Natural Theology and the Qur'an

Robert G. Morrison BOWDOIN COLLEGE

Natural theology is reading the book of nature, not the book of revelation, for knowledge of God.¹ Natural theology, as a category employed by practitioners, originated within the history of Christianity, as passages from the New Testament

has been given as 685/1286 or 692/1293,¹¹ but recent scholarship argues for 715

This paper focuses on the work of Na īr al-Dīn al-Bay āwī, and compares and contrasts comments that he made about the natural worldiinwhiskmodārāvisted

The second reason why al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}$ is interesting is that both al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{\imath}$ and al- $\bar{I}j\bar{\imath}$ were associated with the Ilkhā

Actually, although observations alone would not be suf cient evidence for a ninth orb,⁴³ once one posits a ninth orb responsible for the daily motion, observations would

 $_$ that this ninth orb encompasses all others because all celestial bodies move with the daily motion. Al-I fahānī, unfortunately, had no comment.

Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s discussion of the orbs included other criticisms of the astronomers' presuppositions and conclusions that did spark a debate. For instance, al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ wrote: 'One might say ($\bar{a} = \beta_{-}$

imparted to that material. This suggests al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s willingness to consider something other than the \mathcal{F}_{--} \bar{u} 's position that the orbs were made up of uniform atoms that differed only in the accidents that God imparted.

Al-I fahānī's own position illustrates that there were scholars whose systems did not depend on the uniformity of celestial matter. He wrote: 'As for specifying the celestial bodies through their speci c ($_{-}$ '??_) forms, it might be argued that it is because every celestial sphere would have matter differing in quiddity from the matter of another ... As for celestial bodies, every one of them would be speci ed by a particular quality because its matter receives only that quality.'⁵⁰ Thus, the immediate question was whether the differences were due to a form inherently connected to the

Not surprisingly, al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ understood outstanding events of the past as disruptions of custom ($c_{-}\bar{a} - c_{-}\bar{a} - c_{-}\bar{a} - c_{-}\bar{a}$) so as to argue that there was no other way to understand events such as the political successes of the early Muslims except as a result of God'

Any circle passing through the north and south poles of the heavens would be perpendicular to the celestial equator. Al-Bay āwī argued that since the heavens did not inherently have an apex and nadir, their existence was an indication of God's wisdom and superiority over all who might oppose God.⁶⁹ Al-Rāzī had made a similar point when he noted that the designation of certain points as the poles, from among 804t7ip^{*}(the)-3

which had the inclination to fall could also receive its opposite'.⁷⁸ Since the heavens do not fall, and since God created a stationary earth, we have another case where the

ndings of science match, and therefore communicate, the determinations of God's wisdom.

Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s comments on Q. 55:7, ______ -_____ 3 ______ _____) made a general point that creation could be a source for insight into the rationale⁷⁹ behind God's actions. Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ explained, rst, that the heavens were the starting point and revealer of God's judgements (______ 7_- ___ 3_- ___ $h\bar{a}$).⁸⁰ God's setting the balance meant that God bestowed on each person was what each deserved (_____ $c_-\bar{a}$ $3_-g_ 3_-h_- -3$). God also ordered the affairs of the world (_____ $c_-\bar{a}_-i$) and regulated the system of duties and obligations (__ $B_{-}\bar{u}_{-}i' - \bar{a}_{-}i$).⁸¹ Though al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ did

original fit_{-} who were most able to grasp the import of God's signs in nature. Those of uncorrupted intellect ($\bar{a}_{-} c_{-} \bar{a}_{-} \bar{a}_{-} h_{-}$) were those best suited to going beyond recognising that nature was a manifestation of God's wisdom to comprehending the manifestations of God's wisdom in nature. Gutas has found that $fit_{-} \bar{i}_{-} \bar{i}_{-}$ could be very close to h_{-} (either 'conjecture' or 'intuition'), suggesting that philosophers and scientists thought that some intellects were better suited than others to grasping the workings of nature.⁹⁶ Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ justi ed his interpretation by adducing a $h_{-} \bar{i}_{-}$ in which Mu ammad said, 'Woe to he who read it and did not contemplate it.'⁹⁷ Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s own comments referred back to the signs mentioned in $\bar{u}_{-} \bar{c}_{-} \bar{c}_{-}$, so he must have been thinking of a way for certain people to conceive of or perceive these things without being led astray by their imagination and sense perception. $\bar{a}_{-} \bar{c}_{-} \bar{i}$'s amenability to arguments in the vein of natural theology came from its acceptance of astronomy's non-demonstrative arguments and conclusions as a starting point for reading the book of nature.

A key axis of the debate over astronomy's non-demonstrative methods was about the reality of mental existents; al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{v}$ expressed his concerns, in T_{-} \bar{a} ā. over how the existence of mental existents was demonstrated. He reported that the philosophers ($l_{\mathcal{P}} = \bar{a}$) classi ed existence as either external ($\bar{a} \neq \bar{J}$) or mental \bar{i}), whereas the $\beta - \bar{u}$ classi ed existence into that which had no $3 \bar{\mu}$) and into that which did.⁹⁸ Al-Bay āwī predecessor (ā ā – – commented that he would not accept something's mental existence without a proof.⁹⁹ Al-I fahānī explained: 'If it were said: how is it possible to doubt something's mental existence, while that thing is being conceived (c - - 3), as conceiving it consists of its being in the mind, one would respond that while conceiving something consists of its existence in the mind, the conception of that thing is not that thing itself, but is instead added to that thing. Thus it is possible for us to doubt its mental existence, while a conception of it is being formed, and it is possible to deny something's mental existence while acknowledging that it is being conceived of.¹⁰⁰ Along those lines, al-Bay āwī denied that the Platonic forms were eternally (thus necessarily) existent.¹⁰¹

Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s predecessor Na $\bar{i}r$ al-D $\bar{i}n$ al- $\bar{u}s\bar{i}$ wrote a brief treatise on a mode of existence known as _____ ('the thing in itself'). This was a mode of existence that did not arise in $\bar{I}_ \bar{a}$ (\bar{a} (or in al- $\bar{I}j\bar{i}$'s __ \bar{a}), but was clearly important as a foundation for arguments made in the vein of natural theology.¹⁰² In that treatise, al- $\bar{u}s\bar{i}$ argued that mathematical ideas could have a real existence

It did not exist by having a position because it could not be described through the categories nor could it be attained through sense perception. The could exist on its own without a connection to any other existent. One could come to a conclusion about the diagonal of a quadrilateral without comparison to any material quadrilateral. The ____ was not God because the - - entailed multiplicity, while God did not, nor was the _____ equivalent to the forms because the forms existed through something else ($\bar{a} - \bar{a} - l - \bar{a}$), while did not.¹⁰⁵ Al- $\bar{u}s\bar{s}$ concluded that the - - was the universal the _ _ _ intellect ($^{c}_{-}$ – 3), which he identi ed with the Qur'an's references to – h_{-} $-h \bar{u}z$ and $-\bar{a}l - 3 l \bar{i}$.¹⁰⁶ Al- $\bar{u}s\bar{i}$'s argument about the $-\bar{u}s\bar{i}$ meant that the source of astronomy's mathematical constructs was God and that something that existed in the ____ was true even if its existence could not be established through deduction. Though I have not found al-Bay āwī discussing the concept of in the - i, accepting it as a mode of existence would certainly make ---arguments in the vein of natural theology, particularly those founded on astronomy's mathematical constructs, more authoritative.

Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s position in $\bar{a}\bar{a}$, that some theories of astronomy were not only not demonstrable but also possibly wrong, stemmed from the underlying position that mental existence without a corresponding external existent was impossible. Nevertheless, al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ did hold, in $T_{\bar{a}}\bar{a}c_{\bar{a}}\bar{a}$, that study of the natural world, including the heavens, could enhance one's appreciation of God's wisdom. Such study would be all the more worthwhile the more one had con dence in the ndings of science. Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s $\bar{a}\bar{i}$ ($\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{i}$) shows us that there was another discourse about the use of disciplines such as astronomy in religious texts, for elds such as astronomy could give greater insight into God's creation than theye. $c\bar{a}Y.2$ (was)]T. in the vein of natural theology, or al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{n}$ has said that while one cannot exclude the possibility of God creating everything in an instant, there are advantages to thinking about God's involvement in the cosmos in a less occasionalist way.¹⁰⁸ At any rate, both conclusions favoured arguments in the vein of natural theology.

NOTES

1 See Matthew Barker, _3 _ ?

for Nathaniel Ranew, 1674; accessed through http://eebo.chadwyck.com), B2v. These duties should be contrasted to those that are known only through revelation (Barker, -3 –

?, A5r). Barker wrote: 'By Natural Theology, that all may understand, I mean that knowledge of God, and our duty to Him, which the Light of Nature may lead Man up to, and which is $_$ with his Soul. The Image of God upon Man in his rst Creation, con ded in Knowledge as well as Holiness and the knowledge Adam had of his Creator, was partly by the Character of his Being being engraven upon his Soul, which is by some stiled [] verbum $\epsilon\mu\phi\nu\tau\sigma\nu$, an implanted Word, and partly by what the large power of his intellectual Faculty might gather from the Works of Creation; by both which he was led to God as his ultimate end.' In support, Barker cited Romans 1:20. The Gifford Lectures (www.giffordlectures.org) in Scotland attest to the continuing currency of natural theology.

2 Romans 1:20 (NRSV) reads: 'Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and

8 Anver Emon, 'Natural Law and Natural Rights in Islamic Law', <u>3</u> 20 (2004–5), pp. 351–95, at p. 361.

9 The principle of moderation could be better understood from a study of nature. See Robert Morrison, z = 1, z = 1,

10 Lutpi Ibrahim, 'The Relation of Reason and Revelation in the Theology of az-Zamakhsharī and al-Bay āwī', ______ $3 \ 3 \ 54 \ (1980)$, pp. 63–74 at p. 65. These limits surfaced in al-Bay āwī's comments on Q. 4:65, $3 \ 1? \ ? \ ? \ ? \ ? \ fi$

11 A.H. Johns, 'Exegesis as an Expression of Islamic Humanism: Approaches, Concerns, and Insights of al-Baydawi', _____ J 22 (1999), pp. 37–58, at p. 38.

12 Charles Melville, 'Qā ī Bay āwī's $z\bar{a} = \bar{a} \bar{i}$ in the $\bar{i} = ?$ $\bar{i} \bar{i}$: An Early Witness of the Text' in A.A. Seyed-Gohrab and S. McGlinn (eds), -3?

3 (Amsterdam and West Lafayette, IN: Rozenberg Publishers and Purdue University Press, 2007), pp. 91–102, at pp. 94–5.

13 Andrew March, 'The Post-Legal Ethics of Tariq Ramadan: Persuasion and Performance in 2 (2010), pp. 253–73. Al-Bay āwī, the focus of this article, has been cited by more modern practitioners of \overline{i} \overline{i} \overline{i} . See al-cAzīz \overline{a} \overline{j} \overline{i} \overline{j} \overline{j} (Damascus: Dār al- asanayn, 2000), pp. 377–81, esp. p. 377.

14 Al-Nīsābūrī's \bar{i} , entitled \bar{a} \bar{a} i = 3 \bar{a} followed (but did not always agree with) al-Rāzī's \bar{i} \bar{i}

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(Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966). For more on the development of \bar{a} 's ontological orientation, see Eichner, . See also A.I. Sabra, ' \bar{a} Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing Falsafa' in James E. Montgomery (ed.), \bar{a} ' \bar{a} Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing Falsafa' in James E. Montgomery (ed.), \bar{a} ' \bar{a} Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing Falsafa' in James E. Montgomery (ed.), \bar{a} ' \bar{a} Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing Falsafa' in James E. Montgomery (ed.), \bar{a} ' \bar{a} Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing Falsafa' in James E. Montgomery (ed.), \bar{a} ' \bar{a} Atomism as an Alternative Philosophy to Hellenizing Falsafa' in James E. Montgomery (ed.), \bar{a} ' \bar{a} '

17 Sabra, 'Science and Philosophy', p. 12: 'Another feature of this second phase was a growing tendency among the \mathcal{J}_{--} \bar{u} to delve into the works of the $-\bar{a}$ - whose views and arguments they reported, summarized, and rebutted.'

18 Mu[°]ayyad al-Dīn al-Ījī (ed. °Abd al-Ra mān °Umayra), $\bar{a} = -\bar{a}$ (with al-Jurjānī's commentary) (3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 493–4. Al-Ījī wrote: 'Water ows, naturally, to the depressions, and the hills are found to be a source of life ($-c\bar{a}$) for animals and vegetables. No reason for it has been mentioned except for God's providence/solicitude ($c\bar{a}$) in animals and plants, for without that their creation and endurance would not be possible.'

19 Sabra, 'Science and Theology', p. 38: 'this suggests an instrumentalist (or ctionalist) view of the mathematical astronomy of his time.'

20 Robert Morrison, 'What $_$ the Purpose of Astronomy in $\overline{I}j\overline{i}$'s \overline{a} ' $_$ $_ \overline{a}$ $_ \overline{i}$ c' $_$ $_ \overline{a}$ $_ ?'$, forthcoming.

21 Al-Ījī, \bar{a} , vol. 2, p. 451: ' \bar{a} ' \bar{a} ' \bar{a} \bar{a}

22 Sabra brought al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's (d. 816/1413) rebuttal of al-Ījī's dismissal of astronomers' mathematical constructs as imaginary to scholars' attention in 'Science and Philosophy', p. 37 (following $-\bar{a}$, vol. 2, p. 432). Sabra's translation was: 'they are "are

290a), the proof that the moon could not be rotating in an epicycle is that the same side of the moon is always visible.

28 Al-Ghazālī (in

38 For more commentaries on T_{-} \bar{a} c $_{-}$ $_{-}$ \bar{a} , see Carl Brockelmann, _

___l _*3* (Leiden: Brill, 1943), vol. 1, p. 533. Al-I fahānī's own commentary spawned a gloss by al-Jurjānī and a super-gloss by al-Dawwānī. For a better list, see, now, Robert Wisnovsky, 'The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-classical (1100–1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations' in P. Adamson, H. Baltussen and M.W.F. Stone (eds), *?*

39 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} \bar{a} c_{-} - \bar{a} , pp. 133–5.

40 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} \bar{a} c_{-} - \bar{a} , p. 138 ff.

41 Al-Bay āwī, $\underline{T}_{-} \bar{a} \stackrel{c}{=} - \bar{a}$, p. 138. Al-Bay āwī wrote that, according to the philosophers ($\underline{a} \stackrel{c}{=} \bar{a}$), the simple bodies were spherical since bodies of a single nature did not require multiple forms. Al-I fahānī's commentary ($-t\bar{a} \stackrel{c}{=} - z\bar{a}$, p. 258) agreed that the simple bodies were spherical.

42 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} ā c_{-} ā, p. 139. Al-I fahānī's commentary ($-t\bar{a} c_{-} - z\bar{a}$, p. 258) laid out, from the point of view of the astronomers, some of the philosophical principles of the investigation of the celestial orbs. These were: attributing each motion to a single body moving through its essence (J_{-} J_{-} h_{-} I' \bar{a}), a body moving what it encompasses accidentally ($I' c_{-}$ \bar{a}), the simple motions of the orbs were continuous, the orbs' motions were uniform, and the orbs cannot be pierced or mended.

43 Al- $\bar{u}s\bar{s}$ had acknowledged the possibility of attributing the daily motion to the cosmos as a whole in the _____. See al- $\bar{u}s\bar{s}$, $\bar{\iota} = \bar{I}$, $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}$, \bar{I}' _____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}$, $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}$, \bar{I}' _____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}$, \bar{I}' _____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}$, \bar{I}' _____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ____. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ___. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ___. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ ___. $\bar{I} = \bar{I}\bar{u}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}'$ __. $\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}$

44 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} \bar{a} c_{-} \bar{a} , p. 139.

45 Sabra, 'Science and Theology', p. 35. Sabra discussed both the precedent for the idea of rings in Ptolemy's - -?? and the later appearance of the idea in al- $\bar{l}j\bar{i}$'s - \bar{a} ...

46 Al-I fahānī, $-t\bar{a}$ $c - z\bar{a}$, p. 262.

47 Al-Jurjānī, $\bar{a} = 2 - \bar{a}$, $\bar{a} = 2 - \bar{a}$ (in the margins of $-t\bar{a} = 2 - \bar{a}$), p. 258. Arabic:

- 53 Walid Saleh, $-\bar{i}$ \bar{i} $-\bar{i}$ $-\bar{i}$
- 54 Al-Bay āwī mentioned his $-\bar{a}$ texthisnu.53(i)-2873.3his

p. 100. usayn pointed to this comment as evidence both for al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s engagement with science and for al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s dependence on al-Rāzī's $-\bar{i}$.

87 Al-Rāzī, $-\bar{a} \bar{i}h - -\hat{j}l$, vol. 20, p. 148.

88 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} \bar{a} c_{-} \bar{a} , pp. 55–69.

89 The geometers may have been primarily a group of sceptics, rather than practitioners of the mathematical sciences. Al-Ijī (van Ess, ______, pp. 274–6) understood the $\mathcal{I} _ \bar{u}$ to be sceptics who denied the possibility of real knowledge beyond sense perception. Still, al-Ījī (_______, p. 276) saw himself as one who borrowed a great deal from geometry, so these $\mathcal{I} _ \bar{u}$ may have been, perhaps for al-Bay āwī as well, a friendly group.

90 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} \bar{a} c $_{-}$ $_{-}$ \bar{a} , pp. 65–6.

91 Al-Bay āwī, T_{-} \bar{a} c_{-} - \bar{a} , p. 67.

92 Al-I fahānī, $_{t\bar{a}} c_{-} z\bar{a}$, p. 76. 'The starting point of the intellect in theological issues $(- \bar{a} - \bar{a} 2^{2})$ is perceived by the estimative faculty (-)'.

93 Ni ām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (Morrison, _ _ _ , p. 70) wrote that fi and c _ _? _ had similar methodologies.

94 Mu°ayyad al-Dīn al-°Ur ī (d. 664/1266) was the astronomer most concerned with the epistemological validity of astronomy. See al-°Ur ī (ed. Saliba), $\bar{a} = 2$ (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wa da al-°Arabiyya, 1990), p. 212. See also George Saliba, $\bar{a} = 2$

3 (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2007), p. 106. For more on astronomers' arguments for the validity of their conclusions, see Bernard R. Goldstein, 'The Arabic Version of Ptolemy's Planetary Hypotheses', 106 Al- $\bar{u}s\bar{i}$, $\bar{a}_{-}\bar{i}_{-}$ / \bar{a}_{-} , p. 467. Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$'s comment on Q. 85:22 ($\bar{a}_{-}\bar{i}_{-}$, vol. 2, p. 586) held only that $- h_{-} h_{-} h_{-} \bar{u}z$ existed above the seventh heaven. Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$, in his comments on Q. 6:59 ($\bar{a}_{-} - \bar{i}_{-}$, vol. 1, p. 304), explained that the $\bar{a}i_{-} 3i\bar{i}$ could mean God's knowledge or $- h_{-} h_{-} \bar{u}z$.

107 Al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$, $\bar{a} = \bar{i}$, vol. 1, p. 37. Subsequently, in his comments, al-Bay $\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ noted that rain was caused by the clouds and the skies, as well as by the orbs (_____).

108 Al-Rāzī ($-\bar{a} \bar{i}h_{-}$, vol. 2, pp. 110–1) had made similar arguments. One potential distinction between the two commentators was that al-Rāzī created the appearance of natural causes according to habit ($-\bar{a} \bar{i}h_{-}$, 21, vol. 2, pp. 111), whereas al-Bay āwī left open that God actually created in the water a power ($\bar{a} - \bar{i}$, vol. 1, p. 37), ' $i - \bar{a} \bar{a}$, $c\bar{a} - \bar{a}$, $c\bar{a} - \bar{a}$, $c\bar{a} - \bar{a}$, vol. 1, p. 37), ' $i - \bar{a} \bar{a}$, ' $\bar{a} - \bar{a} - \bar{a} \bar{a}$, 'Science and the Qur'ān', p. 549.