, and is buried in Najaf. He was often known as "the third teacher," i.e. the third in importance after Aristotle and AL-FARABI. He had very important pupils like MULLA SADRA who went on to revolutionize the study of philosophy in Iran, and his main contribution to philosophy lies in the fusion of the Peripatetic traditions with the Illuminationalist trend, a combination that has led to a great deal of creativity in Persian thought ever since. He founded what came to be known as the "School of Isfahan." Not only did he have famous students, but his friends at the court of Shah 'Abbas included two of the most notable thinkers of the time, Mir Findiriski and Shaykh Baha'i. His son-in-law Sayyid Ahmad 'Alawi (d. 1651) and Mulla Shamsa Gilani (d. 1687) were also significant students.

Mir Damad wrote many books, but his *al-Qabasat* (Sparks) is particularly significant. The theme is the nature of the creation of the world and its relationship with God. Like AL-SUHRAWARDI, but unlike his pupil Mulla Sadra, Mir Damad argues that essence is more basic than existence. But what is remarkable about this work is not the particular line of argument but the conceptual distinctions that Mir Damad makes in it, especially those between different notions of "time," "createdness," and "cause." These brought into existence a whole philosophical industry that took up these concepts and ran with them. In particular, Mir Damad takes up the idea of different levels of being, and different stages on the level of reality and in our relationship with God. He can then analyze different stages of knowledge and spiritual growth with stages on a hierarchy of being, either getting us closer or further from the source of being, God. Within this model many Shi'i ideas were also introduced, and the ideas of imams of ascending ranks helping to bridge the gap between the higher and the lower worlds is obviously highly functional within such a system of thought.

Mir Damad was famous for the obscurity of his expression, an obscurity that may have been based on prudence and *taqiyya*, or perhaps on the difficulty of the thoughts he was trying to express. Mystical philosophy is not generally known for its clarity, and Mir Damad used the full extent of language to express the complexity of the structure of reality as he understood it. Yet his work did lead to a great outpouring of philosophical talent in what followed it, and the combination of mysticism and analyticity that it embodied represents the attraction of the approach of the School of Isfahan. During his life a particular important factor was the support of the Shah for him and the other intellectuals at the court, since without that support they would have quickly fallen into the hands of their enemies among the more literally minded clergy. Before his time, philosophy in Iran was often attacked and its study discouraged, and after his time thinkers believed to favor philosophy often had difficult lives. Even Mir Damad's pupil Mulla Sadra was obliged once to withdraw to an obscure town in order to evade the attentions of zealous clerics intent on opposing the introduction of philosophy into local academic life. The support of the ruler for philosophy during this brief period enabled it to get established again in the country and to flourish afterward, as the ideas of Mir Damad and the School of Isfahan established the philosophical curriculum in the country for a long time to come.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MIR FATH ALLAH SHIRAZI

(d. 998/1590)

Mir Fath Allah Shirazi was one of the most influential Moghul philosophers. He was born into a family of Sayyids (descendant of the Prophet) and a long line of scholars based in Shiraz. He was educated by many of the best local thinkers, including Jamal al-Din Mahmud, who in turn studied with DAWWANI and with Amir Ghiyath al-Din AL-DASHTAKI. Mir Fath both taught in Shiraz and advised the ruler, a role which he changed for something similar in Bijapur, India, where he was invited by the local ruler, ʻAdil Shah. In 991/1593 he moved to the court of the emperor Akbar, ʻAdil Shah having died, and directed the religious affairs ministry. This put him in charge of the revenue for the religious institutions in the state, and his competence in this area of work led to swift promotion to being in charge of the revenue as a whole. But his main significance lies in his reorganization of the education system, a system that had become rather ossified and old-fashioned. Mir Fath supported the introduction into the local philosophical curriculum of his subjects of study in Shiraz, including TAFTAZANI, AL-JURJANI, Dawwani, al-Dashtaki, and others. He himself wrote important commentaries on many of their works.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MISKAWAYH, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ahmad ibn Muhammad (*c.* 320–421/*c.*932–1030)

Ahmad ibn Muhammad Miskawayh was born in Rayy around 320/932, and according to Yakut, died on 9 Safar 421/February 16, 1030, at the age of 100. Miskawayh was born in Rayy in Persia, and traveled to

Baghdad, where he studied and worked, and was well known there for a time. Then he returned to live in Isfahan, in Persia, for a period of time; it was here that he died and was buried. His full name was Abu ʻAli Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yaʻqub Miskawayh, and not Ibn Miskawayh, but he is often known as Ibn Miskawayh.

Miskawayh had a successful political career as secretary and a librarian to the viziers al-Muhallabi (340–52/950–63), Abu'l Fadl (353–60/951–70), Abu'l Fath (360–6/970–6), and finally for the Buyid Adud al-Dawla (d. 372/983). Miskawayh was part of the intellectual elite of his time, and this was a period often labeled as that of "Islamic humanism," in that there was a certain commitment to reason and universality among the educated community. Miskawayh numbered among his friends and colleagues AL-TAWHIDI, AL-ʻAMIRI, Ibn Saʻdan, al-Sahib ibn ʻAbbad, Abu Sulayman AL-SIJISTANI al-Mantiki, Badiʻ al-Zaman, Abu Bakr al-Khwarazmi, and many others. He studied the works of the great historian Ibn Tabari with Ibn Kamil, who had been the historian's student. Working in the Islamic Neoplatonic tradition, Miskawayh placed a great deal of importance on ethics. He formulated rules for the preservation of moral health and described ways in which the various parts of the soul can be brought together into harmony. This gave him the opportunity to combine his interest in theory with practical observations about people, and also to use history and anecdote to produce examples that could be used to explain psychology.

Miskawayh wrote on a wide variety of topics, ranging from history to psychology and chemistry, but in philosophy his metaphysics were firmly Neoplatonic. He argued that the Greek philosophers were just as much theists as Muslims, so that Aristotle's identification of the creator with an unmoved mover is the concept of a creator acceptable to Islam, and the distinct nature of such a being prevents our normal categories of description from getting a grip on it, and so underpins the ban on *shirk* or idolatry. He really fails to distinguish between emanation and creation. According to him, God produces the active intellect, the soul, and the heavens without intermediaries. This rather defeats the purpose of an emanation model, since it is based on the need for intermediaries and a scale of being, something that Miskawayh tends to ignore.

His major contribution to philosophy lies in his work on ethics. His *Taharat al-aʻraq* (Purity of Dispositions), better known as *Tahdhib al-akhlaq wa-tathir al-aʻraq* (Refinement of Character and Purification of Dispositions), explains how the individual is to acquire appropriate dispositions to behave both morally well and effectively in order to acquire the good things of this world.

Miskawayh uses a Platonic concept of the nature of the soul, seen as a self-subsisting entity or substance as opposed to the Aristotelian notion, to distinguish human beings from animals and other living things. The soul cannot be an accident (or property of the body) because it has the power to distinguish between accidents and essential concepts and is not limited to awareness of accidental things by the senses. As we know, it can apprehend a great variety of immaterial and abstract entities. He argues that if the soul were only an accident, it would not be able to carry out these sophisticated and intellectual tasks, since it would only be able to perform in limited ways like the physical parts of the body. The soul is not an accident, and when we want to concentrate upon abstract issues the body is actually an obstruction that we must reject if we are to make contact with intelligible reality at a higher realm of being. The soul is an immortal and independent substance that controls the body. Its essence is opposite to that of the body, and so cannot die; it is involved in an eternal and circular motion, replicated by the organization of the heavens.

This motion is directed either upward, toward reason and the active intellect, or downward, toward matter. Our happiness arises through upward movement, our misfortunes through movement in the opposite direction. The more we perfect ourselves, the more unified our experience and vice versa. A good example of this can be given when considering the nature of justice. Human justice is variable and depends upon the changing nature of particular states and communities in which people live. The law of the state is based upon the contingent and variable features of the time, while divine law specifies what is to be done everywhere and at every time.

Miskawayh's discussion of virtue is both Aristotelian and Platonic. Virtue is the perfection of the aspect of the soul (reason) that represents the essence of humanity and distinguishes it from lower forms of existence. Our virtue increases insofar as we develop and improve our ability to deliberate and apply reason to our lives. We should do this in accordance with the mean, the point most distant from two extremes, and justice results when we manage to get the balance right. Miskawayh combines the Platonic division of virtues with an Aristotelian understanding of what virtue actually is, and adds to this the principle that the more these virtues can be treated as a unity, the purer and better they are. This is because, he argues, that unity is equivalent to perfection, while multiplicity is equivalent to a meaningless plurality of physical objects. Miskawayh argues further that the notion of justice when it deals with eternal and immaterial principles is a simple idea, while human justice by contrast is variable and depends upon the changing nature of particular states and communities. The law of the state is based upon the contingent features of the time, while the divine law specifies what is to be done everywhere and at every time.

Miskawayh uses the notion of friendship to distinguish between those relationships that are essentially transitory and variable (in particular those based upon pleasure) and those based upon the intellect, which are also pleasurable but not in a physical way. Our souls can recognize similarly perfected souls, and as a result enjoy intense intellectual delight. This is very different from the normal kind of friendship, in which people form relationships with each other because they want to get something out of it in terms of physical or transitory pleasure. However, even those capable of the most perfect form of relationship have to involve themselves in the less perfect levels of friendship, since they must live in society if they are to achieve perfection, and so must satisfy at least some of the expectations of society. The highest form of happiness exists when we can abandon the demands of this world and are able to receive the emanations flowing from above that will perfect our intellects and enable us to be illuminated by Divine light. The ultimate aim is to restrain our physical existence and pursue completely spiritual aims in mystical contemplation of the deity. Since according to Miskawayh this mystical level of happiness ranks higher than mere intellectual perfection, and certainly higher than practical virtue, he is actually very interested in how to cultivate the ordinary capacity for virtue. The cultivation of moral health is like the cultivation of physical health, requiring measures to preserve our moral equilibrium. We have to keep our emotions under control and carry out practices that help both to restrain us on particular occasions and at the same time develop personality traits that will play a part in maintaining that level of restraint all the time. Faults can be countered by investigating their causes and undertaking to replace them with more appropriate causes that do not lead to faults. A good example of how to do this is to consider the fear of death, which Miskawayh regards an inappropriate attitude. We fear death because we do not really understand it, but once we come to appreciate that everything comes to an end we should have no more fear of death. If what we really fear is pain, then we can isolate that fear and deal with it by seeking to avoid the pain, or by acknowledging its inevitability and take steps to ensure that if it occurs it is short-lived. We have to use reason to work out what we should do and feel, since any other approach means that we are at the mercy of our transient feelings and the haphazard influences that come to us from outside ourselves.

This emphasis on the role of reason, and the relative lack of emphasis on religion, led Mohammed ARKOUN to call him a humanist. AL-GHAZALI was infuriated by Miskawayh's explanations for some basic Islamic duties. Miskawayh suggests that the point of communal prayer is to use the natural gregariousness of human beings to buttress religion. This seemed to al-Ghazali to disparage the religious enterprise, since he argued that the significance of religious rituals is that God has told us to perform them. We should not expect to understand the reasons for religious practices, since they have their ground in the completely free decision of the deity. By contrast, for Miskawayh the reason for ritual is that it has a part to play in helping us adapt to religious life, using the dispositions that are natural to us, so that the rules and customs of religion are essentially reasonable, as are those of ethics. If we are to understand how to behave we can certainly follow the rules of religion, but there are other rules we can consider also, those that appeal to our reason.

Miskawayh's thought came to be influential largely due perhaps to the attractiveness of his style. He manages to combine abstract thought with practical ideas and that went down well with the reading public, as did his tendency to include aspects of "wisdom" literature in his texts. The fact that much of this literature was originally Greek widened the interest in his work, and suggested that his ideas had a basis far beyond the boundaries of Islam. Although his arguments are often rather suspect, they do illustrate his views well, and are very enlightening on the apparent role of the moral agent at his time. He is also an interesting thinker in his use of Greek authors, not just Plato and Aristotle, but a whole range of lesser thinkers like Pythagoras, Porphyry, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Galen, and Bryson, whose writings he often incorporated in his own books.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-MU'ALLIM AL-THANI (THE SECOND MASTER), *see* al-Farabi

MODERN ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

It is often said that philosophy came to an end in the Islamic world after the death of Ibn Rushd in the twelfth century, but this is not true. Today there is a lively philosophical presence in most of the Islamic world, and a whole range of ideas like logical positivism, hermeneutics, pragmatism, Hegelianism, and so on have become part of the normal philosophical curriculum in the Islamic world. Much philosophy takes place within the Islamic world in just the way it takes place anywhere, without making any reference to religion or the local culture. On the other hand, the notion of philosophy itself as being Islamic, or being taught in the Islamic world, has itself become a controversial notion, one we shall examine here. The place to start when thinking about modern Islamic philosophy is the *Nahda* (rebirth, renaissance) movement which started in Syria, became established in Egypt, and from there spread out through the Arab world, and beyond. This was a period of colonialization when the European powers were largely in control of the Middle East in one form or another, and a contrast became visible between the powerful and progressive Christian world, on the one hand, and the Islamic world on the other. Much of the Arab world was in the nominal control of the Ottoman Empire, and the level of economic and political development was perceived as far lower in that environment than was the case in the European countries. The word that was used a lot was "decadence," the idea that the culture of the Islamic world that had in the past been so powerful and influential intellectually and militarily was now very much in decline.

The *Nahda* movement tried to bring about two results. It did not want to turn its back on the modern ideas coming from Europe, since it saw these ideas as perfectly compatible with Islam. Islam had in the past always been open to new ideas, indeed, Islamic philosophy as a whole was very much created in partnership with new ideas coming from the Greek world, and there was no reason why modernity should be rejected just because it emerged in a non-Islamic environment. That was the positive side of the revival movement. The more negative side was the attempt to defend Islam and Islamic ideas in their confrontation with modernity, to show that Islam could adapt to the new world and continue to play a leading part in the lives and thought processes of the local populations even while the latter became more involved in the scientific and cultural European world.

The major thinkers were AL-TAHTAWI, AL-AFGHANI, and MUHAMMAD 'ABDU, who all in different ways sought to institutionalize modernity in the Islamic world by sanctifying it from a religious point of view. One motive was something that is easily forgotten nowadays, and that is the perceived threat from Christian missionaries who descended on the Islamic world and sought to convert the local population. We can see now how unsuccessful their efforts turned out to be, but it was not unreasonable for local Muslims to wonder whether the influence of the new powerful rulers of their countries might not lead to widespread desertion from Islam and the embracing of Christianity instead. Today it is obviously difficult for Christians to operate in the Islamic world, but then this was far from the case, and we still do not appreciate quite why the missionary movement proved to be so unsuccessful when the Christian world had such a hegemonic hold over the Islamic world.

At the time, the arguments against Christianity were many and forceful, and they took the line that Islam was just as rational as any other religion, indeed more rational than most, and so perfectly well suited to modern people. Science and technology could flourish in an Islamic environment and Muslims did not need a new religion to be modern. We need to distinguish here between enthusiasm for Islam and Arabism, the latter movement including not only Muslims but obviously restricted to the Arab part of the Islamic world. The idea of an Arab nation, and indeed in wider terms, an Islamic nation which brought together the community (*umma*) in a unified way so that it could confront the power of the imperialists, was also part of the *Nahda* movement's ideology. Unfortunately for the Arabs, there was already a degree of unity in the Islamic world brought about by the Ottomans and the caliph in Istanbul, nominally the head of that world, or at least the Sunni part of it. Yet the caliph was widely perceived as weak and the Ottoman Empire in decline, and the Turkish rulers were not always taken to be the right government for the Arab countries either separately or together. There were attempts at reviving the Ottoman Empire, especially by Turkish reformers, but the major thinker involved in this project was undoubtedly Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–97) who spent time working with both the Ottoman and Persian rulers trying to establish some form of pan-Islamic political organization.

The disunity in the Islamic world was helpful to the foreign powers in dominating it, of course, and anything that could be done to end that disunity was helpful to the idea of a resurgent Islam. In Egypt figures like ʻAbdu in al-Azhar and al-Tahtawi in the education department encouraged reform through changes in what the state and its organs did. The latter had traveled to Paris, a journey he describes in detail in his *Talkhis al-ibriz fi talkhis baris*, and it was often this contact with the modern world that inspired the desire for change. On the other hand, it could also produce quite the opposite effect, leading to a rejection of Europe and the United States and everything they represented. In Tunisia, Khayr al-Din (HAYREDDIN) al-Tunisi (1810–89) initiated secular education in his country (defended in his 1867 *Aqwan al-masalik*), based on the same ideas that progress meant science and was not incompatible with Islam. This spirit of reform was widespread throughout the Middle East, and small groups of intellectuals campaigned in favor of both science and Islam.

Muhammad ʻAbdu (1849–1905) was head of al-Azhar, the leading theological university in the Sunni Islamic world, and this gave him a pivotal platform from which to broadcast the message of the *Nahda* that the Islamic world should accept modernity while at the same time not rejecting Islam. He contrasted the progressive nature of Islam with the period of stagnation which he identified with the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, which was a time when the early scientific and philosophical progress of the Islamic cultural world came to an end and when the political and religious authorities had a mutual interest in restricting the intellectual curiosity of those over whom they ruled in order to increase their degree of control. As he points out, it is a mistake to link a particular religion with scientific progress, or lack of progress, since Christianity has far more of an intellectual commitment to the transcience of the material world than Islam, and despite this has managed to provide an environment for great advances in our understanding of that world.

Reformist ideas from Egypt came into the Dutch East Indies, which is the Indonesia of today, and the Muhammadiya movement was set up by Ahmad Dahlan (1868–1923), who had lived in Egypt and met ‘Abdu. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1854–1902), who lived for most of his life in Syria, took the modernist ideology in a more radical direction, advocating liberalism, and also pan-Islamism, but within the context of leadership by the Arabs, not the Ottomans, criticizing the latter for their love of despotism and conservatism.

Within Islam itself various sects arose, including the Ahmadis in India and the Bahai in Iran, and despite persecution they survived and to a degree provided an alternative to standard forms of Islam. Mahdism, the search for a savior, also became a popular form of reaction and resistance to the encroaching power of the colonial powers. The relative lack of power of the Islamic world brought out what was to become a major topic in modern Islamic philosophy, namely, how distinctive Islam itself should be taken to be when compared with other approaches to understanding reality. This contrast with the outside world became even more extreme in the twentieth century with the success of Zionism and its imposition of a Jewish state at the heart of the Arab world, thus displaying as a constant theme the impotence of Islam and the Islamic world to resist the encroachments of the outside world.

Philosophy in the Arab world

A number of themes have become prominent in recent Islamic philosophy. One is the relationship Islamic philosophy should have with Western thought. Further, some thinkers in the Islamic world have used their understanding of philosophy and have applied them to what they see as the leading issues of the day within their cultural environment. Finally, traditional ways of doing philosophy have remained in business, although some gestures at incorporating more diverse theoretical material have sometimes been made also.

The Egyptian philosopher Mustafa ‘Abd al-Raziq extended the ideas of the reformers and suggested that all the main Islamic schools of thought, even the mystical schools of Sufism which were much suspected by the *Nahda* thinkers, are inherently rational and in no way opposed to the science and rationality which are such an important feature of Western culture. On the other hand, he takes a significant swipe at the idea that Islam should itself constitute a political system in his *al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* (Islam and the Principles of Government), published in 1925 shortly after the abolition of the caliphate in Turkey. He argues that apart from the case of the first three caliphs, about whom there is general agreement, there is no justification for basing government on religion, and in the past it has in fact been based on power rather than anything else. ‘Abd al-Raziq looked to reason as the appropriate source of political inspiration, not religion, and argued that this is in fact the Islamic position also. It was the political authorities who encouraged the idea that their rule was based on Divine approval, and so they had religious backing for their regimes. A result of their manipulation of Islam is that they brought about a state of affairs in which stagnation, authoritarianism, and worship of tradition prevailed, an atmosphere that brought spiritual and material disaster to the Islamic world. There is nothing in Islam itself to explain what happened, it was just a matter of politics.

Some Arab thinkers have been more skeptical of this point. Muhammad ‘Abd al-Jabri is critical of much traditional Islamic thought, arguing that we need to form a clear view of the reasons for the decline of the Arab world.

In *Nahnu wa'l-turath* (Our Heritage, 1985) he is critical of the reformist credentials of the reformers of the *Nahda*. For one thing, glorifying the past of Islamic philosophy in terms of Ibn Rushd and IBN SINA is, according to him, merely to enshrine foreign influence in Islamic culture, since their thought is entirely dominated by Greek ideas and arguments. Secondly, defending Islam by urging the application of past history to modern problems is to use a theory of the relevance of the past to the present which is without justification. We should not seek to revive the former Arab mind, but deconstruct that heritage to abandon what is negative in it, while keeping what can take us forward. In his *Buniyat al-'aql al-'arabi* (Structure of the Arab Mind) he identifies three negative features of Arab tradition. The first is the worship of words, the second the desire for authority, both human and Divine, and the third the idea that anything can happen. The result is that language comes to replace reality, power gets in the way of freedom, and a lack of trust in the causal nature of the world in favor of a reliance on arbitrary action. Al-Jabiri makes the very interesting remark that the failure of Islamic philosophy in the sense of *falsafa* to continue beyond a relatively short period is due to its failure to reflect on its own history, that is, Arab history; it is so Greek-orientated that it can only meditate on Greek culture, something of which it is not a part. Western philosophy, by contrast, has constantly reflected on its own history and has not been frightened to challenge what it did not like. The so-called Islamic Renaissance was not really a revival of anything worth reviving, but a return to the past, a past that has failed and will continue to fail in the future.

So what is the way forward? To determine that al-Jabiri argues we need to understand the past. Philosophy in the past is characterized by main features. There is the dream of AL-FARABI, realized by Ibn Sina, and then the break from that approach by the philosophers in al-Andalus, such as IBN BAJJA and Ibn Rushd. The philosophers from the East needed to link philosophy and religion closely together for local political reasons, whereas in the West they could be more uninhibited in how they discussed that relationship, and they were. This comes out particularly in Ibn Rushd's boldness in laying out as the job of the philosophers the interpretation of the Qur'an, his particular job the interpretation of Aristotle, and finally his description of both philosophy and religion as equally valid and independent of each other. The Eastern philosophers are conservative and so to side with them is to ignore the changes that have taken place in the world since their time. On the other hand, the Western Islamic thinkers were taken up enthusiastically by the non-Islamic world and founded the intellectual source of the rapid advances that European culture was to undergo. If the modern Arab world is to advance it must recapture the spirit of Ibn Rushd in particular, and incorporate his thought into the practical organization of society.

Fu'ad Zakariyya also argues that Arab failure is connected with the disinclination to criticize heritage (*turath*). He contrasts those who are uncritically proud of the Arab cultural heritage in the past with those who call for a complete change in thinking since the Arab consciousness is seen as resting on superstition and blind obedience to authority. Zakariyya rejects both alternatives. It is not true that Arab thought produced the major scientific discoveries of the West, nor is it full of irrational and unscientific thought. He points out quite rightly that Europe had to cope with plenty of its own superstitions and the persecution of those with new ideas, and yet managed to emerge as advanced and progressive despite all these problems. He lays the blame on the way in which the religious authorities have managed to delegitimize anything as un-Islamic which they cannot control, sometimes labeling it as materialist and sometimes as foreign or imperialist. The very bases of science are often questioned in the Islamic world as denying an appropriate role for God in the world, whereas in Europe this debate has been put behind public consciousness a long time ago. An Arab or Islamic awakening (the title of one of his books, *al-Sahwa al-islamiyya*) can only come about through a dissemination of science and its attitudes in society as a whole. In a strong attack on the *Nahda* movement Zakariyya criticized the claim that social relations have to be validated in religious terms, and that Islam provides its followers with eternal truths. This suggests that Islam cannot be questioned or interpreted in a new way, yet everything does change all the time, and religion has to change with it. Islam needs to stay out of politics if society is to move forward.

Fazlur RAHMAN, originally from Pakistan, took this thesis in a more radical direction, arguing that Islam goes hand in hand with social progress, and anything that suggests something different must be wrong. He also spends a lot of time discussing attitudes toward history, which for him is a record of constantly changing reality, and Islam has to change in tandem with it if it is to remain dynamic and relevant. All too often there has been a tendency to construct an unchanging and perfect past that contrasts poorly with today, and Muslims spend their time trying to get back to a past that in fact never reached the level of excellence claimed of it. Instead of society trying to make sense of the future, much exertion in Islamic society is directed toward a past that is not understood historically but just accepted as having a high status, and as a result Islam may fail to develop in line with rapidly changing social and political realities.

Khalid M. Khalid started from the same position as Rahman in his *Min huna nabda* (We Start From Here), but he came to far more secular conclusions. He argues for the complete exclusion of the religious world from public life, since he sees Islam as having over time become progressively corrupted, until now it is only a pale shadow of its former self. This is a frequent conclusion by religious thinkers also, but Khalid takes it to show that the reason why religion is in such a mess now is due to the wiles of the clerical establishment, which he contemptuously labels as the *kahana*. They have obscured the original cooperative message of Islam, something which is shared by other religions and spiritual leaders. He develops this argument in his *Muhammad wa'l-masih* (Muhammad and Christ, 1985) and *Kama tahaddath al-qur'an* (As the Qur'an Says). Religion is opposed to blind obedience (*taqlid*) and ethnic rivalry, and exhibits a progressive and liberating message of unity and mutual assistance.

A reaction to this liberal and humanist perspective was not missing in the Islamic world, and Sayyid QUTB produced trenchant criticism of those interpretations of Islam that he saw as inauthentic and aping the West. Qutb had visited the United States and returned to his native Egypt disturbed by what he experienced there. His thought often touches on the relationship between Islam and Christianity and their respective merits. Christianity has an ascetic character, he argues, and is naturally going to distinguish between the secular and the religious. This distinction does not exist in Islam, he suggests, since it is so clearly based on social justice and the appropriate organization of the state. This has an activist message since it implies that Muslims have to struggle for justice and cannot leave this task to others. The problem with traditional Islamic philosophy was it gave too much respect to Greek thought and so did not represent genuine Islamic thought, which can only be found in the Qur'an and in the Traditions of the Prophet and his Companions. Islamic philosophy should help us work out how the message of Islam defines once and for all the appropriate relations we are to have with others in society, and it is based on the holistic view that the main texts of Islam propounds.

The problem with Western civilization is that it is based on a materialist and atomist view of humanity. A symptom is the unhappiness of people who feel disconnected with the rest of the world, a world in which they find no meaning and where they become progressively more and more detached from each other and even from themselves. He borrows some of the language of Marxist dialectical materialism (with which he strenuously disagrees) to suggest that Islam is inevitable as the solution to the problems of modernity and that the Islamic state will inevitably emerge from what precedes it. In a remarkable prediction of the collapse of communism (when it was at its height of power and influence) Qutb explains how some will see in this doctrine a solution to the world's problems, but it is doomed to destruction due to its misinterpretation of human nature and its inability to operate with the support of its citizens. Western countries are also spiritually impoverished, however rich they may seem to be, and can be rescued by the rise of Islam throughout the rest of the world. Although they look highly resistant to such a message, at their core is a great emptiness which just calls out to be filled by Islam. The other ideology that he criticizes is nationalism, again politically rather dominant in the mid-twentieth century when he was writing. Islam advocates the unity of the whole of humanity and rejects national groupings as the ultimate form of community.

Qutb calls for Islam to be revived in his time if it is to play the role for which it was created, that of advancing the world spiritually. For this, action is required as well as thought, together with the throwing off of the ways of thinking that are generally taken as appropriate, but which in fact are based on ignorance and un-Islamic attitudes. Struggle (*jihad*) is required to bring about this liberation and the dissemination of divine law throughout the world. In fact, struggle is appropriate when any obstacle stands in the way of the march of Islam, and any regime that is not based solely on God is illegitimate. A particular target was the secular and nationalist government of Nasser in Egypt, and the Muslim Brothers were a potent opposition to the regime. Sayyid Qutb was executed in 1966, and as a martyr only increased in stature as a result. His books are quite brilliantly written and make for lively and persuasive reading, and his influence has become very important in the Islamic world ever since.

A significant influence on him, and on the wider community, is the Pakistani theologian Abu'l-A'la MAWDUDI, who like Qutb was very hostile to the West and demanded significant changes in attitudes to Islam also. Mawdudi advocated vigorous action against the enemies of Islam, and in favor of the right leaders who could take proper charge of the community and promote its happiness. He disapproved of everything about modernity since he saw it as taking attention away from God and the total submission to him which is appropriate from his creatures. Western civilization puts the emphasis on the individual, whereas Islam posits the individual in a community gathered together to serve God, and thus provides a meaning for the life of the individual and society as a whole. Although the views of Qutb and Mawdudi seem very different from those of more liberal Muslims, it is worth pointing to a view that they all share, and that is that there is something very wrong with the state of Islamic society as it stands in modern times. There are varying prescriptions for what is perceived as the disease, but all these thinkers are linked to the *Nahda* in that they all share a problematic and seek a solution to it.

These ideas were taken up by many thinkers, and two are worth discussing, Muhammad al-Ghazali and Yusuf al-Qaradawi. The former died in 1996 and was a powerful conservative thinker in Egypt. In his *al-'Aqidat* *al-muslim* he lays the blame on Greek philosophy for dominating Islamic philosophy and theology, and credits its foreign origins as explaining why it never became a popular or accepted form of thought in the Islamic world. Not surprisingly, though, when he comes to present what he claims is the Islamic creed it looks pretty similar to previous Sunni theological versions, and the only difference between his approach and that of much earlier thinkers is that he includes a huge amount of directly quoted Qur'anic material and *hadith* sources, as though this shows directly what the creed actually is. He is more interesting in his critique of the great orientalists from the West whom he accuses of misleading Muslims and others in their analysis of Islam, and of working on behalf of the colonizers and the missionaries. In particular he credits the orientalists with emphasizing the apparent doctrinal divisions in Islam in order to confuse Muslims and present the religion as essentially disunited and confused, an aspect of a policy of divide and conquer. Al-Ghazali also accuses orientalists of attacking the Arabic language, in an attempt at getting at the roots of Islamic reasoning, and in working to demarcate between secular and religious language they seek to diminish the significance of the language of the Qur'an. However, al-Ghazali should not be taken to be an extreme conservative, since even he thinks that the door of interpretation is open at least in practical matters. It is certainly true, he argues, that basic doctrinal and ritual issues have been settled a long time ago, but we can still make new decisions in the field of social and practical relations, and need to if we are to adapt to changing circumstances.

A useful way of looking at all the recent attempts to revive (*tajdid*) Islam in the twentieth century is through the work of Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who discusses Hasan al-Banna' and the Muslim Brothers, al-Mawdudi, ‘Abd al-Hamid ibn Badr in Algeria, and Sa‘id Nursi in Turkey. These thinkers all tried to oppose their secular governments, and had varying degrees of success. Often the attempt to defend Islam in these contexts led to terrible acts of violence and terrorism, actions totally out of line with the basic principles of Islam. Ostensibly Islamic governments are very far from Islamic and do not give a role to the participation of the local populations in ways that are demanded by Islam. As always, the positive side of his argument is difficult to understand as very different from any other prescription for reviving Islam. Al-Qaradawi is keen on democracy and the rights of minorities, but the details of his work makes clear that democracy can only be accepted if it is in line with Islam, and minorities would be expect to pay the poll tax if they expected to receive a protected (*dhimmi*) role, reminiscent of the situation in the past in the Islamic world. He is certainly interested in dialogue, even with the West that he is so suspicious of, and he is contemptuous of those secularists in the Islamic world who argue for the separation of mosque from state. They fail to understand Islam, he argues, confusing it with Christianity and its separation of religion from the state. On the other hand, he is also critical of those Muslims who regard everyone not in agreement with them as infidels and calls for a rational approach to the nature of religious law and the organization of the state. Al-Qaradawi is very much in favor of avoiding extremism in the justified response of sincere Muslims to nationalism, secularism, and liberalism.

It would be wrong to give the impression that all philosophers in the Islamic world were obsessed with religion, since some presented views which really have nothing to do with Islam at all. For example, Zaki Naguib Mahmud, who died in 1975, sought to construct a philosophy based on scientific principles. He distinguishes between what he calls the metaphysical thinker whom he identifies as someone who thinks he perceives the truth that lies behind appearance, and who is able to understand the very general principles that operate and structure reality. The empirical thinker, by contrast, is fully representative of the scientific age and bases his ideas on what counts as evidence, what can be verified. He uses clear and direct language, by contrast with the extravagant prose of the metaphysician. Of course, the philosopher is not in the business of gathering evidence like the scientist, but like the scientist he can be careful to say only that which he can justify on the basis of empirical evidence. Like so many Islamic philosophers, Mahmud identifies the Aristotelian notion of definition as the source of the problem, since that encourages us to work from a word to its meaning, and that can have no basis in the facts themselves. Mahmud advocates by contrast starting with experiences and then developing their meanings as part of their definitions.

Mahmud seeks to diminish the status of the philosopher by giving him the role of the under-laborer, in true Lockean fashion, so that he is not a creative or general thinker, but someone who concentrates on describing what other people who are involved in scientific work do and what it means. This has a moral side to it, in that Mahmud is keen on the philosopher being humble and particular in his work, as compared to the grand and vacuous thinkers of the past. It is not difficult to see how this could be applied to the issue of where the Islamic world went wrong, and in this case the blame yet again rests on Aristotle and his notion of how to do philosophy, a view that was popular in the early centuries of Islamic philosophy. The Aristotelian method is based on the notion of the definition and on how we can derive propositions from that definition, and this leads to a circle of language in which all sorts of abstract ideas are developed and used as though we understand them. Arab *turath* or heritage is based on this spinning out of ideas from basic texts, the Qur'an and the *hadith*, for example, and implies reliance on some principle or idea or authority here taking the place of the definition in the Aristotelian account. The sort of language that results has little relevance to the way in which the world actually goes, since it does not describe that world but by contrast merely describes itself. We need to break out of this prison of words and concepts which have no roots in reality and become more scientific in our approach by paying close attention to the facts of our experience.

There are thinkers who have been very much influenced by French philosophy, and some of the theories that were popular in France. Muhammad Arkoun, for example, is difficult to understand unless one first of all follows the philosophy of Foucault. Mohammed Arkoun was born in 1928 in Kabylia, Algeria, and spent much of his career at the Sorbonne in Paris. His early work in philosophy was in the history of Islamic philosophy, and in particular the thought of the Persian philosopher Miskawayh, an interesting choice since Miskawayh was a thinker who was definitely part of several different intellectual worlds. Like so many modern Arab philosophers, Arkoun is in the Islamic world and also the secular European world. How to reconcile these worlds has been a persisting issue. Arkoun has in general been very supportive of *laïcité*, the determined secularism of France that he argues preserves the freedom of all to follow their specific religions. On the other hand, he has strongly attacked the ways in which the Islamic and the non-Islamic worlds have cast each other in the role of the Other and enemy. He describes in his work how a tradition creates a universe of discourse, and at the same time also cuts us off from other forms of discourse. So traditions, and in particular religious traditions, can be seen to have both positive and negative features, and Arkoun suggests that it is not acceptable for a tradition to rule out some ways of thinking, since in order to understand the whole range of alternatives that lie before us we really need to contemplate a wide range of options. We need then to be able to think outside the tradition, yet the tradition is set up in such a way as to prevent us from doing so.

According to Arkoun, traditions are not pure, and so do not have fixed boundaries. They need to be applied to the world of experience and this means that they will inevitably have to examine their relationship with that world on occasion. It often becomes clear that traditions are not that dissimilar from each other, and so a program of secularism is not necessarily in opposition to religion, but could be seen as providing space for religions, and for the principle of separation of church and state (laïcité), to flourish and understand themselves. He argues that Islam's renaissance in the nineteenth century is a project that remains unfinished, and that Muslims should continue to examine the foundations of their faith employing among other models those taken from the West. As with so many of his fellow thinkers in the Islamic world, Arkoun's work really centers around the significance of history. History suggests that doctrines like Islam are continuing projects that remain to be fully developed, and history also shows that the antagonisms and conflicts between different ways of looking at the world are not fixed. An investigation of history enables us to ground our understanding of ideas within a particular context and so we can acquire a critical understanding of them. There is a tension in such a thesis, which has much to do with the thought of Foucault, and the transcendent role that any religion like Islam seeks to establish for itself. Much of Arkoun's work tries to find a middle position between religion and secularism in order to prevent a clash between these two apparently contrary intellectual positions.

Some thinkers like BADAWI and LAHBABI were much influenced by existentialism. Badawi in particular argues that we need to get away from abstract ideas that only exist in thought to a practical and direct interaction with the world. He identifies the Sufis in Islam with existentialism (in his 1947 work, *Al-Islamiya wa'l-wujudiya fi'l-fikr al-islami*), since both prioritize existence over essence, and also respect the subjective experience over the objective concept. In his extensive work on the nature of time (*Al-Zaman al-wujudi*, 1955) he rejects the idea of time as something standing outside us, or something we are in, for a notion of how we interpret our experience in terms of change. Hasan Hanafi, born in 1935, is an influential contemporary Arab philosopher, and he is committed to phenomenology as a philosophical approach, and uses it to develop and analyze the concept of *tawhid* or unity. He argues that Islam is broad enough to extend this notion so that it can provide a common principle of unity and equality for everyone. He is not that impressed with the intellectual contribution made by the West, finding the idea of Western progress no longer particularly valid, and suggesting that the West itself is now entering into a period of decadence and is looking for inspiration toward the East. He finds unacceptable the idea that Islam is based on fixed rules. Rather, he believes, it is based on a revelation appropriate to its own time and place. But now other interpretations of the message can be used to align the religion with present conditions. What is significant in looking at Islam and the Arab heritage is to appreciate that it is constructed on a particular notion of humanity, and it is by adopting a proper historical perspective of the past that we can understand how Islam can change in order to cope with the present and the future. Modernity should not be seen as a threat, but as something that Muslims and Arabs should have no problems in accepting, provided that they do not insist on an unchanging character for their religion.

Some of the thinkers in the Arab world such as Sadiq al-ʻAzm, a Syrian thinker, are very much opposed to religion. His *Naqd al-fikr al-dini* (Critique of Religious Thought) attempts to demolish religion by arguing that it was completely overtaken by scientific ways of thinking and remains only as a technique of ruling classes to preserve their power. It directs the population's attention away from important social and economic issues toward ideological issues of no real significance. A problem which the Marxists have is in establishing links with Arab nationalism and the specific Islamic ideology current in the Arab world, since to criticize religion may seem rather close to criticizing Islam, and the specific ideology of the Arab world as it has developed. Abdallah Laroui (b. 1935) faces this head-on, and suggests distinguishing between different aspects of Islam, as a historical phenomenon, as a culture, and as an ethical system. These need to be distinguished, since otherwise we cannot form an objective view of the Arab heritage. The intellectual is torn between identification with the local culture and the alternative of Westernization. To this dilemma Marxism proves to be the solution since it provides a way of resisting both religion and the West, but it will be different in the Middle East since it will be based on the Arab heritage rather than on specific economic and political factors. A number of writers presented varying models of what they called Arab socialism or Islamic socialism, and clearly in all such models it is the cultural heritage of Islam that plays a significant part in the progressive state, whereas in more developed countries one would not expect this to happen.

A Moroccan intellectual, Abdullah Laroui taught at Mohammed V University in Rabat and was one of a distinguished group of Moroccan thinkers such as M. A. LAHBABI and M. A. al-Jabri. Like much modern philosophy in the Islamic world, his work is broad and encompasses a variety of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives, including history, sociology, philosophy, and literature. His thoughts on modernity and ideology strike at the heart of many of the issues that are important for Arab culture in the post-colonial world, especially in North Africa. Laroui is particularly interested in how history should be written, and how we can understand the cultural life of a group of people through their history. One of his major achievements is in analyzing the problematic nature of some of the key concepts of Arab culture as they have arisen in the contemporary world, including modernity, the state, authenticity, continuity, rationality, and tradition. He points out that the Arab world cannot simply adopt the Western concept of the state since this is an essentially secular notion and abstracts itself from the past, while for Arabs the connection with Islam and their history is a defining facet of political legitimacy. In any case, the state is only a part of the whole Islamic *umma* or community, and we have to take on board also the idea of an Arab *umma* which leads to a nexus of relationships existing within what would necessarily have to be a very different sort of state from the Western model. As with his predecessor IBN KHALDUN, Laroui has an approach to understanding society that involves the construction of a theoretical perspective that is capable of placing a particular social structure within an appropriate historical and cultural context. His thought has moved from its earlier Marxist phase to produce a more nuanced approach to the philosophy of history and the understanding of culture. He is part of a significant movement in the modern Arab world that seeks to define Arab culture and its unique features by using theories both from within and without the region.

Philosophy in Iran

Although much Islamic philosophy has always been written in Arabic, most of it was actually produced by Persians, and philosophy has experienced a much greater continuity in the Persian world than it did in the Arab world. There really were no gaps in the Persian world, and the same cannot be said of the Arab world, where there were long periods when philosophy was very much in retreat, albeit not forever. The commentary tradition, which developed, in part, as philosophers wrote on Ibn Sina and, in part, as Ishraqi (Illuminationist) thinkers wrote on AL-SUHRAWARDI and MULLA SADRA, has been part of the traditional curriculum in the theological training centers in what is today Iran and the Persian-speaking world. Today, philosophy is not only to be found in the theological schools but is firmly represented in the universities, and philosophy of all kinds flourishes. There is a continuation of the study of the major Islamic thinkers and traditional problems, and also very much a divide between philosophers committed to logical positivism and those interested in continental philosophy.

A good example of the use of modern techniques on persisting problems can be seen in the work of Mehdi HA'IRI YAZDI, whose work on knowledge brings in Russell and Wittgenstein as well as Ishraqi thinkers like al-Suhrawardi. He takes the idea of knowledge by presence, a form of knowledge that cannot be doubted because it is so present to us, so lit up as it were, that it is impossible to challenge. He tries to use this as his grounding principle for a great deal more than can be derived from it, and the creative use of both old and modern thinkers is an intriguing idea that shows what can be done once philosophers have the confidence and ability to range more widely in their work. A much more political thinker, ʻAli SHARIATI (1933–77), bases his metaphysics on the Ishraqi school's view of the human being as having God as its essence while maintaining the scope to determine its own form of existence. The notion of unity (*tawhid*) is developed by him as socially revolutionary as well as spiritually therapeutic, and it is appropriate to establish as a harmonious institution a combination of personal and political justice. He sees the main figures of Shiʻite Islam as exemplars for humanity not only on the personal level but politically also since they are intent on establishing a state of affairs characterized by freedom, equality, and justice. Islam does not change in its essentials, Shariati argues, but it does change in the ways in which it presents itself since it has to do this to fit in with changing circumstances.

ʻAli Shariati did not live to see the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1979, but he was definitely one of its intellectual fathers. Like many Iranians in the twentieth century, he combined an education in the traditional religious sciences in Iran with a secular philosophical training within a Western context, in his case Paris. His connections with the anti-colonialist movement in Paris led him to argue that Islam is a basically revolutionary and liberating doctrine. He did not abandon religion as many of his fellow radical Iranians did, nor did he go along with reverence for the *imam* or spiritual leader so prevalent in Shiʻi Islam. This set him firmly aside from Khomeini and the ideology of the Islamic Revolution itself as it was to emerge.

Shariati managed to combine a range of ideas and principles that are otherwise contrary to each other, so that while he rejected the dialectical materialism of Marxism, he did use the idea of history having a direction and a pattern, albeit one based on Divine will, and class struggle is seen as the community progressively perfecting its consciousness. Islam is a religion based on liberation, and he reads the Qur'an as a book representing a community struggling permanently to achieve social justice, a fraternal society, and freedom. Shariati was not impressed with the power of imported ideologies to generate political solidarity among the people against oppressive regimes. His version of Shiʻism placed emphasis on Imam ʻALI as a revolutionary leader as well as a religious thinker. This view of Shiʻism is very different from that of the religious orthodoxy, especially as it places authority in the opinion of the individual, a vindication of *ijtihad*, or independent judgment rather distant from normal understandings of the notion in Shiʿi Islam. He goes along here with Jean-Paul Sartre and the existentialist emphasis on the importance of authentic decisions being made by totally free agents. Shariati argued that Islam could be vindicated as a faith if it is seen as involving autonomous choices by individuals and a genuine progressive direction in both social and personal policies. This theory proved to be a potent mixture in Iran, since it attracted those opposed to the Shah's regime on both the right and the left, those who saw themselves as religious and those who were aligned with Marxism. With Shariati we find an approach that appears to combine all shades of ideology, which is of course the underlying strength of a philosophy that is built on religion.

It is very much a theme of much modern Islamic philosophy that a sign of the excellence of Islam is its failure to separate the political from the personal. This is well represented by Ayatollah Khomeini, the Shah's successor who became both the spiritual and the temporal ruler of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He argued, and this remains the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran, that religion is not only relevant to private morality but must also be incorporated in the state as a whole. The only appropriate leaders of the state are the religious authorities, and the community will only flourish if they are in charge. He was a member of the school of Qom, as were also Muhammad Hossein TABATABA'I, Murtaza MUTAHHARI, and Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi, all important religious Shiʿite thinkers who nonetheless were quite open to ideas coming from the West. There is no problem for them in using foreign techniques and ideas to invigorate Islamic philosophy.

But they uniformly disapproved of the work of Abdul Soroush, who took a critical view of religion when he brought up against it the arguments of Popper, Moore, and Wittgenstein. Soroush was opposed by Sadiq Larijani, the chief representative of the school of Qom, who suggested that Soroush had misapplied the theories of Popper, Stalnaker, Watkins, and Hempel and who saw his incorrect view of the philosophy of science as meaning that his criticisms of Islam were fallacious. It is worth noting that the debate was ostensibly about the appropriate interpretation of a group of Western thinkers, and the religious relevance of the topic was not the point of interest, but its dependence on the appropriate understanding of philosophy of science. Soroush not only stirred up the school of Qom, but also the supporters of Heidegger in Iran, of whom there are many, so that he was quite isolated intellectually. Philosophy continues to have a strong presence in Iran, where it has never really been out of fashion.

Perhaps the best-known Iranian thinker outside the country is Seyyed Hossein Nasr. He is highly critical of Western science, praising some of its achievements but pointing to the ecological consequences of a worldview which does not acknowledge the presence of God at the center of that view. Science without spirituality is without limits, since there is nothing which it holds sacred, and it bases itself entirely on measurements of quantities, not on the quality of existence. More spiritual philosophies are harmonious and integrative, they embed spiritual values in the technological agenda and so make ecological disasters less likely. For him, the question is not what the East should take from the West, but vice versa. Along with this view he has established in some detail the theoretical presuppositions of Sufism, the school of mysticism in Islamic thought, and his historical accounts of this doctrine have played a large role in its increasing domestication outside of the traditional Islamic world. An interesting feature of his work is that he sees Islamic thought as just one aspect of what he calls perennial philosophy, which he takes to be a constant thread of spiritual thought in both Eastern and Western philosophy. Nasr criticizes recent developments in philosophy for ignoring this thread and claims that philosophy will only regain its authenticity when it establishes links again with this traditional form of thought.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MU'AMMAR AL-SULAMI (d. 215/830)

Mu'ammar ibn 'Abbad al-Sulami, who died in 215/830, was a leading Mu'tazilite thinker in Basra. We know of his works and his life through reports from later sources. He is said to have been a pharmacist and to have had a fairly unsettled career, and he was certainly centrally positioned in the leading philosophical debates of the time. His central works dealt with the nature of concepts, contingency, and science, and his most famous pupil was Bishr IBN AL-MU'TAMIR, the leading figure in the Basra school of Mu'tazila. He was involved in a protracted controversy with AL-NAZZAM over the role of God in the universe. For Mu'ammar, God does not really have much to do, since nature has its own character and runs independently of the deity. The extensive series of causes that lies behind natural change is capable of operating by itself. Accordingly God is not to be held responsible for what happens in the world, and it is perhaps this which led to the prolonged debate with al-Nazzam, who had the opposite view.

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AL-MU'AYYAD FI'L-DIN SHIRAZI
(*c.* 390–470/999–1077)

Hibatallah ibn Musa ibn Dawud Salmani Shirazi was a significant figure in the Isma'ili tradition and the chief *da'i* of the fifth/eleventh centuries. Throughout the Isma'ili works, he is referred to as "Sayyiduna al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Din." While it is difficult to establish the exact date of his birth, it is likely that he was born around the middle or end of 390/999 in Shiraz, and died in 470/1077 in Cairo, where he is buried in the courtyard of the University of Cairo. His early years are somewhat of a mystery, but we do know that he came from a family of missionaries. He rose up from the ranks and became the head of the missionaries of Shiraz and the *hujjat* for the greater Persia.

The caliph regarded him initially as a threat but then befriended him. However, the courtiers who feared his popularity among people remained hostile to him. Al-Mu'ayyad had become more than just a scholar and *da'i*, he had become involved in the political game with various viziers and courtiers of his time. Perhaps it was due to the hostility of the courtiers that al-Mu'ayyad decided not to reside in Shiraz for too long, and traveled virtually all his life. Before leaving Persia, he went to Ahwaz but finally left for Egypt out of fear for his life. It was in Egypt where he saw the Isma'ili imam and wrote in great detail of his spiritual experience as the result of his encounter with the imam. He then went to Aleppo in 442/1067 and in 450/1058, where he was promoted to the position of '*da'i al-du'at*' (missionary of missionaries). Shirazi had sought this position all his life.

Shirazi not only trained numerous pupils among whom one can name such great figures as NASIR-I KHUSRAW, HASAN IBN SABBAH, and Lamak ibn Malik, but also left behind a legacy as a statesman, politician, and missionary. Thanks to the diligent work of one of his students, Hatim ibn Ibrahim al-Hamidi from Yemen who compiled the bulk of al-Muayyad's sermons under the title *Jami'at al-haqaiq*, we now have what amounts to an encyclopedia of Isma'ilism.

Shirazi was not a philosopher in the Peripatetic sense, but he should be regarded as a theologian and an Isma'ili intellectual. He was a hermeneutician who elucidated on the esoteric secrets of the Quran. His commentaries on such concepts as the esoteric symbolism of Heaven, divine names—in particular *rahman* (mercy)—the meaning of *salam*, and the spiritual guardianship (*vilayat*) of ‘Ali are among the themes he treats. The concept of *vilayat* (spiritual guardianship) and the role of Imam ‘ALI as the interpreter of esoteric Islam are among the salient features of his discourse. Propagating the central Isma‘ili notion of *ta‘lim*, Shirazi wrote a treatise on how *True Faith in the Unity of God Cannot be Achieved Without the Guidance of the Imams* and in another treatise titled *The True Meaning of the Tradition*, he argued that it is only with the aid of the imam that such meaning is unveiled.

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

AL-MUBARRAD, Abu’l ‘Abbas
(d. *c.* 286/900)

Al-Mubarrad was born in Basra in 210/826, or perhaps earlier, and was a participant in the discussions over the nature of language, literature, and the Qur’an that were such hot topics at that time. In Basra he came into contact with AL-JAHIZ and al-Tawwazi. He then traveled to Samarra in 246/847, ending up in Baghdad where he died around 286/900. Central to his career was the prolonged dispute with Tha‘lab, the latter taken to be representative of the Kufan theory of language, while al-Mubarrad defended the theory of his native Basra. His main text is the *Kitab al-Kamil fi’l adab* which deals with the principles of literary expression, a rather haphazardly organized text with many fascinating reflections of language. His other works are even more variegated in content, probably being collections of lectures, again on a variety of themes, but often reflecting on language and its structure.

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AL-MUBASHSHIR (fifth/eleventh century)

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fatik came from Damascus and moved to Egypt, where in 440/1048–9 he wrote a compendium of the sayings of wise men of antiquity. He is said to have composed a vast history, which is no longer extant. His main surviving work is the *Mukhtar al-hikam wa-mahasin al-kalim* (Selected Wise Statements and Beautiful Sayings). This includes a long series of mainly Greek sayings, starting with supposed Egyptian thinkers and ending with Galen. The work was very popular in Arabic, and it was translated into several European languages, including French, Spanish, Latin, and English.

These sayings, together with the accompanying biographies, bear only a loose relationship with the truth, but the work is very nicely written and served as a model for many similar works in both the Islamic world and Christian Europe. The fact that it was often translated into European languages attests to the popularity of this genre of writing and is a good example of a kind of popular philosophy that places the emphasis more on style than on content. It also proved to be long-lasting in the Islamic world, being employed by both AL-SHARASTANI and AL-SHAHRAZURI in their accounts of the thoughts of the classical thinkers of the Greek world.

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MUDARRIS, Aqa ‘Ali (1234–1307/1818–89)

One of the most well-known philosophers and teachers of his time, Aqa ‘Ali Mudarris was born in 1818. He received his early education from his father Mulla Abd Allah Mudarris, who was a prominent teacher. He studied Arabic, logic, *kalam*, and Islamic jurisprudence. He also studied with his father the works of IBN SINA, Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI, and MULLA SADRA. He traveled to Najaf, Isfahan, and Qazwin and finally settled in Tehran. Here ‘Ali Mudarris became a famous teacher and taught at the Qasim Khan and Sipahsalar *madrasas*. He trained numerous students until his death in 1889.

‘Ali Mudarris is one of the earliest philosophers in Iran in the nineteenth century who had some knowledge of and interest in Western philosophy. In his *Badayi al-hikam*, considered to be his most important work, he refers to Kant and some of his views when responding to certain questions asked by the Qajar prince Badi’l-Mulk. This is one of the earliest cases of an encounter between traditional Islamic and modern Western philosophy in Iran.

In addition to being a famous teacher, ‘Ali Mudarris was also a prolific writer. He has written a number of glosses (*ta‘liqa*) on some of the major texts of traditional philosophy and authored treatises of his own in both Arabic and Persian. *Usul al-hikma* (The Principles of Wisdom) is a commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian text *Uthulujiya* also known as the *Theology of Aristotle*. *Badayi al-hikam* (The Splendors of Wisdom) is his most important work and considered among the classics of philosophical literature in Persian. The book consists of responses to a series of questions by Mirza ‘Imad al-Dawla, a close associate of the Qajar prince Badi’l-Mulk. ‘Ali Mudarris’s other short treatises include *Risala fi’l-tawhid* (Treatise on the Divine Unity), a number of glosses on Mulla Sadra’s *Asfar*; *Risala haqiqat al-muhammadiyya* (Treatise on the Muhammadan Truth), a short work on the spiritual role of the Prophet of Islam; *Risala hamliyya* (Treatise on Predication), another gloss on the *Asfar*; *Risala fi ahkam al-wujud wa’l-mahiyya* (Treatise on the Principles of Being and Quiddity), a treatise on being and quiddity written from the point of view of the school of Mulla Sadra; *Risala fi tariqat al-siddiqin* (Treatise on the Path of the Trustworthy Ones), another short gloss on the *Asfar*; *Risala fi’l-‘illah wa’l-ma’lul* (Treatise on Cause and Effect), a gloss on the sections of the *Asfar* dealing with causality; and *Sabil al-rashad fi amr al-ma‘ad* (The Path of Guidance in the Question of Resurrection), a gloss on the parts of the *Asfar* dealing with bodily and spiritual resurrection.

‘Ali Mudarris has also written a large number of glosses on the texts he taught during his long teaching career. These include glosses of

Mulla Sadra's *Asfar*, Mulla Sadra's commentary on the Metaphysics (*Ilahiyyat*) of Ibn Sina's *Shifa'* (The Cure), Mulla Sadra's commentary on SUHRAWARDI's *Hikmat al-ishraq* (The Wisdom of the Orient), Mulla Sadra's commentary on Abhari's *Hidaya* (Guidance), Mulla Sadra's *al-Shawahid al-rububiyyah* (The Divine Witnessings), LAHIJI's *Shawariq al-ilham* (The Dawnings of Intuition), and a gloss on Mulla 'Abd Allah Zunuzi's *Lama'at-i ilahiyya* (The Divine Glimpses). 'Ali Mudarris also has a *diwan* of poetry. All of Mudarri's works except *Badayi' al-hikam* have been published in Muhsin Kadiwar's three-volume edition of his works.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

MUHAMMAD ARSHAD, *see* al-Banjari

MUHAMMAD BEN BAGIA, *see* Ibn Bajja

MUHAMMAD B. KARRAM, *see* Ibn Karram

AL-MUHANDIS AL-BASRI, *see* Ibn al-Haytham

AL-MUHASIBI, Abu 'Abdillah al-Harith
(*c.* 165–243/*c.* 781–857)

Abu 'Abd Allah Harith b. Asad al-'Anazi al-Muhasibi was born in Basra about 165/781 and died in Baghdad around 243/857. He was a famous Shafi'i legist and theologian, but was first and foremost a major philosopher-mystic of the formative stage of Islamic philosophy. He was also regarded as the founder of the Baghdad branch of speculative mysticism. He is generally known by his nickname, al-Muhasibi, "self-examiner," which might have been given to him by his contemporaries on account of his routine and keen practice of *muhasaba*, namely the introspection of his conscience and examination of his actions.

The information provided in the biographical sources about the life of Muhasibi is scarce and scattered. It is recorded that his father, as one of the richest residents of Basra, bequeathed a fortune to al-Muhasibi, who in turn refused and returned it instead to the government, because he believed that his father was a heretic or a Qadarite. When he was young, he moved to the capital city, Baghdad, where he studied first the *hadith*, a very popular discipline of the time, then the sciences of *kalam* (Islamic theology) and philosophy, and finally Sufism. Such a pattern of study was almost replicated, two and a half centuries after him, by one of his great admirers and the most renowned theologian-philosopher-mystic of Islam, AL-GHAZALI (d. 1111). The latter's life in fact exhibits a number of other striking features that are distinctly noticeable in the very life of Muhasibi himself. Hence the impact of the latter on al-Ghazali is profound.

Prior to his study of theology, or Mu'tazili theology to be more precise, Muhasibi had received a well-rounded formation in the field of *hadith*, though he had at times incurred the wrath of Ahmad IBN HANBAL, the founder of the conservative Hanbali legal school, due to his so-called wholesale acceptance of the *hadiths* and also because of his seemingly unorthodox mystical teachings or even for his strict practice of "self-examination." Possibly to avoid further hostility from his Hanbali critics, he is said to have fled back to his native town, Basra. There he stayed for a short period of time, and then returned again to Baghdad where he pursued the study of the Mu'tazili theology and learned in-depth rational arguments and dialectical methods employed by the prominent Mu'tazili thinkers. But later, he not only abandoned their theology but also tried to refute it by using their techniques against them. In spite of his criticism, al-Muhasibi remained under the influence of the Mu'tazili rational theology for a long time. He always stressed the use and importance of reason (*'aql*) in his oral and verbal discourses. His opposition was directed at their doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an, which, he argues, was based on their abstract rationalism. Be that as it may, his departure from the Mu'tazili theology led him to live the life of a contemplative mystic, confining himself to his house and imparting his knowledge to his pupils through a one-to-one relationship.

Al-Muhasibi was an early original thinker, possessed of an extensive knowledge of both the theology and philosophy of his time. He has elaborated his mystical concepts within theological and philosophical discourses. His most original contribution to Sufism of course lies in his famous doctrine of "self-examination" (*muhasaba*), a doctrine which stipulates the necessity of assessing one's past actions and repenting for all the errors resulting from those actions, and the purification of the human soul from all that displeases God. In both cases, al-Muhasibi stresses the important function of the intellect (*'aql*) as an indispensable tool to keep man sober and on guard and not to let him fall into the error of trances and ecstatic utterances. It is only the intellect, he proclaims, that enables man to distinguish what is the useful and what is detrimental and also guides him to the correct understanding of the teachings of the Qur'an and the *hadith*. Apart from the doctrine of self-examination, al-Muhasibi has supplied philosophical definitions for a variety of key mystical concepts, such as *maqam* (station), *hal* (state), *rida* (satisfaction), *faqr* (poverty), *ghina* (wealth), *hudur* (presence), *ghayba* (absence), and so on.

Along with his Hanbalite critics such as Abu Zur'a al-Razi, IBN AL-JAWZI, and 'Abd al-Rahim al-'Iraqi, al-Muhasibi had also many disciples, some of whom, in their turn, became great thinkers and Sufis. The most famous disciple of his was no doubt AL-JUNAYD, the eminent representative of sober Sufism, who offered vivid accounts of his master's scholarly teaching methods. It was through first al-Junayd and then al-Ghazali that al-Muhasibi's mystical doctrines have continued to exercise their influence on the development of Islamic mysticism. As remarked by M. Smith, al-Muhasibi might have had some impact, via al-Ghazali, on the development of medieval Christian and Jewish mysticism.

Al-Muhasibi was indeed a prolific author. Among numerous works that are attributed to him, only seventeen have survived. Many of his writings seem to be composed in the form of counsels and responses to the questions posed to him by a disciple. They deal mostly with "self-examination," "self-discipline," and "observances required of a devotee on his journey to God." The most important, most comprehensive and the longest of all of his works is the *Kitab al-Ri'aya li huquq Allah* (The Book of Observance Concerning the Rights of God), which has been edited first by Margaret Smith and then by 'Abdulqadir Ahmad 'Ata. This masterpiece of al-Muhasibi, which consists of sixty-two chapters, each ramified with numerous subsections, is well known among the Sufis as the *Kitab al-Ri‘aya fi Tasawwuf* (The Book of Observance on Sufism). The influence of this work upon the later philosophers and mystics of Islam is immense. In particular, AL-GHAZALI modeled his magnum opus *Ihya ‘Ulum al-Din* on the *Kitab al-Ri‘aya*. Again, al-Muhasibi’s other important work, *Kitab al-Wasaya* (or *Kitab al-Nasa’ih*) (Book of Counsels), which contains a series of mystical sermons about the personal reflections of the author, also exercised considerable impact on al-Ghazali, who in turn produced his famous autobiography *al-Munqidh min al-dalal*. In the *Wasaya*, al-Muhasibi speaks about his quest for the path of salvation out of the seventy and more sects into which the Muslim community had fallen according to a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. The way of the Sufis, he concludes, is the true way, both in theory and practice, which guides to salvation. Another significant work by al-Muhasibi is the *Kitab al-Tawahhum* (The Book of Representation), which is concerned with death, doomsday, and eschatological issues regarding the Beatific Vision. *Al-Masa’il fi a‘mal al-qulub wa’l-jawarih* is another significant writing of al-Muhasibi, which is composed of a series of epistles written on a variety of pivotal concepts of Sufism. One of them is devoted to the exposition of the nature and meaning of intellect, *Risala mahiyyat al-‘aql wa ma‘na*.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

MULLA ‘ABD ALLAH ZUNUZI TABRIZI
(d. 1257/1841)

Mulla ‘Abd Allah Zunuzi Tabrizi was a famous exponent of the school of MULLA SADRA in nineteenth-century Qajar Iran. He was a student of Mulla ‘Ali Nuri, another famous philosopher of the period. According to a short biography written by his son Mulla ‘Ali Zunuzi, Mulla ‘Abd Allah Zunuzi was born in the town of Zunuz near Tabriz. He studied Arabic in Khoy and traveled to Karbalah, Najaf, and Qom to study the principles of jurisprudence. He then went to Isfahan where he studied the philosophical sciences under Mulla ‘Ali Nuri. He also studied mathematics.

According to this account, when the Qajar King Fath 'Ali Shah invited Mulla 'Ali Nuri to Tehran to teach at the Khan-i Marwi *madrasa*, 'Ali Nuri declined the invitation on the grounds that he did not want to leave his students in Isfahan without a teacher, and sent in his stead Mulla 'Ali Zunuzi. According to some contemporary scholars, Zunuzi's emigration from Isfahan to Tehran marks the gradual shifting of major philosophical activity in Iran from Isfahan to Tehran and, with it, the beginning of the "School of Tehran."

Zunuzi wrote extensive glosses on the major works of Mulla Sadra including the *Asfar*, *al-Shawahid al-rububiyya*, *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ad*, and *Asrar al-ayat*. His glosses on the various sections of the *Asfar* have been printed in the 9-volume edition of the *Asfar*. These glosses played a significant role in the continuation and further study of the philosophical works of Mulla Sadra, a tradition that continues in present-day Iran. In addition to his extensive analyzes and exposition of the works of Mulla Sadra, Zunuzi wrote glosses of IBN SINA's *Shifa'* and Lahiji's *Shawariq al-ilham*.

What established Zunuzi as a major figure of traditional philosophy in the nineteenth century, however, are his own philosophical works written in Persian. *Anwar-i jaliyya* (Manifest Lights) is a commentary on Kumayl b. Ziyad al-Nakha'i's question "What is the truth?" and 'Ali b. Abi Talib's response to it. Zunuzi wrote the *Anwar* at the request of Fath 'Ali Shah. In his commentary, Zunuzi provides an extensive analysis of the question asked and the answer given by 'ALI b. Abi Talib. Taking 'Ali's response as his starting point, Zunuzi traverses a vast field of numerous philosophical and theological problems from existence and light to theodicy, resurrection, and the unity of the intellect and the intelligible.

Lama'at-i ilahiyya (Divine Flashes) is a work of philosophical theology written from the point of view of the school of Mulla Sadra. The primary focus of the book is "metaphysics in its particular sense" (*ilahiyyat bi-ma'na'l-khass*). In twenty chapters, Zunuzi addresses all of the major problems of theology in highly accessible Persian. The topics discussed include the proofs for the Necessary Being, existence and essence as it pertains to the Divine Being, the absolute oneness of God, different degrees and meanings of Divine unity, God's knowledge of things with a preceding discussion of the meaning of knowledge and knowing, and the Divine qualities of power, will, life, seeing, hearing, speech, generosity, wisdom, and justice. As a hallmark of this school of thought, the *Lama'at* contains numerous references to Islamic and pre-Islamic philosophers from Plato and Aristotle to Ibn Sina, SUHRAWARDI, Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI, IBN RUSHD, Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI, IBN KAMMUNA, MIR DAMAD, Mulla Sadra, 'Abd al-Razzaq LAHIJI, and the Shi'ite imams.

Zunuzi's *Muntakhab al-khaqani fi kashf haqa'iq 'irfani* (Royal Selections Concerning the Unveiling of Gnostic Truths) is another treatise on philosophical theology dealing with the proofs for the Necessary Being and God's names and attributes.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

MU'MIN AL-TAQ, *see* Abu Ja'Far al-Ahwal

MULLA GÜRANI (813–93/1410–88)

The famous Ottoman *shaykh al-Islam* and the tutor of Mehmet II, Sharaf al-Din (Şerefeddin) Ahmad b. Ismail b. Othman, known more commonly as Mulla Gürani, was born in Guran in upper Iraq. He traveled in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey to complete his religious education, and studied with such famous teachers as Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani and Qalqashandi. While in Egypt, he became a distinguished scholar and was respected by the Mamluk rulers. He was appointed as a professor to the Barkukiyya *madrasa*.

After having quarreled with Hamid al-Din Nu'mani, a descendant of ABU HANIFA, the founder of the Hanafi school of law, and cursing Abu Hanifa and probably the Hanafi *madhhab*, he was exiled to Syria. He then joined the Ottomans during the reign of Murad II and changed, at the request of the sultan, his school of law (*madhhab*) from Shafi'i to Hanafi, the most dominant school of Sunni law in the Ottoman Empire. He taught in Bursa. He became a tutor to Mehmet II, who was then a prince in the city of Manisa. According to some sources, when Murad II appointed Mulla Gürani as the tutor of his young son Mehmet II, the future conqueror of the city of Istanbul, he gave Gürani permission to use, if necessary, severe measures to discipline the latter. When Gürani related this to the prince, Mehmet is reported to have laughed, upon which Gürani exercised his authority as the prince's tutor and beat him with the stick that Murad II had given him. After this incident, the prince Mehmet and his teacher Gürani developed a close bond. When Mehmet rose to the throne in 1451, Mulla Gürani was appointed as a religious judge or *qadiasker*, a high religious post in the Ottoman Empire. When Mehmet the Conqueror entered the city of Istanbul, Mulla Gürani stood next to his pupil and wrote a letter to the sultan of Egypt, declaring and celebrating the conquest of Constantinople.

Mulla Gürani's independent mind led to his being exiled to Bursa. He is reported to have torn up an official edict (ferman) of Mehmet II, which he had found incompatible with Islamic law. For several years, he left the Ottoman territories and went on pilgrimage. Upon his return, he was reinstated as the *qadi* of Bursa. In 1480–1, he succeeded Mulla Hüsrev as the *shaykh al-Islam* of the Empire, a position he held for eight years until his death in 1488. He is buried in a quarter of Istanbul named after him. Together with Molla Hüsrev and AKŞEMSEDDIN, Fatih's spiritual teacher, Gürani was one of the prominent and well-known figures of his time. Even though he was a scholar of the law and seems to have no interest in Sufism, ordinary people attribute a saintly status to him in Turkey today.

Gürani's works are primarily in the field of Qur'anic commentary and jurisprudence. In his commentary entitled *Ghayat al-amani fi tafsir sab' al-masani* (The Most Reliable Book in the Explanation of the Seven Couplets), he criticizes such traditional exegetes as Zamakhshari and Baydawi. The book was dedicated to Mehmet II. He wrote a gloss on Baydawi's Qur'anic commentary and authored a treatise called *Risala fi tafsir ayat al-kursi* (Treatise on the Explanation of the Verse al-Kursi). In the field of *hadith*, he wrote a commentary on Bukhari's *Sahih* entitled *al-Kawthar al-jari 'ala sahih al-bukhari* (The Continuous Bounty on the Sahih of al-Bukhari) in which he gives a brief account of the life of the Prophet Muhammad and introduces Bukhari as a *hadith* scholar.

Gürani wrote several short treatises on the recitation (*qira'a*) of the Qur'an. These include *Kashf al-asrar 'an qira'at al-a'immat al-akhyar* (The Unveiling of Mysteries in the Qur'anic Recitation of the Foremost Reciters), *Lawami' ghuwar fi sharh fawa'id al-durar* (The Best Lights in the Commentary on the Benefits of the Pearl), and *Daf' al-hitam 'an waqf hamza wa hisham*. In the field of jurisprudence, he wrote a commentary entitled *al-Budur al-lawami‘ sharh jam‘ al-jawami‘* (The Shining Full Moons in the Commentary on [al-Subki's] Jam‘ al-jawami‘) on the famous jurist and scholar Taj al-Din al-Subki's *Jam‘ al-jawami‘ fi'l-usul*. He also wrote a treatise called *Risala fi'l-wala* (Treatise on Custodianship) or *Risala fi radd risalat al-wala* (Treatise on the Rejection of the Treatise on Custodianship) in which he criticized Mulla Khusraw's *Risalat al-wala*. Mulla Gürani also tried his luck in poetry and wrote a book of poetry called *Shafiya*. The book contains 600 couplets and was dedicated to Mehmet II.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

MULLA SADRA (*c.* 979–1050/ *c.* 1571–1640)

Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Yahya al-Qawami al-Shirazi, known more commonly as Mulla Sadra and Sadr al-muta'allihin, was born in Shiraz in 979–80/1571–2. His father is reported to have been the governor of the province of Fars. Sadra received his early education in the transmitted sciences (*al-‘ulum al-naqliyya*), which included such disciplines as grammar (*nahw*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the science of the sayings of the Prophet and Shi‘ite imams (*‘ilm al-hadith*).

After completing his formal education in Shiraz, Sadra left his hometown for Isfahan. The vivid intellectual environment of Isfahan was to offer Sadra a unique opportunity to study with such figures as Mir Damad, Baha' al-Din al-‘Amili, and Mir Abu'l-Qasim Findiriski. But it was also here that Sadra encountered the fierce opposition of some Shi‘ite jurists to his Sufi inclinations. When Sadra began his philosophical career in Isfahan, the cultural and religious framework of the Safavid Iran had been to a large extent consolidated, and the process of establishing Twelve Imam Shi‘ism as the official religious code of Iran, begun in 1501 by Shah Isma‘il, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, had been completed.

The infamous Akhbari-Usuli debate within Shi‘ism reached a climax in this period, especially with the revival of Akhbarism by Mulla Muhammad Amin Astarabadi (d. 1627). The Akhbari traditionalism, grounded in a pietistic anti-intellectualism, was particularly opposed to mystical and philosophical interpretations of the Qur'an and the sayings of the Shi‘ite imams. Its followers considered it sufficient to rely on the literal authority of the sayings of the imams, bolstering, in turn, the socio-religious status of rulers and scholars who claimed family descent from Shi‘ite imams. The proponents of the Akhbari movement, who had gained the unmistakable favor of the Safavid court until the reign of Shah Safi (1629–42) and Shah ‘Abbas II (1642–66), came to be called the "people of the exterior" (*ahl-i zahir*) and the "scholars of the skin or surface" (*‘ulama'-yi qishr*) by their opponents.

It was against this background that Sadra gave himself to the thorough study of intellectual sciences in Isfahan. He studied with the most celebrated teachers of the time, among them especially Sayyid Baqir Muhammad Astarabadi, known as Mir Damad (d. 1040/1631), and Baha' al-Din Muhammad al-‘Amili, known more popularly as *shaykh-i Baha'i* (d. 1031/1622). Some sources add Mir Abu'l-Qasim Findiriski (d. *c.* 1050/1640–1) to the list of the masters with whom Sadra studied in Isfahan but no direct historical connection between the two has been established in a satisfactory manner.

In his autobiographical essay, Sadra states that after mastering the views of the previous philosophers and "whatever I was able to find in the books of the Greeks," he was confronted with the fierce opposition of some simple-minded scholars of the Shari'a, that is, the *akhbari*s, whom he compares to the Hanbalite scholars of *hadith*, known in Islamic history for their strict literalism and anti-intellectualism. He uses strong language in describing the feeble-mindedness of such people, and admonishes them for failing to understand his grand philosophical system which he calls "transcendent wisdom" (*al-hikmat al-muta'aliya*). This opposition seems to have been a major factor in Sadra's decision to retreat from the public life of both Isfahan and his hometown Shiraz.

Sadra's retreat to Kahak, a small village near Qom, constitutes the second phase of his life. During this time, Sadra continued his studies in solitude and completed the groundwork for the composition of his major works. After terminating his solitary years in Kahak and upon the request of Shah 'Abbas II, Sadra returned to Shiraz to teach at the Khan *madrasa* built for him by Allahwirdi Khan. The third phase of Sadra's life begins here in the Khan *madrasa*, whose building is still extant in Shiraz. It was here that Sadra composed his major works and trained his choice students. As a devout philosopher, he went on pilgrimage on foot to Mecca seven times, and died in Basra in 1050/1640 on his way back from his seventh pilgrimage.

Among the students whom Sadra trained, Mulla Muhsin Fayd Kashani (d. 1680) and 'Abd al-Razzaq ibn al-Husayn LAHIJI (d. 1662) are particularly significant. Both Kashani and Lahiji married Sadra's daughters, carrying their master-disciple bond to a personal level. Sadra had a long list of followers after his death as his ideas continued to influence the Persian and Indian worlds in the post-Safavid period into the modern times. Aqa Muhammad Bidabadi (d. 1783), Qadi Sa'id Qummi, Mulla 'Ali ibn Jamshid Nuri (d. 1830), Mulla 'Abdullah ZUNUZI (d. 1841), Mulla Muhammad Isma'il Isfahani (d. 1860), Mulla Muhammad Ja'far Langarudi, Mulla Isma'il Khaju'i, Mulla Hadi SABZIWARI (d. 1873), Mulla 'Ali Mudarris Zunuzi (d. 1889), Aqa Muhammad Rida QUMSHA'I (d. 1888–9), Mirza Mahdi ASHTIYANI, and most recently Muhammad Husayn TABATABA'I are among the most prominent figures of the school of Mulla Sadra.

In addition to these figures, Sadra also influenced a number of prominent scholars and philosophers. Here we can mention Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (d. 1111/1699–1700), the great Shi'ite theologian and the author of the monumental *Bihar al-anwar*, Mulla Haydar Khwansari (d. 1099/1688), the author of the *Zubdat al-tasanif*, Mulla Salih Mazandarani (d. 1080/1669), and Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i (d. 1241/1826). The most interesting figure in this list is Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i, the founder of a school known as Shaykhism. Ahsa'i wrote commentaries on Sadra's *Kitab al-Masha'ir* and *al-Hikmat al-'arshiyya* but also criticized the two principal ideas of his ontology, namely the primacy of being and the idea that a simple being contains in itself all levels of reality. Ahsa'i's connection to Sadra, however, is particularly interesting for the role it played in the rise of Babism and, later, Baha'ism. No compelling case, however, has been made as to how Sadra's ideas might have influenced or contributed to the establishment of the Shaykhi school. The scanty references to Sadra, his works, ideas, or school in the current literature of Babism and Baha'ism are too general and indirect to warrant any reasonable link.

Sadra called his new school of philosophy "transcendent wisdom" (*al-hikmat al-muta'aliya*). Even though the variations of this term have been used by IBN SINA and others before, it signifies the new philosophical synthesis Sadra sought to create in his writings and especially the monumental *al-Hikmat al-muta'aliya fi'l-asfar al-'aqliyya al-arba'a* (The Transcendent Wisdom in the Four Intellectual Journeys). Sadra's synthesis includes elements from the four major branches or perspectives of the Islamic intellectual tradition: Peripatetic philosophy, the school of Illumination, IBN AL-'ARABI and his students, and Sunni and Shi'ite *kalam*. As the followers of Mulla Sadra later describe, transcendent wisdom seeks to dovetail three kinds of knowledge: revealed knowledge (*Qur'an*), demonstrative knowledge (*burhan*), and mystical or realized knowledge (*'irfan*). As a hallmark of the post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy in the eastern lands of Islam, Sadra places more emphasis on revealed knowledge as an essential component of philosophy, and uses quotations from the Qur'an and *hadith* more frequently than many other philosophers. Demonstrative knowledge represented by the Peripatetic tradition is accepted in large measures but revised considerably in regards to some specific problems in philosophy and mysticism. Finally, Sadra establishes realized knowledge as the basis of his spiritual epistemology where he complements SUHRAWARDI's somewhat unfinished project of combining "philosophical investigation" (*bahth*) with "taste" (*dhawq*) in one single philosophical vision. Given this "synthetic" nature of "transcendent wisdom", Sadra's works contain an in-depth analysis and critique of the Islamic intellectual tradition, on the one hand, and display highly eclectic tendencies, on the other.

Sadra's philosophical edifice is based on an elaborate metaphysics of being (*wujud*). Like Ibn Sina, he makes a distinction between being and existent (*mawjud*). But unlike Ibn Sina, who was ambiguous as to what to do with this distinction, Sadra establishes being as the principal reality that precedes and constitutes everything that is. This view is known as the primacy of being (*asalat al-wujud*) and contrasted usually with Suhrawardi's essentialist metaphysics based on the primacy of essence (*asalat al-mahiyya*). Suhrawardi held that existence is a common term applicable to individual beings. In this sense, existence is nothing more than a secondary intelligible, that is, a universal to be found only in the mind. What gives identity to things is their essence rather than their existence because, Suhrawardi thought, to know that both man and horse exist adds nothing to our knowledge of them. Existence is thus a common term between man and horse. What distinguishes them from one another is their essence or quiddity which defines horse as animal and man as rational animal.

Against Suhrawardi's essentialism as well as the *kalam* notion of being as an accident (*'arad*) residing in an essence, Sadra develops an elaborate language of being, introduces several new terms, and revises some old concepts of traditional metaphysics. First of all, he makes a distinction between the concept (*mafhum*) and reality (*haqiqa*) of being. As a concept, being is not different from any other concept such as unity, humanity, and genus. Like other concepts, it is a secondary intelligible which the mind abstracts from the set of individual beings and properties that it observes. In this sense, being shares the qualities of a universal in that it is applicable to many objects univocally, does not change from one subject to another, and is ultimately an abstract concept. The reality of being, however, defies any such qualifications because the ground of all that there is cannot be a mental concept only.

The problem is further compounded by the fact that we can give neither a full description (*taswir*) nor a logical definition (*hadd*) of being. A logical definition is based on genus (*jins*) and specific differentia (*fasl*). In the case of man, for instance, definition is comprised of "animal," that is, the genus, and "rational," that is, the specific differentia. But this does not apply to being because a logical definition always includes certain things and excludes others. When we say that man is a rational animal, for instance, we are also saying that man is not a plant. But, Sadra says, there can be nothing outside being, namely, a proper definition of being cannot leave anything out. In a similar way, being cannot be "described" because description is based on an epistemic move from what is known to what is less known and less familiar. But for Sadra there is nothing more known and apparent than being. The gist of Sadra's arguments is that being has neither definition nor description, and its reality can be known only through intuitive knowledge. To explain this special kind of understanding, Sadra uses a number of terms, including "illuminative presence" (*hudur ishraqi*), "essential witnessing" (*shuhud 'ayni*), and "unveiling" (*kashf*).

For Sadra the reality of being not only establishes individual beings and functions as their ontological ground but also saturates them with meaning. This is borne out by the polysemic Arabic word *haqiqa*, which can be translated as both truth and reality. According to this, the more "beingful" a thing is, the more reality and meaning it contains. Sadra's favorite example for this is the three kingdoms of plant, animal, and human worlds. Plants have more properties and attributes than inanimate objects but still fall short of the "fullness" of the animal state. With the capacities of motion and sensation, animals belong to a higher ontological state than plants but still come under the human kingdom. The human state contains the essential elements of the two kingdoms below it, but surpasses them through such uniquely human qualities as language and reason. For Sadra, this points to an ontological hierarchy that permeates the entire cosmos from God to inanimate objects.

While all things partake of being in some way, they do not exist univocally. As the example of the three kingdoms shows, not all beings display the same level of complexity, vitality, and intelligence. Logically and grammatically, we use the copula "is" for all things that exist: the tree in my garden, stars, my pen "are" or simply exist. But ontologically, that is, from the point of view of the truth/reality of being, there is a difference in the way various beings exist. To use Suhrawardi's celebrated example, the sun, the moon, the candle, and the reflection of the moon on the pool all have light in them. But in each one of them, the intensity of light is different. At this point, Sadra introduces the concept of the "gradation of being" (*tashkik al-wujud*); another key term of his ontology. The gradation of being, which is also translated as the systematic ambiguity of being, states that being is predicated of beings equivocally (*haml bi'l-tashkik*) and not univocally (*haml bi'l-tawati'*).

This view holds that the degree of being we find in individual existents increases or decreases in proportion to what sorts of ontological properties they possess. Just as in the case of light, God as the Necessary Being and man as a contingent being exist with differing degrees of ontological intensity. Sadra thus establishes a "gradational ontology" whereby he applies the principle of gradation to all things within the great chain of being. This culminates in a view of metaphysics that sees everything as a symphony of the infinite modalities and manifestations of one single being/reality. This is further underlined by the "ontological simplicity of being," according to which being as an absolutely simple reality permeates the entire spectrum of existence from inanimate objects to God. Sadra expresses this idea with his celebrated phrase that "a simple being-reality is (i.e., contains) all things" (*basit al-haqiqa kull al-ashya'*). This, in turn, leads to a metaphysics of relations whereby individual entities are always seen as part of a whole and never in isolation from the kind of ontological relations in which they are found. It is also at this point that Sadra incorporates Ibn al-'Arabi's notion of the transcendent unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*) into his philosophical thought.

The constant dynamism of the *reality* of being as opposed to the static universality of the *concept* of being leads Sadra to develop a comprehensive cosmology. Even though Sadra's cosmology agrees with the main outlines of traditional cosmology, one key difference is the concept of "substantial motion" (*al-harakat al-jawhariyya*). Sadra uses this novel concept to introduce a number of new themes in cosmology on the one hand, and to revise a host of other issues in traditional psychology and eschatology, on the other. Following Aristotle, the Peripatetic philosophers and Suhrawardi had vehemently rejected change in the category of substance, accepting it only in the categories of quantity (*kamm*), quality (*kayf*), position (*wad'*), and place (*'ayn*). The philosophers' view was based on the idea that change in substance leads to the destruction of things. For them, change in substance is not change but a process of generation (*kawn*) and corruption (*fasad*). When the substance of something changes, it no longer preserves its identity but rather dissolves into something else, leading to the emergence of a new being.

Against these criticisms, Sadra establishes change-in-substance as an intrinsic quality of things. Instead of defining change as a system of external relations and as an accident, he posits substantial motion as an essential property of the way things are. This turns nature into an abode of change and permanence all at once. In fact, the specific nature (*tabi'a*) of individual beings is now posited as the immediate cause of their change. In its basic sense, substantial motion denotes change in substance. Sadra traces all change to a deeper transformation that takes place in the very substance of beings. Things change, says Sadra, due to various external factors as we see in the case of accidental change or coerced motion. What really accounts for change, however, is the substantial motion to which everything other than God is subject. For Sadra, accidental change cannot be other than a change in the substance itself because an accident is by definition something that depends on a substance for its survival. Change in accidents is a manifestation of a deeper change that occurs in the substance. Furthermore, when a being undergoes substantial change, it does not lose its essential identity. Rather it becomes something "more" or "less," and Sadra understands these changes in terms of ontological intensity and diminution. Things that undergo substantial change preserve their identity thanks to the successive movements of change. Since Sadra equates final differentia, which defines the ultimate *telos* of particular entities, with being (*wujud*), what ensures the integrity of things as they undergo substantial change is their being. This leads Sadra to argue for change-in-permanence and permanence-in-change. While the entire cosmic order retains its essential identity, it is in constant change to reach its universal *telos*.

This highly dynamic view of the cosmos enables Sadra to construe all beings in the universe as a continuum of events rather than as opaque physical structures. Relations rather than solidified objects take on a prime significance in Sadra's cosmological analyses, and he applies the idea rather profusely to numerous problems of traditional Islamic philosophy. His concept of the soul is a case in point. Sadra believes that the soul is a physical substance in its origination, but becomes a spiritual being after going through the successive stages of substantial motion. Sadra's celebrated phrase that the soul is "bodily in origination, spiritual in subsistence" (*jismaniyyat al-huduth ruhaniyyat al-baqa'*) expresses this point. As a Muslim thinker and medieval philosopher, Sadra rejects any kind of materialism that would reduce either the soul or the spirit to matter. But he is also aware of the subtle relationship that exists between the soul and the matter of the human body. His doctrine of bodily origination and spiritual subsistence can be seen as a compromise between the two views.

Yet, this particular teaching of Sadra also points to a dynamic view of the soul. Just like the entire universe, Sadra considers the human soul to be in a continuous journey from the rungs of inanimate existence to the world of the pure intelligibles. In contrast to the Peripatetic philosophers, who subscribed to a passive and unchanging notion of the soul, Sadra places the soul at the intersection of various epistemic, psychological, and spiritual effects. In its various states and modes, the soul does not remain an untouched substance in its journey from being a potential intellect to its unification with the intelligible form of the things it knows. Each time the soul, which at this point can be taken to mean the "self," receives an "effect" from within or outside itself, it undergoes some transformation for better or worse. At any rate, the soul is not a passive receptacle of material, sensate, and intellectual effects but rather transformed by them. For Sadra, the ascending journey of the soul continues even after it departs the human body.

Sadra's concept of knowledge weaves together the major elements of his ontology, cosmology, and psychology outlined above. Sadra incorporates many elements from the Peripatetic and Illuminationist schools. Like Ibn Sina, he defines demonstrative knowledge (*burhan*) as based on sound proofs arrived at through a careful analysis of logical concepts. He also accepts Ibn Sina's notion of intuition (*hads*) as "quick apprehension," and posits it as the ultimate basis of self-evident truths that cannot be further based on some other truths. At this point, Sadra agrees with Ibn Sina that knowledge is both constructed (logical demonstration) and discovered (intuitive apprehension). But he criticizes the Peripatetic philosophers for defining knowledge as the "abstraction" or "disembodiment" (*tajarrud*) of intelligible forms from actually existing things. For Sadra, such a definition of knowledge leads to something less than the reality of things because abstraction implies "leaving out" certain properties of things and carrying only some mental attributes to the mind. The epistemic gap that the theory of "abstraction" creates between the knower and the known leads to ignorance, not knowledge.

To overcome the difficulties of reducing knowledge to a mental construct, Sadra turns to his gradational ontology and subsumes all knowledge under the all-inclusive reality of being. For him, the ultimate object of knowledge is being (*wujud*) particularized through a myriad of modes and states. In fact, in many places, Sadra defines knowledge simply as a mode of being (*nahw al-wujud*): when we say that we know something, we affirm or deny the existence of something, and this "something" cannot be *ultimately* other than being. In this generic sense, being is the standing condition of all knowledge, and precedes the discursive considerations of the knowing subject.

At this point, Sadra criticizes the *kalam* thinkers and especially Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI for defining knowledge as a relation (*idafa*) between the knower and the known. When we define knowledge as a relation we deprive both the knowing subject and the object known of any cognitive content before their epistemic encounter. But this is not true, says Sadra, because being is saturated with meaning and intelligibility whether a subject knows it or not. Furthermore, to know something is to grasp and "appropriate" its intelligible form (*al-surat al-ma'qula*). For Sadra, the intelligible forms are not mere concepts, notions, or contents of the mind but substances that belong to the world of the *intelligibilia*. Following the Platonists before him, Sadra establishes the world of the *intelligibilia* as an independent realm of existence where the forms and archetypal realities of things reside. In a hierarchical scale of being, the intelligible world occupies a place higher than the physical and/or sensate world, which is construed to be only a dim reflection of the world of Platonic Ideas. In Sadra's words, "material forms are nothing but icons and moulds of these disembodied [i.e., intelligible] forms." Since the Ideas or what Sadra calls "intelligible forms" exist in an immutable world above the world of generation and corruption, they enjoy universality and permanence.

Knowledge as participation in the intelligible world is underscored by Sadra's celebrated defense of the unification of the intellect and the intelligible (*ittihad al-'aqil wa'l-ma'qul*). Both Ibn Sina and Suhrawardi were diametrically opposed to any unification between the intellect and what it knows. Ibn Sina had attributed this idea to Porphyry and called it a "mere sophistry." For him, what can happen between any two things is a conjunction (*ittisal*) at best, not a unification (*ittihad*) because unification implies the transformation of two separate substances into one single being. By contrast, Sadra posits the unification of the intellect and the intelligible as a condition for veritable knowledge for he considers the ultimate meaning of things to lie not in the things themselves, as the majority of the Peripatetics would assume, or in the mind, as some *kalam* thinkers would argue, but in the world of the disembodied intelligibles. In this regard, the proper locus of knowledge is beyond the individual mind and perhaps somewhere in the encounter between the knowing subject and the intelligible world.

All these considerations lead Sadra to make a clear distinction between two types of knowledge, a distinction that he borrows from Suhrawardi. The first, which Sadra calls "knowledge by representation" (*al-'ilm al-irtisami*) and can be compared to Russell's "knowledge by description," is based on a correspondence theory of knowledge where what is conceived as a conceptual representation corresponds to an external reality. The proposition that it is raining outside is such a representation and it is true provided that it is really and actually raining outside. But my representation of rain and the actual state of raining are two separate realities. What links them together in any meaningful statement is a veridical correspondence between the two. This kind of knowledge encompasses all demonstrative knowledge and meets the demands of our daily epistemic needs.

But there are certain cases in which we cannot make such a clear distinction between an entity or state which is the object of a proposition and the subject expressing or formulating such a proposition. My feeling of pain is a case in point. As Suhrawardi and later Wittgenstein would state, when I say that "I am in pain," there is no distinction between the I who utters this sentence and the I who is in pain. It is true that the statement of pain is a second-order conceptualization and different from the actual pain. But it remains that the subject who feels the pain and expresses it is one and the same. Sadra takes this to mean that in such cases the subject-object dichotomy is overcome. He calls this "knowledge by presence" (*al 'ilm al-huduri*) where knowledge is based on the presence of what is known rather than a representation of it. Although knowledge by presence applies to sense perception and can be compared in this limited sense to Russell's "knowledge by acquaintance," Sadra extends it to intellection and God's knowledge of the world. His defense of the unification of the intellect and the intelligible is thus closely related to knowledge by presence, and this leads him to develop a concept of knowledge that can be called mystical rather than purely demonstrative and philosophical.

Another major field in which Sadra has written extensively is eschatology. Sadra gives detailed descriptions of the posthumous state and various eschatological events by using his own philosophical formulations. We already mentioned that Sadra considers the gradual perfection of the soul to continue after death through substantial motion whereby the soul, depending on her acts of virtue, reaches higher degrees of spiritual fulfillment. On the question of resurrection, Sadra clearly defends bodily resurrection (*hashr jismani*) which comprises the spiritual (*ruhani*) but adds that after death, each individual is given a subtle body or being (*al-jism al-latif*). One's actions in this world determine one's subtle body, its proximity to the Divine, and so on.

In addition to his philosophical works, Sadra also wrote several works on the Qur'anic exegesis and *hadith*. His incomplete yet extensive commentary on the Qur'an is a *tour de force* example of philosophical exegesis and combines four major schools of Quranic hermeneutics: Sufi commentaries represented chiefly by Ibn al-'Arabi, Shi'ite interpretations of the Qur'an and *hadith* represented by the sixth Shi'ite imam Ja'far al-Sadiq, Sunni and Shi'ite theological commentaries going back to such figures as Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI and Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI, and finally philosophical commentaries that go back, *inter alia*, to AL-FARABI and Ibn Sina. While Sadra's own interpretations are quite eclectic, they are clearly tilted toward Sufism. In addition to this commentary, Sadra has written three other works on Qur'anic hermeneutics, all of which deal with the principles and philosophical foundations of reading the revealed text. The works in this category include *Mafatih al-ghayb*, *Mutashabihat al-qur'an*, and *Asrar al-ayat*. Mention should also be made of Sadra's three-volume commentary on the famous Shi'ite *hadith* collection *Usul al-kafi*, compiled by Kulayni. This incomplete yet impressive commentary attests to the fact that Sadra made a deliberate attempt to bring his "transcendent wisdom" into conformity with the religious ideas derived from the Qur'an and *hadith*.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

MÜNIF PAŞA, Mehmet Tahir

(1828–94 or 1910)

The Ottoman writer and statesman Münif Paşa lived and flourished during the reign of Abdulhamid II. Having been trained as a bureaucrat, he held various government positions and became the minister of culture in 1877. For some time, he was also the minister of commerce. Unlike the revolutionary figures of the Union and Progress (Ittihat ve Terakki) movement of the time, Münif Paşa remained close to the seat of political power. This enabled him to play a key role in introducing the school reforms of the Abdulhamid era. He formulated a semi-conservative yet eventually modernist discourse with the hope of making a transition to a modern Ottoman state that would preserve its territorial integrity on the one hand, and respond to the reform calls of the period, on the other.

Münif Paşa founded the Ottoman Society of Science (Cemiyet-i Ilmiye-yi Osmaniye) in 1862. Like the other education institutions of the time, the Society's goal was to educate the new generation of Ottomans about various issues. The Society's newspaper *Mecmua-i Fünun* (1862–7) functioned as an encyclopedia for the general reader, whose ultimate goal was to teach ordinary people about everything from history to science and political developments. Münif Paşa and his generation of intellectuals saw this as an essential component of their evolutionary process of reform. In many ways, this can be seen as a direct influence of the eighteenth-century encyclopedists.

Münif Paşa also played an active role in the opening of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (Daru'l-fünun) under the patronage of Abdulhamid II. The Faculty was inaugurated by Jamal al-Din AL-AFGHANI. But Afghani's speech caused an uproar among some Ottoman thinkers, and Abdulhamid was forced to send Afghani to Europe. Due to the lack of students, the school was closed shortly after its opening. The school was re-opened in 1870, this time under the supervision of Hoca Tahsin Efendi.

As an admiring student of the Enlightenment, Münif Paşa published translations from the works of such European writers as Voltaire, Fontenelle, and Fenelon. His *Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye* (Conversations in Wisdom) is a compilation of short essays by these European philosophers.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

MUSLIHIDDIN MUSTAFA (HOCAZADE), *see* Hocazade

MUSTAFA ALI (948–1008/1541–1600)

Mustafa Ali Efendi was born in Galipoli (Turkey) on 2 Muharram 948/April 25, 1541, and died in Jeddah in 1008/1600. He was one of the outstanding Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals. His father was Ahmed b. ʻAbdullah, a Muslim merchant. His mother was from a family which belonged to the *ilmiye* (scholarly community). His formal education began when he was only six years old. He was sent to an elementary school to learn Arabic grammar. When he was twelve, he was already well grounded in Arabic. In his early years Mustafa Ali also studied Persian. He grew up in an Ottoman intellectual and cultural environment. His father Ahmed had contact with local scholars and poets. Mustafa Ali met several poets and intellectuals in his home.

In 963/1556 Mustafa Ali went to Istanbul to enter a *medrese*. During his *medrese* years, he maintained his interest in poetry. Among his schoolmates, there were famous Ottoman poets such as Baki, Ruhi, and Sırri. He completed his *medrese* training in 967/1560. Having appreciated the difficulty of following an academic occupation, Mustafa Ali tried his luck in the Ottoman bureaucracy. After he presented his book *Mihr u mah* (The Sun and the Moon) to Prince Selim, he took the job of a chancery secretary (*divan katibi*) first in Konya and then in Kütahya, probably in 969/1561. Later Mustafa Ali returned to Istanbul and then became a chancery secretary of Lala Mustafa Paşa and worked six years in Aleppo and Damascus. In 976/1568 he moved to Egypt together with Lala Mustafa Paşa. After the dismissal of Lala Mustafa Paşa, he went to Manisa to seek a favor from Prince Murad by presenting his book *Nadirü'l meharib* (Rarity of Warriors). He then came to Istanbul with the ambition of getting a more prestigious post. For this purpose he presented his book *Heft meclis* (The Seven Scenes) to Sokullu Mehmed Paşa, hoping for a secretarial post at court. Instead Sokullu assigned him to serve as chancery secretary to the governor of Bosnia, Ferhat Paşa, in 978/1570, and he stayed seven years in Bosnia.

After the ascension of Sultan Murat III, Mustafa Ali left Bosnia and returned to Istanbul to seek an appointment in court. He dedicated *Zübdet'ül-tavarih* (Choicest of Histories) to the sultan to obtain a bureaucratic position. Mustafa Ali joined Lala Mustafa Paşa's campaign to Şirvan as protocol officer in 986/1578. In the same year, Mustafa Ali was appointed as a tax registrar for the province of Aleppo. He started this job in 989/1581 and remained there until 991/1583. He then returned to Istanbul and presented a series of short treatises hoping to attain a high post in the Ottoman bureaucracy. In 992/1584, he was appointed to the finance directorship of Erzurum and served there for two years. He then became finance director (*defterdar*) of Baghdad.

Six months later, Mustafa Ali was dismissed from this post and returned to Istanbul. In 997/1589, he was appointed as the finance director of Sivas. Returning again to Istanbul, he was appointed as a secretary of the Janissary corps in 1000/1592 but dismissed after less than four months in office. In the same year he became registrar of the Imperial Council (*defter emini*). After the accession of Sultan Mehmed III, Ali was again appointed secretary of the Janissary corps, but he resigned his post and asked to be given the finance directorship of Egypt. Instead of Egypt he was appointed as district governor of Amasya and finance director of Sivas. Finally he was appointed to a district governor of Jeddah where he died in the first part of the year 1008/1600.

Mustafa Ali was not a typical Islamic scholar and thinker. He was primarily an Ottoman bureaucrat, then a historian, an intellectual as well as a poet. In his various writings he reflected sixteenth-century Ottoman society which he had served in a number of different roles. He was a sensitive observer of the society to which he belonged. He was concerned over the course his society seemed to be taking in the late sixteenth century. He was conscious of rapid economic, social, and political changes in his society. He diagnosed the problems which triggered Ottoman decline and put forward the prescriptions to reverse that decline. By combining his personal experience and his theoretical view of the state, he displayed his intellectual capacity in producing policies to improve Ottoman administrative practices. He himself believed in the Ottoman meritocratic promise, yet he was disappointed since he felt that his abilities had gone unrewarded.

Mustafa Ali wrote both in the field of history and in literature. His most important book in the field of history is *Künhü'l-ahbar* (Essence of History) which is the most comprehensive source of Ottoman history in the sixteenth century, written in 1000–8/1591–9. This book was divided into four chapters. In the first, Mustafa Ali described the creation of world, in the second, a history of the prophets and Arabs, in the third, a history of Turks and the Mongols; the fourth chapter, which was bigger than the sum of the previous chapters, discusses Ottoman history from the beginning up to 1005/1596. His *Nadirü'l meharib* (Rarity of Warriors), which was written in 1567–9, narrates the Konya war and various events that took place up to the ascension of Prince Selim. *Zübdetüt'-tavarih* (Choicest of Histories) and *Heft Meclis* (The Seven Scenes), and also *Nushat us-selatin* (Counsel for Sultans), were other important books about Ottoman history.

Mustafa Ali also wrote many books on literature. His two *divans*, one in Turkish and the other in Persian, were considered significant books in this field. Some of his books in literature are *Mihr u mah* (The Sun and the Moon), *Sadef-i sad güher* (The Lustre of a Hundred Jewels), *Tuhfet ül-uşşak* (Curios of the Lovers), *Enis ül-kulub* (The Heart's Familiar), *Rahat ün-nufus* (The Carnal Souls' Comfort), and *Mihrü vefa* (Affection and Fidelity).

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ADNAN ASLAN

MUTAHHARI, Murtaza (1920–79)

Mutahhari was born in Fariman, Khorasan province, in Iran on February 2, 1920, and spent his life in the educational system, leaving Mashshad in 1937 for Qom. There he worked with some of the main theological teachers of the time, people such as Aqa Hussayn Burujirdi, TABATABA'I, and Khumayni. Khumayni was particularly important to him, the young lecturer conducting a small class on MULLA SADRA and SABZIWARI which Mutahhari attended from around 1946 onward until he left for Tehran.

There is not much evidence in Mutahhari's writings of a commitment to Illuminationist thought as derived from Mulla Sadra, and it must have been the class with Tabataba'i from 1950 to 1953 on IBN SINA's *Shifa'* that really had a significant influence on him. This is not so much because of the substance of the course, but the method, because it taught him how to use the rational and impersonal techniques of *falsafa*, philosophy in the style of the Peripatetic (*mashsha'i*) thinkers, and he applied that method to some very untraditional topics. These topics included materialism in all its forms, including Marxism, since these were both important factors in Persian thought at his time. The government was trying to orient the country toward the West, and so toward science and materialism, and radical opponents of the regime were often enthusiastic about Marxist approaches to politics. In order to defend the role of Islam within Iran, Mutahhari had to attack both Westernizing influences in Iran and also the theoretical presuppositions of the Marxists. He also sought to persuade his theological colleagues that modern issues needed to be addressed, and if they were not addressed by the *madrasa* then they would be addressed in other and less Islamic places, and the *madrasa* would cease to appear to be relevant.

Mutahhari came to Tehran in 1952 and took up a number of teaching positions, in 1954 joining the university to teach philosophy. But his political career really started in the uprising of June 4, 1963, against the Shah. He was arrested and imprisoned intermittently, but despite this, during his periods of freedom he organized some of the main mosques against the government. He was very much the point of contact between the exiled theological leader Khumayni and his supporters in Iran, and was very active in the 1970s in supporting the movement that ultimately led to the overthrow of the Shah and the Islamic Revolution. Forces opposed to the new regime assassinated him on May 1, 1979.

Mutahhari wrote on a wide variety of topics. One of his books follows the traditional form of the commentary, his commentary on Tabataba'i's *Usul-i falsafa va ravish-i ri'alism* (The Principles of Philosophy and the Method of Realism). Others are obviously collections of lectures, some for students and others for professional groups in Iran whom Mutahhari hoped to influence in their struggle against the regime. His writings are marked by a calm and organized approach, and they clearly owe a great deal to the Peripatetic philosophers, the *mashsha'iun*, rather than to Ishraqis, who played such a large role in the thought of Khumayni, for example. There is no hint of mysticism in his work, and few personal references. Mutaharri obviously had a difficult relationship with the thought of another important revolutionary thinker of the time, 'Ali SHARIATI.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MU'TAZILA

The founder of the Mu'tazila movement is generally believed to have been Wasil IBN

'Ata' in the eighth century, but it is clear that much of what became known as Mu'tazila was developed after Wasil's time. The name means "those who withdraw themselves," and probably refers to the practice of these early scholars of dedicating themselves to study and discussion rather than playing an active role in public affairs. They enjoyed the patronage of several early caliphs, notably al-Ma'mun, and the movement spread from its initial base in Basra to Baghdad and other parts of the Islamic world. The caliph al-Mutawakkil rejected Mu'tazilite teachings, but this did the school no immediate harm.

More damaging was the assault of al-Ash'ari and his followers on the Mu'tazilite position. From the tenth century on, Ashariyya gained ground, and Mu'tazila was no longer the orthodoxy. Despite this Mu'tazilite schools continued to flourish in Basra and Baghdad, the former surviving until the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. Though Sunni Muslims regarded the Mu'tazila as heretical, their ideas continued to influence Shi'i thinkers in Persia.

The objective of Mu'tazila was to reach a rational understanding of the Qur'an and the Islamic faith. Faith alone was not enough; reason was also needed to truly understand God and his will. The Mu'tazila were the first to introduce atomism into Islamic thought, and this legacy persisted in the beliefs of the Ash'ariyya and many succeeding schools. They also stressed the unity of God and, not very successfully, principles of divine mercy and justice. Here they fell foul of what is known in Christian theology as the "problem of evil," for they failed to reconcile God's divine goodness with the evil of men. For this they were taken to task by al-Ash'ari. Other elements of Mu'tazilite belief included the duty of all Muslims to combat evil wherever they found it, a version of which has resurfaced in the modern Wahhabi movement. Atomism and the concept of a created and eternally changing world, however, remains the movement's most important legacy.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHY IN ISLAM

Mystical philosophy has long been a powerful sub-stratum running through Islamic philosophy. It has sometimes been proposed that Islamic philosophers and theologians turned to mysticism as a counterweight to the influence of the more "rational" philosophies derived from classical Greece, Aristotelianism, Platonism, and Neoplatonism. This is to mistake the case on several levels. First, most thinkers who attacked classical philosophy, the most important being al-Ghazali, did so not because they rejected rationalism in philosophy *per se*, but because they felt that rational philosophy was reaching the "wrong" conclusions about the nature of creation, the world, God, the soul and so on. Few rejected rationalism itself; they often employed rational tools of their own.

Second, the *falasifa* or Peripatetics themselves used mystical elements in their thought, drawing not just on Neoplatonism but on Eastern traditions. The "oriental philosophy" of Ibn Sina is an often-cited example. Third, it is simply erroneous to see mysticism and rationalism as being constantly opposed. There was at least as much sympathy as there was opposition between the two concepts. Attempts at synthesis include such notable works as those of AL-SUHRAWARDI, MIR DAMAD, MULLA SADRA and, much later, SHAH WALI ULLAH. Finally, of course, "mystical philosophy" in Islam was hardly itself a harmonious whole, and the concept covers a wide range of schools of thought, including the Isma'ilis, al-Suhrawardi's Illuminationist philosophy, and the great range of concepts and ideas that is found in philosophical Sufism.

The sources of mystical philosophy range from Neoplatonism and other classical schools of thought such Pythagoreanism and Hermeticism, to Eastern traditions. There is almost certainly some influence of Zoroastrian philosophy, and the philosophy of its related sects such as Mithraism, in Islamic mystical thought. Hindu and Buddhist thought probably have indirect influence as well. However, too much emphasis on the sources risks overshadowing the highly original and intricate evolution of mystical philosophy in Islam itself. It may be profitable to a point to unravel the skein of influences upon al-Suhrawardi or the Sufis, but not to the extent that it overshadows their own originality.

Illuminationist philosophy, as developed by al-Suhrawardi, most notably in his *Hikmat al-ishraq* (The Philosophy of Illumination), is perhaps the most famous school of mystical philosophy in Islam. Al-Suhrawardi held that knowledge can be acquired in two ways: the first is through reason and rational thinking, and the second is through *ishraq* (illumination). This latter usually represents a higher order of knowledge, but it is not available to everyone; only those with pure minds and spirits can receive illumination. Thus, to become illuminated one first has to prepare one's mind and spirit to receive the light. Transcendent knowledge then comes through the grace of God, without the need for an intermediary teacher; the role of the latter becomes that of one who helps prepare the spirit for the journey to knowledge, rather than transmitting knowledge directly. Illuminationist philosophy became hugely popular in the twelfth century and continues to be so to this day, exercising much influence in Persian-speaking regions in particular, thanks to later expansions and developments of the school and its teachings by the likes of Mulla Sadra and Mir Damad.

Sufi philosophy is an incredibly complex world which ranges from conservative traditions more or less aligned with Shari'a, to more radical schools of thought which have challenged Islamic law. Not surprisingly, the latter have often been persecuted by the religious and civil authorities. However, much of philosophical Sufism can be traced back to the works of two scholars, IBN AL-'ARABI and AL-GHAZALI. Ibn al-'Arabi's influence has been profound. His ideas on the unity of being and the imaginal world lie at the heart of nearly all later Sufi teachings. Al-Ghazali and his followers argued the case for revelation as leading to a truer and more accurate knowledge of God and the self than could be achieved through reason alone. But again, though they privileged revelation over reason, they did not reject the latter entirely.

To conclude, mystical philosophy has been and remains a very strong current within Islamic philosophy, but it has made its strongest and most effective appearances when it is harmonized and synthesized with rational philosophy. Many of the great Islamic philosophers of past and present have sought this synthesis, to bring reason and revelation into line with each other rather than keep them distinct and separate.

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SARIA ABBAS

N

AL-NABULUSI, ‘Abd al-Ghani

(1050–1143/1641–1731)

‘Abd al-Ghani b. Isma‘il al-Nabulusi was born in Damascus in 1641 into a family of Islamic scholars. His father, Isma‘il ‘Abd al-Ghani, was a jurist in the Hanafi school. ‘Abd al-Ghani at the age of twenty was both teaching and giving formal legal opinions. He taught in the Umawi Mosque in Damascus and the Salihiyya Madrasa, his fame as an accomplished Islamic scholar apparently becoming well established. He died in 1731 at ninety years of age, having left behind hundreds of written works in virtually all the Islamic sciences (there is a list of eighty-five titles in Brockelmann).

Al-Nabulusi stated in *al-Hadiqat an-nadiyya* (vol. 2, p. 103) that ‘*Jama‘a* is *rahma*, that is, the union of Muslims on truth brings God’s compassion. *Tafriqa* is “*adhab*, that is, separation from the Community of Muslims brings about punishment from God.” As a prolific contributor to Hanafi *fiqh*, there is hardly a work in the school that appeared after him that does not depend on or use his legal opinions. In the well known and basic text in Hanafi *fiqh*, *Radd al-mukhtar*, commonly known as the *Hashiya* (gloss) of IBN ‘ABIDIN, the author and imam of the school in his time, Muhammad Amin ibn ‘Abidin (d. 1836), frequently quotes the legal opinions of ‘Abd al-Ghani, referring to him with a reverence and respect that is not apparent in his reference to other scholars quoted in his work. Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tahtawi (d. 1816), the al-Azhari *shaykh* of the Hanafi school in his *Hashiya* of Maraqi al-Falah, refers to al-Nabulusi as “The knower of Allah, my master ‘Abd al-Ghani (al-‘arif billa Sayyidi ‘Abd al-Ghani).” The breadth of al-Nabulusi’s thought is particularly evident in his book *Wujud al-haqq* (On True Being), which details his Sufi ontology. Yet he was often accused of heresy by those hostile to Sufism, and he certainly in his writings was aware of the potentiality for such a charge, and that no doubt encouraged him to explain why Sufism was perfectly compatible with the exoteric aspects of Islam. One of the useful aspects of his commentary on IBN AL-‘ARABI, his *Sharh jawahir al-nusus* which deals with the *Fusus al-hikam*, is that he produces a great many distinctions dealing with ontological issues, questions about the nature of being, and these do genuinely throw light on the often rather confusing language of Ibn al-‘Arabi himself.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-NADIM, Abu'l Faraj
(c. fourth/tenth century)

Al-Nadim, Abu'l Faraj M. ibn Abi Yaʻqub Ishaq al-Warraq is chiefly famous for his book *al-Fihrist al-ʻulum* (Catalogue of the Sciences), which is basically a catalog or index of the sciences as known at his time, both modern and ancient, written in 377/987. He was probably born in Baghdad around 320/932 and died there probably between 377/987 and 403/1007. He came from a family devoted to copying and dealing in books; his father's name refers to his occupation as a bookseller, and they seemed to enjoy a high social status. His bookshop in Baghdad became the center of intellectual life in the city, and many of the most famous intellectuals of the time were known to have regularly met there and discussed issues of the day. He refers to al-Sirafi, ʻAli b. Harun b. al-Munadhdhim, and Abu Sulayman AL-SIJISTANI al-Mantiqi as his teachers. It is not clear to whom he owes his name (the companion) but it was undoubtedly to someone well known at the time, and al-Nadim may well have used his important contacts to carry out efficiently his work as an encyclopedist. He seems to have spent most of his life in Baghdad, had at least one son, and according to his own account traveled to Mosul to visit libraries there. He fitted in well with the court, he was a Shiʻi as was the current regime, the Buwayhids. There are certainly many gaps in his work, and he often points to them by leaving blank spaces and asking his readers to fill them in with the requisite information, but the whole work is a fascinating survey of the existing literature of the time, by no means restricted to Islamic material but encompassing the widest religious and theoretical literature that was then known to exist.

One of the delightful features of the text is that it is written very much from the point of view of a bookseller. So al-Nadim tells readers how many pages there are in each volume, whenever he knows this, to help them avoid being cheated by being sold an incomplete book. The text itself is a catalog of books written in Arabic, and is divided into ten parts. These consist of the holy books of the Muslims, Jews, and Christians, grammar and philology, history in its widest sense, poetry, theology, and law. The next four parts do not have anything to do with monotheistic religion, but consists of philosophy and science, legends and stories about magic, the polytheistic religions, and finally alchemy. It could well be that the book was at first merely a tool of his father's bookselling business, but later on became much more important than that. In many ways it became an encyclopedic companion to medieval Islamic culture. It must have annoyed the religious authorities had they noticed it, since it not only discussed other religions but also magic and even pornography.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-NAJJAR, al-Husayn b. Muhammad (d. 220/835)

Al-Husayn b. Muhammad al-Najjar was born in the city of Bamm where he lived throughout his life. His date of birth is unknown. He worked as a weaver at Dar al-tiraz (the embroidery house). He was a follower of the Murji'i theologian Bishr al-Marisi in theology, and a follower of Abu Hanifa in *fiqh* (Islamic law).

Al-Najjar's doctrine became well known toward the end of the reign of al-Ma'mun (198–218/813–33) in the region of Rayy in the eastern provinces. Reports concerning his doctrinal identity in Islamic heresiographic literature are not unanimous. AL-ASH'ARI classifies him among the Murji'a, while AL-SHAHRASTANI places him among the Jabriyya (determinists), and stresses that most of the Mu'tazila around the Rayy region were faithful to his doctrine. On the other hand, several reports associate him with the Mu'tazila, while others classify him and his followers as belonging to the *ahl al-ithbat* (the affirmationists: that is, those who affirm God's *qadar*). The lack of unanimity is due to the fact that his opinions on the theological questions which interested the *ahl al-kalam* (scholars of theology) were not all alike: on some issues his opinions suited those of the *ahl al-sunna* (Sunnis), while on others they suited the views of the Mu'tazila. The Sunni scholars continued to consider al-Najjar as the closest to them among all the other doctrinal streams.

Al-Najjar followed the main Murji'i position in the definition of *iman* (belief). Like the other Murji'is, al-Najjar did not consider *'amal* (act or deed) as part of *iman* (belief). For him, belief is knowledge of God, his Apostle, and his commandment, reverence for him, and verbal confession. Anyone who neglects one of these tenets of belief becomes an infidel. He also holds that every single tenet is not necessary for the presence of belief; rather, all elements as a whole make up belief. Al-Najjar does not declare anyone who neglected one of these to be an infidel just because of his negligence. He believes in the possibility of a difference between believers in terms of merits. For him, faith increases but does not decrease. The fact of belief disappears only through non-belief.

Again, al-Najjar thinks that the works of men are created by God; men are their agents. There is nothing in God's realm except what he wills. The power (*istita'a*) to act may not precede the act. God has imposed on the unbelievers duties which they are unable to fulfill. The man who dies at his term (*ajal*), and the man who is killed is killed at his term. So everything that happens is divinely arranged.

The Mu'tazilites al-Murdar and al-Iskafi wrote books against him. It is reported that his death followed defeat in a debate with the Mu'tazilite AL-NAZZAM. Al-Najjar had followers in Jurjan and Rayy. His followers were called Najjariyya or Husayniyya, and were divided into three groups, the Burghuthiyya, Zaghfaraniyya, and Mustadrika. None of his books are extant. He is said to have written a *Kitab al-Irja*.

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IBRAHIM HAKKI INAL

NASAFI, Abu'l-Mu'in

(*c*.438–508/*c*.1046–1115)

Abu'l-Mu'in Maymun b. Muhammad was born in Nasaf around 438/1046 and died in the same city in 508/1115. He was an important theologian in the Maturidite school of Sunni Islam. Classical sources give no information about his life. We know that he lived in Nasaf, a city which produced a number of scholars. His grandfather was famous as a theologian, lawyer, and Sufi who was reported to have written a number of works.

Although there is no information about his life, Nasafi's main works have come down to us. In his *Bahr al-kalam fi 'ilm al-tawhid* (Ocean of Discussions on the Science of Unity), Nasafi presents the classical theological issues in a systematic way. *Al-Tamhid fi qawa'id al-tawhid* (Introduction to the Principles of Unity) seems to be a summary of Nasafi's masterpiece, the *Tabsirat al-adilla* (Instructing the Evidences). The *Tabsirat al-adilla* can be considered as the second most important work of the Maturidite school, the first being the *Kitab al-Tawhid*. Nasafi's presentation of the issues in this work is more systematic and his style is more accessible than that of MATURIDI. It is probably because of this style that SABUNI, a later representative of Maturidite school, states that Nasafi's work was his main source. In his explanations, Nasafi follows closely the views of Maturidi and sometimes gives direct quotations from him. He also gives the views of his opponents in a fairly objective way.

In discussing the issues, Nasafi develops a semantic analysis, a method not used or really developed by his followers. The *Tabsirat al-adilla* begins with the theory of knowledge. Then Nasafi discusses the problem of the creation of the world and goes on to establish the existence of its Creator. The unity of God and the rejection of opposing views is the next topic. This is followed by the discussion of God's attributes, in particular his speech (*kalam*) and creative power (*takwin*). Nasafi goes on to discuss prophecy, the relation of God and humanity, human freedom and responsibility, predetermination, and definition of belief (*iman*) and finishes with a discussion of rulership. In his discussions, Nasafi's treatment of other schools is very severe. Even the Ash'arites were not considered by him as belonging to Sunni Islam.

Nasafi lived in an age in which Muslim theology was reaching its peak, and he contributed to this development. An evaluation of his works together with those of JUWAYNI and GHAZALI will clarify the differences of method, style and the culture between the Maturidites and the Ash'arites.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

NASIR-I KHUSRAW (394–470 or 481/1004–77 or 1088)

The Isma‘ili philosopher, traveler, and poet Abu Mu’in Nasir b. Khusraw b. Harith al-Qubadiyani al-Marvazi, better known as Nasir-i Khusraw, was born in Qubadiyan, Balkh, in present-day Afghanistan into a family of government officials. He served possibly as a tax collector first under the Ghaznavids and then the Saljuqids. Having enjoyed the benefits of a successful career in politics as well as intellectual sciences, Nasir-i Khusraw underwent a spiritual crisis at the age of forty. This was a watershed event in Nasir-i Khusraw’s life as it led him to leaving his government post, setting out on his famous travels, and eventually joining the Isma‘ili faith. In his autobiography as well as the *Safarnamah*, he gives a vivid account of this spiritual upheaval and transformation.

Nasir-i Khusraw came to the Fatimid capital Cairo in 1047 where he received his formal training in the Isma‘ili doctrines. He became an Isma‘ili missionary (*da‘i*) and was appointed as the “Hujjat of Khurasan.” In 1050 he settled in Yumgan, present-day Afghanistan, where he developed a close relationship with the ruler of Badakhshan, ‘Ali b. Asad, who was also an Isma‘ili. It was here that Nasir-i Khusraw spread the Fatimid *da‘wa* until his death in 1077 or 1088.

Nasir-i Khusraw left a number of works from his travel accounts to Isma‘ili doctrines and philosophy. His book of travels is called *Safarnamah* and gives a detailed account of his travels through the greater Khurasan, Syria, Egypt, Mecca and Medina, and Iran. Nasir-i Khusraw was also a major poet of the Persian language. Due to the enduring legacy of his poetry and treatises on Ism’aili spirituality, he continues to be revered as a *pir* among the Isma’ilis of Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan.

His most important work on philosophy is entitled *Kitab jami‘ al-hikmatayn* (The Book of the Uniting of the Two Wisdoms). The book was composed in 1070 at the request of ‘Ali b. Asad, the ruler of Badakhshan, to explain and respond to the critical questions of a tenth-century Isma‘ili philosopher and poet Abu’l-Haytham Jurjani. The two wisdoms here refer to Greek philosophy and the tenets of Islamic religion. Nasir-i Khusraw’s attempt to show the essential compatibility of religion and philosophy can be seen as a response to the growing criticism of Greek philosophy in the eleventh-century Muslim world. Though not related to AL-GHAZALI’s attack on the Peripatetic philosophers, *Jami‘* deals with a set of similar issues and purports to show that the truth of philosophy and the truth of religion are in essence one and the same.

Among Nasir-i Khusraw’s other works on philosophy is *Gushayish wa Rahayish* (Unfettering and Setting Free, translated into English as *Knowledge and Liberation*), which deals with a number of cosmological, ontological, and eschatological issues. *Wajh-i din* (The Face of Religion) is a *tour de force* statement of Isma‘ili philosophy and spiritual hermeneutics (*ta’wil*) as understood by the Isma’ili philosophers. It deals with a number of religious issues from the point of view of the exterior (*zahir*) and inner (*batin*) dimensions of religion. *Khwan al-ikhwan* (The Feast of the Brethren) is also a religio-philosophical tract dealing with the issues of resurrection and the human soul. *Shish fasl* (Six Chapters) is an exposition of the Isma‘ili doctrine of creation within a clearly delineated Emanationist context. *Zad al-musafirin* (The Provision of the Travellers) is an exposition of the spiritual journey of the soul.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-NAYSABURI, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim
(fl. early fifth/eleventh centuries)

A distinguished Shi'i Isma'ili scholar, Ahmad al-Naysaburi lived during the golden period of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt. Very little personal information is available about al-Naysaburi, but his talent, character, cultural background and contribution can be gleaned from his existing works. His *nisba*, Nishapuri, suggests he came from Nishapur, the center of the Isma'ili *da'wa* in Khurasan, particularly noted for its use of rationalistic philosophy. It was in this social and intellectual milieu that al-Naysaburi was to develop his unique philosophical approach to the issues and challenges of the time.

Al-Naysaburi's several works illustrate that he was equally prolific at writing history, theology, and eschatology as well as literature. He was very much part of the intellectual renaissance that was taking place, and his importance can be determined from the fact that a number of his works have survived, allowing us to capture and understand not only the significance of his own thought, but also the beliefs of his age.

Al-Naysaburi's works include the *Istitar al-imam*, an important historical text, the *Risala al-mujaza,* a work on *adab* literature, *al-Zahira fi ma'rifat*, an eschatological treatise, and the *Kitab al-Tawhíd* and the *Ithbat al-Imama,* which are both theological works. Among these, the *Ithbat al-Imama* is of particular significance to the philosophical curriculum of medieval Muslim thought, for it is here that he applies rational tools to explain and expound his theology.

In his *Ithbat*, al-Naysaburi begins with the premise that supreme leadership, the imamate, is the pole and foundation of religion. He uses a number of approaches to establish his thesis, ranging from the ten philosophical categories of Aristotle to numerous natural metaphors that exist in minerals, plants, trees, and animals. He relates that just as the substance (*jawhar*) is the summit of all other nine accidents (*a'rad*) namely quantity (*kammiyya*), quality (*kayfiyya*), relation (*idafa*), place (*makan*), time (*zaman*), possession (*jida*), posture (*nusba*), action (*fa'il*), and reaction (*maf'ul*), which are established through it, similarly the imam is like the substance in relation to other ranks within the hierarchy of the *da'wa*.

According to al-Naysaburi, God created each genus and species with a uniqueness, distinction, and an advantage that does not exist in another. All are endowed with a capacity that propels them to seek that which removes their deficiency. Accepting that there are differences and disparities in every genus and species, he gives paradigms of perfect examples in each variety, demonstrating in a parallel manner that the imam is at the apex of humanity.

Al-Naysaburi uses these Platonic degrees of excellence as the strongest indicators and proofs for supreme leadership in the world. He infers that just as the body is in need of the various elements from which it has been created, similarly the soul, spirit, and religious noetic forms need the imam. This is a testimony of the symbol (*mathal*) for the symbolized (*mamthul*). He argues that people would not anthropomorphize, doubt, or drift away from God if they were to give the same importance to the soul as they do to the body. Illustrating his theory, al-Naysaburi gives various examples of degrees of excellence, in particular the sun's superiority among the planets, relating it to the imam's position in religion, and cites analogies from mineral substances, precious stones, and grains. Al-Naysaburi gives further examples from the plant and animal kingdoms that have attained the pinnacle of refinement. He develops a case that just as humans have command over all minerals, plants, and animals, so too the imam, being the quintessence of mankind, has supremacy over all humanity.

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ARZINA R. LALANI

AL-NAZZAM (*c.* 145 to 150–230/*c.* 760 to 765–845)

Al-Nazzam, Ibrahim b. Sayar b. Hani', was known as Nazzam because of his talent for writing poetry. The details of his life are given neither by Mu'tazilite biographers nor by his opponents. However, from what is given about him it is possible that he was born and educated in Basra. Abu al-Hudhayl, the famous Mu'tazilite theologian, is known to be his uncle (the brother of his mother), but his father came from an enslaved family from a clan near Yemen who emigrated to Basra after the rise of Islam. Some sources mention that he was a pupil of the philologist Khalil b. Ahmad (d. 162/776), which endorses Watt's conjectural date for his birth as 145–50/760–5. But he must have died before the writing of *Kitab al-Hayawan* of AL-JAHIZ, his student, in 232/847; his death (in Baghdad) was probably in the year 230/845.

Nazzam seems to have gained the admiration of his teachers at an early age and he claimed to have learned Aristotle's works by heart. He was known to have acquired knowledge from many different groups. Early in his career, he was a student of his uncle Abu al-Hudhayl, then he studied philosophy with Yahya the Barmakid. He seems also to have studied with the Rafidite theologian HISHAM IBN AL-HAKAM. Nazzam is said to have suffered poverty in Basra; some sources mention that he was selling nickels in the market. However, his great reputation as a poet and a theologian must have been gained before his move to Baghdad. In Baghdad he gained the patronage of al-Ma'mun, and it is said that he received a high salary as an entertainer and poet for the Khalifat court. His encounter with the famous poet Abu Nawas must have influenced him greatly and he probably became his student. His poetry was famous for combining metaphors and theological terms. IBN HAZM rightly describes al-Nazzam as having the ability to describe material things as if they were spiritual entities.

Unfortunately, none of Nazzam's complete works have survived, but some fragments of his *Kitab al-Nakt* were collected and published by Josef Van Ess. A great many of his doctrines are also collected in Khayat's famous book *al-Intisar*. Many other Ash'arite biographers have attempted to reconstruct his concepts in order to show up their weaker side and their insufficiency for Islamic theology. His main theories, however, are collected in the *Kitab al-Haywan* of AL-JAHIZ, a faithful student of Nazzam.

Nazzam was the first to have seriously attempted to use philosophical concepts in answering some difficult theological problems. As a good Mu'tazilite, Nazzam attributed to God pure goodness, but also added his incapacity to produce evil. This concept seems to picture the nature of God as pure goodness rather than describing God's abilities; hence the practice of evil is unquestionable for a Being who possesses such a nature. Of particular importance, however, is his attempt to introduce Aristotelian causality instead of the atomist theory which was held by Abu AL-HUDHAYL. He explains that the atom as an indivisible entity does not exist because the potentiality to change—which means to be infinitely divided—exists always either really or logically. Therefore an entity such as an atom can never exist without the possibility of changing and therefore being divisible. However, it seems that he uses this argument in order to demonstrate that the theory of atoms cannot be used to explain the nature of the world. For him, the world was created all at once but appears in different stages, each at the appropriate time. He uses the Greek theory of "hide and appear" which was known, as Wolfson points out, in the Aristotelian tradition as "potentiality and actuality." However, he clearly holds that the world is God's creation and is not subject to pure chance or is in itself an eternal entity. The strongest attack on his doctrines came from his contemporaries, such as the scholar IBN AL-RAWANDI. The latter produced the strongest arguments against Nazzam's theories which were used by later Ash'arite theologians to attack the Mu'tazilites' rationalist tendency and their use of inappropriate philosophical concepts.

In conclusion, Nazzam's theorizing was an early attempt to produce a scientific philosophical system which would support and provide rational arguments for Islamic doctrines such as creation *ex nihilo* and would define the unity of God.

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MAHA EL-KAISY

NEOPLATONIST PHILOSOPHY, INFLUENCE OF

The school of philosophy known as Neoplatonism became highly influential in the later classical world. Emerging in the third and fourth centuries around such leading figures as Plotinus, Proclus, and Porphyry, it was highly influential on early Christian philosophy, which was of course emerging around the same time. Neoplatonic texts were widespread throughout the Byzantine Empire, and Alexandria and Harran were principal centers of thought.

Key themes in Neoplatonist thought included explorations of the relationship between the conscious and unconscious self, the seen and unseen world, perception and knowledge. The nature of knowledge was widely discussed, and was seen as a means to salvation; knowledge of the self-led ultimately to knowledge of God. The Neoplatonists advanced a key role for inner knowledge, *gnosis*, but they also employed reason and rational knowledge and often sought to create a fusion of the two.

The conquest of Syria and Egypt by Muslim Arab armies in the seventh century meant that the major centers of Neoplatonist learning were now drawn into the Islamic world. In Alexandria especially, Islamic scholars eagerly explored Neoplatonist texts, and found in the Neoplatonist discussions echoes of themes that were beginning to perplex them also. The works of Proclus and Porphyry were translated into Arabic and widely disseminated. So too was the work misleadingly titled *Theology of Aristotle*, which is actually based on part of the *Enneads*. Before long, Islamic writers were beginning their own attempts to develop and synthesize Neoplatonist ideas. The *Liber de Causis* (Book of Causes), written by an unknown Islamic scholar some time in the ninth century, probably in Baghdad, draws heavily on both Proclus and Plotinus, drawing on their classifications and theories of ultimate causes and interpreting these in the light of *kalam* and Islamic scholarship more generally. These two works became among the most important channels of transmission of Neoplatonist ideas for the later Islamic world.

A key feature of Neoplatonic thought that was emanation. Rejecting the Aristotelian concept of God as the First Mover, who creates forms out of eternally existing matter, the Neoplatonists saw God as a kind of source of creative energy, from whom all created things flowed. Although this was not the same as the Qur'anic/*kalam* view of creation *ex nihilo*, it was still rather closer than the Aristotelian view. AL-KINDI considered this idea when developing his conception of the four faces of God. Later AL-FARABI would adopt Neoplatonic concepts such as emanation on a large scale, to the extent where al-Farabi's metaphysics must be considered largely Neoplatonic; he has often been described as the "founding father" of Islamic Neoplatonism. IBN SINA also adopted many Neoplatonic concepts including emanation, and there is at least as much Neoplatonist influence in Ibn Sina's work as there is the influence of Aristotle.

At the same time as the *falasifa* were absorbing Neoplatonist influences, so were other more mystical thinkers. Both IBN AL 'ARABI and Shihab al-Din AL-SUHRAWARDI used the notion of emanation in their own concepts of knowledge. For Suhrawardi, emanation takes on a physical form; it becomes light, or illumination (*ishraq*). Although both thinkers were probably drawing on much older Eastern traditions which linked light to gnosis—to be fair, so also were the original Neoplatonists—the influence of Neoplatonic thought in Illuminationist philosophy continued to be very strong.

The high-water mark of Neoplatonist influence came within the Isma'ili movement, where scholars and theologians picked up on emanation in particular and made it their own metaphysics. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was under the Isma'ili rulers of Egypt, the Fatimids, that Islamic Neoplatonism flourished and Alexandria became once again a center of Neoplatonist scholarship. This ended with the fall of Fatimids and the conquest of Egypt by Salah al-Din (Saladin). It was at around this very time that al-Suhrawardi was executed, also at the orders of Salah al-Din. It is probably going too far to suggest that Salah al-Din was opposed to Neoplatonism, but it is probable that he, like many conservative Muslims, rejected Emanationist ideas.

It is interesting to note that two of the great polemicists of medieval Islamic philosophy, AL-GHAZALI and IBN RUSHD, both rejected Neoplatonism and argued against it, from two opposing viewpoints. The former believed that Neoplatonism suggested that, despite the power of emanation given to God, the world was eternal; he felt that the Neoplatonists had merely disguised Aristotelianism or tried to make its ideas more palatable. Ibn Rushd, that ardent defender of the Aristotelian system, believed that the Neoplatonist idea of creation was simply wrong. Thus the one attacks the Neoplatonists for being too Aristotelian, and the other attacks them for not being Aristotelian enough.

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ANDREAS SOLER

AL-NISABURI, al-Fadl ibn Shadhan (d. 260/874)

Abu Muhammad al-Fadl b. Shadhan b. Khalil al-Azdi al-Nisaburi, one of the celebrated theologians of early Imami *kalam*, was born in the last quarter of the second century/791–816, the exact date of his birth being uncertain. He originally belonged to the Arabian Azd tribe, but was born and grew up in Nisabur, now Nishapur, in Khurasan. Little is known about al-Fadl b. Shadhan's life. After migrating with his family to Iraq, young al-Fadl began his education in Baghdad and continued it in Kufa, then in Wasit. He studied under the well-known scholars of the time such as al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. al-Faddal, Nasr b. Muzahim, Safvan b. Yahya, and Hammad b. 'Isa. He returned to his country, where he settled and carried on his scholarly activities. He was sent into exile by the Tahirid government for the accusation of being a Shi'i. The exile did not last very long, and he returned to Nishapur. During his stay in Bayhaq near Nishapur, he was persecuted by the Kharijis. He fell ill in hiding and died soon after in 260/874 in Nishapur, where his mausoleum is located.

Al-Fadl b. Shadhan is recorded to have been a disciple of the imams 'Ali al-Rida, Muhammad al-Jawad, ʻAli al-Hadi, and al-Hasan al-ʻAskari. However, his meeting with al-Rida is not well documented and must be treated historically as suspect. On the other hand, during his long stay in Iraq, he probably met with al-Jawad and al-Hadi and narrated many traditions on their authorities. It is indisputable that al-Fadl, as an eminent Shiʻi scholar, was a respected representative of these imams in Khurasan. Although he was much more seen as a traditionist, his fame came for his proficiency in theology. His father Shadhan was the pupil of Yunus b. ʻAbd al-Rahman. Probably for this reason, al-Fadl used to regard himself as the last representative of the early Imami school of *kalam* which had been mainly promoted by HISHAM AL-HAKAM and two of his students, Muhammad al-Sakkak and Yunus b. ʻAbd al-Rahman. Anthropomorphism was the most important peculiarity of this school and al-Fadl obviously held similar ideas. He accepted that God was sitting on his Throne (*al-ʻarsh*) as literally expressed in the Qur'an. Like Hisham al-Hakam, al-Fadl defined God as a body (*jism*), but he did not set up a resemblance between him and worldly bodies. However, he affirmed the attributes of God and added that they were not perceived by reasoning, so knowledge about them could only be obtained through "all that came from God," that is, the verses of the Qur'an directly, and the traditions of prophets and imams indirectly.

According to *al-Idah* (the Explanation), the book attributed to al-Fadl b. Shadhan, application to reasoning in religious subjects caused diversity within the community, which was forbidden in the Qur'an. Therefore, the only way to reach truth is to consult sacred texts (*nusus*) which are immutable and indisputable. Given these views, later Imami literalists, the Akhbariyya, considered him to be their leader. However, the attribution of *al-Idah* to al-Fadl is unproven and more than 180 treatises which are reported to have been written by him are lost. By considering the titles of some of his works and his documented scholarly activities, al-Fadl clearly does not seem to be a typical Akhbari. Beside books on several subjects on the imamate doctrine, he wrote on *huduth al-aʻlam* (createdness of the universe), *aʻrad wa jawahir* (accidents and substances), and *istitaʻa* (human ability to act). He also wrote refutations against gross anthropomorphists called the Hashwiyya, extremist Shiʻis (*ghulat*), Qarmatians, Murji'ites, dualists (*thanawiyya*), philosophers, al-Hasan AL-BASRI, the Muʻtazili Abu Bakr AL-ASAMM, and IBN KARRAM, the founder of the Karramiyya sect.

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M. ALI BUYUKKARA

AL-NU‘MAN, Al-Qadi (d. 363/974)

The foremost Isma‘ili jurist and founder of Isma‘ili jurisprudence, Abu Hanifa al-Nu‘man b. Muhammad al-Tamimi, better known as al-Qadi al-Nu‘man, was born around 290/903 into a learned family in Qayrawan, in North Africa. Very little is known about his family, childhood, and education. His father Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad b. Mansur b. Ahmad b. Hayyun was evidently a convert to Isma‘ili Shi‘ism from Maliki Sunnism, the prevalent Sunni school of law in Ifriqiya.

Educated as an Isma‘ili, in 313/925 al-Nu‘man entered the service of ‘Abdullah al-Mahdi (d. 322/934), the Isma‘ili imam who had founded the Fatimid caliphate in Ifriqiya in 297/909. He served the first four Fatimid caliphs in different capacities, such as the keeper of the palace library, and as the judge of Tripoli and Mansuriyya, the new capital from 337/948 under the Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mansur. Al-Nu‘man's advancement under the Fatimids culminated in his appointment in 337/948 by al-Mansur to the position of chief judge (*qadi al-qudat*) of the Fatimid state. The fourth Fatimid caliph-imam al-Mu‘izz confirmed al-Nu'man in that post, and in 343/954 also entrusted him with the grievances proceedings (*mazalim*) throughout the Fatimid caliphate. In addition, he was authorized by al-Mu‘izz to hold the "sessions of wisdom" (*majalis al-hikma*) every Friday in the royal palace to instruct Isma‘ili audiences in the esoteric Isma‘ili sciences, known as *hikma*, as well as the *ta'wil* or esoteric interpretations of the Qur'an and the commandments of the Islamic law. Al-Qadi al-Nu‘man accompanied al-Mu‘izz to Egypt in 362/973 and died in Cairo, the new Fatimid capital, on the last day of Jumada al-Thani 363/March 27, 974; his funeral prayer was led by al-Mu‘izz himself.

Al-Qadi al-Nu‘man distinguished himself as a most prolific author. More than forty of his works are extant, ranging from numerous legal compendia culminating in the *Da‘a'im al-Islam* (The Pillars of Islam) to collections of *hadith*, works on *ta'wil* and esoteric Isma‘ili doctrine, such as *Asas al-ta'wil* (The Foundations of *ta'wil*) and *Ta'wil al-da‘a'im* (Esoteric Interpretation of the Pillars), as well as historiography, notably the *Iftitah al-da‘wa* (Commencement of the Mission) covering the background to the establishment of the Fatimid state.

Al-Qadi al-Nu‘man is, however, best known as the founder of a juridical system for a Shi‘i state reflecting the universalist aspirations of the Fatimid caliph-imams while recognizing the minority status of the Isma‘ilis within the larger Muslim society of North Africa. He codified Isma‘ili law by drawing on Imami and Zaydi as well as Sunni sources; and his efforts culminated in the compilation of the *Da‘a'im al-Islam*, in two volumes on the acts of devotion (*‘ibadat*) and worldly affairs (*mu‘amalat*), supervised closely and endorsed by al-Mu‘izz as the official legal code of the Fatimid state. As developed by al-Nu‘man, Isma‘ili law accorded special importance to the central Shi‘i doctrine of the imamate, providing Islamic legitimation for a state ruled by the family of the Prophet Muhammad, or the *ahl al-bayt*. The *Da‘a'im* has continued throughout the centuries to serve as the principal legal authority for the Tayyibi Musta‘li branch of Isma‘ilism, including the Isma‘ili Bohras of South Asia. Al-Nu‘man was also the founder of a distinguished family of chief judges in the Fatimid state.

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FARHAD DAFTARY

NUMAN B. SABITH, *see* Abu Hanifa

NUR AL-DIN AL-RANIRI, *see* al-Raniri

NURSI, Said (1294–1379/1877–1960)

Said Nursi was born in the village of Nurs, in Bitlis, one of the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire in 1294/1877 and died in Urfa on 25 Ramadan 1379/March 23, 1960. He was an original thinker and scholar who made an important contribution to contemporary Islamic thought. His father was Mirza Efendi and his mother Nuriye Hanım. Although his father was not an educated man, he encouraged his four sons and three daughters to have a traditional education. In 1303/1886 Said Nursi started his education by studying the elements of Arabic grammar (*sarf* and *nahiw*) in the various village *medrese*s (schools). In 1308/1891 he moved to Doğubeyazıd to undertake more serious studies.

Under Shaykh Muhammed Jalali, Said Nursi completed the *medrese* syllabus and was awarded his diploma (*ijazat*) in 1309/1892. He then began to challenge the scholars to debate. He immediately gained fame with his knowledge and courage and hence he was given the name Bediuzzaman (Wonder of the Time). He moved to Mardin, then to Bitlis, and finally to Van, and stayed there until 1325/1907. During this time he started to form conclusions about the major problems facing the Muslim world. He started to refute doubts raised about Islam. Within two years he had memorized around forty major texts in the Islamic sciences.

In Van also, Nursi founded his own *medrese* in order to put into practice his ideas on education. He planned to establish a university which teaches both the natural and religious sciences in combination. At the end of 1325/1907, Nursi arrived in Istanbul to seek official support for his university plan as well as for the development of the eastern provinces. On the proclamation of the Second Constitution on 24 Jumada al-Thani 1326/July 23, 1908, Nursi made public speeches supporting freedom and the constitution and their conformity with Islam. He was active in the Society for Muslim Unity (İttihad-ı Muhammedi) and following the March 31 Incident (31 Mart Vakası) he was arrested and spent some twenty-four days in captivity.

Between 1328/1910 and 1329/1911, Nursi traveled from Istanbul to Van via the Black Sea and Tiflis, Georgia, then to the Arab world and Damascus. In his travels, Nursi propagated the benefits of constitutionalism and how it could be made the basis of the progress and unity of Islamic world. In Damascus, in the Umayyad Mosque he delivered his celebrated Damascus Sermon. In 1329/1911, he remained in Istanbul for some time and then returned to Van in 1330/1912 in order to start his plan for building a university on the shores of Lake Van. He laid the foundation of it, but it could not be finished. In Van, he continued teaching at his old *medrese*. During World War I, he was appointed the local commander-in-chief, and with his students took part in the defense of the town of Pasinler against the Russians. He was eventually captured by the Russians and sent as a prisoner of war to a camp at Kosturma on the Volga. He escaped, and in 1336/1918 he arrived in Istanbul.

Nursi started to write books and was also involved in social activities. He was appointed to the Darü'l-Hikmeti'l-İslamiyye (Institutions for Islamic Wisdom) and he also became the founder member of the Green Crescent Society (Hilal-ı Ahmar Cemiyeti). During 1338/1920 and 1339/1921, Nursi withdrew into solitude and underwent a profound mental and spiritual transformation. He continued to write during this time. In the autumn of 1340/1922, Nursi was invited to Ankara, and given an official ceremony in the National Assembly and invited to make a speech to congratulate war veterans and offer prayers. He declined Mustafa Kemal's offers of various posts and left Ankara for Van.

Between 1341/1923 and 1343/1925 political changes in Turkey forced Nursi to retire from politics and social affairs into a life of seclusion. Keeping with him only a small number of his students, he immersed himself in worship and contemplation. In 1343/1925 Nursi was sent into exile first to the west Anatolian town of Burdur, then to Isparta and then to the remote village of Barla. His writings evoked a powerful popular response and began to spread secretly through the region. The authorities exerted pressure on Nursi and finally he was sent back to Isparta, where he was kept under strict surveillance. In 1354/1935 Nursi and one hundred and twenty of his students were arrested and sent to Eskişehir prison. They were charged with opposing the new republic's reforms and belonging to a secret political organization. Nursi was sentenced to eleven months imprisonment. On his release, he was sent to Kastamonu. During this time, despite appalling conditions, he kept writing his works, which were called *Risale-i Nur* (Treatises of Light). In 1362/1943 Nursi was arrested in Kastamonu and sent to Denizli prison where he remained for nine months. On his release from Denizli, he was sent to Emirdağ, a town situated north of Afyon. He completed his work in conditions that were little better than house arrest. Nursi stayed there until 1367/1948 when he was once again arrested, and sent to Afyon prison where he spent twenty months in harsh conditions. In 1368/1949 Nursi was released.

In 1369/1950 when the Democrat Party won general elections, more freedom prevailed in Turkey. Consequently, all the restrictions on him theoretically were lifted. Between 1369/1950 and 1379/1960, Nursi spent his time mostly visiting his students and consequently traveling to Eskişehir, Isparta, Konya, Istanbul, and Ankara. On Ramadan 1379/March 1960, Nursi traveled to Urfa where he died peacefully in the early hours of the morning.

Said Nursi is perhaps the most influential thinker in the social and intellectual development of Islam in modern Turkey. His works generated a social Islamic movement in Turkey. If Nursi's works are nothing more, they are exegeses of the Qur'an. Nursi draws his thought from three sources, namely Sufism, *kalam* (Islamic theology), and the contemporary positive sciences. In a traditional sense, he cannot be considered a typical Islamic scholar; he is not a *mufassir*, *mutakallim*, or *mutasavvuf*. He developed an original way of approaching the Qur'an and Islam. For Nursi, since one of the major causes of unbelief was the natural sciences, he put great effort into understanding and discussing the natural sciences. He was quite confident that by the spiritual as well as intellectual power of his works, he would not only revive Islamic intellectual tradition, but also construct a new community. His search for truth led him to concentrate on the meaning of the

Qur'anic verses; his contemplation on the Qur'anic verses led him to a kind of meditation on the universe. According to Nursi, the universe displays divine power and beauty, whereas the Qur'an deciphers the secrets of the universe. For him, the natural sciences can only be instruments for expounding the Qur'anic truths. He wanted to read the natural sciences as a kind of knowledge about God. Through this kind of approach to the natural sciences, he tried to protect religious faith from attacks from positivistic scientific ideas and also make them serve religious ends. He was quite conscious of materialism's moral and spiritual destruction of individuals and society. Therefore he tried to defend both personal religious faith and the integrity of community.

Nursi values knowledge in accordance with its subject matter. Philosophy, in a profane sense, is useless since it could not properly convey the knowledge of the Creator. Instead, philosophy surrenders to reason and to non-religious forces. By severing reason from its divine source, modern European philosophy has given it the status of *shirk* (idolatry). He insists that reason, if it were properly employed, arrives naturally at the glorious Names of God. Whatever reason discovers from the secrets of nature displays the divine power and will. For him, everything is a mirror of the All-Glorious Maker's Names. Reason is a means of reinforcing and even coming to more appropriate understanding of what was revealed in the Qur'an. Reason is a creation of God. Like other creations of God, it should lead to a better understanding of God himself. Reason is given to humanity both to improve the conditions of life and to reach a better understanding of God. But, according to Nursi, a proper use of reason will always seek guidance from the knowledge that was already revealed in the Qur'an.

Nursi emerged from the tradition of Islamic sciences, but he presented the essence of what the Islamic sciences contained in a different form. In this respect, Nursi and his works are revolutionary. Nursi's *Risale-i Nur* collection was gradually written in order to give a proper response to the problems of the age. It abandons the propositional and syllogistic style of discourse. Instead it developed its own intimate existential style. Secondly, the *Risale* did not attempt to offer solutions to the problems of age through employing Islamic sciences, such as *fiqh* and *kalam*. Instead, Nursi addressed problems directly and offered solutions to them depending on his own reactions to the Qur'an. Therefore, the *Risale* cannot be assimilated to any of the traditional Islamic sciences. The *Risale-i Nur* collection is composed of many treatises, including *Sözler* (Words), *Mektubât* (Letters), *Lem'alar* (Flashes), *Şualar* (Rays), *Muhakemat* (Reasonings), *Münazarat* (Debates), *Isharat al-'ijaz*, *al-Mathnawi al-'arabi al-nuri*, *al-Khutba al-shamiyya* (Damascus Sermon), and other small treatises. The main corpus of the *Risale* is written in classical Ottoman Turkish. Those parts written in Arabic were translated into Turkish.

In 1329/1911 in his Damascus Sermon, Nursi offers six remedies from the Qur'an for the illnesses of the Muslim world. The Arabic text of the sermon was printed twice soon afterward and published in the following year in Istanbul. *Münazarat*, published in 1331/1913, contains his political ideas about the benefits of constitutionalism, about progress and unity of Islamic world. In these works, he also speaks about his project of educational reform and his plan for establishing a university. *Muhakemat*, published in 1331/1913, deals with a number of issues causing confusion in the minds of scholars. It is written in the form of an introduction to the Islamic sciences just like ordinary *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis) and *akaid* (Islamic tenets). Nursi started to write *Isharat al-'Ijaz* as a Qur'anic commentary in 1331/1913 and he continued to write during World

War I even at the front. *Isharat* deals with the rules of rhetoric, logic, the principles of religion, and other sciences. It aims to supply proofs and explanations of the Qur'an's miraculousness. It speaks of belief, unbelief, and worship.

Nursi wrote *al-Mathnawi al-'arabi al-nuri* between 1340/1922 and 1341/1923. *Al-Mathnawi* is a metaphysical work which explains divine unity by means of the universe and its beings. It is an account of his own spiritual journey in which he describes how he battled with two idols, ego in man and nature in the outer world. He wrote *Sözler* between 1344/1926 and 1347/1929. It represents Nursi's mature thought and can be described as a commentary of Qur'anic meanings. In it, Nursî displays his own original style. For him, his entire works were written through the inspiration of the Qur'an. In *Sözler*, various theological and religious issues were explained through allegorical comparison. By employing a persuasive style and convincing arguments Nursi aims to develop a spiritual consciousness, which detects the signs of the Creator not only in the human soul but also in nature. It touches upon various theological subjects. It speaks of the issue of the hereafter, resurrection, the miraculousness of the Qur'an, predestination, ascension of the Prophet, miracles, and the oneness of God with regard to the created world. Nursi then wrote *Mektubat* between 1347/1929 and 1350/1932. It was written in order to offer response to the various theological questions. Therefore it is more intimate and more informal. It speaks of various issues, such as rituals, Islamic brotherhood, miracles of the prophet, the spiritual status of the prophets' companions, his own spiritual development, his attitude toward politics and other worldly things, justice, predestination, and interpretations of dreams. He wrote most of *Lem'alar* between 1350/1932 and 1353/1934. This work speaks of various religious issues depending upon his own spiritual experience. It aims to create an intimate relationship between his followers and God, which was considered a sign of reaching perfection in belief. *Şualar*, which was generally written between 1355/1936 and 1359/1940, marks the final form of reflective thought on the universe. It is the most important part of the *Risale*, which represents the mature metaphysical thought of Nursi. It aims to purify human spirit through leading it to meditate upon nature, to reach a consciousness of divine unity. It speaks of a spiritual journey, and also contains a defense of his writings against charges made by Turkish government officials.

Nursi was an original thinker whose writings not only have shaped contemporary Islamic thought but also have been one of the important sources for a religious and social movement that has become a significant dynamic of modern Turkish society.

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ADNAN ASLAN

P

PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, INFLUENCE OF

The direct impact of Plato and his writings on classical Islamic philosophy was very limited. According to Rosenthal (1975), only four of Plato's works were translated in Arabic: the *Republic*, *Timaeus*, the *Laws*, and the *Sophist*. Of these, probably the most important and influential was the *Republic*. Platonic philosophy reached the zenith of its influence in Baghdad during the ninth and tenth centuries, and can be seen in the works of IBN SINA and, particularly, AL-FARABI.

Islamic scholars and philosophers certainly knew of Plato through other sources, and accorded him a good deal of respect. He is sometimes referred to as "the sublime Plato," and collections of sayings attributed to him can occasionally be found (not always of correct provenance). However, these scholars had on the whole very little knowledge of the corpus of Platonic ideas. Rather, Plato became a kind of emblematic figure, a seeker after truth and knowledge on whom later philosophers might model themselves.

Particularly influential was the Platonic discussion of knowledge, and such related subjects as logic and grammar. Here, and often working at second or third hand from his original works, Islamic scholars used Platonic concepts to form their own ideas on *hikma* (wisdom). Particularly in the work of Ibn Sina, Plato's views on logic and reason are presented as the foundations for a form of wisdom argued to be superior to wisdom based on revelation or prophecy. This roused the ire of those Islamic scholars who argued for the primacy of revelation over rational wisdom.

The most important direct influence of Plato was undoubtedly on al-Farabi, whose *al-Madina al-fadila* (The Virtuous City) draws, in places quite heavily, on the *Republic*. Although he uses Neoplatonic concepts here as well, al-Farabi is clearly struck by Plato's conception of an ideal state, and seeks to recast that ideal state in a form acceptable to Islamic philosophy. We see in particular the role that al-Farabi assigns to knowledge in creating this virtuous state, contrasting it to *al-madina al-jahiliyya*, the city (or state) where ignorance rules. It is notable too that just as political leaders in the classical world rubbished Plato's ideas as impractical and unworkable, so Islamic scholars and rulers alike pointed out the impossibility of ever achieving the Virtuous City; at least, not by the methods advocated by al-Farabi.

Plato continued to be a popular figure much revered among Islamic scholars, but real knowledge of his works did not come until much later. There were revivals of interest in Platonic scholarship in later years, notably in sixteenth-century Ottoman Turkey, by which point the bulk of his works had been translated into Latin from the West; it was from these translations that the little band of Ottoman scholars worked, rather than directly from the Greek. There was another revival in the nineteenth century, before attention turned to more modern European schools of thought.

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ANDREAS SOLER

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Early Islamic political philosophy developed out of a need to present the original revelations of Muhammad, as evinced in the Qur'an and *hadith*, in a form that could give specific guidance to legislators and rulers. How did one create and rule an Islamic state, according to the precepts that Muhammad had revealed? The problem became particularly acute with the establishment of the caliphate and the very rapid spread of Islam over a wide geographical area. Apart from the Qur'an and the *hadith* themselves, the early caliphs and their viziers had very little to go on. By chance, the most important manual of statecraft from the classical Graeco-Roman world, Aristotle's *Politics*, was not known to Islamic scholars or political leaders, and it does not appear that they had access either to Indian manuals such as the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, developed in the Mauran kingdom a century or so after Aristotle.

The major pre-existing model, therefore, was Plato's *Republic*, and it was on the connection between wisdom and virtue as a necessary ingredient for successful statecraft that many early Islamic scholars focused. The most important and powerful example is al-Farabi's *al-Madina al-fadila* (The Virtuous City), which incorporates a number of ideas from the *Republic* (as well as from other sources). In particular, al-Farabi repeatedly argues that the ruler must be a philosopher, and vice versa. In a manner almost reminiscent of Confucius' description of the sage-king, al-Farabi argues that all types of wisdom are but different aspects of the same thing, and that the wisdom of the ruler, the philosopher, and the religious savant are all simply parts of the same whole. And by partaking of that whole rather than sampling the parts, the ruler becomes virtuous, and has then the ability to instill virtue in his people. This creates the Virtuous City of the title, contrasted with the city of ignorance (*al-madina al-jahiliyya*) where virtue is absent and ignorance and wickedness prevail.

This emphasis on the character and virtue of the ruler becomes a running theme in subsequent Islamic political philosophy. In his commentary on the *Republic*, IBN RUSHD argues again for rule by the philosopher-king, who, like al-Farabi, he also sees as synonymous with the prophet. Ibn Rushd goes so far as to suggest that by employing a philosophical approach, the ruler can achieve a form of justice beyond that which is provided by the law. Recognizing that the law and justice are not always the same, Ibn Rushd reckons that wisdom also leads to temperance and mercy, two pre-requisites for a wise ruler.

Rejection of this view can be found in the allegorical *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* (The Living Son of the Vigilant) by IBN TUFAYL. He takes a pessimistic view of human nature and believes it is impossible for the philosopher-king to lead by example, as people simply will not follow; he implies that rule always needs an element of coercion and force. He has sometimes been pictured as a precursor to Machiavelli. Other writers such as IBN BAJJA also note the need for strong rule as well as wise rule, to protect the state from disruptive elements inside as well as out. Ibn Bajja notes that law itself is not sufficient for rule, and the ruler must guide and direct the law.

Later Islamic philosophers turned to political philosophy in attempts to both guide new states and to try to revive old ones. There was a revival of interest in the subject in the sixteenth century in Ottoman Turkey, especially in the reign of Sultan Suleyman I, known as the Law-Giver. Suleyman backed his wide-ranging legal reforms within the empire by encouraging scholarship in legal and political philosophy. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, a new kind of political philosophy based in part on Western movements such as positivism helped fuel the Young Turk movement, and was met in turn by opposition reaction which argued that the Ottoman Empire could only be revived by grounding politics once more in Islamic values.

That same notion of re-establishing the link between politics and faith had some earlier exponents, notably Shah WALI ULLAH in Delhi in the eighteenth century. However, it was to take light in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century across the Arab world, notably in the works of Muhammad ‘ABDU and AL-AFGHANI, and later Hasan AL-BANNA,’ the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. While secular politics later came to prevail in Egypt and Turkey, a renewed interest in the religious-political link in Iran led to philosophers such as ‘Allamah TABATABA’I developing the modern philosophy which helped to guide the Iranian revolution of 1979. Political philosophy continues to flourish in many parts of the Islamic world.

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ANDREAS SOLER

Q

QASHQA'I, Jihangir Khan
(1243–1327/1827–1909)

One of the most famous teachers of Iran in the nineteenth century, Qashqa'i was a philosopher in the tradition of the school of MULLA SADRA and his "transcendent wisdom" (*al-hikmat al-muta'aliya*). After receiving his primary education in the religious sciences, he studied philosophy and medicine. He also studied and performed music as a *tar* player. He is described as having lived the life of a hermit (*darwish*).

He traveled to Isfahan to continue his studies but finally settled in Tehran. Among the major books he taught and for which he became well known are Mulla Sadra's *Asfar*, some of IBN SINA's works, and the *Nahj al-balagha* (The Way of Eloquence), a collection of sermons and sayings by 'ALI b. Abi Talib, the first Shi'ite imam and the most important figure of Shi'ite Islam after the Prophet Muhammad. Most of Qashqa'i's lectures were on ethics and spirituality. Considering that *Nahj al-balagha* is one of the most important sources of what we might call "Shi'ite spirituality," it is not surprising that Qashqa'i's lectures on the *Nahj al-balagha* attracted many students of philosophy and practical ethics.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

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(1315–96/1897–1975)

Qazwini was born in Qazwin in 1315/1897 and studied there initially, moving to Tehran and Qom for his higher education. He studied with the leading authorities of the time, Mirza Hasan Kirmanshahi, Mirza Hashim ASHKIWARI, Sayyid Muhammad Tunakabuni, Shaykh 'Ali Rashti, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Ha'iri. In both philosophy and jurisprudence, Qazwini became very well respected, eventually being promoted to the rank of Ayatollah. A specialist in the thought of MULLA SADRA, he did not write much, and his influence came largely due to the many students he taught and the effect he had on them through his dignified presence and the hint of a deeper awareness of the meaning of the text that lay behind his exposition of its exoteric argument.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

QUHISTANI, Abu Ishaq
(ninth/fifteenth century)

Few biographical details are available on Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Quhistani, a prominent Nizari Isma'ili author and missionary (*da'i*), who flourished in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century and died not too long after 904/1498. He was born in the district of Mu'minabad, to the east of Birjand, in Quhistan, the medieval name of the south-eastern region of Khurasan. He evidently spent his entire life in that part of Persia.

As mentioned in his sole surviving work, *Haft bab*, or Seven Chapters (pp. 24, 63), a treatise written at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century and preserved by the Nizaris of Central Asia, Abu Ishaq was a contemporary of the thirty-fourth Qasim-Shahi Nizari imam, Mustansir bi'llah, also known as Gharib Mirza (d. 904/1498), whose mausoleum is still preserved in the village of Anjudan in central Persia. As explained in the first autobiographical chapter of his *Haft bab* (pp. 4–9), Abu Ishaq was born into a non-Isma'ili (probably Ithna'ashari) family and converted to Nizari Isma'ilism in his youth by a local *da'i*. Subsequently, he was appointed to a post in the *da'wa* or missionary organization of the Quhistani Nizaris by the region's chief *da'i*, a certain Khwaja Qasim.

For about two centuries after the Mongol destruction of the Nizari Isma'ili state in 654/1256, the Nizari *da'wa* remained inactive in Persia while the imams were in hiding. But from around the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the imams of the Qasim-Shahi branch of Nizari Isma'ilism emerged from their obscurity and established themselves in Anjudan, initiating a revival in the *da'wa* and literary activities of their community. Abu Ishaq Quhistani's *Haft bab* is perhaps the earliest major Nizari doctrinal treatise written in Persian during this Anjudan revival lasting some two centuries; and as such, it occupies an important place in the Nizari literature of the early post-Alamut period. This book, comprising seven chapters with an initial autobiographical one, deals with a range of subjects reflecting the Nizari teachings of the time. It contains chapters on the seventy-two erring sects in Islam; the saved community (*firqa-yi naji*); on prophethood, the revelation (*tanzih*) of the Qur'an and its esoteric interpretation (*ta'wil*); on the imamate and the eras of concealment (*satr*), manifestation (*kashf*), and resurrection (*qiyamat*); on the spiritual and physical worlds, origination and return, and the hierarchy of the *da'wa*, from *mustajib* or responding novice to imam; and, finally, on certain esoteric interpretations or *ta'wilat*.

The *Haft bab* (pp. 41–2) also contains a unique description of the declaration of the *qiyamat* or spiritual resurrection which took place at Alamut on 17 Ramadan 559/August 8, 1164. Abu Ishaq's *Haft bab* was evidently later plagiarized by another Nizari author, Khayrkhwah-i Harati (d. after 960/1553), who now called it the *Kalam-i pir* and attributed it to the eminent Persian poet and Isma'ili *da'i* NASIR-I KHUSRAW. Abu Ishaq Quhistani evidently produced other works, including *Tarikh-i Quhistan*, or History of Quhistan, which do not seem to have survived.

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FARHAD DAFTARY

AL-QUHISTANI, Hakim Nizari
(645–721/1247–1321)

Hakim Nizari al-Quhistani was an important poet of the Mongol period whose work is replete with philosophical ideas. We know about his life only through his own biography. He was born in Fudaj near Birjand in southeastern Khurasan. He had a traditional religious education and joined the court of Shams al-Din Khart in northern Iran when in his twenties. He then moved to Herat and worked as a tax collector for the Kart regime, which in turn was employed by the Mongols to extract money from the local population. He appears to have come to disapprove of his occupation and in 679/1280 traveled to Quhistan and then went all around the Caspian Sea, finally returning to Herat in 681/1282. He then officially resigned and retired to Birjand to enjoy a peaceful domestic life. In 694/1294 the local ruler employed him as the court poet, but he only managed to keep the job for a couple of years, thoroughly annoying the people at court through his criticisms of their lifestyle.

Al-Quhistani's poetry follows a variety of forms, variously based on different Persian styles and often being very intemperate in content. He seems to have been fascinated by wine, whether the real drink or as a symbol of mystical gnosis, one does not know. Sufi and Isma'ili themes are present in much of his work, references for example to the imam, to different ranks of spiritual awareness, to the significance of the esoteric and to the predominance of emotion over reason. Not surprisingly, in his poetry there is usually no clear theoretical doctrine that is being presented, but al-Quhistani is clearly articulating a number of philosophical ideas in ways that he thinks makes sense of human experience, in particular his own experience and life. He is especially eloquent on the significance of religiosity as compared with religion, on the importance of developing the correct attitude about how to live as compared with following precise doctrinal rules. On the other hand on many occasions he does also emphasize the importance of adhering to the laws of faith. The complexity of his work brings out the thorough ways in which philosophy had entered other forms of literary expression during the Mongol period in the Persian cultural world.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

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(1241–1306/1825–88)

One of the most important figures of nineteenth-century Islamic thought in Iran, Muhammad Rida Qumsha'i was born in Isfahan and completed his early studies there. He studied with such figures as Mulla Muhammad Ja'far b. Sadiq Lahiji, Mirza Hasan b. Akhund Mulla 'Ali Nuri, the son of Mulla 'Ali Nuri, Aqa Sayyid Mazandarani, and Sayyid Radi LARIJANI. Among these, Larijani was the most important in teaching Qumsha'i both theoretical knowledge and ascetic practices. After teaching in Isfahan for many years, Qumsha'i migrated to Tehran around 1877 for reasons that are not completely clear. This move, however, seems to follow the trend by other philosophers of the same period who migrated to Tehran, including Mulla Abdullah ZUNUZI, Aqa Mirza Hasan Hakim, and Aqa Mirza Abu'l-Hasan JILWAH. Qumsha'i's career in Tehran was a major factor in the gradual shifting of philosophical activity from Isfahan to Tehran toward the end of the nineteenth century. He died in Tehran and was buried near the city of Rayy.

Like many of his contemporaries, Qumsha'i studied and taught the works of IBN SINA, SUHRAWARDI, and MULLA SADRA. What distinguishes him among the nineteenth-century Persian philosophers, however, is his mastery of the works of IBN AL-'ARABI. He was occasionally referred to as the "second Ibn al-'Arabi" and considered by his students to be among the most prominent members of the school of Ibn al 'Arabi along with Sadr al-Din AL-QUNAWI and Dawud al-Qaysari (KAYSERI).

Qumsha'i was known as a man of piety and a high degree of spirituality. Many of his students considered him to have reached the highest states of realization in *irfan*. He lived a simple life. He is said to have given all of his property and other possessions to the poor before migrating to Tehran. This manner of living attracted many people and students from different parts of Iran. As a result, Qumsha'i taught hundreds of students and there are numerous accounts of his piety, knowledge, and spirituality. He is also remembered as a mystical poet, but almost all of his poems have been lost.

Qumsha'i's works that have survived include a short treatise on sainthood called *Risala fi'l-wilaya* (Treatise on Sainthood/Custodianship), a treatise on Ibn al 'Arabi's concept of the unity of being, which carries the interesting title *Risala fi wahdat al-wujud bal al-mawjud* (Treatise on the Unity of Existence or Rather the Existent), and another short work on the relationship between God's Essence and Qualities called al-*Khilafat al-kubra* (The Great Vicegerency). In addition to these works, Qumsha'i also wrote commentaries and glosses on Ibn al-'Arabi's *Fusus al-hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom), Qunawi's *Miftah al-ghayb* (The Key to the Invisible World), and IBN TURKA Isfahani's *Tamhid al-qawa'id* (The Arrangement of Principles). His notes on Sadra's *Asfar* have been published in the nine-volume edition of the *Asfar*, and they attest to Qumsha'i's mastery of Mulla Sadra's thought.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

QUNAWI, Sadr al-Din (605–73/1207–74)

The disciple and first major expositor of the teachings of IBN AL-'ARABI, Sadr al-Din Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Muhammad b. Yunus al-Qunawi was born in Qunya (Konya), Turkey. In spite of his influence and significance, the details of his life remain unknown. Qunawi's father Majd al-Din Ishaq al-Rumi had befriended Ibn al-'Arabi in Mecca. Ibn al-'Arabi then traveled to Anatolia with Qunawi's father. According to some sources, Ibn al-'Arabi married Qunawi's widowed mother when his father died. Qunawi remained with his master Ibn al-'Arabi until the latter's death in 1240.

Qunawi was a contemporary of Jalal al-Din AL-RUMI and must have known him personally. There is, however, very little in the sources that indicate any relation between the two. Compared to both Ibn al-'Arabi and Rumi, Qunawi appears to have much greater interest in philosophy and mystical theology. His writings are thoroughly mystical and emphasize intuitive and experiential knowledge. But they also display a noticeable concern for presenting the main teachings of Ibn al-'Arabi in a more "systematic" and intellectual manner. Qunawi's exchange of two letters with Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI is indicative of this predilection in Qunawi's thought. In the correspondence initiated by Qunawi, Qunawi asks Tusi several questions and the two scholars exchange ideas on a number of ontological and epistemological issues. Qunawi says that his goal in this correspondence was to show the essential unity of the mystical path, represented by himself and his teacher, and the philosophical method represented by the most famous Peripatetic of the thirteenth century.

Qunawi's writings can be read as both elaborations of Ibn al-'Arabi's teachings and as independent works on their own. The main thrust of his thought comes from Ibn al-'Arabi. Such central themes as the cosmos as a theophany (*tajalli*) of God's names and qualities, degrees of being and knowledge, knowledge as intuition and experience rather than as representation are carefully articulated in Qunawi's works. But compared to Ibn al-'Arabi's works that cover an enormous amount of subjects, Qunawi's corpus is much more limited and focused in its scope. In this category of works, Qunawi's *Miftah al-ghayb* (The Key to the Invisible World) is considered his masterpiece. The *Miftah* starts out like a typical book on traditional philosophy with a discussion of knowledge, concept (*tasawwur*), and judgment (*tasdiq*). It then proceeds to establish metaphysics or "divine science" (*al-'ilm al-ilahi*) as the foundation and ultimate end of all knowledge and sciences.

The central theme of Qunawi's metaphysics is what he calls the "principal or original order of being" (*al-tartib al-wujudi al-asli*), and it can be read as an elaboration on Ibn al-'Arabi's sophisticated system of the degrees of being (*maratib al-wujud*). The famous Ottoman jurist, Sufi, and *shaykh al-Islam* Molla FENARI wrote an important commentary on the *Miftah* called *Misbah al-uns bayn al-ma'qul wa'l-mashhud fi sharh miftah al-ghayb al-jam' wa'l-wujud*.

Qunawi's *Kitab al-Fukuk* (The Book of Redemptions) is a commentary on Ibn al 'Arabi's *Fusus al-hikam*. Like the *Fusus*, it begins with Adam and ends with Muhammad, explaining each prophet's wisdom in Qunawi's typical style of writing. In this sense, the *Fukuk* is as much a commentary as an independent work in its own right. Qunawi's commentary on the opening chapter of the Qur'an, called *I'jaz al-bayan fi tafsir umm al-qur'an* (Miraculous Explanation in the Commentary of the Mother of the Qur'an), also called *Tafsir al-fatiha*, is not only a commentary but also a statement of the principles of Qunawi's spiritual hermeneutics and remains one of the most important commentaries produced by the school of Ibn al-'Arabi. Qunawi's other works such as *al-Nusus* (Chapters) elaborate on the themes mentioned above. *Al-Nafahat al-ilahiyya* (Divine Breathings) is a collection of metaphysical reflections on a number of "breaths" (*nafha*) that al-Qunawi has received by way of mystical illumination.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-QUSHAYRI, Abu'l-Qasim ‘Abdulkarim ibn Hawazin (376–465/986–1072)

Abu'l-Qasim ‘Abdulkarim b. Hawazin was born in Ustuwa, a small town in northeastern Iran in the month of Rabi al-Awwal 376/July 986 and died in Nishapur on 16 Rabi al-Thani 465/December 30, 1072. He was a renowned Sufi thinker, a theologian, and a *hadith* scholar in the tradition of Sunni Islam.

Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri, on both maternal and paternal sides, was of Arab descent, his father from the tribe of the Bani Qushayr and his mother from the Bani Sulaym. His family was both wealthy and learned. When he was very young, his father died. As a result al-Qushayri was brought up under the care of one of his relatives, Abu'l-Qasim al-Yamani, who taught him the Arabic language and general culture (*adab*). In his youth al-Qushayri also acquired extraordinary skills in horsemanship and weaponry. It was his maternal uncle, Abu ‘Uqayl ‘Abdurrahman b. Muhammad, an eminent scholar of *hadith*, who initiated him into the study of the discipline. At a later date of his youth he went to Nishapur to study accounting in order to reduce the hefty tax imposed upon the village of his deceased father.

Nishapur was then politically, commercially, and intellectually the most active city of Khurasan. All the existing traditional Islamic disciplines and fine arts were studied in depth there. As his study of accounting was in progress in Nishapur, al-Qushayri met the celebrated Sufi master Abu ‘Ali al-Daqqaq, a well-known representative of Junayd al-Baghdadi's “sober Sufism.” This encounter with al-Daqqaq, who later gave him his daughter Fatima in marriage, was a turning point in al-Qushayri's life, for he at once became a close disciple of the former and under him embarked upon his long mystical journey. It was part of his mystical training, as directed by his master al-Daqqaq, that al-Qushayri studied all the religious sciences from the prominent scholars of the time, for instance, *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) from the Shafi‘i jurist Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Tusi (d. 460/1067), *kalam* (Islamic theology), especially the Ash‘ari school from Abu Bakr IBN FURAK (d. 406/1015) and Abu Ishaq al-Isfara'ini (d. 418/1027), and *hadith* from Hakim al-Nisaburi, Abu'l-Husayn al-Haffaf, and Abu'l-Hasan al-Ahwazi. The discipline of *hadith*, among all others, occupied the most significant place and the longest time in al-Qushayri's overall scholarship. His rapid advancement in this particular field made him an estimable authority and numerous students attended his daily *hadith* circles and transmitted *ahadith* from him.

Al-Qushayri's fame, however, rests rather on his mastery in Sufism and particularly in his accomplishment in demonstrating the conformity of Sufism with the Shari‘a. His mystical training had begun with al-Daqqaq, and proceeded, upon his teacher's death (405/1015), with other prominent Sufis such as Abu ‘Abdurrahman AL-SULAMI

(d. 412/1021). Al-Qushayri, as the successor of his master al-Daqqaq, continued to preside over daily sessions and give mystical discourses in the *madrasa* originally founded by the latter and later known as the *madrasat al-qushayriyya*. In due course of time al-Qushayri became a staunch advocate of orthodox Sufism, so much so that he exerted immense efforts to legitimize and support it with the help of the *hadith* and the Sunna and thereby laid the groundwork for AL-GHAZALI to complete the task. He was at the same time an ardent exponent of Ash'arite theology and a faithful member of the Shafi'ite legal school.

When the control of the city of Nishapur passed from the Ghaznavids onto the Seljuks in 429/1038, al-Qushayri found himself in the midst of the conflicts that arose between the Ash'ari-Shafi'ites and the Hanafites, due to the one-sided policies of al-Kunduri, the minister of the first Seljuk ruler, Tugril Beg. He took a firm stance against the adverse campaigns of al-Kunduri who, as a stern Hanafi and a mild Mu'tazili, branded the founder of the Ash'arite school of theology, Abu'l-Hasan AL-ASH'ARI (d. 324/935), and his followers as innovators (*ahl al-bid'a*). Outraged by such unwarranted critiques, al-Qushayri issued a religious verdict (*fatwa*) in 436/1044–5, declaring that al-Ash'ari was a faithful member of the Sunni community and that his doctrines were in perfect accord with the Sunni creed. He further wrote a lengthy letter entitled *Shikayat ahl-sunna bima nalahum min al-mihna* (The Grievance of the Sunni Community Concerning the Persecution That Has Harmed Them), by which he complained to the Muslim scholars (*'ulama'*) about the ill-treatment of the Ash'arites and the ungrounded allegations directed especially against al-Ash'ari himself.

As a result, al-Qushayri was arraigned and imprisoned in Nishapur by the order of al-Kunduri, but after a couple of weeks he was rescued and released through the efforts of the Shafi'ite leader Abu Sahl and his people. Al-Qushayri then left the city, together with some other Ash'arite scholars, for Baghdad in 448/1056, where he began to deliver lectures on *hadith* at the palace of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qa'im bi Amrillah. In the meantime he had also a short sojourn with his family in Tus. Upon the death of Tugril in 455/1063 and the accession of Alp Arslan to the Seljukid throne, who executed al-Kunduri and filled his vizierial post with the appointment of the Shafi'i-Ash'arite, Nizam al-Mulk, al-Qushayri returned to Nishapur and spent the rest of his life there comfortably. At the same time, until his death in 465/1072 he carried on his mystical discourses and *hadith* lectures at his *madrasa*, where he was buried next to his master and father-in-law, Abu 'Ali al-Daqqaq. To his name is attributed a Sufi order, tariqat al-Qushayriyya, which is said to have attracted followers, especially in India, up to the end of the eighteenth century. Al-Qushayri left behind six sons, three from his first wife and three from his second wife, and five daughters, one from the first and four from the second. His first wife, Fatima, was a learned Muslim woman. Several of his sons became great scholars in their own right.

Al-Qushayri's influence on his contemporaries as well as on later Muslim thinkers was immense. His contributions to Islamic thought and sciences are manifold: transmission of *hadith* in traditional forms and training many students in this discipline, elucidation of the Ash'arite theology, and allegorical interpretation of the Qur'an. As attested by many early and later Muslim scholars, al-Qushayri's prominence lies in the formidable role he played in providing a comprehensive account of the lives of the early Sufis and their teachings and a solid definition and systematic formulation of the classical key Sufi concepts and practices, which are consulted as references by even today's writers on Sufism. By his deep mystical thought and invaluable ideas he left a far-reaching impact on many great thinkers and Sufis, such as al-Ghazali (d. 555/1111), Farid al-Din ʻAttar (d. 617/1220), Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 672/1273), and Isma'il Ankaravi (d. 1041/1631).

Al-Qushayri composed a variety of significant works in various fields. The most important and most influential of all is his *al-Risala*, mostly known as *al-Risala al-Qushayriyya* (The Treatise of al-Qushayri), an indispensable reference book for those who study and specialize in Islamic mysticism. It was written in 438/1045–6 and has been published in several editions and translated in various languages, including English, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu. Through this work the author appears to have accomplished at least two chief objectives: to provide a solid structure for Sufism, along with its terminology and principles, and to demonstrate the conformity of Sufi beliefs and practices with the norms of the Shariʻa. In achieving the latter goal he quotes a number of verses and *hadith* that are relevant to the topics. Toward the end of the work he tackles courageously such crucial issues as *samaʻ* (Sufi music) and tries to prove its lawfulness from the standpoint of the Shariʻa. Al-Qushayri has also made an outstanding contribution to the field of mystical Qur'an commentaries through his work *Lata'if al-isharat bi tafsir al-qur'an* (Subtleties of the Indications [alluded] in the Exegesis of the Qur'an). Inspired and influenced profoundly by Sulami's celebrated Sufi commentary, *Haqa'iq al-tafsir*, the author began writing it a few years before his *Risala*, in 434/1042–3, and completed it nearly at the same time with the latter, in 437/1045. It is available in print in four volumes.

Al-Qushayri's *Al-Tahbir fi'l-tadhkir* is perhaps the first of its kind in the history of Islamic thought as a mystical commentary that examines at length each of God's ninety-nine names and also explains the significance of their contemplation. It has been published in two different editions. *Nahw al-qulub* is another valuable work by him and available in print. It expounds the grammatical rules of Arabic language within mystical discourse. He also devoted several writings to delineating certain specific topics of Sufism. *Kitab al-Miʻraj*, for instance, analyzes the phenomenon of the ascension and its importance for the Sufis. Again, *Tartib al-suluk fi tariqilla*, which is available in Arabic edition side-by-side German translation done by Fritz Meier, discusses the ethical aspects of God's remembrance (*dhikr*). Moreover, al-Qushayri has added a few works of importance to Islamic theology and in particular to the Ashʻarite school of theology. *Al-Lumaʻ fi'l-ʻitiqad*, though small in size, takes precedence over others in terms of its lucidity and precision.

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BILAL KUŞPINAR

QUTB, Sayyid (1906–66)

Sayyid Qutb Ibrahim Shadhili was born on October 9, 1906, in Musha, a village of Asyut (Egypt). He died on August 29, 1966, in Cairo, having been executed after being declared a violent activist by the Egyptian government. Although hanged for sedition, Sayyid Qutb wrote extensively on the theory of Islamic society and the relationship of humans to God in that utopian society. Initially an educator, journalist, and literary critic, Qutb later wrote an unmediated, non-traditional exegesis of the Qur'an and also wrote extensively on bringing about an Islamic state. He is most famous for his rigid, fundamentalist view that the world is either *jahili* (ignorant) or Islamic. In contrast, Qutb's contemporary Abu al-ʻAla AL-MAWDUDI considered that the world included *jahili* and Islamic elements in different proportions. Qutb represents an extreme view, which does not see gradations in society, but defines it as one or the other.

In 1948 the Ministry of Education sent Qutb to the United States, perhaps in the hope he would become more accepting of Western culture. Qutb spent about two years in the United States, where he studied education in Washington, DC, Colorado, and California (at Stanford). Qutb received a master's degree in education from the University of Northern Colorado at Greeley, Colorado. His greater education was apparently in what he saw of sexual mores, racism, and materialism in American life. He returned to Egypt in 1951, spending time in Europe on his way home.

Initially a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and privy to plans of the Nasserists who overthrew monarchial rule by military government, Qutb fell out with them in 1954. In 1955 he was sentenced to prison in a general sweep against the brotherhood. He was released in 1964, then rearrested later that year. After a closed trial he was sentenced to death for terrorism and sedition. The book *Maʻalim fi al-tariq* (Milestones) advocated change by persuasion and purification, not force; nevertheless *Maʻalim* was used as the main evidence against him. Two other brotherhood leaders were also executed with him. Consequently he is viewed as a martyr for fundamentalist Islam and his influence remains tremendous.

In Qutb's reaction to the United States, one can see the inability of an already formed adult mind to move beyond the exterior surface in a foreign society and the further inability to judge any subtleties. In his letters to the Egyptian press he rails against men and women dancing in public at church socials. Whatever the public statements about free love in American society, he was apparently unaware of a deeper societal debate about the proper role of men and women in a modern society. Sayyid Qutb's analysis of American materialism, like the Marxists, only describes work in terms of wage production, entirely neglecting the idea of work for self-fulfillment or satisfaction. Like the Khawarij, Qutb is an extremist who pushes his analysis to the ultimate end.

His most influential works are: *Ma'alim fi al-tariq* and *Fi zilal al-qu'ran.* Some of his most important ideas are that *jahiliyya* is an ahistorical condition; that the early Muslims were the most noble generation and contemporary Muslims must struggle to purify themselves; that Muslims do not owe allegiance to an "un-Islamic" government; and, in some ways less obviously, that modern Muslims such as Qutb, were able to interpret the Qur'an in light of direct inspiration, ignoring generations of commentators.

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QUTB AL-DIN AHMAD AL-RAHIM,
see Wali Allah

R

RABI‘A AL-‘ADAWIYYA AL-QAYSIYYA

(95 or 99–185/714 or 717–801)

Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiyya was born in Basra, the city of date palm forests and salt marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, in 95/714 or 99/717–8. She died in the former garrison town in 185/801. Rabi‘a represents the pinnacle of the Basran tradition of women's ascetic spirituality within Islam. Within Sufism, she is one of the (if not *the*) earliest exponents and dramatic exemplars of "love-mysticism."

The accretion of legend and tales of the miraculous fill out the stories of Rabi‘a's life from the earliest accounts, crystallizing in the comprehensive biography provided by Farid al-Din ‘Attar (d. *c.* \1221) in his *Tadhkirat al-Awliya* (The Memoirs of the Saints). Tradition holds that Rabi‘a's parents died when she was a child, the young orphan seized and sold into slavery. It is likely that her (non-Arab) family converted to Islam and this, or Rabi'a's piety and devotion, secured her status as a freed slave and client (*mawlat*) of the clan of al-‘Atik (hence no patronymic), a subclan of ‘Adi ibn Qays.

Aptly described as an "ascetic of extreme otherworldliness" (Smith 2001: 105), Rabi‘a's life was bound by an ascetic triune of prayer, poverty (*faqr*), and seclusion that encompassed the triune prescription of Sufi conduct: "little food, little sleep, little talk." Her uncompromising and lifelong ascetic regimen required periodic desert sojourns and the construction of a simple hut for devotional retreat. She defined for the Sufi novice the requisite path of renunciation, the underlying rationale for which is a single-minded and wholehearted love (*mahabba*) of God.

Physically frail and frequently ill, Rabi‘a was no less renowned for the rigors of her asceticism (both ill-health and longevity have been attributed to her vigilant asceticism!). She is reputed to have refused several offers of marriage, preferring the celibate life. Although no school was founded in her name, women, and more often men, came for spiritual advice and instruction in deference to her informal mastery of early Sufi doctrine and practice. Notable among those seeking her guidance on a wide array of subjects is Sufyan ibn Sa‘id ath-Thawri (d. 161/777–8), a respected traditionist and significant figure in early Islamic jurisprudence. And no less than Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri (d. 465/1073), Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), and al-Suhrawardi (d. 587/1191) saw fit to discuss in some detail her teachings. The picture of a "highly-strung and emotional recluse" painted by an early biographer seems to suffer in comparison with Sulami's portrait of Rabi‘a in his *Dhikr an-niswa al-muta ‘abbidat as sufiyyat* (Memorial of Female Sufi Devotees): "a rational and disciplined teacher who demonstrates her mastery of important mystical states, such as truthfulness (*sidq*), self-criticism (*muhasaba*), spiritual intoxication (*sukr*), love for God (*mahabba*), and gnosis (*ma'rifa*)" (Cornell 1999: 62).

No matter how wondrous, God's works are but veils obscuring the beauty and essence of God, obstacles in the way of eventual union of the lover with the Beloved. Thus Rabi'a's conception of repentance (*tawba*) is more than mere remorse for sinning and the corresponding resolve to sin no more: repentance denotes the determination to turn away from all save God. Yet, perchance paradoxically, for Rabi'a *tawba* is a "gift [of grace] from God." As such, it is a prelude to or necessary condition for a host of psycho-spiritual virtues and emotional dispositions; but most importantly, *tawba* allows for the abnegation of personal will in the will of God (logically derived from *tawhid*, the oneness of God). In addition to the longing of the lover for the Beloved (*shawq*), or the yearning of the soul purged of *nafs* (baser passions, selfish desires) to experience intimacy with God (*uns*), Rabi'a's love mysticism therefore entails utter acquiescence of the lover in the will of the Beloved (*rida'*, literally contentment or satisfaction—no erotic union or marriage of equals here!). Not surprisingly, *rida'* signifies God's satisfaction with his loving servant's obedience, which is metaphysically if not logically prior to the subjective experience of *rida'*, that is, the lover's contentment with her lot in life, her share of misfortune, adversity, or suffering. Like the God of the Hebrew Bible, Rabi'a's God is a jealous God "who will suffer none to share with Him that love which is due to Him alone" (Smith 2001: 131). Finally, disinterested love of God means the obedient servant is ideally motivated by neither hope for eternal reward (Paradise), nor fear of eternal punishment (Hell). In an Islamic variant of Euthyphro's question, Rabi'a asks, "Even if Heaven or Hell were not, does it not behove us to obey Him?"

While a foretaste of the union of the lover with the Beloved is possible in this vale of tears, only death can bring about *kashf*, the final unveiling of the Beloved to his lover(s). And it is thus *mahabba* that, in the end, makes possible knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of God. Ascetic practice serves both to heighten the sense of separation from, and intensify the longing for, the Beloved: acute awareness of the sin of separation assuming the form of grief and sorrow in Basran mysticism. Such lamentation was often vividly expressed—including by Rabi'a—through incessant weeping (*buka'*), the prolonged practice of which sometimes led to blindness (Cornell 1999: 61).

Although love for the Creator turned her away from love of created things, she faced her separation from the Beloved with a patience (*sabr*) and gratitude (*shukr*) that transcended any feelings of grief and sorrow, befitting one enthralled by a vision of eventual union with the Divine.

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RAGHIB PASHA, Mehmed

(1111–76/1699–1763)

Mehmed Raghib Pasha was born in Istanbul in 1111/1699 and died in the same city on 24 Ramadan 1176/April 8, 1763. He was a great statesman, an eminent scholar, a renowned poet, and a distinguished political thinker of the eighteenth-century Ottoman state. His original name was Mehmed. On account of the penname Raghib that he employed in his poetry, he was generally known as Koja Raghib Pasha.

Being a son of the scribe Mustafa Shawki Efendi, a middle-class father who had been in charge of the Ottoman Registry Office, Raghib Pasha received a good traditional instruction under the private tutelage of several prominent teachers of the time, though little is known about the details of his formal training. His exceptional intelligence and ability were soon discovered by his family and the people around him, and thus he was employed at a young age in the same office where his father was working. In a short time he not only grasped the techniques and skills of an able administrator but also demonstrated an impeccable performance in his work. As a result, in 1135/1724 he was appointed secretary to the governor of Van, ʻArifi Ahmed Pasha, and remained quite active in this post serving for the two subsequent governors, Koprulu-zade Abdullah Pasha and Hekim-zade Ali Pasha, until 1141/1729. Upon his return to Istanbul he was sent to Baghdad as deputy responsible for the management of fief and military revenues. This was followed by his appointment there as head of the Treasury (*defterdar*). He went on to hold many key positions in various capacities at various places. Some of the positions which he occupied until he was promoted to the post of grand vizier, the highest office in the Ottoman state, were as follows: the chief secretary of the financial affairs in Istanbul in 1145/1733; the head of the provincial treasury in Erzurum in 1148/1736; an active peace-negotiator in Nimirov in 1149/1737; the minister of foreign affairs (*re'isu'l-kuttab*) in charge of the sultan's correspondence with foreign ambassadors and governments in 1153/1741; the governor of Egypt in 1156/1744, where he secured order and peace after having wrestled for five years with the various factions of the Mamluks; and the governor of Rakka, Aleppo, and Damascus until 1170/1756.

Having augmented amply his professional experience during all these years of governmental service and having accomplished many significant results, Raghib Pasha was finally promoted by the sultan Osman III to the post of grand vizier on 20 Rabi al-Awwal 1170/December 13, 1756. He was in fact the seventh and the last grand vizier of Osman III, who had given little power to his viziers and dismissed them with no genuine excuses. But cautious and clever as he was, Raghib Pasha was unaffected by the moody character of Osman III. Upon the latter's death he was retained in the same post by the succeeding Sultan Mustafa III, with whom he shared almost similar ideas concerning domestic and international issues and with whom he also established a family tie by means of his marriage with the former's widowed sister, Saliha Sultan. It was only during Mustafa III's reign that Raghib Pasha reached the zenith of his administrative career as "the last outstanding grand vizier of the Ottoman State." In this post which he held for seven years until his death, he unfailingly discharged his duties and courageously implemented his decisions. He introduced, with the support of the sultan, a number of improvements and new regulations in the Ottoman administration, as well as in the management of the finances of the treasury. By appointing inspectors, he controlled the operation of the civil institutions and the religious endowments and thus ensured that the revenues accrued from them were spent for their stated noble objectives. When he died in 1176/1763, he was buried in the garden of his own library, located in the district of Laleli, Istanbul.

Besides being a leading statesman and a great scholar, Mehmed Raghib Pasha was also a distinguished poet and a renowned political thinker and historian. He devoted most of his time to reading books and debating and deliberating on intellectual matters.

The library founded by him bears an obvious testimony to his profound intellectuality. At the same time a master calligrapher, he offered patronage to many artists and craftsmen of his time. By his poetical and prose writings, which are replete with graceful maxims of wisdom and philosophical themes, he contributed immensely to the classical Turkish literature. Among the Turkish poets he was hailed as the last and best representative of Nabi's school. Although he was well versed in the traditional Persian literary forms, he used a direct and lucid Turkish vocabulary in illustrating his points. His works, covering all available fields of the time, reflect the synthesis of the old and contemporary ideas. His fame rests mostly on his state documents and political and historical writings, some of which were used as exemplary models for diplomatic correspondences. By his poetry he has influenced some of his contemporaries as well as some of the famous poets in the following generations, such as Fitnat Hanim, Haşmet, Sünbül-zade Vehbi, and İzeet Molla.

Raghib Pasha has produced works in both Arabic and Turkish and also translated two historical texts from Persian into Turkish. *Safinat al-Raghib wa Dafinat al-Matalib* is one of his important works, written in Arabic in a lecture form, dealing with various subjects of humanity and religion. A sizable portion of it is devoted to the question of the creation of the world and the human being. *Tahqiq wa Tawfiq*, composed of three major parts along with an introduction and a conclusion, is his other eminent work in which he imparts his personal views and observations concerning the religio-political relations between Nadir Shah's Iran and Mahmud I's Ottoman Turkey. This work occasionally attempts at resolving and harmonizing the differences between the doctrines of the Sunnis and those of the Shi'ites. Perhaps his *Majmu*'a is the only work that exhibits Raghib Pasha's mastery in the employment of three languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, as well as his proficiency in the writing of both prose and poetry styles at the same time. It is a collection of numerous well-articulated poems depicting certain ethical notions and a few duly selected epistles delineating various aspects of sciences such as geometry, algebra, and geomancy. His poetic masterpiece, *Divan*, contains his poems. Among his other works, the *Munsha'at*, sometimes known as *Talkhisat*, is of great significance to political historians, for it provides many diplomatic letters and official documents written by Raghib Pasha when he had been holding the post of foreign minister. He has also made considerable contribution to Turkish literature by his translations of two Persian histories, Mirkhand's *Rawdat al-safa'* and 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Samarkandi's *Matla' al-sa'dayn*.

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BILAL KUŞPINAR

AL-RAHIM, QUTB AL-DIN AHMAD,
see Wali Allah

RAHMAN, Fazlur (1919–88)

Fazlur Rahman was born in 1919 in the Hazara district, which was then in India and is now in northwest Pakistan. His father

Mawlana Shahab al-Din was a graduate of the Deoband school, and was thus considered a religious scholar with a traditional *madrasa* education. Fazlur Rahman started his early education in traditional Islamic thought under the guidance of his father. After memorizing the entire Qur'an in his tenth year, Rahman continued with studies in Arabic, Persian, rhetoric, literature, Aristotelian logic, philosophy, Islamic theology (*kalam*), law (*fiqh*), *hadith*, and *tafsir* (Qur'anic Exegesis). When he was fourteen years old, in 1933, his family moved to Lahore where he went to a modern school.

Fazlur Rahman received his BA in 1940 and MA in 1942 from Punjab University. He later studied at Oxford University under Professors S. Van den Bergh and H. A. R. Gibb, and completed his PhD in 1949 with a thesis on the medieval philosopher IBN SINA. The thesis was published by Oxford University Press as *Avicenna's Psychology* in 1952. In the 1950s, Rahman taught first at the University of Durham in England, and later at McGill University in Montreal, Canada.

During his education and teaching in England, Fazlur Rahman realized there was a gap between traditional Islamic and modern education. As a result of this conflict, he confessed to "an acute scepticism brought about by the study of philosophy," which finally shattered his traditional beliefs. After completing his PhD at Oxford, Rahman continued his research in the history of Islamic prophecy. The result of this research was a book, *Prophecy in Islam*, which treated critically, in its historical setting, the doctrine of prophecy developed by Muslim thinkers. When preparing this work, Fazlur Rahman delved into the Muslim Peripatetics (*mashsha'un*). He again came across conflict between their doctrine and that of such orthodox scholars as AL-ASH'ARI, AL-GHAZALI, and IBN TAYMIYYA.

Rahman was, however, dissatisfied with both the philosophical and traditional doctrines of prophethood. He rejects both of them. He realizes that "while traditions are valuable for living religions in that they provide matrices for the creative activity of great minds and spirit, they are also entities that ipso facto isolate that tradition from the rest of humanity." Rahman then develops out of this predicament the synthesis that "all traditions need constant revitalisation and reform." There are, for Rahman, two kinds of revivalist trends in Islam: one is concerned with the system of beliefs and thus is theoretical and intellectual; the other is moral, practical, and thus activist. Rahman emphasizes both the activist and intellectual revival.

The practice of the Muslim community, argues Fazlur Rahman, shows that Sunna is mainly a concept based on the exemplary conduct of the Prophet. What the Muslim community inherits from previous generations he also calls the "living *sunna*." The content of Sunna, however, has been continually developed by the activity of the early scholars.

Fazlur Rahman argues that toward the middle of the second century, the transmission of *hadith* had advanced. This movement had developed into a formal discipline. As textual materials continued to increase, the power of *hadith* against the "living *sunna*" increased as well. Therefore, Fazlur Rahman argues, *hadith* became the tool not only of legal norms but also of religious beliefs and principles. *Hadith* literature, therefore, should be re-evaluated and reinterpreted under contemporary moral and social conditions. Fazlur Rahman's methodological analysis with regard to *hadith* and Sunna brought him to think that the early conception of the living Sunna represented by the first generations of Muslims needs to revive, and to establish a dynamic living Sunna for the contemporary Muslim community.

As a thinker, Fazlur Rahman was interested in theological issues so far as they had a contemporary relevance. This approach to contemporary Islamic issues can be seen in his academic work, even during his teaching career at Durham University. He published several articles and works which are devoted to the contemporary challenge of ideas and social issues to Islam.

In the early 1960s Fazlur Rahman was called to Pakistan to head the new Institute of Islamic Research in Karachi. He founded and for several years edited the journal *Islamic Studies* and was intensely engaged in Islamic affairs in Pakistan, both as a scholar and as an influential theorist of opinion and policy. When a new regime took over the country in the late 1960s his position became difficult given his modernist tendencies. Rahman was offered the opportunity to teach at the University of California, Los Angeles; he moved there, with his family, in 1968. In 1969 he was appointed professor of Islamic thought at the University of Chicago, where he remained until his death in the summer of 1988.

Rahman argues that the imperfection and imprecision of medieval Islamic methodology cannot help us understand the Qur'an. Classical and medieval commentators on the Qur'an treated it verse by verse. Commentators have recognized that the principal parts of the Qur'an interpret other parts. They have also written numerous works on the methods or principles of Qur'an interpretation, which are called *usul al-tafsir*. In the formulation of this science, Muslim scholars have given great service to the understanding of the Qur'an, particularly in bringing out the style and idiom of the Qur'an, and its literal and metaphorical use of the language, for example in distinguishing verses that are of general import from those that are particular in their meaning. These approaches, according to Fazlur Rahman, are indeed essential for an understanding of the text of the Qur'an. Nevertheless we need a hermeneutical theory that will help us to understand the meaning of the Qur'an *as a whole* so that the theological sections of the Qur'an and the ethical parts become a unified whole.

As part of understanding the Qur'an as a unity, it becomes essential to understand the *'urf* (customs), institutions and the general way of life of the Arabs; in particular, the situation in Mecca immediately before Islam. We must try not only to understand pre-Islamic Arab religion but also, as we have said, their social institutions, economic life, and political relationships. The prominent role of the Quraysh and its religious and economic superiority among Arabs must be understood. The Qur'an has therefore to be understood in its proper context.

During his PhD, Fazlur Rahman had noted the lack of historical thinking in Muslim intellectuals. Fazlur Rahman maintained that the Qur'an should be studied in historical order to appreciate the development of its themes and ideas; otherwise one is apt to be misled on certain important points. One should then study it in its socio-historical background—this applies not only to individual passages, for which there were what the Qur'an commentators call "occasions of revelation," but also to the Qur'an as a whole, for which there was a background in pagan Mecca that can be called "the occasion of the Qur'an."

The formulation of Fazlur Rahman's system of hermeneutics, according to his Turkish student, Alpaslan Acıkgenç, falls into three periods. First is the crisis period, which covers the time of his education until his early teaching career at Durham. Second is the synthesis period, beginning in 1958 when he began teaching at McGill and lasting until his resignation in 1968 from the directorship of the Central Institute at Lahore. And third is the resolution period, which covers his teaching career at the University of Chicago (1969–88).

By the crisis period, Acıkgenç means the period in which Fazlur Rahman became aware of the conflict between his early traditional education and the modern variety. In order to solve this conflict, Fazlur Rahman had suggested reform and revival in Islam. He would later try to find out how Islamic tradition could be reformed. In the second stage (1958–68), he aimed to concentrate on solutions rather than developing a theoretical formulation of his method. The first theoretical formulations of his methodology were to come during his directorship of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi (1962–8). These methodological considerations first appeared as a series of articles, which were collected later in a book entitled *Islamic Methodology in History*.

Fazlur Rahman developed his methodology in the last period (1969–88), with the publication of his *Major Themes of the Qur'an* while teaching at the University of Chicago. In a later work entitled *Islam and Modernity*, Rahman formulated his method theoretically. He suggests two main steps in the interpretation of the Qur'an using historical methods. The first step is to understand the meaning of a given statement by studying historical situations. The second step is to generalize those specific answers and pronounce them as statements of general moral—social objectives that can be "distilled" from specific texts in light of the socio-historical background and the often-stated *ratio legis*. Rahman suggests this approach in order to generalize the Qur'anic response to socio-historical situations and to apply them to contemporary situations. This is according to him what is called *ijtihad* in the Islamic sciences. Yet Rahman believes that *ijtihad* is an essential element in Islamic methodology and that its definition clearly demonstrates that Islamic historicism predates the West's development of the methodology. At the same time, he expresses agreements with Western thinkers.

Rahman's methodology is based on the hermeneutical theory devised by Betti, which insists on objective study. For Betti the meaning of an ancient text can be studied through objective historical enquiry. However, when Rahman reinterprets the Qur'anic verses with regard to contemporary issues, such as bank interest, women's rights and so on, he is very much under the influence of his own active historical concerns. Fazlur Rahman passed away in July 26, 1988, having made an enormous contribution to Islamic and Western thought in general, and philosophy in particular.

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NECMETTIN GÖKKIR

AL-RANIRI, Nur al-Din (d. 1068/1658)

Nur al-Din al-Raniri was born, date unknown, in Ranir, a famous old port in Gujarat, India, which had a sizable community of Muslims from the various parts of the Islamic world. He died there on 22 Dhu'l- Hijja 1068/September 21, 1658. He was a Sufi, an Ash'arite theologian, a historian, and a zealous missionary who exerted a tremendous influence on the Islamic life and thought of the Malay world, particularly in the kingdom of Aceh, which was a major intellectual and trading center in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Of Hadhrami descent (and probably mixed with Indian ancestry) from the noble Hamid clan in Ranir, al-Raniri received his early Islamic education in his birthplace in India. Since it was a common practice among his community to visit and maintain close contact with their place of origin, most scholars believe that when al-Raniri made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1030/1621, he also traveled to Hadhramaut and in all likelihood stayed there for a certain period of time to continue his Islamic education. In addition to this, it is also believed that he traveled to the Malay world, to Pahang in the Malay peninsula and to Aceh in north Sumatra, since his family had close contacts with these two places. Al-Raniri was initiated into the Rifa'iyya Order by Sayyid Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allah Ba Shayban (d. 1066/1656), a Hadhrami born in India, whose spiritual genealogy may be traced back to Sayyid Abu Bakr al-'Aydarus (d. 919/1509), the great saint of Aden: hence, al-Raniri's reference to himself as "belonging to the school of al-'Aydarus."

On the issue of al-Raniri's connection with the Malay world, some scholars contend that his mother may have been a Malay, although there is no conclusive evidence to support it. However, his uncle Muhammad Jaylani Hamid visited Aceh in the 1580s, with the intention of instructing the local Muslim population in Islamic law and theology, only to discover that the Malays were more interested in Sufism. It should be noted that the Hadhramis of India were active missionaries who played an important role in the Islamization of the Malays.

In 1047/1637 when Iskandar Thani ascended to the throne and became the sultan of Aceh, al-Raniri arrived in Aceh on 6 Muharam/May 31 of the same year. Almost immediately upon his arrival, al-Raniri was appointed to the highest office of *shaykh al-islam* by the new sultan. Al-Raniri's proficiency in the Malay language and excellent standing with the sultan, which led to his rapid rise and influence at the sultan's court, have led many scholars to believe that al-Raniri had a previous close relation with the sultan and had visited and stayed in Aceh and other parts of the Malay world, specifically Pahang in the Malay peninsula, prior to 1047/1637. This view finds support in the fact that al-Raniri had started writing books in Malay, such as the well-known *al-Sirat al-mustaqim* (The Straight Path) which he began in 1044/1633; and he also possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the sultans of Pahang as demonstrated in his major work, *Bustan al-salatin* (Garden of Kings). Furthermore, Iskandar Thani belonged to the Pahang royal family.

The first task al-Raniri undertook as the *shaykh al-islam* of Aceh was to refute the metaphysical and spiritual or *wujudiyya* teachings of Hamzah FANSURI (d. *c.* 1000/1600) and Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i SUMATRANI (d. 1039/1630) which were popular and widespread among the local Malays. In debates held at the sultan's palace, al-Raniri succeeded in proving the heretical nature of their teachings and had their writings burnt and many of their followers persecuted. Al-Raniri's polemics with the w*ujudiyya* school are documented in several of his works, the most important among them being the *Hujjat al-siddiq li daf' al-zindiq* (Proofs of the Truthful in

Refuting the Heretics). Apart from his polemical writings which center on the fundamental issue of the ontological relation between God and the universe, al-Raniri also wrote books of a theological and juridical nature in which the essential principles of the Islamic religion and their practical applications in many aspects of life are elucidated for the benefit of the Malays. These works constitute among the first writings of this nature in Malay and they were instrumental in clarifying and consolidating the Malays' comprehension of the fundamentals of the religion. His *Sirat al-mustaqim* which discusses practical matters on worship, marriage, divorce, burial, and so on is still in use in the *madrasas* in Malaysia and Indonesia today. Al-Raniri is also attributed with the achievement of producing the longest Islamic religious work in the Malay language. His *Bustan al-salatin* consisting of seven books is a kind of encyclopedia of universal history covering the creation of the world, the history of the prophets, kings, saints, and sages, and, in general, of humanity. He also wrote an important work on the various religious beliefs in *Tibyan fi maʿrifat al-adyan* (An Exposition of the Understanding of Religions). Altogether there are twenty-nine works attributed to al-Raniri.

When Iskandar Thani died in 1050/1641, his queen Sultanah Safiyyat al-Din ascended to the throne. Al-Raniri continued to enjoy the Acehnese royal patronage, but not for long. In 1054/1644, in a series of debates with the resurgent w*ujudiyya* school under its new and competent leader, a Minangkabau scholar by the name of Sayf al-Rijal, al-Raniri appeared to have been defeated and was dismissed from his office. He left Aceh for his birthplace, Ranir, where he lived for another fourteen years.

Al-Raniri, whose official stay in the Malay world lasted for a brief seven years, nevertheless left a lasting legacy and a definite influence among the local population. His refutations of the metaphysical teachings of the w*ujudiyya* school were not only instrumental in the destruction of their writings and a reduction in their followers, but also provide us with the references to the sources used by the early Malay Sufis, and their comprehension of Sufi doctrines. His books on the basic essentials of the Islamic religion provide the much-needed standard texts for the instruction and practice of the religion in the Malay world. Thus, al-Raniri like his forefathers, the Hadhrami *sayyid*s of India, played a major role in the Islamization of the Malays.

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ZAILAN MORIS

AL-RAZI, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya' (*c.* 250–313 or 323/*c.* 854–925 or 935)

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya' al-Razi, known as Rhazes in Christian Europe, was a physician, philosopher, and alchemist. He was born in Rayy and his education included the Greek sciences, music, and medicine. He made great use of Galen but took a more empirical approach in both medicine and alchemy than the Greeks, whose language it is said he learned and could even write. He was head of the hospital in Rayy and later Baghdad.

His books were often dedicated to local rulers, in the custom of the time, so his medical handbook the *Mansuri*, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the twelfth century, was dedicated to Mansur b. Ishaq, the Samanid governor of Rayy; his *Mulukior Regius* was likewise dedicated to ʻAli b. Wahsudhan of Tabaristan. He claimed to have written 200 books in his autobiography the *Sira al-falsafiyya* (Philosophical Way of Life) and here he immodestly, but again in keeping with the style of the times, commented on his hard work, scholarship, and skill as a physician. He also expressed great concern for his patients and their welfare. It is certainly true that he was very productive, his notebooks being edited in twenty-five volumes, as the *Kitab al-Hawi fi'l-tibb*, at the instance of Ibn al-ʻAmid, the vizier of Rukn al-Dawla, and were translated as the *Continens* in 1279 by the Jewish physician Faradj b. Salim (known as Farraguth) for King Charles of Anjou, a text that became very popular and often reprinted.

His main work on medicine, the *Kitab al-Jamiʻ al-kabir*, or "Great Medical Compendium," really strikes new ground. Given the importance he gives to empirical investigation and independent thought, he even challenges Galen on occasion. Al-Razi is very much a philosopher-physician, treating medicine as an aspect of the wellbeing of the whole person and stressing the significance of not relying on tradition to arrive at the truth, something that was to make some of his reflections on religion very controversial. From what we know of the titles of his books, no longer extant in the main, they dealt with logic, cosmology, theology, mathematics, and alchemy as well as medicine and philosophy. They often had challenging theses that went against the existing orthodoxies in theoretical thought in a wide range of disciplines, so al-Razi was obviously not disinclined to provoke his audience.

The *Tibb al-ruhani*, also dedicated to al-Mansur, promotes an ascetic lifestyle based on the idea that every pleasure is only possible due to its contrast with a preceding pain. The best we can hope for, then, is some level of contentment or peace of mind. There is no point in trying to expand our level of pleasure since this will only expand the sorts of pains to which we are subject, and so be self-defeating. Death itself is not to be feared since it means the cessation of pain and as such might be welcomed as a perfectly painless state of affairs. Even if the soul is mortal, death is nothing to fear, since when it comes, our suffering goes, and for al-Razi this is something very much to be welcomed. We irrationally fear something that is very much in our interests, and this is due to the overwhelming of our rationality by passion, our passionate desire to keep on living.

Al-Razi is very critical of traditional religion. He claims that the argument that a benevolent deity would always send a guide, a familiar claim in Islamic thought, is outweighed by the argument that God has given us reason enough to work out how to behave. The sorts of behavior that religion involves is often based on blindly following others or tradition, something offensive to reason, according to al-Razi.

His chief claim to fame is as a scientist, in particular as a physician, and his works were translated into Latin and he was known in Christian Europe as Rhazes. Much of his effort was directed toward supporting the ʻAbbasid caliphate, shortly to be destroyed by the Mongols, but a more lasting contribution to Islamic cultural life was the way in which he wrote on the Islamic sciences more than what precisely he had to say. His method, combining *ʻaql* (reason) and *naql* (tradition), was very much followed by his successors. His skill in debate and waspish style made him a model of how to conduct a vigorous controversy and lent a rather frenetic air to much subsequent philosophical work.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

RAZI, ABU HATIM (d. 322/934)

Abu Hatim Ahmad ibn Hamdan Razi (d. 322/934) was an eminent Isma'ili philosopher and the chief *da'i* (missionary) of Rayy, who became the leader of the *da'wa* in the Jibal area. He is credited with expanding Isma'ili missionary activities in Persia but had to go into hiding in Tabaristan after the Sunni Samanids conquered Rayy in 313/925. Abu Hatim succeeded in converting a number of local rulers while he was in Daylam, among the more notable figures one can mention the governor of Rayy, Ahmad ibn 'Ali, Ashraf ibn Shirwayh, and Mahdi ibn Khusraw Firuz.

Abu Hatim was keenly interested in the concept of the hidden imam and the date of his appearance, which he had predicted. His interest in this subject matter can be deciphered from his correspondence with figures such as Abu Tahir al-Jannabi, who were also expecting the appearance of the Mahdi. It was Abu Hatim's false prediction of the date of the Mahdi's return that angered his patron, Mardawij, who may even have claimed to be the representative of the hidden imam himself. This may have been the reason for the famous debate between Abu Hatim RAZI and Zakariyya' RAZI which took place in Mardawij's presence as reported by al-Kirmani.

Abu Hatim Razi, and a number of other Isma'ili thinkers such as Nasafi and Abu Sulayman AL-SIJISTANI who belong to the

Persian school of Isma'ilim, did not accept the imamate of 'Ubayd Allah. Abu Hatim Razi and many of the above figures are to be credited for bringing philosophical discourse and rationalization into such concepts as prophecy, imamate, cosmology, and metaphysics. Razi should also be regarded as a venue through whom much of Neoplatonism entered systematically into Isma'ili doctrine, in particular the concept of the unknowable God, emanation, and the hierarchical chain of being. He was careful to exclude many Neoplatonic ideas which were inconsistent with Islam.

Razi, like many other Isma'ili thinkers, expanded the Isma'ili cosmological and metaphysical doctrines that had already been discussed by Nasafi. Razi's role went beyond that of only a commentator. In his *al-Islah*, he improves upon the central propositions of Neoplatonic thought in Nasafi concerning creation. Razi, in the long-standing tradition of spiritual hermeneutics (*ta'wil*), synthesizes metaphysical concepts and the science of letters. For example, he applies the concept of emanation to the cosmological notions of *kuni* and *qdr*, arguing that the three letters of *qdr* are derived from the first three letters of the word *kuni*; Razi identifies the former notion with the soul and the latter with the intellect. The human soul, Razi says, is a trace of the higher soul, which is perfect like the intellect.

Among the central themes that Razi treats in his works, especially in his *A'lam al-nubuwa*, are prophecy, the nature of a prophet's knowledge of the world, and the nature of revelation in respect of the Prophet's intellect. A glance at the title of some of the chapters of *A'lam al-nubuwa* reveals the extent to which Razi was concerned with epistemological issues. Among the titles are "The Prophets are the Origin of Scientific Learning and Bequeathed It to the Sages," "The Origin of Astronomical Observation," "The Origin of the Known Drugs," and "All Knowledge Goes Back to the First Sage."

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

AL-RAZI, Fakhr al-Din (543–606/1149–1209)

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn al-Husayn, more often known as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, was born at Rayy in Iran. His early education was carried out by his father who was an educated man and brought up his son within the Shafi'i tradition of law and the Ash'arite theological school. After his father's death, Fakhr al-Din continued his studies with Kamal al-Din Simnani in Simnan, where he worked on law, and then on theology and philosophy with Majd al-Din al-Jili, following him to Rayy and Maragha. After his studies he traveled widely around the eastern part of the Islamic world, teaching and debating wherever he went. Fakhr al-Din was clearly a combative individual who enjoyed engaging his opponents, whether they were Mu‘tazilites, Karramites, Hanbalis, or Isma‘ilis. He describes in his writings his various journeys and how he was sometimes treated well and sometimes far from well, depending on the allegiances of the local ruler. Around 600/1203 he moved to Herat where he founded an academy and was strongly supported by the local authorities.

Fakhr al-Din wrote on a vast number of topics, including grammar, history, medicine, theology, philosophy, and Qur'an commentary. He was certainly the outstanding theologian of his time, using the works of AL-GHAZALI to argue that theology was respectable from a religious point of view if carried out in the right sort of way, and that Muslims have the duty to investigate the theoretical issues that arise in their faith. He shared al-Ghazali's suspicion of philosophy, and yet incorporated it much more directly into his output than did his predecessor. He also was keen to demarcate between philosophy and theology, and he does not accuse philosophers of theological sins, although he does often chide them for what he thinks are their mistakes of reasoning which are also theologically suspect.

Fakhr al-Din was one of those Islamic thinkers who constantly criticized philosophy while using it a great deal in his work. So his critique of IBN SINA and his thought, and of logic and metaphysics are really philosophical works attacking a particular set of arguments. Even his theological works, and there are many of these, employ a sophisticated methodology in which philosophy is not far from the surface. It is his use of philosophy that makes his theology so impressive and gives it a satisfyingly rational structure, making it difficult to attack. In particular, he argues that theology can not only prove the existence of God, but that this proof is incumbent on the believer, thus really sanctioning the use of rational techniques in theology. In his theology he steers a course close to the Ash‘arites, but not an uncritical course, and al-Razi often veers off to attack the position which he has spent so long building up because of some aspect of it with which he disagrees. His books have played a crucial role in the nature of philosophy in the Persian cultural world since he spent so much time discussing Ibn Sina and presented serious doubts about the whole value of the Peripatetic enterprise, while at the same time being part of that enterprise for the purpose of attacking it, rather like his predecessor al-Ghazali who clearly had a huge influence on his thought.

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RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY OF IN ISLAM

The standard conception of philosophy of religion

In their helpful introduction to the subject, Michael Peterson et al. (1991: 8) suggest that the enterprise of philosophy of religion be defined as "the attempt to analyse and critically evaluate religious beliefs." Taken as a broad understanding of the discipline, this definition serves its purpose, for, by virtue of the nature of philosophy as involving a critical examination of issues relevant to human thought, it is certainly true that philosophers of *religion* are interested in assessing the coherence and plausibility of *religious* beliefs. Their critical examination is, however, given a sharper focus in much of the contemporary philosophizing over religious belief in accordance with two prevailing—but certainly not the only—suppositions in the field.

First, it is widely held that the critical component of present-day philosophy of religion relates to what may be called the epistemological concern over religious beliefs. That is, at the heart of critical inquiry into religious beliefs is concern over whether they can reasonably be held to be true, where questions of "reasonableness" are typically expressed in terms of epistemic "rationality" or "justifiability." The epistemological concern is what distinguishes the philosophy of religion from other disciplines, such as the sociology, anthropology, and history of religion since these latter disciplines focus mainly on the phenomenology of religion, and do not raise questions regarding the reasonableness and truth of religious belief. It is important to see that the epistemological concern (properly explicated) also distinguishes the philosophy of religion from theology (or even philosophical theology). Although theology is concerned, indeed deeply concerned, with the truth of religious belief (consider, for example, the trepidation in the Abrahamic religious traditions regarding idolatry, worship of something other than the true God), it raises the question of truth within a context that already presupposes that a certain religious framework is true. Thus, a Muslim theologian, if she wants to give a theological answer, may reply to concerns about whether or not there will be a post-mortem encounter with God with reference to what the Qur'an says about the matter. By contrast, philosophy of religion seeks to ascertain the veracity of religious belief without presupposing the truth (or falsity) of any religious framework. It is, as David Stewart explains, a "second-order activity focused on the fundamental issues of a given religion ... [that] submit[s] claims ... made by religions to a thoroughgoing rational investigation" (Stewart 1980: 6).

To be clearer, one might find it useful (incorporating Stewart's terminology) to speak of a second-order epistemological concern in the philosophy of religion that distinguishes it from theology. So a philosopher of religion, *qua* philosopher of religion, will seek to address concerns about whether or not we will meet God after our earthly lives come to an end by inquiring into the rationality of belief in God, belief in life after death, and so on, without appealing to any scriptural claims and with reference to religiously neutral considerations only (for example, current scientific views about the possibility of survival after bodily death).

Second, the religious content to which the epistemological concern in contemporary philosophy of religion is mainly affixed is specifically a theistic one, *viz.*, the theistic concept of God, where "God" is generally understood to mean, in the words of Richard Swinburne, "[a] person without a body (i.e. a spirit) who is eternal, free, able to do anything, knows everything, is perfectly free, is the proper object of human worship and obedience, the creator and sustainer of the Universe" (Swinburne 1993: 1). A basic inspection of the current, relevant literature reveals that, for most philosophers of religion, the main topic of contention is whether or not the theistic God (as described by Swinburne) exists.

Taking the epistemological concern in conjunction with a theistic construal of the religious content yields what I shall call the "standard conception" of the philosophy of religion: critical inquiry into the epistemic rationality or justifiability of belief in the existence of the theistic God. Furthermore, according to most philosophers of religion writing today, the epistemic rationality or justifiability of the belief that God exists is closely tied to the availability of the appropriate evidence, where evidence refers (typically) to good arguments. One way of making the standard conception of present-day philosophy of religion more explicit, then, would be to suggest that it primarily involves critical assessment of the relevant arguments for and against the existence of the theistic God. This, at any rate, appears to be an apt description of the fundamental endeavor in the philosophy of religion today, as practised in the predominantly Anglo-American analytic tradition.

Now, an unfortunate aspect of the current work in philosophy of religion is that little attention is given to an arguably important prior question, *viz.*, why would—or should—anyone be interested in philosophizing over religious belief? In terms of the standard conception presented above, the question becomes this. Why is it important to undertake an assessment of arguments for and against the existence of the theistic God? Messer, for example, rightly expresses surprise at "the lack of major Anglo-American thinkers who [address] in any depth the prior question of whether the project traditionally undertaken by advocates of the Proofs, namely the rational justification of the existence of God, [is] one that should be taking place at all" (Messer 1993: 2). If, as I am about to argue, Muslim thinkers should take the project of philosophy of religion seriously, an answer to this question needs to be given. Otherwise, it becomes relatively easy for some of them to avail themselves of the following sort of objection at this point. If there is no good reason to think that we should philosophize over religious beliefs in general, then why think that Muslims in particular should be philosophically concerned about their religious beliefs? In what follows, I shall argue that there is at least a *prima facie* case in favor of the standard conception of philosophy of religion, and *ipso facto* that the concerns of Muslim thinkers should intersect with those of contemporary philosophers of religion.

To begin with, note that an answer to the question why philosophizing over religious belief is important (or, more specifically given the standard conception, why critically assessing arguments for and against God's existence is important) can only be given relative to a number of different perspectives. There are, it seems to me, four basic classes of people who might express interest in the (standard conception of) philosophy of religion. Here they are, in no particular order:

There is, first of all, the perspective of the *apologetic theist*. Individuals who fall into this class are mainly interested in arguments for and against the existence of God because they either want (1) to provide philosophical arguments in favor of theism in order to rationally persuade non-theists (atheists, agnostics, etc.) to become theists or (2) to rebut philosophical arguments against theism to show that those who are already committed theists need not worry about the rationality of their theistic convictions. So philosophy of religion might play an important (perhaps major) function in the enterprise of theistic apologetics. For example, speaking in defense of philosophizing about the coherence of theism in a Christian context, Swinburne writes: the religious man . . . has . . . on the Christian view, a duty to convert others. If they are to believe, those others need to have explained to them what the theist's claims mean. They often doubt the coherence of these claims. If the religious man could show the claims to be coherent, he would remove a stumbling block which stands in the way of the conversion of the unbeliever (Swinburne 1993: 6).

It should be clear that both the tasks of persuasion and rebuttal in theistic apologetics have to be second-order ones. To see why, consider, for instance, the fact that the apologetic theist cannot try to rationally persuade an atheist that God exists on the basis of a philosophical argument if the argument in question already presupposes some truth of the theistic worldview (for example, that a book of revelation is a source and criterion of truth). As Descartes observed in his address to the faculty of theology in Paris: "although it is absolutely true that we must believe that there is a God, because we are so taught in the Holy Scriptures, and, on the other hand that we must believe the Holy Scriptures because they come from God . . . we nevertheless could not place this argument before infidels, who might accuse us of reasoning in a circle" (Descartes 1997: 123).

A similar point obviously applies to defensive apologia presented against philosophical criticisms of theism. Suppose it is argued that some alleged discrepancies in Scripture count against the claim that it is divinely revealed, and therefore count as evidence against God's existence. The apologetic theist is unlikely to quell doubts that this argument might instill in the minds of certain theists by arguing on the basis that Scripture itself assures us of its consistency (see, for example, Qur'an 15: 9). Rather, what is indeed is a second-order verification of this scriptural claim.

A second perspective is that of the *reflective theist*. The principal interests of people in this class are not apologetic. That is, reflective theists are not primarily concerned with rationally persuading non-theists to become theists, or in allaying uncertainties some other theists might have about theism, by way of philosophical argumentation. The reflective theist is self-reflective, and so her main concern is whether she is rational in holding her theistic beliefs. In this post-Enlightenment era that is still feeling the powerful effects of thinkers such as Hume, Kant, and Darwin, it cannot be denied that conscientious doubts about the truth of one's own theistic beliefs (if one is a theist) can occur. Especially since the eighteenth century, advances in philosophy, science, and the historico-critical method of scriptural exegesis, have repeatedly encroached on the theist's comfort zone. Pressure may be put on the reflective theist from criticisms emerging from these disciplines to the point where, upon reflection, she is haunted by the possibility that her entire theistic perspective is false (i.e., that the proposition "God exists" is false and therefore so is every other conjunctive theistic proposition where "God exists" is incorporated as a conjunct). Although theists will, of course, contest criticisms of theism and reject the atheistic claim that God does not exist, few of them can deny the fact that several seemingly intelligent and rational thinkers voice criticisms of theism today, and that plenty of people assent to such criticisms. It no longer seems foolish (as it might once have been several centuries ago) to say, as Kai Nielsen does, that "belief in God is irrational for a philosophically sophisticated and scientifically knowledgeable person in our cultural space" (Nielsen 1989: 239). Of course, whether this is actually the case is still a contested issue. In order for her to be satisfied that this is not so, the reflective theist needs some indepen dent—second-order—confirmation that her belief in the theistic worldview, at its most fundamental level, can rationally be adhered to. So the reflective theist may be interested in philosophical arguments for the truth (or falsity) of the conclusion that God exists from a religiously neutral standpoint (I will develop the perspective of the reflective theist in greater detail below).

Thirdly, there is the non-theistic parallel of the apologetic theist, namely, the perspective of the *apologetic non-theist* (by "non-theist," I shall take to mean someone who is simply not a theist, so this will include both atheists and agnostics). Apologetic non-theists are for the most part interested in arguments for and against the existence of God because they wish (1) to provide philosophical arguments in favor of atheism or agnosticism to rationally persuade theists to become non-theists or (2) to rebut philosophical arguments against atheism or agnosticism to show that those who are already committed to the atheistic or agnostic point of view have nothing to be concerned about in relation to the rationality of their stance. Since apologetic non-theists share with their theistic counterparts the common goal of apologetics, the former too may be interested in philosophy of religion for the pursuit of certain atheistic apologetic goals, for example, in extirpating what they take to be the "disease" of religious belief. To adequately discharge the burden of proof for both the specified tasks of persuasion and rebuttal, the apologetic non-theist must pursue the same kind of second-order approach adopted by the apologetic theist. This will restrict the kinds of arguments he can formulate to those that do not contain premises which already presuppose the truth of some part of the non-theistic worldview. Although this last point is an obvious one, it is often not recognized when considering atheistic apologetics; the charge of circularity is often thought to occur in theistic apologetics only. But this is not true. For instance, an often-rehearsed popular objection to theism is the question-begging argument for the conclusion that God does not exist or that there is no need to postulate a God based on the premise that nature explains all there is. Consider the opening lines of the Baron D'Holbach's famous work, *System of Nature* (1770):

> Man is the work of Nature.... For a being formed by Nature, and circumscribed by her laws, there exists nothing beyond the great whole of which he forms part, of which he experiences the influence. The beings which he pictures to himself as above nature, or distinguished from her, are always chimeras formed after that which he has already seen, but of which it is impossible he should ever form any correct idea, either as to the place they occupy, or of their manner of acting. There is not, there can be nothing out of that Nature which includes all beings.
>
> (D'Holbach 1868: 11)

But this is to assume the very thing that is in question. It needs to be shown that nature is all there is before the existence of God can be precluded as chimerical. In response to D'Holbach, Voltaire correctly observed in his sharp criticisms that the latter begs the question here (and indeed on all crucial issues relevant to the theist-atheist debate) by trying to show that nature is not the work of intelligence merely by postulating its self-existence (Collins 1960: 154).

Finally, the fourth perspective is the non-theistic parallel of the reflective theist, namely, the perspective of the *reflective non-theist*. Like the reflective theist, the reflective non-theist's main interest is not in apologetic argument, but rather self-reflective inquiry into the rationality of her belief in non-theism (whether this is agnosticism or atheism). Although theism does indeed face a challenge from various quarters today, as noted in the discussion of the reflective theist earlier, it is not as though the intellectual case for a theistic worldview is obviously a lost cause. On the contrary, several philosophers of religion have, in recent decades, formulated powerful arguments for theism. Writing in 1991, Richard Gale speaks of "the startling resurgence of theism within philosophy during the past thirty years or so" (Gale 1991: 2). And approximately a decade before Gale's comment, Steven M. Cahn and David Shatz made the following remarks:

> A survey of the field today will surprise those who assume that contemporary philosophers are uniformly hostile to religion and do nothing more than repeat well-known criticisms of a limited set of familiar religious claims. In fact, recently

> the situation has been quite the contrary. Many of the most highly regarded scholars in the field are themselves religious believers. In numerous books and articles they have sharpened many traditional doctrines and provided sophisticated defenses of them, thus posing a formidable challenge to those who do not share their commitments.
>
> (Cahn and Shatz 1982: v)

Given this recent rejuvenation in the case for philosophical theism, it is certainly conceivable, and indeed plausible, that reflective non-theists may be challenged by some of the recent philosophical arguments for God's existence, and as a result, they may question the rationality of their belief in a non-theistic worldview (e.g., atheistic Naturalism). Once in doubt about their non-theism, reflective non-theists can mitigate their uncertainties only by arguments whose premises do not already presuppose the truth of the non-theistic standpoint. Like the reflective theist, then, the reflective non-theist may be interested in philosophical arguments for the truth (or falsity) of theism from a neutral perspective.

These four classes of people seem to be representative of those who might express interest in the (standard conception of) philosophy of religion and seek to resolve the truth or falsity of theism from a second-order perspective by evaluating arguments for and against the existence of God. It should be borne in mind that we are not claiming that people belong neatly to one class or another. In approaching the question of whether or not God exists, a person might have both apologetic and reflective strains in her. Moreover, transitions can occur to and from one of the four classes to another. For instance, an apologetic theist might, after repeated failure in her apologetic attempts, become a reflective theist.

Based on the existence of the four classes specified, the *prima facie* case in favor of the standard conception of philosophy of religion can be made as follows. The collective interest of people in all four classes is whether the truth or falsity of theism can be demonstrated or shown to be probable from a religiously neutral, second-order perspective. From this observation, it can be argued that the only discipline that can cater for such an inquiry is the philosophy of religion. The interest in truth—the epistemological concern—will mean that disciplines such as the sociology, anthropology, and history of religion cannot be of direct service (although they may play an auxiliary role in the investigation). And since the epistemological concern over theism for people in these groups is specifically a second-order one, theology, or even philosophical theology, cannot provide the framework in which the inquiry is to be conducted (insofar as both of these disciplines presuppose the truth of theism). So here is an initial answer to our earlier question. Philosophizing over religious belief (or critically assessing arguments for and against the existence of God, on the standard conception of philosophy of religion) is important because there are several sorts of people (the sorts specified by the four classes) who wish to know whether, independently of their theistic or non-theistic framework, there are reasons supporting the truth or falsity of theism.

Muslim theists need to take the project of philosophy of religion seriously, and we shall continue to develop the *prima facie* case for the standard conception of philosophy of religion further with reference to the category of reflective theists, of which of course reflective Muslim theists will form a subset. Circumstances can arise when a (Muslim) theist becomes a reflective (Muslim) theist, and so may be interested in philosophical inquiry into the truth of theistic (Islamic) belief.

At the outset, it seems clear that theists of whatever stripe should have no problem with the philosopher of religion's concern over the truth of theistic belief. There are several reasons, secular as well as those from within the theistic traditions, as to why holding true religious beliefs is important. If these reasons provide good grounds for thinking that the truth about theism matters, then it is a short step from this to the epistemological concern central to the philosophy of religion. Given that we are interested in the goal of obtaining the truth about theistic belief, we should also be interested in the means to it, namely, the epistemic rationality or justifiability of theistic belief by way of good evidence or arguments. So what are these reasons for thinking that holding true beliefs about theism is important?

We will begin with some of the secular reasons. These reasons provide an indirect answer to our question, since they are reasons for holding true beliefs generally speaking. One reason why we care about the truth of beliefs is that the holding of (mainly) true beliefs seems to be an integral part of human nature. As Aristotle writes in the opening lines of his *Metaphysics*, “All men by nature desire to know.” And, of course, if I have a desire to *know* whether *p*, then I will be interested in the truth about *p* (since, according to the prevalent understanding of the concept of knowledge as formulated by epistemologists today, my knowing that *p* entails that *p* is true). But, quite apart from any intrinsic value the holding of true beliefs might have, there are other important reasons for having beliefs which are true. These reasons become salient once we consider the fact that there is a connection between belief and action. Beliefs typically influence the actions we take; they are, as Frank Ramsey put it using his famous metaphor, “maps by which we steer” (Ramsey 1931: 238). If I hold the belief that *p*, then I will typically employ that belief in my practical reasoning toward any action where whether it is the case that *p* is relevant. My belief that I have a lecture to give this morning will be incorporated into my practical reasoning toward whether, for example, I need to visit the university today.

Once we see this link between belief and action, the reason for holding true beliefs becomes apparent. People have several intentions and purposes which lead them to carry out various actions. But these actions can be accomplished only if accompanied by true beliefs. Suppose I wish to go to the grocery store across the road to buy some food. I can carry out this action, and not have my intentions and purposes frustrated, only if I act on true beliefs about where the store is, whether it is currently open, whether I presently have enough money on me, etc. The function of true beliefs in allowing us to fulfill our intentions and purposes in various actions becomes all the more important when we realize that many of our actions have moral implications and so we are morally responsible for them. If I have a moral obligation to help my ill, bed-ridden neighbor, then I need to have true beliefs about what sorts of medicine will help her, where I can obtain such medicine, etc. Acting on false beliefs is risky and may often result in actual harm. If I act on the false belief that a certain medicine will aid in improving my neighbor’s health, when, in fact, it is precisely the sort of medicine that should *not* be administered to people suffering from the particular ailment my neighbor has (since it only worsens the symptoms), then I will be morally accountable for the harm I bring to her. Speaking generally, then, given the link between belief and action, the holding of true beliefs is important because it allows us to fulfill various actions, some of which have moral significance, that is, our moral responsibility for these actions hinges on us acting on true beliefs (and avoiding false ones).

We can now apply these considerations in favor of holding true beliefs to theism specifically. Firstly, it does seem that the knowledge of whether or not God exists is intrinsically valuable. For, as Swinburne writes: “what more central piece of knowledge could there be about the origin, nature and purpose of man and the Universe, than whether they depend for their being on a God who made them, or whether the Universe, and all that is in it, and the laws of their operation, just are, dependent upon nothing? A true belief here, whether theistic or atheistic, is of enormous importance for our whole world-view" (Swinburne 1981: 80).

The impact of knowing whether or not God exists is not confined merely to influencing our outlook on life; it is obvious that it will affect the way we act (think of how often one hears about conversion experiences, where the new convert often proclaims that becoming, say, a Muslim theist has "changed her life"). Swinburne plausibly argues that, if there is a God, human beings have certain moral obligations which they would not have if God did not exist, for example, worshipping God and being obedient to him (Swinburne 1981: 79–80). Fulfilling these moral obligations requires true beliefs about God's existence, what he has commanded, and so on.

We can now also take into account some further reasons from within the theistic tradition which clearly state the importance of holding true beliefs about theism (of course, for the theistic traditions, the most fundamental true belief about theism is that it is true, i.e., that there is a God). Since we are gearing the present discussion primarily toward Muslim theists, it will be useful to refer to some reasons found within the Islamic tradition. Let us consider the most important source of authority in Islam, the Qur'an, in which one finds numerous passages that can be quoted to support the conclusion of some of the philosophical arguments we have been considering for thinking that the truth about theism matters. We find, for example, that one of God's Names is "The Truth" (6:62). God commands his people that they should "cover not truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth when [they] know (what it is)" (2:42). We are told that the truth is from God (2:147) and that the Word of God finds its fulfillment in truth (6:115). On the Day of Judgment "the truthful will profit from their truth" (5:119).

So there are a good number of reasons for thinking that holding true beliefs about theism matters. Although we may take this to be an uncontroversial claim both for the theist and non-theist, we have nevertheless given sufficient grounds for believing it to be true; or, at the very least, sufficient reason to shift the burden of proof on those who doubt it to show otherwise. The next step in the extension of the *prima facie* case in favor of the standard conception of philosophy of religion is to argue that the truth of theism is susceptible to reasonable doubt.

In the earlier discussion of the reflective theist, we noted that, in our post-Enlightenment era, circumstances may arise in which the theist questions the truth of her belief that there is a God. It seems to me that most theists, if they spend some time in a moment or two of quiet reflection, will see that there is one state of affairs in our world which contributes toward casting reasonable doubt on the existence of God, namely, the phenomenon of religious diversity. We use the term "religious diversity" in a broad sense, so as to include even agnostic and atheist beliefs. Hence, by religious diversity, we do not mean simply that there is diversity among religious beliefs, but, more broadly, that there is diversity in "beliefs about religion" or "beliefs about religious matters," as Robert McKim (2001: 128) has put it. Here is McKim's initial account of why religious diversity (in the broad sense) poses a problem for the reflective theist (and, indeed, to all people who hold beliefs about religion):

> How is it that, say, Northern Irish Presbyterians are so sure that they are right in their religious beliefs and so sure that, for instance, the intelligent Roman Catholics all around them are deeply mistaken, and vice versa? How can the

> unreflective Muslim be so sure that her views about religion are right when all around her there are, for instance, convinced Jews, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, atheists, and so forth? How is it that the beliefs of other groups, the conviction and assurance that they have of being right, is not seen to raise fundamental questions about the beliefs of one's own group about religious matters? Is there a sort of blindness, a failure of imagination, involved in being unable to appreciate the appeal of the worldviews of others?
>
> It is not just the fact that there are diverse beliefs that is striking: it is the fact that wise people who think carefully and judiciously, who are intelligent, clever, honest, reflective and serious, who avoid distortion, exaggeration, and confabulation, who admit ignorance when appropriate, and who have relied on what have seemed to be the relevant considerations in the course of acquiring their beliefs, hold these diverse beliefs.
>
> (McKim 2001: 129)

There are three facts (one of which is implicit) in this quote from McKim, which, when taken together, give rise to what we shall term the "problem of religious diversity." Firstly, there is the great diversity in beliefs about religion. Secondly, several of the beliefs about religion are incompatible with the others (this is the implicit point in the passage quoted from McKim); for example, the Muslim belief that there is a God is incompatible with the Buddhist belief that there is no God. Thirdly, several seemingly rational and intellectually responsible people hold these diverse beliefs about religion. One facet of the problem of religious diversity, thus understood, is that several seemingly rational and intellectually responsible people hold false beliefs about religion. This is evident once we recognize the three constituents of the problem of religious diversity just mentioned. As McKim explains: "It is clear, therefore, that large numbers of people have held, and now hold, false beliefs in the area of religion: for, to state a truism as true as they come, if two views are incompatible, at most one of them can be true. So on many of the issues on which there is disagreement, many of the disagreeing groups hold utterly mistaken views" (McKim 2001: 131).

It is typical for those who hold certain beliefs about religion to think that the beliefs of those who are "within their group" are rational and intellectually responsible, whereas those of people "outside their group" are not. Yet, if many, perhaps the majority, of seemingly rational and intellectually responsible people who fall outside that group hold false beliefs about religion, then this observation can generate doubts about the truth of one's own beliefs ("If all these seemingly rational and intellectually responsible people hold false beliefs about religion, then what assurance do I have, even though I regard myself as fairly rational and intellectually responsible, that I haven't got it wrong either?").

Now, the problem of religious diversity calls for an explanation. Why does a state of affairs obtain in our world that permits a multitude of seemingly rational and intellectually responsible people to hold diverse, contradictory, and several false beliefs about religion? A number of thinkers have suggested that what gives rise to the problem of religious diversity, as we have presented it, is the religious ambiguity of our world. According to McKim, "the fact of religious diversity and the fact of religious ambiguity are intimately linked. That there is ambiguity is a very promising explanation of the phenomenon of diversity, although there are other possible explanations" (McKim 2001: 130). So what does it mean to say that "religious ambiguity" obtains in our world? One definition is given by John Hick in his work

An Interpretation of Religion, in which Hick defines religious ambiguity as the view that our universe "is capable from our present human vantage point of being [rationally] thought and experienced in both religious and naturalistic ways" (Hick 1989: 73–4). For Hick, both the religious and naturalistic interpretations are equally rational in the *deontological* sense; that is, a person does not violate any doxastic obligations or intellectual duties in holding either interpretation. The "deontological parity" here is primarily a function of "epistemic parity." Both the religious and naturalistic interpretations of our world lack a secure *epistemically* rational foundation. As Hick explains, religious ambiguity emerges due to "the inconclusiveness of the various philosophical arguments on both sides [i.e. for both the religious and naturalistic interpretations of our world]" (Hick 1989: 75).

Hick understands the "religious" hypothesis as synonymous with the claim "God exists." In contrast to this is the "naturalistic" hypothesis, which claims that the material world of space and time is all there is (and is therefore *ipso facto* committed to the claim "God does not exist"). Understanding the religious and naturalistic hypotheses in this manner means that, for Hick, religious ambiguity obtains between theism and atheism. Although this may be true, such an interpretation of religious ambiguity does not have wide enough an explanatory scope as an account of the problem of religious diversity.

It is precisely on this point that Terence Penelhum, another thinker who subscribes to a version of the thesis of religious ambiguity, contends that Hick's exposé of the theory is "seriously defective" (Penelhum 1993: 168). The main reason for thinking this, he says, is that Hick's account is "unacceptably parochial and monocultural. It neglects completely the diversity in the religious traditions of the world" (Penelhum 1993: 168). The problem with Hick's interpretation of religious ambiguity is that his understanding of what constitutes the "religious" and "naturalistic" views of our universe is too restricted. As Penelhum correctly observes, the "religious" and "naturalistic" hypotheses (understood, respectively, as the affirmation and denial of the existence of God) take on a plurality of forms. There are, on the religious side, Jewish, Christian and Muslim interpretations of God, for example. Naturalism, too, can be expressed in more than one way: consider, as examples, the Freudian and Marxian systems of thought. Penelhum does not reject Hick's claim that ambiguity obtains between theism and atheism. Rather, he thinks that the scope of Hick's ambiguity thesis needs to be extended. Thus, "we are not faced with a simple theist-naturalist ambiguity . . . we are faced, rather, by a world that exhibits *multiple* religious and ideological ambiguity" (Penelhum 1993: 170). Hick's thesis of religious ambiguity (i.e., simple theist-naturalist ambiguity) is, therefore, a component of what Penelhum calls "multiple religious ambiguity." In what follows, we are interested in Penelhum's version of the ambiguity thesis. For the sake of brevity, however, we shall henceforth refer to "multiple religious ambiguity" simply as the thesis of "religious ambiguity."

Prima facie, there is good reason to think that the religious ambiguity of the world is the best explanation for why we are faced with the problem of religious diversity. For, if our world truly does exhibit religious ambiguity, none of the fundamental beliefs of each of the various religious or naturalistic paradigms are secured on an epistemically rational foundation. This fact would certainly explain why lots of seemingly rational and intellectually responsible people hold (and have held) diverse and often contradictory beliefs about religion. That is to say, as Penelhum puts it, the various religious or naturalistic interpretations of our world "are each capable of rational support, and which [*sic*] are each held by people who need not have violated any doxastic obligations in adhering to them" (Penelhum 1997: 1). If our world was not religiously ambiguous—if a certain religious or naturalistic interpretation of it, call it "*x*," were unambiguously true—then we would not have the problem of religious diversity. In this case, beliefs about interpretation "*x*" would have a secure epistemic foundation. People who came to learn about those beliefs and understood them, and were also apprised of the epistemic basis of those beliefs, would then be irrational in rejecting them. This sort of situation, however, does not appear to be the case in our world. There seem to be plenty of informed and reasonable dissenters relative to the fundamental beliefs of each of the various religious or naturalistic paradigms. So there are, for example, informed and reasonable atheists who reject Christianity, informed and reasonable Christians who reject Islam, informed and reasonable Muslims who reject Judaism, and so on. Hence, it looks as if there is no religious or naturalistic interpretation of our world that is unambiguously true, or, in other words, our world exhibits religious ambiguity.

Of course, it may be that there are other and better explanations of the problem of religious diversity than the thesis of religious ambiguity. Indeed, most adherents within each of the various religious or naturalistic paradigms that exist in our world reject the ambiguity thesis. But all we are claiming at present is that the ambiguity thesis is *prima facie* a good explanation as to why we are faced with the problem of religious diversity, and no more. We are simply saying that our world gives us, at the very least, the surface impression that it is religiously ambiguous, and that this would be true even if, upon sustained rational inquiry, it turns out that the Buddhists were right all along!

Once we entertain the thesis of religious ambiguity as an explanation of the problem of religious diversity, even if only as a *prima facie* account, one should see that a corollary of this thesis is that the truth of theism is susceptible to reasonable doubt. A religiously ambiguous world would mean that belief in God cannot be judged epistemically rational, but certain people who do believe in God and a number of those who do not are equally deontologically rational in their theism or atheism (i.e., they are not violating any doxastic obligations in having theistic or atheistic belief) even though one of these two groups of people must of logical necessity be wrong. So lots of people who appear to have done their best in meeting their doxastic obligations or intellectual duties are nevertheless mistaken in their beliefs about religious matters. A theist who comes to think that our world is religiously ambiguous will very likely at some point start to wonder whether her beliefs about theism are true. As William P. Alston notes, the diversity in, and mutual incompatibilities among, beliefs about religion "poses a serious and well-advertised problem for the claims of each community" (Alston 2000: 193). But it is not just this fact about religious diversity. Although he is not an advocate of the ambiguity thesis, Alston does seem to appreciate the *prima facie* case for a version of it. "After all," he says, "it looks as if Moslems, Hindus, and Buddhists have grounds of the same general sort (revelation, religious experience, miracles, authority, etc.) as my fellow Christians and I have for the truth of our respective systems of doctrine" (Alston 2000: 193). If this is the case, then it does appear that we have a problem. Alston goes on to explain: "But then, unless I have sufficient reason for supposing that Christians are in a superior position for discerning the truth about these matters, why should I suppose that we are right and they are wrong? How can I be justified in continuing to affirm my Christian beliefs?" (Alston 2000: 193)

Apart from the point made by Alston, there is another reason why accepting the (*prima facie* case for the) ambiguity thesis is likely to cast doubt on the truth of theism for some people.

The great theistic traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have in the main rejected the ambiguity thesis. If our world is religiously ambiguous, then belief in God cannot be judged to be epistemically rational. But orthodox Jews, Christians, and Muslims have typically denied this, and it does seem like their respective traditions do support them in their rejection of the thesis of religious ambiguity. The Psalmist declares in the Old Testament, "The fool hath said in his heart, 'There is no God'" (Ps. 41.1). Musing over this passage, St Anselm would later ask, "Why indeed, except precisely because he is stupid and foolish?" And in the New Testament, the Apostle Paul writes: "For since the creation of the world God's invisible qualities—his eternal power and divine nature—have been clearly seen, being understood from what has been made, so that men are without excuse" (Rom. 1.20). In a similar vein, the author of the Qur'an asks rhetorically, "Can there be any doubt concerning Allah, the Creator of the heavens and the earth?" (14:10). In the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions, the prevalent view appears to be that the existence of God is an obvious fact that no rational person can deny. Although some thinkers in these traditions have conceded that our world is religiously ambiguous and have gone to systemically work out a theistic position that incorporates the ambiguity thesis, introducing religious ambiguity into the picture does appear to be an aberration of the (orthodox) theistic framework. As the Islamic philosopher Shabbir Akhtar explains:

> The acknowledgement that men can indeed sincerely experience ambivalence in their commerce with mundane reality is ultimately damaging to the religious outlook. Religious believers are rightly reluctant to concede that atheism can be a genuine rational option for even the conscientious seeker. Atheism, they aver, cannot be an option at all; it is blindness and error. No preacher—unless his orthodoxy were suspect—could admit that the world can retain an optional appearance even to the sincere seeker. In our age, and I don't speak of the age of Pascal or the age of St. Paul, the concession that the world is religiously neutral is asymmetrically damaging to theism, i.e. it damages theism more than atheism.
>
> (Akhtar 1987: 172)

Insofar as a theist thinks that rejecting the ambiguity thesis is an integral part of the theistic worldview, but also comes to think that there is some force behind the case for it, she may then have doubts about theism.

The *prima facie* case in favor of the standard conception of philosophy of religion—from the perspective of the reflective theist—can now be completed in the following manner. If it is important to hold true beliefs about theism, and if, as a result of *prima facie* considerations over religious ambiguity, the truth of theism may reasonably be doubted, then (given a plausible mediating premise to the effect that one should make an effort to discover the truth about important matters if they are susceptible to reasonable doubt), it follows that one should make an effort to critically examine beliefs about theism to come to the truth of the matter regarding God's existence. In a situation where we are faced with the problems of religious diversity and ambiguity, it seems that there is, as Penelhum states, "a doxastic duty to disambiguate if we can" (Penelhum 1995: 133). A good argument either for or against God's existence could certainly contribute toward disambiguating our world (Penelhum 1995: 113, 133), and the reflective theist can then look at such arguments to settle for herself the question of whether or not she is rational in holding theistic belief. And this, as explained earlier, is fundamentally what occurs in contemporary philosophy of religion.

In the history of religious thought, however, there have been certain individuals who have maintained that the project of philosophy of religion, or at least the standard conception of it, is in some way misguided, inappropriate, or hopeless, and indeed such attitudes can be found among some thinkers today. The purpose of the preceding discussion was to show that, even if the criticisms against the appropriateness of the enterprise of philosophy of religion turn out to be correct, it is certainly not obvious that the discipline involves a fundamentally misguided endeavor and that therefore it is a waste of time to engage in it. Good arguments need to be given by the critics for thinking that this is indeed the case. Rather than make an attempt to state the objections and arguments that have been raised against philosophizing over religious beliefs in general, we shall instead focus on the more feasible task of mentioning some of those objections that have been raised specifically within an Islamic context. But before that, let us consider what precisely an *Islamic* philosophy of religion would amount to.

Is an "Islamic philosophy of religion" possible?

According to William Rowe, "standard theism" is "any view which holds that there exists an omnipotent, omniscient, omnigood being who created the world" (Rowe 1984: 95). Rowe explains that there are two types of standard theism: "Letting 'O' abbreviate 'an omnipotent, omniscient, omnigood being,' standard theism is any view which holds that O exists. Within standard theism, we can distinguish *restricted* theism and *expanded* theism. Expanded theism is the view that O exists, conjoined with certain other significant religious claims, claims about sin, redemption, a future life, a last judgment, and the like. (Orthodox Christian theism is a version of standard theism.) Restricted theism is the view that O exists, unaccompanied by other, independent religious claims" (Rowe 1984: 95).

In asking the question of whether or not an Islamic philosophy of religion is possible, I mean, generally, whether it is possible, *from within an Islamic context*, (1) to engage in philosophical argumentation about standard theism and (2) show via philosophical considerations that belief in restricted theism—the truth of which is, of course, central to the Islamic worldview—can rationally be adhered to. As we saw earlier, the main focus of the standard conception of contemporary philosophy of religion is whether the truth or falsity of (restricted) theism can be settled by way of good arguments for or against the existence of God. On a general interpretation of my question, we are interested in whether the rationality of belief in God can be vindicated based on such arguments from an Islamic perspective. On a specific interpretation, however, the question is whether it is possible, again, *from within an Islamic context*, (1) to engage in philosophical argumentation about standard theism and (2) show via philosophical considerations that beliefs about Islamic expanded theism can rationally be adhered to. Note that this specific question takes us beyond the standard conception of the philosophy of religion, and also exposes a lacuna in it. For, understood this way, the question of whether an Islamic philosophy of religion is possible will depend on whether philosophical considerations can be adduced not only in favor of restricted theism (i.e. the belief that God exists), which is the primary focus of the standard conception of philosophy of religion, but also other beliefs that are part of Islamic expanded theism (the belief that the Qur'an is the Word of God, that Muhammad is God's Messenger, etc.).

So, an affirmative answer to the question of whether an Islamic philosophy of religion is possible, interpreted generally or specifically, will depend on whether both of the two conditions specified are met:

1 It is possible to engage in philosophical argumentation about standard theism from an Islamic perspective and
2 It is possible to show via philosophical considerations that (i) belief in restricted theism *or* (ii) beliefs about Islamic expanded theism can be rationally held.

These conditions are individually necessary and jointly sufficient for answering "yes" to our question.

What, then, do present-day Muslims have to say about whether it is possible to formulate and defend an Islamic philosophy of religion? One difficulty that a person who wishes to investigate an answer to this question will encounter is the paucity of contemporary literature (at least in Western societies) on the topic of Islamic philosophy in general. Although there are a number of descriptive works, such as accounts of the history and development of philosophical thought in Islam, these works are usually not philosophical in themselves. Rather, they merely provide a narrative of events in the history of Islamic philosophy. One will be hard pressed to find prescriptive works, which discuss what Muslims ought to believe based on various philosophical considerations in relation to Islamic beliefs. As Majid Fakhry observes in his *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, "the main body of Islamic thought, insofar as it has any relevance outside the scope of Islam, belongs to a remote past. . . . Islamic philosophy is and continues to be, even in the twentieth [now twenty-first] century, fundamentally medieval in spirit and outlook" (Fakhry 2004: ix). Indeed, one might even argue that the term "medieval philosophy" does not apply to any part of the Islamic intellectual tradition. For, as George F. Hourani has pointed out, the classical Islamic civilization, which spanned from approximately 870–1870 CE (during which much of the material that makes up the available literature on Islamic philosophy was written), was highly uniform: "There was no renaissance, reformation or voyages of transoceanic discovery, therefore no transition at this time to a modern period" (Hourani 1985: 3–4). Based on this observation, Hourani maintains that "the term 'medieval' is meaningless in relation to Islamic history" (Hourani 1985: 4).

So not only is there a notable absence of contemporary Islamic literature in the field of philosophy of religion, one will also find a virtual absence of Muslim contributions to other areas of philosophy today, such as epistemology, ethics, and logic. But since our focus is on the philosophy of religion, let us concentrate on that for now. It seems fair to say that theistic philosophers of religion today are predominantly situated within the Christian tradition. When one considers some of the best theistic philosophers of religion writing today, such as William Alston, William Lane Craig, Alvin Plantinga, and Richard Swinburne, to name only a few, one can see that all of them have the common denominator of being Christians. Islamic philosophers of religion seem nowhere to be found. The lack of contribution from Muslims (and, to be fair, thinkers from other religious traditions as well) to the philosophy of religion is certainly one reason why the discipline is not variegated and why most discussions of expanded theism give primary attention to Christianity. In a recent work on the philosophy of religion, Paul Helm, himself a Christian philosopher, writes: "[The] interactions between [Christianity] and philosophy have been so rich. The interactions between philosophy and "religion" are, by contrast, feeble and impoverished, and are likely to remain so. Hence in what is to follow I make no further apology for concentrating, from time to time, on the particularities of Christianity." (Helm 2000: 2)

Helm is certainly right to say that the interactions between Christianity and philosophy have been rich, and he is clearly entitled to concentrate on the particularities of Christianity. After all, a philosopher of religion can hardly be faulted for focusing on that particular religion the tenets of which are adhered to by most theistic philosophers doing any decent philosophy of religion today. Nor is any apology needed from Helm for directing his attention on Christianity. It is not as though he is ignoring any glaringly obvious and significant contribution to present-day philosophy of religion by writers from some religion other than the Christian one, and is therefore open to the charge of parochialism. For, as we have just noted, most theistic philosophers of religion writing today are Christian theists. All of this is fine.

What I do wish to take Helm to task on, however, is his assertion that the interactions between "philosophy" and "religion" are "feeble and impoverished," and that no change in this situation seems likely in the future. Helm's claim seems to be that if we remove Christianity from the rubric of "religion" (where religion is understood in a general sense), then the relationship between philosophy and religion will come across as a poor one. But is this correct? If we just focus on Islam, which surely forms a large chunk of what we understand by religion in general, then one can respond to Helm by pointing out that the interactions between Islam and philosophy have arguably been just as rich as those that took place between the Christianity and philosophy. Indeed, not only does Fakhry put the Islamic philosophical tradition on the same rank as the Greek and Christian one, he also notes the influence of the Islamic philosophers on the later thinkers of medieval Europe:

> Prior to modern times, when philosophy was completely Europeanized, so to speak, the great moments in philosophy's history were the Greek-Hellenistic, the Arab-Islamic and the Latin-Christian. Following the fall of the Roman Empire in 476, Greek philosophy was almost completely forgotten in Western Europe, while it continued to flourish in the Muslim world. It is not sufficiently realized by most students of the history of philosophy in the Middle Ages that the "Little Renaissance" in thirteenth-century Europe was triggered by the Latin translations of the writings of al-Farabi, al-Ghazali (called Algazel), Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Abu Ma'shar and Ibn Rushd (Averroes), with the consequent revival of Aristotelianism, the cornerstone of Latin scholasticism.
>
> (Fakhry 1998: 4)

But if this is true, then one wonders what happened to the Islamic philosophical tradition and where the Islamic philosophers are today? Where are the Islamic philosophers of religion? Why is it that contemporary anthologies on the subject contain virtually no works by Islamic philosophers, apart from the occasional inclusion of IBN RUSHD's (Averroes) *Fasl al-Maqal* (On The Harmony of Philosophy and Religion) written over 800 years ago? In his *A Faith for All Seasons*, Akhtar writes:

> Modern Muslims are, as a group of people, embarrassingly unreflective: it were as though Allah had done all the thinking for his devotees. Friedrich Nietzsche's acid comment on his compatriots in *Twilight of the Idols* also applies with peculiar justice to the Muslim communities of the modern world: "The Germans—once they were called the nation of thinkers: do they still think at all?" After developing a great rational philosophical tradition, the adherents of Islam have lapsed into an intellectual lethargy that has already lasted half a millennium.
>
> (Akhtar 1990: i)

Now, of course, any adequate explanation of the decline of a great intellectual tradition will take into account various historical and social factors, as it must. But there are sometimes causes that are internal to a tradition (especially a religious tradition!) which emerge in opposition to intellectual and philosophical speculation. There can be no doubt that some such internal factors have been responsible for the decline in, and now virtual absence of, serious Islamic philosophical thought.

William Montgomery Watt observes that traditionalist Muslims today "know of no philosophy since Averroes, and are completely unaware of the new challenges to religious belief produced by men like Hume and Feuerbach, not to mention our twentieth-century philosophers" (Watt 1988: 5). But, generally speaking, Muslims today are not simply ignorant of or indifferent to philosophical thought. Rather, one will find several Muslim thinkers who argue *against* the viability of philosophical speculation within an Islamic context. Here, we shall consider an assortment of objections (some of which may be implicit) against the possibility of an Islamic philosophy of religion from popular Muslim thinkers.

One category of objections is based on a specific understanding of "faith" or *iman* in Islam. Although *iman*, as a description of the cognitive component of adherent to Islamic doctrine, is typically understood as "faith," Isma'il Raji al Faruqi insists that "the Muslim should never call his *iman* 'belief' or 'faith'" (al Faruqi 1995: 40). For, according to al Faruqi, words such as "belief" and "faith" "carry today within them an implication of untruth, of probability, of doubt and suspicion" (al Faruqi 1995: 40). Instead, *iman* is a conviction that is "absolutely free of doubt of probability, of guessing and uncertainty" (al Faruqi 1995: 40). Given this understanding of *iman*, some Muslim thinkers have not taken seriously the predicament of the reflective theist considered earlier. As we have depicted her, the reflective theist is a person who has reasonable doubts about the rationality of her belief in a theistic worldview but is *nevertheless a theist*. But according to the influential Pakistani theologian Sayyid Abul A'la MAWDUDI, there can be no situation of the reflective theist in an Islamic framework. He explains that "a believer would never seek arguments and justification and whoever seeks arguments and justification cannot be a true believer" (Maududi 2000: 218). For Maududi, the seeking of arguments and justification within an Islamic context *eo ipso* renders a person's *iman* inauthentic. One can understand the motivation behind Maududi's remark if we take *iman* to entail certainty: why seek arguments and justification for something one is *certain* of? Taking their cue from an understanding of *iman* based on certitude, other Muslim thinkers have denied that the truth of theism is susceptible to reasonable doubt and hence have denied the need for philosophical argumentation over its truth. For instance, in response to those who deny the existence of God, Hammudah Abdalati writes: "Those who deny God claim to rely on science, philosophy, of special theories of knowledge. Their arguments are sometimes inapplicable, sometimes irrelevant, always complex, and often incomprehensible. However, the developed free mind will finds its way to God" (Abdalati 2000:1).

Abdalati's comments here reflect an attitude that is typical among many Muslims, which is that, in the end, no one can really have serious and reasonable doubts about the truth of (Islamic) theism. As another Muslim thinker, Frithjof Schuon, observes:

> The intellectual and thereby the rational foundation of Islam results in the average Muslim having a curious tendency to believe that non-Muslims either know that Islam is the truth and reject it out of pure obstinacy, or else are simply ignorant of it and can be converted by

> elementary explanations; that anyone should be able to oppose Islam with a good conscience quite exceeds the Muslim's imagination, precisely because Islam coincides in his mind with the irresistible logic of things.
>
> (Schuon 1961: 64)

Another category of objections to philosophizing over Islamic belief comes from the view that the Qur'an and Sunna (the "path" of the Prophet as recorded in reports known as the *hadith*) are the ultimate authority for a Muslim. As Sayyid Qutb writes: "A Muslim has not the authority to seek guidance and light from any other source and wellhead except the Divine one in any matter that pertains to faith, the general concept of life, rituals, morals and dealings, values and standards, politics, and assembly, principles of economics, or the explanation of human history" (Qutb 2000: 199).

Since Muslims are bound by Divine revelation, says Qutb, there is no need for philosophical speculation, which arises out of "jahili [ignorant] beliefs and fetishes" (Qutb 2000: 199). It has been pointed out by those Muslims who push the line of thought given by Qutb that the Qur'an itself says that it is the "criterion" (or *furqan* in Arabic) of judgment between right and wrong (3:4, 25:1). If the Qur'an is indeed the *furqan*, then, the objection runs, how can it be subsumed under the authority of reason? Neither the contents of the Qur'an or the Sunna can be judged by the bar of unaided reason. Sometimes, Qur'an 33:36 is quoted as support: "It is not fitting for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by God and His Apostle to have any option about their decision: if any one disobeys God and His Apostle, he is indeed on a clearly wrong path."

A third and final category of objections we will consider is based on the inability of philosophical inquiry to arrive at the truth of the matter regarding Islamic belief. For instance, although Maududi does not deny that reason and argument have a role to play in bringing a person to faith, he thinks that this role is a very limited one. "Even if a man is equipped with the highest faculties of reason and intellect and possesses matchless wisdom and experience," he says, "the chances of his formulating the correct views on existence are slight" (Maududi 2000: 43). What, then, is a person to do? According to Maududi, in the same way as one follows the authority of certain qualified individuals in secular matters (doctors, lawyers, etc.), one must follow the authority of the Prophet in Divine Matters (Maududi 2000: 44–5).

Other thinkers, such as Muhammad Fazl-ur-Rahman Ansari, have argued that there can be no Islamic philosophy of religion (in the sense we have described it) because philosophy is in principle unable to provide answers to cosmic questions involving God and the universe (Ansari 1973: 40ff). In discussing philosophy, Ansari's primary focus is on "formal rationalism" and "empirical rationalism." The former cannot provide any answers to ultimate questions because it rests wholly on logic, and so the starting point of formal rationalism is nothing more than "a supposed idea" that is unverifiable. If it is unverifiable, it is uncertain; and if it is uncertain, any conclusions logically inferred from it must be uncertain. Thus, "the knowledge of ultimate problems given by Formal Rationalism cannot be sure and accurate" (Ansari 1973: 41). Empirical rationalism fares no better, since its starting point rests on scientific facts based on sense experience. But as sense experience is unable to provide any certain insight into ultimate problems, using it as an uncertain starting point for philosophical inquiry into ultimate questions will mean that "the conclusions arrived at will also suffer from the same shortcomings" (Ansari 1973: 41). Ansari concludes his discussion of philosophy by claiming that it (along with science) is incapable of "giving accurate answers to our ultimate questions on the basis of sure knowledge" (Ansari 1973: 44). Like Maududi, he goes on to say that one needs to turn to revelation for answers to our ultimate questions.

Such, then, are the objections against philosophizing over Islamic belief that one will encounter from a number of Muslim thinkers today. The history behind Islamic opposition to philosophical thought, however, is a long one. Perhaps the most famous and well-known criticism of Islamic philosophy is the one given by the eleventh-century giant of Islamic thought, Abu Hamid AL-GHAZALI, in his *Tahafut al-falasifa* (Incoherence of the Philosophers). So there are what we might call "classical" as well as "modern" objections to philosophizing over Islamic belief. Any venture in constructing an Islamic philosophy of religion must first respond to them.

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IMRAN AIJAZ

RHAZES, *see* al-Razi, Abu Bakr

RIDA, Rashid (1865–1935)

Muhammad Rashid Rida (Ridha) was born in Tripoli, Lebanon, and attended a school based on the views of a local *shaykh*, Husayn al-Jisr, who based the curriculum on the idea that there was no incompatibility between Islam and modernity. While in Lebanon he digested the views of AL-AFGHANI and Muhammad ‘ABDU and in 1897 he moved to Cairo to be with the latter and support his project of reviving the Islamic world within a modern context. He established a highly influential journal *al-Manar* (The Lighthouse or Beacon) which he operated from 1898 until his death. Although there is no doubt that he had enormous respect for ‘Abdu and the whole *Nahda* movement, he tended to try to move the campaign back into a more traditionalist mode, rejecting as dangerous what he saw as an overdone emphasis on modernity at the expense of religion. There is no doubt that some more radical enlighteners did display more conviction about science and technology than about Islam, and for them Rida had many words of warning.

A particular interest for Rida was the state of the caliphate, in total decline due to the collapse in 1923 of the Ottoman version of that institution. He argued that it is very important for the Islamic world to be united in order to preserve its integrity. Were it not to be united, then the forces of modernity might overwhelm it. To a degree, his rather more cautious attitude to the West as compared with al-Afghani and ‘Abdu is a reflection of the different times in which he lived as compared with them. He actually experienced the fall of the caliphate and the complete dominance of the European powers in the Middle East, and felt this needed to be resisted. However, like them he emphasized the significance of independent thought (*ijtihad*) and the compatibility between Islam and modernity.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-RUMI, Jalal al-Din (604–72/1207–73)

It is usually reported that Muhammad Jalal al-Din was born on September 30, 1207 (6 Rabi ʻal-Awwal 604), in Balkh, Afghanistan, and died on December 17, 1273 (5 Jumada al-Thani 672), in Konya (Iconia), Turkey. However, recent studies suggest that he might have been born some years earlier, in about 1200. After the Prophet, he is probably the most widely known and influential Muslim saint, mystic, and poet both in the Muslim East and the Christian West. His most famous mystical, poetical, didactic work is *Mathnawi*, often labeled the Qur'an of the Persian language.

Both Mawlana and Rumi are his titles. The former, which means "our master," was given by his followers after his fame grew and became well established in Konya. The latter, which means hailing from Rum, refers to Anatolia as it was then known, due to his settling down there at an early age. Afghani people, however, call him Balkhi, for they knew that he was from Balkh and not somewhere in Rum (Anatolia). Despite its remoteness from the hinterlands of mainstream Islam, Balkh had established itself as a center of culture, piety, and learning by producing noted scholars both in philosophy and mysticism.

Al-Rumi's father, Baha' al-Din Walad, whose full name was Muhammad b. Husayn al-Khatibi al-Bakri al-Balkhi, maintained himself to have come paternally from the direct descendants of Abu Bakr, the first caliph of Islam. His mother Mu'mina Khatun, also known as Modar-e Sultan or Modar-e Mawlana, is believed to be from a certain local ruling family called Khwarizmsahs. Today, her resting place lies in the direction of the Kaʻba at the Mosque of Aktekke in Karaman, Turkey, and presents an interesting mixture of religion, life, and death. Originally it was a *tekke* (a dervish monastery), but later, probably through restoration and enlargement, it was turned into a mosque as a sign of respect to both Baha' al-Walad and al-Rumi. Because of the high esteem with which she is held in the eyes of his followers, half of the mosque is literally full of the graves of the whirling Mawlawi fathers and dervishes who most likely wanted to be buried next to the mother of their sultan, al-Rumi. Consequently, for centuries the mosque has been functioning both as a tomb and a mosque.

It appears that his father Baha' al-Din was a more important figure in al-Rumi's spiritual and intellectual development than is usually acknowledged. Baha' al-Din, whose father was also a prominent theologian, was a well-known religious scholar and mystic for he was given the title of the "Sultan of the Scholars" (*ʻulama'*). His book *Maʻarif* (Book of Gnosis), a fascinating and colorful collection of his teachings and sermons with a combination of ethics and the contemplative life, was one of the main sources of inspiration behind al-Rumi's prolific writings. In about 1219, Baha' al-Din decided to leave Balkh for a quieter place, which after a long and adventurous journey happened to conclude in Konya.

There are three stories related to why Baha' al-Din' wanted to take his family out of Balkh. The apparent reason was the absence of security due to the forthcoming unstoppable Mongol invasion of the area, which in fact took place a year after they left. The other two were about jealousy resulting from the fight for royal favor and power. Baha' al-Din and Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI were equally competent scholars contending to win royal favor, though arguing for different causes. Baha' al-Din did not like philosophy and chose the way of the Sufis; al-Razi, on the other hand, believed in the importance of philosophy and was decidedly fighting for it in the royal circles. It is reported he was able to win the battle and turn the sultan Muhammad Takish Khwarizmshah against the Sufis. In the meantime, Baha' al-Din, the outspoken critic of philosophy, kept on attacking philosophy and the philosophers and the perverted ideas they injected into the community. There is another story according to which the sultan was uneasy about the high respect Baha' al-Din had in the public eye and the power it provided him. The sultan, influenced by the lobbying of al-Razi, sent a message to Baha' al-Din, which, in allusive language, pointed out that there could not be room for two sultans in one country. The sultan wanted to make a deal by offering him his sultanate, with all its armies and lands; the alternative was that he must move to another country. Baha' al-Din, comprehending the graveness of the situation, sent his reply back swiftly. He said that he was not after perishable worldly treasures for he was a true dervish, and he was about to leave the sultanate soon. The sultan, seeing the Mongol invasion coming, realized that he had upset Baha' al-Din and tried to win his support back. When this failed, he pleaded for him to leave quietly and not cause a public uproar. Baha' al-Din agreed.

On a Friday morning after prayers, Baha' al-Din's caravan started on its journey. Al-Rumi was about twelve years old at that time but intellectually well on the way to follow in his father's footsteps and mature enough to remember everything that happened. Their first stop was Nishapur, where al-Rumi met the famous Sufi poet Farid al-Din 'ATTAR, who, recognizing the signs of a promising great Sufi, gave him a copy of his book *Asrar-nama* (Book of Secrets). Al-Rumi studied the book carefully and in later years was happy to quote from it in his *Mathnawi*. The next destiny of the caravan was Baghdad, the capital city of Islam, where they stayed only three days, heading toward Mecca to perform the *hajj* pilgrimage. Having carried out their holy duty, they went to the other famous cultural center of the time, Damascus. Although it cannot be known exactly how long they stayed in Damascus, it is possible that al-Rumi studied there for a while and encountered the famous Sufi IBN AL 'ARABI. From Damascus via Aleppo, they set foot for their final destination, Anatolia, first staying at the eastern city of Arzanjan (present-day Erzincan, Turkey) for some time and then moving to Karaman (then Laranda), situated at a distance of thirty-five miles to the southeast of Konya. During their residence of seven years in Karaman, some important events took place for both the father and the son. The first was the marriage of al-Rumi with the daughter of Lala Sharaf al-Din of Samarqand, Gawhar Khatun, in 1225. They had known each other since their childhood and were raised together, for Sharaf al-Din was one of the closest followers of Baha' al-Din. Right after the wedding, though, the wife of Baha' al-Din, Mu'mina Khatun, and his elder son, Muhammad 'Ala' al-Din, died. After a short while, a third death occurred. This time it was al-Rumi's mother-in-law, the wife of Sharaf al-Din, who also had served as the midwife at his birth. Nevertheless, consolation did not take long to arrive when in 1226 al-Rumi's first son was born, followed with a second one not long after. Al-Rumi named the first after his father as Muhammad Baha' al-Din, renowned as Sultan Walad, and the second after his brother as 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad, known as 'Ala' al-Din Chalabi. As his fame rose higher, Baha' al-Din, though weak and old in his late seventies, was invited to his final destination to find peace at last. The Anatolian Seljuk sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kayqobad I had repeatedly requested the aged Baha' al-Din to honor the capital of Konya by moving there and teaching in one of the famous colleges. He agreed to do so but did not live long enough to serve the sultanate, for he died two years later on January 12, 1231 (18 Rabi al-Thani 628). Al-Rumi inherited his father's post both intellectually and spiritually.

A year later, one of Baha' al-Din's disciples and a close associate arrived at Konya. This was Seyyed Burhan al-Din Muhaqqiq, who taught al-Rumi in Balkh for a while but later fled to his native Tirmidh due to the Mongol assault. When he heard of Baha' al-Din's journey and eventual settlement in Konya in peace and security, he came to join him, but the latter had died a year earlier. However, his presence proved to be decisive for both the intellectual and in particular the spiritual development of al-Rumi. He took up his teaching of al-Rumi from where he left off in Balkh. He told al-Rumi that he was as good as his father with regards to the traditional sciences, but his father was also skilled in the spiritual realm, and he suggested that al-Rumi should follow his father. Al-Rumi concurred. They spent nine years together and even might have traveled to Syria to study in Aleppo and Damascus. During this period, al-Rumi also studied the Persian poetry of Hakim SANA'I, which would provide a significant input into al-Rumi's poetry. Burhan al-Din died in Kayseri (Caesarea), Turkey, in 1242, leaving behind all his possessions, which contained Baha' al-Din's manuscripts of *Ma'arif*, to his beloved student al-Rumi.

From 1240 to 1244, al-Rumi spent his time serving as a traditional religious scholar teaching at his father's college and preaching at the pulpit. However, these years were also turbulent times for Anatolia where the Mongol invasion was gradually drawing nearer. In October 1244 an event took place that changed the entire fabric of al-Rumi's personality inwardly and outwardly. The incident was his meeting with the wandering dervish Shams al-Din (Sun of Religion) of Tabriz, who reports in his *Maqalat* (Essays) seeing and recognizing al-Rumi the first time in Damascus when he was there to study. Shams was directed toward al-Rumi and sought after him ever after. When they met at last, the experience turned al-Rumi into a totally different human being. Sultan Walad mentions their meeting as like the meeting of Moses and Khidr, the hidden saint whose story has been taken to represent an aspect of the way to God (Qur'an 18: 64–80). They sat opposite each other for a while and Shams opened the session with a question on whether Muhammad the Prophet or Abu Yazid al-Bistami was greater. Al-Rumi, startled with the absurdity of the question, replied that there can be no comparison between them for Muhammad was obviously greater. If that was the case, Shams continued, how do you explain the difference between Muhammad's and AL-BISTAMI's statements? The former said that his heart gets corroded for which he asks God's forgiveness seventy times a day, whereas the latter exclaimed "Praise be to Me, how great is My Majesty!" Al-Rumi's answer was equally telling. He maintained that Muhammad was passing seventy spiritual stations a day and asking for pardon for his previous lower position, but al-Bistami was intoxicated at the station he was in due to its graveness and so uttered such paradoxical expressions. With this response they embraced each other and the divine love bond between them sparkled. They took refuge in Salah al-Din Zarqub's home and spent days and weeks without seeing anybody else. The effect of the meeting on al-Rumi was powerful; he dropped official dress, ceased teaching his students, and giving public sermons. Shams introduced al-Rumi to the special *sama‘* (whirling mystical dance) session, which he immediately took as his rite. After some time, from six months up to three years according to different reports, jealousy broke out among al-Rumi's students and disciples, for they were now deprived of their beloved master's teachings, sermons, and conversations. Eventually, Shams left Konya.

Despite his habitual suspicion of poetry, the agonies of heartache and separation transformed al-Rumi into a spontaneous poet from whose mouth verses started pouring down naturally without even trying to look for a rhyme or meter. Anything could set off the start of a poem, such as a view, an event, or a sound. He declared that he himself was unable to comprehend what had happened to him. In fact, it was the soul of the beloved who made him sing, not his own desire. These early poems are audacious and paradoxical. The prevailing theme is generally the ordeals of the state of love and of the beloved, which he never names but refers to it as the *sun*. Certainly, the metaphor of sun has a double function in that it firstly denotes his beloved's name, the literal meaning of Shams' name in Arabic, and also symbolizes the double-edged nature of love, beautifying or destroying but always altering.

When news of Shams' presence in Damascus reached al-Rumi, who was suffering by now from the loss of his dear companion and burning with the fire of love, he asked Sultan Walad to persuade Shams to come back. Shams returned to Konya and the two parties made a truce; the students repented and were pardoned. For a while everything seemed to be going perfectly well. However, similar gossip about Shams erupted again. Shams vanished once more, this time with no trace. It is almost certain that he was assassinated in a plot involving perhaps al-Rumi's younger son ‘Ala' al-Din Chalabi. Al-Rumi knew what had happened but refused to accept it. Here the metaphor of the sun functions well again, for it is thought that it never ceases to exist. It is reported that al-Rumi went to Syria to look for his beloved lost friend but returned with a conviction that Shams resided in himself, glowing like the moon.

Al-Rumi's reaction to the disappearance of Shams this time was different, however. He did not look for peace in seclusion for he probably found annihilation (*fana'*) in Shams already. He was tranquil and calm now. He left his public sermons and devoted the remaining years of his life to his ever-growing legions of disciples and the voluminous mystical work he produced. Nevertheless, after Shams' bodily evaporation, al-Rumi still needed a spiritual companion and a mirror to reflect the Shams in himself. That mirror was first Salah al-Din Faredun Zarqub; after his death, Husam al-Din Chalabi took over the duty. Al-Rumi had known Salah al-Din for quite a long time, for he too was a former disciple of Burhan al-Din and his successor after his death. Salah al-Din did not have a formal education and was earning his life as a goldsmith. Al-Rumi strengthened his ties with him by arranging a marriage between his elder son Sultan Walad and Salah al-Din's daughter, to whom al-Rumi addressed several beautiful letters.

Husam al-Din Chalabi, in addition to being al-Rumi's third spiritual soul mate after Salah al-Din, was not only one of the best and brilliant students and disciples of al-Rumi but also the most influential source of inspiration behind the composition of *Mathnawi*. In 1256 he suggested al-Rumi write a mystical book, similar to ‘Attar's and Sana'i's, so that his adherents could read and study his thought. Al-Rumi then started reciting the first eighteen introductory lines of

Mathnawi, famous as the Song of the Reed, expressing the soul's yearning for home, and wrote them down. After that Husam al-Din shouldered the job of writing for the next seventeen years or so, except for four years when Salah al-Din died (1258) and Husam al-Din lost his wife. The composition continued throughout right until the death of al-Rumi on December 17, 1273. His death was sad news for all the residents of Konya, including Christians and Jews.

Husam al-Din, already appointed as the successor during al-Rumi's life time, remained as such until his death in 1284. Sultan Walad led the movement next and put it in the form of a Sufi order, known as Mawlawi, the Whirling Dervishes. The structure and sequence of the mystical dance, *sama'*, with which the order is identified, was established by Sultan Walad and practised as such since then.

If one can summarize al-Rumi's work in one sentence, it would be the religion of love, the expression which he himself uses explicitly in his *Mathnawi*. For him, love is the heart and kernel of religion, the fundamental theme of all spirituality. Al-Rumi believes that love is one of the attributes of God. Consequently, whatever or whoever a human being loves, the love is actually directed to God for the attributes of God are at work there. The rich imagery he employs in his poetry indicates that love comes in different forms. It can be a mother, a child, a bird, a dragon, a flower, a season, and so on. Al-Rumi's style is very interesting in that it picks up a very ordinary subject and or a commonly known story and interprets it in such a way that manifests the underlying loving relationship in all that is taking place. His sole purpose is to enlighten and open a door to living things by showing them the wonders of love. Most of all, he wanted the heart of every human being to catch the fire of love.

By putting love, along with dance, *sama'*, and music, at the center of spiritual path, he gave them a religious meaning and by doing so, revolutionized the mystical understanding current up to his time in the Islamic world. He considers the primordial covenant of God with the yet-uncreated souls, "[A]m I not your Lord?" and their answer "[Y]es" (Qur'an 7:172) as the starting point of the eternal dance, that is, stepping into the realm of existence from the realm of non-existence. Everything that is, such as trees, stones, flowers and clouds, partakes in the eternal dance. The Mawlawi whirling dance is just another branch participating in this eternal dance. To him, love's food is music and dance. "Music was the beating of the heart overflowing with divine love, and the *s[a]ma'*, the ecstasy and movement of this love. Poetry was love's voice, the oil of the heart's lamp. When these three aesthetic elements were united together a bubbling brook of love poured spontaneously from M[aw]lana's soul, drowning even his own being" (Önder 1990: 173–4). The recurring theme related to love is that one must first suffer, burn, and die in order to be purified and then acquire a new spiritual state. He illustrates this beautifully with many instances like the melting of the sun, the boiling of chickpeas to be consumed and be part of a human body, and last but not least the broken heart. The heart must be broken with turbulence, anger, and the agonies of love so that it can find the hidden treasure residing in itself, that is, God.

In al-Rumi's view, real love is the feeling of attachment to God in the personhood of a perfect human being (*al-insan al-kamil*) or seeing one's perfection in him. Once the state of ecstasy is over, this love permeates over all creatures, human beings, animals, and the living environment, commanding goodness, beauty, maturity, and unity in all for all. What makes al-Rumi so unique, well known, and the most widely read Sufi is probably his extension of mercy and gentleness to everything that exists. It is closely related to the common Sufi interpretation of the Divine Attributes as theophanies mirrored in the universe. They are usually divided into two groups. On the one hand, we have those related to Mercy (*rahmat*) or Gentleness of God and on the other; we see those related to Wrath (*ghadab*) or Severity of God. Since God declared in the Qur'an (7:156) that "My Mercy encompasses all things," unlike Wrath, Mercy is his essential nature. Like the theophanies of all other Names and Attributes, Mercy and Wrath are represented in the universe. Prophets and saints have a perfect balance between Mercy and Wrath; in fact, Mercy dominates over their character. Angels and Satans have the theophanies of Mercy and Wrath successively. At the microcosmic level, the intellect (*'aql*) corresponds to Mercy, while Wrath is symbolized by the ego (*nafs*); thus, human beings are trapped between intellect and ego, angel and devil. In this sense, Satan and evil are necessary elements in the functioning of the cosmic equilibrium. One should, in al-Rumi's view, put his trust in the hands of God with an unwavering faith in Him and keep on practising one's religion. Al-Rumi frequently stresses and convincingly illustrates this by citing examples from everyday life that what makes human beings particular is that they have free will, so they can choose whatever path they want to pursue.

In trying to understand al-Rumi's work, a common mistake is usually repeated, even by such leading experts as R. A. Nicholson. Probably due to his meeting with Ibn al-'Arabi during his studies in Syria and also his good relationship with Sadr al-Din AL-QUNAWI, Ibn al-'Arabi's stepson and best interpreter, there is a general tendency toward interpreting al-Rumi's thought in the light of Ibn al-'Arabi's doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* (the unity of being). This approach is inadequate since al-Rumi never liked the theoretical systematization of Ibn al-'Arabi. This is not to suggest, however, that al-Rumi does not possess a consistent philosophy of existence. Certainly, al-Rumi, like every true Muslim, believed that behind the multiplicity of existence lays the Unity that can be seen and heard in every aspect of life; his songs give voice to this belief. But the difference between Ibn al-'Arabi and al-Rumi is that contrary to the former, the latter's primary concern is not to talk about metaphysics, theology, cosmology, or philosophy. Rather, al-Rumi expresses his views on these freely as he continues along singing songs of love. The project of seeing al-Rumi with the glasses of Ibn al-'Arabi will quench the burning fire of love in al-Rumi's poetry.

Al-Rumi's spiritual journey can be read as an ideal three-step model for a mystic's development: ascending, realizing, and descending. His meeting with Shams completely reduced him into a state of annihilation, after which came a relatively serene period during his companionship with the goldsmith Salah al-Din. This was a time of rediscovering his transformed self. Then, we see the mature al-Rumi descending from the heights of mystical experiences and talking of the wonders of the spiritual life in the form of the *Mathnawi* with the assistance of his obedient disciple Husam al-Din. This process can also be clearly seen in the different styles of the *Diwan* and the *Mathnawi*, and also in the way they are appreciated by the Muslim community.

In addition to the Qur'an and the *hadith*, it is said that al-Rumi's work carries strong influences from four different sources, which can be divided into two categories. One group consists of the poets Sana'i (the first poet using *mathnawi*, literally rhyming couplets, as a form of mystical writing) and 'Attar's writings. The second group is comprised of his father's *Ma'arif* (Book of Gnosis) and Shams' *Maqalat* (Essays).

Al-Rumi produced five works, two of which are poetry (*Diwan* and *Mathnawi*) and the rest is prose. Of those, *Mathnawi* is the most renowned, frequently cited and, probably, assiduously studied both in the East and in the West. It comprises of six volumes, containing about 26,000 verses (25,618 precisely), composed in a very simple meter. It was dictated to Husam al-Din by al-Rumi volume by volume, and at the end of each volume read back to be checked and corrected if necessary, except for the last volume for which al-Rumi's life did not suffice. Although simple in its didactic style, it is a difficult work to comprehend and interpret, not because of its complex content (it has very little of the Sufis' technical terminology and theory) but because of the looseness and freely utilized materials. The stories, usually intertwined with others, go on and on and are woven with verses from the Qur'an, sayings from the Prophet and anecdotes from the saints, legends, and so on. Typically, it is a cultural storehouse of the East and a testament of a perfect human being (*al-insan al-kamil*) to lead others to God. It has been translated into many languages in the East and from 1800 onward, in the West too, notably by R. A. Nicholson.

Diwan-e Shams is a collection of lyrical poetry, outpouring directly from the ecstatic experience of al-Rumi after his meeting with Shams, in the form of traditional *ghazal* with monorhymes. The general theme in the *ghazals* is love, focusing on the joys of union with and the agonies of separation from the Beloved. The style is more lucid, daring, and artistic compared to *Mathnawi*'s simplicity, as if the poet seeks to demonstrate his mastery of language, history, and religious writing. Defining the exact number of verses is extremely difficult because of the pseudonyms al-Rumi used and of the mix up in names in manuscripts, but it is about 35,000. Another important work of al-Rumi is *Fihi Ma Fihi* (literally, "'in it what is in it," translated into English as "Discourses") comprises of the table talk of al-Rumi, inspirational prose pieces covering similar issues as in *Mathnawi*. *Maktubat* (Letters) contains more than a hundred and fifty letters dictated on different occasions such as when either recommending somebody for a job or when answering someone's problems. It is an interesting document indicating the human and social aspects of a leading Sufi master in his day-to-day relations with people surrounding him from various levels of society. *Majales-e Sab'a* (Seven Gatherings/Sermons), a slightly less-known minor work, composed long before the emergence of Shams, also has a mystical character with strong emphasis on ethics.

Al-Rumi was, has been, and will be a towering figure for humanity, not to mention Islam. He will be remembered forever not only for his personality and works but also for the legacy of the religion of love he provided to humanity regardless of boundaries, ethnicity, language, and color. As long as people consult him for inspiration, his light will continue to enlighten them ceaselessly.

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RIFAT ATAY

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SABAHATTIN, Prens (1293–1367/1877–1948)

Prens Sabahattin was born in Istanbul in 1293/1877, and died at Neuchâtel, Switzerland, in 1367/1948. He was a well-known Turkish sociologist and political theorist. His father Damat Mahmut Celalettin Paşa was the son of Gürcü Halil Rıfat Paşa, the minister of marine, and his mother Seniha Sultan was the daughter of Sultan Abdülmecit and the younger sister of Sultan Abdülhamit II. Celalettin Paşa's influence can be seen through his two sons' lives, from their first education to their later involvement in politics.

Prens Sabahattin and his elder brother Prens Lütfullah were privately educated in natural sciences, foreign languages, and literature. When Celalettin Paşa, due mostly to his disagreement with the sultan Abdülhamit, moved to Paris in 1316/1899, Prens Sabahattin and his brother accompanied him. In Paris, Prens Sabahattin developed an interest in politics and led a group of Ottoman liberals called the Young Turks (Jön Türkler). In 1319/1902 he took the initiative in organizing the first "Congress of Young Turks." After a split from the centralist-nationalist Young Turk movement of Ahmed Rıza, namely the İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress), Prens Sabahattin, representing the liberal-revolutionist line, united his followers in a separate organization, Adem-i Merkeziyet ve Teşebbüs-ü Şahsi Cemiyeti (Society for Decentralization and Private Initiative). He also got involved in *La Science Sociale*, wrote for a journal called *La Revue* and from 1906 to 1908 published a monthly periodical, the *Terakki*. After the 1908 Constitutional Revolution he returned to Istanbul. In 1327/1909, immediately after the 31 Mart event, he was arrested but, through intervention of some powerful paşas, was soon released.

Despite the fact that Prens Sabahattin and his followers acted together with the İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti during the second Congress of Young Turks held in Paris in 1907, the difference of opinion between the two groups were too fundamental to overcome. Unlike the İttihat ve Terakki members who understood the problem of the Ottoman Empire as one of administration, Prens Sabahattin spotted the problem as a structural one and insisted on some fundamental changes. His ideas found many supporters among the liberal circles and parties but he never joined any of these. He had to leave the country when he was accused of involvement in the murder of the Vezir-i A'zam (grand vizier) Mahmut Şevket Paşa in 1331/1913. After the World War I he returned once again but, having been banned from Turkey as a member of the Ottoman dynasty, he had to leave Turkey permanently in 1342/1924. He died in Switzerland in 1367/1948 where he lived a life of exile. Four years later his bones were brought to Istanbul and buried in Eyüp.

Prens Sabahattin is considered to be the founder of individualist sociology in Turkey that opposed the Durkheimian school of Ziya GÖKALP. Individual sociology was inspired by the ideas of Frederic Le Play and Edmond Demolins, arguing that what lay at the foundation of society and state were individuals. This is why the starting point of sociology should be the individual and not society or state. He also believed in the importance of applied science and experimentation in education and supported the idea of reforming the educational system to make it fit for the training of productive individuals. He wrote many articles in various journals. Some of his ideas and letters were later published in *Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabilirı* (How Can Turkey Be Rescued?), *Görüşlerim*, and *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyetine Açık Mektuplar* (Open Letters to the Committee of İttihat ve Terakki).

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

SABBAH, Hasan (d. 518/1124)

Hasan Sabbah was born in Qum, Persia, in the mid-440s/1050s and died in the fortress of Alamut on 26 Rabi al-Thani 518/June 12, 1124. He was a prominent Isma'ili *da'i* or religio-political missionary and founder of the Nizari Isma'ili state. A trained theologian and philosopher, Hasan Sabbah was at the same time an outstanding organizer. The events of Hasan's life and career as the first ruler of Alamut are documented in the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidna* (Biography of our Master), the first part of which may have been autobiographical. This chronicle has not survived, but it was used extensively by certain Persian historians of the Mongol Ilkhanid period, notably Juwayni (d. 681/1283) and Rashid al-Din (d. 718/1318), who remain our chief sources on Hasan Sabbah.

Hasan's father, 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Sabbah al-Himyari, a Twelver Shi'i claiming Himyari Yamani origins, had lived in Kufa before migrating to Qum, a traditional stronghold of Imami Shi'ism. Subsequently, the Sabbah family settled in the nearby city of Rayy, where the youthful Hasan received his early religious education as a Twelver Shi'i. There, Hasan was introduced to Isma'ili teachings and converted to Isma'ili Shi'ism around the age of seventeen. Soon afterward, in 464/1072, he was appointed to a post in the *da'wa* or missionary organization by 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Attash, the chief Isma'ili *da'i* in Persia, who had been impressed by the novice. In 469/1076 Hasan left for Fatimid Egypt to further his Isma'ili education. After spending three years in Cairo and Alexandria, in 473/1081 he returned to Isfahan, the secret headquarters of the Isma'ili *da'wa* in Persia. Subsequently, Hasan traveled for nine years to different parts of Persia in the service of the *da'wa*, also formulating his own revolutionary strategy against the Saljuq Turks, whose alien rule was detested by Persians of all social classes. By around 480/1087, he had chosen for his headquarters the fortress of Alamut, in the central Alburz mountains of the Rudbar region in northern Persia. His seizure of Alamut in 483/1090 by a clever plan of infiltration marked the commencement of the open revolt of the Persian Isma'ilis against the Saljuqs and also the effective foundation of the Nizari Isma'ili state of Persia and Syria, comprising a number of scattered territories and networks of mountainous strongholds. Hasan also established an important library at Alamut.

The dispute over the succession to the Fatimid caliph and Isma'ili imam al-Mustansir, who died in 487/1094, split the Isma'ilis into rival Nizari and Musta'li factions, named after the deceased imam's sons who claimed his heritage. Hasan Sabbah supported the cause of Nizar (d. 488/1095), who had been denied the Fatimid caliphate, and recognized him as his father's successor to the Isma'ili imamate. Hasan had now founded the independent Nizari Isma'ili *da'wa*. After Nizar, the Nizari imams remained hidden for several decades, and Hasan and his next two successors at Alamut served as the supreme heads of the Nizari *da'wa* and state, with the rank of *hujja*, or chief representative, of the hidden Nizari imam.

From early on, outsiders gained the impression that the movement of the Persian Isma'ilis led by Hasan Sabbah represented a "new preaching" (*al-da'wa al-jadida*) in contradistinction to the "old preaching" (*al-da'wa al-qadima*) of the Fatimid Isma'ilis. But the "new preaching" was merely the reformulation by Hasan Sabbah of the old Shi'i doctrine of *ta'lim*, or authoritative teaching of the imam. In a Persian treatise entitled "The Four Chapters," which has been preserved only fragmentarily by our Persian historians as well as AL-SHAHRASTANI (d. 548/1153), Hasan argued in a series of four propositions for the inadequacy of human reason in knowing God and for the necessity of an authoritative teacher as the spiritual guide of humankind, who would be none other than the Isma'ili imam of the time. The anti-Isma'ili polemics of the contemporary Sunni establishment, led by Abu Hamid AL-GHAZALI, revolved around this doctrine of *ta'lim*, which served as the central teaching of the early Nizari Isma'ilis.

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FARHAD DAFTARY

SABRI EFENDI, Mustafa (1869–1954)

The last *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Sabri Efendi, was born in Tokat, Turkey. He completed his education in Kayseri. He became a teacher at the Fatih mosque. He attended the *huzur* classes held in the sultan's court, and worked as a librarian for Abdulhamid II. He was elected to the

Parliament in 1908. From 1908 to 1912, he was the chief editor of the journal *Beyanu'l-hak* (Explanation of Truth). After the political events of 1913, he fled to Egypt and then went to Rumania. He was exiled for a time to Bursa. He became the *shaykh al-Islam* in 1919, but he resigned from this post in 1920. He went to Rumania for a second time where he published the journal *Yarın* (Tomorrow). In the early 1930s he went to Egypt, where he stayed until his death in 1954.

As a conservative scholar, Mustafa Sabri produced a number of works. In his writings, he opposed both secular modernism and Islamist reformism. Like the Islamists of his time, he proposed a program of Islamization before and after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. He remained within the context of the traditional Ash'arite theology and Ottoman *madrasa* system. In Egypt, he wrote several books in Arabic in response to such modernist thinkers as Farid Wajdi and 'Abbas Mahmud AL-'AQQAD as well as Jamal al-Din AFGHANI and Muhammad 'ABDU. His four-volume *Mawqif al-'aql wa'l-'ilm wa'l-'alim min rabb al-'alamin wa ibadihi'l-mursalin* (The Position of Reason, Knowledge, and the Scholar in regards to the Lord of the Worlds and His Divinely Sent Servants) is devoted to a detailed analysis and criticism of many issues of twentieth-century Islamic modernism.

One central issue that underlies Sabri's works is the question of how to understand the Islamic tradition without compromising its religious principles. He was relentlessly opposed to both Western secularism and Islamic modernism/reformism. For instance, he criticized A. Mahmud al-'Aqqad, the author of a literary work on the prophet Muhammad, for praising him because of his "genius" (*'abqariyya*) rather than because of the fact that he was a prophet sent by God. Sabri considered such modern readings of Islam as devaluing its divine origin and mission. But he accepted the general outlines of political modernism, especially in regards to such concepts as parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, freedom, and equality.

In the *Mas'alat al-tarjamat al-qur'an*, Mustafa Sabri takes up the issue of using the translation of Qur'anic verses in ritual prayers. The book is a direct response to Ataturk's attempt to have all prayers performed in modern Turkish rather than in their original form in Arabic. M. Sabri adduces numerous arguments against the permissibility of using non-Arabic phrases in ritual prayers, and rejects Ataturk's proposal as an oppression of the Islamic religious tradition. On the question of women, he espoused a traditional and conservative view, rejecting the modernism of Qasim Amin and others.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

SABUNI, Nur al-Din (d. 580/1184)

Ahmad b. Mahmud, known as Nur al-Din, was born in Bukhara probably at the beginning of sixth/twelfth century, and died in the same city on 16 Safar 580/May 30, 1184. He was one of the theologians within the Maturidite school of Sunni Islam. There is not much information about his life. He seems to have belonged to a respected family in Bukhara, where he spent much of his life. He received his education in the same city and became a leading defender of the Maturidite theology of his time. He had made a trip to Mecca to perform *hajj* and on his way to Mecca, he visited Khurasan and Iraq and had discussions with the scholars of these regions.

He also had lively discussions with Fakhr al-Din AL-RAZI, a leading representative of Ash'arite theology of his time. According to Razi's report, at the end of these discussions, Sabuni said that all his knowledge of *kalam* was based on the work of Abu'l Mu'in AL-NASAFI; he also admitted to his own weakness in the science but said he was too old to start again.

Sabuni wrote a number of works, some of which are still in manuscript. In his *al-Muntaqa min 'ismat al-anbiya* (Selection from the Infallibility of the Prophets), he summarizes the work of Abu'l Husayn Muhammad b. Yahya. It starts by saying God sending a prophet is the result of His wise purpose, that prophets must be human, and that some of them are superior to others. Then after discussing their number and their infallibility, he goes on to discuss each individual prophet, starting with Adam and ending with the last prophet Muhammad. His *al-Kifaya fi'l hidaya* (Sufficient in Guidance) is a longer version of his *al-Bidaya fi usul al-din* (Introduction to the Principles of Religion). As he states in the introduction of the latter work, some of his friends found the *Kifaya* too long and asked him to summarize it, and, consequently, he wrote *al-Bidaya*. Through these works, Sabuni closely follows and defends the views of AL-MATURIDI. The *al-Bidaya* begins with a discussion of the sources of knowledge. Then, al-Sabuni tries to establish first the createdness (*huduth*) of the world, then the existence of its Creator. This is followed by a discussion of God's attributes. Al-Sabuni also deals with the issues that are controversial between the Ash'arites and the Maturidites, such as the attribute of creating (*takwin*) and supports the position of al-Maturidi. The discussions of prophecy, degree, predetermination, and human actions are followed by other traditional theoretical issues. All these topics are presented in a concise and accessible way.

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MUAMMER İSKENDEROĞLU

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AL-SABZAWARI, Al-Hajj Mulla Hadi
(1212–89/1797–1873)

Al-Hajj Mulla Hadi al-Sabzawari was born in 1212/1797–8 in Sabzavar in northeastern Iran. He was the outstanding Iranian philosopher of the Qajar period. He started his studies in Sabzavar and then moved to Mashhad to work on logic, mathematics, law, and metaphysics. He then traveled to Isfahan to study for seven years with Mulla 'Ali Nuri (d. 1246/1830–1), and there he was introduced to the thought of Mulla Sadra, very much the dominant figure in Persian philosophy. He returned to Mashhad to teach for five years, and on his way back from pilgrimage (*hajj*) he stayed for a year in Kirman, where he married, before returning to Sabzavar where he remained until his death teaching and writing. Muslim students from all over the world came to work with him there. Even the ruler Nasir al-Din Shah visited him in 1284/1867, but al-Sabzawari did not accept royal patronage, committed as he was to an ascetic and private lifestyle. There are many stories of events connected to his life to establish his saintly reputation. He died in 1289/1873.

His *Ghurar al-fara'id* (The Blazes of the Gems) is the work on which his academic reputation really rests, since it represents in poetic form what he takes to be the main principles of Mulla Sadra's thought. He wrote a commentary on the poem, *Sharh al-manzuma*, and for a long time these two works have been the staple fare in Shi'i *madrasas*. A vast number of commentaries and textbooks have been written on them in Persian. Al-Sabzawari is remarkable in being able to condense so much complex philosophy within these two texts, and for the attractiveness of his style.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

SAID HALIM PAŞA (1863–1921)

The Ottoman statesman and thinker Mehmed Said Halim Paşa was born in Cairo, Egypt. He was a descendant of the famous Egyptian ruler Mehmed Ali Pasha. His father Halim Paşa was a vizier in the Ottoman Empire. He received a good education and completed his undergraduate education in Switzerland with a degree in political science. This period would have a deep impact on Said Halim's future political ideas and profound criticisms of both Western and Islamic modernism.

He held various offices before becoming foreign minister in 1913 and grand vizier from 1913 to 1917. His relations with the members of the Society for Union and Progress became very tense after the beginning of the World War I. In 1917, he resigned from his position as the grand vizier. In 1919, he was tried on charges of leading the Ottoman Empire into war and exiled to Malta. He was released in 1921 and went to Sicily. His requests to return to Istanbul were rejected by the government. He then went to Rome, where he was assassinated by an Armenian in 1921. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried there.

Said Halim was a reformist Islamist thinker. Against the secular nationalism of the Young Turks and the radical Westernism of Abdullah CEVDET and others, he emphasized the Islamic identity of the Empire and its subjects. Like the Islamists of his time, he charged Muslim societies for failing to adapt themselves to the new circumstances. He believed that the historic animosity between Islam and the West was a major obstacle preventing Muslims from keeping up with the changes taking place in Europe. Unlike many of the second-rate intellectuals of his time, Said Halim Paşa had a first-hand exposure to European ideas in the nineteenth century.

Within an Islamist political context, he advocated the ideas of freedom, equality, and solidarity, and defined freedom as a duty rather than right. He developed an "Islamic meritocracy" and emphasized the use of individual reason. He defined his ideal Islamic polity as democratic in its concept of equality and aristocratic in its support of individual talent, virtue, and knowledge. His political program was based on the idea of "democratizing the ruling elite" and "imbuing people with aristocratic values." He assigned limited power to the sultan and envisioned everyone as equal before the law, that is, the Shari'a.

In his philosophical thought, Said Halim Paşa saw Islam as a middle path between idealism and positivism and criticized both ideologies as presenting an incomplete picture of reality. As an intellectual, he sought to bridge the gap between the intellectual elite and the public at large. Said Halim's most important contribution lies in his profound critique of the various reform movements in the Muslim world. He criticized the nationalist and pro-Western reformists for failing to understand the philosophical, cultural, and religious underpinnings of the social institutions that developed in the West and which the nineteenth-century reformists were trying to import to the Muslim world. Implicit in this is the rejection of the commonly held idea that "civilization is universal whereas culture is local," suggesting that Muslim societies can and should adopt Western civilization without necessarily adopting European cultural mores.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

SANA'I, Majdud ibn Adam al-Ghaznawi (d. 525/1131)

The Persian poet Hakim Sana'i was born in the last quarter of the fifth/eleventh century in the city of Ghazna (eastern part of present-day Afghanistan). He breathed his last in this home of the Ghaznavid sultans, most likely on 11 Shaban 525/July 9, 1131. Sana'i represents the fusion of the Persian poetic imagination with Sufism, initiating the severance of literary bonds historically circumscribed by the patronage and protection of the Persian court.

What little we know of Sana'i is inferred from his own poetry. His father was a *mu'allim* (either a Qur'an teacher or master craftsman), while the son's career began as a minor poet with patronage ties to various elite social groups. Among those who afforded him protection for his literary craft were prominent scholars of the Hanafi *madhhab*. For reasons that remain obscure, Sana'i left Ghazna for the eastern Persian province of Khurasan, visiting Balkh, Nishapur, and Herat. In the latter town he met the Sufi descendants of Khwaja 'Abdullah ANSARI (d. 481/1089). But it was an extended stay in Sarakhs that clearly marks a decisive re-orientation in the subject matter of his poetry.

In Sarakhs, the celebrated preacher, Hanafi scholar, and chief justice (*qadi' l-qudat*), Sayf al-Din Muhammad ibn Mansur, provided the patronage necessary for Sana'i to forsake the secular poetry of the Persian court tradition.

It is unclear to what extent Sana'i's turn to religious poetry reflects a personal conversion to Sufism or is simply indicative of the poet's ability to respond to the demands of religious patrons. Some of his better poems identify the Hanafi jurisprudent as both protector *and* spiritual guide. And although his mystical verse is often side-by-side panegyrical lines that point to dependence on all manner of patrons, it is not unreasonable to characterize this as a sensible survival strategy, without contradiction or conflict with the Malamati spirituality of Sufism familiar to Sana'i. It hardly seems a mark against him that he could not boast like Farid al-Din 'ATTAR (d. ca. 1220) of never having sought a king's favor or stooping to pen a panegyric. In any case, the following from Sana'i's *Diwan* (collection of poetry) suggests the sincere Sufi trumped the obsequious poet: "Abu Hanifa has not taught love, Shafi'i has no traditions about it."

Sana'i's *Diwan* attests to his mastery of the forms, images, rhetorical devices, motifs, and genres common to Persian court poetry. His lyrical poems include not a few instances of the Persian *ghazal* (song, elegy of love), an Arabic form adopted by the Persian poets. Sana'i metaphorically transmutes its baser themes into religious topics. And in his hands the Persian *qasida,* heretofore indissolubly linked to courtly life, becomes didactic and homiletical verse, a vehicle of "love mysticism." The "Litany of the Birds" in particular bears mention, with each bird singing its unique praise of God. It has been cited as one of the possible sources of inspiration for 'Attar's later, longer, and better-known mystical poem, *Mantiq al-tayr* (The Conference of the Birds).

Sana'i clearly deserves credit as the first Persian poet to "exploit the *qalandar* [literally 'a vagabond of scandalously offensive behavior'] motif to the full" (de Bruijn 1999: 78), here toward the ends of Malamati spirituality. But Sana'i's literary fame owes more to his pioneering reliance on the *mathnawi* (rhymed couplets) genre for didactic purposes, exemplified in *Hadiqat al-haqiqa* (The Garden of Ultimate Reality). Written near the end of his life following a return to Ghazna (*c.* 520/1126), this homiletic discourse merits attention for several reasons. The poem tells the ancient Asian story of the blind men and the elephant, to which Sana'i appends an allegorical supplement designed to inform his readers of the futility of theological casuistry and polemics. Pious reverence is paid to both leading figures of Sunni jurisprudence and 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661) and the "People of the House" ('Ali's family and descendants). Mystical knowledge of metaphysical matters is deemed fundamental, while an allegorical section of the poem finds our poet guided by the "active (or 'agent') intellect" found among *falasifa* (philosophers) like AL-FARABI and IBN RUSHD (Averroes). In short, Sana'i here manages to cover a motley variety of topics, the organizing narrative principle of which is generously described on the order of a "Pilgrim's Progress" (de Bruijn 1999: 370). The whole, in this case, is not any greater than the sum of its parts, a risk inherent in didactic poetry, and for the very same reason Plato's dialogues are not completely satisfying as works of art: their unity is not first and last an esthetic one, but a function of the ends of the philosopher (the Platonic philosopher is a bad poet, but for this reason he makes better use of poetry than any poet).

The *Garden of Ultimate Reality* is the earliest and most influential of mystical *mathnawis,* an emulative model for both 'Attar and RUMI (d. 1273). And it is hard to imagine the Sufi epics of 'Attar, or the ecstatic *ghazals* and didactic *mathnawis* of Rumi, without Sana'i. For these and other reasons, Sana'i's place in the pantheon of major Sufi poets who wrote in Persian, 'Attar, Rumi, and Jami, is secure. A consensual if not fair assessment comparing *The Garden of Ultimate Reality* to *The Conference of the Birds* finds Sana'i "undeniably patchy and dull" (Davis 1984: 15). But while Sana'i's chronological pre-eminence is not equivalent to poetic excellence, he remains notable for his literary inventiveness on several fronts. Finally, we might want to view his religious poetry as a noble attempt to address, in an Islamic context, what Plato identified as "the old quarrel between poetry and philosophy":

> Of all the poets major and minor
> Only I know the words of the Prophet.
> My poetry is a commentary on the religion and the law,
> And that is what the truthful poet does.
> Of all the poets, only I
> am the Prophet's by Almighty God…
> I am the slave of the religion, obedient in piety.
> A truth-telling poet am I, coveting nothing.
> (quoted in Lewisohn 1999: 172)

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PATRICK S. O'DONNELL

AL-SARAKHSI, Muhammad ibn Ahmad
(400–83/1009–90)

Shams al-Aimma Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi Sahl Abu Bakr al-Sarakhsi was born in Sarakhs, a place between Mashhad and Marw, around 400/1009 and died in Fargana (Marghinan) around 483/1090. He was one of the prominent Hanafite jurists of Transoxiana. There is little information about his life. Because of local political problems, he was imprisoned in Uzcand (Ozkent) for nearly fifteen years. According to the biographies, he was imprisoned because he spoke out against the ruler while addressing him. He produced his books in prison by dictating them to his disciples.

Upon his release from prison, Sarakhsi stayed in Fargana where he remained till the end of his life. He received his education in Bukhara. He studied theology (*kalam*), Islamic law (*fiqh*), and jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*). He received his education from prominent teachers of that region such as Abu al-Hasan ʻAli al-Sughdi, Abu Hafs ʻUmar b. Mansur al-Bazzaz, and Shams al-Aimma ʻAbd al-Aziz b. Ahmad al-Halwani, who was his most influential mentor in Islamic law. Sarakhsi attended his master's study circles for a long time in Bukhara. He was considered one of the three leading scholars, along with Dabusi Pazdawi, of the Hanafite school of law in the field of jurisprudence (*usul al-fıqh*). They were the referential sources of the Hanafite scholars of the following generations. He taught a number of students, among whom we can mention the names of Burhan al-din ʻAbd al-Aziz b. ʻUmar b. Maza, Mahmud b. ʻAbd al-ʻAziz al-Uzcandi, Rukn al-Din Masʻud b. Hasan al-Kashani, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Hasiri, and ʻUthman b. ʻAli al-Bikandi.

Sarakhsi produced a number of books in the fields of Islamic substantive law (*furuʻ al-fiqh*) and jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*). His *Kitab al-Mabsut* (The Expanded Book) was a commentary on al-Hakim al-Shahid al-Marwazi's (d. 334/945) *Mukhtasar al-Kafi* (The Abridgement of *Kafi*), which was a summary of Muhammad Hasan al-Shaybani's book of *al-Asl* (The Foundation). *Al-Mabsut* was a masterpiece of Hanafite legal doctrine in which he explored the doctrinal views of the Hanafite school. It is comprised of six popular books of al-Shaybani, known as *Zahir al-riwaya* (the Reliable Transmission). Sarakhsi's another book in this field (*furuʻ al-fiqh*) was *Sharh al-siyar al-kabir* (The Commentary on the Compendium of the Regulations), which was a commentary on Muhammad Hasan al-Shaybani's work of *al-Siyar al-kabir* (The Compendium of the Regulations). It deals with international law and the laws of war. His book of *al-Nukat* (The Commentarial Notes) was also a commentary on al-Shaybani's book of *Ziyadat al-ziyadat* (The Supplements of the Supplements). The *Kitab al-Usul* (Book of Islamic Legal Methodology) was a work dealing with the legal methodology or theory of the Hanafite school. *Sharh al-mukhtasar al-tahawi fi al-fiqh* (The Commentary of the Abridgement of Tahawi on *Fiqh*) was a commentary on Tahawi's *al-Muhktasar*. He took down by dictation *Sifat ashrat al-saʻa wa maqamat al-qiyama* (The Attributes of the Day of Judgement's Conditions and the Status of Doomsday) from his master Halwani. In this book he deals with theological subjects and eschatology. According to one of his biographers, he was a theologian, jurist, and polemicist. However, most of his works are related to Islamic law (*fiqh*) and legal theory (*usul al-fiqh*).

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

SEMNANI, ʻAla' al-Dawla
(659–736/1261–1336)

Rokn al-Din Abu'l-Makarem Ahmad b. Sharaf al-Din Mohammad al-Biyabanaki al-Semnani, better known as ʻAla' al-Dawla al-Semnani, was a major Sufi thinker and author of substantial works, an influential Sufi *shaykh* of the Kobravi order, and a poet of some distinction. Semnani's life is known in some detail thanks to frequent autobiographical indications in his works. Born in Dhu'l-Hijja 659/November 1261 to an aristocratic family of wealthy landlords from Biyabanak, a village near Semnan (roughly 200 km east of Tehran), he joined the court of the future Ilkhan Arghun (reigned from 683/1284 to 690/1291) at the age of fifteen (674/1275–76). Arghun, who was a Buddhist, had evidently taken a personal liking to him. He exposed him to discussions with Buddhist monks close to himself, and also took him along in the battle of 683/1284 against his rival and predecessor turned Muslim, Ahmad Teguder.

This apparently provoked a religious crisis in Semnani's life, and he decided to quit court service as a result of visionary experiences convincing him of the absolute superiority of Islam. He returned in 685/1286 with Arghun's permission to Semnan, devoting himself now to the study of classical Sufi literature, until his attention was caught by the unusual way to practise *dhikr* (remembering God) as performed by a certain Akhi Sharaf al-Din Saʻd Allah b. Hanuya al-Semnani, who turned out to be a delegate of Nur al-Din ʻAbd al-Rahman-e Esfarayeni, the Kobravi Sufi *shaykh* residing in Baghdad. In the summer of 687/1288, on his way to join Esfarayeni himself in Baghdad, he was arrested in Hamadan and brought back to Arghun's camp in Sharuyaz, the future Ilkhanid capital Sultaniyya, where he was again exposed to Buddhist indoctrination, only to become more fervent in his rejection of any doctrine he deemed non-Islamic. Some three months later, he tried to escape secretly but was soon followed by a Sufi called Hajji Amoli, who had been dispatched by his uncle, then vizier of Arghun, to keep him from turning to Baghdad while allowing him to go back to Semnan. During their common journey, Amoli taught him important elements of esoteric Islam which apparently left their mark on his own thinking. However, he distrusted the man, unmasking him as an unbeliever, even threatening to have him killed by a Turcoman Muslim attendant, and continued his journey back home alone.

Meanwhile, Esfarayeni, who was being kept informed of the developments through Akhi Sharaf al-Din, had already begun advising him on spiritual matters through an exchange of letters, which in fact continued for some thirty years until Esfarayeni's death in 717/1317 and thus constitutes a first-hand source for the study of their spiritual relationship. In Ramadan 688/September 1289 Semnani met Esfarayeni for the first time personally in Baghdad and received from him within a few days his formal initiation to the Kobravi *dhikr* practice. Immediately afterward he went for pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. On his way back, he stayed again for a short while with Esfarayeni, who now formally authorized him to act as a Sufi master and sent him back to Semnan. From then on, his life appears to have taken a much less dramatic course. Based in his newly founded retreat near Semnan, though by no means cut off from the world of political, religious, and intellectual developments, he devoted his life to intensive meditations as well as teaching and writing, surrounded by an increasing number of disciples. He died on 21 or 22 Rajab 736/March 5 or 6, 1336.

Semnani is well known for his concern to curb the growing influence of the school of Ibn al-‘Arabi on Persian Sufism. In his numerous systematic works, many among which still remain to be published, he developed a highly personal Sunni theology and an original theory of mystical experience based on the traditional Sufi scales of *lata’ef* (subtle centers within the human being), which he expanded in breathtaking structural analogies to cover the entire cosmos. His theory of a mystical ascent through such scales was even further elaborated by later Sufis. Against Ibn al-‘Arabi, Semnani argued that God’s “real being” cannot be identified with “absolute being” (*wojud motlaq*) since the latter, in his view, was applicable to the act of bestowing existence rather than to the absolutely transcendent acting subject. This transcendentalist argument, already used in classical Isma‘ili “negative theology” (Sijistani, Nasir-i Khosraw), was much later to play a similar role in other critical reactions to “monistic” trends, notably as voiced against Mulla Sadra’s philosophy of the “primacy of existence” by the Shi‘i traditionalist Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsa’i (d. 1241/1826), himself the founder of a new “school” of mystical thought.

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AL-SHA‘ARANI, ‘Abd al-Wahhab ibn Ahmad (*c.* 898–973/*c.* 1493–1565)

‘Abd al-Wahhab ibn Ahmad al-Sha‘arani was a descendant, he says, of Musa Abu ‘Imran, the son of the sultan of Tlemcen and a follower of the Sufi *shaykh* Abu Madyan Shu‘ayb (d. 594/1197). The *shaykh* sent his ancestor to Egypt and they settled in the village of Sakyat Abu Sha‘ra in the Minufiyya province, and that is how he acquired that *nisba* Sha‘rani or Sha‘rawi. Al-Sha‘arani moved to Cairo when he was twelve and here he worked on understanding the full variety of different approaches to Sufism and also to law. He was a prolific author with an attractive style, and apparently became wealthy through his association with the ruling Ottoman powers in Egypt at the time. Despite this association he was actually directed by a *shaykh* famous for his lack of culture and education, ‘Ali al-Khawwas al-Burullusi (d. 939/1532–3); the *laqab* means “palm leaf plaiter.” He died on 12 Jumada al-Awwal 973/December 5, 1565, or thereabouts, and was buried in the community that he had founded in the city. His circle of followers passed on the order’s traditions to new members; the order was in existence at least until the nineteenth century.

Most of his works are on Sufism and law, and he is a heated advocate of moderation in religious affairs. He is very critical of those Sufis that he regards as going too far in their practices, and he denies that there is any incompatibility between Sufism and the rules and regulations of Islam. One of the characteristics of his style is a very real commitment to *realpolitik*, so his works are frequently down-to-earth and practical. He emphasizes that Sufis do not avoid the state, and even gives advice on how to be deferential to those in authority. He was obviously successful in this practice, being richly rewarded by the Ottoman rulers, which increased greatly the wealth of his *zawiya* and the property connected to it. His autobiography is remarkable for its self-praise, but then al-Sha‘arani argues that as his talents are a gift from God it is his religious duty to praise God through enumerating those talents. Here his approach owes much to AL-SUYUTI, whom he holds in great respect, but whose literary style he does not manage to emulate. On the other hand, al-Sha‘arani does write with a vivacity and earthiness that is very attractive, and it is not difficult to see why he was successful in gaining adherents.

From the point of view of philosophy his main contribution is his explanatory work on IBN AL-‘ARABI. The latter is famous for the obscurity of his expression, and that had helped it to fall into some disfavor among the guardians of orthodoxy. Al-Sha‘arani explained clearly the various different theories of Ibn al-‘Arabi, and had a knack for extracting the kernel of rationality from the often rather confused prose of the thinker himself. He often accomplishes this by suggesting that Ibn al-‘Arabi should not be taken at face value, or that only mystics will really understand what he says, so there is no doubt that he provides a rather simplified interpretation of the thought of this difficult philosopher. He is much more complimentary about Ibn al-‘Arabi than he is about IBN FARID, another highly significant writer in the Sufi canon on whom he comments, although for the latter also he finds an interpretation which links him with what he takes to be orthodoxy. Al-Sha‘arani was pushing against an open door here, since the

Ottomans were on the whole committed to Sufism, so they were no doubt enthusiastic about his defense of the compatibility of Sufism with Islamic law.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

SHABISTARI, Mahmud (d. after 1340)

The celebrated Persian Sufi poet Sa'd al-Din Mahmud ibn 'Abd al-Karim Yahya Shabistari (d. after 1340) was born in the last half of the thirteenth century at Shabistar, a small village northwest of Tabriz, located a few miles inland from Lake Urumiya in the present-day province of eastern Adharbayjan in Iran. Almost nothing is known of his life, wife, children, or family ancestors. According to his own admission he spent many years of his life traveling through Egypt, Turkey, and Arabia in pursuit of knowledge. However, from his frequent references to other poets and mystics of Tabriz in his *Sa'adat-nama* (Book of Felicity) it is evident that most of his life was passed in Tabriz, one of the main centers of Persian literary culture and mysticism in Mongol Persia.

Author of two books of mystical poetry and a single theosophical treatise, Shabistari's fame rests mainly on the *Garden of Mystery*, which he composed in December 1317 in rhyming couplets amounting to about 1,000 distiches. This poem was written in response to seventeen queries concerning various intricacies of Sufi metaphysics posed to the Sufi masters of Adharbayjan by another great Sufi of his day, Rukn al-Din Husayni Harawi (d. 718/1318).

He is famous mainly for his 1000-line Sufi poem *Gulshan-i raz* (Garden of Mystery). Composed in a highly symbolic language, and drawing upon the lexicon of several centuries of Persian symbolic poetry, the *Garden of Mystery* sets forth the *dicta* of the Sufis on a variety of themes such as thought *(fikr),* the soul (*nafs*), knowledge (*ma'rifat*), multiplicity and unity of the realms of being, hierarchical levels of being, the spiritual voyage (*sayr*) and methodical progression on the Sufi path (*suluk*), nearness (*qurb*) and distance from God (*bu'd*), and the evolution of the soul. It was one of the most frequently commented upon works in all of Persian Sufi literature; by the middle of the sixteenth century close to thirty commentaries had been written upon it by a number of Persian mystics, both renowned and obscure, the most important of these being the *Mafatih al-i'jaz fi sharh-i Gulshan-i raz* by Muhammad Lahiji (d. 1507).

The poem was first brought to the attention of Western orientalists by the French travelers Chardin and Bernier, who visited Persia in the seventeenth century and reported the poem's reputation in learned circles there as a "somme théologique." A précis of the poem was subsequently translated into Latin in 1821 by Tholuck in his *Sufismus*, later to be followed in 1825 by his translation into German of a third of the poem in his "Blüthensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik." The *Gulshan-i raz* entered into the mainstream of Western Islamic studies when the Persian text was published in 1838 with a German verse translation by J. von Hammer-Purgstall. In 1880 this text was revised and collated, with several manuscripts omitted, by Hammer; it was republished in England accompanied by an English translation by E. H. Whinfield. It has since been translated into English several times, although none of these translations have added anything substantial to Whinfield's rendition.

Shabistari's only other Sufi epic poem was the *Sa'adat-nama* (Book of Felicity), a work largely devoted to the deliberate poeticization of subjects which properly belong to the science of *kalam*, Islamic scholastic theology. He composed a single theosophical treatise, the *Haqq al-yaqin*, divided into eight chapters (*abwab*, "Gates," corresponding to the eight Gates of Paradise), each of which is between two to five pages in length. These "Gates," in turn, are subdivided into discrete paragraphs with a separate lemma heading the text. Some of the lemmata typically featured include "reality" (*haqiqat*); "an illustration" (*tamthil*); "*nota bene*" (*tabura*); "corollary" (*far'*); "inference" (*natija*); "a subtle mystery" (*sirr-i nazurk*); "natural consequence" (*lazima*); "beneficial proposition" (*fayida*); and "subtlety" (*daqiqa*). The book is thus subdivided into small passages, some of which are only a short paragraph, expounding a philosophical point or metaphysical truth, followed by a citation from the Qur'an. Neither of the *Sa'adat-nama* nor the *Haqq al-yaqin* have been translated into any European language.

A follower of IBN AL-'ARABI, all the poetic and prose work of Shabistari shows a peerless flair for metaphysical penetration combined with an aphoristic skill in synthesizing intricate dilemmas of Islamic theological and theosophical thought. He is unrivaled by any other medieval Persian Sufi poet in brevity of output and profundity of content. While in the *Garden of Mystery* Shabistari embraces without reservation the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabi, in the *Sa'adat-nama* he is more cautious and raises certain objections to him, relying mainly on AL-GHAZALI (d. 1111). His religious orientation (as well as the outlook of some of his contemporary Kubrawi masters – Nur al-Din Isfarayini, SEMNANI, and Maghribi (d. 810/1408) reflected that of the Kubrawi Sufi order, to which he probably belonged. He adhered to a philosophical tradition followed by Sufis, theologians, and philosophers alike; a tradition which emphasizes that knowledge can be attained by one or a combination of three means: revelation (*wahy*), reason (*'aql*), and *kashf* (unveiling), corresponding to the methods pursued respectively by the theologians, philosophers, and Sufis. In the works of later Persian mystical philosophers ranging from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, such as Sa'in al-Din Turkah (IBN TURKA), Isfahani (d. *c.* 830/1427), MULLA SADRA (d. 1050/1640), 'Abd al-Razzaq LAHIJI (d. 1072/1661–2), Mulla 'Abdullah ZUNUZI (d. 1257/1841), and Hadi SABZIWARI (d. 1295/1878), verses from Shabistari's *Gulshan-i raz* are frequently cited to illustrate metaphysical concepts and encapsulate their views on the subtler points of ontology, ethics, or epistemology.

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AL-SHADHILI, Abu'l Hasan
(*c.* 583–656/*c.* 1187–1258)

Abu'l Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Shadhili was born in Ghumara in Morocco, in the Rif area of the Atlas mountains, of distinguished ancestry. He had a traditional religious education and quite quickly indicated an interest in Sufism, being inducted into the movement by Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Harazim (d. 633/1236), a disciple of Abu Madyan. He traveled to Tunis to broaden his education and joined the Maliki school of law. Al-Shadhili spent a lot of time traveling, to Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, and of course Mecca for the *hajj*, spending a good deal of time in the vicinity of the village of Shadhila, between Kairouan and Tunis, hence his name. He is said not to have stayed in the village itself, but in a cave in a mountain (Zaghwan) close to it in order to strengthen his spirituality. Fourteen years before his death he went to Egypt, dying there near the Red Sea in Humaythira, having earlier lost his sight.

While he was in Iraq, al-Shadhili informed everyone he met that he was searching for the Qutb or pole, that is, the mainstay of faith in the Islamic world, and was directed back to the Maghreb where he identified 'Abd al-Salam ibn Mashish (d. 622/1225) as the Qutb. Al-Shadhili is not known to have left any books at all, but his various prayers and invocations are famous and quickly became popular. He seems to have taught that Sufis should not go to extremes of asceticism, although on occasion he is said to have, and for them to continue with their ordinary occupations. The reason for this is the idea that it is blasphemous to deny ourselves the enjoyment of what God provides, as one might imagine this sort of injunction won many followers. The prayers and conversation of al-Shadhili are moving, expressing total faith in the power and love of God, and His control over our lives.

The order of Sufism named after him, the Shadhiliyya, started as a result of his visit around 640/1242 to Tunis and his preaching there. Although he quickly gained supporters, there were those who opposed him also, and a local *faqih* Abu'l-Qasim ibn Bara is said to have denounced him to the sultan Abu Zakariyya, labeling him a possible threat to his political power. But the charge was quickly shown to be invalid, since al-Shadhili displayed no interest in personal power at all, or any concern with anything unrelated to the religious. The ruler does seem to have generally been supportive of him, which certainly was not always the case between local rulers and their Sufi communities. However, it was in Egypt that he really got his movement underway, and what really gave it impetus was the recruitment of some outstanding individuals such as Abu al-'Abbas al-Mursi, who succeeded al-Shadhili as head of the tariqa, and Ibn 'Ata' Allah, who in turn took over from al-Mursi in 686/1287.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-SHAFI‘I, Muhammed ibn Idris
(150–204/767–819)

Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammed b. Idris al-Qurashi was born in Gaza or Asqalan in 150/767 and died in Cairo in 204/819. He was the founder of the Shafi‘ite legal school in Islam. His family belonged to the Quraysh tribe. His father died when Shafi‘i was two years old. The family then moved to Mecca where he grew up with his mother. Shafi’i started his education in Mecca, where he learned language and poetry until he concentrated on *fiqh*, beginning with Tradition (*hadith*). He memorized the Qur’an and the *Muwatta* of Malik at a very early age. When he was thirteen, he went to see Malik who was deeply impressed by his memory and intelligence.

Shafi‘i learned classical Arabic and old Arabian poetry through his intercourse with the tribe of Hudhayl in Mecca. Then around 170, he moved to Medina and studied Islamic law (*fiqh*) under Malik b. Anas. After the death of Malik, he continued his studies in Baghdad under Hanafite teachers. He continued his education with one of the Hanafite scholars Muhammad b. Hasan Shaybani and Ahmad IBN HANBAL. Then he formulated his own legal system in Baghdad. In 200/814 he went to Egypt where he changed his whole theoretical direction and formulated a new legal system. These two schools are known in the terminology of jurists as “the old” (*al-qadim*) and “the new” (*al-jadid*), corresponding to his views in Iraq and Egypt. Some of Shafi‘i’s pupils like al-Buwayti, al-Muzani, and al-Bulqini transmitted “the new legal system” in the *Kitab al-Umm*. The most prominent transmitters of “the old legal system” were Ibn Hanbal, al-Zafarani, and Abu Thawr, in the *Kitab al-Hujja*.

In his legal theory, he tried to restore the sources of Islamic law. He laid emphasis on the four main sources, namely the Qur’an, Tradition (*hadith*), analogical reasoning (*qiyas*), and consensus (*ijma‘*). He was a leading orthodox authority in legal theory of his time. For him, analogical reasoning (*qiyas*) and independent legal reasoning (*ijtihad*) are two terms used for the same idea. He argued for analogical reasoning (*qiyas*) as a fourth authoritative source of religious decisions and beliefs. This approach has been recognized widely by Islamic orthodoxy. Shafi’i severely criticized recourse to the methods of juristic preference (*istihsan*). He condemned *istihsan* as pleasing oneself (*taladhdhudh*). His theological teaching has been described by some as a prefiguration of Ash‘arism and as a prefiguration of Hanbalism by others. Shafi‘i avoided any interpretation of the verses pertaining to the attributes of God. In relation to the attributes of God, Shafi‘i left the meaning of the texts of the Qur’an and Traditions uninterpreted.

Shafi‘i produced a number of works in different branches of Islamic science. His masterpiece was *al-Risala fi al-usul* (A Treatise on Legal Theory) which is considered as the first book on the foundations of *fiqh*. It was written at the request of ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Mahdi, who was a traditionist of Basra at that time. *Kitab al-Umm* (The Motherbook) consists of his legal opinions (*fatawa*) given in Egypt. His *Kitab al-Hujja* (Book of the Evidence) consists of his legal opinions given in Baghdad. He had some other books such as *Kitab al-Ihtilaf al-hadith* (Book of the Conflicts of the Traditions) and *Isbat al-nubuwwa wa raddi ala barahima* (The Proving of Prophethood and Refutation of the Brahmans).

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MUHARREM KILIÇ

SHAH 'ABD AL-RAHIM (1056–1131/1646–1718)

Shah 'Abd al-Rahim was born in 1056/1646 and studied with his older brother 'Abd al-Rida Muhammad initially. It seems to have been a broad education, including not only the religious sciences but also some philosophy such as the works of SIYALKOTI, TAFTAZANI, and Jurjani, and he went to work with Mirza Muhammad Zahid Harawi in Lahore. Like so many of his peers, though, after receiving a sound training in philosophy he moved into mysticism, being initiated into the Naqshibandiya order by 'Abd Allah Akbarabadi.

The main significance of 'Abd al-Rahim lies not so much in his writings but in his creation of the Madrasa-yi Rahmaniyya in Kotla Fayroz Shad near Delhi. This college came to importance during Shah WALI ALLAH's stay there, since it enabled him to influence many students who came to study with them there. It also brought in students from all the surrounding countries, and much farther afield, and sent them back with a sound education in the classics of Islamic philosophy. The influence of Mughal India was thus projected around the Islamic world.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

SHAH MUHAMMAD (992–1072/1584–1661)

Shah Muhammad ibn 'Abd Ahmad was born in Arkasa, in Badakhshan, and spent his first two decades there. He then moved to Balkh and Kabul in search of a *shaykh*, ending up in Lahore in 1023/1614–15, when he met and was impressed by Miyan Mir. Mir suggested that he move to Kashmir, and Mullah Shah, as he was generally known, complied, spending his summers there and his winters in Lahore. He died in Lahore and is buried in a small mosque not far from the mausoleum built for Miyan Mir.

He was a popular thinker in royal circles, attracting both Dara Shikoh and his sister, two of the most significant Mughal individuals. No doubt the tendency of Mulla Shah to stress the commonality of religious views across the various faiths fitted into the popular mood of the times at the court, but it did not endear him to Aurangzeb, when he ascended the throne. Mulla Shah managed to compose verse to celebrate the occasion and so escaped retribution, but there is no doubt that the more orthodox members of the community of the time were often rather shocked by the pantheistic flavor of his thought, as evidenced by his verse.

OLIVER LEAMAN

SHAH WALI ALLAH OF DEHALAWI,
see Wali Allah

SHAH WALIYULLAH, *see* Wali Allah

AL-SHAHRASTANI, Abu'l Fath
(*c*. 479–548/*c*. 1087–1153)

Abu'l Fath Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Karim b. Ahmad was born in Shahrastan, a town on the north of Khurasan, around 479/1087 and died in the same town in 548/1153. He was an important Ashʿarite theologian and historian of religious and philosophical doctrines. There is little information about his life. He seems to have received his first education in his hometown where he studied Arabic, logic, and arithmetic. Then he went to Nishapur where he studied *fiqh* with Abu'l Muzaffar al-Khawafi, *kalam* and philosophy with Abu'l Qasim Salman b. Nasir al-Ansari, *hadith* from ʿAli b. Ahmad al-Madayni, and *fiqh* and *kalam* from Abu Nasr ʿAbd al-Rahim al-Qushayri. From Nishapur he went to Khawarizm where he continued studying religious sciences as well as philosophy. In 510/1117 he went to Mecca to perform the *hajj* and on his way back al-Shahrastani stayed in Baghdad, where he taught in the Nizamiya *madrasa*, preached in the mosque, and attended disputations for three years. He then returned to Khurasan where he entered into the service of Abu'l Qasim Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar, vizier of the Saljuk sultan Sanjar. In 526/1131, he went to Tabriz and stayed there for a while and then returned to Shahrastan where he spent the rest of his life. He taught a number of students, though none of them became famous.

His best-known work is the *Kitab al-milal wa'l nihal* (Book of Religions and Sects). In this work, al-Shahrastani classifies the people of the world according to their religions and philosophical views. He first gives the views of Muslim sects in detail. Then he discusses, first, the views of "the people of the book," the Christians and the Jews, then the views of the Mazdeans and Manichaeans. His presentation of these religions is more objective than any presentation of the historians of religions of his age. The discussion of religions is followed by the discussion of the views of the Sabians and of the ancient philosophers. Al-Shahrastani then discusses the views of Muslim philosophers in more detail, and in that chapter he mainly reflects the views of IBN SINA. The work finishes with the discussion of the views and customs of the Arabs and the Indians. In the *Nihayatu ʿiqdam fi ʿilmi'l-kalam* (The Furthest Steps in the Science of Theology), Shahrastani discusses in twenty chapters the classical theological issues. He evaluates the views of Muslim sects on these issues from the Ashʿarite point of view and directs most of his criticism to the Muʿtazilites and the Muslim philosophers. However, he does not give blind allegiance to the views of the early Ashʿarites; in some cases he accepts the view of their opponents if it seems more acceptable from a rational point of view. In other cases, he does not discuss the issue from a philosophical point of view and considers it as simply a matter of religious principle. In his *Musara'at al-falasifa* (Struggling With

The Philosophers), Shahrastani attempts to give a detailed criticism of Ibn Sina's metaphysics. His approach in this work is different from the polemical approach of AL-GHAZALI in his *Tahafut al-falasifa*, which was also written in criticism of Ibn Sina's philosophy.

Shahrastani's incomplete work, the *Mafatih al-asrar wa masabih al-abrar* (Keys to the Mysteries and the Lights of the Righteous) is a commentary on the Qur'an. In this work, and in some other works, al-Shahrastani shows an inclination toward the teachings of the Shi'ites, but this indicates his openness toward different views. As an Ash'arite theologian, he does not hesitate to accept the views of the other theological schools or of the philosophers. He tries to harmonize these views within his understanding of Sunni Islam.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

SHAHRAZURI, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Mahmud (d. after 687/1288)

The Ishraqi philosopher Shahrazuri was a famous commentator of SUHRAWARDI, the founder of the school of *ishraq*, and a historian of philosophy. Given the fact that Shahrazuri wrote an important history of philosophy in which he has given the biographies of 122 philosophers from the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, it is rather ironic that virtually nothing is known about his life. His date of death is usually considered to have been after 687/1288. Shahrazuri's "Illuminationist conversion" has led to the compilation of a number of works which grant him a special place in the long list of Illuminationist philosophers.

Shahrazuri's philosophical works that have survived to this day include a major commentary on Suhrawardi's *Hikmat al-ishraq*, a history of philosophy entitled *Nuzhat al-arwah wa rawdat al-afrah fi tarikh al-hukama' wa'l-falasifa* (The Pleasure Place of Spirits and the Garden of Rejoicing in the History of Sages and Philosophers), in which we find the most detailed account of Suhrawardi's life, a commentary on Suhrawardi's *al-Talwihat*, another work on the philosophy of illumination called *al-Rumuz wa'l-amthal al-lahutiyya fi'l-anwar al-mujarrada al-malakutiyya*, and his important encyclopedia of philosophy, *al-Shajarat al-ilahiyya fi 'ulum al-haqa'iq al-rabbaniyya* (The Divine Tree in the Sciences of the Truths of the Lord), which has been edited as a doctoral dissertation (1996) but remains unpublished to this day.

Shahrazuri played a significant role in the further articulation and spread of the ideas of Suhrawardi. In his philosophical books as well as in the history of philosophy mentioned above, Shahrazuri adopts and develops the main perspective of the school of Illumination. Like Suhrawardi, he believes that "the world is never bereft of wisdom (*al-hikmat*) and a person who holds it through proofs and evident truths." In his discussions of various philosophical problems, Shahrazuri displays an in-depth knowledge of the history of philosophy, and provides fair assessments and summaries of previous philosophers.

His most important philosophical work, *al-Shajarat al-ilahiyya*, is divided into five sections: methodology and divisions of sciences, logic, practical philosophy, physics, and metaphysics. In the *Shajarat*, Shahrazuri brings together the most important issues of traditional philosophy but analyzes them from the point of view of such tenets of the school of Illumination as knowledge by presence, light and its degrees, and the primacy of quiddity (*asalat al-mahiyya*). Like Suhrawardi, he constructs a hierarchical view of the universe with a corresponding scale of intellectual and spiritual beings.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

SHAMS AL-AIMMA, see al-Sarakhsi

SHARIATI, Ali (1933–77)

Ali Shariati was born in Mazinan, a suburb of Mashhad, Iran, and went to school in Mashhad. He then went to the Teacher's Training College, working as a teacher at the age of eighteen. After graduating from college in 1960, on a scholarship he pursued graduate studies in France. He received a PhD in sociology in 1964 from the Sorbonne, and was thereafter generally referred to as Dr Shariati. When he returned to Iran he was arrested as soon as he entered the country due to his activities with the opposition while in France. Released in 1965, he began teaching at Mashhad University. He saw himself very much as a Muslim sociologist, and sought to combine a fairly Marxist approach to the resolution of social issues with a strong commitment to Islam. He moved on to Tehran when the authorities prevented his teaching in Mashad, and here he managed to attract large numbers of students. His opposition to the Shah and the authorities' persecution of him only attracted more followers, and his books became widely read in Iran.

Eventually his teaching institution, the Hossein-e-Ershad Institute, was entered by the police and he and many of his supporters were arrested. He went to prison yet again, being released on March 20, 1975. His freedom was limited since he was still under the surveillance of the police, and he left for England, where he was assassinated on June 19, 1977, by persons unknown. His literary output is interesting for its blend of Marxism and Islam, a mixture that proved potent and was designed to show young people that one could be on the side of the poor and oppressed without being a communist and rejecting religion. He thus managed to annoy both the political right and the left, and his murder remains a mystery, since he clearly got thoroughly on the nerves of many important Iranian political groups.

Shariati was a great adapter of ideas that he took and then developed in his own way. Thus while he rejected the dialectical materialism of Marxism, because of its materialism, he did use the notion of history having a direction and a pattern, albeit one based on the divine will, and the idea of class struggle by individuals progressively perfecting their consciousness and bringing about a better society. Islam is a religion based on liberation, and he sees the Qur'an as a book representing a community struggling permanently to achieve social justice, a fraternal society, and freedom. Shariati was not impressed with the power of imported ideologies to produce political solidarity among the people against oppressive regimes.

His interpretation of Shi'ism placed emphasis on Imam 'ALI as a revolutionary leader as well as a religious thinker. This is certainly not how the religious orthodoxy saw Shi'ism, especially as it places authority in the opinion of the individual, a vindication of *ijtihad* or independent judgment rather than in the hands of the religious authority. Here he was undoubtedly influenced by Jean-Paul Sartre, and he took seriously the existentialist emphasis on the importance of authentic decisions being made by free agents. Shariati argued that Islam could be vindicated as a faith both socially and intellectually if it is seen as involving autonomous choices by individuals and a determined progressive direction in its approach to the improvement of the position of the masses.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

SHAYKH MUFID (338–413/949–1022)

Shaykh al-Mufid's full name was Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Nu'man al-Harithi al-Baghadi al-'Ukbari. He was brought up in a village, but his father took him to Baghdad for his education. There he largely worked with Shi'i and Mu'tazili scholars. He showed such promise that one of his teachers recommended that he study under one of the leading scholars of the period, 'Ali b. 'Isa al-Ramani. He also studied under the leading Shi'i traditionists of the time, al-Shaykh al-Saduq. The Buyids were in power and much more tolerant of Shi'ism than some previous and subsequent rulers, so this was a good time for someone with Shi'i affiliations to work in Baghdad. He acquired his name due to his skill in argument, and especially for the subtle distinctions that he managed to draw in theological debate. He had three pupils who were to go on to positions of significance in Shi'i thought. These were al-Sharif al-Radi, al-Sharif al-Murtada, and the future *shaykh* al-Ta'ifa, Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi.

Shaykh al-Mufid wrote a large number of books in a wide variety of areas. He died in the month of Ramadan in the year 413/1022. Al-Sharif al-Murtada led the funeral prayers and gave a eulogy. After being buried in his own house, his body was later removed and buried in al-Kazimayn, which is currently a part of Baghdad, near the shrine of two imams who are known as the *kazimayn*.

Shaykh Mufid's work is largely limited to theology but it had a vast significance, since he really put Shi'i thought on a new conceptual level. It became as systematic and logically organized as Sunni thought after his efforts, and both schools in Islam developed in tandem.

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SHAYKH YUSUF AL-MAQASSARI, *see* al-Maqassari

SHAYTAN AL-TAQ, *see* Abu Ja'Far al-Ahwal

SHIHABODDIN YAHYA, *see* al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din

AL-SHIRAZI, Qutb al-Din

(634–710/1236–1311)

Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi received a philosophical education in which he worked with the outstanding thinkers of his time. He studied IBN SINA with Nasir al-Din AL-TUSI and Dabiran Katibi, and so had a solid background in Peripatetic thought. Through his father, a disciple of 'Umar AL-SUHRAWARDI (d. 632/1234–5), he acquired a solid grounding in Sufi thought, and he is reported to have met both Jalal al-Din RUMI and his son-in-law Sadr al-Din AL-QUNAWI, his follower and the founder of a school based on Rumi's thought. Al-Shirazi is perhaps best known for his commentary on al-Suhrawardi's *Hikmat al-ishraq* which came to dominate the textbook market from then on, replacing the commentary by SHAHRAZURI. What is characteristic of his approach here and also in his *Durrat al-taj li-ghurrat al-dubaj* (The Pearly Crown for the Brow of Dubaj) is his generally Peripatetic (*mashsha'i*) approach to the issues he considers, and this came to validate a form of interpretation of Ishraqi philosophy which brought the philosophy closer to the sort of work which went on in the form of Islamic philosophy that based itself on the Greeks, as opposed to the more mystical approach of many of al-Suhrawardi's commentators.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-SIJISTANI, Abu Sulayman

(*c.* 320–91/*c.* 932–1000)

Abu Sulayman Muhammad b. Tahir b. Bahram al-Sijistani was born in Sijistan (Sistan) and went on to spend his youth in the region. The details of Sijistani's life before his arrival in Baghdad are scarce. He studied traditional religious sciences with a concentration in jurisprudence (*fiqh*). The sources indicate that he was a Hanafi by *madhhab*. After moving to Baghdad, the most important center of learning in the tenth century, around the age of twenty-five, Sijistani joined the circle of Yahya b. 'Adi, who was a Monophysite Christian and a famous student of AL-FARABI. Sijistani studied with another famous philosopher of the time, Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunus, who was a Nestorian Christian and a celebrated logician. It was not too long before Sijistani established himself as the most brilliant and articulate philosopher of the intellectual life of tenth-century Baghdad. Because of his interest and expertise in logic, he was given the nickname *al-mantiqi*, the logician, just like Yahya b. 'Adi.

Through the patronage of the Buyid prince 'Adud al-Dawla (reigned 978–83), Sijistani immersed himself in philosophy, and became the most-wanted figure of the famous "philosophical feasts" of Baghdad. In a Socratic fashion, he preferred oral teaching and philosophical conversation to writing. As a result, we have only some fragments that have survived from Sjistani's works. Almost all of his ideas are preserved in the reports and writings of his students. The most important among these students is Abu Hayyan AL-TAWHIDI who recorded Sijistani's philosophical discourses and conversations in two separate works, *al-Imta' wa'l-mu'anasa* (The Book of Pleasure and Conviviality) and *al-Muqabasat* (Conversations). Sijistani's most well-known work is *Siwan al-hikmat* (The Cupboard of Wisdom), a collection of sayings from the Greek and Islamic philosophers. The attribution of *Siwan* to Sijistani, however, has been questioned, and it is often considered to be an ongoing work produced by different members of Sijistani's later group of followers.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Sijistani was the most famous philosopher of his time. Yet he had very little impact on the later Muslim philosophers. Nor was he known in the West, even though his *Siwan* may have granted him a decent place in the history of philosophy. Contemporary scholars tend to see him as a link between al-Farabi and IBN SINA, and question his originality. Sijistani's importance, however, should be seen in his ability to combine, articulate, and represent the most important philosophical trends of his time. For instance, as a *leitmotiv* of the post-Farabian Islamic philosophy, the relationship between religion and philosophy, or more specifically the articles of Islamic faith and Neoplatonic-Aristotelian philosophy, appears to be an issue of major concern to Sijistani, and his deliberations on the issue must have given support to the widely accepted view that there is no disharmony between the demands of religion and the postulates of philosophy. Furthermore, the multi-religious context of Sijistani's circle was an important part of the philosophical culture of the period. Finally, the openness of such philosophers as Sijistani to ideas from a wide array of sources has led some to call this period the "Islamic Humanism" of the tenth century.

In the *Siwan al-hikma*, we find Sijistani as a historian of philosophy rather than a philosopher in his own right. Even though the *Siwan* shows Sijistani's interest in the formation of various philosophical ideas extending from ancient to Islamic times, it is in the reports of his student Tawhidi that Sijistani comes forward as a thinker with an acute philosophic mind. His views on the major issues of the philosophy of his time display influences from the Platonic, Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, and Islamic religious sources. In his view of the soul, Sijistani reiterated the Neoplatonic notion that the human soul as an individual being is part of a larger soul-being called the Universal Soul. In its Neoplatonic context, this is the celebrated doctrine of "monopsychism." Yet, in its Islamic religious context, it can be understood as an affirmation of the idea that man as a microcosm of the universe is endowed with nature, intelligence, and soul all at once.

Like the other Muslim philosophers, Sijistani insisted on the intellect as an ontological principle of meaning, order, value, and intelligibility. In his treatise on the "special perfection of the human species," he says that the intellect is "the cause of the order of existents and their harmonious combination, giving each of them its determined existence." In this context, the intellect assumes two ontological functions. The first is the intellect's bestowal upon beings their "specific forms," that is, granting them their intelligible form, which makes beings what they are. The second is "what [intellect] performs by means of soul, by conferring life upon everything ready to receive it." The soul as the "form that occurs in the animate being" is bestowed by the intellect. Furthermore, the intellect is what gives order to the three realms of being to which Sijistani refers: "the divine existence sustaining all existents, the orderly existence specific to [intellect], and the natural existence that is allotted to sensible existents, particular and general, by soul, which emits nature into them."

In all these realms, the intellect is posited as the principle of vitality, order, intelligibility, and value. Man, or rather the human state, is the epitome of all of these qualities, and this is what makes him or his state "special" in creation. In talking about the human state as the microcosm and emblem of the universe, Sijistani also refers to the concept of the "perfect" or "universal man." Instead of employing the Sufi term *al-insan al-kamil*, however, he uses the words *al-ashkhas al-kamila* and *al-shakhs al-ilahi*, meaning respectively, the "perfect individuals" and the "divine individual." The ultimate referent of Sijistani's "divine individual" is not difficult to reconcile with the "universal man" of the Sufis. Given that the treatise in which Sijistani discusses this issue was written for the Buyid prince ʻAdud al-Dawla, however, Sijistani's use of the term is also distinctly political when he says that the divine individual "appears in the vocation in which he is most fit for governance. [The spheres] influence by manifesting the virtues emitted from the Primal Principle, by which this individual is distinguished for governing nations, managing kingdoms, and establishing laws."

Sijistani divides knowledge into four kinds, and lists them in a hierarchical order. The first is sensible knowledge acquired by animals that do not have the faculty of reasoning. The second is purely intelligible knowledge that is possessed only by the celestial bodies. This is also where the "Platonic forms" reside. The third combines both sensible and intelligible knowledge but remains imperfect because it is still limited by the imaginative faculty of those who have not reached the purity of the intelligible world. The fourth kind is what properly belongs to human beings, and combines sensible and intellectual knowledge which the human acquires through sensation and intellection. But in the end Sijistani places intuition above all other forms of knowledge.

In his treatise on the first mover, Sijistani presents his natural philosophy from both physical and metaphysical points of view. He states that "the most suitable investigation concerning the first mover combines discussion of physical inquiry with metaphysical inquiry." According to Sijistani, motion is an essential component of natural bodies. In other words, "every body that contains the principle of its motion is a natural body." In keeping with his dual point of view, Sijistani continues to explain the physical and metaphysical meanings of such terms as form and nature. In natural philosophy, the term form indicates the "entity that occurs in matter," whereas in metaphysics it refers to that which "informs matter, bestowing its forms upon it." In a similar way, the physical definition of "nature" is that "it is the principle of motion and rest in the thing in which it resides primarily and essentially, not accidentally." Its metaphysical meaning is that it is a "power that pervades bodies, bestowing forms on each of them."

In the *Muqabasat*, Tawhidi reports 106 questions and answers from the famous philosophical gatherings of Sijistani and his circle. Almost all of the questions are answered by Sijistani. This is where we find Sijistani not only as a philosopher but also as a *belles-lettres* figure with interests in and knowledge of a vast number of subjects. The issues about which Sijistani is asked and gives answers include the purification of the soul and its meaning for intellectual perception, astrology as a science, the ethical qualities of man that conflict one another, whether the acts of God are necessary or voluntary, music and its impact on the soul, relationship between logic and language, time and space, motion and rest, whether knowledge about God is necessary and self-evident or demonstrative, and the differences between the philosophers and the theologians where Sijistani criticizes the theologians for their vanity and arrogance.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

SIJISTANI, Abu Ya'qub (Late fourth/tenth, early fifth/eleventh)

Abu Ya'qub Ishaq ibn Ahmad Sijistani was by some accounts the leading philosopher of the early period of Isma'ili intellectual thought in Persia. Whereas by all accounts he belongs to the "Persian School" of Isma'ili thought, reports about his life are sketchy at best. The date of his birth is not known but we know that Amir Khalaf ibn Ahmad of the Saffarid dynasty may have executed him sometime between 361/971 and 393/1002. The only other evidence concerning the date of his death is in Rashid al-Din Fadlallah's *Jami' al-tawarikh*. He has been referred to by a variety of names such as Ya'qub, Abu Ya'qub Ishaq, al-Sijzi, and Khayshafuj, among others. He was a contemporary of AL-FARABI and IBN SINA and may have succeeded Abu Hatim RAZI as the *da'i* in Rayy and Muhammad Nasafi as the person in charge of *da'wa* in Khurasan.

Sijistani had mastered the available body of Islamic thought as well as Greek philosophy and Neoplatonism. Although Sijistani does not acknowledge the contributions of Abu Hatim Razi and Muhammad Nasafi, philosophically he is indebted to them and much of what he writes about is treated by his predecessors. Even though Sijistani did not compose a work on the question of *imamat*, he must have been concerned about the continuous elevation of the status of the imam. While he does not directly challenge the personal authority of the living imam, he did not even use the name imam to refer to Muhammad ibn Isma'il to whom Isma'ilis trace their origin. Instead, his support for prophecy was based on philosophical arguments.

His *magnum opus* was *Kashf al-mahjub* (The Unveiling of the Hidden) and *Kitab al-yanabi'* (The Book of Wellsprings). Both of these works represents important sources for Isma'ili thought in the Fatimid *da'wa*. These significant works had an impact on a number of thinkers among whom we can name NASIR-I KHUSRAW who either translated fully or paraphrased all forty chapters of *al-Yanabi'* in Persian and used some of the materials in his own work *Kitab khvan al-ikhwan*.

Among the topics which Sijistani treats in his works are divine unity and absolute purity of God from the attributes of being and non-being, the problem of the Intellect's imperishability, its quiescence, its position as the first originated being prior to which nothing can be conceived, its immateriality and how it communicates with the soul. The intellect, according to Sijistani, is the sum of all existent beings which he refers to as *al-sabiq* (that which preceded), a standard name in the Isma'ili *da'wa* literature.

In the typical Neoplatonic scheme of thought, the soul, Sijistani argued, emanated from the intellect and is regulated and directed by it. When the soul is guided exclusively by the intellect as opposed to corporeal influences (e.g. passion), the soul returns to the intelligible and spiritual world. Knowledge for Sijistani therefore is more than the apprehension of intelligibles and corporeals; rather, it is the recognition of how the intellect operates through its influence on the soul. The epistemic result of this process is that the soul preserves in itself rational qualities and human beings apprehend the results of the intellect through the part of the soul in us which contains the intellect.

In addition to the empirical and intuitive, Sijistani proposes that there is a third category of knowledge; that is the revealed truth granted exclusively to the *mu'ayyadun* (divinely guided, or inspired, i.e., the knowledge of the prophets). This is so that they can guide human souls closer to the intelligible spiritual world.

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MEHDI AMINRAZAVI

SIMNANI, *see* Semnani

SINCERE BRETHREN, *see* Ikhwan al-Safa'

AL-SINGKILI, 'Abd al-Ra'uf
(*c.*1024–1105/1615–93)

'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili was born in 1024/1615 in the coastal town of Singkel in west Sumatra, which was subject to the Aceh sultanate, and died in 1105/1693. He was the last great Malay Islamic thinker and scholar of eleventh/seventeenth-century Aceh.

Al-Singkili who may have been a blood relative of the renowned Malay Sufi, Hamzah FANSURI (d. *c.* 1000/1600) spent his early Islamic education in his homeland which was then abound with the bitter controversies between the proponents of the Wujudiyya school of Hamzah FANSURI and Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i (FALIMBANI) (d. 1039/1630) and the *shaykh al-islam* of Aceh, Nur al-Din AL-RANIRI (d. 1068/1658). As was the tradition among the Malay youth who were intellectually inclined, al-Singkili traveled to Arabia in 1052/1642 to further his religious education. His nineteen-year stay as a student in Arabia is well documented in his *'Umdat al-muhtajin* (The Support of the Needy) in which he mentions the places he visited, the contacts he made and the teachers under whom he studied. The two most notable of his teachers and who were very influential in al-Singkili's life and thought were Ahmad al-Qushashi (d. 1070/1660) of Medina who was a spiritual guide or *shaykh* to many Indian Sufis in the eleventh/seventeenth century, and his disciple and successor Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1100/1690) with whom al-Singkili had a close relation. Al-Singkili received instruction in *tasawwuf* or Sufism from Ahmad al-Qushashi and was appointed as a *khalifa* of the Shattariyyah and Qadiriyyah Sufi orders, a position which enabled him to instruct and initiate others into Sufism and the Sufi path. It is through al-Singkili that the Shattariyyah Order became influential and widespread in Sumatra, Java, and the Malay peninsula, although this order did not survive in Arabia.

Al-Singkili returned to Aceh in 1661 after the death of his teacher al-Qushashi, but continued to maintain a close relation with Ibrahim al-Kurani. Al-Singkili wrote to al-Kurani seeking his views and counsel on several religious matters of particular significance in his homeland, Aceh, such as the violent polemics between the Wujudiyya Sufis and Nur al-Din al-Raniri, and the correct relation between the Shari'a and *tasawwuf* or exoteric and esoteric Islam. Beginning with these requests, there came to be written several works by Haramayn scholars in the seventeenth century which specifically addressed the problems faced by the Malay Muslim community in Southeast Asia. Thus, al-Singkili was instrumental in strengthening and intensifying the intellectual and spiritual ties between Malay Muslim scholars and the Haramayn scholars. Furthermore, it is through al-Singkili that the more Shari'a-oriented Sufism began to spread and gain ground in the Malay world.

'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili's name is also associated with the first translation and commentary (*tafsir*) of the entire Qur'an in the Malay language. His *Tarjuman al-mustafid* compiled around 1085/1675 is based on the *Tafsir al-Jalalayn* (Commentary of the Qur'an by the Two Jalals) by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli (d. 869/1459) and his renowned student, Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 915/1505). For almost 300 years, al-Singkili's *Tarjuman al-mustafid* was the only Malay translation and commentary of the Qur'an, thus it exerted a tremendous influence on the history of instruction and study of the Qur'an specifically, and on Islamic religious and spiritual education generally in the Malay world. In addition, it played the critical role of expanding the registry of Islamic religious terms in Malay, as well as the model pedagogical method for the understanding of the language and meanings of the Qur'an by the Malay Muslim community in Southeast Asia.

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ZAILAN MORIS

AL-SIRAFI (279 or 289–368/892 or 902–79)

Abu Sa'id al-Hasan b. 'Abd Allah b. Al-Marzuban was born at Siraf between 279/892 and 289/902. At first al-Sirafi studied in his hometown Siraf and then in Uman, Askar, and finally Baghdad. Al-Sirafi studied Islamic law with Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Saymari (d. 315/927), Arabic grammar with Abu Bakr ibn al-Sarraj (d. 316/928), Qur'anic sciences with Abu Bakr b. Mujahid (d. 324/936), and lexicography with Abu Bakr Muhammad b. al-Hasan ibn Durayd al-Azdi al-Basri (d. 321/933).

Al-Sirafi was a Hanafi judge and mufti and at the same time taught traditional Islamic sciences. Ibn al-Nadim (d. 385/995), the author of the well-known *Kitab al-Fihrist*, mentions al-Sirafi's name among his teachers. Al-Sirafi seems to be the direct source for *al-Fihrist*'s grammatical section. Al-Sirafi's son Abu Muhammad Yusuf b. Hasan al-Sirafi (d. 385/995) also benefited from his father's knowledge of grammar as his writings on the Arab grammar shows a similar style to his father's work. Of the ten books that have been attributed to al-Sirafi, most of which are in the field of Arabic grammar, only two seem to be extant: his commentary on Sibawayhi's *al-Kitab*, and *Akhbar al-nahwiyyin*, one of the oldest known biographical works on grammarians in Muslim literature.

Al-Sirafi has become better known in contemporary scholarship for his part in a public debate with a Nestorian Christian, Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunus (d. 328/940), who was known to maintain the superiority of Aristotelian logic over Arabic grammar. The debate took place in the presence of many leading figures in 320/932 in Baghdad, and was convoked by the vizier (of 'Abbasid Khalif al-Muqtadir, who ruled between 296/908 and 320/932) Abu'l-Fath al-Fadl b. Ja'far al-Furat, who demanded a response from Muslim scholars to Matta's claim. Al-Sirafi's significance for contemporary scholarship comes from the role he played in the abovementioned discussion as a protagonist rather than the treatises he contributed to Muslim literature on Arabic grammar. Muslim biographical sources describe al-Sirafi as a very pious man who spent his time in prayers and fasting and lived on his own earnings from copying manuscripts.

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BILAL GÖKKIR

SIRHINDI, Ahmad (971–1034/1563–1624)

Ahmad Badr al-Din Sirhindi was the son of 'Abd al-Ahad Makhdum, a prominent scholar in Sirhind in India and an exponent of the views of IBN AL-'ARABI as well as a Naqshbandi Sufi. He had a major influence on his son; both father and son were Sufis but aware of the dangers that Sufism represented for traditional religion. Ahmad was born in Sirhind, had a traditional religious education there until he moved to Siyalkot in order to extend his education. He studied there with Kamal al-Din, the local *shaykh* whose skill at *hadith* was widely acknowledged. Although he visited a number of cities in the region in order to meet other scholars, he spent much of his time in Sirhind with his father, and was involved there in debating with other schools of Sufism, in particular the Chishtiyya and the Qadriyyah. His father died in 1007/1598 and Ahmad went on pilgrimage, visiting Delhi en route and making contact with Baqi Billah, who was to play an important part in his spiritual life, conferring on him the *khirqa* (Sufi robe and sign of his confirmation within the order) and sending him back to Sirhind with his permission to initiate others into the *silsila* (order). Between 1028/1618 and 1032/1622 he suffered the misfortune of being imprisoned in Gwalior for a year and then having to spend time with the army of the emperor Jahangir as a prisoner. Perhaps because he was unwell, he was eventually released and allowed to return to Sirhind, where he died on 28 Safar 1034/December 10, 1624, having spent his last years in seclusion.

It is not clear why he was imprisoned. His supporters often claim this was due to the hostility of a courtier who was concerned that Sirhindi as a popular Sufi might represent an alternative to the secular ruler. Sufis often fell foul of rulers, perhaps because the asceticism of the lifestyle they advocated contrasted with life at court, and perhaps because they directly criticized the rulers. In Sirhindi's case it is sometimes said that it was his refusal to bow before the emperor that raised the imperial ire. It is certainly true that the name he came to acquire, Mujaddid Alf Thani (reformer of the second millennium), represented his role in fighting heresy and innovation in the Mughal Empire, where the omnipresence of Hinduism always led to problems in defining a strict and exclusive form of monotheistic religion. Sirhindi insisted on a strict reliance on religious law and practice, and denied that Sufism acknowledged any other route to salvation. There was a tendency for some Sufis, in particular, for the followers of Ibn al-'Arabi, to stress pantheism, the belief that everything that exists is equivalent to God. It is a small step from that belief to the conclusion that there is no difference between a material thing and the deity, something of a highly heterodox view in Islam. It results in mystics like AL-HALLAJ proclaiming that they are the truth as though they were God, something for which he was executed by the Islamic authorities. Sirhindi replaced this identity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*) with identity of reflection (*wahdat al-shuhud*). We are a reflection of God, we witness him in the world and his signs are everywhere, but it does not follow that the world is identical with him. This concept played a large part in the development of forms of Sufism compatible with Shari'a and aligned Sufism with orthodoxy. It also allowed for continuing elaboration on the precise nature of the relationship between God and the world, of course. Sirhindi is best known for his letters, in which he discusses these and many other issues in a spirited manner.

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SIYALKOTI, Mulla 'Abd al-Hakim
(d. 1067/1656)

Mulla 'Abd Siyalkoti was born in Siyalkot into a distinguished family in a city that had by that time become well known for its intellectual depth. He studied, like SIRHINDI, with Shaykh Kamal al-Din, and went on to have a much less tumultuous career, becoming the court philosopher of Shah Jahan, who reigned from 1037–69/1627–58, until his retirement, upon which he returned to his local town. His work is not very innovative but takes a largely commentatorial form. It became very significant in that he created much of the basic philosophical curriculum of the Mughul Empire. He died in Siyalkot in 1067/1656, where his mausoleum may still be seen.

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SOHRAVARDI, *see* al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din

SUHRAB WALI BADAKSHANI, *see* Badakshani

AL-SUHRAWARDI, Abu Hafs
(539–632/1145–1234)

Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi came from Suhraward in Persia and moved to Baghdad in 555/1160. His uncle Abu'l Najib ran a *ribat* or residential institution for Sufis near the Tigris, and this is taken to have been where the nephew met a large number of the famous thinkers in the Sufi movement of his time, including Ahmad al-Ghazali (d. 520/1126), AL-JILANI (d. 561/1166), Chishti (d. 633/1236), IBN AL-'ARABI (d. 638/1240), and IBN AL-FARID (d. 632/1235). Abu Hafs wrote the *'Awarif al-ma'arif* (Advantages of Knowledge), and this is in some ways the last of the major Sufi writings of this period. He does not associate himself with any particular school but presents an argument for the Sufi approach based on how open the Sufi is to the reception of knowledge from without, given his lack of a strong sense of the self. He is particularly interesting in his discussion of how to interpret the Qur'an. A Shafi'i in jurisprudence, he argues that normal legal methods ought to be employed to understand the exoteric meaning of the text. But when we need to interpret the Book a personal degree of reflection is necessary, and the text will open itself up to the listener, provided he is in an appropriate state to receive it. This gives al-Suhrawardi the opportunity to discuss in detail the precise balance which he thinks obtains between the subjective aspect of personal feeling and the objective line of the text, and the account he produces is both sophisticated and innovative in its explication of religious meaning.

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AL-SUHRAWARDI, Abu'l Najib
(*c.* 490–563/*c.* 1097–1168)

Abu'l Najib 'Abd al-Qahir ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bakri al-Suhrawardi was born in Suhraward, and moved early on to Baghdad to continue his education. While there he received the Sufi *khirka* from his uncle 'Umar ibn Muhammad (d. 532/1137–8), who was himself an important figure in the local Sufi community. In Baghdad al-Suhrawardi studied at the famous Nizamiyya, but seems to have become disenchanted with the rather academic approach of that institution, returning to Isfahan to work with the famous Sufi Ahmad al-Ghazali. On his subsequent return to Baghdad he became a student of Hammad al-Dabbas (d. 525/1130–1) and apparently adopted an ascetic lifestyle, earning his living by carrying water. He set up his own establishment near Baghdad for providing a Sufi education, being invited back to teach at the Niazamiyya in 545/1150–1, but only lasting for a couple of years before falling foul of the local authorities and having to return to his own institution. In 557/1161–2 he tried to travel to Jerusalem, but only got as far as Damascus due to the difficult conditions in the area with the Crusades. He had to return to Baghdad and died a few years later.

Al-Suhrawardi is significant not so much for the works he left, but for his students. Some of them became very eminent, such as the historian Ibn 'Asakir and the *muhadith* al-Sam'ani. The most important, though, was his nephew Abu Hafs 'Umar AL-SUHRAWARDI who really founded the order that bears their name, the Suhrawardiyya. Abu'l Najib's main work was his *Adab al-muridin*, which sets out rules of behavior for Sufis, in particular new and inexperienced Sufis. One of the sources (totally unacknowledged) for this work is Ibn Khafif al-Shirazi's *Kitab al-Iqtisad*, which also sets out rules, but al-Suhrawardi completely turns al-Shirazi's rules upside down. That is, whatever his predecessor said should not be allowed as part of behavior, according to al-Suhrawardi! Hence the latter's popularity, perhaps, since he provided rules that were much more lenient than the previous standards of behavior.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-SUHRAWARDI, Shihab al-Din

(549–87/1154–91)

Shihab al-Din Yahya ibn Habash ibn Amirak Abu 'l-Futuh al-Suhrawardi is often called the *shaykh* al-Maqtul (the killed master) since he was executed at a young age, and also as *shaykh* al-Ishraq since he is very much the major figure in Illuminationist philosophy (*hikmat al-ishraq*). He was born in 549/1154 in Suhraward in northwest Iran. He commenced his studies in Maraghah with Majd al-Din al-Jili and later in Isfahan, going on to spend some time in southwest Anatolia. He has links with the Seljuq authorities and went to Aleppo in 579/1183 where he both taught and became a friend of the governor, al-Malik al-Zahir al-Ghazi, the son of the famous Salah al-Din (Saladin). His distinguished pupil obviously had a taste for philosophy, since he later on also made the acquaintance of Ibn al-'Arabi. It is not clear why he was executed in 587/1191, although it is known that Salah al-Din commanded it. There were certainly charges of dangerous religious beliefs. How well founded these were is dubious, and many think that al-Suhrawardi fell foul of local political intrigues and rivalries. This was a dangerous period, the Crusaders were active in Palestine and Salah al-Din probably just wanted to end an atmosphere of disharmony in the important center of Aleppo.

It is difficult to see what in al-Suhrawardi's philosophy could have got him into trouble, although he did have some radical disagreements with his predecessors, especially Ibn Sina. There is a lot of controversy about the precise nature of his thought, since at some points he seems to be a mystic, and at others a fairly orthodox Peripatetic philosopher. Some interpreters like Seyyed Hossein Nasr argue that mysticism represents his main position, while others like Hossein Ziai see him as an analytical thinker who is mistaken as a mystic. To a degree Illuminationist thought is bound to get into this sort of confusion since it is very much in between Peripatetic (*mashsha'i*) and Sufi (*tasawwuf*) philosophical approaches. It is also the case that most philosophers did not advocate just one approach to philosophy, but thought that different approaches were appropriate for different stages of spiritual growth. So Peripatetic thought would be vital in the early stages, and a more mystical theory for when one had gone some way along the path of wisdom. This seems to be how al-Suhrawardi saw the process; he insists on his works being read in a particular order, and the stepping stones are the logical works. So the order is supposed to run from *Kitab al-Talwihat* (The Intimations), *Kitab al-Muqawamat* (The Oppositions), *Kitab al-Mashari' wa-'l-mutarahat* (The Paths and Heavens), and *Kitab Hikmat al-ishraq* (The Philosophy of Illumination). The basis of the system is the notion of *al-'ilm al-huduri*, a form of knowledge that is so direct and unmediated that it cannot be doubted. It is like light flooding into the soul, and this is the idea behind the Illuminationist or Ishraqi school, where instead of the Aristotelian subject/object distinction we have an ontology based on different gradations of luminosity.

The chief enemy seems to be Ibn Sina, many of whose notions are attacked by al-Suhrawardi. The categories and notion of definition are subject to a strong assault, and these are indeed fundamental ideas in Peripatetic thought. The number and nature of the categories are labeled as arbitrary by al-Suhrawardi, and the definition useless in expanding knowledge since the terms in which something is defined are just as unknown and unanalyzed as the definiendum. They themselves then require definition, and so on *ad infinitum*. It is no wonder that MULLA SADRA responds to this attack by calling al-Suhrawardi a Stoic, since the latter does seem to be constructing a very different form of logic from the Aristotelian technique so well used in Islamic philosophy. But Ibn Sina is very much leaned on when it comes to describing the nature of being, since al-Suhrawardi sees existence as of very little significance when compared with being or essence, and it is on this that the whole of reality rests. It is worth noting that the notion of light has a very different relationship to things than does the Aristotelian subject/object relation; for al-Suhrawardi the issue of existence is very secondary, what is of primary importance is what is lit up, how much, and for how long. He constructs a whole ontology and cosmology in terms of gradations of light, a quite brilliant *tour de force*, and one that came to create an entirely new approach to philosophy in the Islamic world.

Some have argued that al-Suhrawardi is quite distant from Islam in much of his work and that it draws rather on older Persian traditions, and certainly some of his language does seem to suggest this. Walbridge has argued conclusively that this approach is unlikely to be productive. Nasr argues that al-Suhrawardi is part of a long tradition of philosophy that sees the meaning of the world as hidden and only expressible in a variety of different religious traditions; ultimately, the meaning of the world is the same in all of these traditions. This seems quite plausible, and there can be little doubt that al-Suhrawardi is a very original thinker. His theory was taken up by following generations of thinkers who found it an exciting way to do philosophy. The notion of light is flexible enough to be used in different ways to analyze and describe reality, something that proved to be a fertile idea for the generations of thinkers in the Illuminationist tradition who followed al-Suhrawardi.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

AL-SULAMI, Abu 'Abd al-Rahman
(325–412/937–1021)

Born in Nishapur on 10 Jumada al-Thani, 325/April 4, 937, Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami was a pioneering Sufi biographer (or hagiographer) who penned a large number of works on Sufi thought and practices: most importantly, on the doctrine and discipline of *futuwwa* (the Sufi ethic of chivalry) and the *Malamatiya* (People of Blame). He also wrote a substantial commentary on the Qur'an. Sulami died in 412/1021 in Nishapur, which until the twelfth century was one of the most important cities in the Islamic world.

Sulami was of Arab descent; his father of the Azd, while his mother's family was of the Banu Sulaym, and counted among the mercantile elites of Nishapur. The semi-matrilineal ascription finds precedent with Sulami's great-great grandfather, Ahamd ibn Yusuf al-Sulami (d. 264/878), an accomplished *hadith* scholar. Either death (in 345/956–7) or migration to Mecca deprived Sulami of his father, al-Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Musa al-Azdi, whereupon he was left in the care of his maternal grandfather, Abu 'Amr Isma'il ibn Nujayd (d. 366/977), a *hadith* specialist and one of the distinguished disciples of a well-known Malamati instructor, Abu ‘Uthman al-Hiri. Sulami’s intimate acquaintance with the *tariq al-malama* (Sufi “path of blame”) began with his father and continued under the tutelage of his grandfather.

An early spiritual master was the Shafi‘i scholar of *hadith,* Abu al-Qasim Ibrahim al-Nasrabadhi (d. 367/977–8), who accompanied Sulami on the *hajj* to Mecca in 366/977, only to die shortly thereafter. After the pilgrimage, Sulami received a teaching certificate (*ijaza*) to transmit Sufi and Prophetic Traditions from Muhammad ibn Khafif of Shiraz (d. 371/982). He further learned Shafi‘i jurisprudence from Abu Bakr ash-Shashi (d. 366/976–7) and Abu Sahl al-Sa‘luki (known as “al-Hanafi” not because of his jurisprudence, but rather descent from the Banu Hanifa). Sulami may have also spent time with the celebrated Ash‘arite theologian, Abu Bakr AL-Baqillani (d. 403/1012–13). In any case, curricula that included the Arabic language, Qur’anic studies, *hadith*, jurisprudence, and mysticism (*tasawwuf* or Sufism and *Malamati*), required Sulami to travel throughout Khurasan, Iran, and Iraq, with extended stays in Merv and Baghdad. From the small lodge (*duwayra*) he had built in Nishapur, Sulami occupied himself with the narration of *hadith*, the study of law, and the teachings of the *Malamatiya.* He was a prolific author of more than a hundred titles, about a third of which survive in manuscript form. Recent publications, along with the discovery of several new manuscripts, may warrant a reassessment of Sulami’s legacy.

Within the genre of sacred biography, modeled on the *tabaqat* (“levels” or “classes”) style of Muslim historical writing, Sulami is known for his (lost) *Ta’rikh al-sufiyya* (History of the Sufis), the *Tabaqat al-sufiyya* (Generations of the Sufis), and most recently, *Dhikr an-niswa al-muta‘abbidat as-sufiyyat* (Memorial of Female Sufi Devotees). The *Tabaqat*, later translated into Persian by ‘Abdullah ANSARI of Herat (d. 481/1089), lists both Baghdadi and Khurasani mystics. It thereby serves to elide differences of doctrine and practice in early Islamic mysticism, while redressing the markedly “Baghdad bias” of earlier compilations. In his *Risalat al-malamatiya* (Treatise of the People of Blame), on the other hand, Sulami will highlight these self-same differences. Sufi women are subject to a “hermeneutic of remembrance” (Cornell 1999: 48) identical to that of their male counterparts in his *Dhikr an-niswa al-muta‘abbidat as-sufiyat.* Sulami’s reliance on the *tabaqat* genre permits him to employ *hadith*-style chains of authority (*isnad*) which, in turn, enhance the chance his sacred biographies will accrue legitimacy when under the gaze of a more legalist or orthodox theological orientation. Perhaps in keeping with the attempt to demonstrate Sufi women possessed powers of intellect (*‘aql*) and wisdom (*hikma*) on a par with Sufi men, Sulami provides us with a slightly unconventional portrait of RABI‘A al-Adawiyya (d. 185/801), insofar as the focus is not on her oft-cited “love mysticism,” but rather her mastery of a variety of mystical states, her intellectual prowess, and her well-earned authority as a spiritual teacher.

While much of Sulami’s work evidences a preoccupation with Sufi institutions and practices, more than a few titles demonstrate facility with the metaphysical and epistemological facets of Sufism. Moreover, a rich and subtle spiritual psychology suffuses this literature, befitting Sulami’s role as an exemplar—and thus suitable exponent—of Sufi *futuwwa* (chivalry) and Malamati doctrine and behavior. His *Kitab al-Futuwwa* (Book of Sufi Chivalry) makes the ethical virtues of chivalry an integral part of Malamati spirituality, indeed, a necessary condition for the novice. In addition to the centrality of *ithar,* the selfless service of others, virtues in the orbit of *futuwwa* include honesty, candor, benevolence, modesty, and purity of mind. The ethics and etiquette of chivalry (*adab*) are here intended to facilitate and buttress psycho-spiritual practices of sincere self-scrutiny and self-criticism while avoiding any ostentatious display of piety, the pretension to spiritual states, or such distinctively Sufi practices as vocal *dhikr* or *sama'*. Malamati teachers often lived under the guise of their occupations in the crafts and professional guilds definitive of chivalric orders, thereby engaging in outward conduct conducive to the inner attitudes cultivated on the "path of blame." They were obliged only to participate in the religious rituals, prayers and practices found among the common people, specifically, fidelity to the Qur'an and the Sunna. In the end, the *adab* of chivalry becomes wholly spiritualized: "*adab* represented an attitude of total detachment from one's needs and desires, while at the same time being totally committed to a spiritual attitude of effacement" (Heer and Honerkamp 2003: 99). Neither piety nor asceticism secures a foothold in this spiritual practice.

The *Risalat al-malamatiya* (Treatise of the People of Blame) by Sulami is our earliest, most reliable and comprehensive source for the Malamati tradition propagated by the Khurasani-Nishapuri mystics. The pious, ascetic, and sober Sufis of Iraq suffer in comparison to the Malamatiya of Nishapur. Sulami ranks, in ascending order, the exoterists (*ahl- al-zahir*) or scholars of the Law (*'ulama' al-shari'a*), the Sufis or people of gnosis (*ahl al-ma'rifa*), and the Malamatiya, alone at the summit of spiritual practice. No less than Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240) would later endorse this comparative estimation of the Malamatiya. His treatise provides the criteria by which to identify Malamati doctrine as a middle way between extroverted and ascetic forms (*zuhd*) of Islamic mysticism, and later, ecstatic and even antinomian expressions as found, for example, among the Qalandariyya. Further elaboration of the metaphysical and psychological principles of the People of Blame are found in Sulami's *Darajat al-sadaqin* (Stations of the Righteous), while the instantiation of those principles is recorded in his *Zalal al-fuqara'* (The Stumbling of Those Aspiring). These three texts give us a vivid and nuanced portrait of a provocative and influential strand of Sufi mysticism.

Hanbali jurists could not condone Sulami's otherwise popular Qur'anic commentary, *Haqa'iq at-tafsir* (Realities of Exegesis), if only because of the frequent citation of Ja'far al Sadiq, the sixth imam of *Ithna'Ashariyya* (or "Twelver") Shi'ism (its legal *madhhab* being "Ja'fari"), and the spiritual fount of the Isma'ilis. Yet Sulami's reliance upon Ja'far is more a testament to the latter's religious learning and authority than any intent to deviate from Sunni Islam, although for Sulami, as for most Sufis, the first six imams (from 'Ali ibn Abi Talib through Ja'far) set the foundations for Sufism.

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AL-SUMATRANI, *see* al-Falimbani

AL-SUYUTI (849–911/1445–1505)

Abu al-Fadl ʻAbd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr ibn Muhammad Jalal al-Din al-Misri al-Suyuti al-Shafiʻi was one of the outstanding scholars of the traditional Islamic sciences. He was born of mixed Circassian and Persian parents in Cairo in 849/1445. His family moved to Asyut in upper Egypt. His father, a teacher of law in Cairo, died when al-Suyuti was six. He studied with a number of teachers in both the Shafiʻi and the Hanafi traditions, and his studies were not limited to law, but included the *hadith*, exegesis, theology, history, philosophy, linguistics, and rhetoric. He was committed to the Shadhili Sufi order and famously embraced a simple and ascetic lifestyle.

At the age of sixteen al-Suyuti followed his father and taught Shafiʻite law in his father's college in Cairo. He did not stay in Cairo, however, going on to Damascus, the Hijaz, Yemen, Morocco, right through Egypt, and further afield. He gave up teaching in 1501 to concentrate on writing. He died in 911/1505 in Cairo. Al-Suyuti's literary output was both prolific and diverse. He is said to have composed over 700 works, but some of these at least are just legal judgments (*fatawa*) that are quite brief.

Al-Suyuti's main work is his *al-Itqan fi ʻulum al-qur'an* (The Perfection of the Science of the Qur'an) which really throws new light on the issue of how to interpret a religious text. One feature he stresses, especially in his *al-Durr al-manthur fi al-tafsir bi al-ma'thur* (The Scattered Pearls: A Commentary of the Qur'an Based on Transmitted Reports) is the significance of using the *hadith* in understanding the Book.

His most popular and influential commentary is his *Tafsir al-jalalayn* (The Commentary of the Two Jalals). This work involves the writings of his teacher Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli and al-Suyuti. The main feature of this text is its clarity and lack of specialized language, thus making exegesis available to everyone. This and other works led to great fame but also jealousy. Muhammad al-Shakhawi (d. 902/1497) criticized his work and many scholars disparaged his lack of apparent scholarship. Al-Suyuti had a combative style and seemed to enjoy working up his opponents by aggressive and boastful language.

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AL-TABARI, Muhammad ibn Jarir
(*c.*224–314/*c.*839–923)

Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari was born in Amul, Persia, in 224–5/838–9, as his name suggests in the region of Tabaristan near the Caspian Sea. He memorized the Qur'an by the age of seven, and to further his education traveled from Rayy to Baghdad and then to Cairo and was involved with the centers of 'Abassid cultural life. In 256/870 al-Tabari settled in Baghdad, where he stayed for the rest of his life. He became such a well-known scholar that a separate *madhhab* or law school, the Jaririyya, was named after him. However, this did not last long. He died on Monday, 27 Shawwal 314/February 17, 923.

Al-Tabari annoyed the school of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) by making no reference to him in his work *Ikhtilaf al-fuqaha'* (The Differences Among the Jurists) and later commenting that Ibn Hanbal was primarily a *hadith* thinker, not a jurist. His own school took an opposite line to that of the Hanbalis, and the latter responded in kind. On the other hand, al-Tabari was enough of a realist to reject the form of Mu'tazilism that was currently going out of fashion in Baghdad. Although his works rapidly became famous, he is said to have endured periods of great poverty, especially after the death of his father. Relying on the money his father sent him had also been precarious, since it often did not get through. He also seems to have been rather reluctant to receive gifts, or more than he was entitled to receive, and this no doubt contributed to his lack of income.

Al-Tabari wrote a huge number of works on a large number of topics, including *tafsir*, history, jurisprudence, recitation of the Qur'an (*qira'at*), grammar, and so on. He also wrote at length, and the accounts have him reluctantly reducing the size of many of his works from enormous to merely very long in the interests of practicality. Yaqut says he wrote forty pages a day, and when one considers his output one can believe it. Most of his works are no longer extant, but they are noted by Ibn AL-NADIM in his catalog.

His *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-muluk* (History of the Messengers and Kings) contains a history of the world from its creation up to 302/915, and it is vast in size. Another huge text is his commentary on the Qur'an, *Jami' al-bayan 'an tafsir al-qur'an* (Collection of Explanations for the Interpretation of the Qur'an), which weighs in at thirty volumes. In fact, his two main works are so big that there is still no final authoritative version of them.

The commentary on the Qur'an is particularly important culturally, since in many ways it is the source of the commentatorial tradition that followed. Al-Tabari is not reluctant to give his own views, but on the whole he spends a lot of time going through varying approaches to particular texts, and placing a lot of reliance on the Traditions, which he reproduces at length. He is not at all in favor of the Mu'tazilite approach to texts, an approach that often relied on allegory to make sense of what was written. One of the crucial aspects of his treatment is the very serious attitude to grammatical issues, and these serve as important indicators of older uses of Arabic. Naturally, while the work has been used as a paradigm for future works, it has also been much criticized. What has on the whole been accepted is its general hermeneutical approach, that in order to understand the Qur'an it is important to investigate the precise meaning of the terms, the traditional sayings about those terms, and the variety of views and interpretations that have accrued in the literature.

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TABATABA'I, 'Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn (1321–1402/1904–81)

Widely recognized as being one of the most important and influential figures of Islamic philosophy in Iran in the twentieth century, 'Allamah Tabataba'i was born in Tabriz on 12 Dhu'l-Hijja 1321/March 17, 1904, into a family famous for producing three centuries of religious scholars. After studying Arabic and completing his religious education in Tabriz, in 1341/1923 he traveled to Najaf in Iraq, an important center of Shi'ite learning. While in Najaf he mastered the transmitted sciences, such as the Shari'a and the principles of jurisprudence, as well as the intellectual sciences such as mathematics and traditional Islamic philosophy. He furthered his education in Islamic philosophy under the tutelage of Sayyid Husayn Badkuba'i, the most renowned philosopher of the day, focusing on texts such as IBN SINA's *Kitab al-Shifa'*, MULLA SADRA's *Asfar*, IBN TURKA's *Tamhid al-qawa'id*, and SABZAWARI's *Sharh-i Manzuma*. He also received private instruction in Islamic gnosis from Mirza 'Ali Qadi, who became Tabataba'i's spiritual guide, and under whom he studied texts such as IBN AL-'ARABI's *Fusus al-hikam*.

Tabataba'i returned to Tabriz in 1353/1934 where he stayed for almost a decade, teaching a small number of disciples. With the outbreak of World War II and the subsequent Russian occupation of Tabriz, Tabataba'i migrated to Qum in 1364/1945. Qum, then as now, remains a great center of learning for religious studies in Iran. He began teaching in Qum shortly after his arrival, concentrating on Qur'anic commentary as well as traditional Islamic philosophy and gnosis.

While in Qum he made frequent visits to Tehran, journeying there every other week for some thirty years. In the aftermath of the war, Marxism began to make inroads in Tehran. In response to this development, Tabataba'i studied Marxism's philosophical bases and engaged Marxist intellectuals in debate. These debates led to his first important work, *Usul-i falsafa wa rawish-i ri'alism* (The Principles of Philosophy and the Method of Realism). As a comparative study of traditional Islamic philosophy and Marxism, it represents the first serious encounter between Islamic thought and a Western philosophical school. During his visits to Tehran, he and Henry Corbin, the famous French scholar of Islamic philosophy, held annual discussions on various spiritual and intellectual problems from 1958 to 1978. Because of his efforts, Tabataba'i eventually proved successful in reviving the study of traditional Islamic philosophy and, in particular, the works of Mulla Sadra, which had been neglected for many years.

After the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Qum evolved into an important center for teaching Islamic philosophy. Thanks to some of his students such as Hasanzadah Amuli, Jawad Amuli, and Misbah Yazdi, who continued to teach Islamic philosophy there, Qum remains an important center of Islamic learning. Other students of Tabataba'i who should be mentioned are Murtada MUTAHHARI (1338–99/1920–79), Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tihrani (1345–1416/1925–95), and Seyyed Hossein Nasr.

Tabataba'i's most important work is his monumental commentary on the Qur'an, *Tafsir al-mizan*. This work is a verse-by-verse commentary that uses one part of the Qur'an to interpret other parts, as well as utilizing the traditional Islamic sciences of theology, philosophy, and gnosis. Another work of note, his edition of Mulla Sadra's *Asfar al-Arba'a*, contains his own commentary as well as selections from previous commentaries on the text. Finally, mention ought to be made of his two masterly summaries of Islamic philosophy, the *Bidayat al-hikma* and the *Nihayat al-hikma*. Tabataba'i died in Qum on 17 Muharram I 1402/November 15, 1981.

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AL-TAFTAZANI, Sa'd al-Din
(722–93/1322–90)

Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud b. Umar b. 'Abd Allah was born in Taftazan, a village in Khurasan, in 722/1322 and died in Samarkand on 22 Muharram 793/December 30, 1390. He was one of the best-known theologians within the Ash'ari tradition of Sunni Islam. There is not much information about his family and his early life. Al-Taftazani seems to have been a student of 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd Allah al-Qazwini. He also seems to have studied the works of such eminent scholars as Qutb al-Din al-Razi. Al-Taftazani started producing his early works at the age of sixteen. From 742/1342 on he lived at different times in Khawarizm, Herat, Jam, Ghujduwan, Gülistan, and Sarakhs. He joined the courts of local rulers and dedicated some of his works to them. In 784/1382, he accepted the invitation of Timur and went to Samarkand, and after a brief visit to Sarakhs, he returned to Samarkand where he stayed the rest of his life. There he met with Sayyid Sharif Jurjani, another important figure of his age, and had lively debates with him.

Although he is not an original writer, al-Taftazani produced a number of works that became standard textbooks in the traditional *madrasa*s until modern times. He wrote in a number of fields, and Taftazani became famous for his theological works, in particular, for his *Sharh al-'aqa'id*, a commentary on the creed of Najm al-Din al-Nasafi, which was completed in Khwarizm in 768/1367. Although in his commentary, al-Taftazani uses a method that was similar to the methods of most of the Muslim commentaries, the fact that as a member of the Ash'arite school, he is commenting on the creed of the Maturidite school makes his work interesting. It gives the reader an opportunity to see how a later Sunni theologian represents the differences between the two schools of Sunni Islam. In general, Taftazani tries to minimize the conflicting positions, sometimes rejecting the extreme position of his school and accepting the position of the Maturidites. Hence, in relation to the sources of human knowledge, Taftazani accepts illumination as a source and explains that al-Nasafi's rejection of it means that it is not a source of knowledge to people in general. Both schools accept that God created the world out of nothing. They explain this by using the metaphysics of atom and accident, a theory that was accepted by both al-Nasafi and al-Taftazani. In discussing the attributes of God, al-Taftazani objects to the Maturidite position that creating (*takwin*) is another attribute of God. In the belief that a creature's responsibility fits his ability, al-Taftazani agrees with al-Nasafi. On the question of whether the destiny of man can change, al-Taftazani favors the position of the Maturidites that it can. Although Nasafi does not state clearly that the prophets are free from error, al-Taftazani finds an allusion to it in his text. Thus, Taftazani chooses from the positions of AL-ASH'ARI or AL-MATURIDI, considering both as representatives of Sunni Islam, and directs his criticism at the Mu'tazilites in general.

Al-Taftazani lived in an age in which there was a tradition of producing commentaries and supercommentaries. His commentary on the creed of al-Nasafi became a textbook for students for generations and exerted an immense influence upon the later generations of Sunni Muslims.

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AL-TAHAWI, Abu Ja'far (239–321/853–933)

Abu Ja'far Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Salama was born in Upper Egypt in 239/853 and died in 321/933. He was an important jurist in the Hanafi tradition of Sunni Islam. Al-Tahawi lived in a time in which Egypt was very advanced politically and culturally. His father was one of the greatest scholars of Upper Egypt. His mother was a sister of Muzani, who was one of the students of Shafi'i. Al-Tahawi received his early education from his father and maternal uncle with whom he studied Shafi'ite *fiqh* and jurisprudence. He also studied *hadith* with the students of famous scholars, such as Ibn Uyayna and Ibn Wahb. In his late twenties he changed his *madhhab* from Shafi'ite to the Hanafite school. His uncle's search for a solution in the Hanafite sources seems to be the cause of this change. He received his knowledge of the Hanafite *fiqh* from Ahmad b. Abi 'Imran and Abu Khazim. In around 268/882 he went to Syria for a brief stay, then returned to Egypt where he became a leading administrator as a Hanafite judge (*qadi*) and a teacher. He had a number of students, some of whom succeeded him in his administrative post.

Al-Tahawi produced a number of works, some of which came down to us. His *'Aqida al-tahawiyya* (Tahawi's Creed) is his famous work on the Muslim creed. He states that it is written according to the school of ABU HANIFA. It starts with the unity of God, then goes on to the assertion of His positive and eternal attributes. Al-Tahawi asserts the reality of the beatific vision without asking about its modality (*bila kayf*). Most of the other theoretical issues relating to the next world are not rationally explained. God can predetermine some people to be happy and others to be miserable. Knowledge of the decree of God is not given to mankind. Belief consists of assent by heart and confession by tongue. For him, sinners cannot be declared to be unbelievers. The actions of man are the creation of God and the acquisition of man. All these dogmas are stated in a way which is reminiscent of his contemporary Abu Mansur AL-MATURIDI. Most of Tahawi's other works are related to Hanafite *fiqh*. His *Mukhtasar* (The Compendium) is the first compendium written in the Hanafite *fiqh*. His *Mushkil al-athar* (Problematics of the Traditions) is an important work in the field of *hadith* criticism.

Al-Tahawi was a contemporary of AL-ASH'ARI and AL-MATURIDI, two leading representatives of Sunni Islam, and produced a creed which exerted an influence upon the followers of the Hanafite school in Egypt.

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MUAMMAR İSKENDEROĞLU

AL-TAHTAWI, Rifa'a Rafi' (1801–73)

Born in Egypt in 1801, al-Tahtawi became a huge figure in the Islamic Renaissance (Nahda) movement. As his name suggests, he came from Tahta, from a modest background but with a claim to descent from the Prophet. He went to al-Azhar in 1817, where he studied for seven years, and taught there for two years. He went on to become *imam* in the Egyptian military and then was selected to carry out the same role with a visiting delegation to Paris as part of the effort by Egyptian society to open itself up partially to Europe. He traveled to France from 1826 to 1831 and immersed himself in French culture and language. On his return he spent the rest of his career involved in higher education administration, first of all directing the Medical School, translating for the Artillery School, and in 1835 directing the School of Foreign Languages, whose main task was bringing out in Arabic some of the most important books published in European languages.

Al-Tahtawi was much helped by the ruler of Egypt, Muhammad 'Ali, who was keen on exploring change and encouraged the creation of new institutions. The khedive 'Abbas I came to power on 'Ali's death, and sought to undermine many of the changes of his predecessors. This led to al-Tahtawi's move to Sudan in mid-century, but he eventually returned in 1854 to direct the Military School, and, more importantly, to take charge of a variety of educational commissions designed to broaden the provision of education in Egypt.

Although al-Tahtawi's career seems to be largely that of a bureaucrat, his writings and his life were very much of a piece. He stressed education in all his writings as the prelude to progress, including the education of girls. Education, he said, is capable of radically changing society, and improving the conditions under which people live.

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OLIVER LEAMAN

TAJ AL-DIN, *see* al-Shahrastani

TAŞKÖPRÜZADE (901–68/1495–1561)

The famous Ottoman biographer and scholar Abu'l-Khayr Isam al-Din Ahmad b. Mustafa b. Khalil, known commonly as Taşköprüzade, was born in Bursa, Turkey. He belongs to the famous Taşköprü family of teachers and historians hailing from the town of Taşköprü, Kastamonu. His father Muslih al-Din Mustafa was a famous scholar and teacher of the Ottoman sultan Selim I. As a scholar-teacher, Taşköprüzade taught at various schools in Skopje and Edirne. He became the *qadi* of Istanbul in 1551, but had to resign three years later due to his failing eyesight. He spent the last years of his life dictating his works. He was a member of the Khalwatiyyah Sufi order. He died in Istanbul.

Taşköprüzade is best known for his biographical work (*tabaqat*) called *al-Shaqa'iq al-nu'maniyya fi 'ulama al-dawlat al-'uthmaniyya* (The Red Anemones in the Scholars of the Ottoman State). The *Shaqa'iq* covers the periods of ten Ottoman sultans and ends in the reign of Sulayman the Magnificent. The figures covered in the book include jurists, philosophers, poets, theologians, Sufis, and other intellectual figures. The *Shaqa'iq* continues to be one of the key sources of Ottoman intellectual history.

Taşköprüzade's other important work is a short encyclopedia called *Miftah al-sa'ada wa misbah al-siyada fi mawzu'at al-'ulum* (The Key of Happiness and the Light of Dominion in the Subject-Matters of Sciences). The *Miftah* discusses close to one hundred different disciplines from grammar and theology to history and calligraphy, and shows its author's interest and expertise in a wide range of subjects.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

AL-TAWHIDI, Abu Hayyan (*c.* 315–414/*c.* 927–1023)

Abu Hayyan Ali b. Muhammad b. al-'Abbas al-Tawhidi was a Persian man of letters, a scribe and courtier who gives precious information about the religious, political, and cultural milieu of fourth-/tenth-century Iraq. Information about his birth, early life, and death is not clear. He was born either in Nishapur, Shiraz, or Baghdad. In reports on his life, the date of his birth ranges from 310/922 to 320/932. There are also different accounts as to the date of his death (380/989, 391/1000, 400/1009). We know from al-Tawhidi's epistle *al-Sadaka wa al-sadik* (Friendship and the Friend) that he was alive in the month of Rajab 400/1009. The date 414/1023 written at the inscription on his tomb at Shiraz may with reservations be taken as the date of al-Tawhidi's death.

His epithet Tawhidi, though there is no concrete information about it, may designate either that he was called after his father who was selling a kind of date called "tawhid," or that he was sympathetic, at least in a period during his lifetime, to the theological school of the Mu'tazila, otherwise known *ahl al 'adl wa al-tawhid*.' The latter seems to be doubtful considering al-Tawhidi's criticism of this school of *kalam*.

Al-Tawhidi studied Arabic etymology and morphology from Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi and 'Ali b. 'Isa al-Rummani, *fiqh* from Abu Hamid al-Marwarruzi, and *hadith* from Abu Bakr al-Shashi and Ja'far al-Khuldi in Baghdad. Some reported Prophetic Traditions from him, and he was heard narrating them. His involvement with philosophy comes in his later period of life. Abu Muhammad Ja'far al-Khuldi, a student of al-Junayd al-Baghdadi, was influential in forming al-Tawhidi's mystical thought. In addition, he attended to the lessons of such significant philosophers as Abu Sulayman AL-SIJISTANI, also known as al-Mantiqi, and Yahya b. 'Adi. The latter was the pupil of Abu Nasr AL-FARABI and then the teacher of al-Sijistani. Al-Tawhidi also benefited from such philosophers as Abu al-Hasan Muhammad b. Yusuf AL-AMIRI, Abu Bakr al-Qamusi, Abu Zakariya al-Damiri, and 'Isa b. Zur'a b. 'Ali.

It is not clear when al-Tawhidi first came to Baghdad. This must have been before his Sufi mentor al-Khuldi died in 348/959. There al-Tawhidi worked as a secretary, scribe, and courtier for the Buyid vizier Abu Muhammad Hasan b. Muhammad al-Mahallabi first. In 355 or 356 it is suggested by some that he was expelled from the city because of his unfavorable comments on al-Mahallabi. However, one cannot see much in his writings against the vizier in question. On the other hand, we do not have all his works to hand. In 358/968 al-Tawhidi traveled to Rayy and presented an epistle to the Buyid vizier Abu al-Fadl b. al-'Amid. As he did not find what he expected from Ibn al 'Amid, he returned to Baghdad (361/971). There he attended the intellectual meetings of Yahya b. 'Adi. In 362/972 he faced the distressing experience of Byzantine invasion, and lost his house, servant, and all his savings. Al-Tawhidi left Baghdad for Rayy again, and lived under the protection of the Buyid vizier Abu al-Kasim Isma'il b. 'Abbad, also known al-Sahib. Three years later al-Tawhidi returned to Baghdad with a similar complaint of disappointment. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the two Buyid viziers in his two-volume book *Zamm al-wazirayn* (Disparagement of the Two Viziers), otherwise known as *Masalib al-wazirayn* (The Faults of the Two Viziers) or *Akhlaq al-wazirayn* (Morality of the Two Viziers). Upon his return to Baghdad he entered the service of the vizier Ibn Sa'dan as a scribe, courtier, and boon companion and attended his evening gatherings where he was involved in philosophical and literary discussions (370–5/980–5). In *al-Imta' wa al-muanasa* (Delight and Entertainment), he recorded thirty-seven of these meetings. Among many philosophical issues discussed here are also reports of some of the views of the IKHWAN AL-SAFA (Brothers of Purity). He reveals for the first time the identity of four members of the group as Abu Sulayman Muhammad b. Ma'shar al-Busti, also known as al-Maqdisi, Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali b. Harun al-Zanjani, Abu Ahmad al-Nahrajuri, and al-Awfi. According to al-Tawhidi, the epistles of the group contain disorganized, insufficient, and unreliable information.

Once Ibn Sa‘dan lost his power, al-Tawhidi was without a patron and is believed to have moved to Shiraz and died there in poverty. As he was not happy with people's lack of interest in and concern for himself and for his works, he set fire to or buried his works before his death. He explains his motive for this action in a letter to the judge Abu Sahl ‘Ali b. Muhammad (400/1009), and mentions his despair of humanity and life.

Many works are attributed to al-Tawhidi. Unfortunately a great many of them are not available. In his work *al-Sadaka wa al-sadik*, al-Tawhidi expresses his dissatisfaction with the status of friendship at that time. He is convinced that such virtues as amity and loyalty have been replaced by such imperfections as selfishness and mischief. This conviction is supported with the words of various people, including mystics and philosophers.

Al-Muqabasat (The Excerpts) is al-Tawhidi's other work which has a special importance for the history of Islamic philosophy. It contains philosophical dialogues between the leading figures of Baghdad in the fourth/tenth century. Among them were Abu Sulayman Muhammad b. Bahram al-Mantiqi, Abu al-Hasan al-‘AMIRI, Abu Bakr AL-KHAWARAZMI, Abu Zakariya al-Damiri, and Yahya b. ‘Adi. *Al-Muqabasat* consists of 106 comparisons on varying subjects such as human nature, ethics, logic, syntax, the afterlife, and the distinction between *kalam* (Islamic theology) and philosophy.

Al-Tawhidi, along with Abu al-‘Ala’ AL-MA‘ARRI and IBN AL-RAWANDI, is occasionally counted among the impious and heretics in Islamic intellectual history. Behind these criticisms seem to lie two main reasons. One is the campaign launched against him by political authorities such as al-Sahib b. al ‘Abbad and by their favored scholars such as IBN FARIS (329/941-395/1004), who was al-Sahib's tutor. Another reason may be al-Tawhidi's rationalist approach to some of the Islamic issues. The critiques of IBN JAWZI (510–97/1116–1201) and al-Hafiz al-Zahabi (673–748/1274–1348) are of this kind. For them, the lack of a traditionalist outlook came to mean impiety and heresy. On the other hand, some other Muslim jurists, mystics and philosophers, among them IBN AL-‘ARABI and Abu Hamid AL-GHAZALI, respected him and referred to his writings without hesitation.

Al-Tawhidi is not an original philosopher in the sense of forming systematic thought and developing a particular approach to philosophical issues. His importance in Islamic thought lies in the nature of his works. They are still significant sources for the cultural and social history of his age. Through them the historians of Islamic philosophy recognize the eminent philosophical, religious, and literary figures in and around Baghdad, their relations with each other, and their opinions on various issues in considerable detail.

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MUHSIN AKBAŞ

TOPÇU, Osman Nurettin (1909–75)

Nurettin Topçu was born in Istanbul in 1909 and died in the same city on July 10, 1975. He was a well-known Turkish thinker and a forerunner of the philosophy of action and religious nationalism in Turkey. His father Ahmet Efendi belonged to the Topçuzade family of Erzurum. His mother Fatıma Hanım was from Eğğin. This place with its rich cultural atmosphere is said to have had a great impact on Nurettin Topçu. The name "topçu" comes from his grandfather Osman Efendi, who served as an artilleryman in the Ottoman army when Erzurum was invaded by the Russians.

Nurettin Topçu had his first education in Bezmialem Valide Sultan Mektebi and Büyük Reşit Paşa Numune Mektebi, respectively. During the first year of his higher education at Vefa İdadisi, he lost his father. He later attended Istanbul Lisesi. In 1928 he won a scholarship to study in Paris. There he became a member of the Society of Sociology and had his first articles published. He also met Maurice Blondel, the French philosopher famous for his philosophy of action. In 1930 he went to Strasbourg to study philosophy and history of art. There he gave Turkish lessons to Louis Masignon, a well-known French orientalist. In 1934 he completed his PhD at the Sorbonne. The same year he returned to Istanbul and taught philosophy at Galatasaray Lisesi. Later he was appointed first to Izmir, where he began to publish a journal called *Hareket* (Action) and then to Denizli. During that time he met Said Nursi. On his return to Istanbul he came under the guidance of Abdulaziz Bekkine Efendi, *shaykh* of the Nakşıbend school. He worked as a teacher at several schools, including in Robert Kolej and Istanbul Lisesi. In 1974 he retired from teaching.

Topçu was one of the leading and most original Turkish intellectuals of the twentieth century. Throughout his career he pursued the idea of religious nationalism as based on his system of ethics and the philosophy of action. He wrote for journals such as *Hareket* and *Komünizm'le Mücadele Dergisi* (Journal for the Fight with Communism) and gave lectures at the Türk Milliyetçiler Derneği (Society of Turkish Nationalists). He also participated in the creation of Adalet Partisi (the Party of Justice) after the 27 May coup in 1961, though later he expressed his disappointment with this party. In 1965 he came up with the idea of Cemaatçilik (Fellowship). The history of Topçu's intellectual life can be seen in his articles that he wrote for *Hareket Dergisi*. In his articles from 1939 to 1942 he criticized the mechanization of human beings and searched for philosophical bases for spiritual thinking. He also mapped the spiritual-social program of the idea of Anadoluculuk, a social-ethical movement based on the spirit of Anatolia. From 1947 to 1949 he sought to put forward the Islamic origins of nationalism. From 1952 to 1953 he wrote against the program to Westernize Turkey. He thus insisted on building up the social structure on a religious-national basis and introduced a system called "Yeni Nizam," that is, a new order based on the idea of *cemaat* (fellowship) free of any capitalist and communist ideas. Finally, from 1966 to 1975 he developed his earlier thoughts with particular emphasis on the dimension of fellowship in Islam.

Some of his important books include *Ahlak Nizamı* (The System of Ethics, 1961), *İradenin Davası* (Battle for Self-Discipline, 1968), *İslam ve İnsan* (Islam and Human-Being, 1969), *Devlet ve Demokrasi* (State and Democracy, 1969), *Kültür ve Medeniyet* (Culture and Civilization, 1970), *Mevlana ve Tasavvuf* (Mawlana and Sufism, 1974), *Milliyetçiliğimizin Esasları* (Principles of Our Nationalism, 1976), and *Bergson* (1968).

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S. LEYLA GÜRKAN

TRANSMISSION OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY INTO WESTERN EUROPE

If Islamic philosophy was in part influenced by classical Greek thought, then it also played a part in influencing the philosophy of medieval Christian Europe. That influence was very profound, and should not be underestimated, but there are two common misconceptions concerning that influence that ought to be addressed. The first is that the bulk of medieval Christian knowledge of philosophy, the sciences, medicine, etc. was transmitted through Arabic scholars. This is untrue; a number of key texts, including Aristotle's *Politics* and much of the corpus of Plato was not translated into Arabic during the medieval period. By the twelfth century, Western Europe was at least as well-informed about Aristotle, and thanks to the Chartres School and others, during that century the West would pull ahead of the Islamic world in its understanding of Plato.

The second misconception is that Islamic scholarship played a heterodox or unwelcome role in medieval Christian thought. While Islamic philosophy did contribute to controversies such as the Averroist debate, it was also used and developed upon by more orthodox philosophers and theologians. Indeed, many of the patterns of philosophical argument such as that between the primacy of reason or faith that took place in classical Islam are mirrored in medieval Christian Europe, complete with both sides borrowing freely from each other's intellectual toolkits even while attempting to prove each other wrong.

While medieval Christian scholars were certainly aware of Islamic philosophy, full access to it only came with the push forward by the Spanish Reconquista in the late eleventh century, which resulted in much of the northern half of the Iberian Peninsula falling back into Christian hands after a period of some 300 years. Cities such as Toledo, which had been a major center of thought and learning, now yielded up the treasures of their libraries to Christian scholars. At first using Jewish middlemen as translators but then quickly learning Arabic themselves, translators such as Gerard of Cremona and John of Spain set out making as much of this work as possible available to the new universities of Europe. Gerard alone is said to have translated some seventy works by the likes of AL-KINDI and AL-FARABI, as well as translating Arabic translations of Aristotle into Latin, largely it would seem in an attempt to understand what the Arabic translators thought of them; thus works like the *Posterior Analytics*, already available in the West, could now be studied in the light of many generations of Islamic commentary and analysis.

In the thirteenth century there was another leap forward, again mostly from Spain, as following the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 the frontier was pushed south to the borders of Granada. Leading translator-commentators included Giles of Rome and Hermann of Carinthia, also known as Hermann the German. Among the Islamic philosophical works which flooded into the West were large portions of the corpus of IBN SINA and IBN RUSHD, known respectively as Avicenna and Averroes. The ideas of both played a major role, not just in controversies such as Averroism, but in the more orthodox thought of Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus. The former cites Avicenna freely throughout his own work.

But if the *falasifa*, the Islamic followers of Greek classical thought, such as al-Farabi, AL-KINDI, Ibn Sina, and Ibn Rushd, were known in the West, so too were their opponents. AL-GHAZALI, known as Algazel, was almost as popular as the four above, and his *Tahafut al-falasifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers) was translated and was known at both Paris and Oxford: Roger Bacon makes a reference to it. Other thinkers and schools such as IBN BAJJA and the IKHWAN AL-SAFA were translated as well, along with a very large corpus of works on science, mathematics, and astronomy. Medieval Europe was aware, however, that it was only scratching the surface of Islamic thought. The Franciscan friar Ramon Llull, a missionary who desired to convert the Arabs to Christianity, nonetheless respected the intellectual caliber of his opponents such that he recommended the creation of chairs in Arabic at European universities in order to study Islamic thought more closely.

The arrival of the Renaissance and its more humanistic outlook brought renewed interest in Islamic thought for a time, and both the Medici in Florence and successive popes encouraged Arabic scholarship and further translations. However, the Reformation and the growing weakness of the papacy coupled with the renewed political menace of Ottoman Turkey, undermined this movement in Italy. It was to flourish again in France, where "orientalism" emerges in the early sixteenth century under the auspices of the Queen Mother, Louise of Savoy, and grew during the course of French diplomatic contacts with Turkey.

During the course of all of these developments, it is quite clear that medieval and Renaissance scholars were not simply plundering Islamic scholarship for references to the classical world. Just as the Islamic scholars respected the likes of Aristotle and Proclus as wise men despite being pagans, so Ibn

Rushd and Ibn Sina were thought of as great and original scholars despite being infidels, and their ideas were eagerly followed in the medieval West. The results, as in Islam itself, were mixed (i.e., it was sometimes positive and sometimes controversial), but the end result of this cross-pollinization was considerable philosophical enrichment for both sides.

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VERITY HUGHES

TUSI, Nasir al-Din (597–672/1201–74)

Abu Ja‘far Muhammad ibn Muhummad ibn al-Hasan Nasir al-Din Tusi was a prominent Shi‘ite philosopher and scientist. His family was from Kashan, but he was born in Rayy in 597/1201 and died in 672/1274 in Kazimayn near Baghdad. Even though Tusi is primarily known as a philosopher, he contributed to such fields as *kalam*, mathematics, astronomy, ethics, and Sufism.

Tusi's first teacher was his father, a prominent jurist in the Twelve Imam school of Shi‘ism, with whom he may have studied logic, jurisprudence, and natural philosophy. Tusi studied metaphysics with his uncle and different branches of mathematics in Rayy. Having mastered the sciences available to him in the city, he left for Nishapur which was at the time a great center of learning where the legacy of philosophers and mathematicians such as Omar KHAYYAM was still present. In Nishapur, Tusi studied metaphysics and Peripatetic philosophy with Farid al-Din Damad, who was a student of IBN SINA through four intermediaries, medicine with Qutb al-Din Misri, himself a distinguished student of Fakhr al-Din RAZI, and finally, mathematics with Kamal al-Din Yunus.

Sometime before 1232, Tusi accepted the invitation of Nasir al-Din Muhtashim, the Isma‘ili ruler, and moved to Quhistan and other fortresses of the Isma‘ilis where he lived from 1227 to 1256. Tusi's relationship with the Isma‘ilis is subject to debate. There are those who argued that Tusi genuinely converted to Isma‘ilism, while others saw his conversion as a move to enjoy the protection of the Isma‘ilis in a turbulent time. Tusi's life coincided with the Mongol invasion of Persia and the death and destruction which occurred especially in the province of Khurasan, where he resided. The only islands of peace were the strongholds of Isma‘ilis, where Tusi would have been safe. There are also those who argued that his collaboration with the Isma‘ilis was forced, as was his stay at Alamut. In either case, it was the security and respect he enjoyed during these years that provided him with the opportunity to compose a great number of works.

In 1256, Hulagu, the Mongol emperor known for his interest in astronomy, sacked the Isma‘ili establishment in Khurasan and welcomed Tusi to his court. Tusi remained the scientific advisor and court astronomer to Hulagu and accompanied him in his conquest of Baghdad in 1258. A year later, under the patronage of Hulagu, Tusi began the construction of a major astronomical observatory at Marghah, which was completed in 1272. Much of the Ilkhani astronomical tables and scientific calculations were the result of al-Tusi's research and that of the circle of scientists who had gathered around him.

While in Baghdad, in 1274 Tusi fell ill and died. He is buried near the tomb of the seventh Shi‘ite imam, Musa Kazim.

To date, nearly one hundred and fifty works of Tusi are known to have survived, of which twenty-five are in Persian and the rest in Arabic as well as one that is partially in Turkish. On logic, Tusi wrote five works, the most important of which written in Persian is *Asas al-iqtibas* (*Foundations of Inference*). On mathematics, Tusi wrote a number of commentaries on the works of Greek mathematicians. In this regard he went beyond being a transmitter of Greek sciences to the Islamic world, and became a major contributor to mathematical theories. Tusi commented on the works of such figures as Aristarchus, Apollonius, Archimedes, Euclid, Hypsicles, Menelaus, Ptolemy, and Theodosius. The body of texts studies between Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest* were known as the "intermediate works" (*mutiwassatat*). Tusi's commentaries about such intermediate works became standard texts for teaching mathematics in the Islamic world for years to come.

Among his original contributions on arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry were *Jawami' al-hisab bi'l-takht wa'l-turab* (The Comprehensive Work on Computation with Board and Dust), *al-Risalat al-shafi'iyya* (The Satisfying Treatise), and *Kashf al-qina fi asrar shakl al-qita*, known as the *Book of the Principle of the Transversal*. The latter was translated into Latin and influenced Regiomontanus, one of the foremost mathematicians of fifteenth-century Germany. The most significant work of Tusi in astronomy is *Zij-ilkhani* (The Ilkhani Tables). This work, originally written in Persian, was later translated into Arabic and also partially into Latin by John Greaves as *Astronomia quaedam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Persae una cum hypothesibus planetarum.* Among his other major works in astronomy are *Tadhkira al-nujum* (Treasury of Astronomy) and treatises on particular astronomical subjects, such as that on the astrolabe. Tusi also translated a work on astronomy written by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi titled *Suwar al-kawakib* (Figures of the Fixed Stars) from Arabic into Persian. In other areas of science, al-Tusi produced significant works such as his *Tanksukh-namah* (The Book of Precious Materials).

In the Isma'ili phase of his life, Tusi composed a major work titled *Tasawwurat* (Conceptions) also known as *Rawdat al-taslim* (The Paradise of Submission). *Tasawwurat* discusses ontology, epistemology, cosmology, eschatology, imamology, and soteriology in twenty-eight sections he calls "Conceptions." Despite his importance as an Isma'ili thinker, theologically Tusi was a Twelve Imam Shi'ite. His theological and metaphysical views are reflected in his work *al-Fusul*, written in Persian, and *Kitab al-Tajrid* (Catharsis), which has become one of the major sources for the study of Shi'ite theology. There have been over 400 commentaries and glosses written on this work.

Tusi composed a commentary on Ibn Sina's *al-Isharat wa l-tanbihat* (The Book of Directives and Remarks). it is in this work that Tusi begins with Fakhr al-Din RAZI's criticism of the *Isharat* and then responds to every criticism of Razi with great skill.

Under the influence of MISKAWAYH, Tusi wrote one of the most important works of philosophical ethics in Islam in the Persian language, entitled *Akhlaq-i nasiri (Nasirean Ethics).* Tusi is one of the few Peripatetic philosophers who was also sympathetic to Sufism and may have even practised it for a while. He wrote on Sufism and gnosis *('irfan)* as is evident in his Persian work, *Awsaf al-ashraf,* expressed his reverence for the Sufi master Mansur AL-HALLAJ, and corresponded with Jalal al-Din RUMI and Sadr al-Din QUNAWI. In jurisprudence, he wrote *Kitab al-Raml* in which he explicated on a variety of legal matters in particular the laws of inheritance. In the tradition of so many philosophers, Tusi composed a number of poems mostly in Persian.

Similar to many other Shi'ite philosophers, Tusi relied on the Neoplatonic scheme of emanation to comment on a wide variety of philosophical issues. Among these issues are the doctrine of resurrection (*qiyama*) and the inner meaning of religion (*batini*). Tusi divides people into three groups: the exoterists, who he calls "the people of contradiction" (*ahl al-tadadd*); the esoterists, who he calls "the people of gradation" (*ahl al-tarattub*); and the "people of union" (*ahl al-wahdat*), the spiritual elite who have achieved unity with truth (*haqiqa*).

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MEHDI AMINARAZAVI

U

UBEYDULLAH EFENDI, Mehmet
(1858–1937)

Journalist, traveler, and politician, Mehmet Ubeydullah Efendi was born in Izmir. After completing his traditional training in the religious sciences, he attended the medical school in Istanbul for a few years, without completing it. He then joined the Young Turk movement. He was arrested and sent into exile during the reign of Abdulhamid II. He traveled extensively in Europe, Iran, and Afghanistan. He also spent two years in the United States between 1893 and 1895.

Ubeydullah published his first essays in 1885 in a newspaper called *Haver* (Correspondence), which he himself published. While in Paris between 1886 and 1888, he worked as a translator for the *Servet* (Capital) newspaper. He came to Chicago in 1893. He left the United States for England in 1895 and went to Liverpool where he stayed for about six months. His *Liverpool Hatıratı: Akıl Yahut Ahir Zaman Peygamberi* (The Liverpool Memoirs: Reason or the Prophet at the End of Time), written in 1898, is the product of his experiences there. There he also published his treatise *Din ve Dünya* (Religion and the World) in 1896. He then went to Paris and Bulgaria where he participated in the publication of several Turkish newspapers. He returned to Istanbul in 1899. For political reasons, he was exiled to Taif, Saudi Arabia. He went to Cairo in 1905 where he continued his publishing ventures.

After the declaration of the 2nd Mesrutiyet regime in 1908, Ubeydullah returned to Istanbul and was elected to the Parliament. He published a newspaper called *al-ʻArab* to propagate the ideas and policies of the Union and Progress Party in the Arabic-speaking world. In 1910, he published a treatise under the title *Islah-ı Medaris-i Kadime* (Reforming the Old Schools) in which he discussed the hotly debated issue of the day, i.e., the reformation of the old *madrasa* system from which Ubeydullah himself had graduated.

During World War I Ubeydullah was sent to Afghanistan and Iran with a mission to call upon Muslims to join the *jihad* declarations of the Ottoman Empire. He was arrested briefly by the British while on this mission, and escaped to India. After the war, he worked as a wedding official in Istanbul. In 1924, he published a treatise on polygamy entitled *Hukuk-u Aile: Müslümanlığa Göre Bir Erkek Dört Kadın Alabilir mi Alamaz mı?* (The Family Law: Can a Man Marry Four Wives According to Islam?), in which he argued against the practice of polygamy. In 1925, he published his travel accounts of the United States. After serving at the new Turkish Parliament for two terms, he died in 1937.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

ÜLKEN, Hilmi Ziya (1901–74)

Hilmi Ziya was born in Istanbul on October 3, 1901, and died in the same city on June 5, 1974. He was an influential modern Turkish sociologist and philosopher, and a prolific writer who left behind numerous books and articles on different areas of philosophy, sociology, social anthropology, esthetics, and logic. His father Mehmed Ziya Beg was a chemistry teacher at the School of Pharmacy and Dentistry. His grandfather Abdurrahman Hilmi Efendi, along with poet Kazım Pasha, was exiled to Janina (Yanya) after they satirized the grand vizier Ali Pasha. Kerim Hazret, the grandfather of Ülken's mother Müşfika Hanım, emigrated from Crimea because he did not want his children conscripted by the Russian army to fight against the Ottomans in the Crimean war (1853–6).

Hilmi Ziya had his primary, secondary, and higher education in the last phase of the Ottoman Empire. The proclamation of the Second Constitutional Government (July 25, 1908), the dethronement of the sultan Abdulhamid II (April 27, 1909), the Balkan Wars (1912–15), and World War I (1915) were some of the events of Hilmi Ziya's childhood and adolescence. He witnessed the tribulations of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the struggles in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Hilmi Ziya went to Tafayyuz Maktabi (Private Progress School) for his primary education and to the Sultani (a secondary school) in Istanbul. He graduated from Mülkiya Maktabi (the School for Civil Servants) in June 1921. Hilmi Ziya was appointed as a research assistant to the chair of Anthropological Geography at the Faculty of Arts in Istanbul in September 1921. There he was commissioned as an agent librarian for a while. Between 1922 and 1924, while he was a research assistant, he took courses on history of philosophy, ethics, and sociology at the Department of Philosophy in the same faculty.

Hilmi Ziya taught geography, philosophy, sociology, history, and geography in Bursa and Ankara in 1924. He was appointed as the director of statistics at the ministry of education in 1925. Later in the same year he was married to Hatice Zühtü. In 1926 Hilmi Ziya was a member of the translation committee of the Council of Educational Policy attached to the Turkish ministry of education. At the end of the same year he was transferred to Istanbul upon his own application. There he taught philosophy, history, psychology, and sociology in different high schools. His daughter Gülseren Ülken was born in 1928. He did his compulsory military service in 1928–9. After the Law of University Reform came into force and consequently Istanbul University was reorganized in 1933, Hilmi Ziya was appointed as a lecturer of History of Turkish Civilization to the new Faculty of Arts, and was sent to Berlin for research on behalf of the ministry of education. It is said that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's appreciation of Hilmi Ziya's two books *General Sociology* and *History of Turkish Thought* had been effective in securing the new direction that his career took.

Upon his return from Berlin, Hilmi Ziya was appointed to an associate professorship in the same institution. In 1940 he became professor of philosophy at the suggestion of professor von Aster, who was teaching philosophy in Istanbul University then. In addition, Hilmi Ziya gave lectures on sociology, theory of values, epistemology, and history of logic in the same institution between 1940 and 1949. Hilmi Ziya was then commissioned in 1954 as a professor of systematic philosophy at the Faculty of Theology in Ankara University. In 1957 he was promoted to a senior professorship at the Faculty of Arts in Istanbul. After the military coup in May 27, 1960, he was removed from his position in Istanbul along with 147 professors, and was allowed to lecture in the Faculty of Theology in Ankara only. Though he was restored in 1962, Hilmi Ziya refused to return to his previous post at Istanbul. He remained as a senior professor of philosophy at Ankara until his retirement in July 1973. Almost a year later, on June 5, 1974, he died of heart and brain malfunction.

Hilmi Ziya is one of the most prolific and versatile thinkers of modern Turkish thought. He was among the publishers of such journals as *Mihrab* (Niche of a Mosque) and *Anadolu* (Anatolia) (1922), *Felsefe ve İctimaiyat* (Philosophy and Sociology) (1927), *İnsan* (Humanity) (1938–43), and *Sosyoloji* (Sociology) (1942–60). Additionally, his many articles, reviews, and translations appeared in various journals, newspapers, and collections. Apart from these Hilmi Ziya produced novels, poems, paintings, miniatures, and works of calligraphy. He also attended many sociology and philosophy congresses from 1939 to his death. Among these is the Farabi congress in the millennial commemoration of AL-FARABI's death held in Istanbul. Consequently, he edited and published the proceedings under the title *Farabi Tetkikleri* (al-Farabi Studies). He prepared *Resail-i İbn Sina* (Epistles of Ibn Sina) of two volumes for the IBN SINA commemoration in Tehran in 1956.

Hilmi Ziya also sent papers to the Mexico congress of the *Institut International de Sociologie*, to the AL-GHAZALI commemoration in Damascus in 1960, and to the Ibn Khaldun commemoration in Cairo in 1961 even though he could not attend them personally. In 1962 he spoke at a conference on Modern Turkish Thought at the Rosenmayer Seminar in Vienna. In the same year he attended and presented papers at the millenary commemoration of BAGHDADI and AL-KINDI. In 1968 he participated to the international congress of philosophy held in Vienna. He was a member of the UNESCO executive committee between 1952 and 1962 and a member of Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Association) from 1956 to 1962.

Hilmi Ziya wrote more than a hundred books and 300 articles on various issues in Turkish and Islamic thought. Although one can observe some repetition in his works, it does not mean that he repeated himself. Rather, he developed his thinking and revised his ideas throughout his life. For this reason, his viewpoints differ between his earlier and latter works. It is also important to note that philosophy was a neglected area of study in Turkey. Another reason for the repetitions may be the historical conditions in which he lived. Hilmi Ziya faced various practical problems and challenges, experienced them personally, and participated in the endeavors to find solutions to them throughout his life. Due to this, his position changes from pantheism to materialism, from phenomenology to spiritualism.

It seems that Hilmi Ziya's start to his career which involved tackling the philosophical issues of society, action, and ethics determined his early tendencies and approaches. At the beginning of his intellectual life Hilmi Ziya was very much under the influence of French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858–1917). At that time he was not willing to accept the idea of the existence of the freedom of the citizen in a powerful society. His encounter with the works of Gaston Richard changed his view on individual freedom. His book *Umumi Ruhiyat* (General Psychology) reflects Richard's influence. Additionally, Hilmi Ziya referred to the pluralist philosophy of Emile Boutroux (1845–1921) in order to analyze the nature of morality in society.

Here he dealt with the problem of determinism and freedom, and ethics in general. Having admitted the insolubility of the age-old problem of human freedom and social determinism, Hilmi Ziya subscribed to the idealistic philosophy of Hegel (1770–1831). When he realized the danger that consciousness may fall into subjectivism, then to solipsism, he searched for a strong base in critical realism. He saw Baruch Spinoza (1632–77) as the philosopher *par excellence*. He shares with Spinoza the view that ethics cannot be separated from existence, human beings from nature, and human freedom from the natural order.

In order not to face the attacks of critical philosophy, Hilmi Ziya first referred to English realism, and then to phenomenology. He believed that with the help of phenomenology he would ease the tension between idealism and realism and reach something that he calls "ideorealism." However, he came to believe that this compromise may at the same time contain the errors of both standpoints. Hilmi Ziya perceived the existence of a dichotomy between materialism and idealism. The danger of subjectivism here directed him to "dynamic and historical materialism," which maintains the evolutionary view of nature. For him materialism is not only a theory of social history; rather it is an attempt to explain objectively the world from an historical standpoint with the help of modern science. However, when he realizes that materialist psychology and physiology aim at establishing a psychology without consciousness and self, he rejects historical materialism as untenable.

Later, Hilmi Ziya developed a "bipolar concept of existence." According to this, two opposite sides in existence such as subject and object, time and space, individual and society, and so on are two aspects of the same thing. However, human beings cannot comprehend this whole for it is "irrational"; that is, it cannot be reduced to the human logical structure. Hilmi Ziya borrows the term "dyad" from Plato in order to express this whole; and dyads can be grounded in the notion of a transcendental being. According to Hilmi Ziya's theory of the dyad, the phenomenon of knowledge, for instance, is not like a perception but a subject-object whole, which is dyadic. Since this whole presents an irrational and paradoxical character, this relation can only be affirmed with the transcendental being that "surrounds" and "surpasses" the realm of sense and reason. This being is the true subject matter of philosophy. Human beings and world can be known by reason but God, as transcendental being, cannot be perceived through senses and reason. One can only believe in this Absolute Being. Without the realm of the transcendental being surrounding the realm of phenomena, consciousness and moral action would not be possible. Our world of experience can be grounded safely through this transcendental being. The problem here is to determine the exact relationship between the meanings of the terms "the transcendent being," "dyads," and "God," which Hilmi Ziya uses alternately. One of his students, Necati Öner, interprets this to mean that there is not a single transcendent being but a continuum of beings. In the first level of this hierarchy, there are dyads and values; in the second the Absolute Being, namely God, who surrounds and surpasses the previous ones. Since the Absolute Being cannot be known but only believed, then the method that leads to this belief is "virtual intuition." Here Hilmi Ziya makes a distinction between actual and virtual intuition. The actual intuition acting within consciousness and time cannot apprehend the Absolute Being. However, virtual intuition conjoining the experienced with what is perceived and realities with the ideal may apprehend the Absolute Being at the same time and in the same conscious act.

Hilmi Ziya wrote his books and essays mainly in Turkish. However, a significant number of his works were written in German, French, and even English. *Aşk Ahlakı* (Ethics of Love) is still one of his most influential books written in Turkish. Here, Hilmi Ziya attempts at reconciling what he calls the gap between ordinary Turkish people and the intellectuals. According to him, the main cause of this practical problem was the rapid transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, from the values of Eastern civilization to the West. *Aşk Ahlakı* proposes some methods to breach this gap.

Tarihi Maddeciliğe Reddiye (Refutation to Historical Materialism) is another important work. In one of his early books *Yirminci Asır Filozofları* (Twentieth-Century Philosophers), Hilmi Ziya agrees with historical materialism and adopts political Marxism. In due course he comes to believe that historical materialism cannot be defended because social events do not occur in a dialectical manner. Here, Hilmi Ziya asserts that materialists misuse the scientific data. He points to the contradictions in the Darwinian theory of evolution. In addition, materialist ideas of ethics and religion, which assert that ethics and religion change in accordance with the means of production, do not reflect the truth. According to Hilmi Ziya, this is not possible because ethical values do not change with the change in social conditions. Religion, too, cannot be formed by, and is not the opium of, human beings.

Hilmi Ziya's *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (History of Modern Thought in Turkey) deals with one of the most important issues in modern Turkey, the Turkish experience of Westernization. How to attain the development levels of the West and how quickly to do this are some of the main questions discussed here. In addition, the current status of Turkish society, the historical conditions determining the country's social structures, and the history of the Turkish experience of Westernization are examined in this work. This study is still an important work in this area in Turkey.

Hilmi Ziya is one of the first Turkish philosophers in modern times to have worked and published on Islamic philosophy, and especially on the history of Islamic philosophy. He explored the lives, education, works, and views of Turkish and other Muslim philosophers from the Middle Ages to modern times. *Türk Tefekkür Tarihi* (History of Turkish Thought), *Farabi*, *Ibn Haldun*, *Ibn Rüşd* and *İslam Düşüncesine Giriş* (An Introduction to Islamic Thought) are some of the works of this kind.

Hilmi Ziya lectured thousands of students for about fifty years and thus contributed to the cultivation of many teachers, lecturers, and intellectuals. Therefore, he is reputed to be "the teacher of teachers" in Turkey. The contemporary Turkish philosophers Süleyman Hayri Bolay and Necati Öner are among them. Behind this tireless endeavor lay his strong conviction that modern Turkey needs to develop a humanist renaissance in order to solve its problems and be a part of the modern world.

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MUHSIN AKBAŞ

'UMAR IBN AL-FARID, *see* Ibn al-Farid

W

WALI ALLAH, Shah (Qutb al-Din ibn Ahmad al-Rahim) (1114–76/1703–62)

Shah Wali Allah, whose original name is Qutb al-Din Ahmad b. ʻAbd al-Rahim, was born in 1114/1703 near Delhi into a member of a highly distinguished family, and died in the same city in 1176/1762. He was a major savant within the Ashʻarite tradition of Sunni Islam in eighteenth-century India, and one of the greatest Muslim scholars in the Islamic world.

At Delhi, he received a highly advanced education at the *madrasa* of the city, which had been established by his father, Shah ʻAbd al-Rahim. He studied the fundamental Islamic sciences, Persian language, and literature, and highly sophisticated theological philosophy, mystical theories, and other related sciences pertaining to textual studies. At barely fifteen years old, he graduated from the school. His father was a Sufi and thus in the same year he initiated his son into the well-known Naqshibandiya order of Sufism.

Until the death of his father in 1131/1719, he continued his career as a teacher at the Madrasa-e-Rahimiyya; he then became the principal of the *madrasa* and continued to teach there for nearly twelve years.

While teaching, he also advanced his cognitive searches, intellectual spheres, and conciliatory functions among the warring factions in the Indian subcontinent. Shah Wali Allah also became a precursor of an academic school (the Deoband school, or Dar al-ʻUlum) in India and a rich intellectual legacy, both a written *magnum opus* and well-trained disciples, including his four sons, the eldest of whom, Shah ʻAbd al-ʻAziz, was very effective in both academic and counter-colonial activities against the British. Nearly all of his students became eminent scholars of their time. His influence was strong on such intellectual and political figures as Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Mahmood Hassan, Muhammad IQBAL, Mawlana Ilyas, Abul Kalam Azad, Abu'l ʻAla MAWDUDI, and others.

In 1143/1731–2, Shah Wali Allah went on pilgrimage (*hajj*) and remained in Mecca and Medina for more than a year, studying *hadith* (accounts, deeds, and advice of the Prophet) and theology with eminent theologians in the region. He engaged there in intellectual activities and spiritual regimentation. During this time, he is said to have seen the forty-seven spiritual visions and encountered saintly experiences which became the main ideas of his famous mystical work, *Fuyud al-haramayn* (Spiritual Visions of the Sacred Places, Mecca and Medina). He made his second *hajj* and returned home to Delhi in 1144/1732, and spent the rest of his life teaching the sciences of *hadith* and metaphysics and engaged in writing.

Shah Wali Allah lived in a very precarious time when the Muslim empire was in the process of disintegration in the Indian subcontinent and the Muslim community was divided into many factions and in constant disagreement. After the death of Aurangzeb, the last Mughal emperor of India, in 1119/1707, the political structure and moral conditions of the Muslims in the subcontinent disintegrated and large areas of the empire were lost to Hindu and Sikh rulers of the Deccan and the Punjab. As a result Indian Muslims had to accept the rule of non-Muslims. This challenge and its depressing mood occupied Wali Allah's adult life. Living in the core of the empire, he was able to analyze the dire situation of the Muslim community and of the political situation. In order to bring stability to the decaying empire, he wrote both in the form of letters and pamphlets to the Muslim ruling and intellectual elite to make them aware of the downfall of the empire. In order to reconcile the various factions of Indian Muslims and so protect the empire from complete disintegration, social and political, he sought to create a common theo-metaphysical ground by utilizing a new rational interpretation of the Islamic texts and by reconstructing a new mode of hermeneutics harmonizing both reason and revelation. Contending that the cause of the breakdown of the Muslims in India was their ignorance of and inability to reach the Qur'an, he started to form a religious movement based on the call "Back to the Qur'an"; thus, he initiated the translation of the Qur'an into Persian to make it accessible for the Muslims of India and his annotated Persian translation of the Qur'an is still popular today in India and Pakistan.

According to Wali Allah, religious ideas and precepts were universal and eternal, but their application could involve different circumstances. Thus, he constructed a new doctrine of application, *tatbiq*, whereby the Islamic principles were reconstructed and reapplied in accordance with the Qur'an and the *Sunna*. Then, he reinserted the long-abandoned practice of *ijtihad* (independent discernment) in the intellectual frame of the Muslim world. Furthermore, he reinterpreted the concept of *taqdir* (predetermination) and was very critical of its other forms, such as *qismat* (fatalism). Wali Allah held that man could realize his full potentiality by his own exertion in the realm of possibilities. In the realm of theology, he opposed the veneration of saints or anything that can get in the way of monotheism in general.

In the metaphysics of Sufism, he tried to reconstruct Islamic metaphysics in congruence with the precepts of the Qur'an and the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Applying a more rational methodology to the controversial issues of metaphysics and seeking a harmony between earlier and contemporary Islamic metaphysical notions via constructive criticism, he formulated a middle way in Islamic metaphysics. Hence he was the first to harmonize the incongruous metaphysical doctrines of *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of being) of IBN AL-'ARABI and *wahdat al-shuhud* (unity of realization) of Ahmad Faruq SIRHINDI. In the terminology of *wahdat al-shuhud*, being is only one and it is God; and all other beings, potential or actual, are manifestations of the Divine Names (*Asma'*) and Attributes (*Sifat*), descended gradually (*tanazzulat al-khamsa*—five descents) or *ta'ayyunat al-khamsa* (five manifestations) into various modes of being. Nevertheless, in the doctrinal framework of *wahdat al-shuhud*, in terms of being, God and creation are not identical; and creation is just a shadow or reflection of the Divines Name and Attributes when they are reflected in the cosmic mirrors of their opposite non-beings (*a'dam al-mutaqabila*). Shah Wali Allah tried to reconcile this incongruity by claiming that if all the metaphors and paradigms used for the expression of these subtle theories are left aside, the incongruent views of the two metaphysicians will agree on some point. In reconstructing Islamic metaphysical hermeneutics in a new mode, he was able to make the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* usable and acceptable for the *mutakallimun* (philosophical theologians).

In legal theory, Shah Wali Allah was jurisprudentially eclectic and adduced that a

Muslim could follow any of the four schools of Islamic law on any point of ritual. Thus, he sought to form a foundation for bringing the four schools of law closer to each other. He wrote commentaries on the *Muwatta* (a *hadith* compendium) of Imam Malik, called *al-Musawwa* in Arabic and *al-Musaffa* in Persian, with the aim of finding a foundation for the reconciliation of different Islamic legal schools. In the same vein, he wrote also *'Aqd al-jid fi ahkam al-ijtihad wa'l taqlid*, in which he claimed that the door of *ijtihad* (individual discernment) is open and *'ulama'* (religious scholars) and *mujtahidun* (legists) should act in accordance with the realities of new circumstances and conditions.

Besides these epistemic functions, one of the most salient aspects of his work was his ability to reconcile opposing and contesting notions by applying rational argumentation and discourse, through which he tried to establish the unity of the Muslim community and desperately sought, as a skillful reconciler, a mutual cooperation and communication between the Sunni and Shi'i schools of Islam. Shah Wali Allah wrote in both Arabic and Persian. He published around seventy works as well as five compendia of letters and epistles. He wrote about thirteen tracks on metaphysics, by which he tried to reconstruct a more balanced metaphysical theory. One of his most impressive masterpieces is *Hujjat Allah al-baligha* (The Profound Evidence of Allah), in which he evaluates and reorients theoretical and practical aspects of Islam. The first part evaluates metaphysics, scholastic theology, and social evolutionary theory in the passing of time, and the *hikma* (wisdom) behind the divine injunctions and prohibitions. The second part deals with *akhlaq* (ethics, practical ethics, or politics), rituals, and social life in Islam.

Another important work dealing with metaphysics is *al-Khayr al-kathir* (The Abundant Good), which is divided into ten chapters or, by his description of it, *khizana* (treasures). The book seeks to reconstruct new cohesive modes pertaining to the reality of *wujud* (being), the knowledge of God and human knowledge, the relationship between the Creator and the cosmos, and the reality of prophecy and the prophethood of Muhammad. Then, he discusses the principles of sainthood and Sufism. In the eighth and ninth chapters, practical and theoretical religious matters, such as the Shari'a (Islamic law) and the eschatological theories of Islam, are evaluated. In the last chapter, his theological views, generally in line with the Ash'arite theological school, are discussed.

Another metaphysical work is *Altaf al-quds fi ma'rifat lata'if al-nafs* (Sacred Knowledge in the Realization of the Inner Soul), which deals with the inner, subconscious dimensions of human personality, the features of the external and internal dimensions of human being, such as the heart, the intellect, the spirit, the self, the secret (*al-sirr*), and the ego. He also analyzes metaphysical concepts, such as inspiration (*ilham*), intuition (*kashf*), and the like. In the last section of the book he tries to explicate the problem of "thoughts and their causes," internal and external, which lead to the production of thought and thinking.

His *Sata'at* (Manifestations), is a detailed explication of *wujud* (being). He sees existence as composed of existence and essence, and having many grades and modes. The particular being is modeled in terms of *tashkik* (gradation) and *kathrat* (multiplicities) of being, which are connected to other material beings in a spiritual way and are manifested in various stages of being, or hierarchy/gradations of being (*tashkik al-wujud*). In his important metaphysical tract *al-Budur al-bazigha* (The Full Moons Rising in Splendour), he is concerned with the basic metaphysical problems, such as *wujud* (being), the unity of God, the essence and existence of God, and the relationship between God and the cosmos, which is regarded as the representation of His divine attributes. Anthropological considerations with regard to human beings' societal and rational aspects, their relationship with the divine, and thence the rationale behind the emergence of various religious laws and different creedal communities are evaluated in this *magnum opus*.

Al-Tafhimat al-ilahiyya (Instructions or Clear Understanding) is one of Shah Wali Allah's most essential metaphysical works. Using both Arabic and Persian terms to frame his metaphysical concepts, he enunciates his spiritual experiences and visions in specially divided sections, called *tafhim* (instruction). The book also consists of several letters and tracts written to different people and explaining several important issues ranging from the theories *of wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud* to those of cosmological and anthropological matters.

Shah Wali Allah made significant contributions to the Muslim community in the Indian subcontinent during his lifetime in the religio-spiritual, politico-economic, and social and intellectual domains and the effects of these contributions are still visible in the present time. His theoretical and functional reconstruction of the Islamic sciences and philosophy has influenced and continues to affect many later Islamic revivalists in the Indian subcontinent.

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SEVKET YAVUZ

Y

Yahya, ʻAbd al-Wahid, *see* Guénon, Rene

YALÇIN, Hüseyin Cahit (1292–1377/ 1875–1957)

Hüseyin Cahit was born in Balıkesir (Turkey) on 8 Dhu'l-Qadah 1292/December 7, 1875, and died in Istanbul on 23 Ramadan 1377/October 17, 1957. He was a well-known Turkish writer, journalist, and politician. His father was Ali Rıda Efendi, and his mother was Fatma Neyyire Hanım. His father was a government accountant who served in Balıkesir. While Hüseyin Cahit was a small child, the family moved to Istanbul. He started his primary education in Istanbul. After his father was appointed as a government accountant at Serres in Macedonia, he continued his education there. When he was thirteen years old, he moved with his mother to Istanbul and started his *lyçée* education. He wrote his first novel *Nadide* (Unique) in his *lyçée* years. In those years he also left the religious worldview and instead adopted a more Westernized approach. He started reading extensively various Turkish and French writers such as Beşir Fuad, Namık Kemal, Bourget, and Emile Zola.

Having completed his *lyçée* education, Hüseyin Cahit enrolled in the School of Political Science (Mülkiye). On graduating from this school in 1314/1896, he became a civil servant in the ministry of education. He taught Turkish and French in various schools and became headmaster of the lyçée of Mercan. During these years, he became a prominent member of the Servet-i Fünun literary movement as a novelist and short-story writer as well as a critic. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1326/1908, Hüseyin Cahit entered political life and joined the Committee of Union and Progress (İtihhad ve Terakki). He also established *Tanin* newspaper through which he defended the principles of the Committee. Later this newspaper became an organ of that party. He was elected as a member of parliament and later became a president of the parliament. During the Mutiny of March 31 (22 Ramadan 1327/April 13, 1909), the *Tanin* newspaper was raided, and another deputy mistaken for him was killed. Because of his criticism of some of the policies of the government, he was sentenced to a one-month imprisonment in 1330/1912. He also served as creditors' delegate to the Administration of the Ottoman Public Departments.

After the British occupation of Istanbul in 1337/1919, Hüseyin Cahit was exiled to Malta, together with a number of leading Turkish intellectuals and politicians. During his Malta years, he learned English and Italian. Having been released from Malta, he resumed the publication of *Tanin* and begun to criticize seriously the Ankara regime of Mustafa Kemal. He defended freedom and democracy against the authoritarian administration of the government, which was carrying out a series of radical reforms. He was twice tried by the Tribunal of Independence and was exiled to Çorum, a central Anatolian city. In 1344/1926 he returned to Istanbul, but until 1357/1938 he was lonely, facing much economic hardship. After Mustafa Kemal's death, he reentered political life and became a deputy for the Republican People's Party and resumed the publication of his newspaper *Tanin*. He later became the editor of *Ulus,* an organ of the Republican People's Party. In 1373/1954, his violent criticism of Democrat Party government led to his arrest and imprisonment for several months.

A political figure, a journalist as well as novelist, Hüseyin Cahit was a committed defender of freedom and democracy. He was an active member of *Servet-i Fünun* and *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (New Literature) literary movement. He was also an ambitious politician and a combative journalist. Under the influence of French authors, he became a staunch defender of Western values and worldviews.

His novels, *Nadide* (Unique, 1308/1892) and *Hayal İçinde* (In a Dream, 1319/1901), and his short stories *Hayat-ı Muhayyel* (A Dreamed Life, 1317/1899), *Hayat-ı Hakikiye Sahneleri* (Sciences of Real Life, 1328/1910), and *Niçin Aldatırlarmış?* (Why do They Deceive?, 1342/1924) reflect a realism mixed with sentimentalism and sympathy for the poor and weak. Hüseyin Cahit's articles on literary criticism, which were not published as an independent book, are of documentary importance for the literary criticism of the period. Some of his polemics have been collected in *Kavgalarım* (My Polemics, 1328/1910). His contribution to Turkish culture as a translator was remarkable. He translated from French, English, and Italian a large number of important works on history, sociology, political science, and literature, varying from Lamartine and Emile Durkheim to an Italian orientalist Leone Caetani. He also wrote Turkish grammar basing his analysis upon French grammar. His *Edebi Hatıralar* (Literary Memoirs, 1353/1935) possesses great documentary value about Turkish literary and political history during his lifetime.

Hüseyin Cahit has played a significant role in transferring Western values to Turkish intellectuals as well as to ordinary people. His translations of Western thinkers such as Emile Durkheim, John Stuart Mill, and Emile Boutroux were an important contribution in shaping modern Turkish culture.

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ADNAN ASLAN

YESEVI, Ahmed (*c.* 1093–1166)

Considered by many to be the patron saint of Turks, the "Pir-i Turkistan" Hoca Ahmed Yesevi was born in Sayram, Turkistan. His father Shaykh Ibrahim was a scholar of some repute. He received his spiritual education under a certain Arslan Baba. Later he moved to Bukhara and became a disciple of the famous Naqshibandiya shaykh Yusuf Hamadhani. After succeeding his master in 1160, he returned to his hometown Yasi where he remained until his death. His tomb became a major sanctuary and the famous Turkish ruler Timur (1336–1405) built a major mausoleum for him.

Yesevi's spiritual teachings were quickly appropriated by the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, leading to the creation of a widespread Yesevi tradition. Through his simple formulations of Islamic spirituality, he attracted many followers. But he also incorporated many pre-Islamic Turkish traditions into his teachings. His book of poetry *Divan-i Hikmet* (The Divan of Wisdom), written in vernacular Turkish, is the first work of Turkish Sufi literature and remains to this day a major source of inspiration for both Sufi and non-Sufi Turks. The later traditions attribute to him many miracles (*keramat*).

Yesevi's teachings were carried to Anatolia through his successors. Among these, Haci Bektaş Veli and Sarı Saltuk are the most important. Yesevi's disciples, however, took on a missionary role even when Yesevi was still alive. Considering that the twelfth century witnessed the rapid expansion and migration of the newly converted Turkish tribes from Central Asia toward western lands, he left an indelible mark on the later generations of Turkish Muslims. Turkish Muslims have always been attracted to Sufism, and it is safe to say that Ahmed Yesevi has played a central role in combining the chivalrous qualities of Central Asian Turks with the moderate and gentle teachings of traditional Sufism.

Another important factor for Yesevi's remarkable success is his insistence on pursuing a moderate form of Sufism. In this regard, his poems and teachings, most of which are shrouded in oral history and legend, contain no excessive statements that would cause problems with legal scholars.

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IBRAHIM KALIN

YUNUS IBN ‘ABD AL-RAHMAN, Abu Muhammad (d. 208/823)

Abu Muhammad Yunus b. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Qummi is reported to have been born in the time of the Umayyad caliph Hisham b. ‘Abd al-Malik (ruled 105–25/723–43). The exact date of his birth is uncertain. He died in 208/823 in Medina. Yunus was an Imami theologian of the second/eighth century to whom Sunni heresiographers ascribed a circle of philosophy called the Yunusiyya.

Yunus b. ‘Abd al-Rahman was the *mawla* of the Shi‘i Yaqtin family. Although an account shows Yunus's meeting with the imam al-Sadiq in Medina, he did not relate any traditions from him. His real career began in the time of the imam al-Kazim and lasted through the imamate of al-Rida. After al-Kazim's death, he questioned al-Rida and, being convinced of his response, acknowledged his imamate. Accordingly, Yunus was seen disputing against the Waqifa, a group which denied al-Kazim's death and declared that he was the *mahdi* (the messiah). Al-Rida also ordered Yunus to prevent the Imami followers from the temptation of following the extremist Shi‘i Muhammad b. Furat. He probably demonstrated the experience that he had gained through disputing with the extremists in one of his works entitled *Kitab al-Radd ‘ala al-ghulat* (Book of the Refutation of the Extremists).

As well as having proficiency in theology, Yunus was an expert in jurisprudence. Most of his works, none of which is extant, were collections of traditions on several legal subjects. He also wrote books on the imamate and *bada’* (the change in God’s will) in addition to treatises on morality and more mystical subjects, such as *Kitab al-Lu’lu’ fi al-zuhd* (Book of Pearls in Asceticism) and *Kitab al-Adab* (Book of Good Manners).

Yunus b. ‘Abd al-Rahman was an anthropomorphist. He claimed that angels bore *al-‘Arsh* (the Throne of God), and *al-‘Arsh* bore God; according to tradition, the angels groaned under the weight of the magnitude of God. Yunus likened these angels to cranes whose thin legs could bear their bodies though their bodies were much heavier and larger than their legs. He further claimed that there was some of the substance of God (*jawhariyya*) in humankind. He also maintained that Heaven and Hell had not yet been created. Because of these ideas, al-Rida disparaged Yunus. In the imam’s own words, “whosoever likens God to His creature is a polytheist.” He ordered his followers not to pray behind Yunus and his disciples. Some Shi‘i are said to have accused him of being a heretic (*zindiq*). Shi‘is of Qum also severely criticized him for his free application of *ijtihad* (individual judgment) to theological and legal problems. HISHAM AL-HAKAM, the Shi‘i philosopher, was accused of being responsible for influencing Yunus. However, the anthropomorphism of Yunus seems to have gone beyond that of Hisham since the latter’s ideas were described as the anthropomorphism of meaning (*al-tajsim al-ma‘ani*) whereas Yunus is said to have professed pure anthropomorphism *(al-tajsim al-mahd*). Al-Fadl b. Shadhan (d. 260/873), whose father was recorded as one of Yunus’ students, probably continued to represent Yunus’ thoughts.

The narrations in which Yunus was condemned because of his philosophical ideas contradicted his well-documented reliability within the Imami group. Yunus is regarded by Imami scholarship as among four men about whom it is claimed that they had ultimate knowledge of the prophets. Al-Rida also advised some of his followers to learn their religion from Yunus. It is clearly understood that many theologians of the early periods of the Imami Shi‘a, like Yunus, behaved independently in their intellectual activities. The imams do not seem to have interfered with the achievements of these theologians. Because they were powerful in the Shi‘i community and, often, the disciples of more than one imam, the imams always needed their approval and assistance. Therefore, so long as they remained loyal to their group, the imams never chose to excommunicate them. Several statements of imams against these theologians were severe enough not only to warn them not to go so far in promulgating their peculiar ideas, but also to keep their followers in line.

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M. ALI BUYUKKARA

Z

ZURARA IBN A‘YAN, Abu al-Hasan

(d. *c.* 150/767)

Abu al-Hasan (or Abu ‘Ali) ‘Abd Rabbih Zurara b. A‘yan al-Shaybani al-Kufi was probably born in Kufa in the last quarter of the first century, the exact date of his birth being uncertain. The date given for his death is 150/767. However, some accounts indicate that his death occurred in Kufa a few months later after the death of the imam al-Sadiq, who died in 148/765. Therefore, if this was the case, he might have died in 149/766. Zurara b. A‘yan, the renowned Shi‘i scholar, was the founding father of the early Imami-Shi‘i school of theology (*kalam*) in the second/eighth century, to which Abu Ja‘far al-Ahwal, Hisham al-Jawaliqi, Hisham al-Hakam, ‘Ali ibn Maytham, and Yunus ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman are said to have belonged.

Zurara’s grandfather Sinbas (or Sunsun) was an enslaved Greek monk who converted to Islam. The father A‘yan was a *mawla* of the Shayban tribe. The family was famous for its members’ association with Shi‘ism. Zurara’s brothers, such as Humran and Bukayr, were also well-known Shi‘i personalities in their times. Zurara b. A‘yan was a devout companion of the imams al-Baqir and al-Sadiq. Shi‘i sources describe him as “the greatest man of the Shi‘a in jurisprudence, *hadith*, theology and Shi‘i partisanship.” His efforts to preserve al-Baqir’s sayings was highly appreciated later by al-Sadiq.

Because Zurara died shortly after al-Sadiq’s death, his stand during the crisis of leadership after al-Sadiq remained unclear. The supporters of the imamate of ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far al-Sadiq, the Aftahiyya, considered him to be a member of their group. Musa b. Ja‘far al-Sadiq also reports him supporting Musa’s imamate. However, there is another account which seems to be more reliable about Zurara’s historical and geographical situation. When ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far was recognized as the new imam by the majority, Zurara sent his son ‘Ubayd to Medina to investigate the situation. But before ‘Ubayd’s return, he died having not recognized any successor to al-Sadiq. Or, according to another report, he simply asked for a Qur’an and declared that it was his imam and there was no other imam any longer for him.

Although Zurara is regarded by the imamiyya as a truthworthy narrator (*siqa*) of *hadith*, some of his views are reported to have been criticized by the imams. Al-Sadiq blamed him for his judgment by analogy (*qiyas*) in religious issues. His belief in al-Sadiq’s knowledge of the unknown through divinely imparted knowledge (*‘ilm*) and his ideas about God’s knowledge and man’s ability to act (*istita‘a*) were also the subjects of criticism in the books of Shi‘i tradition. He defended *taqiyya*, the avoidance of persecution or hardship by concealing belief. He also argued that the ordinary man’s knowledge is the result of his own act of reasoning (*nazar*) whereas the imams' knowledge was "constrained" (*idtirari*), which meant that God created it within them.

Unlike his students, such as Abu Ja‘far al-Ahwal and al-Jawaliqi, Zurara does not seem to have held anthropomorphic ideas. However, his views on *istita‘a* and the attributes of God were generally shared by subsequent theologians. He is reported to have written a book on *istita‘a* and *jabr* (determinism). According to Zurara, the ability to act (*istita‘a*) did not mean man's free ability to perform. It is simply health (*sihha*). Every healthy man has the ability to act, which means that this kind of ability is prior to action. Zurara denied the eternal nature of God's attributes. He said that God had not been involved in knowing, hearing, and seeing until he created for himself the attributes of knowledge, hearing, and seeing. On account of these ideas attributed to him, Sunni heresiographers ascribed to Zurara b. A‘yan a circle of philosophy called the Zurariyya or the Taymiyya.

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M. ALI BUYUKKARA

GLOSSARY

adhan	call to prayer
ahadith	traditions (sayings of the Prophets and his Companions)
ahl al-lisan	people of the language (i.e. Arabs)
‘alam al-khayal	imaginal realm, realm of imagination
alfaz	words
ana al-haqq	I am the truth
Ansar	supporters, i.e. the Muslims of Medina who supported the Prophet
‘aqida	creed
Ash‘ariyya	school of theology
ayat Allah	signs of God, verses of the Qur’anic suras
baladi	local
baraka	blessing
batin	closed, hidden
bida‘	innovation
bismilla	in the name of God
dhawq	taste (experience of God in Sufism)
dhikr	recollection (of God in Sufism)
falasifa	philosophers
falsafa	philosophy
fana’	ecstasy
fasih	eloquent
fatwa	legal pronouncement
fiqh	jurisprudence
firdaus	paradise
fuqaha’	jurisprudents
ghazal	verse form
hadith	tradition (of the Prophet and his Companions)
hafiz	one who has memorized the Qur’an
hajj	pilgrimage
hal	state
halal	permissible
haram	forbidden
hijab	covering worn by women
ihya’	revival (of religion)
i‘jaz al-qur’an	miracle of the Qur’an
ijma‘	consensus
ijtihad	independent judgement
Ikhwan al-Safa’	Brethren of Purity
imam	religious or prayer leader
iman	belief
insha‘alla	if God wills it
ishraqi	Illuminationist, philosophical school
ittihad	communion
ittisal	contact
jahaliyya	ignorance (pre-Islamic period)
janna	paradise
jinn	invisible beings
kafir	unbeliever
kalam	theology
kasb	acquisition
kashf	unveiling
khalifa	caliph
khalq	creation
kitabi	of the Book (i.e. one of the People of the Book)
kufr	unbelief

ma'ani	meanings
ma'na	concept, meaning
mashsha'i	Peripatetic (philosophical school)
mawla	freed slave
mushrikun	idolaters
mutakalim, mutakallimun	theologian, theologians
Mu'taziliyya	school of theology
Nahj al-balagha	The Peak of Eloquence
nazar	reasoning
pir	leader
qasida	poem
qiyas	analogy
Qur'an	the Reading
sabr	patience
salafi	traditionalist
sama'	audition
shari'a	religious law
shaykh	leader
Shi'i/Shi'a party (of 'Ali)	minority group in Islam, giving special status to the family of the Prophet
shirk	idolatry
sunna	custom (of the Prophet and his Companions)
sunni	majority group of Muslims
tafsir	commentary
tajwid	recitation
tariqa	path
tasawwuf	mysticism, Sufism
tawhid	unity
umma	community
usul (al-fiqh)	principles of jurisprudence
wahdat al-wujud	unity of being
Wahhabism	followers of ibn al-Wahhab, officially recognized in Saudi Arabia
Wazir	vizier, leading minister in the government

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