

## The "Addurrat ul-Thaminah" of Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot

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Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm of Siālkot enjoys great reputation both in and outside India. He was the author of a number of books which were once very popular with the students of Arabic Literature and Islamic studies. Chief among his philosophico-theological compositions is a small tract, entitled "Addurrat ul-thamīnah" (the Precious Pearl), also known as "Arrisālat ul-khāqāniah" as it was written in compliance with the command of "Khāqān" (*i.e.*, Emperor Shāhjahān). This "Risālah" is one of the masterpieces of Muslim Scholastic Theology produced in India. Nay, it marks the end of that philosophico-theological movement which started with Al-Ghazālī's "Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah" (Destruction of Greek Philosophy) and inaugurates the discussion of a new problem of the nature of "Divine Knowledge" (Mas'alah-i-'Ilm ul-wājib), which even today is one of the most burning problems among the students of Logic in Arabic Madāris.

A rare manuscript copy of this "Precious Pearl" is preserved in Razā Library, Rāmpur (No. 411, Fann-i-Kalām, Old Catalogue). Attached with this tract is a letter of 'Allāmī Sa'dullah Khān, the illustrious Prime Minister of the Emperor Shāhjahān, addressed to the author (Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm), in response to which he composed this "Risālah" or tract.

This letter is very interesting, as beside serving as an introduction to "Addurrat ul-thamīnah", it throws ample light on the intellectual condition of, and, cultural relations between India and Persia in the seventeenth century.

Fortunately another copy of the text of this interesting letter is also extant. The letter was reproduced in extenso by a scholar-astronomer, Imām ud-dīn ar-Riāzi (the author of "at-Taṣriḥ" on astronomy and the grandson of Ustād Aḥmad, the architect of Tāj Maḥal) in his "Bāghistān". The unique manuscript copy of this biographical work

is preserved in Lucknow University Library. Imām ud-dīn gives a list of works composed by Mullā ‘Abdul Ḥakīm, including the “Durra-i-thamīnah” and as an explanatory note to its contents, reproduces the letter of ‘Allāmi Sa‘dullah Khān.

There are some variations between the text of the letter as contained in Razā Library, Rāmpur (which will be called “R”) and that preserved in Lucknow University Library (called “L”). But both of them are very useful. As “R” purports to be copied from the original letter of ‘Allāmi Sa‘dullah Khān, it deserves preference over “L”. But it is feared, later hands made some serious omissions in copying it. On the other hand, “L” was transcribed by Imām ud-dīn himself and no such doubt can be entertained in his case. Naturally, in case of variation, preference is to be given to the latter.

The text of the letter is reproduced here, followed by a brief life sketch of the author, the philosophical background of the “Precious Pearl”, the historical background of its composition and a short introduction to the tract and finally a critical appreciation of this ‘Risālah’, specially as inaugurating the discussion of the Problem of the “Nature of Divine Knowledge”.

### (1) THE LETTER<sup>1</sup>

افادات پناه افاضت دستگاه جامع معقول و منقول حاوی فروع و اصول وحید العصر فرید الدهر بادراک نشأتین و احراز دارین کامیاب باشند - حسب الحکم اشرف می نویسد که چون<sup>2</sup> از افراد وقائع ایران بمسامع مجامع رسید که افادات پناه افاضت دستگاه خلیفه سلطان وزیر دانشور عراق که اعلم العلمای آن دیار است از محمد فاروق مشرف و محب علی واقع

مفاوضه جمله الملکی مدارالمهامی علامی و فهمامی : “R” begins with نواب سعدالله خان که بفاضل یگانه مولانا عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی جهت تالیف رساله الدرۃ الثمینہ حسب الحکم شاهجهان پادشاه تحریر نموده و فاضل مسطورالصدر درجواب آن رساله مذکوره را ترتیب داده و درۃ ثمینہ در اجوبه سوالات علمای ایران که حسب الحکم شاهجهان پادشاه مغفور نوشته اند و بایران فرستاده اند - But “L” has only. چنانچه نقل آن حسب الحکم که سعدالله خان بمولوی نوشته بعینه آوردم -

2. “R” omits.

نویس که بامارت<sup>3</sup> مآب جان نثار خان سفیر متعین اند ، پس از دعوی اینان بفضل و کمال پرسید<sup>4</sup> که امام غزالی<sup>5</sup> در مسئله<sup>6</sup> قدم عالم و نفی علم واجب (تعالی) شانه کما یقول الظالمون فی حق انفسهم والجاهلون بالله<sup>7</sup> جهلا مرکبا<sup>7</sup> بجزئیات مادیه و نفی حشر اجهاد تکفیر ابونصر فارابی و شیخ ابو علی سینا نموده و جمعی تاویل کلام حکماء کرده اند ، این مراتب را تقریر باید کرد -<sup>8</sup> مدعیان دروغ چون شمع کشته بی فروغ ماندند و از مسلک معقولیت دور افتادند - لهذا بکمترین مریدان حکم شد که بآن فضائل و کمالات دستگاه سطری چند بر نگارد و بر گزارد<sup>9</sup> که آن افادات و افاضت مرتبه را درین مسائل مختصری جامع و موجزی مفید که مستجمع حکمت حکماء و تأویلات علماء و وجه تکفیر اسلامیین و اقوال ملیین و مباحثات و مناظرات و شکوک و شبهات و ازالات و ازاحات<sup>10</sup> و اسوله و اجوبه و غایت تدقیقات و نهایت تحقیقات و اصل کلام درهر باب و اساس متحن درهر جواب و آنچه بران ظفر یافته باشند و برهان بدان فائز شده باشند<sup>11</sup> و احاطه مسائل متعلقه بمطلب علم از حضوری و حصولی بودن و علم عین عالم و عین معلوم یا غیر آن<sup>12</sup> و تعلق آن بجزئیات بر وجه کلی است یا بر وجه جزئی<sup>13</sup> و تحریر آنکه کلیت و جزئیت

3. ایادی مآب “R”

4. پرسیده باشد “L” , omits “R”

5. امام محمد غزالی “R”

6. “R” has in place of الخائبین بالله وصفاته “R” ; یقولون الظالمون “L” has الجاهلون بالله

7. Brackets are to differentiate the parenthetical clause

تعالی شانه کما یقول الظالمون فی حق انفسهم و الجاهلون بالله جهلا مرکبا نفی علم واجب بجزئیات مادیه

8. “R” and then an unnecessary which makes the whole statement unintelligible.

9. و بران آورد “R”

10. اخراجات “R”

11. و برهان بران فائده شده باشد “R”

12. و احاطه مسائل متعلقه بمطلب علم از حصولی و حضوری بودن و علم “R” عین عالم و عین معلوم است یا غیر

13. و تعلق آن بجزئیات بوجه کلی است یا بوجه جزئی “R”

مفهوم تابع مدرک یا تابع مدرک است و نسبت واجب جزئی هست  
 یانه<sup>14</sup> - و بیان آنکه ادراک تعقلی است یا احساسی و شمول علم بمغیبات  
 و مشخصات از زمان و غیر آن<sup>15</sup> - و بقای علم با تغییر معلوم و تبدل  
 زمان<sup>16</sup> و حضور زمان بجمیع اجزائه من ازل الازال الی ابدالآباد مع کونه  
 غیر قار و جز آن باشد ، نوشته<sup>17</sup> در حضرت خلافت در عرض ده پانزده  
 روز باید فرستاد که بایران فرستاده شود - و آن چنان<sup>18</sup> باید بود که  
 قابل فرستادن و لائق اضافت بآن فضائل دستگاه بود و پروزگار ازان آثار  
 گویند<sup>19</sup> و در تاریخ نامها نوشته<sup>20</sup> آید<sup>21</sup> -

## (2) THE AUTHOR

The author of this valuable tract, Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm of Siālkoṭ, is one of the stalwarts of Muslim learning in Medieval times, of whom India can be rightly proud. But little is known of his family or early life except that his father's name was Shams ud-din, who was probably of Kashmīrī origin, but like so many of his countrymen, settled afterwards in Siālkoṭ. Here our author was born and brought up in the beginning of the eleventh century A.H. Mīr. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgirāmī says :—

”مؤلد و منشاء او سیالکوٹ از توابع لاهور است،۔ (مآثرالکرام

صفحه ۲۰۳)

Nothing is known of the early education of this worthy son of Siālkoṭ. But he received his higher education from a famous Kashmīrī scholar Mullā Kamāl ud-dīn who had also settled in Siālkoṭ in 971

14. ونسبت الواجب جزئی است یانه “R”
15. از آن زمان عنبر آن “R”
16. و بقاء علم بمعلوم با تبدل زمان “L”
17. نوشته after در omit “R”
18. آنچنان باید نوشت “R”
19. و در روزگار ازان بار گویند “L”
20. نوشته شود “L”
21. more. والدعاء والسلام فقط “R”

A.H. 'Abdul Ḥamīd says in his Bādshāh Nāmāh :

”اکثر علوم نزد ملاکمال کشمیری که در سیالکوٹ مسکن داشت  
 و بانوار باطنی روشن ، تلمذ نموده است،۔“

Mullā Kamāl ud-dīn, like his younger brother Maulānā Jamāl ud-dīn, was a disciple and son-in-law of Bābā Faṭḥullah of Kashmīr. But unlike his brother he devoted greater part of his time to scholarly pursuits and academic activities. The author of “Wāqī'āt i-Kashmīr” pays glowing tributes to him and says :

مطلع الانوار لایزال اخوند ملاکمال برادر مولانا جمال است - حلال

دقائق و کشف حقائق بود - نسبت علمی غالب داشت چنانچه برادر  
 عالیقدرش را جهت تقوی راجح بود - - - در سیالکوٹ و لاهور مسند  
 افاده علوم بیاراست و عالمی از فیض خدمتش بصاحب کمالی برخاست -  
 - - - حضرت مجدد الف ثانی شیخ احمد سرهندی فاروقی هم اوائل حال  
 کسب علوم صوفیه در صحبت او کرده - علمای بسیار مثل مولانا  
 عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی از خدمتش مستفید گردیدند،۔“

Mullā Kamāl ud-dīn died in 1017 A.H. and was buried in Lahore. Such was the teacher and so no wonder that his coaching produced such worthy pupils as the illustrious author of “Addurrat ul-thamīnah”. Āzād Bilgirāmī says :

”در عنفوان سن تمیز دامن همت به طلب علم برزد و بیشتر نزد  
 ملاکمال الدین کشمیری که متوطن باده سیالکوٹ و بلند پرواز عالم  
 ملکوت بود ، تلمذ نمود - در فرصت کمی هلال استعدادش بدر کامل  
 گشت،۔ (مآثرالکرام صفحه ۲۰۳)

During this period, our author developed an intimate friendship with Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhind (afterwards called “Mujaddid-i-Alif-i-thānī”) who was also a prominent student of Mullā Kamāl ud-dīn. The two friends were great advocates of the current theory of Pantheism (توحید وجودی) or the doctrine of همه اوست and probably it was here that our author gave his friend the title of “اسد العلماء”.

But after completing their studies, the two friends parted company and chose different careers. Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindī devoted himself to religious reform and spiritual guidance and was finally given the

high title of مجدد الف ثانی (the Renovator of the Second Millennium). But Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm remained a "Mullā" to the end and devoted his time to teaching and writing. Āzād Bilgirāmī says:—

”عرصهٔ جهان را بلوامع فیض مملو ساخت،“

Like so many of his contemporaries, Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm also kept himself aloof from Imperial court, especially during the reign of Jahāngīr (1014-1037 A.H.). Content with whatever meagre income he had, he continued his teaching activities. Āzād Bilgirāmī says:—

”در عهد جهانگیری به معاش ضروری ساخته در وطن مالوف

بسر می برد -

Similarly 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhorī says :

”در ایام سعادت فرجام حضرت جنت مکانی بضروریات معیشت در

ساخته عزلت گزین بود،“

In spite of this, his fame had reached the Imperial court and the official chroniclers could not ignore such an illustrious scholar who was a Jewel of the Empire. Mu'tamid Khān mentions him in "Iqbāl Nāmah" among the scholars of Jahāngīr's reign. It is noteworthy that none of his later contemporaries (most of whom were his rivals) could secure even a passing reference in the annals of Jahāngīr's time.

But when after the death of Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān ascended the throne, he took keen interest in the promotion of learning and knowledge and began to patronize the scholars and divines of his country. His fame as patron of science and literature reached even the distant corners of Persia and scholars of that country after completing their studies in Shīrāz, came to India to avail the munificence of the Timūrids, so much so, that Shīrāz, "the university town" of the then Iran, was generally regarded as a training centre of India. Nahāwandī, in his Maāthir i-Raḥimī quotes a certain physician who had heard in Persia that .

”شیراز مکتب خانهٔ هندوستان است،“<sup>22</sup>

Chief among those who were attracted by the munificence and

مآثر رحیمی جلد سوم حصه اول صفحه ۳۶ - 22.

patronage of the new Emperor were Maulānā Shukrullah<sup>23</sup> (who afterwards was promoted as Prime Minister), Mullā Murshid Shīrāzī,<sup>24</sup> who was, later, awarded the title of Makramat Khān, and Mīr Moḥammad Ḥāshim<sup>25</sup> (who was appointed as tutor to Aurangzeb) all of whom hailed from Shīrāz. Others came from other cities of Persia and Khurāsān: Sulṭān Ḥusain from Yazd, Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm from Shūstar, Mullā Farrukh Ḥusain, Mīrak Sheikh<sup>26</sup> and Qāzī

23- ”افضل خان - نامش ملا شکر الله است و زاد بومش شیراز - همگی مراتب دانش و کمال نزد میر ابراهیم همدانی و میر تقی الدین نسابه شیرازی اندوخته بهندوستان بهشت نشان آمده درسک بندگان حضرت جنت مکانی منسلک گشت - - - - - و پس از آنکه اورنگ خلافت بجلوس مقدس آرایش پذیرفت - - - - - از جوهر شناسی و قدر دانی حضرت خاقانی - - - - - سال دوم سریر آرائی از تغیر ارادت خان - - - - - بپایه جلیل وزارت کل ممالک محروسه رسید -“ (بادشاهنامه مجلد اول حصه دوم صفحه ۳۳۹ - ۳۴۰)

24- ”در تذکره هندسی مذکور است که در سنه یکهزار و پنجاه و نه وفات یافت مولانا مرشد شیرازی مخاطب بمکرمات خان یکی از علمای شیعه امامیه است - در شیراز و دیگر بلاد آن قطر تحصیل کرد - پیش برادر خود مولانا زور بیان شیرازی و دیگر افاضل روزگار تا آنکه ماهر شد در فنون حکمی بتخصیص هیئت و هندسه و نجوم و حساب - بعده عزیمت هند کرد و بشرف ملازمت صاحبقران ثانی مشرف گشت و عز امتیاز یافت - مدتی خانسامان پادشاه بود و باوجود این مشغله درس می گفت و علوم حکمی و فنون ریاضی تعلیم می فرمود -“ (تذکره باغستان ورق ۶۸۱ - الف)

25- ”میر محمد هاشم معروف بحکیم هاشم خلف میر محمد قاسم گیلانی است - مدت دوازده سال در حرمین شریفین بوده منقولات را از شیخ محمد عربی محدث و شیخ عبدالرحیم حیاتی و ملا علی تبریه ملا عصام الدین مشهور و معقولات و از میر نصیرالدین حسین پسر زاده میر غیاث الدین منصور و مرزا ابراهیم همدانی فرا گرفته بهندوستان آمد و طب و ریاضی نزد سر آمد اطباء حکیم علی گیلانی ورزیده - چندی در احمد آباد و گجرات بتدریس مشغول بود - - - - - پس از انتضای مدتی ملزم عبودیت سده سنیه گشته بامر خاقانی شرف تعلیم اختر برج سعادت پادشاه زاده محمد اورنگزیب بهادر دریافت - - - - - بر تقسیم بیضاوی حاشیه نگاشته بنام نامی حضرت شاهنشاهی -“ (بادشاه نامه مجلد اول حصه دوم صفحه ۳۴۵ - ۳۴۶)

26- ”در عنفوان شعور ملا میرک شیخ هروی از هرات بهندوستان آمده بیشتر متداولات نزد ملا عبدالسلام لاهوری اکتساب نموده و در ایام برنائی بزیارت حرمین محترمین موفق گشته پیش اکابر محدثین آن اماکن فیض موطن کتب احادیث بسند رسانید و از انجا برگشته در زمره بندگان این آستان عرشی مکان در آمد - نخست بدولت تعلیم مهین کوکب اقبال پادشاهزاده کامگار محمد داراشکوه تارک اعتبار بر افراخت - والحال بخدست معلمی ثمره شجرهٔ سلطنت پادشاهزاده مراد بخش سر افراز است -“ (ایضاً جلد دوم صفحه ۳۴۴ -)

as follows :

”یازدهم صفر - - - ملا عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی بمرحمت خلعت شال و انعام دویست مہر سر افراز گشته بوطن مرخص گردید -“

Next year (1056 A.H.) when the Emperor was on his way from Lāhore to Kābul and was staying at Jahāngirābād, the learned Mullā again visited the Imperial court. ‘Abdul Ḥamīd says :

”بست و چهارم صفر - - - ملا عبدالحکیم را خلعت و دویست مہر عنایت نموده بسیالکوٹ بوطن او رخصت فرمودند، -“

(بادشاه نامہ جلد دوم)

Besides these regular visits he was also summoned to the court to participate in academic discussions and debates, to be discussed later.

Mullā ‘Abdul Ḥakīm was not a solitary star in the intellectual firmament of his time, but only a more brilliant member of a galaxy of intellectuals, the more notable of whom were :

Maulānā Shukrullah (afterwards ‘Allāmī Afzal Khān) and after his death ‘Allāmāh Sa‘dullah Khān,<sup>30</sup> Mirak Shaikh Hiravī, Mullā ‘Alā‘ul Mulk Tūlī,<sup>31</sup> Sayyid Aḥmad Sa‘īd,<sup>32</sup> Qāzi Muḥammad Aslam, Mullā ‘Abdul Laṭīf,<sup>33</sup> Mīr Moḥammad Hāshim, etc., in the imperial service. Shaikh ‘Abdul Ḥaq Muḥaddith and his family, especially Muftī Nūr ul-Ḥaq, the family of Khwājah Bāqī Billah, especially his son Khwājah

30- ”علامة الوری فهمامه العصر سعد الله خان باستیفاء فنون علوم معقوله و منقوله و استقصاء صنوف دانش و حفظ قران مجید و جودت قریحت و اضاعت ذهن و اضابت فکر و فرط معلومات و فصاحت زبان و حسن تقریر قصب السبق از دانشوران روزگار بوده -“ (بادشاهنامہ جلد دوم)

31- ”ملا علاءالملک تولى جامع معقول و منقول است و در الهی و طبیعی و ریاضی بیش از دیگر علوم غور نموده - او بیمن بندگی این درگاه آسمان جاه که مجمع فضلاء روزگار است ، بخدمت سیر سامانی عز افتخار دارد -“ (ایضاً)

32- ”سید احمد سعید موطنش از توابع صوبہ بہار است علوم عربیہ خصوصاً علم فقہ کہ دران نیک مستحضر است نزد والد خود ملا سعد کہ از فضلاء آن دیار بوده اندوخته بدرگاہ کیوان جاہ آمد و بقلاؤذی اختر مسعود داخل بندگان سعادت آئین گردید پس از چندی بخدمت افتاء اردوی گیہان پوری نوازش یافت -“ (ایضاً)

33- ”ملا عبداللطیف سلطانپوری بگرد آوری علوم و حل معضلات و تحقیق دقائق

Muḥammad Aslam<sup>27</sup> from Hirāt.

After the fall of Balkh, its scholars also came to India, chief among them was Maulānā ‘Iwaz Wajīh Balkhī.<sup>28</sup> Naturally at a time, so favourable to scholars and divines as the reign of Shāhjahān, our author could no longer keep himself dissociated from Imperial patronage. Āzād Bilgirāmī says that the Emperor ordered him twice to be weighed in gold and bestowed that gold on him.<sup>29</sup>

But after 1055 when the office of Prime Ministership was entrusted to his pupil Sa‘dullah Khān, the Imperial favour very much increased. He is seen visiting the court and receiving handsome presents from the Emperor and like other dignitaries of the Empire, his visits are regularly recorded in Court Chronicles. ‘Abdul Ḥamīd gives the details of two such visits : one in 1055 and the other in 1056 A.H. Under the events of the eighteenth year of Shāhjahān’s reign (1055 A.H.), he writes

27- قاضی محمد اسلم در بلدہ فاخرہ ہرات متولد گردید و در دارالملک کابل توطن برگزید - - - در اوائل سلطنت جہانگیری بہ ارادہ تحصیل علم بجانب لاہور شتافت و در حلقہ درس شیخ بہلول کہ از صناید علماء آن مکان بود تلمذ نمود و بعد از تکمیل تحصیل بہ مستقرالخلافت اکبر آباد رفتہ باریاب محفل جہانگیری گردید - - - و منصب قضای کابل تفویض یافت - - - وزان بعد جہانگیر پادشاہ او را در حضور طلبیدہ قضاء عسکر ارزانی داشت و چون صاحب قرآن شاہجہان سریر سلطنت را آراش داد قاضی را بران عہدہ بحال داشت -“ (ایضاً مجلد اول حصہ دوم صفحہ ۳۳۳ -)

28- مولانا مرزا جان شیرازی - - - شاگرد خواجه جمال الدین محمود است و او شاگرد مولانا جلال الدین دوانی است - - - شیخ معمر مولانا یوسف کوسہ ابن محمد خان قراپاغی - - - شاگرد امام علامہ مولانا مرزا جان شیرازی است بعد از کسب کمال بہ بلخ آمد بعدہ بہ سمرقند رفت - - - و از جملہ تلامذہ او - - - مولانا عوض وجیہ بلخی -“ (تذکرہ باغستان صفحہ ۶۸۰ الف - ۶۸۱ الف)

29- ”چون نوبت دارائی ہندوستان بہ صاحبقران شاہجہان اناراللہ برہانہ رسید ، طائفہ علماء و شعراء را رواجی دیگر پدید آمد - ملا درین عہد پارہا خود را بدرگاہ خلافت رسانید - ہر گاہ وارد حضور می گردید ، برعایت نقود نا محدود مخصوص ہی گشت و دوبار بزر سنجیدہ شد و مبالغ ہم سنگ گرفت و چند قریہ بہ رسم سیورنمال انعام شد - ملا بحضور خاطر و فراغ بال در وطن مالوف اقامت داشت و تنجیم علم و فضل در سر زمین سینہ ہا و سفینہ ہا می کاشت - (مآثر الکرام صفحہ ۲۰۴ - ۲۰۵ -)

'Abdullah and Muftī Ḥusām ud-dīn and Muftī Rukn ud-dīn (descendants of Muftī Jamāl and Shaiikh Sama ud-dīn of Multān respectively) in Delhi; Mullā 'Abdus Salām Lāhorī, his pupil Muftī 'Abdus Salām Dīwah,<sup>34</sup> Maulānā Yūsuf Karpāhī (afterwards called Lāhorī)<sup>35</sup> Maulānā Jamāl ud-dīn Tilwī, Maulānā Allāhdād, Mullā Fāzil Bada-khshī,<sup>36</sup> etc., in Lahore; Maulānā Ḥabībullah, Maulānā Sālih, Muftī 'Abdur Raḥīm, Maulānā 'Abdur Rashīd (the author of Farhang i-Rashīdī) in Sind; Muftī 'Abdul Baqā, Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī, Maulānā Muḥammad Afzal and the latter's two students, the illustrious

و تشخیص حقائق آن چنانچه باید پرداخته بود - وحدت فهم و جودت تقریر و قوت حافظه او زینت افزای فضائلش گشته - بیشتر کتب متداوله این دیار نزد سر آمد نحاریر زمان ملا جمال لاهوری خوانده، معقولات را پیش - - - - - میر فتح الله شیرازی استفاده نموده بود - از بیداری بخت و سازگاری روزگار پیش از جلوس اشرف سعادت بندگی درگاه افاضل پناه در یافته بآمرزگاری مهین گوهر بحر خلافت مفتخر گشت - (ایضاً مجلد اول حصه دوم صفحه ۳۴۴ - ۳۴۵ -)

34- ملا عبدالسلام دیوه از مضافات اوده اصناف علوم راسیما عربیت در سر زمین مولد خود تحصیل نمود - قائد قسمت او را بلاهور آورد - در ظل رأفت ملا عبدالسلام لاهوری رسانید - هرچه خوانده بود بخدمت ملا تصحیح نمود و قدم بر قدم استاد گذاشت چندی بدانش آموزی مستفیدان گزرائید ... در دارالسلطنه لاهور در رنگ انزواء - - - - - تشنه کمان علوم را به کوثر افاده سیراب ساخت ... ملا عبدالسلام لاهوری معدن عقلیات و نقلیات بود و فنون ادب و فقه و اصول را نیکو می دانست - علم از امیر فتح الله شیرازی وغیره فراگرفت و قریب شصت سال درس گفت و جمعی کثیر را بپایه فضیلت رسانید - (مآثر الکرام صفحه ۲۳۵-۲۳۶)

35- 'ملا یوسف لاهوری: او عالم عامل بود - کسب کمالات از ملا جمال لاهوری نموده - در منقولات مهارت تمام داشت - علم تفسیر نیکو دانستی - - - - - قریب پنجاه سال بافاده پرداخت - بسیاری از او بهره مند گشتند و بکمال رسیدند، (بادشاه نامه مجلد اول حصه دوم صفحه ۳۴۲)

36- 'ملا محمد فاضل: مؤدش بدخشان است - در ابتداء جوانی نخست بکابل رسیده نزد ملا صادق حلوائی تلمذ نمود و بعد ازان بتوران رفته فیض صحبت جلال معاهد منقول، کشف غوامض معقول ملا میرزا جان شیراز دریافت و فنون حکمت را از ملا محمد یوسف کوسه که ارشد تلامذه آن سر آمد اساتذہ زمان بود کسب نموده بدارالسلطنه لاهور وارد گردید و تفسیر و اصول را پیش ملا جمال لاهوری که در عربیت یگانه روزگار بود، خوانده حاوی علوم عقلیه و نقلیه گشت - - - - - اکنون در دارالسلطنه بافاضه علوم اشتغال دارد، (ایضاً صفحه ۳۴۰)

Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī<sup>37</sup> (the author of Ash-shams ul-Bāzighah) and Shaiikh 'Abdur Rashīd Jaunpurī (the author of Ar-Rashīdia, in Munāzirah or dialectics). Then there were a host of scholars in Kashmīr, such as Qāzī Abul Qāsim, the nephew of Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm's teacher, Mullā Kamāl ud-dīn, Maulānā Ḥaidar Fīroz and his pupil Maulānā Dā'ūd, Mishkātī (because he had committed the whole of Mishkāt to memory), Mullā Bāqir Sabbāgh<sup>38</sup> (the disciple of Mīr Bāqir Dāmād of Persia) and Mullā Bāqir Sabbāgh's student, Mullā Bāqir Nārah.<sup>39</sup>

Many of these scholars were our author's rivals, some of them were his critics such as Maulānā Ya'qūb Banārī, Mullā Bāqir Nārah, Mullā Fāzil,<sup>40</sup> Mullā Abul Ḥasan called Shāham Bābā.<sup>41</sup> With some of his contemporaries he had academic debates,<sup>42</sup> where often he prevailed, but sometimes admitted the superiority of his opponents.<sup>43</sup>

37. See note 43.

38- 'ملا باقر صباغ برای تحصیل علوم بایران دیار رفته، از فضلالی آنجا بهره اندوخته، شاگرد میر باقر داماد شده - در معقولات بی نظیر وقت بوده، (واقعات کشمیر ورق ۱۲۶ الف)

39- 'ملا باقر ناره لوی: در معقولات شاگرد ملا باقر صباغ بوده و در هندوستان با ملا عبدالحکیم و علمای پنجاب و پورب معارضه کرده و آنها را ملزم می کرد - (ایضاً ورق ۱۲۶ الف)

40- 'ملا فاضل: محرم دانشمند، و مدقق بود و بجدل و بجائی اشتهار یافته، اکثر حواشی ملا عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی را او می نوشت، (ایضاً صفحه ۱۲۳)

41- 'ملا ابوالحسن معروف بشاهم بابا در علوم مستعد و مجرب بود - - - - - اکثر مذکورات ملا عبدالحکیم را او می کرد و گاهی التفات بجانب علمای حاضر نمی کرد - (ایضاً صفحه ۱۲۳)

42- آورده اند که پادشاه شاهجهان ایشانرا از سیالکوٹ برای مناظره ملا شفیعا که تازه از ولایت آمده بود و خطاب دانشمند خان یافته، طلبید - ایشان آمدند و اجلاس علماء و فضلاء و حکماء شد - چون نوبت سخن بمولوی عبدالحکیم رسید و با دانشمند خان مناظره واقع شد بر مراد 'ایاک نعید و ایاک نستعین' گفتگو بطول کشید و بالآخر درستی قول و راستی سخن ایشان بر پادشاه و سایر امراء و علمای عالی شان انجامید - (تذکره باغستان ورق ۶۸۴-۶۸۵ الف)

43- ملا محمود جونپوری در فروع و اصول و معقول و منقول بکمال رسیده بود - - - - - مولانا عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی باوجود کمال خود بکمال جامعیت او اقرار و اعتراف بفضل و دانش او می نمود - - - - - مولوی عبدالحکیم در مناظره علم توحید با وی مقاومت

Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm died in 1067 A.H.,<sup>44</sup> leaving one son Maulānā 'Abdullah, a worthy successor of a worthy father, and a host of pupils. Imām ud-dīn says in Bāghistān :

”و بالجمله از رأیات جلال او شاگردان صاحب کمال اند از انجمله است : ملا سعدالله مخاطب بسعدالله خان وزیر اعظم شاهجهان پادشاه صاحبقران که نشان مذکور از فضل او نشان می دهد - - - - و از انجمله است ملا عبدالعزیز عزت که در زمان خلافت عالمگیر خدمت عرض مکرر داشت - - - - و از انجمله است ملا عصمت الله سهارنپوری که بر خلاصه الحساب و تشریح الافلاک شیخ بهاء الدین مجد عاملی شرح نوشته اند و از رأیات کمال او فرزند صاحب حال است مولوی عبدالله (باغستان ورق ۶۸۶ الف)

But, there were many more of whom mention must be made—Maulānā 'Abdur Raḥīm Morādābādī, through whom the influence of Mullā Siālkoṭī passed on to Qāzī Mubārak.<sup>45</sup> The latter was very probably the first, among the commentators of Sullām ul-'Ulūm to

نداشت - می فرمود که مولانا نفس قدسی است ، قار و پود سخن را خاصه منقولات بمنوالی یافته که کارنامه دیگران در پیش او بمصدوقه ”ان او هن البیوت لبیت العنکبوت“ مست تر از نسج عنکبوت است“ - (تذکره باغستان ورق ۶۸۴-۶۸۵ ب)

مولانا عوض وجیه بلخی وقتی از ولایت بلخ حسب الطلب پادشاهی بدارالسرور لاهور رسید برسم لشکریان بمدرسه مولانا عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی درآمد و بتقریب دخلهای بیجا کرد - مولانا - - - - جز آنکه مباحه تسلیم بر چشم قبول گزارد ، دید که علاجی نیست و از زیرکی طبع و رسائی نشأ ادراک مولوی متعجب ماند - بعد ازین مولانا برخاست و برفت - بعد از زمانی سعد الله خان پیشش مولوی آمد - مولوی فرمود که درین ولا شخصی بچنین هیئت و قیافت در کسوت لشکریان بکمال فراست و کیاست در مدرسه ما آمد و بمشهایی می کرد - معلوم نشد که کیست - خان مشار<sup>6</sup> الیه بفرست دریافت که مولانا عوض وجیه بلخی بود که مولوی فرمودند - ز آمدنش اگر خبر داشتی در ره گذرش گل و یاسمن کاشتمی - (باغستان ورق ۶۸۳ ب - ۶۸۴ الف)

44- دوازدهم ربیع الاول سنه سبع و ستین و الف طومار حیات پیچید و در سیالکوٹ مدفون گردید - “ (مآثرالکرام صفحه ۲۰۵)

45- ”قاضی مبارک شاگرد ملا قطب گوپامثوی است -“ (آمد نامه مولانا فضل امام خیر آبادی -)

propagate the views of our author on the delicate problem of “Divine Knowledge.”

But more lasting influence the learned Mullā exercised on later generations through his works, a list of which is given by Mir Ghulām 'Ali Āzād Bilgirāmī as follows :—

- |                             |                                    |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ۱- حاشیه تفسیر بیضاوی       | ۹- حاشیه حاشیه عبدالغفور           |
| ۲- حاشیه مقدمات تلویح       | ۱۰- تکمله حاشیه عبدالغفور          |
| ۳- حاشیه مطول               | ۱۱- حاشیه شرح مطالع                |
| ۴- حاشیه شریفیه             | ۱۲- حاشیه شرح عقائد ملا جلال دوانی |
| ۵- حاشیه شرح موافق          | ۱۳- دره ثمینه در اثبات واجب تعالی  |
| ۶- حاشیه شرح عقائد تفتازانی | ۱۴- حواشی در کنار شرح حکمة العین   |
| ۷- حاشیه حاشیه خیالی        | ۱۵- حواشی در کنار شرح هداية الحکمة |
| ۸- حاشیه شرح شمسیه          | ۱۶- حواشی در کنار مراح الارواح     |

### (3) THE PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF “ADDURRAT UL-THAMĪNAH”

It has been pointed out above that in the Risālah, “Addurrat ul-thamīnah,” culminated the movement which began with Imām al-Ghazālī's “Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah.” The latter represents that branch of Muslim scholastic theology, that aims at the demolition of those standpoints of philosophy which are against the fundamental teachings of Islām.

Hence it will be very useful to give in brief the background of “Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah” and a gist of its subsequent criticism and counter-criticism.

”مولوی قطب الدین گوپامثوی - - - - پدرش قاضی شهاب الدین از علماء اعلام وقت بود کسب کمال از خدمت مولوی عبدالرحیم مراد آبادی تلمیذ مولوی عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی نمود - - - - مولوی قطب الدین شاگرد پدر بزرگوار در همه علوم معقول و منقول سر آمد روزگار بود -“ (مآثرالکرام صفحه ۳۰۰)

*The Origin of 'Ilm ul-Kalām.*

Islām, from the very beginning, aims at presenting its teachings in a rational manner. This attitude was continued by subsequent Muslim thinkers and was designated as 'Ilm ul-Kalām (generally translated as Scholastic Theology) and its exponents as al-Mutakallimīn."

This Kalāmī activity had two stages :—

(a) *Kalām ul-Mutaqaddimīn* or the scholastic theology of the early thinkers which was confined between different sects of Islām alone. The points at issue were only secondary problems, *i.e.*, "Imāmat" (who is entitled to be installed as the supreme head of Muslim community), "Irjā'" (how far faith is affected by sins), "Qadar" (the problem of Free Will and Pre-destination) and "Sifāt" (Divine Attributes). But whatever the extent of discussion, the fundamentals of Islām never came to be questioned and were accepted by one and all as final truths.

(b) *Kalām ul-Muta'khhirīn* or the scholastic theology of latter thinkers :—

In the second century A.H., when Greek Philosophic books were translated into Arabic and Muslim thinkers found themselves in conflict with it, they had but two courses open before them.

The more die-hards like Christian Apologist Tatian, instead of reconciling with Philosophy, endeavoured to demolish the same outright. Their activities are called *كلام المتأخرين* or *علم الكلام* simply.

But there were others who took a conciliatory step and tried, like Christian Apologists St. Augustine and Authenagoras, to re-interpret Islām in the light of Greek Philosophy. Chief among them were Fārābī and Ibn-i-Sīnā.

46- ثم لما نقلت الفلسفة عن اليونانية الى العربية وخاض فيها اسلاميون و حاولوا الرد على الفلاسفة فيها خالفوا فيه الشريعة فخلطوا بالكلام كثيراً من الفلاسفة ليحققوا مقاصد ها فيتمكنوا من ابطالها هلم جرأ الى ان ادرجوا فيه معظم الطبيعيات والالهيات و خاضوا في الرياضيات حتى كاد لا يتميز عن الفلسفة لو لا اشتاله على السمعيات - و هذا كلام المتأخرين -" (شرح العقائد النسفية صفحہ ۵)

Thus ensued a long struggle between the two which lasted till the last century.

However, the earliest representatives of the Kalāmī school of Muslim thought were the Mu'tazilīs, and naturally it were they who were invited by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Al-Mahdī (158—169 A.H.) to assist him in the suppression of the growing menace of heretical movements.<sup>47</sup> These Mutakallimīn, though uninitiated in Philosophy, soon proved themselves to be equal to the task. They devoted themselves to the study of philosophy<sup>48</sup> acquiring in a short time mastery over the weapons of their enemies and successfully employing those weapons against them.

Thus, in a very short space of time, was produced voluminous literature on Scholastic Theology, containing a very fine criticism of Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic Philosophy. Some of the most important masterpieces of this Kalāmī Literature are as follows :—

كتاب الآراء والديانات by An-Naubakhti<sup>49</sup>

كتاب على ارسطا طاليس في التوحيد by Hishām bin al-Hikam.<sup>50</sup>

كتاب الدلائل على حدوث الاشياء by the same

47 - وكان المهدي اول من امر الجدليين من اهل البحث من المتكلمين بتصنيف الكتب في الرد على الملحدين بمن ذكرنا من الجاحدين و غيرهم و اقاموا البراهين على المعاندين و ازالوا شبه الملحدين فاوضحوا الحق للشاكين -" (مروج الذهب و معدن الجواهر للمسعودي)

48 - ثم طالع بعد ذلك شيوخ المعتزلة كتب الفلسفة حين فسرت ايام المأمون فخلطت منهاجها بمناهج الكلام - - - - فكان ابو الهندي العلاف شيخهم الاكبر و افاق الفلاسفة - - - - ثم ابراهيم بن سيار النظام في ايام المعتصم كان اعلى في تقرير مذاهب الفلاسفة - - - - ومن اصحابه محمد بن شبيب و ابو شمر و موسى بن عمران و الفضل الحدثي و احمد بن حايظ و واقفه الاسواري في جميع ما ذهب اليه من البدع وكذلك الاسكافية اصحاب ابي مجفر الاسكافي - - - - ثم ظهرت بدع بشرى بن المعتز من القول بالتولد و الافراط فيه و الميل الى الطبيعيين من الفلاسفة -" (كتاب الملل و النحل للشهرستاني جلد اول صفحہ ۱۲)

49- الفهرست لا بن النديم صفحہ ۲۵۲ -

50- ايضاً صفحہ ۲۵۰ -

كتاب الرد على اصحاب الطوائف	by	the same
كتاب التصفح	by	Abu Hāshim al-Jubbāi. <sup>51</sup>
كتاب النقض على ارسطو طاليس في الكون والفساد	by	the same <sup>52</sup>
كتاب الطوائف والنقض على القائلين بها	by	the same

This Kalāmī literature was mostly produced by Mu'tazilis especially in the third century A.H. The last representative of the school was Abu 'Alī al-Jubbāi, the teacher of the illustrious Ash'arite Imām Abul Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. The latter was brought up in the Mu'tazilite fold, but finding himself unable to decide which of the extreme Mu'tazilite views was to be followed, he had no alternative but to come back to the fold of "Sunnah."

So far hardly any refutation of Greek philosophy was attempted in the Sunnī fold but Imām Ash'arī brought with him a rich legacy of Anti-Classical Literature (as Iqbāl would designate the refutation of Greek philosophy) which he had acquired in the Mu'tazilah camp. Beside innumerable books against the Mu'tazilis and other dissident sects, he wrote a number of books against Greek philosophy. Some of the more important ones are as follows :--

- ١- كتاب على اهل المنطق -
- ٢- كتاب الفنون في الرد على الملحدين -
- ٣- الاستقصاء لجميع اعتراض الدهريين و سائر اصناف الملحدين -
- ٤- كتاب على الدهريين في اعتلال لانهم في قدم الاجسام -
- ٥- كتاب عن اعتلال من زعم ان الموات يفعل بطبعه و نقضنا عليهم اعتلال لانهم واوضحنا تمويههم -
- ٦- كتاب الفصول في الرد على الملحدين والخارجين عن الملة كالفلاسفة والطبائعيين والدهريين و اهل التشبيه والقائلين بقدم الدهر -
- ٧- كتاب في الرد على الفلاسفة - - - - - نقض علل ابن قيس الدهري - - - - -
- ٨- الكلام على القائلين بالهولوى والطوائف - - - - -
- ٩- نقض علل ارسطوطاليس في السماء والعالم -

51- اخبار العلماء باخبار الحكماء صفحہ ٣٠ -

52- الفهرست لابن النديم صفحہ ٢٣٧ -

٨- نقض كتاب آثار العلويه على ارسطو طاليس -

Imām Ash'arī had two famous disciples : Abul Ḥasan al-Bāhelī and Ibn ul Mujāhid al-Tai. They taught 'Ilm ul Kalām to Qāzī Abu Bakr al-Baqillānī, Imām Abu Ishāq Isfrā'inī and Ibne Furāk, who continued their master's traditions and wrote important books against philosophy. Baqillānī's "Tamhīd", which has been recently published, seeks to vindicate Ash'arite views. But bulk of it is devoted to a criticism of Greek Philosophy. Imām Abu Ishāq Isfrā'inī had an able successor in the person of Imām ul-Ḥaramain, whose "Kitāb ush-Shamā'il" has been counted among the classics of Muslim Scholastic Theology.

#### Imām Al-Ghazālī and his Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah

Imām Al-Ghazālī was the worthy disciple of the worthy teacher Imām ul-Ḥaramain. In him culminated the anti-philosophical (or anti-classical, as Iqbāl would call it) activities of his predecessors. But Al-Ghazālī was not a downright "Destroyer of Philosophy" as the name of his book would suggest. He was a passionate lover of truth, who sincerely sought for light in all corners. He had studied philosophy not only with the sole object of demolishing its grand edifice, but also to find where it was at variance with the revealed teachings of Islām. Truth is one and so there must be some loop-holes in the thinking of Greek philosophers. This was evident from the fact that Greek philosophers were themselves arrayed one against the other.<sup>53</sup> So he chose for his study the philosophical system of Aristotle,<sup>54</sup> in whom Greek wisdom had found an embodiment and who had accepted what seemed true and correct in his predecessor's writings.<sup>55</sup>

53- ليعلم ان الخوض في حكاية اختلاف الفلاسفة تطويل فان خبطهم طويل و نزاعهم كثير و آراء هم منتشرة و طرقهم متباعدة متدابة - " (تهافت الفلاسفة الامام الغزالي صفحہ ٣٥ مرتبه سليمان دنيا و مطبوعه دارالاحياء الكتب العربيہ بمصر)

54- فلنقتصر على اظهار التناقض في رأى مقدم الذى هو الفيلسوف المطلق والمعلم الاول ، فانه رتب علومهم و هذبها بزعمهم و حذف الحشو من آراء هم و انتقى ما هو الاقرب الى اصول اهلنا و هو ارسطو طاليس - " (ايضاً صفحہ ٣٥)

55- "ثم المترجمون الكلام رسطا طاليس لم ينفك كلامهم عن تحريف و تبديل موحين الى تفسير و تأويل ، في آثار ذلك ايضاً نزاعاً بينهم - " (ايضاً صفحہ ٣٦-٣٧)

But the difficulty was that even the philosophy of the master was not free from inherent contradictions, which were further made worse in the Syriac and Arabic sayings. Different commentators had given different interpretations to Master's utterances. This difficulty, Al-Ghazālī surmounted by accepting only the interpretations, given by Abu-Naṣr al-Fārābī and Abu 'Alī Ibne Sīnā.<sup>56</sup>

Then Al-Ghazālī found that there were twenty problems, where Philosophy had erred and needed correction. Of these twenty problems, three were of cardinal importance and can in no way be reconciled with the basic doctrines of Islām. They are so serious that a belief in them is patent "Kufr" and sufficient to turn out that believer from the pale of Islām. They are :

1. The belief in the eternity of the universe and that the universe was not created in time.
2. Denial of God's knowledge of the changing particular events of the world.
3. Denial of bodily resurrection.<sup>57</sup>

It was thus that Al-Ghazālī implicitly denounced Fārābī and Ibne Sīnā though nowhere in "Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah", he directly and explicitly pronounced them as "Kāfirs."

56 - "واقومهم بالنقل والتحقيق من المتفلسفة في الاسلام الفارابي و ابن سينا - فلنقتصر على ابطال ما اختاره و راياه الصحيح من مذهب رؤسائهم في الضلال - - - - - فليعلم انا مقتصرون على رد مذاهبهم بحسب نقل هذين الرجلين -" (تهافت الفلاسفة صفحہ ۳۷)

57 - "فان قال قائل قد فصلتم مذاهب هؤلاء افتتقون القول بتكفيرهم - - - قلنا تكفيرهم لا بد منه في ثلاث مسائل : احداها مسئلة قدم العالم و قولهم ان الجواهر كلها قديمة والثانية قولهم ان الله تعالى لا يحيط علماً بالجزئيات الحادثة من الاشخاص - والثالثة انكارهم بعث الاجساد و حشرها - فهذه المسائل الثلاث لا تلائم الاسلام بوجه و معتقدها معتقد كذب الانبياء صلوات الله عليهم و سلامه - - - وهذا هو الكفر الصراح الذي لم يعتقده احد من فرق المسلمين -" (تهافت الفلاسفة صفحہ ۳۱۳-۳۱۵)

*Criticism and Counter-criticism of "Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah."*

"Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah" gave a death blow to the grand edifice of philosophy so laboriously built by Ibne Sīnā and his predecessors. There was none who could pick up the gauntlet so confidently thrown by Al-Ghazālī. Philosophy for sometimes seemed to have outlived its utility and vacated its place for 'Ilm ul-Kalām. There were philosophers after Ibne Sīnā too, like 'Umar Khayyām. But they were not a match to Al-Ghazālī. Times were also not favourable to philosophers who were denounced as nihilists and could not dare to move publicly.

But in the later half of sixth century A.H. philosophy found a great advocate in the West. It was Ibne Rushd (Averroes) who accepted the challenge of Al-Ghazālī whose criticism of philosophy was itself severely criticised by Ibne Rushd. He insisted that Al-Ghazālī's arguments were not based on logical principles of scientific reasoning. So he took every statement of Al-Ghazālī and showed that they could not withstand scientific criticism.<sup>58</sup> Thus he laid the foundation of a rival movement, which may be called, following Iqbāl, as 'Pro-Classical.'

Times also became favourable for this "Pro-Classical" movement in the East. The Tartar invasion had let loose the forces of disintegration and philosophy did not lag behind in availing itself of this opportunity. Great philosophers like Muḥaqqiq Tūsī, Quṭb ud-dīn Shīrāzī, Najm ud-dīn Kātībī, Asīr ud-dīn Abharī, Jālāl ud-dīn Dawwānī, came forward and undertook the defence of Philosophy against the onslaught of Mutakallimīn.

But the camp of kalām was not empty. It had also its exponents, such as Sirāj ud-dīn Urmavī, Shams ud-dīn Iṣfahānī, Qāzī 'Adad ud-dīn-al-Ijī, Mīr Sayyid Sharīf al-Juryānī, Allāmāh Sa'd ud-dīn at-Taftāzānī, etc., who were in no way inferior to their contemporaries in the rival camp.

Thus ensued the long struggle between the two movements, which was continued even after the downfall of Tartar domination in Persia.

58 - "ان الغرض في هذا القول ان نبين مراتب الاقاويل المشبهة في كتاب التهافت (تهافت الفلاسفة الغزالي) في التصديق والاقناع و قصور اكثرها عن رتبة اليقين والبرهان - (تهافت التهافت لابن رشد جلد ثاني صفحہ ۲ مطبوعه مصر)

From Persia it crept silently into Turkey. There the Great Ottoman Sultān Muḥammad, the conqueror of Constantinople took a very keen interest in this contest. He asked his court scholars to intervene and arbitrate between the two movements.<sup>59</sup> But so formidable was the task that only two scholars could undertake the arduous task. They were Maulānā 'Alā ud-dīn Tūsī and Maulānā Khwājah Zādeh. The former complied with the Sulṭān's command in his "Kitāb uz-Zakhīrah" and the latter in his "Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah." They were amply rewarded by the Sulṭān.<sup>60</sup> But whereas Khwājah Zādeh had written his thesis with the avowed intention of refuting everything in philosophy that went against Islām,<sup>61</sup> Maulānā 'Alā ud-dīn took an unprejudiced view and after a dispassionate study of the two (Kalām and Philosophy) wrote what he thought was right.<sup>62</sup>

Thus "Kitāb uz-Zakhīrah" and Khwājah Zādeh's "Tahāfat ul-Falāsifah" brought to an end, for the time being, the long controversy between Philosophers and Mutakallimīn.

#### Revival of Philosophical Studies in Iran.

In the beginning of the tenth century A.H., Iran underwent a

59 - "ثم ان السلطان محمد خان امر المولى المزبور و المولى خواجه زاده يصنفا كتاباً للمحاكمة بين تهافت الامام الغزالي قدس سره والحكماء" - الشقائق النعمانية على هامش وفيات الاعيان لابن خلسكان المجلد الاول صفحہ ۱۰۶-۱۰۷

60 - "واعطى السلطان محمد خان لكل واحد منها عشرة آلاف درهم وزاد خواجه زاده خلعة نفيسة" - (الشقائق النعمانية جلد اول صفحہ ۱۰۷)

61 - فتريدان نحكي في هذا الرسالة من قواعدهم الطبيعية والالهية ما آورده الامام حجة الاسلام مع بعض آخر عالم بورده بادلته المعول عليها عندهم على وجهها ثم نبطلها ارغاماً للمتفلسفة المبطلين واعظاماً لاهل الحق واليقين - (تهافت الفلاسفة لخواجه زاده على هامش تهافت الفلاسفة للغزالي جلد اول صفحہ ۷)

62 - "كان برهة من الزمان يتلجج في صدري ويتخالج في قلبي ان اكتب في المسائل الالهية وما يتعلق بها بعض ما تقرر لي و تحقق عندي - - - الى ان اشار الى السلطان - - - ابوالفتح محمد بن مراد خان ان انظر في الرسالة المسماة بتهافت الفلاسفة التي الفها الامام - - - الغزالي رحمة الله تعالى عليه - - - و شرطت على نفسي عند ما شرعت في هذا الخطب الخطير والامر الكبير ان لا اكتب الا ما ثبت عندي بالقطع انه الحق والصواب -" (كتاب الذخيره صفحہ ۳-۵)

tremendous revolution and the first national government was established under the grand Safawīs. But nationalism always brings with it revivalism and Iran was no exception. Passion for revivalism revived passion for philosophical studies, of which Iran has always considered itself a cradle. The great sages of the past were adorned as "National Heroes", chief among them were the Al-Mu'allim uth-Thānī and Al-Mu'allim uth-Thālith (the second and third Teachers that is Al-Fārābī and Ibne Sīnā), who were regarded as "Infallible." But they had already been denounced by an equally great sage, Al-Ghazālī, as having erred seriously on "three points" referred to above. Hence it became a favourite activity of Persian intellectuals to justify the viewpoints of Fārābī and Ibne Sīnā about the controversial issues.

As regards "Eternity of the Universe", efforts were made to appreciate the distinction introduced by Ibne Sīnā between بالذات قديم (Eternal *per se*) and "قديم بالزمان" (Eternal from the temporal point of view). Another step in this direction was taken by questioning as follows the reasonableness of the principle enunciated by Taftāzānī :—  
"اذ الصادر عن الشئ بالقصد والاختيار يكون حادثاً بالضرورة"<sup>63</sup> -

As regards "Divine Omniscience", it was contended that the views of Ibne Sīnā on this point had not been duly appreciated by his opponents, hence the "denunciation."

As regards "Bodily Resurrection," the two philosophers, especially Fārābī, were not found to be unambiguous. In some passages of Fārābī's voluminous writings, he appears to have ridiculed the idea of resurrection while in others he seems inclined to favour it.

Such was the state of affairs in Iran of the tenth century which continued in the next one as well. Mīr Bāqar Dāmād (d. 1040), the renowned philosopher of eleventh century Iran, tried to forge a *via media* between "the Eternity of the Universe" of the Philosophers and "Creation in time" of the Mutakallimīn and presented his theory of "حدوث دهرى"<sup>64</sup> (which was severely criticised by his Indian contemporary Mullā Maḥmūd of Jaunpur). His worthy and able successor

63 - شرح العقائد النسفية مطبوعه نولكشور پريس كانپور صفحہ ۲۱ -

64 - "واعلم ان بعض خيرة اللاحقين بالمهرة السابقين مع توغله في سياحة ارض الحقيقة و تورطه في سياحة الحكمة لم يوجه في اعاق ثرى الملك باقدام انظاره الغائره

Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050 A.H.) offered a novel view of human soul as "جسائنة الحدوث وروحانية البقا". Amongst the junior followers of Mullā Ṣadrā, Shaikh Aḥmad Ahsāī, rediscovered the theory of "بدن هور قلیائی" (Heraclitean Body) first pronounced by the Ishrāqī Philosopher Shaikh Shahāb ud-dīn Maqtūl in his "Al-Mutarihat."

Thus in the middle of eleventh century A.H., the intellectual atmosphere of Iran was supercharged with a passion for the justification of Fārābī and Ibne Sīnā's views formerly considered as heresies, pure and simple.

It was at this stage that Indian genius was called upon to intervene on a purely intellectual matter not privately but on governmental level and through diplomatic channels.

#### (4) HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Relations between India and Iran had been very cordial since the time of Bābur and Humāyun. The combined forces of Bābur and Shāh Ismā'īl of Safawī dynasty had fought against the Ozbeks, their common enemy. The friendship was further cemented during the reign of Humāyun, who took refuge, when turned out by Shēr Shāh, in the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, the successor of Shāh Ismā'īl. With the military assistance provided by Shāh Tahmāsp, Humāyun regained his lost empire. Their friendly relations continued during Akbar and Jahāngīr's reigns, but were ruptured after the accession of Shāh Ṣafī to the throne of Iran and remained strained till his death. When Shāh Ṣafī was succeeded by Shāh 'Abbās II, Shāhjahān, who had

وعروجه بقوادم افکاره السافره، اذ نبض عرقه الهاشمی لحایة دمار الظاهر من الدین والذب عن حمی ما علیه الجمهور من الملیین من حدوث العالم بقضه و قضیضه لا حدوداً ذاتیاً فقط من جهة لحاظ الذات فحسب بل حدوداً احسن من ذلك مصداقاً لسلب الوجود اصلاً فی الاعیان قبل صدق الايجاب ولم ترخصه بصیرته النقاده و قریحة الوقاده ان یعقول بالحدوث الزمانی للزمان وما یتقدم علیه من الممكنات كالحركة التي هو عارضها والفلك المتحرك بها والعقل المتقدم على ذلك الفلك ولا بما هو فی قوة ذلك فظاهر الاول اليه من تقدم عدم مستمر للزمان على وجوده و قبلية متقدرة لجاعله سبحانه عليه كما یتخیله الجمهور، ابتدع القول بالحدوث الدهری والقبلية الدهرية و قنن فی ذلك القوانين الدقیقه و دون الصحف الاثیقه - (الشمس البازغه مطبوعه مطبع یوسفی لکهنشو صفحه ۲۵۲-۲۵۳)

consolidated his power, tried to improve relations. Accordingly he sent letters of condolence and congratulation with Jān Nithār Khān, the ambassador-designate to Iran. Jān Nithār Khān was seen off by Shāhjahān on 18th Safar 1056 A.H. 'Abdul Ḥamīd says :

"وهژدهم این ماه (صفر ۱۰۵۶ هـ) اورا (جان نثار خان را) بخلعت وجمدهر و باضافه پانصدی ذات ودوهزاری پانصد سوار - - - - سر افراز ساخته دستوری دادند و - - - مصحوب او گرامی مرسله منہی از مراسم تعزیت و مبنی از لوازم تمہیت کہ علامی سعد الله خان بامر اعلیٰ انشاء نموده با لختی مرصع آلات و پنج ہزار پارچہ - - - برسہ ارمنگان ارسال فرمودند -، (بادشاه نامہ جلد دوم صفحہ ۲۹۳)

The letter has been reproduced in extenso by 'Abdul Ḥamīd and relevant portions are given below :—

"چون پیوستہ میان خواقین این دودمان سلاطین نشان و فرمانروایان سلسلہ صفویہ ابواب اتحاد و وداد مفتوح بود - - - ہر چند شاہ صفی در اواخر ایام سلطنت از قلت تجربہ و دیگر موجبات غفلت و غرور مصدر بعضی اندیشہای بیجا و سگالشہای ناسزا کہ باعث رنجیدن بل رنجانیدن باشد گشت - اورنگ آرای جہانبانی - - - خاقانی - - - بعد از ارتحال شاہ مذکور نہ پسندیدند کہ سلسلہ مضافات و رابطہ موالات کہ از دیر باز مؤکد است یکبارہ گسیختہ شود - بنابراین مقرر ساختند کہ جان نثار خان را کہ از خانہ زادان آداب دان مزاج شناس است بتعزیت شاہ صفی و تمہیت پسر او کہ بنام جدش شاہ عباس مسمی است بفرستند -"

However, Jān Nithār Khān, who took his leave from the Emperor on 18th Ṣafar, reached Farāh, where he was overtaken in Rajab of the same year by Mīr 'Azīz. The latter had been commanded by the Emperor to take a letter to Nazar Muḥammad Khān, the Prince of Balkh. 'Abdul Ḥamīd says :

"میر عزیز - - - - را - - - - ہشتم این ماہ (رجب ۱۰۵۲ هـ) پیش وی (نذر محمد خان) فرستادند - - - - میر عزیز باستعجال تمام راہی گشتہ و آن سوی فراہ بجان نثار خان پیوستہ یرلیغ قضا نفاذ کہ از پیشگاہ

عنایت بخان مزبور ارسال یافته بود ، رسانید، (بادشاهنامه جلد دوم صفحه ۵۷۲-۵۷۶) -

Mīr 'Azīz, then leaving Jān Nithār Khān at Farāh, went straight to Iṣfahān, but missed seeing Nazar Muḥammad Khān, who had left Iṣfahān for Khurāsān. Mīr 'Azīz wanted to see him but was advised by Shāh 'Abbās not to hasten, but to wait till 10th Zi'l-Hijja 1056, which date had been fixed for audience with Jān Nithār Khān. The king had suggested :

”اولی آنکه چون آمدن جان نثار خان نزدیک است چندی توقف نموده عیدالاضحی که ساعت ملازمت او مقرر ساخته ایم همراه او ما را به بیند،- (بادشاه نامه جلد دوم صفحه ۵۷۶)

Thus Jān Nithār Khān had his first audience with the king not earlier than 10th Zi'l-Hijja 1056 and so he must have reached the capital (Iṣfahān) in that month or at the most in the preceding one.

Meanwhile Balkh had fallen to Shāhjahān on 9th Sh'abān, 1056 and the Emperor sent another messenger Arsalān Beg, son of Farhād Beg Balloch with a letter of victory to the king of Iran.

We do not know precisely when the Indian Ambassador saw other dignitaries of the Persian court, but it can be presumed that he had a series of such interviews very probably from Zi'l-Hijja onward and soon, not only he, but also other members of his embassy staff developed intimate relations with the officials of the Safawī king, to the extent that even the Prime Minister of Persia (or Khalīfah Sulṭān, as he was designated in those days)<sup>65</sup> permitted the embassy staff of Jān Nithār Khān to have a frank and friendly philosophical discussion with him. It can be surmised that this discussion took place probably in the month of Rabī 'ul-Awwal of the succeeding year (1057).

Two members of the Indian Embassy, Muḥammad Fārūq, the superintendent (Mushrif) and Muḥibb 'Alī, the Information Officer (Waqiā Nawīs) were very much proud of their knowledge of Philosophy. The Prime Minister or Khalīfah Sulṭān, in order to test the

65 - ”خلیفه سلطان اعتقادالدوله که لقب وزیر فرمانروای ایران است، (بادشاه نامه جلد دوم صفحه ۶۵۹) -

depth of their study of Philosophy asked them to refute the charges of denunciation (Takfīr) levelled against Fārābī and Ibne Sīnā by Imām Ghazālī for holding by them the beliefs in the eternity of the Universe and for the denial of God's knowledge of particular events of the world and bodily resurrection from the standpoint of "Ḥukamā" or Muslim adherents of Philosophy. But these members of the Indian Embassy Staff were no match for the versatile Prime Minister of Persia<sup>66</sup> and the symposium ended in an utter defeat of the Indian team.

The details were despatched to Shāhjahān and reached him probably at Kābul, since Shāhjahān had left Lahore on 18th Ṣafar 1057, as 'Abdul Hamīd says :

”و پنفس نفیس هژدهم ماه صفر (۱۰۵۷) ه بعد از دوپهر و چارگری روز بساعتی که تولى کند بد و تقویم از دارالسلطنه لاهور بصوب دارالملک کابل نهضت فرموده، (بادشاهنامه جلد دوم صفحه ۶۳۸)

and reached Kābul on 30th Rabī'ul-Awwal of the same year, vide Bādshāh Nāmāh, vol. II, p. 678.

”سخ ربيع الاول بساعت مختار نزهت گاه کابل بنور ماهچه اعلام ظفر انجام ضیاء وسنا پذیرفت“ -

Shāhjahān was very much dismayed and took this news as a blow to India's national prestige. But he was not a man to accept defeat so easily and would not rest until the lost prestige was regained. He did not take much time in deciding to choose a right champion for this academic contest. None (not even the illustrious author of Shams-i-Bāzighah) was considered suitable for the delicate task. So he bade his Grand Wazīr 'Allāmah Sa'dullah Khān to write a letter to Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm to compose a short but comprehensive tract on the problems under discussion. Sa'dullah Khān wrote :

”افادت پناه افاضت دستگاہ خلیفه سلطان وزیر دانشور عراق که اعلم‌العلمای آن دیار است از عهد فاروق مشرف و محب علی واقعه نویس

66 - ”خلیفه سلطان وزیر دانشور عراق که اعلم‌العلمای آن دیار است“ (تذکره باغستان ورق ۶۸۵ ب)

که بامارت مآب جان نثار خان سفیر متعین اند، پس از دعوی اینان بفضل و کمال پرسید که امام غزالی در مسئله قدم عالم و نفی علم واجب (تعالی) شانه کما یقول الظالمون فی حق انفسهم والجاهلون بالله جهلا مرکبا) بجزئیات مادیه و نفی حشر اجتهاد تکفیر ابونصر فارابی و شیخ ابو علی سینا نموده و جمعی تأویل کلام حکماء کرده اند، این مراتب را تقریر باید کرد - مدعیان دروغ چون شمع کشته بی فروغ ماندند و از مسلک معقولیت دور افتادند،

Then followed detailed instructions, setting forth the headings of different topics to be dealt with by the addressee (Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm). Whether the letter was dictated by the Emperor or drafted by the Prime Minister, the list of topics is the most surprising feature of this letter. It shows that the conqueror of Deccan and the victor of Balkh (Shāhjahān) or the administrator of the sub-continent (Sa'dullah Khan) was not only proficient in war strategy and diplomatic manoeuvring or administrative supervision and control of the vast empire but also had a deep knowledge of, and a thorough command of the subtleties of philosophical studies of his time. This will be evident from the following topics pertaining to the problem of "Divine Omniscience." (مسائل متعلقه بمطلب علم)

- ۱- از حصولی و حضوری بودن علم -
- ۲- علم عین عالم و عین معلوم است یا غیر آن -
- ۳- تعلق علم بجزئیات بوجه کلی است یا بوجه جزئی -
- ۴- کلیت و جزئیت مفهوم تابع مدرک (براء مکسوره) یا تابع مدرک (براء مفتوحه) -
- ۵- نسبت واجب جزئی است یا نه -
- ۶- ادراک تعقلی است یا احساسی -
- ۷- شمول علم بمغیبات -
- ۸- بقای علم با تغیر معلوم و تبدل زمان -
- ۹- حضور زمان بجمیع اجزائه من ازل الازال الی ابدالاباد مع کونه غیر قار -

The letter reached Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm probably in the beginning of Rabī'uth-thānī, 1057, and though Sa'dullah Khān had given him a period of ten or fifteen days to write the required tract, the learned Mullā completed the arduous and delicate task entrusted to him within the short space of one week. He sat to write after the Juma' prayer on 5th Rabī'uth-thānī and finished it on 12th of that month. The concluding lines of the tract run thus:—

”ولیکن هذا آخر ما قصدنا ایراده فی هذه الرساله انی قانیه حامد الله تعالی و مصلیاً علی بنیه و آله شارحاً فی تحریره ضحوة یوم الجمعة خامس شهر ربیع الثانی متمماً فی آخر یوم الجمعة ثانی عشر منه من  
- ۵۱۰۵۷ -

#### (5) A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE RISĀLĀH

The learned 'Allāmah did not stick to the lines already chalked out by wazīr Sa'dullah Khān. He had his own scheme. The points at issue were three, namely:

1. The eternity of the Universe or its creation in time,
2. The resurrection or its denial, and
3. "Divine Knowledge" of particular occurrences or its negation (نفی).

But the 'Allāmah after the usual "Khutbah" divided the tract proper into three parts. The first, which occupies by far the greater part of the "Risālah" is devoted to the discussion of "Divine Attribute of Knowledge". The last two are given only a passing reference. This seems to be due partly to the fact that Sa'dullah Khān had given detailed instructions regarding the problem of "Divine Omniscience", and partly to the fact that the subject of "Knowledge" in general and that of "Divine Knowledge" as the most important part of it, was the burning problem of the day. A junior contemporary of the learned author, Mīr Zāhid of Hirāt (the illustrious author of "زواهد ثلاثه") had specially discussed this problem in two of his works (میر زاهد قطبیه and (میر زاهد ملا جلال).

This is why the tract (الدرة الثمینه) is often referred to as "On the Problem of Divine Knowledge" (مسئله علم واجب).

However, of the first section ("on Divine Knowledge") the learned

'Allāmah changed the order of the problems which is further subdivided into three parts :

- (a) The Proof of "Divine Knowledge".
- (b) The Nature of "Divine Knowledge".

(c) The Universality and All-inclusiveness of "Divine Knowledge."

The second and third of these sub-sections contain other relevant topics also.

#### (6) CRITICAL APPRECIATION OF ADDURRAT-UL-THAMINAH

We have seen that Addurrat al-thamīnah brings to a successful end the controversy, started with Imām Ghazālī's "Tahāfat-ul-Falāsifah" and thus marks an important epoch in the history of Muslim thought. No serious attempt has ever been made after its publication to revive this problem.

At the same time, it started the problem of the "Nature of Divine Knowledge", which has played the most important part in the intellectual activities of later thinkers in India down to the middle of the present century. The commentators of "Sullām ul-'Ulūm," an important work on Logic by Mullā Muḥibbullah of Bihār and the Glossary-writers of Mīr Zāhid's commentary on Quṭbīyah, who gave their serious thought to this problem were, in all probability, actuated by and received the impetus from Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm of Siālkot.

The problem of "Divine Omniscience" is not a new entrant in the field of Muslim thought of the later Mughul Period. The Holy Qurān has asserted it unequivocally. The Prophet (May God send His blessings and peace upon him) explained it in an unambiguous manner as "All-Inclusive". All religious minded people whether philosophers or laymen had and have a firm conviction of the validity of this Divine Attribute. Even the most die-hard thinkers of the philosophers' camp could not openly deny it.

Thus the problem has engaged the attention of all classes of thinkers, mutakallimīn, the philosophers and the mystics ; it has been discussed by Shaikh Abu 'Alī Sīnā (Avecinna) in his "Shifā" "Ishārāt" and other works, by Imām Rāzī in "Al-Mabāḥith ul-Mashriqīyah", by Shahāb ud-dīn Maqtūl in "Ḥikma ul-Ishrāq" "Hayakil un-Nūr" and

"Mutarihāt", etc. and by Ibne 'Arabī in "Fuṣūṣ ul-Ḥikam" and "Futūhāt ul-Ilāhīyah" Similarly later thinkers devoted their attentions to this problem—Muḥaqqiq i-Dawwānī in his glossaries on "Sharḥ-i-Tajrīd," Mīr Bāqar Dāmād in "Ufuq ul-Mubīn" and Mullā Ṣadrā in his "Al-Asfar ul-Arba".

But the way in which we meet this problem in the commentaries on "Sullām ul-'Ulūm" and glossaries on Mīr Zāhid's commentary on 'Quṭbīyah' was first chalked out by Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm in his 'Precious Pearl.'

We know that Mīr Zāhid (d. 1101 A.H.) was a junior contemporary of Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm. He (Mīr Zāhid) was the son of Qāzī Muḥammad Aslam of Hirāt and a distinguished pupil of Mullā Fāzil Badakhshī, who were both contemporaries of Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm. But we do not know precisely if Mīr Zāhid had any literary connection with the illustrious author of Addurrat al-thamīnah. Still he seems surely to have access to his works especially "Precious Pearl" and was probably influenced by it.

(1) As regards the descending level of "Divine Knowledge" our author has observed as follows :

"ثم ان مراتب العلم التفصيلي اربع : الاولى ما يعبر بالقلم والنور والعقل في الشريعة و بالعقل الكل عند الصوفية و بالعقول عند الحكماء فالقلم الذي هو اول المخلوقات حاضر بذاته مع ما هو مكمون فيه عند الواجب تعالى فهو علم تفصيلي بالنسبة الى العلم الاجمالي الذي هو عين ذاته و بسيط بالقياس الى ما في المراتب - و ثانيها ما يعبر عنه في الشريعة بالروح المحفوظ و بالنسبة الكلي عند الصوفية و بالنفوس الفلكية المجرده عند الحكماء - فالروح المحفوظ حاضر بذاته مع ما ينتقش فيه من صور الكلمات عند الواجب تعالى فهو علم تفصيلي بالنسبة الى الرتبين اللتين فوقهما - وثالثها كتاب المحو والاثبات وهو القوى الجسمانية التي ينتقش فيها صور الجزئيات البادية وهي المنطبعة في الاجسام العلوية والسفلية فهذه القوى مع ما فيها من النقوش حاضره عنده تعالى - و رابعها الموجودات الخارجية من الاجرام العلوية و السفلية واحوالها فانها حاضرة عند واجب الوجود بذاتها في مرتبة ايجاده -"

The same seems to have been copied in a slightly abridged form by Mīr Zāhid in his Notes (منهيه) on his own Commentary on Qutbiyah, commonly known as "Mīr Zāhid Qutbiyah".

"اعلم ان العلم التفصيلي للواجب سبحانه عين ما اوجده في الخارج و مراتبه اربع : احدها ما يعبر عنه بالقلم والنور والعقل في الشريعة و بالعقل الكل عند الصوفية و بالعقول عند الحكماء ، فالقلم حاضر عنده تعالى مع ما يكون فيه و ثانيها ما يعبر عنه في الشريعة باللوح المحفوظ و بالنفس الكلي عند الصوفية و بالنفوس الفلكية المجردة عند الحكماء فاللوح حاضر عنده تعالى مع ما فيه من صور الكليات - وثالثها ما يعبر عنه بكتاب المحو والاثبات في الشريعة وهو القوى الجسمانيه التي ينتش في صور الجزئيات المادية وهي القوى المنطبعة في الاجسام العلوية - فهذه القوى مع ما فيها من النقوش المنطبعة حاضره عنده تعالى - ورابعها سائر الموجودات الخارجية والذهنية الحاضره عنده تعالى -"

But more important is the systematic arrangement of different views regarding the nature of "Divine Knowledge", of which the credit seems to go to the learned Mullā. Advocates of these different views had flourished before his time, but none seems to have systematically arranged them in a logical manner. This had been reserved for our author, who did it for the first time and later scholars only emulated his example.

The problem of "Divine Knowledge" is very important and later writers never failed to realize it. Qāzī Mubārak says in his commentary on "Sullām ul-'ulūm" (commonly known as "Qāzī Mubārak", after its author) :

"اعلم ان مسأله علم الواجب مما تحيرت فيه الافهام،،

Similarly other commentators of "Sullām" emphasised its importance. But most emphatic was Mullā Ḥasan who wrote :

"لا ينكشف العطاء عن وجه المتصود ما لم يذكر مسأله علم الواجب التي هي من مهيات المسائل قد تحيرت فيه الافهام ولم يات احد بما يتعلق بقلب الذاكيا،،"

We have seen that Mīr Zāhid had access to Addurrat al-thamīnah and while discussing the nature of "Knowledge" in general,

in his commentary on "Qutbiyah," had occasions to come across the problem of "Divine Knowledge" too. But he refrained from treating this problem in detail, observing only :

"و تمام القول فيه يقتضى بسطاً في الكلام لا يسعه المقام -"

But Qāzī Mubārak who had inherited the rich intellectual legacies, both of Mīr Zāhid and Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm was, as has already been observed, the first to follow in the footsteps of the Master. The learned Mullā has written in his "Precious Pearl".

"اعلم ان علمه تعالى اما ان يكون عين ذاته او خارجاً عنه اما قائمها بنفسه او بذاته او بامر خارج،،"

Then he goes on to enumerate different views, more important being those of Plato, the Mystic Sūfis, the Mu'tazilis, the 'Ash'arites and philosophers in general.

Qāzī Mubārak as has been observed above, walked in the footsteps of the Master. But his treatment of the subject is somewhat less exquisite. He seems to have given only two views :

"اعلم ان مسأله علم الواجب مما تحيرت فيه الافهام - فذهب البعض الى ان علمه تعالى بالاشياء صور قائمة بذاته تعالى والبعض الآخر لما راؤ استحالة التكثر في ذاته بحسب الذات والصفات اعتقدوا ان علمه تعالى بصور مجردة قائمة بذاتها وهي المثل الافلاطونية،،"

Then came Maulānā Baḥr ul-'Ulūm, who after dismissing contemptuously the view of older Greek Philosophers, who refused to attribute knowledge to God, enumerates nine views : Of Shaikh Maqtūl (Shahāb ud-dīn Shaikh ul-Ishrāq), Naṣīr ud-dīn Tūsī, Plato, Mu'tazilis, Porphyry. The Maturīdia, the later Philosophers, Mīr Bāqar Dāmād and the two Shaikhs (Fārābī and Ibne Sīnā).

But still more exquisite was Mullā Ḥasan who after emphasising the importance of the problem tried to systematize the views in a logical way on the lines chalked out by Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm (with only slight modifications). Then he enumerated as many as ten views with their pros and cons in a concise way.

The same theme was finally reproduced by Maulānā 'Abdul Ḥalīm of Firangī Maḥal in his super-glossary on Mīr Zāhid Qutbiyah (known as At-Taḥqiqat ul-Marziyah), but in a very lucid and clear

manner, giving the arguments in favour, as also against each view.

The subject being very terse and dry, it seems better to avoid details. But one thing is certain that the interest, the problem of "Divine Knowledge" created in later Muslim Logicians of India, is due to the worthy son of Siālkot and it was not a customary hyperbole when he spoke of his researches in this field as :—

”هذه قواعد عاليه و فرائد غاليه نظمتها لقلوب هاديه و آذان واعية،—

Metaphysical speculations have been characterised as a fruitless labour and as mental gymnastics in the twentieth century. Still they have attraction for their devotees. And surely they have great historical value, as they show the way in which man's mind worked in days gone by. They also show the efforts of the sages of the past who strove hard in pursuit of REALITY. And finally they bring to light the contest between individuals as well as between nations who vied with one another in unearthing the mysteries of Nature.

Viewed from this angle of vision a close and careful study of these

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preserved in the "Precious Pearl" will repay the labour and reveal the depth to which the Indian Genius could probe in Shāhjahān's time.