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# IQBAL: HIS METAPHYSICAL IDEAS

Dr. Sheila McDonough

The first page of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is an excellent example of Iqbal's provocative style. The question is, he says, what kind of a universe do we live in, what are the unimagined potentialities of human beings and what help can we find from the history of human religiousness as a whole to help shed light on these questions? He also says in his Introduction that no answer to these questions should be considered final.

Iqbal's perspective is better appropriated if people keep on struggling with these questions. It is not faithful to Iqbal to assume that his answers were final, or to suppose that people should cease to think for themselves. He thought that human religiousness in general was threatened by the positivism of modern thought, and that the defence of any one religion needed to be a defence of the possibility of being religious in the context of a sceptical age. But defence in this respect does not mean a blind kind of defensiveness; it rather means an on-going critical approach to whatever new information comes forth. Therefore, although, sixty years after his death, new insights from astronomy, linguistics, anthropology, physics, biology, religious sciences, economics, computer science and so on have occurred and raised many new questions. These developments do not undermine his approach.

He urged the continual asking of new questions. He emphasised the need to continue to seek for a better understanding of the physical universe and of human history, which includes human religious history. He struggled to understand Einstein and Whitehead as well, of course, as Ibn Khaldën. There is a passion in Iqbal for the kind of knowledge of the external world and history, which will commend itself to the human mind collectively, that is information which can be verified. For this reason, he thought, Muslims should be involved in the on-going human enterprise to understand the external universe through disciplined reason. One cannot overstate his passionate conviction that the actual world must be studied and not just imagined or dreamed about.

Yet he also affirmed that all such rational study left human minds gaping and groping with unanswerable questions. He recognised that human languages were inadequate to deal with what a recent writer has called *The*

*Edges of Language*.<sup>1</sup> We can talk about much of what we experience; we can verify and reach consensus about much of what we observe and discover, but beyond a certain point, we reach areas of experience and awareness for which the language of reason cannot help us. On the edges of language, we cannot find words to convey in any systematic way information and insights that can be verified.

Iqbal, as a metaphysician, insists that the external universe is a continual source of newness. It is therefore impossible for human beings to have final ideas about the nature and structure of the cosmos. New information will always be forthcoming. He proclaims a strong *no* to any fixed ideas about the external universe. On the edges of language, where we cannot find words to talk about something like a black hole, we break into metaphor. Astronomers may not think of themselves as poets, but, of course, with images like the black hole, they are on the edges of language, pushing to think what we are not yet able to think.

Whitehead, one of the greatest mathematicians of this century and one of Iqbal's sources, wrote:<sup>2</sup>

The history of human thought in the past is a pitiful tale of self-satisfaction with a supposed adequacy of knowledge in respect to factors of human existence. We now know that in the past such self-satisfaction was a delusion. Accordingly, when we survey ourselves and our colleagues, we have every reason to doubt the adequacy of our knowledge in any particular.

Iqbal agrees with Whitehead that knowledge of the physical universe is always tentative because the new breaks in and breaks up fixed ideas. Further, the problem of knowing ourselves is even more complex, because the problem is how can we know what we might become? Here, too, metaphor is the only tool we have in language to point to our sense of what is to happen next. Iqbal was concerned to transform the Indian Muslims' sense of themselves and what they might be. He saw this question also as a matter of what the human species might become. We are always pushing to know more about the external universe and we need to push just as hard to

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Van Buren, *The Edges of Language*, New York: MacMillan, 1972

<sup>2</sup> Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and Philosophy* [Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co, reprinted, 1964, p. 86.

discover what is potential in ourselves. “What we might become” is as mysterious a question as “what is a black hole”?

Iqbal’s metaphors about the self refer often to the ‘world of sense’ as opposed to the ‘world of soul’. I do not know if anyone has spoken of the soul as a black hole, but to do so might help us grasp Iqbal’s awareness of how strange, and unknown to ourselves, we actually are. Another of his metaphors is that we should seek the ‘nature of the salamander which feeds on flame’.<sup>3</sup> This image suggests that the human soul is that which continually changes colour and is eaten up by fire.

It is true that Iqbal’s metaphors, like this of the salamander, refer on one level to the specific historical situation of the Indian Muslims at the time the poems were written. In the case of the salamander image, the situation was the domination by the European powers of Muslim countries in the period after 1914. Iqbal’s poetry on this level was an imperative to throw off this domination and to get rid of the psychology of self-contempt that had developed in the midst of a colonised people. Muslims were asked to imagine themselves free people.

From this perspective, one might argue that since the political situation has changed and Muslims are no longer dominated by imperialist powers that occupy their territory, the metaphors are irrelevant. I want to maintain, however, that on another level, the metaphors refer to the human condition in a way that goes beyond one particular historical context. Other metaphors of Iqbal about the self are as follows:<sup>4</sup>

*Hear my complaint and feel, or do not feel, with me:  
He does not come to beg redress, whose soul walks free!  
Vast skies and frozen winds and man’s one pinch of dust;  
What urged you to create-kindness or cruelty?  
Is this your bounteous spring, your fair wind’s ministry?  
I sinned and I went solitary from Paradise,  
But angels could not people Your world’s vacancy;  
On my all-venturing nature the naked wilderness  
Pours blessings out, that realm You left to anarchy.  
A spirit that craves danger is not lured by parks  
Where no close ambush holds a lurking enemy.*

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<sup>3</sup> Victor Kiernan, trans. *Poems from Iqbal*, London: John Murray, 1955, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Kiernan, pp. 24, 25.

*The abode of Love lies far beyond Your seraphs' wing:  
None find, but who desire and dare infinitely.*

This poem serves to demonstrate some of the metaphors that typically express the metaphysics of Iqbal. The external universe, as we perceive it, is 'vast skies and frozen winds'—empty, cold, uncaring—vaster than we are capable of imagining or conceiving. We have to use metaphors about this because the more our science is telling us about the cosmos, with recent devices like the Hubble telescope, the more the size escapes our capacity to think about it. Also, because of the speed of light, the Hubble telescope can show us events which happened long ago, longer than we can imagine, but cannot show us what is happening now at these great distances. This is the kind of paradox about our capacity to know which would, I think, have appealed to Iqbal.

Yet, the 'pinch of dust' possessed of an 'all-venturing nature' fights back, argues, sins, craves danger, dares infinitely. Of course, we do not all consciously dare infinitely, but the point is that we might, or that we have hidden potentialities that we might never have imagined. Such possibilities and challenges are there in any context and any historical period. Why should we venture all and why should it be love that craves danger?

All the images of those people whom Iqbal objects to—mullahs, religious experts, Brahmins, capitalists, communists, parliamentarians, pharaohs, Frankish glassblowers, slaves, servile people, Europe, Asia, the vultures of the West—all represent to him alternatives other than those of the hawk in the desert, the image of love seeking danger. Or perhaps it is that the danger follows inexorably from love, because love stirs up the soul to demand response from the seemingly cold and empty vastness of the universe.

The characteristics of those in the list condemned by Iqbal include first of all servility. In terms of what we might call the metaphysics of microcosm of the self, the servile are rejected because they lack the courage to discover the creative depths of their individual selves.

*Man let himself, dull thing, be wooed  
By his own kind to servitude.  
And cast the dearest pearl he had  
Before Jamshed and Kaikobad;  
Till so ingrained his cringings were,  
He grew more abject than a cur-  
Who ever saw at one dog's frown*

*Another dog's meek head bow down?*<sup>5</sup>

Mullahs, Brahmins and religious experts also are generally condemned for *taqlâd*, endless repetition of ideas and practices characterised by blindness to the new. The servile are dull and the religious experts are too. Capitalists, Communists Frankish glass blowers and so forth represent forms of human awareness focused on material well being as the goal of existence. This also makes for dullness, because minds focused narrowly in this way avoid questions of ultimate meaning. In so doing, they fail to discover their essential humanity.

Iqbal's answer to all these human failures is the image of the hawk in the desert. The hawk is a very old symbol in human religious history. One finds it on the flag of Mexico—representing the pre—Columbian peoples whose great and lost civilizations conceived of the hawk from the sky and the snake from the earth as the mysterious symbols of forces coming from beyond and beneath to balance the human world. In ancient Egypt also the hawk, one symbol of the God Horus, is a link between levels of known and unknown reality, the link that sustains human reality. Iqbal typically wrote of the hawk as follows:

*Close veils inflame the loiterer in Love's lane  
Your long reluctance fans my passion's flare.  
The hawk lives out his days in rock and desert,  
Tame nest-twig-carrying his proud claws for swear.  
Was it book-lesson, or father's glance, that taught  
The son of Abraham what a son should bear?  
Bold heart's firm souls, come pilgrim to my tomb;  
I taught poor dust to tower hill-high in air.  
Truth has no need of me for tiring-maid;  
To stain the tulip red is Nature's care.*<sup>6</sup>

In the earlier cultural systems, the hawk comes from above, and helps sustain the known world. In Iqbal's language, the hawk represents the spirit in humans which demands to transcend the known world—the nest-twig-carrying—and to discover more.

Why must the offspring of Abraham, those who wish to know, to love and to serve God, bear so much? The bloodstained tulip is a characteristic

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<sup>5</sup> Kiernan, p. 97.

<sup>6</sup> Kiernan, pp. 26,27.

image in Iqbal's verse of the devastated human heart. On one level, the devastation for the Indian Muslim was the loss of their power in the world and their creative energy.

On another level, however, the problem is a universal one for all humans; life itself—Nature's care—stains the tulip

Are we devastated because the speed of light means that we cannot see what is happening now in our universe? Yes, that is one reason why the tulip is stained red; we are finite. Many now on our planet are setting up listening devices to ask if there is more life in the universe which can speak to us. I remember taking my children to our local planetarium for a programme on the stars, which began with the question, is anyone out there? I think, many children on the planet now want to know if there is more life out there which we can hope to encounter. There is a great hope in our species that we can discover that we are not alone as a sentient, self-conscious life form in this vast universe. But, of course, even if we meet new life, we will still be finite.

If some listener on our planet were to pick up a broadcast from somewhere out in space, that event would change all of us. The salamander image of Iqbal is a potent reminder of how adaptable in fact we are and how we change and keep on changing. This is not to say there is no core of identity within each of us as individuals, as representatives of cultural and religious traditions and as members of a species. Identity is linked with memory. But we are much more than computers; when we change, our memories also change and are re-interpreted; the processes of growth, individually and corporately are processes of continual shifting of priorities and goals. In Iqbal's words:<sup>7</sup>

The characteristic of the ego is spontaneity...No doubt man has a spatial aspect; but this is not the only aspect of man. There are other aspects of man, such as evaluation, the unitary character of purposive experience and the pursuit of truth... Every act of a free ego creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding... Nor is the activity of intelligence possible without the presence of ends... Life is only a series of acts of attention and an act of attention is inexplicable without reference to a purpose, conscious or unconscious... Thus ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or subconscious

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<sup>7</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore: Ashraf reprinted, 1960, pp. 106, 114, 123, 52, 53.

tendencies, form the warp and woof of conscious experience. And the notion of purpose cannot be understood except in reference to the future. The past, no doubt, abides and operates in the present; but this operation of the past in the present is not the whole of consciousness. The element of purpose discloses a kind of forward look in consciousness... To be determined by an end is to be determined by what ought to be... A state of attentive consciousness involves both memory and imagination as operating factors. On the analogy of our conscious experience, therefore, Reality is not a blind vital impulse wholly un-illuminated by idea. It's nature is through and through teleological.

The metaphysical position of Iqbal is thus that Reality is teleological, possessed of purpose and direction. Yet this is not one simple purpose, not a divine plan which automatically works itself out. Since individuals keep changing their purposes and since each change makes the whole situation different, nothing is automatic about the unfolding of the universe. Purpose is what directs consciousness and action, but purpose also changes. New purposes are discovered as the spirit matures. This also is paradoxical; our energy comes from our drive to make the world what we dream it ought to be, but our idea of what ought to be also changes and evolves. If we do not learn and change, the rigidity of our minds tends to smash us and others.

Human purposes develop, in Iqbal's opinion, in inter-action with the one God who is best understood by the metaphor of a self-conscious self—the Ultimate Ego. The English expression 'I-Thou' relationship best characterises this insight; the opposite is an 'I-it' relationship in which the human is a person but everything else has the status of object to be manipulated according to the needs and wishes of the human person. To conceive of God as most like a person is to insist that God cannot be the object of human manipulation. Another person is someone who can be heard and responded to, but not controlled. Any effort to dominate another person is a failure to comprehend that between persons only free responses are authentic. To try to control another person is to perceive that person as an 'it' and not a "Thou".

We have to think of God with the metaphor of a "Thou" because any other kind of metaphor would reduce God to less than ourselves. "Thou" has purposes, in somewhat the same way as "I" has purposes. Yet any metaphor for God does no more than point in a particular direction. When the basic

question arises as to how the human person could know the purposes of God, the answer is problematic. Iqbal mentions the speed of light. He says that as a metaphor for God, as used in surah of Light, light is better understood as an absolute that is that the speed never changes.<sup>8</sup> Light gives us a clue to the consistency of the Absolute. We can know that God has purposes, and we have dim perceptions of what these purposes are. But we delude ourselves if we ever think those purposes are identical with our own, or that we understand them with perfect clarity. Light shows us some things, but not everything.

Iqbal insists that the metaphor of an Ultimate Ego is the closest his language can come to explaining the Qur'anic teaching about God. In his words:<sup>9</sup>

The infinity of the Ultimate Ego consists in infinite inner possibilities of his creative activity of which the universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive.

Thus the salamander of the human self, capable of unfolding unimaginable possibilities, is a clue to the free possibilities in the Ultimate Ego whose creative possibilities go beyond anything we could conceive. The virtue of this metaphysical position is that it both opens up hitherto unimagined possibilities and closes the door on any ideas about the divine plan as something clear and readily intelligible. The implications for action are obvious; human purposes should be formulated in response to what are dimly perceived as divine purposes. But since purposes require decisions, the shape of the future cannot be known until it has been created. Striving to know and to do the will of God necessarily takes place in context of lack of clear sight. The reason is that the nature of the creative process requires commitment to what has not yet been fully accomplished. Thus the red stain on the tulip. Iqbal says:<sup>10</sup>

This is the point where faith in the eventual triumph of goodness emerges as a religious doctrine. 'God is equal to His purpose, but most men know it not.'<sup>10</sup>[12:2]

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63,64.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63,64.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

We act knowing only dimly where we are going; we have to trust in the goodness of God as the directive force. Our relation to this goodness is that we both know and do not know what it is like.<sup>11</sup> If we did not know at all, we could not even devise metaphors to express it; if we knew clearly, we would not need metaphors to point the direction for us. We move without maps, but with dimly perceived direction nevertheless.

Iqbal says that we have to reflect upon prayer at this point in the discussion.<sup>12</sup>

Religion is not satisfied with mere conception; it seeks a more intimate knowledge of and association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is the act of worship or prayer ending in spiritual illumination.

He quotes William James on prayer to indicate that the greatest modern psychologist of religion thinks, as Iqbal does, that the impulse to pray is universal and that it springs from the human consciousness of finitude. Iqbal insists that prayer is a process that can lead to spiritual illumination and to the human persons discovering direction and purpose in response to the perceived goodness of God. His metaphor for this situation is from Rumi: 'the scent of the musk-gland is a better guide than the footprints of the deer'.<sup>13</sup> Since our origins of sight and observation are limited, we need to rely more on the depths of ourselves. The goodness of God is the only reality which can be trusted to direct the choices. We must make in shaping the future for ourselves and for our species. But we follow this direction in the half-blind state characteristic of our finite natures and therefore, we trip over our own feet all the time.

If [a person] studies life as manifested in himself, i.e. his own mind freely choosing, rejecting, reflecting, surveying the past and the present and dynamically imagining the future, he is sure to be convinced of the inadequacy of his mechanical concepts. On the analogy of our conscious experience, then the universe is a free creative movement.<sup>14</sup>

Tripping over our own feet is a feature of spontaneity. The challenges and possibilities of today are different from yesterday and will be different again

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<sup>11</sup> Robert Lawson Slater, *Paradox and Nirvana A study of religious ultimates with special reference to Burmese Buddhism*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1951, pp. 88-102.

<sup>12</sup> *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

tomorrow. We trip partly because we are usually out of date in our ideas about the external world and ourselves: we fail to grasp the possibilities of the moment. Any kind of religious consciousness which is self-satisfied, which assumes that the divine plan is clear and which says that believers know exactly what they should do, is a deluded consciousness. It is better to trip, fall, and reflect than to move serenely forward convinced that the universe is clearly understood. We do not solve problems when we assume in advance that we have all the answers. Metaphors can be very dangerous when taken literally. Metaphors point; they do not provide maps or blueprints.

The Canadian literary critic, Northrop Frye says that the education of the imagination is the most important duty we have towards the young of our species. Educated imaginations should be able to learn to digest and appropriate metaphors because Frye says, metaphors tell us more about the realities of life than anything else does. Metaphors are the essence of language; they represent the core of what we try to do for each other when we attempt to speak of the fundamental realities of existence.

Metaphors are paradoxical and again we suspect that perhaps only in paradox are words doing the best they can for us.<sup>15</sup>

Frye speaks of the metaphors of the Bible as important because they convey a vision of spiritual life that continues to transform and expand our own. Iqbal says, the Qur'an is a catalyst directed to stirring up human consciousness to an awareness of the significance of sign and symbol.<sup>16</sup> These two experts on religious language recognized in very similar ways that scripture is valuable when it functions to liberate the mind from simple positivism to an awareness of what Frye calls the double vision. Time and space can be looked at two ways at once; minds can see what can be measured and they can also see beyond and through the measurable.<sup>17</sup>

*For double the vision my eyes do see  
And a double vision is always with me.*

(William Blake)

Frye's thoughts on religious language have developed from a life-long study of Blake's poetry and of the impact of Biblical imagery on the western

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<sup>15</sup> Northrop Frye, *The Double Vision Language and Meaning in Religion*, Toronto: The United Church Publishing House 1991, pp. 22-28.

<sup>16</sup> *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Frye, pp. 22-28.

literary and religious heritage. His conclusions move in directions very similar to those of Iqbal, namely that mental and spiritual health require a balanced kind of double vision.

The spiritual democracy which Iqbal says, is the ultimate aim of Islam,<sup>18</sup> requires leaving space for each individual to mature in his or her own way. The individual with the double vision is seeing for himself or herself; such insight cannot be forced, it can only be elicited by brilliant metaphors. One of the amazing realities of language is that the speech which truly reveals us to each other, can only happen when we are free and spontaneous. Iqbal valued spontaneity as essential fore growth in understanding of the self and the universe.<sup>19</sup> His vocation as a poet was to find the metaphors, which could realise the energy of his people and to direct them to the healing of the wounds of the world.

Every day doth some new work employ Him,' says the Qur'an. To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. In fact all creative activity is free activity.<sup>20</sup>

One implication of this perspective is that the past can serve as a source of ideas and inspiration, but it should not be allowed to dominate the present. Creativeness requires free and spontaneous use of the cultural goods of the past for the purpose of shaping a better future. Creativeness in the present arises out of a free relationship to the source of life, which is Thou—the Ultimate Ego—alive and good.

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<sup>18</sup> *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 180.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

# THE REHABILITATION OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT

William C. Chittick

It is a great honour for me to be invited to deliver a lecture<sup>21</sup> named for the spiritual father of Pakistan. I thank the organizers, and I hope that my talk will live up to their expectations.

Given Allama Iqbal's laudable efforts to reformulate the basic theoretical teachings of Islam in a manner that would be appropriate for modern times, I took this lecture as an occasion to reflect on thirty-five years of study of traditional Islamic thought. The questions I asked myself went something like this: Is there anything about traditional Islamic thought that makes it more than a historical curiosity? Is it relevant to the very real and concrete problems that all human beings, not just Muslims, face at the beginning of the twenty-first century? Should Muslims continue the common practice, acquired in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of ignoring their own tradition of thought in their attempts to reformulate Islamic teachings?

My general answer to these questions is that the tradition of Islamic thought is indeed far more than a mere historical curiosity. It is a valuable repository of profound teachings about the nature of reality and the human predicament. Not only is it relevant to contemporary concerns, it is far more relevant to real human concerns than any of the sciences, technologies and ideologies that occupy the minds of most contemporary intellectuals, Muslim or otherwise. In fact, traditional Islamic thought is so relevant to Muslim attempts to deal with contemporary issues that, if it is not recovered and rehabilitated, authentic Islamic thinking will cease to exist. In other words, there will be no escape from what dominates most of contemporary Islamic

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<sup>21</sup> The lecture was delivered as the Iqbal Memorial Lecture 2000, under the auspices of the Department of Philosophy, University of the Punjab.

thought already, which is warmed over Western ideologies disguised by a veneer of Islamic language.

If genuine Islamic thought ceases to exist, the religion of Islam will no longer be able to function as a real alternative to the flood of modernity. The reason for this is simply that modernity is propelled by a certain type of false thinking. The antidote to false thinking is true thinking and any attempt to reconstruct true thinking from false thinking is doomed to failure. When the foundation is corrupt, the building will also be corrupt.

The only way to think in Islamic terms is to join thought with the transcendent truths from which Islam draws sustenance. This needs to be done not only by having recourse to the guidelines set down in the Qur'an and the Hadith, but also by taking guidance from the great Muslim intellectuals of past, those who employed the Qur'an and the Hadith to clarify the proper role of thought in human affairs.

### ***Thought***

I need to preface my remarks by reminding you of the important role that has been given to thought throughout Islamic history. By “thought” I mean the human ability to be aware of things and to articulate this awareness in concepts and language. For those familiar with the Islamic worldview, it is not too difficult to see that thought has always been considered the single most important component of human life and that it must be attended to before all else.

The principle of the primacy of thought is made explicit in the testimony of Islamic faith, the Shahadah. *TawÁád* or the assertion of God's unity—which is voiced in the *kalimat al-tawÁád*—has no direct relationship with the facts and events of the world. *TawÁád* is essentially a thought, a logical and coherent statement about the nature of reality, a statement that needs to inform the understanding of every Muslim. Moreover, in the Qur'anic vision of things, *tawÁád* guides the thinking of all human beings inasmuch as they are true to human nature (*fiÇrah*). Every prophet came with *tawÁád* in order to remind his people of their own true nature. *TawÁád* is the very foundation

of intelligence, so much so that God himself declares it as the principle of his understanding. As the Qur'an puts it, "God bears witness that there is no god but He" (3:18).

In this traditional Islamic view of things, thought is far more real than the bodily realm, which is nothing but the apparition of thought. I do not mean to say that the external world has no objective reality, far from it. I mean to say that the universe is born from the consciousness, awareness, and "thought" of the divine and spiritual realms.

It should be obvious that by real "thought" I do not mean simply the superficial activities of the mind, such as reason, reflective thinking, ideation and cogitation. Rather, I mean the very root of human existence, which is consciousness, awareness and understanding. The Islamic intellectual tradition usually referred to this as *'aql*, or "intelligence." Thought in this sense is a spiritual reality that has being and life by definition. In contrast, the bodily realm is essentially dead and evanescent, despite the momentary appearance of life within it. Intelligence is aware, but things and objects are unaware. Intelligence is active, but things are passive. Intelligence is a living, self-conscious, dynamic reality. In its utmost purity, intelligence is simply the shining light of the living God and that light gives being, life, and consciousness to the universe. Intelligence is the creative command whereby God brought the universe into existence. It is the spirit that God blew into Adam after having moulded his clay, the divine speech that conveys to Adam the names of all things.

In traditional Islamic thinking, it is taken for granted that God is the source of all reality. The universe and all things within it appear from God in stages, just as light appears from the sun by degrees. The spiritual world, which is the realm that the Qur'an calls *ghayb* or "unseen," is the realm of life, awareness and intelligence. The bodily world, which the Qur'an calls *shahādah* or the "witnessed," is the realm of death, unawareness and unintelligence. The closer a creature is situated to God, the more intense is its light and the

more immersed it is in intelligence, consciousness and thought. Thus angels and spirits are vastly more intense in luminosity and intelligence than most inhabitants of the human realm.

In this way of looking at things, what exactly are human beings, who, in Qur'anic terms, were made God's *kehalâfab* or vicegerent on earth? In brief, people are nothing but their thought. Their awareness and consciousness determine their reality. Their thoughts mould their nature and shape their destiny. The great Persian poet Rēmâ reminds us of thought's primacy in his verses:

*Brother, you are this very thought—  
the rest of you is bones and fibre.  
If roses are your thought, you are a rose garden,  
if thorns, you are fuel for the furnace.  
If rosewater, you will be sprinkled on the neck,  
if urine, you will be dumped in a hole.*<sup>22</sup>

It is human nature to understand that we are nothing but thought and awareness, but we forget it constantly. We are too preoccupied with our daily activities to stop and think. We are too busy to remember God and apply the principle of *taw-Ââd*, which guides all true thought back to the One from which thinking arises. Without the constant reorientation of thought by the remembrance of the One, people can only forget their real nature, which is the intelligence that was taught all the names by God himself.

If thought determines our present situation and our final outcome, what should be the content of thought? Toward what end should thought be

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<sup>22</sup> *Mathnavâ* (Nicholson edition), II 277-9.

directed? The position of the Islamic tradition has always been that thought must be focused on what is real and that there is nothing real in the true sense but God alone. The whole activity of thought must be ordered and arranged so that it begins and ends with God. Moreover, moment by moment, thought must be sustained by the awareness of God. Forgetting God, one needs to recall, is Adam's sin. In Adam's case, the sin was quickly forgiven, because Adam immediately remembered. But most people do not remember, especially in modern times and the consequences have been disastrous. As the Qur'an puts, "They forgot God, so God forgot them" (9:67).

True thought, then, accords with the divine spirit that lies at the heart of human awareness. It is the understanding of things as they are. Things can only be understood *as they are* if one is aware of them in relation to the Creator who sustains them moment by moment. True thought is to see things in relation to God. This is precisely the meaning of *tawÁád*. I would like to think that it is thought in this meaning that Iqbal had in mind when he spoke of "Ego" with a capital E.

Rëmâ tells us repeatedly about the proper object of thought and he often reminds us that true thought is living intelligence or another kind of vision. Take these verses:

*To be human is to see and the rest is only skin.*

*To see is to see the beloved.*

*If your Beloved is not seen, better to be blind.*

*If your Beloved is not the everlasting, better not to have one.*<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, I 1406-7.

What Rēmâ is telling us is that human beings are governed totally by their awareness of goals and desires. Any thought, any vision, any understanding that is not informed and guided by the awareness of God's overwhelming and controlling reality loses sight of the nature of things and forgets the purpose of human life. The ultimate outcome of such thought can only be catastrophe for the individual, if not for society as a whole.

### ***The Intellectual Tradition***

In speaking of "traditional Islamic thought" I have in mind that branch of Islamic learning that focused on intelligence, *'aql*, as the source of the universe and the goal of human life. This tradition was called *'aqlâ*, "intellectual," to distinguish it from *naqlâ*, "transmitted." Intellectual learning includes fields such as philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, natural science and it also embraces a good deal of Sufism and some Kalâm. Transmitted learning includes Qur'an, Hadith, jurisprudence and language.

There were four main areas of inquiry that dominated the concerns of Muslim intellectuals. First is metaphysics, or knowledge of the ultimate reality. Second is cosmology, or knowledge of the universe, its origins and its ends. Third is psychology or knowledge of the human soul, its beginnings and its destiny and fourth is ethics or knowledge of the traits of human character that allow for a harmonious and healthy development of the soul.

The various branches of intellectual learning that resembled what we nowadays call "science" focused on various peripheral issues pertaining to cosmology. Most Muslim intellectuals were not interested in such issues per se, but only inasmuch as they could throw light on the primary topics.

It is important to understand that *tawâd* is the underlying insight and starting point of the intellectual tradition. It is this that makes it a thoroughgoing Islamic discipline and not simply a continuation of Greek philosophy. Anyone who has read the great texts of this tradition knows that *tawâd* was self-evident to Muslim intellectuals. It was the very root of their perspective. It allowed them to see from the outset that God is the origin of all things

that God is the ultimate destiny of all things and that God is the support and sustenance of all things at every moment.

In this metaphysics of *tawÁád*, all true and proper sciences are applications of *tawÁád*. Cosmology is the application of *tawÁád* to the origin of the universe, psychology is the application of *tawÁád* to the becoming of the human soul and ethics is the application of *tawÁád* to human character traits and activity.

The primary characteristic of Islamic intellectuality was its unitary vision of things. The various sciences were not understood as separate and independent realms of inquiry, but rather as complementary domains. This meant that the more one investigated the outer world, which is the domain of cosmology, the more light was thrown on the inner world, which is the domain of psychology. In fact, the names that I have employed—“metaphysics, cosmology, psychology and ethics”—do not have exact parallels in the classical Islamic texts and the investigations of these domains tended to be interrelated and intertwined. In all cases, metaphysics was the foundation.

The interrelationship among the domains of intellectual inquiry can be seen clearly in the two realms that I have labelled “cosmology” and “psychology.” It is sometimes thought that the Sufis focused on psychology and the soul’s perfection, but the philosophers were more interested in cosmology and the origins of the universe. In fact, both philosophers and Sufis were deeply interested in both domains. On the philosophical side, this is already apparent in the expression *mabda’ wa ma’ád*, “The Origin and the Return.” Both Ibn Sâ« and Mulla Áadr«, arguably the two greatest representatives of the philosophical tradition, wrote books by this title.

As Islamic philosophy developed, *ma’ád*, or the soul’s return to God became more and more the centre of attention. Those who discussed *ma’ád* were not primarily concerned with death after life and the Resurrection. Rather, they wanted to understand and explicate the nature of the human

ascent toward God in this world. Moreover, even though metaphysics and cosmology focus on God and the cosmos, both were studied with the aim of understanding the true nature of the human soul. The simple reason for this is that we cannot understand ourselves without understanding God and the universe. Only in terms of a true comprehension of the nature of things can people orient themselves in relation to their ultimate concerns. Only on the basis of a correct orientation can they set out to achieve the goal of human life, which is to be completely human.

In short, the purpose of all the intellectual studies was to prepare the ground for achieving human perfection. Perfection can only be reached by “returning” to God that is, by traversing the route of the *ma‘ūd*. Traversing the route of the *ma‘ūd* meant going back where one had come from without waiting for this to happen after death. Both philosophers and Sufis were striving to become what it is possible to become in light of our human status as vicegerents of God. To use the expression that was made famous by Ibn ‘Arabâ, the goal of human life was to become an *insān i kâmil*, “a perfect human being.”

### ***Taqlād and Ta‘āqâq***

In his attempts to reconstruct Islamic thought, Allama Iqbal was much concerned with overcoming *taqlād* or “imitation” and with reviving *ijtihād*, the independent judgment that allows a person to make sound legal decisions on the basis of the Qur’an and the Hadith. But, as Iqbal well knew, the word *taqlād* has two opposites in the Islamic sciences. If we are discussing *fiqh* and the Sharâ‘ah, then the opposite of *taqlād* is *ijtihād*. Muslim believers have the duty either to follow someone else’s *ijtihād* or to be *mujtahids* themselves. Given the qualifications needed to become a *mujtahid*, most Muslims over the past few hundred years have held that the gate of *ijtihād* is closed. Nonetheless, this was not a universal idea and it has certainly been questioned in modern times.

Here, however, I do not want to talk about transmitted learning, but rather intellectual learning. In the intellectual sphere, the opposite of *taqlād* is not *ijtib«d* but rather *taÁqâq*. *TaÁqâq* has the basic sense of finding out the *Áaqq* of things. The word *Áaqq* means truth, reality, appropriateness and rightness. It also means responsibility and duty and thus it implies the proper human response to truth and right. Hence, *taÁqâq* means to understand the truth and the right of something and to put that understanding into practice.

By its very nature, “understanding” is an intensely personal experience, because it is to actualise correct knowledge of something in oneself. As a methodology, *taÁqâq* was always understood as finding the *Áaqq* for oneself and in oneself. No one can truly understand anything by way of *taqlād*. A *muÁaqiq* is someone who knows things directly and then acts in the appropriate manner on the basis of this direct knowledge. A *muÁaqiq* fulfils his responsibility toward God, creation and society on the basis of a verified and realized knowledge, not on the basis of imitating the opinions and activities of others.

In order to understand the difference between the goals of Muslim “intellectuals” properly so called and the goals of those who were experts only in the transmitted learning, we need to keep in mind the difference between *ijtib«d* and *taÁqâq*. We also need to remember that in matters of transmitted learning, *taqlād* was considered the proper path for almost everyone. By contrast, in matters of intellectual learning, *taqlād* can at best be the first stage of learning. In intellectual affairs, the goal is always *taÁqâq*, not *taqlād*. In transmitted affairs, it is necessary to accept the Qur’an and the Hadith on faith and it is perfectly legitimate to follow the opinions of the great *ulama*’. In intellectual learning, seekers could not simply imitate the great intellectuals. Rather, they had to find out for themselves. You can be an ‘*dim* on the basis of *taqlād*, but not an ‘*qil*.

When great Muslims of the past, such as Rēmâ or Ghazzâ, criticized *taqlâd*, they were not criticizing *taqlâd* in matters of the Sharâ'ah.<sup>24</sup> Rather, they were attacking *taqlâd* in questions of understanding. You cannot understand God or your own self by quoting the opinions of others, not even if the others be the Qur'an and the Prophet. The only way to understand things is to find out for yourself in yourself—though you certainly need the help of those who already know. In other words, the goal of the intellectual tradition was to allow people to actualise proper thought for themselves, not to follow someone else's thinking. On the basis of proper thought, people can reach a correct understanding of the objects that pertain strictly to intelligence. The first and most important object of intelligence is *tam'Ââd*, the one truth that underlies every truth. This means that the goal of the intellectual tradition was to understand and actualise *tam'Ââd* first hand, for oneself, not on the basis of *taqlâd*.

Today, the real disaster that looms over Islamic civilization has little to do with *ijtibâd* and everything to do with *ta'Âqâq*. A society without *mujtabids* can function adequately on the basis of *taqlâd*, but a society without *mu'Âaqqiqs* has surrendered the ground of intelligence. Such a society cannot hope to remain true to its own principles, because it can no longer *understand* its own principles. What I am saying is that *tam'Ââd* can only be understood through *ta'Âqâq*, not through *taqlâd* and certainly not through *ijtibâd*. Once Muslims lose sight of their own intellectual tradition, they have lost the ability to see with the eye of *tam'Ââd*.

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<sup>24</sup> In *Kâmiyyi sa'adat*, Ghazzâ calls teachings learned by way of *taqlâd* "the mold of truth," and contrasts this with understanding the truth in itself: "The cause of the veil is that someone will learn the creed of the Sunnis and he will learn the proofs for that as they are uttered in dialectics and debate, then he will give his whole heart over to this and believe that there is no knowledge whatsoever beyond it. If something else enters his heart, he will say, 'This disagrees with what I have heard, and whatever disagrees with it is false.' It is impossible for someone like this ever to know the truth of affairs, for the belief learned by the common people is the mold of truth, not the truth itself. Complete knowledge is for the realities to be unveiled from the mold, like a kernel from the shell." *Kâmiyyi sa'adat*, edited by H. Khadiw-jam (Tehran: Jibi, 1354/1975), pp. 36-37.

To lose the ability to see with the eye of *tawÁád* means to fall into seeing with the eye of *shirk*. *Shirk*, as you all know, is the one unforgivable sin, because it is an utter distortion of human perception and understanding a complete corruption of the human *fiÇrah*, a total obscuration of the intelligence that is innate to every human being. Given that *tawÁád* is the primary duty of every Muslim and given that *tawÁád* can be defined negatively as “the avoidance of *shirk*,” it follows that avoiding *shirk* is the primary duty of every Muslim. And, just as *tawÁád* is the first principle of right thinking, so also *shirk* is the first principle of wrong thinking. In other words, *shirk* is an intellectual issue, just as *tawÁád* is an intellectual issue. Any form of thinking that is not rooted in *tawÁád* necessarily participates in *shirk*.

### ***Scientism***

In my title, I mention the “rehabilitation” of Islamic thought. I mean to say that I look upon the authentic intellectual tradition of Islam as suffering from a grave illness. Although a great deal of thinking goes on among contemporary Muslims, most of this thinking—with a few honorable exceptions—is deracinated, which is to say that it has few if any roots in the Islamic tradition itself. Although it frequently calls upon the Qur’an and the Hadith as witness, it is rooted in habits of mind that were developed in the West during the modern period. These habits of mind, if judged by the principles of Islamic thinking, are misguided and wrong-headed. In other words, they are rooted in *shirk*, not in *tawÁád*.

If we accept that traditional Islamic thought is gravely ill, it will be obvious that recovery from the illness demands intensive care. Among other things, recovery will involve a thorough re-evaluation of the nature of intellectual health. It will necessitate careful scrutiny of the great texts of Islamic philosophy and theoretical Sufism and a serious attempt to understand Islamic principles by way of *taÁqâq*, not *taqlâd*.

However, before rehabilitation can begin in any real way, the illness must be correctly diagnosed. The diagnosis of an intellectual illness depends upon recognizing error for what it is. The problem here is that the illness is omnipresent, not only in the Islamic world, but also elsewhere. It is so much a part of the way that most people think today that they imagine it to be

natural and normal. Like someone suffering from a debilitating disease from childhood, people have lost any sense of what health might involve.

In order to understand the nature of the disease, we need to remember that practically all of us suffer from it, whether or not we are aware of it. The reason for this is that it is a characteristic of modernity (and of “post-modernity” as well). The disease is co-extensive with the worldview that informs modern thought.

It is very difficult to characterize the modern worldview with a single label. One word that has often been suggested is “scientism.” I understand this word to designate the notion that the scientific method and scientific findings are the sole criterion for truth.<sup>25</sup>

Scientism so defined is a belief-system. Like most belief-systems, it has become second nature to its believers. They do not recognize it as a belief-system, because they think it is self-evident truth. Scientism is a basic characteristic of the modern worldview and the contemporary zeitgeist. People see the world and their own psyches in terms of what they have learned in schools, universities and television documentaries. It is taken for granted that the universe as described by science is the real universe. As for religious teachings, these are understood to pertain to ritual and morality, but not to the “real world,” since we have been taught to see the world only with scientific eyes.

One of the many implications of the scientific worldview is the common belief that the cosmology and natural sciences discussed in the Islamic intellectual tradition were early stages of the development of what we nowadays call science and that the findings of those early stages of human thought have now been proven to be false. People imagine that modern science has progressed far beyond medieval ideas.

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<sup>25</sup> For a good discussion of the errors of scientism, see Huston Smith, *Forgotten Truth: The Common Vision of the World's Religions* (New York: Harper Collins, 1976, Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2000).

However, there is a basic fallacy in this view of pre-modern science. It is the assumption that the aims and goals of pre-modern science were the same as those of contemporary science. If this were true, then indeed the pre-modern ideas would be incorrect. However, the fact is that the medieval scientists were occupied with a totally different task than that which has occupied modern scientists. In order to understand the Islamic intellectual tradition, it might be better to avoid altogether the use of the word *science* to designate what they were doing. This word has been pre-empted by the empirical methodologies that characterize the modern period. Instead, we need to recover a term that represents fairly the real goal of Muslim intellectuals.<sup>26</sup>

One possible name for both the methodology and the goal of the intellectual tradition, a name that was commonly used, is *Áikmah* or “wisdom.” This word has the advantage of not implying a “scientific” and empirical approach to things and it also has the advantage of being a divine attribute. In English, it makes perfect sense to say that God is “Wise,” but to say that God is a “Scientist” would sound absurd. The English word *wisdom* and the Arabic word *Áikmah* have preserved enough of their ancient meaning to imply both right thought and right activity, both intellectual perfection and moral perfection.

In contrast, modern scientists long ago abandoned any claim that science can help people find the road to right activity, not to speak of moral perfection. The role of science is simply to provide more power over God’s

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<sup>26</sup> As is well known, the word *science* is commonly translated into Islamic languages as *‘ilm*, and this would be perfectly legitimate if “science” were understood in its etymological sense, that is, as “knowledge” in the broadest sense of the term. However, strict attention to what is meant by science in the modern world and what was meant by *‘ilm* in classical Islamic texts would, I think, lead us to grasp that what goes by the name science today would have been recognized by Muslim intellectuals as systematic ignorance. This is because science ignores, in a careful and methodical fashion, everything that was considered necessary for the true understanding of the nature of things. Instead, it focuses on superficial appearances and outward phenomena.

creation. Science does not and cannot address the issue of understanding the true nature of the universe, because the true nature of the universe cannot be understood without reference to the Creator of the universe. Nor can science address the issue of how we are to find the wisdom to use correctly the power that we gain over creation. Using power incorrectly is one definition of *iūlm*—wrongdoing, injustice, iniquity, tyranny.

Another name that fairly describes the goal of Islamic thought is the already mentioned *taĀqāq*. The Muslim intellectuals were not trying to contribute to the so-called “progress of science.” Rather, they were trying to develop their own understanding of things. The focus of their attention was not on the practical affairs of this world, but rather on the full actualisation of human intelligence. This demanded not only discovering the *Āaqq* of things, but also acting in accordance with the *Āaqq* of things, a *Āaqq* that can only be determined with reference to the Absolute *Āaqq*, which is God himself. *TaĀqāq* demands both right thought and right activity, both intellectual perfection and moral perfection.

The Islamic quest for wisdom was always a quest to achieve unity with the divine light or the divine spirit, a light and spirit that was called “intelligence” or “heart.” By the nature of this quest, Muslim intellectuals knew from the outset that everything had come from the One Principle and will return to the One Principle. In other words, *tawĀād* informed their vision from beginning to end. Their quest was not to “believe” that God is One, because they already knew that God is one. God’s unity is too self-evident to be called into question, unless someone’s intelligence has become atrophied or stunted. The quest was to understand the implications of God’s unity thoroughly and completely.

In brief, the purpose of searching for wisdom was what we can call “the *taĀqāq* of *tawĀād*.” In other words, it was to verify and realize the truth of *tawĀād* for oneself and then to put *tawĀād* into practice in all one’s thoughts and activities. The goal was spiritual transformation. This transformation was

understood to involve a total conformity with the divine attributes (*Ājfi*) and character traits (*akhlq*). It was often called *ta'allub*, “deiformity” or “being like unto God,” or *takballuq bi akhlq Allah*, “assuming the character traits of God.”

In the Islamic wisdom tradition, *tawĀād* was the guide of all efforts. It was both the seed and the fruit of human possibility. It was the seed that was planted in human awareness in order to yield the fruit of perfect understanding and perfect activity. In such a view of things, it was impossible to separate the realms of learning into independent domains. *TaĀqāq* was a holistic enterprise that yielded a unified vision of things. This unified vision demanded the unity of the human subject with the cosmic object that is, the conformity of the full human soul with the world in all its grandeur. Soul and world were always seen as complementary manifestations of the One, Single Principle, which is God. When God created Adam in His own image, he also created the universe in His own image. Perfect understanding means the ability to see all things in their proper places, which means to see them as divine images and in their relationship to God.

### ***The Reign of Takthār***

I said earlier that a certain type of false thinking governs the modern worldview. I suggested that one name for that thinking is “scientism,” and it is false because it makes unwarranted claims. But there is a much deeper reason why the modern worldview is essentially false. In order to explain this, I need to develop a few more implications of *tawĀād*.

I said that the loss of *tawĀād* is called *shirk*. I want to suggest now why sciences in its modern sense demands *shirk*. This is perhaps a startling claim and it will offend many practicing Muslim scientists, not to mention all those Muslims who believe that modern science can be justified by reference to the Prophet’s commands to seek knowledge. Nonetheless, my point needs to be made as starkly as possible. If it is not grasped, there will be no hope for the rehabilitation of the intellectual tradition. The evidence for the claim becomes completely obvious as soon as one understands what the Islamic intellectual tradition was trying to do.

I reminded you that the guiding principle of the Islamic wisdom tradition has been *tawÁád*. If this is true, it is not too difficult to see that the guiding principle of modern science and learning is the abandonment of *tawÁád*. We can call this abandonment *shirk*, but I do not want to deny a certain positive content to science. In its common usage, the word *shirk* is too heavily loaded with negative connotations to have any positive sense. Moreover, I do not want to make a moral or even a religious case against science. Rather, I want to make an intellectual case, in keeping with the tradition from which I am drawing.

So, let me suggest that the guiding principle of modern science and learning can be designated by the word *takthár*. *Takthár* is the literal opposite of *tawÁád*. *TawÁád* means “to make one,” and *takthár* means “to make many.” *TawÁád* means “asserting unity,” and *takthár* means “asserting multiplicity.” *TawÁád* is to recognize the primacy and ultimacy of the One Reality. It is to acknowledge that everything comes from God, everything returns to God and everything is sustained by God. *Takthár* is to declare the primacy and ultimacy of many realities. It is to assert that things have many origins and many destinies and that they are sustained by many different things.

By no means is *takthár* inherently false. Rather, it is inherently short-sighted and incomplete. It misses the important points, because it denies implicitly, if not explicitly, the ultimacy of the One Reality that stands beyond all other realities. Once we understand things in terms of *tawÁád*, we can understand the origin and destiny of the universe and the human soul and we can also grasp the present status of the world in which we live. *TawÁád* answers the ultimate questions and allows people to orient themselves in terms of the beginning and end of all things. If *takthár* is to have any legitimacy, it must be oriented and governed by *tawÁád*. *Takthár* without *tawÁád* can only tell us how things are related to other things, but there can be no unifying vision. A perspective based on *takthár* denies implicitly that there is a purpose to existence. It rejects the idea that human aspirations to achieve moral and ethical betterment and to become intellectually and spiritually perfect have any grounding in objective reality.

The Muslim cosmologists were very interested in the issue of *takthár*. But, for them, *takthár* was a divine attribute. It is God’s activity in bringing the

universe into existence. When Muslim intellectuals investigated the *mabda'*, the Origin of all things, they were explicating the nature of *takthir*. In effect, they saw God as *al-mukatthir*, “the One who brings the many into existence.” In contrast, when they discussed psychology, which is the *ma'ad* or the return of the soul to God, *taw'Áád* was the primary issue. Here the question is simply this: How can we, as beings who dwell in multiplicity, unify our vision and activity and thereby return happily and freely to the One Origin, who is the Place of Return?

In short, within the Islamic intellectual tradition, we can understand *takthár* as the divine principle that makes multiplicity appear from the One. *Taw'Áád* is then the complement of *takthár*. It designates the divine and human principle that reintegrates the many into the One. One philosopher, for example, tells us that the Universal Intellect is *khalifatullah* in the Origin, which is to say that multiplicity appears from unity on the basis of the radiance of the divine omniscience. In contrast, human beings are *khalifatullah* in the Return, which is to say that the human role in the cosmos is to take multiplicity back to the unity from which it arose.<sup>27</sup> This explains why God selected Adam among all creatures to be taught the names. Only by knowing the names of all things can human beings take everything back to God. In other words, human intelligence has the potential to act directly on behalf of God because in its purest form, it is nothing but the living light and spirit of God that was breathed into Adam at his creation.

In brief, the perspective of the Islamic intellectual tradition recognizes both *takthár* and *taw'Áád*. However, *takthár* is kept totally subordinate to *taw'Áád*, which is to say that the many is always and forever governed by the One. The world and all things within it stay in God's hands and can never leave. The role of *takthár* can only be understood in terms of *taw'Áád*. Once we understand that God created human beings to act as His vicegerent and unify the whole of creation through their spiritual and moral perfection, then we can understand why God brought multiplicity into existence in the first place. Real understanding and real knowledge depend upon grasping the ultimate end of human existence, which corresponds with the ultimate end of

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<sup>27</sup> See Chittick, “Afial al-Dân K«sh«nâ's Philosopher-King” in *Knowledge is Light: Essays in Honor of Seyyed Hossein Nasr*, edited by Zailan Moris (Chicago: ABC International, 1999), p. 149.

creation itself. Moreover, human completion and perfection depend upon acting in conformity with real knowledge.

If the Islamic worldview can be characterized as *tawÁád*, the scientific worldview can be characterized as “*takthár* without *tawÁád*.”<sup>28</sup> I do not have time to present any detailed arguments to support this claim, so let me look simply at the fruit of modern learning, where *takthár* is obvious. Take, for example, the ever more specialized nature of the scientific, social and humanistic domains of learning; the disintegration of any coherent vision of human nature in the modern university; the unintelligibility of the individual sciences to any but the experts; and the total incomprehensibility of the edifice of science and learning as a whole. When *takthár* rules over human thought, the result can only be analysis, differentiation, distinction, disunity, disharmony, disequilibrium and dissolution. Given that modern science and learning are rooted in the world’s multiplicity, not in God’s unity, their fruit is division and dispersion, not unification and harmony. One of Iqbal’s great insights, which, however, he did not follow up as he might have, is his understanding that modern science yields disunity and dissonance by definition. I quote: <sup>29</sup>

We must not forget that what is called science is . . . a mass of sectional views of Reality. . . . [T]he various natural sciences are like so many vultures falling on the dead body of Nature and each running away with a piece of its flesh. Nature as the subject of science is a highly artificial affair and this artificiality is the result of that selective process to which science must subject her in the interests of precision.

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<sup>28</sup> Even if a “unified field theory” were to be achieved, it would simply show that the “physical” world—that is, the world, not as it is, but rather as it is understood and conceptualized by “physicists”—is governed by unified laws, which no one doubts in any case. But that leaves all the other modern sciences, such as biology, which do not follow “physical” laws, not to mention the social and human sciences. No, *takthár* is the guiding principle of modern thought and the only possible way to overcome it is to root oneself in *tawÁád*.

<sup>29</sup> *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1986), pp. 33-34.

The reason, modern science wants “precision” is to separate things out from their overall context, a context that can only be properly understood in the light of *tawÁád*. Only after a “highly artificial” view of reality has been manufactured can we ignore the objectivity of moral and ethic principles and justify the view that human beings have the right to control God’s creation as they see fit, without the guidance of wisdom. To use power without wisdom is to work *iilm*, and *iilm* indeed is a key characteristic of modern society. It is this power without wisdom that Lord Acton must have had in mind in his famous dictum, “Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

It is perhaps in the realm of ethics and morality that the power of *takthâr* becomes most obvious to observers of the modern scene. For the Islamic intellectual perspective, adherence to right activity and actualization of “praiseworthy character traits” (*akhlq-i Áamâda*) is demanded by the objective nature of things. After all, the world is actually and truly a display of the divine attributes and the human soul is actually and in fact made in God’s image. Any human soul that does not actualize the divine character traits—such as wisdom, justice, mercy, compassion, love and forgiveness—has failed in the task of living up to human status. Any methodology that yields an unbridgeable gulf between truth and ethics is ignorance, not knowledge. Such knowledge ignores the *Áaqq* of things, the moral demands that the truth of things makes upon us, and so it is occupied with *bÇil*, the untrue, the vain, the wrong. Under the reign of *takthâr*, intelligence and virtue are torn from their roots in God. The net result can only be the dispersal of human excellence in a vast diversity of unrelated realms of endeavor, with no connections to be made between knowing and being, or between science and ethics. The raw power that is accumulated through acquiring instrumental and manipulative knowledge can only result in the downfall of human goodness.

I repeat that the remedy for *takthâr* is *tawÁád*. God made *tawÁád* a human imperative because without it, the world can only fall into corruption and ruin. *TawÁád* alone can reverse the natural flow of existence and awareness away from the divine unity into the dispersion and incoherence of multiplicity. Only the free will of human beings, harnessed by divine guidance, can reintegrate the many back into the One.

*Takthâr* by itself, then, is the process of bringing about multiplicity and disunity. It can only lead to disintegration. It is the direct opposite of *tawÁád*. *Takthâr* is the animating principle of science as we know it today. Let

scientists deny this as much as they want. The tree is known by its fruit, not by the claims of the gardener.

### ***The Goal of Thought***

I said that there is a fundamental difference between the Islamic intellectual tradition and modern science and learning. One way to understand this is to see that Muslim intellectuals were striving to achieve a unitary and unified vision of all things by actualising the divine spirit latent in the human soul, a spirit that they often called *'aql*.

In contrast, modern scientists want to achieve an ever more exact and precise understanding of things, one that allows for increased control over the environment, the human body and society. This control, however, is not given over to the fully actualised intelligence of God's vicegerent on earth—an intelligence that by definition entails the fullness of ethical and moral perfection. Rather, control is surrendered to the passions of the ignorant and forgetful selfhood—what was called *nafs* or “ego” in the Islamic texts. This is blatantly obvious in the various forms of totalitarian government that have appeared in the modern world, all of which take full advantage of scientific and technological power to beat their subjects into submission. But even “democratic” government, as Plato recognized long ago, can only be the rule of ignorant human passions. It can never be the rule of intelligence.

I want to point out still another characteristic of the Islamic intellectual tradition that places it in stark contrast with modern learning. This has to do with the implications of *ta'Áqâq*, some of which have already been discussed. *Ta'Áqâq* means to verify and realize things or to give things their *Áaqq* in view of the Absolute *Áaqq* that is God himself. In modern Islamic languages, *ta'Áqâq* is sometimes used to translate scientific “research.” However, traditional Muslim intellectuals would not have recognized *ta'Áqâq* in any forms of modern research. The basic reason for this is that modern research is based essentially upon *taqlâd*, not upon *ta'Áqâq*, which is to say that it always depends wholly on the findings of earlier scientists. In contrast,

*taʿĀqāq* as understood by the Muslim intellectuals did not accept any intellectual issue on the basis of *taqlād*. It was an intensely personal activity that aimed at the discovery of the *ʿĀqq* within the seeker’s own intelligence. That intelligence was understood and indeed experienced, as the supra-individual, transpersonal, universal breath of awareness that was blown into Adam at his creation.

From the point of view of modern science, which is rooted in *taqlād*, every seeker of wisdom in the Islamic intellectual tradition was trying to “reinvent the wheel.” But it is precisely the technological application of knowledge, implied in this expression that was *not* the goal of the quest. Rather, the goal was wisdom and wisdom can only be discovered where it resides. Wisdom resides in living intelligence and ethical activity, nowhere else.

It is a common misinterpretation of Islamic intellectual history to say that Muslim scholars made scientific discoveries, but then they failed to follow up on them, so the torch of learning was passed to the West. But this is to read the empirical methodology and practical goals of modern science back into the intellectual methods and spiritual goals of the wisdom tradition. No, the goal was not to establish a fund of information upon which other scientists could build and from which technologists could draw for practical ends. Rather, the goal was *taʿĀqāq*, which is to discover the truth for oneself in oneself. Practical, worldly applications were of relatively little interest. Excessive attention paid to physical welfare and material benefit was considered a sure sign of a failed intellectual. In short, the true seeker of knowledge had another goal, which was to see for himself. The true seeker of knowledge knew that, as Rēmâ puts it, “To be human is to see, the rest is skin.” Seeing for oneself is called *taʿĀqāq*, and it is to grasp the *ʿĀqq* of things—their truth and reality—and then to put all things in their proper places according to their *ʿĀqq*s.

Rēmâ sums up the difference between a *muʿĀqqiq* and a *muqallid* — between someone who knows for himself and someone who imitates other

people in his thinking—in the following verses. He would surely include in the category of childlike *muqallids* most if not all of those who are called “scientists” in modern times.

*A child on the path does not have the thought of Men.  
His imagination cannot be compared with true taÁqâq.  
The thought of children is of nurses and milk,  
raisins and walnuts, crying and weeping.  
The muqallid is like a sick child,  
even if he offers subtle arguments and proofs.  
His profundity in proofs and objections  
drives him away from true insight.  
He takes the collyrium of his secret heart  
and uses it to offer rejoinders.<sup>30</sup>*

Rëmâ, then, speaks for the whole Islamic intellectual tradition when he says that no one can achieve true and real understanding until he throws away the imitation of others and finds out the truth for himself through *taÁqâq*.

My conclusion then is simply this: There will be no rehabilitation and revival of Islamic thought until Muslim thinkers put the *taÁqâq* of *tawÁâd* back at the centre of their concerns.

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<sup>30</sup> *Mathnavâ*, V 1289-93.

# POET AS AETIOLOGIST: TWO POEMS BY IQBAL

*Mustansir Mir*

## INTRODUCTION

Aetiology is the study of the causes of phenomena: in medicine, it is the study of the causes of a disease; in imaginative literature, the attempt to explain, for instance, how the elephant got its trunk and the sky its blue colour. In at least two poems, Iqbal plays the aetiologist. The poems translated below, give evidence of Iqbal's imaginative power and artistic skill both. But Iqbal's imagination is often philosophical and his art deeply grounded in the Islamic literary tradition and the two poems bring out these aspects of his poetry as well.

In the first of the two poems, *Ma'Áabbat* ("Love"), Iqbal suggests that love is like soul to the body of the universe: the world, at the time of its creation, was like a frozen picture that became animated only when it was infused with love. Not only did love transform a static world into a dynamic one, it gave meaning and purpose to existence itself. It is noteworthy that Iqbal associates love with God: the secret recipe of love which the heavenly alchemist wished to acquire was inscribed on one of the pedestals of the Divine Throne and was jealously guarded by the angels. God, however, did not intervene when the alchemist approached the Throne under the pretext of glorifying God, thus "tricking" the angelic guard. This can only mean that God wanted the secret to be discovered.

The poem raises a few questions and it is while attempting to answer these questions (we shall select two for treatment) that we recognize and appreciate how rich its tapestry of thought and art is. The first question is, Who is the heavenly alchemist? Obviously he is not an angel, for the angels sought to keep the recipe a secret. He is not Adam either, for it was "from the eye of Adam's soul" (see n. 10) that the angels wished to hide the recipe.

It is really not very important to identify the alchemist with precision, though certain possibilities come to mind. In one way he resembles Prometheus, who stole fire and gave it as a gift to man. But he cannot be identified with Prometheus completely, for the latter was punished by Zeus, whereas the alchemist's action has at least tacit Divine approval; in fact the compound prepared by him receives the name Love from God Himself, definitive proof that God was pleased at the discovery of the recipe of love. In another sense the alchemist is like *Khiir*, the name given by tradition to the person who guided Moses on a certain journey as described in the 18th *s̄erah* of the Qur'an. Note especially that Iqbal calls the alchemist "one who was privy to the Court of God," which invites comparison with the Qur'anic description of Moses' guide as "one of Our servant worshippers" (*'abdan min 'ib<din<*) and as one whom God had blessed with special insight (*wa- 'allamn<bu min ladunn<'ilman* 18:65). Furthermore, the alchemist dissolves the ingredients of the recipe "in the water of the fountain of life," and Islamic literary tradition represents *Khiir*, if we may use that name, as being in charge of the fountain of life. In yet another sense it might be argued that, alchemy—or chemistry—being one of the distinctive Muslim contributions to science, the alchemist is a typical representative of Islamic civilization. But while Iqbal's alchemist has traits or qualities of Prometheus, *Khiir* and a scientist, he cannot be identified completely and exclusively with any one of them and must be regarded as a composite figure created by Iqbal himself.

The second question is: What exactly is love as conceived by Iqbal in this poem? This question may be answered in two ways. In respect of its constitution, love is made up of ingredients which Iqbal lists in detail. The notable thing is that these ingredients are strongly reminiscent of the descriptions of the lover and the beloved in Persian Urdu poetry. In this literary tradition the beloved is often described as having a bright, star like face and long pitch-black hair, possessing the modesty of a *hour*i and the Jesus-like power to revive the pining and near-dead lover with an affectionate look and a kind word, but showing godlike indifference to the woebegone lover. The lover, on the other hand, is described as a humble, self-sacrificing

individual ever hoping to win his beloved's favour. Iqbal thus employs the native literary tradition in the service of a philosophical idea that is, as we shall see, universal in import.

In respect of its function, love, as we learn in the concluding couplets of the poem, is the principle of movement in the universe: love is the bond that unites the atoms of the universe, sets the heavenly bodies in motion and makes the flowers bloom. This does not seem to help very much. But then it is not meant to be a scientific answer to a scientific question. Iqbal, it seems, is trying to present a philosophical idea using poetic language. In a certain philosophical sense, the universe is a unity: the heavenly bodies on the one hand and the flowers in earthly gardens on the other are parts of the same system and are ruled by laws that are essentially the same. All phenomena are thus interlinked, together making up a system remarkable for its harmony. Harmony, then, is the underlying principle of the universe—and another word for this harmony is love. Just as scientists are trying to discover an ultimate principle that would bring out the unity of the physical universe, so the philosopher is in search of a principle that would reveal the spiritual basis of the unity of the universe. This, one might say, is the “stone” the philosopher is searching for.

We are told that while the recipe of love was in the heavens, the ingredients of the recipe were to be found on the earth. This is significant because it implies, on the one hand, that love is earthly in constitution and on the other, that earthly love is sanctioned by heaven. This is not all. Once the alchemist succeeds in preparing the compound called love—a name given it by God Himself—the whole universe becomes ready for business, so to speak. Love, in other words, knits the heavens and the earth into a unity; like the same soul it runs through the different parts of the universe's body.

Although, as we saw, Iqbal explains the function of love only at the end of the poem, he prepares the reader for this explanation from the outset. The very first line, “The tresses of the bride of night were yet uncurled,” arouses the reader's curiosity: “night,” “bride,” “uncurled tresses,” and the adverb “yet” are all presageful. Before satisfying this curiosity, Iqbal introduces the figure of the alchemist. Now its peculiar history has given alchemy the reputation of being a

mysterious art or science. The mention of the existence of an alchemist in the heavens thus heightens the reader's curiosity, as do the alchemist's plan to make away with the secret recipe, his search for the ingredients of the recipe and his act of sprinkling the liquid compound on the "new order of existence." The resolution of the whole drama comes only in the last two and a half couplets of the poem when movement appears in the universe. This gradual unfolding of the theme is highly dramatic and demonstrates Iqbal's ability—sufficiently attested elsewhere—to create and maintain the reader's interest until the very end.

One other point about Iqbal's art. Most of Iqbal's poem have a proper beginning, middle and end. They are, that is to say, complete in themselves. This is not the case with the poem *Love*. The poem seems to begin *in medias res*, the little adverb "yet" in the first line again serving a crucial role, for it suggests that the universe was still in the process of being made when the incident involving the alchemist occurred. The conclusion of the poem also seems to be somewhat abrupt. I think, Iqbal deliberately intended the poem to give a sense of incompleteness. Infusion of love into the body of the universe could take place only at the last stage of the creation of the universe and it is at this stage that the alchemist comes on the scene; this explains the beginning *in medias res*. Once love has informed the universe, the latter is ready for business—hangs out its shingle. Considering the limitless Potential of love, this "business" will never come to an end. The lack of closure on the artistic level thus signifies a lack of closure on the level of thought.

In the second poem, *Bē'-i Gul* ("The Fragrance of the Flower"), Iqbal explains how the fragrance of the flower (or rose [*gul*]) came to be so called. The poem begins with a *houri* noting with regret that she was never informed about the region beyond the heavens. In order to find out about this new region namely, the earth, she leaves paradise and comes to earth in the guise of a flower. Having entered the world of time, she becomes subject to the law of death with her petals finally dropping on the ground and withering away. Before perishing, she utters a sigh, and this sigh a memento of hers, comes to be called fragrance.

Although Iqbal does not spell it out, the “disquietude” of the houri mentioned in the opening line of the poem represents Iqbal’s own dissatisfaction with the notion of static perfection. Paradise, if taken to be a perfect abode in the sense that it lacks movement and growth would be, in Iqbal’s view, a place unworthy of habitation and in several other places (e.g., in the poem “The Houri and the Poet” in *Payam-i Mashriq*) Iqbal says that an eternal and changeless paradise kills the “hearts of lovers,” of those that is to say, who are in love with an unattainably high and noble ideal. Endless progress, limitless perfection that is what Iqbal desires, and the houri of this poem understandably becomes impatient with the perfect existence of paradise and is eager to explore the world “on the other side of the heavens.” The terrestrial world for all its imperfections, is interesting and charming enough and the houri, Iqbal seems to be suggesting, does not make a wrong decision. To be sure, she pays a heavy price for her decision. In a sense she is like Faust. This requires further explanation.

In talking about the world beyond the frontiers of the heavens, the houri says that she does not understand what is meant by day and night, dawn and evening and that she is equally at a loss to know the meaning of birth and death. Implicit in her confession of ignorance is a deep desire to find out the truth about the world of time and space, a world that is ruled by the laws of transience and change. She wafts her way into the world as fragrance, takes up residence in a flower-branch, becomes first a bud, then a flower and then dies. It is on account of her love of discovery, her hunger for understanding the truth of the alteration of day and night and the phenomena of birth and death and her willingness to indulge her fancy at any cost that she leaves paradise and enters this world. For the discovery she makes and the understanding she acquires she pays with her life. This is exactly the fate of Faust.

The houri breathes a sigh upon leaving this world-when her feet were “unshackled,” as Iqbal puts it (see n. 6). What is signified by the sigh? The poem does not provide a clear answer and the ambiguity may have been intended by Iqbal. Did the houri sigh because she would soon cease to exist

altogether and felt that she had paid too big a price to satisfy her curiosity?  
Or was it the case that she liked this imperfect and transient world regardless  
and was filled with regret on departing from it?

LOVE <sup>31</sup>

*The tresses of the bride of night were yet uncurled.*<sup>32</sup>

*The stars of the sky knew not the joy of travel;*

*The moon in its new dress looked a little odd,*

*And was unaware of the binding law of revolution.*<sup>33</sup>

*The world had just emerged from the dark chamber of  
possibilities;*<sup>34</sup>

*The vast universe lacked an appreciation of life.*<sup>35</sup>

*The order of existence was just being brought to perfection, as it  
were:*

*From its eye was evident the ring's desire for a stone.*<sup>36</sup>

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#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

##### LOVE:

<sup>31</sup> Source: *Bang-i Darā*, in *Kulīyyat-i Iqbal*: Urdu, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1997, p. 137.

<sup>32</sup> *The tresses . . . uncurled*: The night is here pictured as a bride who did not yet know how to make her hair curl. In other words, the night had not yet acquired the charm peculiar to it.

<sup>33</sup> *And was . . . revolution*: The moon, too, was unaware that constant orbiting was to be its lot.

<sup>34</sup> *The world ... possibilities*: The world, in Muslim theological and philosophical terminology, is possible and contingent, God being the only necessary and absolute being.

<sup>35</sup> *The vast . . . life*: This was so because true appreciation of life would come only after love had informed the universe.

<sup>36</sup> *From its eye ... stone*: The eye of a ring is the border of metal in which a stone is set. That the eye of the ring was desirous of a stone means that the world, still imperfect, yearned for perfection: the stone that would make the ring complete had yet to be supplied.

*In the world up high,<sup>37</sup> it is said, there was an alchemist*

*The dust of whose feet was brighter than Jamshed's cup<sup>38</sup>*

*On a post of the Throne was inscribed the recipe of an elixir,<sup>39</sup>*

*Which the angels hid from the eye of Adam's soul.<sup>40</sup>*

*But the alchemist's eyes were ever watchful:*

*That recipe to him was worth more than the Name Most High.<sup>41</sup>*

*On the pretext of glorifying God he moved towards the Throne,*

*Through persistent effort he finally got his heart's desire.*

*The search for ingredients made him roam the realm of possibilities<sup>42</sup>*

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<sup>37</sup> The world up high: 'ġlam-i b««-i.e., the heavenly realm.

<sup>38</sup> *The dust ... cup*: Jamshed, an ancient king of Persia, had a crystal bowl in which he could see the happenings of the whole world. For him to be able to do so, the cup had to be shiny clear. The dust of the ground the alchemist walked was, however, brighter or clearer than even Jamshed's cup. Incidentally, this line may contain an allusion to Qur'an 20:96. When Moses returns from Mt. Sinai and discovers that his people have taken to worshipping a calf made by a certain Samaritan, he interrogates the latter. The Samaritan tries to excuse himself by saying that he saw Gabriel passing by and taking a handful of dust from the angel's pathway, cast it into a calf he had made and this made the calf speak. Iqbal, of course, does not mean to compare the Samaritan of Surah 20 to the alchemist of his poem-the Samaritan is evil whereas the alchemist is a hero. On a purely linguistic level, however, the Qur'anic phrase *fa-qaba'itu qabā'itan min atharir-rasūli* of 20:96 may have suggested "the dust of whose feet" of Iqbal's poem.

<sup>39</sup> *elixir*: Elixir of love, as we shall soon find out.

<sup>40</sup> *the eye of Adam's soul*: The phrase implies that Adam had not yet assumed a body.

<sup>41</sup> *the Name Most High*: One of the names of God, though it is not certain which one, which, on being pronounced, is said to have miraculous effects.

*How could anything hide from one privy to the Court of God*<sup>43</sup>

*He borrowed glitter from the star, from the moon the scar of its heart;*<sup>44</sup>

*From the ruffled tresses of night he picked off some black;*

*He took from lightning its flash, chasteness from the houri,*

*And warmth from the breath of Jesus son of Mary;*<sup>45</sup>

*Then he took, from God, a pinch of majestic indifference,*<sup>46</sup>

*Humility from the angel, self-abasement from dew.*

*He dissolved these ingredients in the water of the fountain of life.*

*The compound received the name Love from the Grand Throne.*

*The alchemist sprinkled this water on the new order of existence.*

*His skill untied the knot, as it were, of the affairs of the world.*<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *the realm of possibilities*: The terrestrial world, which is marked by contingency or possibility.

<sup>43</sup> *one privy to the Court of God*: A possible comparison with Khiir (see Introduction).

<sup>44</sup> *from the moon the scar of its heart*: The scar has not pejorative but positive connotations: the moon got its scar from the fire of love which burnt in its heart. The scar here represents the mark of love a lover comes to have in his heart.

<sup>45</sup> *And warmth ... Mary*: Jesus had the special gift of reviving the dead. Love is thus not only sanctioned by God, it is a positive, life-giving force, the animating principle of the universe.

<sup>46</sup> *majestic indifference*: see Introduction.

<sup>47</sup> *His skill . . . world*: "To undo the knot of something" is to make it operational. Once informed by love, the inert universe was stimulated into action and became vibrant with life.

*There appeared movement: The atoms gave up the joy of  
slumber,*

*And got up and began to embrace their mates;*

*The suns and the stars received their proud gait;*

*The buds learnt to bloom; the tulip-beds got their scars.*

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### THE FRAGRANCE OF THE FLOWER <sup>48</sup>

*In a corner of the garden of paradise, a disquieted houri<sup>49</sup> said:*

*“No one ever told us about the region beyond the heavens.<sup>50</sup>*

*I don’t understand this dawn and evening, day and night,*

*And am at my wits’ end when they speak of birth and death.”<sup>51</sup>*

*She turned into a wave of fragrance and emerged from a flower-branch,*

*Setting foot, thus, in the world of yesterday and tomorrow.<sup>52</sup>*

*She opened her eyes, became a bud, and smiled a while;*

*She became a rose, then split into petals and dropped on the ground*

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#### THE FRAGRANCE OF THE FLOWER:

<sup>48</sup> Source: *Payam-i Mashriq*, in *Kuliyat-i Iqbal*: Persian, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994, p. 243.

<sup>49</sup> *A disquieted houri*: See Introduction.

<sup>50</sup> *the region beyond the heavens*: The terrestrial world.

<sup>51</sup> *I don’t ... death*: All these things are foreign to the houri’s experience.

<sup>52</sup> *the world of tomorrow and yesterday*: The world of historical time.

*The memory of that lovely maiden—her feet unshackled<sup>53</sup>*

*Is kept alive by a sigh called fragrance.*

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<sup>53</sup> *her feet unshackled*: This is a simple metaphor for death and does not necessarily connote release from the bondage of life.

# THE CASE OF MUSLIM SCHOLARSHIP

(Part I)

Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski<sup>54</sup>

*Gratitude toward God teaches Man to see with the heart's eye*

*the blessings veiled in affliction*

(Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*)

## 1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present essay - the result of certain 'front experiences' in the teaching of postgraduate students - is to introduce a wider audience to some of the problems and deficiencies of contemporary Muslim historiography and to some of its effects with regard to a proper understanding of the very nature of 'Islamic civilization'. Emphasis shall be put on some of the general problems of contemporary Muslim scholarship. In the light of contemporary tragic events such as the traumatic experiences of the Muslim communities in Southeast Europe and in the currently still Russian-occupied regions of the Caucasus as well as militant pseudo-religious confrontations in South and Southeast Asia, the emphasis of this paper shall also be on a *dialogue* of civilizations and concepts rather than on confrontation.

In November 1999 the present contributor had been asked by the *International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, Kuala Lumpur,

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to deliver as its official representative a lecture in Singapore<sup>55</sup> for which the title “Towards an Islamic Concept of History: A Response to Western Historians” had been suggested. As someone who is occupying himself with the teaching of and the research on various aspects of the history of the Muslims<sup>56</sup> I considered this task also an excellent opportunity for arranging and putting down to paper my own thoughts on this not only for historians momentous subject. However, I then thought it appropriate to change the proposed title in order to extend the focus towards the addressing of attitudes of non-Muslim and Muslim scholarship as well. The present bipartite article constitutes the text of the aforesaid Singapore lecture.

The underlying principal design of this essay is the sincere attempt of doing away with certain stereotyping and demonizations of the respective ‘other’ (i.e. ‘*the Muslim*’ and ‘*the non-Muslim*’) in order to ‘diagnose’ *properly* shortcomings in current scholarship on the civilization of the Muslims and furthermore of trying to show ways for possible ‘remedies’. What follows might appear highly personal and at times, even polemical to some. Nonetheless, many of the points that have been made in the present contribution had been compared carefully with the views of friends (Muslims and non-Muslims alike) and are furthermore based on personal experiences as a teacher and when I had been living in various ‘Muslim’ and ‘non-Muslim’ countries and I can confidently say that (as someone who had been a Muslim all his conscious life, a ‘long-time convert’ so to speak). I ‘experienced’ ‘East’ and ‘West’ to the same degree. The perhaps prevailing thought-provoking character of the paper is therefore the result of full intention from my part. I should like to mention that the forthcoming second part of this essay will deal in a similar fashion with some selected problems and shortcomings with regard to *non-Muslim* scholarship on the civilization of Islam.

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<sup>55</sup> At the *Religious Teachers’ Association of Singapore (PERGAS)*, in Singapore on 5th and 6th August 2000.

<sup>56</sup> For the reasons why I am hesitating to apply the term ‘Islamic history’ see *infra*.

## 2. ISLAMIC HISTORY OR HISTORY OF THE MUSLIMS, ONLY A

### MATTER OF HAIRSPPLITTING?

Labels are always *evaluating* statements, whether they relate *in reality* to a referred to subject-matter or not. The attribute 'Islamic' seems to be one of those labels. In our daily speech the expression 'Islamic' possesses mainly two qualities: firstly, the word 'Islamic' is commonly used when referring to members of the *Religion of Islam*<sup>57</sup> in order to distinguish them from those of other systems, such as Christians, Hindus and others alike. It should be noted here that the locution 'Islamic' has also been applied with the same connotation, namely as a technical term, in the Qur'<sup>«n</sup>.<sup>58</sup>

However, it is the second application of 'Islamic', namely as an initially referred to *evaluating* statement with which we are concerned with here: the component 'Islamic' in antipodes such as 'Islamic rulers'/'un-Islamic rulers', 'Islamic society'/'un-Islamic society' or 'Islamic countries'/'un-Islamic countries' is already prepossessed by certain ethical connotations. It is however strange (and in my personal view unfortunate since inconsequent) that the parlance 'Islamic history' is common usage whereas we hardly come across the expression '*un*-Islamic history', whether from the part of Muslim or non-Muslim scholars. Applied in this fashion the term 'Islamic' would unconsciously evoke in our mind associations with something what is 'good', 'based on Qur'<sup>«n</sup> and Sunnah' and ultimately with what is 'liked, desired, supported by the Almighty'.

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<sup>57</sup> Confer Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Meaning and Experience of Happiness in Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993) [German translation by Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski under the title *Die Bedeutung und das Erleben von Glückseligkeit in Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1998)]. See also Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam and the Philosophy of Science* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1989) [German translation by Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski under the title *Islam und die geistigen Grundlagen von Wissenschaft. übersetzung aus dem Englischen, mit Einleitung* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, forthcoming in 2000)].

<sup>58</sup> For instance, in Qur'<sup>«n</sup> 3 (jil-i 'Imr'<sup>«n</sup>): 19.

When it comes to talk about the human capability of judgment and finally to the question of the possibility of human ‘justice’, however, there seems to be no final objectivity since we are all products of our respective socialization and upbringing as well as our religious, cultural and ethnical backgrounds. Humans are prone to judge but they do not like to be judged themselves easily. The application of the term ‘*Islamic* history’ appears therefore to be highly inconsequent, if it is not, in the same way as the above-mentioned antipodes, subjected to ethically based criticism.

As a logical consequence and in my particular understanding then there is no such thing like ‘*Islamic* history’. I would rather prefer to speak of the ‘history of the *Muslims*’ and in the same manner of ‘the civilization of the *Muslims*’ rather than of ‘*Islamic* civilization’. In a quite similar fashion we use to refer to European, Indian or Ottoman history and beyond that of Jewish or Christian history, without necessarily implying any *qualitative* judgement about the respective society or the course of its history. The question to be asked in this context then is: “Why this attitude - that is to say, the attempt to record the pure facts and the actual course of historical events rather than wishful thinking is causing so much problems among Muslims, historians in particular?”

At this place, we should recall what we have just investigated: In the light of all what has been stated so far the expression ‘*Islamic* history’ can rightly be considered an *evaluating* statement. From this follows logically and this is actually the point which I would like to make that it must also be possible to speak about ‘*un-Islamic* history’ (or at least about some parts of it). In the eyes, a considerable part of the early Muslims, for instance, Umayyad rule was certainly ‘*un-Islamic*’ in terms of the personal conduct of the majority of its rulers. This approach has, in my view, nothing to do with the questioning of the teachings of Islam *per se*, but on the contrary, it intends to keep the message of Islam ‘pure’ by pointing the finger on the wounds in order to heal them rather than keeping silence and thus causing the ‘death’ of the entire ‘organism’ or the *ummah*, so to speak. Therefore the term ‘history of the

Muslims' or 'history of the Muslim community', namely its consideration as mere 'cause of events', appears to be more appropriate since it is neutral. This procedure is far from being an attempt to 'secularise' history, or from separating the 'principle of political leadership' from the purely religious tenets. But rather the opposite is the case: Instead of a 'never mind, they still had been Muslims' attitude with regard to the establishment of *mulk* — Umayyad kingship for instance in the Muslim community—I personally would propose an attitude of clear disassociation and *ethically* motivated criticism based on the Islamic sources and the general requirements for any scholarly investigation.

In the light of the just outlined it has hopefully become clear by now that a discussion of the character, nature and development of the history of the civilization and history of the Muslims involves *essential* matters concerning *Weltanschauung* and perception of realities. Therefore, the question whether we should refer to the term 'history of the Muslims as proposed by the present contributor or rather to 'Islamic history' as done by others, cannot be considered as mere 'hair-splitting'.

### **3. SELECTED ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Some of us including the present contributor, are studying history ('Islamic' history and civilization, in particular) not only for the sake of earning our 'daily bread' but also because we find certain aspects of it interesting, uplifting, edifying and at times, beautiful and inspiring. On the other hand, however and with respect to something which can be referred to as 'idolization of Islamic history', we should also be aware of certain *misconceptions* from the part of the Muslims in past and present times concerning the question of what are the constituents or components of an 'Islamic' civilization. At times, Muslims too should accept the fact that some of the views held by Muslims *themselves* concerning their own history are simply wrong, distorted and incomplete. We have to understand this in order to be able to perceive and teach history in a proper and adequate manner. We have to see that it are not only some imaginary, stereotyped or even real

‘opponents’, let’s say ‘the orientalist’, ‘the westerners’ or ‘the non-Muslims’ who are the main obstacles to an appropriate understanding and evaluation of ‘Islamic’ history. Often it are rather the Muslims *themselves*. In this regard and in the light of the fact that there is no such thing as complete ‘objectivity’ we also have to state that the true task of a contemporary Muslim historiographer and teacher of history - in fact of *any* scholar in the field of history is to present the greatest hours of a particular culture side by side with its darkest episodes. This can be achieved by referring always to those sources which are considered authentic by the members of a particular religion or culture *themselves*.

It is thus important for a contemporary historian and Muslims should not constitute an exception in this regard to develop in the first place an ability to do justice to others (rather than always expecting it from others) and in the second place to question certain historical developments in the past of one’s own culture. This might at times amount to ‘slaughtering holy cows’, if this metaphor may be allowed. With respect to the history of the Muslims, this shall be exemplified in the following by referring to the so-called ‘Golden Age of Conquests’ after the demise of the Prophet during the first century of the Islamic calendar.

In the eyes of a quite considerable part of the early Muslims for instance, the period of the Umayyad ‘caliphs’, which started in the year 41 AH/661 CE (thus not even three decades after the demise of the Prophet) and lasted upto 127 AH/750 CE, was certainly most ‘un-Islamic’ in terms of the personal conduct of the majority of the rulers. What is usually considered as ‘Islamic’ history is thus not and cannot be *Heilsgeschichte* or ‘history of salvation’ of a kind akin to the *History of the Church* by Eusebius (c. 260-339

CE),<sup>59</sup> but as in the case of the history of other cultures, civilizations and religious systems principally open to constructive criticism.

As a positive example for how to deal appropriately with our early history Dr. YaÁy« Kh«lid Blankenships' excellent book *The End of the Jib«d State. The Reign of Hisb«m Ibn 'Abd al-Malik* and *The Collapse of the Umayyads*,<sup>60</sup> the work of an American convert and professor at the University of Temple, should be mentioned, which should also serve as an excellent example of what modern Muslim historiography is capable of. Blankenship has a full command over the historical sources and presents the subject matter in a completely scholarly manner without falling back to the category of the ancient storytellers, who still dominate contemporary Muslim historiography. The main design of his book is the search for *rational* explanations for the stagnation of the Muslim conquests under the Umayyads, which go beyond an elaboration on their supposed or actual 'wickedness' and 'impiety'. It is significant to note that, while Blankenship is proceeding from a Muslim's perspective, he is still making full use of the possibilities of contemporary scholarship and scientific methodology (which should actually be standard). His work brings us a step forward on the way of *de-mystifying history*. It has to be stressed here that the 'Age of Conquests' which saw the fall of S««nid Iran and the emergence of a new commonwealth and civilization (rather than 'empire') that stretched over three continents from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean, had been considered in the past as something which came about *alone* by the grace of God. Similar views are still current among ordinary Muslims with regard to the circumstances which brought those conquests to a halt. Blankenship, in turn, does not understand 'Muslim scholarship' in a way which 'permits' only the consultation of works compiled by Muslims (a self-restricting banality in itself).

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<sup>59</sup> See Eusebius of Caesarea, *The History of the Church. From Christ to Constantine*, trans. by G.A. Williamson, rev. and ed. with a new introduction by Andrew Louth (London: Penguin, 1989).

<sup>60</sup> Khalid Yahya Blankenship, *The End of the Jib«d State. The Reign of Hisb«m Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads* (Albany: SUNY, 1994).

Unfortunately, Blankenship seems to stand alone in the field, since presently, those Muslim scholars who intend to break out of this vicious circle of dilettantism by trying to follow the standards of modern scholarship (which begins already with banalities such as the proper arrangement of bibliography, footnotes and includes painstaking proof reading and the final appearance as a printed work of scholarship), have to constantly to defend themselves against those of their co-religionists whose real motif might in most cases be found in envy, as a result of the critic's own failure as a scholar. This kind of 'standard-criticism' goes usually under the label 'orientalism' and comes in most cases from the corner of those who deign to refer to themselves as 'Muslim revivalists'.<sup>61</sup> The aforesaid 'standard-criticism', all too often summarized as 'orientalism', is to be found in a somewhat condensed form in the more recent booklet *Subverting Islam: The Role of Orientalist Centres* by Dr. Ahmad Ghorab, where it is stated:<sup>62</sup>

The history of orientalism shows that it was closely connected with the needs and purposes of colonialism and with Christian missionary ambitions. That connection remains. It has now become a part of the geo-political strategies of Western governments and their intelligence services. Western study of Islam as a formal discipline has long been established in specialist faculties called 'Oriental Institutes', the best known founded as long ago as the early and mid-eighteenth century. They have since spread much further and are now called 'centres' for 'Islamic studies'. The change of mind is certainly intended to deceive Muslims who naturally enough would distrust the Oriental Institutes. The purposes (and prejudices) of Orientalism are now offered as

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<sup>61</sup> It should be noted here that the term 'revivalism' is quite inappropriate with regard to Islam. In this regard it should be noted that one can only revive something what been declared 'dead' (and this is perhaps something we do not necessarily want to assume in the case of Islam...).

<sup>62</sup> Ahmad Ghorab, *Subverting Islam. The Role of Orientalist Centres* (Kuala Lumpur: The Open Press, 1995, reprint), pp. 3-4.

‘Islamic studies’; and the purposes of Christian missions are now presented as ‘Christian-Muslim relations’.

Although such kind of impetuous, generalizing and therefore unqualified views might have the sincere intention of creating a certain degree of awareness among practising Muslims (a motif to which the present writer would fully ascribe), it is at the same time perhaps no coincident that the majority of the aforesaid ‘critics’ of those adhering to modern scholarship are themselves including Dr. Ghorab - graduates from and therefore ‘products’ of ‘western’ universities, thus ‘western-’educated, a fact which gives rise to the question of their *own* credibility. Not all ‘orientalists’ are ‘colonizing monsters’, which appears to be a rather stale and stereotyping platitude and which as in Dr. Ghorab’s case is at times digged out in case of ‘usefulness’ for certain political and therefore, short-term reasons.

However, let us now leave the field of polemics in order to search for examples of ‘proper’ historiographical scholarship in our own past, i.e. in the past of Muslim scholarship. Muslim researchers who try to follow the just referred to pattern of scholarly historiography which deserves that name have a good companion in the well-known Maghribine scholar Ibn Khaldën (732-808 AH/1332-1406 CE), who is usually considered as a ‘fore-runner’ of modern ‘sociology’. In fact, his work, which is commonly known as *Al-Muqaddimah* or ‘Introduction’ (to history), and its author, a practising and traditionally educated Muslim scholar after all, seem to be among the earliest quasi ‘precocious’, examples for the ‘analytical approach’ in Muslim historiography,<sup>63</sup> if not beyond. Although the present contributor does not necessarily consider himself as an ‘Ibn-Khaldënist’ or slavish adherent to *all* the theories which are to be found throughout this work. The following ideas by Ibn Khaldën are quite relevant to our subject. Right at the beginning of

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<sup>63</sup> [Walâ al-Dân ‘Abd al-RaĀmĀn b. MuĀammad b. MuĀammad b. Abâ Bakr MuĀammad b. al-Āasan] Ibn Khaldën, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, edited and abridged by N.J. Dawood (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981, Bollingen Paperbacks).

Ibn Khaldën's work we are faced with a statement which strikes us because of its quasi 'modern' premonition: <sup>64</sup>

The (writing of history) requires numerous sources and much varied knowledge. It also requires a good speculative mind and thoroughness which lead the historian to the truth and keep him from slips and errors. If he trusts historical information in its plain transmitted form and has no clear knowledge of the principles resulting from custom, the fundamental facts of politics, the nature of civilization, or the conditions governing human social organization and if furthermore, he does not evaluate remote or ancient material through comparison with near or contemporary material, he often cannot avoid stumbling, slipping and deviating from the path of truth. Historians, Qur'«n commentators and leading transmitters have committed frequent errors in the stories and events they reported. They accepted them in the plain transmitted form without regard for its value. They did not check them with the principles underlying such historical situations, nor did they compare them with similar material. Also, they did not probe with the yardstick of philosophy, with the help of knowledge of the nature of things or with the help of speculation and historical insight. Therefore, they strayed from the truth and found themselves lost in the desert of baseless assumptions and errors. This is especially the case with figures, either of sums of money or of soldiers, whenever they occur in stories. They offer a good opportunity for false information and constitute a vehicle for nonsensical statements. They must be controlled and checked with the help of known fundamental facts.

Ibn Khaldën is rightly to be considered as a pioneering Muslim scholar in his attempt to let prevail reason(ing) and rationality in the science of

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

historiography. Unfortunately, he and his work had been unable to exercise any influence upon the next following generations of Muslim scholars who were to witness the technological, military and political rise of Europe, which is usually referred to by labels such as the 'Age of Discoveries' and similar alike. This regrettable circumstance was on the one hand due to the lack of significant immediate disciples and on the other hand (and perhaps more importantly) to the prevailing intellectual climate during that time which seems to have prevented a somewhat more speculative rational approach in the science of historiography. In the view of the present author, it is this conscious *denying* and at times suppression of reasoning Muslim authorities and scholars which led to the problem of replying *effectively* to the impact of what is usually subsumed under the locution 'the West'. This denial of reform made Muslims to consider 'the West' as a threat only, not as a challenge and an inspiration to find new solutions (which, however, may still be differing from 'the West').

It seems that the *early* Muslims' attitude had been different in this regard. Although they too had to face the challenges of their non-Muslim neighbours militarily or otherwise, that had not been subject of this 'anxiety of contact' (which is at times accompanied by a kind of 'inferiority complex') to other civilizations or value-systems which we have to witness in our times among many of the Muslims of all levels of society. In my personal understanding this completely different, more 'open-minded' attitude of the earlier Muslims (for instance, during the early 'Abbasid period which saw a unique flourishing of the entire then known sciences and furthermore of theology, philosophy and the arts) is the fruit of their firmness in the tenets of the Islamic belief and value-system which in turn resulted in the state of 'being-sure-of-oneself' and ultimately in tolerance. Tolerance doesn't mean here to ascribe to other, non-Muslim theological views, but refers rather to patience and love to God, Who is the only One Who guides. Muslims of those times, for instance, did not see any difficulties in adapting the sciences of the Hellenes and others and applying them to their own needs and

requirements. I am deeply convinced that it was this open attitude of the earlier generations of Muslims in general which attracted non-Muslims to enter into the Religion of Islam.

With regard to our topic we have to state clearly that what remains of the job of a Muslim historian is a close approximation to the *facts*. In a historiographical study, for instance, we have to consider as many reliable and well-documented sources as possible and to refrain from mixing up (legitimate) commentary and interpretation with the presentation of facts. Again, as in the case of serious journalism, scholarly information and commentary for whatever purpose should be separated from each other. Benchmark in cases of doubt during the final evaluation are, of course, Qur'ān and Sunnah and the ethics derived there from side by side with the guidelines of reasoning. This practice of referring to the Sunnah should, by the way, apply to both denominations within Islam, namely Sunnites and Shā'ites, although the latter are relying on a somewhat extended corpus of Traditions (to which they add those attributed to their respective Imāms).

Another point which I would like to make and which is significantly linked to the us here concerning topic of contemporary Muslim historiography (i.e. ultimately the way in which the civilization of the Muslims is presented to the readers of works concerned with history) is the circumstance that the entire religion/civilization of Islam is today often rejected in the West and elsewhere not because of supposed 'unattractiveness' of its teachings (for instance, the dress code and the various prescriptions concerning food etc.), but rather in the manner Islam is practised by the mass of the Muslims and more importantly in the way 'the others', non-Muslims, are dealt with in daily Muslim life and how they are portrayed in the literary sources. It is a matter of fact that Islam is today among non-Muslims in 'the West' considered as a religion of 'the East' only (somewhat similar to Buddhism or Hinduism) which has ultimately no bearing upon them because of its supposed limited 'cultural scope'. It is true that this regrettable circumstance might be the result of certain

misconceptions from the part of ‘the Westerners’ themselves and that Islam *does* in fact emphasise cultural understanding and the unity of humanity.

However, this noble message, which addresses the *entire* mankind, gets today all too often lost among tendencies which try to ‘nationalize’ Islam, which are distorting it thus to Arabic, Turkish, Iranian, Malay and otherwise caricatures of the original, supra-national meaning and which stress supposed cultural and at times, ethnic differences. It is in the view of the present writer very saddening that this kind of attitude usually ascribed to the ‘colonialists’ and ‘the West’ is nowadays prevailing in contemporary Muslim historiography. At times, this kind of attitude can also be subsumed under the label ‘third-worldism’, which over-stresses the role of Islam as a ‘factor of (political) liberation’ of ‘the East’ from ‘the yoke of Western colonialism and imperialism’, thus reducing the noble message of Islam to a few, often ethnicising propaganda bubbles. Authors ascribing to that kind of worldview like Ghorab (himself a ‘western-’educated scholar, as we have already seen above) tend to see in ‘the West’ alone the ‘embodiment of Evil’. Needless to say that this haughty and quasi-ethnizing attitude (which is in constant need for supposed or actual ‘foes’) is unable to see in converts to Islam with a different cultural background an enrichment, in particular if he happens to be a ‘Westerner’. Again, it should be emphasized that it is essential to overcome anxieties by trying to get to know each other without necessarily giving up prerogatives. Falling into stereotyping however, such as ‘ethnicism’ (to say the least) and religious prejudice is a sign of fear and insecurity of one’s own religion. Criticism from the part of converts (whether during the days of the Umayyad kingdom or today, for instance by the present writer) is all too often rejected by ‘born Muslims’, who seem to ignore the fact that the first Muslim was himself a ‘convert’.

Apparently, the early Muslims did not face the presently prevailing problem of keeping in contact with ‘other’, non-Muslim civilizations, since they were lacking this all-penetrating ‘inferiority-complex’ which we come across today. The early Muslims had no difficulty in travelling and describing

other value systems and cultures, which they considered to be an enrichment—not a danger—to their own. The present writer is aware of the fact that here is not the place for analysing ‘decline’ and ‘stagnation’ which the civilization of the Muslims was facing during later periods. However, rather than constantly lamenting the effects of ‘colonialism’ (in a similar fashion as in the case of the already referred to issue of ‘orientalism’) which is rather a *result*, not a *cause*, it is essential to analyse properly certain purely *internal* political events in the history of the Muslims which affected their mind-setting and intellectual activity in a negative paralysing manner and which hindered them from responding effectively to what is commonly known as ‘the impact of the West’.

#### **4. CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM IN THE LEARNED TRADITION OF THE MUSLIMS: THE *NaĀĀĀat*-OR ‘ADVISE-GENRE’**

That Muslims do not have to start from the beginning in terms of *constructive criticism* will become clear by considering the fact that we possess in the literary tradition of the Muslims a treasure and a richness which is hardly rivalled by any other civilization. The stratagem or the main objective of *NaĀĀĀat* or ‘advise-literature’, which constitutes a separate genre of *constructive criticism* within the framework of the administrative literature of the Muslims, is that *theory and practice* have to be in constant agreement, quasi in a kind of balance with each other. Already more than 900 years ago, for instance, the ideals of Islamic administration had been put to paper by NiĀm al-Mulk (408-85/1018-92) the famous vizier (‘Prime Minister’ we would rather say today) of the SaljĀqs, in his famous work *SĀyar al-MulĀk*, ‘Conduct of Kings’, which is perhaps more commonly known as *SĀyatnĀmah NiĀm al-MulĀk*, then, provides us with the outline or better the touchstone, with regard

to how to proceed with regard to Islamic administration. In his *Siyāsatnāmāh* he states:<sup>65</sup>

It is for kings to observe His [namely God's] pleasure (His name be glorified) and the pleasure of The Truth is in the charity which is done to His creatures and in the justice which is spread among them. A kingdom which is blessed by its people will endure and increase from day to day, while its king will enjoy power and prosperity; in this world he will acquire good fame, in the next world salvation and his reckoning will be easier. Great men have said, 'A kingdom may last while there is irreligion, but it will not endure when there is oppression.

It is thus the idea and the ideal of *justice* which is to determine those of the Muslims and not only them who are employed in responsible positions dealing with administrative matters. It is to us highly interesting that Nīkam al-Mulk does not link the requirement of the prevailing of justice necessarily to religion, Islam in particular. It is essential to understand that the expression 'non-practical' administrative literature doesn't mean here 'not being practicable' or 'being rather complicated in nature'. 'Non-practical' means here rather *ethically motivated advise-literature* which is in the context of Islamic literary tradition also referred to as the *Nā'āt*- or *Mirrors of Princes*-genre. Belonging to this 'ethical' type are works such as the aforesaid *Siyāsatnāmāh*<sup>66</sup> by Nīkam al-Mulk and the *Nā'āt al-Mulūk* by the theologian

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<sup>65</sup> Nīkam al-Mulk [al-Āsan b. 'Alā al-ñĀ], *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, trans. Hubert Darke (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, 2d ed.), p. 12.

<sup>66</sup> On the *Siyāsatnāmāh* see also Ann K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes. Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government," *Studia Islamica* 5 (1955), pp. 130-1, 133 and 144. On the *Nā'āt*-genre in the Āfavid context see also William C. Chittick, "Two Seventeenth-Century Persian Tracts on Kingship and Rulers," in: *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, ed. Said Amir Arjomand (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1988), pp. 267-304; Mu'ammad Taqā Dānishpazhēh, "An Annotated Bibliography on Government and Statecraft," trans., adapt. Andrew Newman, in: *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, ed. Said Amir Arjomand (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press,

Abë Ā«mid al-Ghaz«lâ al-ñëĀĀ (450-505/ 1059/60-1111).<sup>67</sup> To this genre of ‘non-practical’ administrative literature we would like to subsume also works of a somewhat more theoretical character such as *Al-AĀk«m al-SulĀ«niyyah* by the Sh«fite jurist Al-M«wardâ (364-450/974-1058)<sup>68</sup> since he deals with *desired* circumstances and not with political *facts* that had been prevailing during his lifetime, i.e. the transition-period between the domination of the caliphate by the Bëyids and Saljëqs, respectively. To this category belongs also the *Akhl«q-i N«Āirâ*, written in elaborate Persian by the eminent Twelver Shâite philosopher and scientist Khw«jah NaĀâr al-Dân ñëĀĀ (597-672/1201-74),<sup>69</sup> a work which been intended by its author to serve as an introduction to ‘practical philosophy’. Khw«jah NaĀâr al-Dân flourished during Iran’s Ýlkh«nid or Mongol period hold himself high administrative posts.

Exceptions of a more ‘practical’ character from among those ‘advise’-works are the *Rusëm D«r al-Khikfah* which had been compiled by the convert

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1988), pp. 213-39. Apparent Persian influence in Malay *naĀĀĀat*-literature had already been stressed by Sir Richard Winstedt, in particular with regard to the *T«j al-Sak«Āân*, a work of seemingly Persian origin, which had been translated into Malay in 1012/1603: see his *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, revised, edited and introduced by Yusof A. Talib (Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Reprint No.12) (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS 1996, 2d impression), pp. 95-7 and 204-9. For the alleged Persian origin see *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>67</sup> See A. K. S. Lambton, “The Theory of Kingship in the *NaĀĀĀat al-Mulëk* of Ghaz«lâ,” *Islamic Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1954), pp. 47-55.

<sup>68</sup> [Abë'l-Āasan ‘Alâ b. MuĀammad b. Āabâb] al-M«wardâ, *The Ordinances of Government. A Translation of Al-AĀk«m al-SulĀ«niyya w'al-Wikyat al-Dâniyya*, trans. Wafaa H. Wahba (Reading: Garnet Publishing Ltd., 1996); Lambton, “Quis Custodies Custodes,” *Studia Islamica* 5 (1955), pp. 128. On single aspects consult also H. F. Amedroz, “The Office of Kadi in the *Abkam Sultaniyya* of Mawardi,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1910), pp. 761-96, and idem, “The Mazalim Jurisdiction in the *Abkam Sultaniyya* of Mawardi,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1911), pp. 635-74.

<sup>69</sup> NaĀâr ad-Dân ñësâ, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. G.M. Wickens (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1964). See also M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, “NaĀr al-Dân ñësâ on Finance,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1941), pp. 755-89; Lambton, “Quis Custodies Custodes,” *Studia Islamica* 5 (1955), pp. 141-2 and 146.

Hikl al-Â«bâ‘ (359-448/969-1056)<sup>70</sup> which deals with the organization of the court administration during the ‘Abb«sid period, and a chapter in the *Maf«tâ‘ al-‘Ul«m* by Al-Khw«rizmâ (fl. 2nd half of the 4th/10th century)<sup>71</sup> with emphasis on the practice under the S«m«nids. However, although Hikl al-Â«bâ‘ described in his treatise administrative practice it should be understood that this practice, similar in the case of the already referred to al-M«wardâ, had by their time, i.e. the B«yid and then Salj«k domination already become obsolete. Thus, both works belong still to the genre of ‘non-practical’ advise-literature.

The *Na‘â‘ât*- or ‘advise-genre’ flourished also in the Ottoman empire<sup>72</sup> and in the empire of the Indian Tâmerids or Mughals. A well-researched example for the genre from the late 10th/16th century is Mu‘Çaf« ‘ÿlâs (948-1008/1541-1599) *Nu‘â‘ât al-Sal«Çân*<sup>73</sup> or ‘Counsel for Sultans’ which he compiled in Ottoman-Turkish. In fact, the Ottoman literary tradition is particularly rich of administrative literature, whether ‘practical or ‘non-practical. In particular, amazing is the frankness and open but constructive

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<sup>70</sup> Hikl al-Â«bâ‘, *Rus«m D«r al-Khik«fah* (*The Rules and Regulations of the ‘Abbasid Court*), trans., intro. and annot. Elie A. Salem (Beirut: Lebanese Commission for the Translation of Great Works, 1977).

<sup>71</sup> Translated into English by Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “Ab« ‘Abdall«h al-Khw«rizmâ on the Technical Terms of the Secretary’s Art: A Contribution to the Administrative History of Medieval Islam”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12, no. 2 (1969), pp. 113-64.

<sup>72</sup> On Ottoman ‘advise-literature’ in general see Rhodes Murphy, “Ottoman Historical Writing in the Seventeenth Century: A Survey of the General Development of the Genre after the Reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617)”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993-4), p. 282; Franz Taeschner, “Die Osmanische Literatur”, in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, Band V, 1. Abschnitt (Leiden & Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1982), pp. 313-4.

<sup>73</sup> Refer to Andreas Tietze (ed., trans.), *Mustafa Ali’s Council for Sultans of 1581*, 2 vols. (Vienna: österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse: Denkschriften, vols. 137 and 158, 1979 and 1982). Refer on ‘Ali furthermore to Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Taeschner, “Die Osmanische Literatur”, 312-3, Murphy, “Ottoman Historical Writing in the Seventeenth Century”, 302-3, and Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1927), 144-145, no. 120.

criticism which we come across in the field of the Ottoman *Mirror of Princes*-genre. Unfortunately, the given framework does not allow elaborating further on this exciting subject. Thus, Mu'ÄÇafâ 'ÿlâ, who as a member of the higher Ottoman administrative class, knew what he was talking about when he described the mores of many of his colleagues during his time in the following fashion:<sup>74</sup>

To sum up, this humble slave, watching carefully has [always] seen the vezirs in pleasure and luxury enjoying themselves without end in their palaces and gardens and the other members of the Imperial council occupied with the acquisition of money and property, always going along with the vezirs, should they even order the abrogation of justice. Likewise have I found those that were closest to the ruler and occupied high offices with the ruler's favours and bounties being showered upon them to be silent *vis-à-vis* this problem.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

By now it should have become clear that the foundations for constructive criticism within the framework of the civilization of the Muslims, especially with regard to historiography are just in front of us. The pure fact of the existence of *ethically motivated advise-literature* in the historiographical tradition of the Muslims exemplifies perhaps best the circumstance that the history of the Muslims has not been immune from the errors and shortcomings to be found in other civilizations since we are all humans and in need of guidance.

Another positive lesson to be learnt from the above stated is that in the future a more 'interdisciplinary approach', bringing together international scholars of a wide range of fields, such as philosophers of history, experts in administration, architects, scientist, authorities in the fields of Islamic

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<sup>74</sup> Tietze, (ed., trans.), *Mustafa Ali's Council for Sultans of 1581*, vol. 1, p. 19 (with orthographical corrections by the present writer).

economic thought, history and alike, is urgently needed in order to cover a wide range of aspects concerning Muslim life, since it is the latter, namely *life*, which should be the focal point of any scholarly interest. In that manner we might be able to 'turn to life' the picture of a *truly* 'Islamic' civilization, a term which refers to a prevailing spirit or *Lebensgefühl* and which is encompassing a wide and varying range of aspects, such as science, administration, language and literature, social life, popular culture and religion. It goes thus far beyond the narrow boundaries of some selected legal aspects, such as the penal code and alike. Unfortunately, it is the last-mentioned legal aspect which still dominates the discussion with regard to 'Islamic civilization'.

# MARCH OF TIMES\*

*Iqbal's Idea of the Mahdi, the End of History and the Settled Convictions*

**Muhammad Suheyl Umar**

## **PERSPECTIVE:**

Our discourse proceeds within a given perspective. So I would like to present, first of all, a few points about the conceptual framework of our perspective.

### ***LEVELS OF REALITY***

Let the traditional and the modern concepts of the universe or—if one prefers it, of reality—be placed side by side. According to typically modern thought, ‘reality’ is supposed to have originally consisted of the material world alone. It is said that life must have been ‘sparked off’, in some as yet unexplained way, from matter, and that living organisms developed psychic faculties, first of all the senses, then sentiment and memory and then, as man himself gradually evolved, imagination and reason. According to the traditional explanation, on the other hand, it is not the higher that proceeds from the lower but the lower from the higher; nor is existence limited to the psychic and the corporeal.<sup>75</sup> The Supreme Origin—and End—of all things is

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<sup>75</sup> Lord Northbourne summarises the two approaches to the question, “What is Man?” in a simple and straightforward manner:

Are you in fact a being created by God in His own image, appointed by him as his representative on earth and accordingly given dominion over it, and equipped for the fulfilment of that function with a relative freedom of choice in thought and action which reflects the total absence of constraint attributable to God alone, but at the same time makes you liable to err? Are you essentially that, and only accidentally anything else?

Or, alternatively, are you essentially a specimen of the most advanced product so far known of a continuous and progressive evolution, starting from the more or less fortuitous stringing together of a protein molecule in some warm primeval mud, that mud itself being a rare and more or less fortuitous product of the evolution of the galaxies from a starting point about which the physicists have not yet quite made up their minds?

(Lord Northbourne, *Looking Back on Progress*, Lahore, Suhail Academy, 1983, 47.)

Absolute Truth which alone has Reality in the full sense and which manifests or creates, at lesser degrees of reality, the whole of existence. The traditional theory of existence, common to all religions, is summed up in the Islamic tradition: 'I was a Hidden Treasure, and I loved to be known and so I created the world.' The psychic and the corporeal soul and body are the two lowest levels of reality and together they constitute what we call 'this world'. Above them is the domain of the Spirit, known as 'the next world' from the standpoint of life on earth, but first in order of creation, for it is no less than the primal 'overflow' of the Divine Reality Itself. From that immediate reflection of the Hidden Treasure, the psychic domain is a projected image which in its turn projects the bodily domain.

### ***THAT WHICH BINDS***

The basic purpose of religion is to open up, for man, the way of return to his lost centrality. So long as he possessed spontaneously his bond with the Transcendent, the 'ligament' to which the term *religio* refers, it was not necessary for Heaven to reveal a religion in the ordinary sense. The first revealed religion was the response of Providence to the Fall of man and this Divine redress established on earth a Golden Age, named in Sanskrit *Krita-Yuga* because in it the rites necessary for regaining what was lost were 'accomplished'. Thus, by religion, the world of man became once more, albeit at a lower level than that of the Terrestrial Paradise, an image of Perfection.

### ***MARCH OF TIMES***

For the last two thousand years there has been no century that did not expect shortly 'the end of the world', whatever these words are thought to mean. Already in 40 BC Virgil wrote that the end of the Iron Age was near and that a new Golden Age was soon to begin; and Hinduism has long been awaiting "the rider on the white horse", *Kalkā*, the tenth Avatara of Vishnu, who is to close the present 'Dark Age' and inaugurate a new era of perfection. Maitreya, no less eagerly awaited by Buddhists, is clearly none other than the *Kalkā Avatara* and the same may be said of the Messiah. It is

true that in the monotheistic religions, all three of which expect the Messiah, the end of the present cycle is mainly identified with the end of time itself, that is, with the Doomsday.

Some six hundred years after the advent of Christianity, the Qur'an affirmed that 'the Hour', the promised end, was 'near', and that 'the heavens and the earth are pregnant with it'; and even in the early day of the caliphate it was sometimes said to a caliph: 'Mayst thou live long enough, sire, to give thy kingdom into the hands of Jesus, the son of Mary'. Nor would any early Muslim have believed that today, after 1400 year of Islam, the end would still not yet have come, although the Koran affirms that 'verily a day in the sight of they Lord is as a thousand years of what ye count'. Despite this reservation, and despite the Biblical equivalent for Jews and Christians, 'a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday', the expectations continued, century after century. They did not however remain at the same degree of intensity. In the Middle Ages, the acuteness of consciences engendered a collective sense of guilt which made it seem that the predicted signs of the second coming had already been fulfilled and that humanity had indeed reached its lowest ebb. According to Jewish, Christian and Islamic belief, the immediate threshold of the reign of the Messiah will be the tyranny of the Antichrist; and more than one prominent mediaeval figure was wrongly identified, in widespread opinion, with that greatest of malefactors. But it would no doubt be true to say, at any rate as regards the West, that the last three centuries before this were increasingly less expectant of the End. The gradual weakening of faith and the consequent lessening of attention paid to the Scriptures were aggravated by self-satisfaction at the so-called 'Renaissance' and, in the eighteenth century, at the so-called 'Enlightenment'. It is also in the nature of things that expectation, prolonged beyond a certain point, should begin to flag.

What then of the present century? Today belief in God and the Scriptures tends to be weaker than ever; and for Westerners it has largely been replaced by agnosticism, not to speak of the atheism which, in vast tracts of earthly

territory, is now systematically indoctrinated into children from an early age. Nor is the widespread belief in evolution and progress conducive to thinking along the same lines as our ancestors thought. We might therefore presume the Western world to be correspondingly less expectant of the end today than ever it was before. But is it? The answer is clearly no. There is, however, a marked difference between the present and the past in this respect. In the past it was concluded that the end must be near, but its imminence was not felt. Today the grounds for conviction have largely been set aside or forgotten; but the end is 'in the air', existentially sensed. It is as if the souls and bodies of men were woven of finality. This is undoubtedly one of the great signs of the times; and it coincides with other signs which are less dependent upon intuition and which, in a wide variety of ways, address themselves to reason, celestial signs relating to prophecies,<sup>76</sup> visions and auditions, and signs which may be called human, in an individual or a political sense.

### ***THE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC WORLD.***

Let us now focus on the contemporary Islamic world with reference to the foregoing. But a word of caution in advance.

It is not given to man to foresee the future with any clarity—otherwise prophecies would be neither veiled nor ambiguous. But man has the right to speculate about the future in humble awareness of his limitations in that respect—otherwise prophecies would not be forthcoming at all. Moreover in some cases a settled conviction is legitimate and even, we may say, willed by Heaven, in virtue of the weight and universality of the predictions; and so it is with regard to an imminent world-wide devastation, not total, but none the

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<sup>76</sup> Such as the famous twelfth-century prophecy of St. Malachy about the Popes, according to which the end is to come in the reign of the next Pope but one. For a study of prophecy, see Martin Lings, "St. Malachy's Prophecy of the Popes" in *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Summer-Autumn 1985, pp. 148-153e. This sign may be said to appeal to reason in that most of its predictions, that is, all those which are related to things now past, have already proved themselves to be true.

less of cataclysmic proportions and not final because it is to be 'before the end', though there are grounds for the conviction that 'the end' itself cannot be far off.

The survival of traditional Islam in the modern world, the intrusion of modernism into *ḍar al-Islām* and the recent resurgence of forces associated in either name or reality with Islam, added to the global significance of events which have occurred in the Middle East, central Asia, south Asia and elsewhere during the past few years all of these have helped to create, not a few, but a flood of works on Islam and its future, some of them being by the very people who but a few years ago rejected the very possibility of Islam being a force to be reckoned with in the future.

This veritable new industry, often based on either passing political currents or on conclusions hastily drawn from incomplete data, has already made many predictions for the Islamic world, ranging in style from melodrama to science fiction, with a few more balanced judgements thrown in between. Our aim here is certainly not to add one more scenario to the already existing ones.

### ***THE BACK DROP***

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslim intelligentsia realised that clearly something had gone wrong which was of the dimension of a cosmic crisis. How was it that non-Islamic forces were defeating the Islamic world everywhere and in such an irreversible fashion? Logically one of three attitudes could have been taken:

1. Something had gone wrong with the world, as God Himself had mentioned in His Book concerning the end of the world and the Blessed Prophet had described in his traditions. In such a case, the eclipse of Islam was itself a proof of the validity of the Islamic message which, however, also foretold the imminent appearance of the Mahdâ and the final eschatological events leading to the end of the world.

2. **MUSLIMS HAD CEASED TO FOLLOW ISLAM PROPERLY AND SHOULD RETURN TO THE PRACTICE OF THEIR RELIGION IN ITS PURE FORM AND**

WITH FULL VIGOUR SO AS TO DEFEAT THE NON-ISLAMIC FORCES AND ESCAPE THE PUNISHMENT THEY WERE RECEIVING FROM THE HANDS OF GOD FOR THEIR NEGLIGENCE OF THEIR RELIGION. SUCH A REACTION RESULTED IN THOSE REFORM MOVEMENTS THAT ARE TOO NUMEROUS TO BE DISCUSSED HERE. IT WAS ALSO CONNECTED WITH THE MUCH LESS STUDIED INNER REVIVALS WITHIN SUFI ORDERS OR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ONES.

3. THE ISLAMIC MESSAGE HAD TO BE CHANGED, MODIFIED, ADAPTED OR REFORMED TO SUIT MODERN CONDITIONS AND TO BE ABLE SO TO ADAPT ITSELF TO THE MODERN WORLD AS TO BE ABLE TO OVERCOME WESTERN DOMINATION. OUT OF THIS ATTITUDE GREW ALL THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF MODERNISM INFLUENCED BY THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE RATIONALISM OF SUCH MEN AS DESCARTES AND VOLTAIRE, IN SOME QUARTERS, LOCKE AND HUME AND LATER SPENCER AND BERGSON, IN OTHERS. SO-CALLED ARAB LIBERALISM, AS WELL AS MODERNISTIC MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY, PERSIA AND THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT WERE ALSO THE RESULTS OF THIS THIRD POSSIBLE REACTION TO THE SUBJUGATION OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD BY THE WEST.

In some cases these, elements mixed with each other, Mahdâism, puritanical or 'fundamentalist' tendencies and modern reformist elements combining together in the thoughts and teachings of a single figure or school.

Leaving aside the reform movements and the modernist trends, we shall only consider the idea of Mahdâ and messianism in order to get to Iqbal's response to the idea.

### ***“APPLIED EXPECTATIONS”—PAST AND FUTURE***

The cataclysmic events of recent years have also brought back to life the movement of Mahdâism, which had been dormant for over a century since the wave caused by the first encounter between Islam and the modern world. The fact that much of the Islamic world is under the cultural and economic domination of non-Islamic forces, that the very attempt to free oneself from this domination through industrialisation and related processes brings with it

a greater destruction of Islamic values, that the world as a whole seems to be confronted with so many apparently insoluble problems such as, the ecological crisis and that forces of destruction have become such that all peoples are threatened with extinction at all times, have helped to bring back a sense of the imminent appearance of the Mahdâ: the one who will destroy inequity and re-establish the rule of God on earth. The view that the Blessed Prophet had promised that at the beginning of every century a renewer (*mujaddid*) would come to revive Islam from within has only strengthened this feeling of expectation for the Mahdâ. Already in the fall of 1979, the holiest site in Islam, namely the House of God in Makkah, was captured in the name of the Mahdâ, although the forces at work were far from being those of simply pious Muslims helping to bring about the parousia. During the Iranian Revolution also, many simple people believed that the coming of the Mahdâ was imminent. Without doubt, as the forces of destruction in the world increase, as the natural system strains ever more under the burden of a technology which is alien to the natural rhythms of the life of the cosmos and as movements which speak in the name of Islam itself fail to create the ideal Islamic order which they always promise, this sense of expectation of the Mahdâ and movements associated with it will increase among traditional and devout Muslims. This force is certainly a reality among present-day Muslims and is bound to continue as a powerful one in the future.

Hence, although the idea of the cyclic renewal of Islam through a 'renewer' (*mujaddid*) has always been alive, as has the wave of Mahdâism which sees in the Mahdâ the force sent by God to return Islam to its perfection, Islam has never faced within itself that type of secular utopianism which underlies so many of the socio-political aspects of modern thought. It is therefore essential to be aware of the profound distinction between modern utopianism and Islamic teachings concerning the *mujaddid*, or renewer of Islamic society, or even the Mahdâ himself. It is also basic to distinguish between the traditional figure of the *mujaddid* and the modern reformer, who usually, as a result of his feeble reaction to modern thought,

can hardly be said to have brought about the renewal of Islam. One must also be aware of the real nature of that revivalism, based on utopianism but using Islamic images that one finds in certain types of Islamic 'fundamentalism'.

There is every reason to expect such forms of messianism to continue into the future. As a billion people become ever more frustrated in failing to achieve the goals which they believe themselves to be legitimately entitled to realise, one reaction is certainly some kind of a politico-social eruption or upheaval. Another possible reaction, however, is a messianism, which promises victory with divine help but on the basis of the destruction of the existing order. Messianism cannot but possess a 'revolutionary' character. That is why traditional Muslims believe that only the Mahdâ himself, who will come before the end of history, will be able to carry out a veritable religious revolution signifying nothing less than the establishment of the Divine Order on earth, all other revolutions being forms of subversion and further destruction of what remains of the religious tradition. To the extent that the world becomes a more dangerous place in which to live and especially while the Muslim peoples see themselves as confronted by alien forces on all sides which threaten their very existence, the wave of messianism is bound to increase in accordance, in fact, with some of the sayings of the Prophet of Islam about the signs of the latter days even if the status of these traditions remains disputed among the scholars of *Àadâth*.

This brings us to an aspect of the question that warrants a digression. Its importance can not be gainsaid in these discussions since a lot of exercises that ended in futility could have been avoided with its help. After this, we can turn to Iqbal's treatment of the idea of the Mahdâ and other signs of the Eleventh Hour.

The most important record that we find in the Hadith Literature is the last part of the “*Hadith of Gabriel*”<sup>77</sup> which speaks about the signs of the end of

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<sup>77</sup> The Hadith of Gabriel is found in many of the canonical collections of Hadith literature with some variations. Here we have followed the text as given by Muslim in his *SaÁÁÁ*. See Muslim, *Ÿm«n*; Bukh«râ, *Ÿm«n*. The text reads as follows:

“ ‘Umar ibn al-KhaÇÇ«b said: One day when we were with God’s messenger, a man with very white clothing and very black hair came up to us. No mark of travel was visible on him, and none of us recognised him. Sitting down before the Prophet, leaning his knees against his, and placing his hands on his thighs, he said, ‘Tell me, Muhammad, about submission.’”

He replied, “Submission means that you should bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is God’s messenger, that you should perform the ritual prayer, pay the alms tax, fast during Ramaï«n, and make the pilgrimage to the House if you are able to go there.”

The man said, “You have spoken the truth.” We were surprised at his questioning him and then declaring that he had spoken the truth. He said, ‘Now tell me about faith.’”

He replied, “Faith means that you have faith in God, His angels, His books, His messengers, and the Last Day, and that you have faith in the measuring out, both its good and its evil.”

Remarking that he had spoken the truth, he then said, ‘Now tell me about doing what is beautiful.’

He replied, “Doing what is beautiful means that you should worship God as if you see Him, for even if you do not see Him, He sees you.

Then the man said, “Tell me about the Hour.”

The Prophet replied, “About that he who is questioned knows no more than the questioner.”

The man said, “Then tell me about its marks.”

He said, “The slave girl will give birth to her mistress, and you will see the barefoot, the naked, the destitute, and the shepherds vying with each other in building.”

Then the man went away. After I had waited for a long time, the Prophet said to me, “Do you know who the questioner was, ‘Umar?’” I replied, ‘God and His messenger know best.’ He said, “He was Gabriel. He came to teach you your religion.”

time or the *Eleventh Hour* in an elliptical manner.<sup>78</sup> The relevant part reads as follows:

*The man said, 'Then tell me about its marks.'*

He said, "The slave girl will give birth to her mistress, and you will see the barefoot, the naked, the destitute, and the shepherds vying with each other in building."

Various explanations have been offered to solve the enigmatic references found in the text. The Prophet mentions two marks that would tell people that the end of time is near. The first is that "the slave girl will give birth to her mistress." Like many sayings referring to the last times, this sounds like a riddle, but it is not too difficult to understand.

The basic meaning is that the social order will be disrupted. In normal times, there are acknowledged social relationships that preserve order. The Koran provides indications of these relationships through the great attention it pays to the necessity of honouring and obeying one's parents. Another normal relationship is that between rulers and the ruled: Certain people give instructions, and others obey. "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you" (Qur'ān 4:59). The following Ādāth could also be cited in this regard:

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<sup>78</sup> The marks of the Hour were a topic of major interest for the Prophet and his companions. The books on Ādāth devote a good deal of space to the many sayings of the Prophet relevant to the signs that will presage the end of time. The Qur'ān frequently talks about the terror of the Hour, and in a few instances it mentions events that are taken as its precursors. For example, a beast will appear shortly before the final destruction: "When the Word falls on them, We shall bring forth for them out of the earth a beast that shall say to them that people had no faith in Our signs" (27:82). Another verse warns that the barbarian tribes Gog and Magog will be unleashed to do their work:

"When Gog and Magog are unloosed, and they slide down out of every slope, and the true promise draws near-then the eyes of the truth-concealers will stare: 'Woe to us, we were heedless of this! No, we were wrongdoers.' "(21:96-97).

“Each of you is a shepherd, and each of you will be held responsible for your sheep. . . .”

The proper relationship of mistress to servant girl is for the mistress to issue commands and the servant girl to obey (there may of course be other relationships as well, but this specific relationship is at issue here). One of the places where this relationship holds is mother and daughter. The mother raises and nurtures the daughter, and the daughter in turn obeys the mother. However, if the “servant girl gives birth to her mistress,” then mother has become servant and daughter has become mistress: This is a reversal of the right social order; it is a profound disequilibrium, and its seriousness in the Islamic consciousness can perhaps best be judged by the fact that in several verses the Koran makes reverence to one’s parents the first practical application of *tawÁád*, as we have already noted. If the mother-daughter relationship is upset, and if that is one of the most fundamental relationships of society, then surely the relationship of *tawÁád*, not to mention other relationships, will also be upset: Religion and society would fall apart.<sup>79</sup>

There is a point of distinction here. The *Hadith of Gabriel* is regarded authentic and accepted by all the Àadâth Scholars (*MuÁaddithân*). But this is not the case with all the materials in Àadâth collections that are referred in connection with the issue of the end of times and the signs of the Eleventh Hour. There is a strong possibility of alternative perspectives on these materials not by having recourse to one of our fashionable philosophies but to the strict canons of the science of Àadâth and its criticism. I am not an authority on the subject but I would venture to offer my humble comments gathered from my readings on the subject.

The materials that me find in the Àadâth collections could be classified under four headings:

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<sup>79</sup> Another interpretation, focusing on a less general explanation, says “the slave girl will give birth to her mistress” refers to the abolition of slavery in the twentieth century while “the destitute, and the shepherds vying with each other in building” is a reference to the aftermath of the oil money in the Middle East.

Advent of Mahdâ  
The Antichrist (*Dajjæl*)

Second Coming of Christ (*Nuẓÿl-i-MasâÁ*)

Events of the Eleventh Hour

The *Events of the Eleventh Hour* form an important segment of the Àadâth materials that concerns the issue of the Hour or the “ signs of the Hour”. In the terminology of the Àadâth it is termed *Mak«Áim*. We propose to use it as a test case to demonstrate the shift of paradigms in the history of interpretation of ideas. We shall return to the issue of the *Advent of Mahdâ* against the backdrop of the insight gained from the present discussion.

Let us have a look at the classical position that the *salaf*<sup>80</sup> took regarding to the issue of the *Mak«Áim*.

The traditions that speak of the *Mak«Áim* are couched in a manner of expression that indicate imminent destruction of the world. *L« taqÿm al-s«‘ab ill«*, or “the world would not end until ...” or “You should wait for... after me”....

The debate that resulted from these expressions centred on the questions: Do they report of the nearness of the “Hour”? Or do they point toward another version of the unfolding of the events after the times of the Prophet?

Classical position of the *salaf* is that all such expressions are a device of emphasis (*ta’káad*) and corroboration. The Prophet foretold of the events that his Companions had to encounter after his lifetime.<sup>81</sup> The *salaf* did not read into these texts anything that pertained to the “end of time” or the events

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<sup>80</sup> The word *salaf* (early generations) is used in a precise meaning in our discourse. It refers to the end of the period of the Followers and the Followers of the Followers (*T«bi‘ÿn* and *tab‘a T«bi‘ân*) that roughly coincides with the end of the Umayyid rule in the Arabian Peninsula. This also corresponds with the *Áadâth* of the *Khayr al-qurÿn*.

<sup>81</sup> S. ‘Uthm«n and the social upheaval/ dispute between S. ‘Alâ and S. Mu‘«wiyah etc.

that preceded the “Hour”. They did not find the materials relevant to these questions and took it as an example of the common literary device of the Arabic language that indicated the inevitability of the events and not a prophecy about the chronological unfolding of the future.

If we collect all these reports on the *Mak«Āim*, the result that a historical analysis clearly yields is that all these reports spoke of the events that the Companions had to encounter after the death of the Prophet. The *salaf* were clear about the referents of these reports and in their view these texts did not inform the community of the signs of the Hour.

Then we see the first political rift within the community i.e. the political struggle between Banë Umayyah and Banë ‘Abb«s. Since the opinion of the *salaf* was not codified and was not promulgated in the form of systematic consensus, some of the proponents of the struggle took advantage of these materials and used it to defend their strife and wars of political power.<sup>82</sup> Not only this but the additions of certain symbols to the texts was also witnessed in that era; symbols that were specific to one of the factions. Alongside with it, new interpretations started emerging that focused on some of the elliptical references that gave themselves to a multiplicity of interpretations.<sup>83</sup> If one studies this period that spans from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century and looks at the trends at work and tries to gain an understanding of the prevalent interpretations, it seems that all the events foretold under the *Mak«Āim* were being identified with the events that took place in their own times.

By this time we had two interpretations, that of the *salaf* and the other of the *kehalaf* that had come to the fore after that period. Then, as we enter into the period that is called the time of the *mutawassiĈân*, the views diverged. Some of the authorities, following the interpretation of the *salaf*, applied these reports to the time of the Companions while the others, who

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<sup>82</sup> The campaign of Abë Muslim Khur««nâ and the other warring factions that are well known facts of history.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn Kaldën has described it in detail.

represented the general trend, saw in these texts the “signs of the Hour”. The shift took the scene to the other end and the same texts were subsequently read in a different perspective.

There is another very instructive example of a similar shift of paradigm with an equally interesting history of interpretation in the tradition which tells us that the *khilafah* shall last for a period of time, then *mulëkan* ‘*ûan* shall intrude for a period of time, then *mulkan jabariyyah* for a period of time, and then, after that, the *kilafah* shall be witnessed once more. As for the times after that, the Prophet is reported to have kept his counsel. Since the tradition is important in the sense that its modern interpretations have provided the intellectual underpinnings to many a contemporary reform/political movement, it would be useful to have a look at the text.<sup>84</sup>

Takëna al-nubuwwatu fâkum m« sh«’ Allahu an takëna thumma yarfa‘uh« idh« sh«’a an yarfa‘ah« thumma takënu khilafatan ‘al« minh«j al-nubuwwah fa takënu m« sh«’ Allahu an takëna thumma yarfa‘uh« idh« sh«’ Allahu an yarfa‘ah« thumma takënu mulkan ‘*ûan* fa yakënu m« sh«’ Allahu an yakëna thumma yarfa‘uh« idh« sh«’a an yarfa‘ah« thumma takënu mulkan jabriyyatan fa takënu m« sh«’ Allahu an takëna thumma yarfa‘uh« idh« sh«’a an yarfa‘ah« thumma takënu khilafatan ‘al« minh«j al-nubuwwah. Thumma sakata.

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<sup>84</sup> AÁamad ibn À«nbal, *Musnad*, 17680.

(The Prophet ﷺ said, “Prophethood would last in your midst as long as God willed it to remain, then He will take it away whenever He willed it to come to an end. Then there would be *keḥikḥfab* following in the footsteps of Prophethood. It would last as long as God willed it to remain, then He will put an end to it whenever He willed it to come to an end. Then there would be a biting, mordacious kingship.<sup>85</sup> It would continue as long as God willed it to remain, then He will put an end to it whenever He willed it to come to an end. Then there would come the reign of coercive kingship.<sup>86</sup> It would last as long as God willed it to remain, then He will put an end to it whenever He willed it to come to an end. Then there would be *keḥikḥfab* following in the footsteps of Prophethood. Thereafter he remained silent.)

When S. ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azâz became the *kalâḥfab*, ‘Ābâb ibn Sḥlim, the narrator of this *‘Ādâth*, wrote a letter to him. After having congratulated him in the letter, ‘Ābâb said that his rule was foretold by the report and it had come true.

(‘Ābâb said, “when ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azâz became the *kalâḥfab*, Yazâd bin Nu‘mān bin Bashâr was among his companions so I wrote to him reminding him of this *‘Ādâth*. I told him that in my opinion the Leader of the Faithful (*amâr al-mu‘minân*) i.e. ‘Umar (bin ‘Abd al-‘Azâz) was the one who came after the biting, mordacious kingship and the coercive kingship. My letter was presented to ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azâz who was delighted to read it and was please with it.)<sup>87</sup>

The opinion reflected in the words of the narrator of the report is not an isolated and remote view. It is shared by all the *salaf* who understood the *‘Ādâth* in the sense that it referred to the times of the rightly guided caliphs in the first place, then to the tyrannical rules of the early Umayyads and after that to the despotic governments of the later Umayyads that were once again

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<sup>85</sup> That is to say a rule of tyrannical or oppressive governments.

<sup>86</sup> That is to say a government that comes to power through force and coercion.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

turned into the rightly guided caliphate at the hands of S. ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azâz.

Against the background of this interpretation of the *salaf* when we look at the interpretation of the same text given to it by our contemporaries in our near past,<sup>88</sup> that is in the past hundred years or so, we find that the same tradition is being used and commented upon by all the leading journalists/scholars, with the exclusion of the last part which leaves no doubts as to what it meant by the restoration of the *khilafah*. In the last one and a half century one hardly finds a reference in the Indian sub-Continent as well as in the Arab world, to the last and decisive part of the text.<sup>89</sup> Now the dominant interpretation that is given to the words of the *‘Adâth* report refers to a different classification of the historical epochs. According to this scheme the first phase of the rightly guided caliphate comes to an end with the death of S. ‘Alâ ibn abâ ‘Alî. The period extending from the rule of the Umayyads down to the invasion of the colonial powers of the Muslim lands is identified with *mulkân ‘âlî* (tyrannical or oppressive monarchies) and whole of the colonial era corresponds to *mulkân jabriyyatan* (coercive kingships). The independent nation states that emerged all over the Muslim lands in the wake of the end of the colonial era are naturally relegated to the status of replicas, extensions or dwindling outposts of the colonial rule while the second phase of *khilafah ‘alâ minhaj al-nubuwwah* (*khilafah* following in the footsteps of Prophethood) is situated in the future that the providence has in store for the *ummah* and which still has to unfold.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> See Amân A‘Asan I‘lâ‘â, “Sunnat i Khulafâ i R‘shidân”, in *Tajhâm i Dîn*, Lahore, 2001, pp. 82.

<sup>89</sup> Mawlân Mawdêdâ, *Rashâd Ri‘* and the others are no exception.

<sup>90</sup> This mode of argument is well represented in the writings of Dr. Asr‘ A‘amad and his school of thought. See Khurshâd ‘jlam, *Ummat i Muslimah kâ ‘Umar*, Qur‘ân Academy, Lahore; Asr‘ A‘amad, “Mahi i Maw‘ed kâ Shak‘iyyat”, in *Mâthaq*, Lahore, Nov. 1996, pp. 7-40. The implications of this kind of interpretation are serious and far-reaching but nevertheless clear. If the second phase of *khilafah ‘alâ minhaj al-nubuwwah* is an eventuality that still has to manifest then every man of faith has a religious *duty* to strive for it. The *duty*,

There are obvious flaws in this line of argument. According to this perspective all the Muslim governments from the Umayyad dynasty down to the Mughal, Ottoman and the Safavid dynasties are relegated to the status of either *mulkan ʿāṣiān* (tyrannical or oppressive monarchies) or made to correspond to *mulkan jabriyyatan* (coercive kingships). Secondly there is evidently no place for the reign of S. ʿUmar bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzâz in this scheme whereas it is considered to be *khilafah ʿalâ minhaj al-nubuwwah* by every definition of the term. Thirdly all the political systems evolved, adopted and used by the Muslims throughout history become nothing but deviations, if not downright monstrosities and the entire Islamic history is turned into an anomaly that ran contrary to the divine plan! The independent nation states of the post-colonial era do not fit in either.

This leads us to understand that there is a recurrent process of interpretation that is at work in all the reports of this sort. On the one hand there is a classical interpretation of the *salaf*. It undergoes a change at the hands of the *kehalaf*. Then it receives a new interpretation by the latter day scholars that may be entirely different or even contrary to the interpretation of the earlier generations.

Another important question that has to be considered here is the interpretative relation of these reports to the Qurʿanic text. If such reports are analysed on the basis of the Qurʿanic text or its textual links they yield different results as compared to the significance these same reports acquire when they are considered in isolation. This is something which we can not discuss here. However, this is an important consideration that should never be lost sight of while interpreting the reports that are of a cryptic nature. We will, however, have the occasion to invoke this methodology in the analysis of the reports about the Mahdâ that we intend to consider in the following section.

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translated into practical terms, could range from political struggle to militant activism according to the perspective of the group in question.

## ***THE EXPECTED PERSONALITY (MAHDI)***

Let us now turn to consider the investigations made about the reports that pertain to the question of the coming of the Mahdâ.

No leading authority in the science of Àadâth has ever accepted the reports that speak of the Mahdâ and the events around his personality as authentic. That is well known. We may add to it the general rule which says that issues of a universal import or issues that pertain to the essentials of religion and its doctrinal foundations, if these are not found in Im«m M«dik's *MuwaÇÇ«*, are liable to be suspect from the technical point of view of Àadâth criticism. This is a general rule of the Àadâth Scholars (*muÀaddithân*).

With this background it has to be noted that there is no mention of these reports in *MuwaÇÇ«*, not even in *Bukh«râ* and *Muslim*.<sup>91</sup> These are only found in the *Sunan*. The Àadâth Scholars who are strict in their application of the canons of Àadâth criticism refuse to accept these as authentic even if these are found in the *Sunan* on account of the weakness in their chain of narration. Other scholars who take a lenient view, at the most, regard these reports as *Àasan*. Great authorities of the science of *Àadâth*, however, did not accept these as authentic.

One has to face an important question here: Would it be justified, in any valid sense, to base a movement of reform or a mode of action on such an unreliable religious and epistemic foundations? The question becomes further complicated and gains sinister dimensions when we relate it to the plethora of trends and movements that we find in the contemporary world which are informed, not by the incontrovertible religious data, but rather seem to be grounded in a "settled conviction".

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<sup>91</sup> Iqbal intended to make the same point, perhaps, when he drew the attention of his interlocutor from the Q«di«nâ journal *The Light* to the same fact and invited him to think about its implications. He said "It is not mentioned in *Bukh«râ* and *Muslim*, the two books, which are believed to be most reliable." See *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1995, pp.203-4.

### ***The “Settled Conviction”***

Mention should also be made of a “settled conviction” on these questions that is commonly found among the Muslims.<sup>92</sup> The “settled conviction” could be summarised as follows:

***THE KORAN STATES SPECIFICALLY THAT BEFORE THE END EVERY TOWN SHALL BE EITHER TOTALLY DESTROYED OR SEVERELY PUNISHED; AND IT MAY BE ASSUMED THAT THIS WILL HAVE BEEN PRECEDED BY A FRENZY OF URBANISM, FOR WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE SIGNS THAT WOULD HERALD THE APPROACH OF THE LATTER DAYS, THE PROPHET MADE MENTION IN PARTICULAR OF THE EXCESSIVE HEIGHT OF THE BUILDINGS THAT MEN WOULD BUILD.***

*In Islam the restorer is mentioned in many sayings of the Prophet. Without being named, he is referred to as ‘the rightly guided one’, al-Mahdâ; and it may be presumed, in view of the vast scope of his authority, that the coming of the Mahdâ will mark the fulfilment of the Jewish and Christian Eliatic hopes. The Islamic traditions point to a world-wide function which, although situated in Islam, is of too universal a nature not to extend beyond its boundaries, at least by radiation if not by deliberate and mandated action. Nor can it be excluded that redresses, which are now impossible the world over, might become, under his aegis, once more possible outside Islam as well as within it, after a ‘Purification Day’ had removed the obstacles.*

*The hopeful expectation of the Mahdâ has produced in Islam a number of false Mahdâs throughout the centuries. Of the true Mahdâ the Prophet is reported to have said: ‘He will be broad of forehead and aquiline of nose. He will fill the earth with right and with justice even as it hath been filled with wrong and oppression. Seven years will he reign. But towards the end of his reign or after it, Islam expects also the Antichrist. The Prophet is said to have mentioned that many had already foretold the coming of this greatest of evils, but that he himself was the first to make known a*

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<sup>92</sup> For a comparative study of these ideas in the three monotheistic traditions see Victor Danner, “The Last Days in Judaism, Christianity and Islam”, in Arvind Sharma, (ed.) *Fragments of Infinity, Essays in Religion and Philosophy*, pp. 63-86. Also see S. H. Nasr, et al, “Messianism and the Mahdi”, in *Expectation of the Millennium, Shi’ism in History*, State University of New York Press, 1989, pp. 7-43.

*clear bodily sign by which he might be recognised. He would be 'a man blind in his right eye, in which all light is extinguished, even as it were a grape'. As in Christianity, it is believed in Islam that he will cause corruption and that by his power to work marvels he will win many to his side. But he will none the less be resisted. The Prophet said: 'A body of my people will not cease to fight for the truth until the coming forth of the Antichrist'; and he meant this inclusively, as is shown by what he says of the resistance to the Antichrist; 'When they are pressing on to fight, even while they straighten their lines for the prayer when it is called, Jesus the son of Mary will descend and will lead them in prayer. And the enemy of God, when he seeth Jesus, will melt even as salt melteth in water. If he were let be, he would melt into perishing; but God will slay him at the hand of Jesus, who will show them his blood upon his lance.'*

*The explanation of the almost simultaneous presence of the Mahdâ and the Antichrist will already be clear. The two opposite tendencies which, as we have seen, inevitably characterise the end of the cycle, reach their extreme of opposition in these two beings. It is the Mahdâ who incarnates 'the spirit of the times'; but the macrocosm has to die and the Antichrist is its final and fatal sickness. As to those who personify its terminal wisdom, above all the Mahdâ and with him, the elect, they may thereby also be considered as the providential receptacles for the light which shines into the end of this cycle from the outset of the next. It is thus that although the Antichrist is said to come after the Mahdâ or towards the end of his reign, spreading corruption and partly undoing his work, the Mahdâ is none the less he who will have the last word, in as much as his kingdom is the harbinger of the new age, wherein it will have its prolongation, after having displayed in itself its own perfection of maturity and fulfilment.*

The question of the *Àadâth* materials about the Second Coming of Christ and the antichrist (*Dajjâl*) has a long history and on going debates that reverberate through the ages. I have neither the audacity nor the time to enter into it or offer any comments except that in this case, as in others, a safe course is to pay more heed to the views of the early day scholars.

## *IQBAL AND THE IDEA OF THE MAHDI*

Against this backdrop we can now proceed to see what Iqbal had to say about the idea of the Mahdâ.

As early as 1916 we find him expressing his views about the traditions of Mahdâ and the Second Coming of Christ. In August 1916 he wrote to ڃi' al-Dân Baranâ:

*Ibn Khaldën has made a detailed critique of the traditions pertaining to the issues of Mahdâ and the (Second Coming of) Christ. In his view, all these traditions are weak. As far as the principles of Aadâth criticism are concerned, I am in agreement with him. However, I am of the view that a great personality shall emerge among the Muslims. My conviction is not founded upon these traditions. It has a different basis.*<sup>93</sup>

Quatrains of *B«l i Jibrâl*, published in 1924, include a verse which reads:<sup>94</sup>

خَطَّةٌ قُسْطُنْطِيَّةٌ يَعْنِي قَيْصَرَ كَادِيَارَ

مہدی اُمت کی سَطوت کا نشانِ پاندار

مہدی سے مراد کوئی خاص مہدی نہیں ہے، وہی جو عالم افکار میں زلزلہ پیدا کر سکے۔ ایک اور جگہ مہدی: بر

حق ہے۔ اس کی تشریح آپ ملیں گے تو کردوں گا۔

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<sup>93</sup> *Answer-i- Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1977, p. 144. These views are corroborated in the records of his table talk that were preserved by various people. See the following quotations: Mahmëd Nü«mâ, *Malfë«t*, Lahore, n.d., pp. 110-111. Also see *Malfë«t i Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1977, p. 142.

Akhtar R«hâ, "Asad Mult«nâ kü Râzn«mchü kü Chand Awr«q", *Iqbal*, Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1976, p. 83.

<sup>94</sup> See *Kulliy«t i Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1994, pp. 415.

آپ کو کسی عالم سے یہ سوالات کرنے چاہئیں جو آپ نے مجھ سے کئے ہیں۔ میں ز، یادہ سے ز، یادہ آپ کو صرف اپنا عقیدہ بتا سکتا ہوں اور بس۔ میرے نزدیک مہدی، مسیحیت اور مجددیت کے متعلق جو احادیث ہیں وہ ایرانی اور عجمی تحنیلات کا نتیجہ ہیں۔ عربی تحنیلات اور قرآن کی صحیح سپرٹ سے ان کو کوئی سروکار نہیں۔ ہاں یہ ضرور ہے کہ مسلمانوں نے بعض علماء یا دیگر قائدین امت کو مجدد یا مہدی کے الفاظ سے یاد کیا ہے۔ مثلاً محمد ثانی فاتح قسطنطنیہ کو مؤرخین نے مہدی لکھا ہے۔ بعض علماء امت کو امام اور مجدد کے الفاظ سے یاد کیا ہے۔ اس میں کوئی اعتراض کی بات نہیں۔ زمانہ حال میں میرے نزدیک اگر کوئی شخص مجدد کہلانے کا مستحق ہے تو وہ صرف جمال الدین افغانی ہے۔ مصر و ایران و ترکی و ہند کے مسلمانوں کی، تاریخ > ب کوئی لکھے گا تو اسے سب سے پہلے عبدالوہاب نجدی اور بعد میں جمال الدین افغانی کا ذکر کرنا ہوگا۔ مؤرخ الذکر ہی اصل ہیں موصس ہے۔ زمانہ حال کے مسلمانوں کی نشاۃ ثانیہ کا۔ اگر قوم نے ان کو عام طور پر مجدد نہیں کہا یا انہوں نے خود اس کا دعویٰ نہیں کیا تو اس سے ان کے کام کی اہمیت میں کوئی فرق اہل بصیرت کے نزدیک نہیں آتا۔

عالم اسلام:

عالم اسلام کے متعلق فرمایا کہ پچھلی چند صدیوں میں اسلام کا زمانہ انحطاط رہا، اس لیے اعلیٰ شخصیتیں بہت وقفے کے بعد پیدا ہوئیں۔ مثلاً امام غزالی، مولانا روم اور شاہ ولی اللہ جیسی ہستیاں۔ مگر کچھ عرصے سے رنگ بدلا ہوا نظر آتا ہے اور اعلیٰ ہستیاں پے پے پیدا ہوئی ہیں۔ مثلاً سرسید احمد خان، جمال الدین افغانی، قاضی اعظم جان، مفتی محمد عبدہ، سعد زاعول پاشا اور موجودہ زمانے میں امان اللہ خان، رضا شاہ، مصطفیٰ کمال اور ابن سعود وغیرہ۔ یہ سب اس امر کی علامت ہیں کہ اسلام میں دوبارہ ترقی کے آثار پیدا ہو رہے ہیں اور ممکن ہے بہت جلد کوئی غیر معمولی انسان انقلاب کا باعث ہو۔

مرد منتظر:

یہاں پہنچ کر میں نے سوال کیا کہ آپ کے اس خیال کے متعلق طرح طرح کے شکوک و طماہر کیے جاتے ہیں کہ آپ اعلیٰ انسان (Superman) کے منتظر ہیں، جیسا کہ آپ نے ”اسرار و رموز“ میں بھی فرمایا ہے: ع

اے سوارِ اشہب دورانِ بیا

اس سے کیسی شخصیت مراد ہے؟ کیا آپ پیغمبر صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے بعد کسی اور انسان کامل کی توقع بھی رکھتے ہیں؟ بولے ”ہر گز نہیں۔ میں دوسروں، بالخصوص اہل شیعہ کی طرح کسی خاص انسان کے انتظار میں نہیں اور نہ آنحضرت صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے بعد کسی انسان کامل کی توقع ہو سکتی ہے۔ میں نے جس کی تمنا ظاہر کی ہے وہ یہی اعلیٰ قسم کی ہستیاں ہیں جو آکر سو سائٹی کو بلند کر دیتی ہیں۔ ضروری نہیں کہ ایک ہی ہستی ہو بلکہ ممکن ہے کہ ایک قوم کی قوم ہو۔“ میں نے کہا ”آپ کے مصرع مذکور سے تو ایک ہی انسان کا خیال پیدا ہوتا ہے۔“ بولے ”نہیں، آپ ہی بتائیے کہ ایک ایسی قوم کی توقع ظاہر کرتے ہوئے میں شاعرانہ زبان میں ان الفاظ کے علاوہ اور کیا الفاظ استعمال کر سکتا تھا؟“

ڈاکٹر صاحب نے فرمایا: اکثر لوگ مہدی کے منتظر ہیں مگر وہ آنے میں نہیں آتا۔ ایک اور بزرگ لاہور میں ہوا کرتے تھے جب کبھی ملتے مہدی کے آنے کی تاریخ بتا جاتے۔ وہ تاریخ گزر جاتی تو ایک نئی تاریخ مقرر کر دیتے۔ اسی انتظار میں ان کا انتقال ہو گیا۔ مگر مہدی کونہ آنا تھا نہ آیا۔ کچھ دن ہوئے ایک اور بزرگ تشریف لائے وہ بھی مہدی کے آنے کی خوشخبری دے گئے۔ میں نے ان سے کہا کہ مجھے پہلے بھی کئی لوگ مہدی کی آمد کی خبر دے گئے ہیں۔ مگر ابھی تک وہ نہیں آیا۔ میرا خیال ہے کہ ہمیں اپنے کام مہدی کے لیے نہیں اٹھار کھنے چاہئیں۔

مہدی کے قصے کے بعد قدرتی طور پر مسیح کا ذکر آ گیا۔ میں نے کہا احمدیوں کے بارے میں جو آپ نے رسالہ شائع کیا ہے اس میں آپ نے لکھا ہے کہ Spengler شیمپلر نے مسلمانوں کو مجوسی اقوام میں شامل کرنے میں غلطی کی ہے Spengler نے مجوسی اقوام کی ایک خصوصیت یہ بیان کی ہے کہ وہ کسی آنے والے نبی کی منتظر رہتی

ہیں۔ مسلمان کسی آنے والے نبی کے منتظر نہیں۔ میں نے کہا آپ کا یہ دعویٰ کہ مسلمان کسی آنے والے نبی کے منتظر نہیں درست نہیں کیونکہ مسلمان عام طور پر مسیح کی آمد ثانی کے منتظر ہیں۔ ڈاکٹر صاحب نے فرمایا میں اس کا قائل نہیں۔ میں نے اپنے اشعار میں اس عقیدہ کا اظہار بھی کیا ہے اسی بنا پر احمدیوں نے مسلمانوں کو میرے خلاف ابھارنے کی کوشش کی مگر وہاں کچھ اثر نہ ہوا۔

اے طفل خود معاملہ قد سے عصا بلند

کھلے جاتے ہیں اسرارِ نہانی

گیادورِ حدیث 'لن ترانی'

ہوئی جس کی خودی پہلے نمودار

وہی مہدی، وہی آخر زمانی!

مہدی

قوموں کی حیات ان کے تخیل پہ ہے موقوف

یہ ذوق سکھاتا ہے ادب مُرغِ چمن کو

مجزوبِ فرنگی نے بہ اندازِ فرنگی

مہدی کے تخیل سے کیا زندہ وطن کو

اے وہ کہ تو مہدی کے تخیل سے ہے بیزار

نومید نہ کرا ہوئے مشکیں سے خُتن کو  
ہو زندہ کفن پوش تو میت اُسے سمجھیں  
یا چاک کریں مردکِ ناداں کے کفن کو؟  
مہدی برحق

سب اپنے بنائے ہوئے زنداں ہیں میں مجبوس  
خاور کے ثوابت ہوں کہ افرنگ کے ستار  
پیرانِ کلیسا ہوں کہ شیخانِ حرم ہوں  
نے جدتِ گفتار ہے، نے جدتِ کردار  
ہیں اہل سیاست کے وہی کُنہ خم و پیچ  
شاعر اسی افلاسِ تخیل میں گرفتار  
دنیا کو ہے اُس مہدی برحق کی ضرورت  
ہو جس کی نگہ زلزلہ عالم افکار

At the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> Lecture of his *Reconstruction*, (written vic. 1927) he remarked:<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, IAP, Lahore, 1989, p. 115. The editor of the *Reconstruction* adds: "Cf. *Muqaddimah*, Chapter III, section 51: 'The Fatimid.....', trans.

***IT MAY FURTHER BE REGARDED AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL CURE FOR THE MAGIAN ATTITUDE OF CONSTANT EXPECTATION WHICH TENDS TO GIVE A FALSE VIEW OF HISTORY. IBN KHALDĒN, SEEING THE SPIRIT OF HIS OWN VIEW OF HISTORY, HAS FULLY CRITICISED AND I BELIEVE, FINALLY DEMOLISHED THE ALLEGED REVELATIONAL BASIS IN ISLAM OF AN IDEA SIMILAR, AT LEAST IN ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS, TO THE ORIGINAL MAGIAN IDEA WHICH HAD REAPPEARED IN ISLAM UNDER THE PRESSURE OF MAGIAN THOUGHT.***

REFERENCE MAY ALSO BE MADE TO ALLAMA IQBAL'S LETTER DATED 7<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 1932 TO MUÁAMMAD AÁSAN WHEREIN, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HE STATES:<sup>96</sup>

*Instead of sending your queries to me you should have addressed these questions to a scholar of Islam. At the most that I can do for you is to tell you about my belief in this regard. In my view all the traditions (aÁ«dâth) that speak of the Mahdâ, messianism and the concept of a renovator (mujaddid) are a result of the Iranian and 'ajamâ imagination. They have nothing to do with the Arab ethos and the true spirit of the Qur'«n. Nevertheless, some of the ulam«' or other leaders of the ummah have been remembered by the title of mujaddid or Mahdâ.<sup>97</sup>*

In 1935 his article "Islam and Q«d«nism" appeared in *The Statesman*, Calcutta. While pointing out the parallels of "pre-Islamic Magianism" that

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Rosenthal, II, 156-200. Ibn KhaldĒn recounts formally twenty-four traditions bearing upon the belief in Mahdâ (none of which is from *Bukh«ri* or *Muslim*) and questions the authenticity of them all. Cf. Also the article 'al-Mahdâ' in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* and P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 439-49, for the religio-political background of the Im«m-Mahdâ idea....

And finally it shall be rewarding to read this last paragraph in conjunction with Allama's important notes on the back cover of his own copy of Spengler's *Decline of the West*, facsimile of which is reproduced in *Descriptive Catalogue of Allama Iqbal's Personal Library*. Plate No.33." (pp. 188)

<sup>96</sup> *Iqbal Nama*, Sh. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1951, Vol. II, p. 231-32.

<sup>97</sup> For his own use of it in this sense see "Bil«d i Isl«miyyah" (1908 and after..) *B«ng i Dar«*, in *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1994, pp. 172.

existed between Q«dism and Bahism he commented on the allied issue of Mahdâ as well. It reads:<sup>98</sup>

*Heretical movements in Muslim Persia under the pressure of pre-Islamic Magian ideas invented the words “burëx” “Áulël”, “Éill” to cover this idea of perpetual reincarnation. It was necessary to invent new expressions for a Magian idea in order to make it less shocking to Muslim conscience. Even the phrase “promised Messiah” is not a product of Muslim religious consciousness. It is a bastard expression and has its origin in the pre-Islamic Magian outlook. We don’t find it in early Islamic religions and historical literature. This remarkable fact is revealed by Prof. Wensinck’s Concordance of the Traditions of the Holy Prophet, which covers no less than 11 collections of the traditions and three of the earliest historical documents of Islam. One can very well understand the reason why early Muslims never used this expression. The expression did not appeal to them probably because they thought that it implied a false conception of the historical process. The Magian mind regarded Time as a circular movement; the glory of elucidating the true nature of the historical process as a perpetually creative movement was reserved for the great Muslim thinker and historian, Ibn Khaldën.*

***THE INTENSITY OF FEELING WHICH THE INDIAN MUSLIMS HAVE MANIFESTED IN OPPOSITION TO THE QADIANI MOVEMENT IS, THEREFORE, PERFECTLY INTELLIGIBLE TO THE STUDENT OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY.***

HE WAS CRITICISED BY THE Q«DINÂ JOURNAL *THE LIGHT*. IN THE SAME SEQUEL THE PRESS INTERVIEWED HIM. ONE OF HIS REJOINDERS IS REVEALING FOR THE ISSUE THAT WE ARE TRYING TO ANALYSE.

QUESTIONED ABOUT THE TRADITION QUOTED BY *THE LIGHT* ABOUT THE *MUJADDID* HE REPLIED:<sup>99</sup>

***WHILE I DO BELIEVE IN MAN’S SPIRITUAL CAPACITY AND THE POSSIBILITY OF THE BIRTH OF SPIRITUAL MEN, I AM NOT SURE THAT THE HISTORICAL PROCESS IS SO MATHEMATICAL AS THE LIGHT THINKS. WE CAN EASILY CONFESS THAT IT IS BEYOND OUR***

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<sup>98</sup> *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1995, pp. 198-9.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.203-4.

*INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS. ALL THAT I CAN NEGATIVELY SAY IS THAT IT DOES NOT APPEAR TO ME TO BE AS FIXED AND MATHEMATICALLY EXACT AS THE LIGHT THINKS. I AM RATHER INCLINED TO IBN KHALDĒN'S VIEW, WHICH REGARDS THE HISTORICAL PROCESS AS A FREE CREATIVE MOVEMENT AND NOT A PROCESS WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN WORKED OUT WITH DEFINITE LANDMARKS. THIS VIEW HAS BEEN PUT FORWARD IN MODERN TIMES BY BERGSON WITH MUCH GREATER WEALTH OF ILLUSTRATION AND SCIENTIFIC ACCURACY THAN BY IBN KHALDĒN. THE TRADITION QUOTED BY THE LIGHT WAS PROBABLY POPULARISED BY JALĀL-UD-DĀN SUYĒTĀ IN HIS OWN INTEREST AND MUCH IMPORTANCE CANNOT BE ATTACHED TO IT. IT IS NOT MENTIONED IN BUKHĀRĀ AND MUSLIM, THE TWO BOOKS, WHICH ARE BELIEVED TO BE MOST RELIABLE. IT MAY EMBODY A VISION OF THE NATURE OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS BY SOME SPIRITUAL MEN, BUT THIS PERSONAL VISION OF THE INDIVIDUALS CAN FORM NO BASIS FOR LOGICAL ARGUMENT. THIS IS THE RULE WHICH EXPERT TRADITIONISTS HAVE ALWAYS OBSERVED.*

Questioned about the possibility of divine inspiration and the advent of inspired reformers after the Holy Prophet he replied by referring to the page 120-1 of his *Reconstruction*, but added:<sup>100</sup>

*INDEED AS LONG AS THE SPIRITUAL CAPACITY OF MANKIND ENDURES, THEY WILL RISE AMONG ALL NATIONS AND COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO SHOW BETTER IDEALS OF LIFE TO MAN. TO HOLD OTHERWISE WOULD BE TO FLY IN THE FACE OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT THE MODERN MAN HAS THE RIGHT TO CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THEIR MYSTIC EXPERIENCES. THE FINALITY OF THE PROPHETHOOD MEANS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT ALL PERSONAL AUTHORITY IN RELIGIOUS LIFE, DENIAL OF WHICH INVOLVES DAMNATION, HAS COME TO AN END.*

Next year, in 1936, Iqbal published his response to the criticism that came from the pen of Pundit Nehru. Here is a pertinent remark:<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.206-7.

*IS INDIA DĀR-UL-ĀRAB OR DĀR-UL-ISLĀM? WHAT IS THE REAL MEANING OF THE DOCTRINE OF JIHĀD IN ISLAM? WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE EXPRESSION “FROM AMONGST YOU” IN THE QUR’ĀNIC VERSE: “OBEY GOD, OBEY THE PROPHET AND THE MASTERS OF THE AFFAIRS (I.E. RULERS) FROM AMONGST YOU?” WHAT IS THE CHARACTER OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE PROPHET FORETELLING THE ADVENT OF IMĀM MAHDĀ? THESE QUESTIONS AND SOME OTHERS, WHICH AROSE SUBSEQUENTLY, WERE, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, QUESTIONS FOR INDIAN MUSLIMS ONLY. EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM, HOWEVER, WHICH WAS THEN RAPIDLY PENETRATING THE WORLD OF ISLAM WAS ALSO INTIMATELY INTERESTED IN THEM. THE CONTROVERSIES, WHICH THESE QUESTIONS CREATED, FORM THE MOST INTERESTING CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAM IN INDIA. THE STORY IS A LONG ONE AND IS STILL WAITING FOR A POWERFUL PEN. MUSLIM POLITICIANS WHOSE EYES WERE MAINLY FIXED ON THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION SUCCEEDED IN WINNING OVER A SECTION OF THE ULEMA TO ADOPT A LINE OF THEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT WHICH, AS THEY THOUGHT, SUITED THE SITUATION; BUT IT WAS NOT EASY TO CONQUER BY MERE LOGIC THE BELIEFS WHICH HAD RULED FOR CENTURIES THE CONSCIENCE OF THE MASSES OF ISLAM IN INDIA. IN SUCH A SITUATION LOGIC CAN EITHER PROCEED ON THE GROUND OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY OR ON THE LINES OF A FRESH ORIENTATION OF TEXTS AND TRADITIONS. IN EITHER CASE THE ARGUMENT WILL FAIL TO APPEAL TO THE MASSES. TO THE INTENSELY RELIGIOUS MASSES OF ISLAM ONLY ONE THING CAN MAKE A CONCLUSIVE APPEAL, AND THAT IS DIVINE AUTHORITY.*

Replying to Ākām MuĀammad Āusayn ‘Arshâ in 1936, he wrote:

*The word “Mahdâ” does not denote any specific personality. Rather it means any one who could send shock waves into the realm of ideas.<sup>102</sup>*

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<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.225-6.

<sup>102</sup> *Iqbal Nama*, Sh. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1951, Vol. I, p. 33. The same idea is expressed in the poem “Mahdâ i bar Āq”, see *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1994, p. 557. See note 19.

ﺃﺭﺏ ﻱ ﻛﺎﻟﺎﻡ (PUBLISHED VIC. 1936) CONTAINS TWO SHORT POEMS  
ENTITLED, “MAHDÂ” AND “MAHDÂ I BAR Â«Q”.<sup>103</sup>  
**ADD URDU**

## **IQBAL’S POSITION**

In view of the foregoing we can form a cumulative idea of Iqbal’s position on the issue of Mahdâ amidst the settled convictions of his community.

In all probability, Iqbal did not feel inclined to accept all those reports as authentic that spoke of the advent of Mahdâ as a fixed historical event. He is not alone in maintaining this view. He is following in the footsteps of a large number of scholars of the old who regarded these reports to be weak to such an extent that one could almost relegate these to the rank of forged traditions. They cannot serve as a basis for a ruling nor for determining an object of faith. Therefore, it is understandable if he did not take these reports into consideration.

However, the concept of Mahdâ had gained an archetypal status among the Muslims of South and East Asia and as a “settled conviction” it had encompassed almost every concept of historical process and historical change. Iqbal, hence, adopted it as a symbol of the ‘leader or guide’ of the ummah not as a personification. In other words, the function of Mahdâ and the qualifications that such a function required were taken over by Iqbal while keeping its historical manifestation unknown, non-personified and unidentified.

These qualifications are the same as required for man to regain his centrality and perfection in the universal order of existence. Iqbal’s ideal human being is an embodiment of these attributes. He designates it in various ways and calls it by different titles. One of these titles is Madhâ. One could ask oneself the question as to what did Iqbal expect from such a

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<sup>103</sup> See *Kulliyat i Iqbal*, IAP, Lahore, 1994, pp. 557 and 572.

person? The answer is clear. It is an extension of the prophetic function without its law giving aspect or its characteristic claim of religious authority; charismatic, universal, magnificent and adorned with all the inward and outward perfections. Iqbal's Madhâ is the most perfect non- prophetic model of the human reality endowed with the power to lead humanity from its waning phase of utmost historical and religious decline to the restoration of its human perfection. To this extent he is in agreement with the "settled conviction" but he does not accept the modalities of its historical manifestations as commonly accepted by the wide spread, but inauthentic, opinion of the masses. Here he departs from the received wisdom on the subject. This attitude is grounded, contrary to the commonly held view of his ambivalence towards Àadâth literature, in a prudent and careful approach to the corpus of Àadâth and, in this sense it is more akin to the approach of the early day scholars than that of his contemporaries.

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### NOTES AND REFERENCES

\* The initial draft of this article was presented as the Presidential Address to the Annual Qur'anic Lectures arranged by the Markazi Anjuman i Khuddam i Qur'an— 1-4 November 1998. The following remarks preceded the Address.

As is required of a chief guest, I would prefer to begin my comments by expressing my gratitude for receiving the honour that has been conferred on me. It is indeed a privilege. But these stock phrases and expressions have a deeper significance and a ring of personal connotation as well. I am not ripe in years even today but fifteen years ago, when I was still younger, I published the first volume of *Rimḡyat*<sup>104</sup> which dealt with metaphysics, cosmology, civilisation and cultural issues, philosophy, tradition and Sufism. Reviewing the

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<sup>104</sup> *Rimḡyat*, No. 1, Lahore, 1983.

volume, a wise and witty writer came up with a consummate remark that depicted my person *vis á vis* my literary accomplishment. The title was borrowed from Ghalib's verse

URDU verse

*O thou self-reliant and self-contained lad*

*Thy staff rises higher than your height."*

I must confess that I face a similar embarrassment today. The subject that our learned speaker has brought to our attention is once again "higher than my height" and I am goaded to say that, in a sense, I have been tricked into accepting the offer. Dr. AbÄ«r lured me in when he made me agree to participate in the lecture series by invoking Iqbal and other topics of mutual interest.<sup>105</sup> I was taken in. It was only when the paper of Mr. Imr«n N. Àosseïn crossed my desk that I was alerted to the problem. Dr AbÄ«r AÁmad had over estimated me. So if my discourse falls short of your expectations I offer my apologies in advance.

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<sup>105</sup> The Address was delivered as the presidential remarks to the first lecture in the series.

# ALLAMA IQBAL NEWS, VIEWS AND EVENTS: A SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN DURING 1951

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik

In addition to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is rightly regarded as the founding father of Pakistan. Throughout his life span and even after his demise, his indebted community has shown unparalleled respect and admiration for him. The tendency reached its apex after the establishment of Pakistan, when Iqbal Day celebrations used to be observed with great dedication. The English dailies of Pakistan have also contributed a lot in that endeavour. This is the second in the series of surveys that the present author has made.<sup>106</sup> We have made an attempt to trace all such functions as reported in the English newspapers of Pakistan during 1951. It is hoped that this endeavour would reveal, at least to a considerable extent, the perceptions of the great seer and statesman found in the Pakistani journalism and the perspectives that underlie these perceptions.

- During 1951, the first news concerning Allama Iqbal appeared on January 24, 1951 in *The Pakistan Times*, which informed that at Karachi the Iqbal Society of Pakistan had been formed to promote the study and research on life and works of Allama Iqbal. The Society which planned to open branches all over Pakistan would *inter alia*, try to coordinate the work of associations, societies, institutions and other organisations working for the same purpose and publish such proceedings, journals, memories, translations, monographs and other publications as might be found necessary and desirable for the propagation and popularisation of Iqbal's contributions. It

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\* This is the second of a series of surveys planned by the author covering the whole gambit of Iqbal Day celebrations for the last five decades or more. For the first part of the survey, dealing with 1950, see *Iqbal Review* Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2000. (Editor)

also pledged to prepare and publish authoritative and standard translations and commentaries of Iqbal's attempts in the major languages of the world and to organise, establish and maintain libraries, reading rooms, study circles and research centres for the promotion of study and research on Iqbal's endeavours in Pakistan and other countries. Besides, it announced to award grants, scholarships, fellowships, prizes, and medals for any kind of work connected with the aims and objects of the society.<sup>1</sup> The report added that the following office-bearers were elected at the meeting: Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed, President; Mumtaz Hasan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, and Ilmuddin of the Pakistan Finance Department, Vice Presidents; S. A. Vahid, Inspector General, Forests, General Secretary. The following were elected members of the four men Managing Committee of the Society. Dr. Nazir Ahmed, Chairman, Tariff Commission, Z. A. Bokhari, Controller Broadcasting, S. M. Ikram, Joint Secretary, Minister of Interior and Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah (1915-2000)<sup>2</sup> member Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.<sup>3</sup>

- During the month of April, all English dailies of Pakistan gave special coverage to Iqbal Day celebrations, observed on April 21, 1951, which are described here. *The Pakistan Times* communicated on April 8, 1951 that under the auspices of the All Pakistan Majlis-i-Iqbal, Karachi, a branch of the Majlis for East Pakistan had been established at Chittagong. The news revealed that the branch would start its life actively by celebrating the Iqbal Day on April 29.<sup>4</sup> In its issue of April 10, 1951, *The Pakistan Times* disclosed that the working committee of the 'Writers- Artists' at a meeting held at Dhaka *inter alia* decided to hold a special literary meeting on the occasion of the ensuing

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<sup>1</sup> "Iqbal Society inaugurated at Karachi: Aims and objects outlined," *The Pakistan Times*, January 24, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Shaista Shuhrawardy Ikramullah (1915-2000); worker of Pakistan movement, writer, diplomat, first Muslim woman PhD from London University; founder, All India Women Student's Federation, 1934; member, Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1946; active member of Muslim League Women's sub-committee, member, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 1947-54; Pakistan delegations to UN, 1948; as leader and Deputy Leader, 1956; Pakistan's Ambassador to Morocco, 1964-67. Pubs. *Letters to Neena*; *From Purdah to Parliament*; *Kushbish-i-Nataman* (Urdu short stories).

<sup>3</sup> "Iqbal Society inaugurated at Karachi: Aims and objects outlined," *The Pakistan Times*, January 24, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> "Majlis-i-Iqbal for Chittagong," *The Pakistan Times*, April 8, 1951.

'Iqbal Day' on April 21.<sup>5</sup> In further news appeared on April 13, 1951, *The Pakistan Times* stated that Iqbal Day would be observed at Montgomery on April 21 by holding a *mushaira* and reading of papers on the teachings of Allama Iqbal.<sup>6</sup>

- On April 15, 1951, *The Pakistan Times* informed that the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore would celebrate Iqbal Day by devoting full one sitting of its 58th annual session to '*Iqbaliyat*'. Hakim Ahmed Shuja, Dr. Inayatullah, Abid Ali Abid, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum and Salahuddin Ahmed were among those who would read papers on various aspects of Iqbal.<sup>7</sup>

- Next day, on April 16, 1951, *The Pakistan Times* carried information that Fatimah Jinnah would preside over the Iqbal Day meeting being organised by the Central Iqbal Committee in Lahore on April 21. The programme included *Quran Khawani* at the tomb of Allama Iqbal and wreath laying ceremony by the representatives of various organisations in the morning and a public meeting at the Gol bagh in the evening.<sup>8</sup>

- The biggest Iqbal Day programme, as reported by the national dailies, was scheduled at Lahore where Fatimah Jinnah was to be the chief guest. *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi informed that elaborate arrangements had been made to accord a befitting reception to Fatimah Jinnah on her arrival in Lahore from Karachi on April 20, 1951. Besides, the Central Iqbal Committee, appealed the people of Lahore to give her a befitting reception at the railway station.<sup>9</sup> Brisk preparation were also reported to be made to celebrate Iqbal Day in Lahore cantonment on April 21 and Major General Muhammad Azam Khan, Commander, Lahore Division was also expected to preside over a meeting to be held in that connection.<sup>10</sup>

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi and *The Pakistan Times* reported that while going to Lahore from Karachi to participate in Iqbal Day

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<sup>5</sup> "Iqbal Day programme for Dacca," *The Pakistan Times*, April 10, 1951.

<sup>6</sup> "Iqbal Day at Montgomery on April 21," *The Pakistan Times*, April 13, 1951.

<sup>7</sup> "Himayat-i-Islam to observe Iqbal Day," *The Pakistan Times*, April 15, 1951.

<sup>8</sup> "Iqbal Day meeting: Miss Jinnah to preside," *The Pakistan Times*, April 16, 1951.

<sup>9</sup> "Lahore arrangements for Miss Jinnah's reception," *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1951; "Miss Jinnah reach Lahore tomorrow," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 19, 1951.

<sup>10</sup> "Iqbal Day in Lahore Cantonment," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 20, 1951.

celebrations, Fatimah Jinnah was accorded warm receptions by thousands of town and village people who swarmed at Sadiqabad, Rahimyar Khan, Samma Satta, Bahawalpur, Lodhran, Chichawatni, Montgomery, Okara and Multan stations. The people at several places profusely garlanded her and guards of honour by students and Pakistan National Guards were presented to her.<sup>11</sup>

• One of the biggest receptions ever accorded to any public figure since the establishment of Pakistan was given to Fatimah Jinnah at Lahore Railway station on her arrival for Karachi. *Dawn*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore reported that long before the arrival of the train, the huge crowd numbering over 50,000 packed the entire platform, the spacious portico, the stairs and every inch of spare space in the vicinity. Thousands of people waited outside. The Punjab Governor, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, members of the Punjab Cabinet including the Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, the Nawab of Mamdot and a large number of prominent leaders of the Jinnah Awami League and the Muslim League were present at the station to receive her.<sup>12</sup> The reception programme also became an opportunity for the rival political powers struggling in Punjab at that time to show their strength. The newspapers highlighted that as the train steamed in, the crowd rushed to Fatimah Jinnah's compartment which happened to be at the rear. For half an hour police officers and Muslim League workers struggled hard to make a way but without success. The supporters of the Jinnah Awami League who surrounded the compartment insisted that they should be given the privilege of conducting her to the portico where stood the Governor's car to carry her to Government House. The railway station rang with slogans of the supporters of the two parties as the tussle over that issue prolonged. The supporters of the Jinnah Awami League were at last prevailed upon and the crowd was pressed aside to make a passage along the

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<sup>11</sup> "Khatoon-i-Pakistan hailed at every station up to Lahore," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1951; "Grand reception at way side railway stations," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1951.

<sup>12</sup> "Miss Jinnah arrives in Lahore: Tumultuous reception at station," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1951; "Over 50,000 persons welcome Miss Jinnah at Lahore: One of biggest ever receptions", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1951; "Miss Jinnah gets great welcome at Lahore: Governor controls crowds," *Dawn*, April 22, 1951; "Over 50,000 received Miss Jinnah at Lahore station," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1951.

train. Shouts of “Jinnah League *Zindabad*” and “*Nawa-i-Waqt Zindabad*” and counter shouts of “Muslim League *Zindabad*” were also raised.<sup>13</sup>

- On April 21, 1951 the Lahore citizens observed 13th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal with great zeal and reverence. Recitation of the Quran, offering of *fatiha*, lying of wreaths, and showering of flowers at Allama’s grave; a full day session of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam and a gigantic public meeting presided over and addressed by Fatimah Jinnah on night, were the highlights of the Iqbal Day programme in Lahore. The Punjab Government declared April 21 as a public holiday and all the local dailies came out with special supplements containing articles on various aspects of the Allama’s poetry and philosophy of Allama Iqbal.<sup>14</sup>

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi and *The Khyber Mail* reported that early rays of the sun saw thousands of Lahore citizens making their way towards Allama Iqbal’s tomb where besides many prominent public men, Fatimah Jinnah, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mumtaz Daultana, and members of his Cabinet also came to offer *fatiha* and lay wreaths on the grave. As the Government House car drove Fatimah Jinnah and Abdur Rab Nishtar to the tomb, a confetti of rose petals was showered by an aircraft on the mausoleum. After that, Fatimah Jinnah and Nishtar had laid their wreaths and garlands, which completely enveloped the grave. The Central Iqbal Committee represented by Khawaja Abdur Rahim (1908-1974)<sup>15</sup> and Raja Hassan Akhtar had arranged for *Quran Khawani* at the tomb in which a large number of dignitaries participated.<sup>16</sup>

- The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam held the Iqbal Day session of its 58th annual meeting in the Islamia College lawns, with Sardar Abdul Hamid

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> “Iqbal’s 13th death anniversary: Glowing tributes paid to poet all over Pakistan: Floral tributes to the poet at Lahore”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; “Floral Tribute to Iqbal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>15</sup> Khawaja Abdur Rahim (1908-1974); civil servant, writer, lawyer, worker of Pakistan movement; joined the ICS, 1932; Assistant Commissioner, Jalandhar; Deputy Commissioner, Gujrat, Lundhiana, Ferozepur, Lyallpur; Secretary, Punjab Boundary Commissioner, 1947; Chief Secretary, Government of the Punjab, President, Markazi Majlis-i-Iqbal.

<sup>16</sup> “Iqbal’s 13th death anniversary: Glowing tributes paid to poet all over Pakistan: Floral tributes to the poet at Lahore”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; “Floral Tribute to Iqbal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1951.

Dasti (1892-1985)<sup>17</sup> Minister for Education and Health, presiding.<sup>18</sup> Salahuddin (1902-1964)<sup>19</sup>, editor “*Adabi-Dunya*”, Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, Abid Ali Abid and Sheikh Akbar Ali (1894-1953)<sup>20</sup> spoke on different aspects of the poet’s great message of hope and deliverance while Abdul Hamid Dasti traced Allama Iqbal’s genius ‘as a reaction against the degraded plight of the Indian Muslims whose past history Iqbal knew to be immensely glorious.’ He appealed to struggle for the realisation of Iqbal’s great ideal of an Islamic revival, which he observed that despite political liberation, was still unrealized.<sup>21</sup> In a lengthy paper on Iqbal’s conception of ‘*watan*’ and ‘*millat*’ Salahuddin described how his earlier ideas developed into a universal message for the entire Muslim world. He illustrated that fact quoting from Iqbal’s poetry and highlighted how after his tour abroad, Iqbal rid himself of the narrow nationalism in favour of Pan-Islamism.<sup>22</sup>

- The Lahore branch of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference held a meeting of the Kashmiri refugees to celebrate the Iqbal Day, and

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<sup>17</sup> Sardar Abdul Hameed Dasti (1892-1985); lawyer; politician: worker of Pakistan movement; practiced at Gurdaspur and Muzaffargarh, 1920; Public Prosecutor, 1938-45; member; Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1945-55; founder District Muslim League Muzaffargarh; Parliamentary Secretary and Food Minister, Mamdot Cabinet; Education Minister, Daultana Cabinet, Chief Minister, Punjab, 1955.

<sup>18</sup> The annual meetings of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, founded in 1884, were a source of assemblage of renowned Muslims from all over India and Iqbal got his earlier fame by reading his well-received poems there. (Siddiq Javid, *Fikar-i-Iqbal ka Imrani Mutalah*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 1996, pp.35-38). *Nala-i-Yatim* was his first poem read at the annual meeting of the Anjuman. This poem on one hand provided Iqbal the first opportunity to recite his verses in front of thousands of listeners and on the other hand, it fetched considerable charity for the Anjuman. Quoted in Ahmed Din, *Iqbal*, edited by Mushfaq Khawaja, Karachi, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, 1979, p.113.

<sup>19</sup> Salahuddin Ahmed (1902-1964); journalist, writer, researcher, publisher, translator, founder-editor, monthly *Adabi Dunya*, Lahore. Pubs. *Madah Saray; Tasanmurat-i-Iqbal; Urdu Main Afsanvi Adab; Iqbal Kay Das Shi'r; Amrikab ka Siasi Nizam*.

<sup>20</sup> Shaikh Akbar Ali Arastu (1894-1953); lawyer; writer; social activist; politician; Secretary, Anjuman-i-Itthad-o-Taraqqi Musalmanan-i-Punjab, 1920; member General-Council, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, 1926; Council, AIML, 1930; Assistant Secretary PPML, 1934-36; Hon. Secretary Publication Committee, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, 1927; School Committee; Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, 1943-53. Pub. *Iqbal: His Poetry and Message*.

<sup>21</sup> “Iqbal’s 13<sup>th</sup> death anniversary: Glowing tributes paid to poet all over Pakistan: Floral tributes to the poet at Lahore”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; “Floral Tribute to Iqbal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*.

various speakers threw light on the life and message of the great poet. They stated that Iqbal's message of an Islamic revival had greatly affected the liberation struggle of the Kashmiris against the tyrannical rule of the Maharaja.<sup>23</sup> In the afternoon, Fatimah Jinnah attended a tea party given in her honour by the Central Iqbal Committee in Gulistan-i-Fatimah attended by more than three hundred guests.<sup>24</sup>

- The biggest event of the Iqbal Day celebrations was a mammoth public meeting, having 80,000 participants, arranged by the Central Iqbal Committee at Gol Bagh Lahore. It was prominently covered by all major dailies viz., *The Pakistan Times*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Morning News*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *Dawn*, *The Khyber Mail*, and *The Pakistan Observer*. Fatimah Jinnah in her presidential speech paid glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal and observed that Iqbal possessed great virtues in such abundance as had made him immortal. The message that he had left for the coming generations and us would rise in value in every age. No doubt, Iqbal commanded international reputation in every department of knowledge but any poet in the East had not achieved the position, which he attained as a great poet and philosopher.<sup>25</sup> During the last years, Fatimah Jinnah continued, Iqbal ranked among the top most poets of the world; his poetry reflected the basic realities of human thought as, he tried to shape the future of humanity by comparing the past with the present. Iqbal, she pointed out, was never deterred or disappointed by the hardships of life. He found the path of salvation through those difficulties. Life with him was another name for unceasing struggle and action. He awakened his slumbering nation, and gave it the message of self-respect and lofty idealism. At the same time, he condemned the national leaders who did not grapple with the

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> "Miss Jinnah visits medical institutions and girls hostels" *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1951.

<sup>25</sup> "Act honestly and fearlessly; Miss Jinnah's address on Iqbal Day: Country pays homage to poet of the East," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1951; "Actively participate in construction of state: Miss Jinnah's clarion call to people," *The Morning News*, April 23, 1951; "Realize your responsibilities as a fearless nation: Miss Jinnah's clarion call at Lahore 'Iqbal Day' meeting", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1951; "Follow path of truth, faith and justice, 80,000 people hear Miss Jinnah's consolidate Pakistan appeal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1951; "Miss Jinnah's call for unceasing effort," *Dawn*, April 24, 1951; "Miss Jinnah's call to Pakistanis," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951; "Iqbal Day: Miss Jinnah's call to Nation," *The Khyber Mail*, April 24, 1951.

realities of life. That was why this essential for us to fully act upon his teachings, she concluded.

- The Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League also adopted a resolution on occasion of Iqbal Day which appeared in *Dawn*, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. While paying tributes to the memory of Allama Iqbal, the committee appealed to the people of Pakistan and particularly the youth to imbibe the high ideals, which inspired the great philosopher so that this state could be turned into a land of his dreams.<sup>26</sup>

- The political tension going on between Pakistan Muslim League and Jinnah Muslim League was again manifested when Ch. Rehmatullah (d.1988)<sup>27</sup>, a member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League, issued a statement, which appeared in *The Pakistan Times* and *The Khyber Mail*. He deplored the unsavoury partisan spirit that pervaded the celebrations of the Iqbal Day under the auspices of the Central Iqbal Committee and criticised the attempt of the Committee to exploit a national institution for narrow factional ends, paying scant respect to the sanctity of the occasion.<sup>28</sup>

- On April 29, 1951 Iqbal Academy arranged a lecture of ‘Abdul Wahab ‘Azzam, Egyptian Ambassador to Pakistan on ‘Iqbal’ in the Punjab University Hall, Lahore under the presidentship of Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti. Addressing the distinguished gathering which was reported in *Dawn* and *The Pakistan Times*, ‘Azzam said that Iqbal’s message transcended geographical limits and was meant in fact for the whole Muslim world. He observed that if the present day world, with its ostensibly insoluble problems,

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<sup>26</sup> “Punjab League’s tribute to Iqbal”, *Dawn*, April 24, 1951; “Punjab League’s tribute,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 24, 1951; “Punjab League homage to Iqbal,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1951; “Punjab Muslim League’s tributes to Dr. Iqbal,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1951; “Punjab League pays tribute [to] Iqbal”, *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>27</sup> Chaudhry Rahmatullah (d.1988); labour leader and worker of Pakistan movement; founder – member, Nourawan Bharat Sabha, 1928; Punjab Kisan Committee; member Executive Committee; All India Kisan Committee, AICC, joined the AIML, 1939; General Secretary, District Muslim League, Lahore; President, District Muslim League, Lahore; In charge Labour Wing, PPML; member, Council, Pakistan Muslim League; Secretary, PPML, 1952; member, Majlis-i-Shoora.

<sup>28</sup> “Partisan spirit in ‘Iqbal Day’ celebrations deplored,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1951; “Exploiting Iqbal Committee’ *The Khyber Mail*, April 25, 1951.

wanted a way out it should listen to what this great poet-philosopher had said and they might find in his words the panacea for all their evils. ‘Azzam also compared the message of Iqbal with a number of Arab poets and drew a similarity between them. He appealed to the people to follow what Iqbal had said and expressed his belief that if the message of Iqbal was translated into practice it would mean nothing short of permanent glory and prosperity for them.<sup>29</sup>

- Elaborate Iqbal Day celebrations were also planned at Karachi. Giving details of Iqbal Day programmes, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi informed that the Majlis-i-Iqbal would organise two sessions to pay homage to Allama Iqbal. At first session, a public meeting was planned to be held in evening at Jahangir Park, Karachi under the presidentship of Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed. The second session was intended to be held in Governor General’s House on April 22 where Khawaja Nazimuddin and Dr. Mahmud Husain (1907-1975)<sup>30</sup> Minister for State and Frontier Regions were to address the audience.<sup>31</sup>

- Among other functions, I. C. I Sports Club planned to observe Iqbal Day at K. G. A. Hall on April 21. Likewise, the Pakistan Amateur Music Society planned to hold a social gathering under the presidentship of Rev. Deniels. The Uqab Air Society also announced to observe Iqbal Day at the Provincial Scout Headquarters, under the presidentship of Dr. Mahmud

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<sup>29</sup> “Azzam Bay on round of visits in Lahore,” *Dawn*, April 26, 1951; “Lecture on Iqbal,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 29, 1951; “Iqbal’s message is meant for whole Muslim world, Egyptian envoy,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 30, 1951. Azzam played a prominent role in promoting thought of Allama Iqbal in the Arab world. For details, see Munir Ahmed, “*Abdul Wahab Azzam Ki Iqbal Shanasi*,” Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliyat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1993.

<sup>30</sup> Mahmud Hussain Khan (1907-1975); educationist, parliamentarian, historian; Reader, Dhaka University, 1933-46; Professor of International Relations, Dhaka University, 1948; member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1947-54; Deputy Minister, Government of Pakistan, 1949; Secretary, Muslim League Parliamentary Party, 1949; Minister for Kashmir Affairs, 1951; for Education, 1952; Professor & head of History Department, Karachi University, 1953; Vice Chancellor, Dhaka University, 1960; Head, Department of History, Karachi University, 1963; Visiting Professor Heidelberg, 1964-65; Vice Chancellor, Karachi University, 1971-75. Pubs. *Dreams of Tipu Sultan*; *Arab Dunya*; (Urdu translation of Nijla Izzuddin’s *The Arab World*); *Mu’abidab-i-Umrani*, *Badshah*, *Fath ul Mujahidin*.

<sup>31</sup> “Observance of Iqbal Day in Karachi,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 18, 1951; “Iqbal Day today programme,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1951.

Hussain. Radio Pakistan, Karachi also announced to broadcast special Iqbal Day programme including the feature programme ‘*Iqbal Barghab-i-Risalat & Mein*’ and ‘*Mard-i-Momin*’, besides relaying eyewitness account of the various activities in the city in connection with Iqbal Day.<sup>32</sup>

- On April 20, 1951, a lively symposium on Iqbal was organised by Atiya Begum at the British Council under the joint auspices of British Council and Three Arts Circle, which was inaugurated by T. B. Jayah, High Commissioner for Ceylon in Pakistan. Jayah appraised the gathering about his personal contacts with the poet. He said that he met the poet in London and recalled that when he went to see him at his Hyde Park Hotel suite, he was so engrossed in reading that he did not notice that some one had entered his room and had taken seat besides him. He further remembered that he also had an occasion to hear Iqbal discussing politics with the leading politicians of the day and observed that he was a match for any gathering.<sup>33</sup>

The High Commissioner observed that Iqbal considered French and Russian revolutions as wonderful changes but doubted how lasting those changes would be. For Iqbal, he continued, Islam was the charter of human rights and the spirit of Islam had given impetus to the spirit of culture and science. Speaking next, Prof. Wasti said that Iqbal did not belong to Pakistan alone but to the whole world and future generations. He said the poet had philosophical outlook, but he was not content with philosophy as a system of cold reasoning, but went beyond it. One can often find the satirical vein in his verses when he refers to philosophy as was generally understood. At the end, Iqbal’s ‘*ghazals*’ were recited with the help of musical instruments.<sup>34</sup>

- On April 21, 1951 meetings were held in Karachi by various organisations and institutions where lectures on the life and message of Allama Iqbal were delivered. The Karachi Stock Exchange, and Cotton, Bullion, Cloth, Grains, and Oilseed markets remained closed. In the evening, Mahmud Hussain, presiding over an Iqbal Day function organised by the

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> “Iqbal’s greatness is universal: Glowing tributes to poet at city’s symposium,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1951.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

Pakistan Boy Scouts Group, asked the youth of Pakistan to imbibe and follow the message of Iqbal.<sup>35</sup>

- A cosmopolitan gathering assembled at the K. G. A. Hall to observe 'Iqbal Day' under the auspices of the I. C. I. Sports Club. Addressing the gathering, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, said that Iqbal showed the Muslims where they had descended, why they had fallen and how to rise again. He said that another great service of Iqbal was to warn his fellow religionists against priesthood that was responsible for the degeneration of Islam and had taken away the Muslims from their original path.<sup>36</sup>

- The Iqbal Day was rounded off by a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Majlis-i-Iqbal at Jahangir Park under the presidentship of Chaudhri Nazir Ahmed. Delivering his presidential address, Nazir Ahmed observed that Iqbal taught three lessons to the Muslims; first, they must strengthen themselves by following Islam, secondly they should not avoid facing difficulties because beyond difficulties lay strength, and thirdly, they should endeavour to live practically as Muslims. He further said that Iqbal presented the Islamic concept of unity of Muslims in an age when western ideas of nationalism, racism, etc had grown among Muslims resulting in their disintegration and weakness.<sup>37</sup> Speaking on the occasion, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Amin El-Husseini, said that Iqbal who was a close friend of his,<sup>38</sup> was one of the few poets who inspired Muslims with a new life and told them of their past glory and present decline due to their leaving the path shown by Islam. He stressed that Iqbal taught the Muslims to forget nationalism, which they had taken from the West, and to be united as enjoined by Islam. He urged that the works of Iqbal, Ahmed Shawqi of

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<sup>35</sup> "In Iqbal throbbed a heart of '*mard-i-momin*', Grand Mufti: National poet's anniversary observed," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; "Karachi observes Iqbal Day: Poet's teaching to be Muslims recounted," *Dawn*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Iqbal was a close friend of Amin El-Husseni and on his invitation had also visited Palestine in 1932 to attend third World Muslim Congress. For details of Allama Iqbal's association with Amin El-Husseni and his support for the Palestine cause, see Maueen-ud-Din Aqeel, *Iqbal aur Jadid Dunay-i-Islam*, Lahore, Maktaba-i-Tameer-i-Insaniyat, 1986, pp.325-336. Also see Farman Fatehpuri, *Iqbal Sab Kay Liye*, Karachi, Urdu Academy, pp.173-177; Ghulam Ali Chaudhry, "Iqbal and Jinnah on Palestine," *Iqbal Review*, Vol.32, No.3, October, 1991, pp.87-104; Hamza Faruqi, "*Iqbal aur Masla-i-Filisteen*," *Iqbal Review*, Vol.10, No.2, pp.36-56.

Egypt,<sup>39</sup> Muhammad Aqif of Turkey, and other great poets of different Muslim countries be compiled together and translated into languages spoken in various Muslim countries.<sup>40</sup> ‘Abdul Wahab ‘Azzam speaking in Urdu said that Iqbal taught the Muslims, who were divided and enamoured by the western materialistic way of life to return to Islam. He also urged that Iqbal’s works should be translated into all the languages used by Muslims.<sup>41</sup>

- On April 22, 1951, a special meeting of the Majlis-i-Iqbal was held under the presidentship of Khawaja Nazimuddin, observing the 13th death anniversary of the Allama Iqbal whose proceedings appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Pakistan Times*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Morning News*, *The Khyber Mail* and *Dawn*. Nazimuddin in his speech declared that Iqbal was not only the greatest national poet of Pakistan but he was one of the foremost philosophers and poets of the Muslim world. He appealed to the Majlis-i-Iqbal to translate the works of the poet in various languages of Muslim countries so that his message could be disseminated to every corner of the Muslims world.<sup>42</sup> He added that the mastery with which Iqbal translated the greatest thought in simple verses had few rivals in the world. Concluding, Nazimuddin observed that the poetry of Iqbal was a message of action for the nation and to him the object of the man’s life was to face and overcome the difficulties of life.<sup>43</sup> Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed, President of the Majlis-i-Iqbal said at the gathering that the message of Iqbal was nothing else but a true expression of the spirit of Islam and the unlimited

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<sup>39</sup> For a comparative analysis of life and thoughts of Allama Iqbal and Ahmad Shawqi, see Majeed Jami, “A comparative study of Iqbal and Shawqi,” *Iqbal Review*, Vol.30-31, No.3, 1, October, 1989-April 1990, pp.151-158.

<sup>40</sup> “In Iqbal throbbed a heart of ‘*mard-e-momin*’, Grand Mufti: National poet’s anniversary observed,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; “Karachi observes Iqbal Day: Poet’s teaching to be Muslims recounted,” *Dawn*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> “Iqbal Day proceedings to be relayed”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; “Iqbal’s message is for whole of humanity, Nazimuddin: Translation of works in other languages urged: Glowing tributes,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 23, 1951; “Iqbal’s message is one of real and true Islam: Nazimuddin’s speak at poet’s death anniversary,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 23, 1951; “Message of true Islam,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1951; “Message of Iqbal is in fact message of Islam: Karachi homage to the great poet,” *The Morning News*, April 23, 1951; “Governor General’s appeal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 24, 1951; “Iqbal gave message of real Islam: Governor General’s homage to the poet,” *Dawn*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

field in which ‘*momin*’ could work and aspire. Iqbal was thus not only the poet of Pakistan nor of East, he was the Poet of Islam and therefore, the poet of humanity, he concluded.<sup>44</sup> Mahmud Hussain, in a discourse on Iqbal eulogised the great qualities of the poet and his poetry and said that Iqbal wrote immortal poetry, which embodied in itself all the qualities of the eastern poetry; in himself, he had been the poet of not only of the Islamic world but that of the humanity as a whole.<sup>45</sup> Speaking in Arabic ‘Abdul Wahab ‘Azzam said that Iqbal had studied all the poets and thinkers of Islam and the western philosophy and drew a conclusion that the Muslims should revive their own culture instead of looking to the West for inspiration. Speaking in Persian on the occasion, M. Farydoni said that Iqbal who diagnosed the malady of the Muslim world and prescribed a remedy, deserved greater honour than were observance of anniversaries, and that could be done by imbibing the spirit of his message. Proceedings of the meetings were also relayed from the Radio Pakistan, Karachi.<sup>46</sup>

- At Rawalpindi, the Iqbal Day Committee of the Rawalpindi Division of Pakistan Army organised a literary function that was attended by a large mixed gathering. *Dawn* reported that the programme, which lasted for over 150 minutes, reflected on the various aspects of the poetry of the national poet. Among those who read papers covering almost all the phases and subjects of Iqbal’s poetry, were Maj. General M. A. Faruqi (1892-1970)<sup>47</sup>, Col. M. A. Jafri and Qazi Nazir Ahmed. A number of local poets recited verses in the memory of Iqbal.<sup>48</sup>

- The death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was observed at Sialkot in a befitting manner according to news item carried in *The Pakistan Times*. According to paper, in the morning a large number of citizens visited Allama Iqbal’s ancestral house to pay their homage. A *mushaira* under the auspices of City Muslim League was held on night of April 22 under the presidency of Abdul Haleem Awan.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Afzal Faruqi (1892-1970); renowned eye specialist having strong literary traits; remained Director-General Health Services Pakistan Army.

<sup>48</sup> “Pindi observance: Army takes the lead,” *Dawn*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>49</sup> “Iqbal Day in Sialkot,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1951.

- At Mianwali, Bazm-i-Adab Government College organised an Iqbal Day conference, which was attended by a large number of students and other citizens. *The Pakistan Times* reported that ‘Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (1915-2001)<sup>50</sup> who was the principal speaker spoke of the achievements of Iqbal in the fields of poetry and politics, with special reference to his contribution to the awakening of the Indian Muslims and to the movement for the establishment of Pakistan.<sup>51</sup>

- At Quetta, the Iqbal Day was observed with great enthusiasm by holding a public meeting under the auspices of the Bazm-i-Iqbal of the Government College, Quetta, in the Town Hall. *Dawn* reported that speaking on the occasion, Syed Muhammad Maiqand, an Afghan leader who had recently migrated to Pakistan, said that the people of Afghanistan held Allama Iqbal and his teachings in great esteem. His message knew no barriers of political boundaries and was of universal character like that of Islam itself from which the great poet-philosopher took inspiration. Earlier, a number of speakers including students and teachers of the Government College spoke on the poetry, philosophy, and services of Allama Iqbal.<sup>52</sup>

- *The Pakistan Times* informed about various Iqbal Day functions held at Peshawar, Bannu and the AJK. According to reports, at Peshawar, an Iqbal Day *mus'haira* was held in the RPAF Sergeant’s Mess with Raja Hamdani in the chair. Poets of note from all over the provinces, including Nazir Birlas

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<sup>50</sup> Muhammad Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (1915-2001); orator, politician, theologian, worker of Pakistan movement; founder member and third President, Punjab Muslim Students’ Federation, 1938-39; Secretary, PML Rural Propaganda Committee, 1941; President Mianwali District Muslim League; Secretary, Punjab Provincial Muslim League; member Punjab Assembly, 1946; one of the main leaders of anti-qadiani movement, 1952-53; sentenced to death but later released; played a prominent role in national politics as a front rank leader of the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Pakistan since 1970; main leader of Tahrik-i-Nizam-i-Mustafa, 1977; member National Assembly, 1988-90; Senator and Minister for Religious Affairs, 1997-99; Vice-Chairman World Islamic Mission. Pubs. *Khilafat-i-Pakistan*; *Main Abdus Sattar Niazi*, *Naraha-i-Haq*; *Nazria-i-Pakistan Aur Hum*; *Ithadul Bain-ul-Muslameen* (Part I and II).

<sup>51</sup> “Iqbal Day at Mianwali,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>52</sup> “Quetta observes Iqbal Day,” *Dawn*, April 24, 1951. It may be pointed out that Allama Iqbal himself visited Baluchistan in 1903, 1927, 1929 and in 1933. For details, see Inam-ul-Haq Kusar, *Allama Iqbal aur Baluchistan*, Islamabad, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1986, pp.29-34.

(1908-1978)<sup>53</sup>, Khatir Agha, Mir A Mahmood, Khumar Naqvi, Khalish Hamdani (1921-1999)<sup>54</sup>, Sadiq Bhatti, Muzmir Tatari, Majid Shahed, and Farid Arsh, recited their poems eulogizing the philosopher-poet.<sup>55</sup>

- At Bannu, Iqbal Day celebrations started in morning by taking out a procession which paraded in the streets reciting poems of Allama Iqbal. In the afternoon, a largely attended meeting was held to pay homage to Allama Iqbal.<sup>56</sup> The liberated areas of Kashmir State also paid homage to the memory of the great poet. At Mirpur, Syed Ali Ahmed Shah (1900-1990)<sup>57</sup>, President of the Azad Kashmir Government, presided over a literary programme organised to observe Iqbal Day. Similar meetings were held at various other places in Azad Kashmir.<sup>58</sup>

- ‘Raz’, the radio reviewer of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, presented a review of the Iqbal Day programmes broadcast by each Radio station of West Pakistan. He was particularly appreciative of the regular features of the Karachi Station, ‘*Iqbal ka ek shi’r*’ with Ishaq Amritsari’s commentary on it, which he called first serious effort to make Iqbal intelligible to the ordinary listener. He also praised a regular Lahore broadcast entitled ‘*Ta’limat-i-Iqbal*’ in which various aspects of Allama’s poetry and message had been discussed by eminent scholars. He pointed out that another series of talks in English based on Iqbal’s lectures, arranged jointly by Lahore and Peshawar stations had a limited audience and it would be a positive service to listeners if the same might be arranged in Urdu.<sup>59</sup>

Discussing special Iqbal Day programmes, ‘Raz’ observed that Syed

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<sup>53</sup> Nazir Mirza Barlas (1908-1978); poet of Urdu and Persian languages, educationist. Pub. *Tarb-i-Nau*.

<sup>54</sup> Ahmed Altaf (Khalish Hamdani) (1921-1999); writer, novelist, founder Secretary Halqa Arbab-i-Zauq, Peshawar. Pubs. *Khun Main Dubay Tu Sabr Daikhi; Tanvir Labuki; Pailas ka Sabra; Sang-i-Malamat; Muhammad Khan Daku; Aik Abalah Pa Tanha* (autobiography), *Ruswai’an Kia Kia; Ru’ay Dukh ka Sagar; Bat Chupa’y Guri*.

<sup>55</sup> “Act honestly and fearlessly: Miss Jinnah’s address on ‘Iqbal Day’: Country pays homage to poet of the East”, *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1951.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>57</sup> Syed Ali Ahmad Shah (1900-1990); worker of Kashmir liberation movement, a close associate of Ch. Ghulam Abbass, also remained President of AJK Government.

<sup>58</sup> “Act honestly and fearlessly: Miss Jinnah’s address on ‘Iqbal Day’: Country pays homage to poet of the East”, *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1951.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Raz’, “Radio Review: Iqbal Day features”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 27, 1951.

Abid Ali Abid made a fine opera based on ‘*Javid Namah*’ which was the most important contribution of Radio Pakistan to *Iqbal Day* through its Peshawar station. The next best listening on Iqbal Day according to ‘Raz’ was ‘*Danaey Raz*’ from Lahore presented by Raz Moradabadi (1916-1982)<sup>60</sup> discussing Iqbal’s vision and imagination. Likewise, he called Mustafa Ali Hamdani’s (1909-1980)<sup>61</sup> feature ‘*Agar Khahi Hayat Ander Khatar zee*’ a spirited one but spoiled in production.<sup>62</sup>

- A pathetic state of affairs of Iqbal Academy also emerged through a letter published in *Dawn* on April 26, 1951 by one M. Afzal. The writer stated that in March 1950, Iqbal Academy invited articles on Iqbal’s poetry and philosophy from various bodies, private individuals and students and offered to award prizes for the best contributions with the promise that the results would be declared by the end of May 1950. The author complained that more than a year had elapsed and the results were still not forthcoming and appealed to the Secretary of the Academy to look into that inordinate delay.<sup>63</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also celebrated in East Pakistan with great fervour. The first function in that connection was held at Jessore on April 20, 1951 where a meeting was held at the Town Hall under the auspices of Dar-ul-Adab. *Dawn* and *The Morning News* reported that the meeting was presided over by Riffat Shiekh, District Magistrate, Jessore, and was largely attended by all sections of people. After recitation of Quran, the *ghazals* were read by Munsur Ahmed and Waliul Hauqe. Moulvi Syed Laal Muhammad, Syed Abul Hussain, A. Gani, Raziuddin Ahmed, and Ashfaq Ahmed read articles on the life and poetry of Allama Iqbal. Discussing Iqbal’s dream of Pakistan the speakers stressed that Iqbal thought of a state where the implementations of Islamic principles would be free from all obstacles.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Sajjad Ali Khan (Raz Moradabadi) (1916-1982); prominent Urdu poet; writer and broadcaster; remained associated with Radio Pakistan Dhaka and BBC London; Pub. *Harfi-Raz*, 1978.

<sup>61</sup> Syed Mustafa Ali Hamdani (1909-1980); broadcaster, writer, poet; Pub. *Hum Safar* (autobiography).

<sup>62</sup> ‘Raz’, “Radio Review: Iqbal Day features”, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 27, 1951.

<sup>63</sup> M. Afzal, “Letter to editor: Iqbal Academy,” *Dawn*, April 26, 1951.

<sup>64</sup> “Jessore observes Iqbal Day,” *Dawn*, April 20, 1951; “Iqbal Day at Jessore,” *The Morning News*, April 20, 1951.

- The whole of East Pakistan paid its homage to the ‘hallowed memory of the poet-philosopher’ on April 21, 1951. Different organisations, institutions, and libraries chalked out their programmes to celebrate the occasion with all solemnity, which were prominently reported by *The Morning News* and *The Pakistan Observer*. At Dhaka, in the morning a large section of the young citizens turned up in the Muhul Cinema Hall to participate in a meeting held under the auspices of the East Pakistan Youth League, which was presided over by Shahidullah. Many young artists and literatures participated in the programme with their own items on the life and teachings of Iqbal.<sup>65</sup> Shahidullah in his address stated that the great poet did not believe in the dictum of art for art’s sake, but was an ardent advocate of art for life’s sake. He used his pen as medium of expressing his thought which always revolved round the problems of uplifting humanity. He was a believer in dynamic action and so was a robust optimist, seeing light amidst encircling darkness. It was because of his faith in his self and in the future, that Iqbal could visualise Pakistan, Shahidullah concluded.<sup>66</sup>

- Several educational institutions also observed Iqbal Day with great enthusiasm. The staff and students of the Dhaka Collegiate School held a meeting in the Assembly Hall to observe Iqbal Day under the presidentship of S.M. Sadrudin. Essays and poems on the life of Iqbal were read at the gathering.<sup>67</sup> Zafar Ahmed Usmani (1892-1974)<sup>68</sup> presided over at another Iqbal Day meeting organised by the staff and students of the Madrasah Alia, Dhaka. Several speakers, including Muhammad Shafi, Mustafizur Rahman,

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<sup>65</sup> “Iqbal death anniversary: Dacca’s celebration programme,” *The Morning News*, April 19, 1951; “Iqbal Day celebration programme,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 21, 1951; “Iqbal Day: today’s functions,” *The Morning News*, April 21, 1951; “Allama Iqbal wrought great change in Quaid’s ideology: Dacca pays glowing tributes to memory of the poet,” *The Morning News*, April 22, 1951; “Iqbal: A lover of life and believer in dynamic action: City pays homage to first dreamer of Pakistan,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951; “Iqbal Day programme at Curzon Hall,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Zafar Ahmad Usmani (1892-1974); prominent theologian, poet, writer, active member of Pakistan movement; Unfurled Pakistani flag on August 19, 1947 at Dhaka; remained Shiekhul Hadith Dar ul Ulum Islamia Tando Allah Yar Khan. Pubs. *Anwar al Nazar fi Athar al Zafar*; *Fatawa Imdad ul Abkam*; *Tebzir ul Muslimin min al Muamalat al Mushrikin*.

Syed Fazlul Haque, and Jalaluddin spoke on the works and teaching of the poet.<sup>69</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also observed at the Rahmatullah Model School, Dhaka under the auspices of Bazm-i-Adab. It was presided over by Tamanna Amadi (1888-1972)<sup>70</sup> and life and works of Allama Iqbal were discussed in detail.<sup>71</sup> The Anjuman Boys School also held an Iqbal Day function under the presidentship of Fitrat Wasty.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Gandaria H. E. School, The Quaid-i-Azam Physical Training School, and Rifle Club, The Azimpura Colony Student Association, the Eden Girls College, Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall Union, also observed the day.<sup>73</sup> The Quaid-i-Azam Physical Training School of Dhaka held a rally of boys and girls and martial honour was paid to the memory of Iqbal by firing 101 rounds besides an exhibition of sword display.<sup>74</sup> A special literary meeting was held in observance of Iqbal Day under the auspices of the Lekhak Skilpee Majlis in Wari with Syed Nooruddin in the chair. The writers and artists, who attended the function, paid high tributes to the great poet of the East. Ajit Guha, Roquyya Anwar, Sarwar Murshed and Munir Chaudhry spoke in the meeting.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> "Iqbal death anniversary: Dacca's celebration programme," *The Morning News*, April 19, 1951; "Iqbal Day celebration programme," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 21, 1951; "Iqbal Day: today's functions," *The Morning News*, April 21, 1951; "Allama Iqbal wrought great change in Quaid's ideology: Dacca pays glowing tributes to memory of the poet," *The Morning News*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal: A lover of life and believer in dynamic action: City pays homage to first dreamer of Pakistan," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal Day programme at Curzon Hall," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>70</sup> Syed Hayatul Haq Muhammad Mohi-ud-Din (Tamana 'Imadi) (1888-1972); theologian, poet of Arabic and Persian, writer, researcher. Pubs. *al-Qasidal al-Zabra'*; *Intazar-i-Mehdi*; *Fan-i-Rijat ki Rusani Main*.

<sup>71</sup> "Iqbal death anniversary: Dacca's celebration programme," *The Morning News*, April 19, 1951; "Iqbal Day celebration programme," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 21, 1951; "Iqbal Day: today's functions," *The Morning News*, April 21, 1951; "Allama Iqbal wrought great change in Quaid's ideology: Dacca pays glowing tributes to memory of the poet," *The Morning News*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal: A lover of life and believer in dynamic action: City pays homage to first dreamer of Pakistan," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal Day programme at Curzon Hall," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

• However, the principal centre of interest was a crowded meeting organised by the 'Iqbal Day Celebration Committee' at the Curzon Hall, Dhaka under the presidentship of Provincial Health Minister, Habibullah Bahar (1906-1966)<sup>76</sup>. Besides jam-packed audience including Governor, Malik Feroze Khan Noon and the Chief Minister, Nurul Amin (1897-1974)<sup>77</sup>, prominent Bengali speaking poets, writers, artists and musicians attended the function which including recitation of songs, essays, poems and speeches. The top-notch poets of East Pakistan including the 98 years old poet Kaikobad recited their poems specially composed for the occasion. They included Shahadat Hussain, Jasimmuddin Ahmed, Ghulam Mustafa, Sufia Kamal, Ahsan Habib and others.<sup>78</sup> Delivering his presidential address in Bengali, Habibullah Bahar highlighted Allama Iqbal's role in bringing about a change in the Quaid-i-Azam's ideology. It was his views that finally led the Father of the Nation to accept the principle of Pakistan, he concluded. The function was followed by a '*musshaira*' under the presidentship of Raza Ali Wahshat (1881-1956)<sup>79</sup>, the famous Urdu poet of Bengal.<sup>80</sup> Those who

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<sup>76</sup> Habibullah Bahar (1906-1966); politician, writer, worker of Pakistan movement, one of the leading post-Tagore Bengali literators who ushered in cultural renaissance among the Bengali Muslims; participated in the non-co-operation movement, 1921; Secretary, All Bengal Muslim Literary Association; member, working committee, AIML, 1937; working committee, BPML, 1944; Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1944; Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1953; Minister, Health and Local Self Government East Bengal, 1947-54.

<sup>77</sup> Nurul Amin (1897-1974); politician, lawyer, worker of Pakistan movement; practiced at Mymensingh, 1924; President, Mymensingh District Board, 1937-46; member, Council, AIML; Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1942; Working Committee, BPML, 1944; Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1945-47; Minister for Civil Supplies, Bengal, 1947-48; Chief Minister, East Pakistan, 1948-54; member, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 1953; National Assembly of Pakistan, 1965, 1970; Opposition Leader, National Assembly of Pakistan, 1965; Chairman, National Democratic Front, 1964; Chief of the Pakistan Democratic Party, 1969; Vice-President of Pakistan, 1972-73.

<sup>78</sup> "Iqbal death anniversary: Dacca's celebration programme," *The Morning News*, April 19, 1951; "Iqbal Day celebration programme," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 21, 1951; "Iqbal Day: today's functions," *The Morning News*, April 21, 1951; "Allama Iqbal wrought great change in Quaid's ideology: Dacca pays glowing tributes to memory of the poet," *The Morning News*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal: A lover of life and believer in dynamic action: City pays homage to first dreamer of Pakistan," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal Day programme at Curzon Hall," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>79</sup> Syed Raza Ali Wahshat Calcuttvi (1881-1956); poet, educationist, expert of Urdu and Persian; Chairman Urdu and Persian, Islamia College, Calcutta. Pubs. *Divan-i-Wahshat*; *Taranah-i-Wahshat*; *Naqush-o-Athar*.

participated in the ‘*mushaira*’ were Jigar Muradabadi, Mahirul Qadri, Adib Sharanpuri, Iqbal Safipuri (1916-1999)<sup>81</sup>, Altaf Mashhadi (1914-1981)<sup>82</sup>, Muhammad Jafri, Zareef Jabbalpuri (1913-1964)<sup>83</sup>, Jagan Nath Azad and Pandit Hari Chand Akhtar.<sup>84</sup> However, in a letter to editor published in *The Morning News*, on April 26, 1951 one M. A. Bari complained that the Urdu section of the Iqbal Day programmes at the Curzon Hall Dhaka, left in charge of the Anjuman-i-Traqqi-i-Urdu, were designed to exclude the general public from the functions as the invitations were extended to a select few. Those who sought entrance to attend the *mushaira* or the meeting on Sunday were turned away by the guards at the gates. The writer termed it a ‘novel’ way of paying homage to the memory of the great poet who, if anything was an enemy of privilege and of the ‘chosen few’ and sang of the glories of the common person and the poor.<sup>85</sup>

- Radio Pakistan Dhaka also made a broadcast of special programmes to commemorate the 13th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal. They included a *Naat* composed by Iqbal and recited by Begum Sakendra Azad and features in Bengali written by Khundahar Abdul Hamid based on excerpts from Allahabad Address and on the message of the poet for freedom and liberation written by Ghulam Mohinddin. Another feature in Bengali written by Sikandar Abu Jafar on the political ideals of the poet; a feature in Urdu

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<sup>80</sup> For a survey of Wahshat’s relations with Allama Iqbal, see Wafa Rashdi, “*Iqbal aur Wahshat*,” *Iqbal Review*, Vol.24, No.2, July, 1983, pp.35-47.

<sup>81</sup> Iqbal Ahmed Khalili (Iqbal Safipuri) (1916-1999); famous poet. Pubs. *Rang-o-Nur*; *Rahmat Laqab* (ε); *Shakh-i-Gul*.

<sup>82</sup> Altaf Mushhadi (1914-1981); famous poet. Pubs. *Altaf kay Naghmay*; *Altaf kay Geet*; *Taswir-i-Ehsas*; *Dagh Bail*; *Dagar*; *Shakh-i-Gull*; *Lazt-i-Rang-o-Bau*; *Parit kay Geet*.

<sup>83</sup> Syed Hamid Raza Naqvi (Zareef Jabbalpuri) (1913-1964); humorous Urdu poet. Pubs. *Farman-i-Zarafat*; *Talafi-i-Mafaat*.

<sup>84</sup> “Iqbal death anniversary: Dacca’s celebration programme,” *The Morning News*, April 19, 1951; “Iqbal Day celebration programme,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 21, 1951; “Iqbal Day: today’s functions,” *The Morning News*, April 21, 1951; “Allama Iqbal wrought great change in Quaid’s ideology: Dacca pays glowing tributes to memory of the poet,” *The Morning News*, April 22, 1951; “Iqbal: A lover of life and believer in dynamic action: City pays homage to first dreamer of Pakistan,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951; “Iqbal Day programme at Curzon Hall,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1951.

<sup>85</sup> M.A. Bari, “Letter to editor: Iqbal Day at Dacca,” *The Morning News*, April 26, 1951.

written by Syed Iqbal Azeem (1913-2000)<sup>86</sup> on the message of Iqbal; and special features for the children in Bengali and Urdu carrying the message of Iqbal were also relayed.<sup>87</sup>

- Among other programmes, the prominent were discussion of Ibrahim Khan, President, Board of Secondary Education's discussion on 'Iqbal's ideas on education' in Bengali and Fazle Ahmed Karim Fazli, Secretary Education's talk in Urdu. Habibullah Bahar broadcasted a study in Bengali of Iqbal's correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam while Syed Ali Ahsan broadcasted an analysis of *Reconstruction* in Bengali. Moreover, a musical sketch in Bengali written by Farrukh Ahmed based on the Bengali translations of Iqbal's poems besides a radio report of the celebrations held in and around Dhaka were transmitted. Over and above these programmes, music artists relayed Iqbal's *ghazals* in all the three transmissions.

- Iqbal Day celebrations continued in Dhaka on the next day which were given due coverage in *The Morning News*, *The Pakistan Observer*, *Dawn*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi. On April 22, 1951, the 'Iqbal Day Celebration Committee' held a symposium on life and works of Allama Iqbal under the presidentship of Malik Firoze Khan Noon. A large gathering turned up in the meeting and heard the deliberation with marked interest. Several essays were read and occasional songs provided a relief from monotony.<sup>88</sup> A number of other speakers addressed the meeting. Shaukat gave a little talk on 'Iqbal and his views on *Tawhid*' and Ali Ahsan read a learned paper in Bengali entitled 'Iqbal among Bengali poets' dealing with Iqbal's translations in Bengali.

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<sup>86</sup> Syed Iqbal Azeem (1913-2000); famous Urdu poet, writer, researcher, educationist. Pubs. *Mashriqi Bengal main Urdu*, *Sat Sitaray*; *Chiragh-i-Akhir-i-Shab*; *Midrab*; *Qaba Qausain*; *Lub Kusba*; *Mahasal*.

<sup>87</sup> "Iqbal Day special broadcasts", *The Pakistan Observer*, April 21, 1951; "Iqbal Day special broadcasts," *The Morning News*, April 21, 1951.

<sup>88</sup> "Read Iqbal's works: Noon's stirring call to East Pakistan youths," *The Morning News*, April 23, 1951; "People urged to read Iqbal: Malik Noon's assurance to patronise study of poet's works," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 23, 1951; "Noon urges people to read Iqbal's works in original," *Dawn*, April 24, 1951; "Noon urges Bengalis to read Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1951; "Firoz Khan Noon asks East Pakistan youth to study Iqbal in original," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1951; "Read Iqbal in original: Noon's advice to Bengalis," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1951.

Munir Choudhry and Karim Fazli both spoke on 'Iqbal and Socialism'.<sup>89</sup> Firoze Khan Noon, in his presidential speech, made a stirring call to the youth of East Pakistan to read Iqbal's works preferably in the original. He desired that all the college libraries of the province should have complete sets of Iqbal's works and offered to bear half of their costs. Describing his personal relations with Allama, he recalled that when he moved from his hometown Sargodha to Lahore in 1920 to practice at the Bar, he met Allama Iqbal often until 1936 when he sailed for England. All those years, he never missed an opportunity of seeing Iqbal, especially on Sundays. Personally, he gained a lot by his close associations, whenever he met him either at his home or at the Bar library, Firoze Khan concluded.<sup>90</sup>

- The Bengali section of the Iqbal Day Celebration Committee held a programme under the presidentship of Habibullah Bahar, a function, which was reported to be very well attended, lively and interesting. Papers were read by Ibrahim Khan, Syed Abdul Manan and Abdul Husain. K. R. Khadam, the Secretary of the Iqbal Day Celebration Committee read an interesting paper on 'Iqbal and Religion'. Among the poets who participated in the function were Moinuddin and Mufakirrul Islam. Earlier the 'Iqbal Day Celebration Committee' threw a party to meet the poets, literati, and artists in the lawns of the Curzon Hall. The Governor, the Chief Minister, a number of Cabinet Ministers and high officials attended the party.<sup>91</sup>

- The East Bengal Literary Association organised another largely attended literary gathering in connection with Iqbal Day observance with Begum Mahmuda Khatoon Siddiqa in chair. Speaking on the occasion, Shahidullah called upon the writers and poets of East Bengal to assimilate and popularise Iqbal's poetry through their writings. The philosophy of Iqbal would create a new happy work based on Islamic principles, he concluded. Abdul Hasanat and Mustafiz-ur-Rahman discussed the various philosophical aspects of Iqbal's poems.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* For a brief survey of Iqbal's views on socialism, see S. A. Rahman, *Iqbal and Socialism*, Karachi, Hamdard Academy, 1974; Also see Fatih Aziz Ahmed, *Iqbal, Quaid-i-Azam aur Islami Socialism*, Gujrat, Maktabah-i-Zafar, 1970.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

- Iqbal Day was also observed at a meeting held by the staff and students of the Nawabour Government High School, Dhaka. Both Urdu and Bengali speaking boys read a number of essays and poems.<sup>93</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also observed at the Rahmatullah Academy, Narayangunj at a well-attended meeting.<sup>93A</sup> Likewise, Iqbal Day was celebrated in a befitting manner at Quaid-i-Azam College Dhaka, on April 22 under the presidentship of Shahidullah. Speeches were delivered in Urdu, Bengali, and English followed by songs and musical plays.<sup>94</sup>

- The three-day Iqbal Day programmes at the Curzon Hall, Dhaka, organised by the “Iqbal Day Celebration Committee” were brought to a close on April 23 with breezy debates in both Bengali and Urdu. *The Morning News* reported that the Bengali debate was held under the presidentship of Shahidullah at 06:00 p.m. The hall was packed to capacity. Two topics, which were debated, included (a) science *vs* religion and (b) Whether religion should be separated from the state.<sup>95</sup> The Urdu debate began at 10:00 p.m. and continued until mid-night. The subject for discussion was ‘*Juda ho din siyasat se to rah jati hai changez?*’. Reza Ali Wahshat presided over the Urdu debate. The debates, both in Bengali and Urdu, were of a very high order marked by sparking bursts of wit and humour.<sup>96</sup>

- The S. M. Hall Union Dhaka celebrated Iqbal Day on April 25 in the Salimullah Muslim Hall, which was reported in *The Morning News* and *The Pakistan Observer*. M. O. Ghani, Provost, and President of the Union was in the chair. In a short speech he emphasised the need for a critical study of Iqbal and a profound realisation of his messages by each and every educated man, so that the dream of the great poet-philosopher for establishing the permanent values of human life might be achieved in the life of mankind. The function was largely attended and prizes were awarded to some University students for speeches and recitations. Ustad Khasru and Abbasuddin charmed the gathering with their songs.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93A</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> “Iqbal Day in Quaid-i-Azam College,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 19561.

<sup>95</sup> “Iqbal Day functions end,” *The Morning News*, April 23, 1951.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> “Iqbal Day,” *The Morning News*, April 25, 1951; “Iqbal Day observed in S. M. Hall,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 27, 1951; “Iqbal Day at S.M. Hall,” *The Morning News*, April 28, 1951.

- Besides Dhaka, Iqbal Day was also observed at other places of East Pakistan. *The Morning News* and *The Pakistan Observer* reported that at Khulna, the B. R. Singh Girls School also observed Iqbal Day on April 22, 1951. The girls read out poems and articles written on the life of Allama Iqbal. Speaking on the occasion, Mah-e-Jebin appealed to all who were gathered there to follow the teachings of the poet-philosopher. “If you try the whole life to collect gems and jewels from the philosophical works of the great poet, you can hardly finish it to your satisfaction,” continued the speaker comparing the great life to an ocean. The meeting ended with the prayer that the departed soul may rest in peace.<sup>98</sup>

- *The Morning News* reported that the students and staff of the Singair H.E. School, Singair in the district of Dhaka observed Iqbal Day on April 21 at a meeting in the school compound under the presidentship of the school headmaster.<sup>99</sup> At Gaffargaon, the student and professors of the Gaffargaon College, Mymensingh, gathered under the presidentship of Principal S. Shabbir Ahmed. *The Pakistan Observer* informed that S. M. Khurshid, A. Hamid, and A. Bari discussed different aspects of the poet’s life. The President concluded the meeting by a call to the students to follow the path directed by the ‘Dreamer of Pakistan’.<sup>100</sup>

- According to a press report appearing in *The Pakistan Observer*, Iqbal Day was observed at Narayanganj in a befitting manner under the auspices of the Narayanganj Sub Divisional College Muslim Students’ Union. Early in the morning Prabhet Ferries were paraded and after morning prayers ‘*munajal*’ was offered for the peace of the soul of the poet. In the evening, a largely attended students’ meeting was held at the Rahmatullah Muslim Institute under the presidentship of Fazlur Rahman. The meeting requested the government to declare Iqbal Day as an official holiday and to translate the works of Iqbal into different languages.<sup>101</sup>

- At Rangpur, as per news item, which appeared in *The Pakistan Observer*, a mammoth public meeting was held under the auspices of Bazm-i-Adab on April 21 to celebrate Iqbal Day with Lutfur Rahman, District, and

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<sup>98</sup> “Iqbal Day at Khulna Girl’s School,” *The Morning News*, April 24, 1951; “Appeal on Iqbal Day,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>99</sup> “Iqbal Day,” *The Morning News*, April 26, 1951.

<sup>100</sup> “Homage paid to Iqbal,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>101</sup> “Iqbal Day at Narayanganj,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 25, 1951.

Session Judge in chair. Azhar, M. Sirajuddin, Sami Ahmed, and Zahur delivered speeches on the life, teachings, and mission of Iqbal in both Bengali and Urdu. The president in his speech asked the Muslims of East Pakistan to treat the *Muhajireen* as their own kith and kin, if they wanted to be true to the teachings of Islam and Iqbal.<sup>102</sup>

- *The Morning News* informed that at Gaibandha, under the auspices of the Muslim League and the Students League 'Iqbal Day' was celebrated in a largely attended public meeting held in the Municipal Park with due solemnity. Khair-uz-Zaman Chaudhry, Vice President, District Muslim League presided over. Different speakers including students dealt with the various aspects of the great poet's life and his contribution to Pakistan. His poems and 'tarana' were also recited. All classes of people joined the ceremony in thousands and paid their tributes. Another function was also held in the high school premises under the presidency of Ahmed Hussain MLA, convened by the Chairman, Gaibandha Municipality.<sup>103</sup>

- According to the report, which appeared in *The Pakistan Observer*, at Mymensingh, the students in a well-attended meeting observed Iqbal Day on April 22. Ashraf Ali, Professor of Arabic, Kumudini College, read an interesting paper on the life and works of Iqbal. Raoshan Ali recited a Bengali version of the poet's '*Khuda ka Farman*' and read out a poem of her own which was an extremely well written tribute to Iqbal. Amiyo Chakravarty read out extracts from Nicholson's translation of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* and from a Bengali version of *Shikwah*. The Principal, R. Ghosh Thakur ended the function by a discourse on Iqbal as a philosophical poet.<sup>104</sup>

- *The Morning News* communicated that an Iqbal Day meeting of the public and the members of the Banshgari Library was held at the Banshgari Riazul Islam Public Library on April 21 under the presidentship of R. Ahmed, Principal Nasirabad Islamic Intermediate College. The President spoke about message of Allama Iqbal and pointed out his valuable services towards the realisation of Pakistan. Later, the meeting prayed for the eternal rest of the noble soul.<sup>105</sup> The paper further stated that at Khulna, Iqbal Day was also celebrated by Bazm-i-Adab Khulna in co-operation with the Majlis

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<sup>102</sup> "Iqbal Day at Rangpur," *The Morning News*, April 26, 1951.

<sup>103</sup> "Iqbal Day at Gaibandha", *The Morning News*, April 25, 1951.

<sup>104</sup> "Iqbal Day observed," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>105</sup> "Iqbal Day at Mymensingh," *The Morning News*, April 28, 1951.

Tamadun, Khulna on April 21 at the Municipal Hall. Abdul Karim presided over the function while Dr. M. Hussain Civil Surgeon, Khulna and J. A. Matin, delivered speeches in Urdu and Bengali.<sup>106</sup>

- According to a press report appeared in *The Morning News* at Karotia, Karotia Mahuna Majlis observed Iqbal Day on April 23 with Maulana Abdur Rahim of Dhaka University in chair. Papers on the life and works of the national poet were read and speeches delivered by the professors of the local college.<sup>107</sup> On April 25, the students of the Jinnah High School, Parbatipur celebrated the 13th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal in a befitting manner. Speeches in Urdu and English were delivered on the life and teachings of the great poet.<sup>108</sup>

- *Dawn* reported that at Sylhet, Iqbal Day was observed by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Sylhet, with much pomp and grandeur. The function was presided over by Shahabuddin Rahmutullah (1913-1991)<sup>109</sup>, District Magistrate, who was known for his literary talent and had made a special study of Iqbal.<sup>110</sup> Diwan Muhammad Abbas Choudhury, formerly fellow of the Calcutta University, delivered a speech dealing with the life and works of ‘the greatest national poet of Pakistan’. Exhaustive recitations from the poetry of Iqbal were made during the meeting. The President in his speech discussed Iqbal as man, poet and politician. A *mushaira* was also planned to be followed by the meeting. The Sylhet Journalists Association also arranged a special function on the occasion.<sup>111</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also observed at Chittagong under the auspices of Sanskriti Baithak with Khalilur Rahman, Manager State Bank of Pakistan in the chair. *The Pakistan Observer* informed that through a letter addressed to the organisers, N. M. Khan, Divisional Commissioner expressed the opinion that there was nothing, which would do more to develop interest in Pakistan

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<sup>106</sup> “Iqbal Day at Khulna,” *The Morning News*, April 29, 1951.

<sup>107</sup> “Iqbal Day in Karotia,” *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951.

<sup>108</sup> “Iqbal Day at Parbatipur,” *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951.

<sup>109</sup> Shahabuddin Rahmatullah (1913-1991); civil servant, lawyer, poet, critic, writer and painter; translated works of Iqbal and Ghalib into English; retired as Secretary, Planning Commission of Pakistan. Pubs. *Art in Urdu Poetry; Hundred Gems From Ghalib; The Call of the Bell* (verse translation of *Bang-i-Dara*); *Shahab Biti; Yadaim aur Rima’itain, Muraqqa-i-Shahab, Safar-i-Jalal*.

<sup>110</sup> “Sylhet observes Iqbal Day,” *Dawn*, April 28, 1951.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*.

ideology than a study of Iqbal's works. Later Shaukat Usman read his own translation from Iqbal's works and poet Mati-ul- Islam recited a poem of his own written on Iqbal.<sup>112</sup>

- The members of the Iqbal Hall also announced to celebrate the 13th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal at the Iqbal Hall on April 27 under the presidentship of Principal Ibrahim Khan. Habibullah Bahar was invited as chief guest and Hamiduddin Ahmed was requested to open the function, which included songs, recitations, reading of essays and speeches.<sup>113</sup>

- Likewise, students of the Imperial Salimullah Intermediate College also announced to celebrate Iqbal Day on April 27, 1951.<sup>114</sup>

- Last Iqbal Day function held in East Pakistan and reported in *The Pakistan Observer* and *Dawn* was observed at Chittagong on April 28 under the auspices of the Railway Wajjullah Institute, Chittagong. Among those who spoke on the occasion were M. U. Ahmed, A. D. Azhar, President, Majlis-i-Iqbal, East Pakistan Branch and Muslimuddin Ahmed, the Secretary of the Railway Institute. The distinguished persons of the town attended the meeting.<sup>115</sup>

## THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

**IQBAL DAY WAS ALSO OBSERVED OUTSIDE PAKISTAN WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM WHICH WAS GIVEN DUE COVERAGE IN THE NATIONAL ENGLISH DAILIES.**

- One of the biggest events was held at Tehran, which was reported in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Pakistan Observer*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *Dawn*, and *The Morning News*. According to details, Iqbal Day was celebrated at Pakistan Embassy, which was presided over by Fayed Hassan Taqizadeh, President of the Iranian Senate and attended by over 400 guests. Guests included heads and members of Islamic diplomatic missions at Tehran, members of the Persian Parliament, Senate and the Government, men of letters and poets. The Pakistan Embassy was decorated

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<sup>112</sup> "Iqbal Day in Chittagong," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 28, 1951.

<sup>113</sup> "Iqbal Day to be observed at Iqbal Hall," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 23, 1951; "Iqbal Day", *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951; "Iqbal Day celebration," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 27, 1951.

<sup>114</sup> "Salimullah College to observe Iqbal Day," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 25, 1951.

<sup>115</sup> "Iqbal Day at Chittagong", *The Pakistan Observer*, April 30, 1951; "Iqbal Day in Chittagong", *Dawn*, April 30, 1951.

with flags, buntings, and colour lights. Iqbal's verses written in beautiful Iranian *Nastaliq* mounted in red and green cloth were displayed around the lawn. In a special message read on the occasion, Hussain Ala, Prime Minister of Iran paid rich tributes to Allama Iqbal and observed that Iqbal combined materialistic science and philosophy of Europe with spiritual mysticism of the East and ever remained convinced of latter's ultimate greatness.<sup>116</sup> Syed Ziauddin Tabatabai, a veteran politician and former Premier of Iran gave reminiscences of his associations with Iqbal in Palestine. He quoted instances of the poet's dynamic and life inspiring message, which in his view was imbibed from Quran. J. Genju of the Indian Embassy paying a tribute to Iqbal observed that he was a poet of humanity and belonged to all countries.<sup>117</sup> Ali Asghar Hikmat, Nafisi, Lutf Suratgar, M. Moeen and Hussain Khatibi also spoke on various aspects of Iqbal. Sadiq Sarmad, the court poet, recited a *qasida* specially composed for the occasion. Iran's renowned encyclopaedist, Aghai Deh Khuda, despite old age and weak health, attended the function and composed few verses on the spot in memory of the great poet. Iran's famous musician Badi Zadem sang passages from Iqbal. Copies of Iqbal's photographs were presented to those present on behalf of the Pakistan Ambassador.<sup>118</sup> Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan Ambassador to Iran, in a short speech in Persian, emphasised Iqbal's importance as a potent link between Pakistan and Iran and the entire Muslim world. He pointed out that Iqbal not only received inspiration from great Persian poets, mystics, and sages but also used their language as a vehicle of expression and preferred it even to his mother tongue. Iqbal borrowed innumerable expressions and literary terms from Persian and thus brought the Urdu language nearer to Persian.<sup>119</sup> Referring to Iqbal's line in *Zarb-i-*

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<sup>116</sup> "Iqbal Day celebrated in Tehran," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1951; "Tehran's homage to Iqbal," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1951; "Glowing tributes paid to Iqbal: Celebration in Pak Embassy in Tehran," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951; "Iqbal Day celebration in Tehran," *Dawn*, April 24, 1951; "Homage to poet of the East," *Dawn*, April 26, 1951; "Iqbal's poetry inspired hope and courage: Celebration in Tehran", *The Morning News*, April 26, 1951; "Iqbal's immortal spirit pervades Iran, Hussain Ala," *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Allama Iqbal's in depth study of Persian language and literature is exhibited by his reference to more than sixty Persian poets, renowned as well as less known, in his poetry and prose works. In addition, Iqbal has contributed about nine thousand couplets in Persian

*Kalim*, the Pakistan Ambassador asked Iranians to keep in view the role they had to play for bringing about peace in Asia and world.<sup>120</sup> The Radio Tehran as a mark of goodwill placed their orchestra at the disposal of the Pakistan Embassy and the radio artists played specially prepared tunes on the occasion. The Radio Tehran relayed the entire programme and it was listened with great interest all over the country.<sup>121</sup>

- Malikul Shuara of Iran Mirza Muhammad Taqi Bahar, who was a great admirer of Iqbal, died at the age of 70 on April 22, 1951. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, in a statement, which appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi expressing profound grief at the sad demise, said that his admiration for Iqbal was so passionately sincere that he often gave vent to his longing for dying in Lahore where Iqbal lay buried in eternal peace. Referring to the coincidence that Bahar died the same day as Iqbal, Ghazanfar Ali Khan said, “when we come to think of the significant fact, that the Malikushuara passed away exactly on the day when Iqbal bade good bye to this world, we have reason to be proud of a meeting in a celestial sphere of these two sublime souls”.<sup>122</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also celebrated in Ceylon on April 21, with great enthusiasm as per reports appeared in *Dawn*, *The Sind Observer*, Karachi, *The Morning News*, *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. Radio Ceylon had a broadcast of half an hour programme conducted by Iqbal Society of Ceylon. Speaking on the occasion, A. M. A. Azeez, president of the Society said, “Iqbal belongs to our century and he has a message for our time. In these days of conflicting ideologies and an aggressive atheism, he is our guide, friend, and philosopher.” Continuing he said, “Iqbal has given us a glimpse of Islam, which is unalloyed and unadulterated, pristine and

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language. Quoted in Muhammad Riaz, “A comparative appraisal of Iqbal’s Persian poetry,” *Iqbal Review*, Vol. XX, No.1, April 1979, p.13.

<sup>120</sup> “Iqbal Day celebrated in Tehran,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1951; “Tehran’s homage to Iqbal,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1951; “Glowing tributes paid to Iqbal: Celebration in Pak Embassy in Tehran,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951; “Iqbal Day celebration in Tehran,” *Dawn*, April 24, 1951; “Homage to poet of the East,” *Dawn*, April 26, 1951; “Iqbal’s poetry inspired hope and courage: Celebration in Tehran”, *The Morning News*, April 26, 1951; “Iqbal’s immortal spirit pervades Iran, Hussain Ala,” *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>122</sup> “Poet-laureate of Iran dead: Iqbal Day coincidence,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1951.

pure and has exhorted us to go in quest of it, trusting in the Almighty and placing reliance in ourselves and without being us success here and solace in the hereafter. “Iqbal,” he added, “thus becomes the modern guide of Islam, who has shown us the old path. Our debt to him is indeed immeasurable.”<sup>123</sup> In the evening, a public meeting was held under the auspices of All Ceylon Young Men Muslim Association, at Kandy, in which speeches on the works and life of Allama Iqbal were made. *Fatiba* prayers were also offered in some of the mosques.<sup>124</sup>

- At Cairo, the Pakistan Embassy arranged an Iqbal Day gathering at the Press Syndicate headquarters, which was attended, by Egypt’s leaders, scholars, philosophers, and poets. Abbass Mahmud Al ‘Aqqad, famous Arabic scholar and litterateur who gave a learned talk on ‘Iqbal’s mysticism and his conception of the ideal man’ expressed the hope that the day would come when the great philosopher- poet’s dream would be realized.<sup>125</sup> Dr. Rashid Albanavi speaking next hoped that the Muslims would translate into action, Iqbal’s view on the unity of Islamic countries. Aziz Abaz Pasha and Muhammad Munif-el-Hussaini, son of the Grand Mufti of Palestine, read a poem in praise of Iqbal. Shaikh Savi Sha‘lan entertained the audience with his translations from Iqbal besides reciting verses in praise of poet. Among those present were Pakistan’s Ambassador, the Indonesian Minister, Under-Secretaries of the Egyptian Ministers of Social and Religious Affairs, Shaikh Abdul Latif Diraz, Rector of al-Azhar University, Allouba Pasha, Muhammad Zaki Ali Pasha, Mufti of Egypt and Kihir Abaz Pasha.<sup>126</sup>

- Another Iqbal Day function held in Egypt was arranged by the Philosophical Society of the Fuad 1<sup>st</sup> University which was attended by nearly one thousand students and reported in *The Sind Observer*. Present among the audience were Abdus Sattar Saith, Ambassador for Pakistan in Egypt,

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<sup>123</sup> “Ceylon Muslim leader’s homage to Iqbal,” *Dawn*, April 21, 1951; “Iqbal: Philosopher, guide and poet: A tribute,” *The Sind Observer*, Karachi April 21, 1951; “In Ceylon,” *Dawn*, April 22, 1951; “Our debt to Iqbal immeasurable: Ceylon Muslims’ tributes,” *The Morning News*, April 23, 1951; “Iqbal Day in Ceylon,” *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951; “Iqbal, guide, friend and philosopher,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1951.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>125</sup> “Iqbal Day observed in Cairo & Ankara”, *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951; “Iqbal’s 13th death anniversary in Cairo,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 25, 1951; “Egypt pays tributes to Iqbal,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 25, 1951.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*.

Muhammad Ali Allouba Pasha and Altaf Hussain, Editor-in-Chief, *Dawn* and Adviser to the Pakistan press delegation then visiting Egypt.<sup>127</sup> Proceedings of the meeting began with an illuminating and learned paper on the philosophy of Iqbal read by Dr. Uthman Amin. The speaker emphasised the great service Iqbal had rendered to Islam through his poetry and prose, which had produced awakening in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and eventually led to the establishment of the Islamic state of Pakistan.<sup>128</sup> The next speaker, Dr. Muhammad Mahmud delivered a thought provoking lecture on the poetry of Iqbal especially the Islamic interpretation of the political and economic theories underlying it. Dr. Mahmud held the audience spell bound by his profound presentation of Iqbal, interspersed with copious quotations from his poetry, rendered into chaste eloquent Arabic.<sup>129</sup> He was followed by Abdul Momin Assukrami and Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi who analysed respectively Iqbal's prose writings and expounded his conception of superman. At the end, Altaf Hussain, editor *Dawn* speaking extempore, paid befitting tribute to Iqbal whom he described as not only the poet of Pakistan and Muslim countries but also the poet of mankind.<sup>130</sup>

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Morning News*, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *Dawn* and *The Sind Observer*, reported that Iqbal Day was also observed at the Ankara University under the auspices of the Turco-Pakistan Cultural Association with a large and distinguished gathering. Messages from the British, Canadian, and Iranian Ambassadors, heads of the Syrian, Jordan, Iraqi and Saudi Arabian missions, the Rector of Istanbul University and Yahya Kamal Betalvi were read. Mian Bashir Ahmed, Pakistan Ambassador to Turkey spoke on the life and works of Iqbal and described him as a really great man who wanted to create a revolution in thought, whom all enlightened men today, wherever they might be need to know and understand. He quoted many verses from Iqbal illustrating his message of human endeavour, struggle and dignity and his views on human rights, religion and the dynamic character of Islam.<sup>131</sup> Omer Raza Doghri,

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<sup>127</sup> "Fuad 1<sup>st</sup> University observes Iqbal Day: Altaf describes Iqbal as poet of mankind", *The Sind Observer*, April 12, 1951.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> "Ankara Varsity observes 'Iqbal Day,'" *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 25, 1951; "Ankara", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 24, 1951; "Iqbal Day observed

President of the Turco-Pakistan Cultural Association and Aqai Gholi Hakimi Counsellor of the Iranian Embassy speaking on the occasion acclaimed Iqbal as the property not merely of Pakistan or of the Muslim world but of humanity. Begum Fahmida Bashir and Begum Zareen Musharrafuddin delighted the audience with recitations from Iqbal. The meeting ended with a Turkish poem on Iqbal recited by a student of the Ankara University.<sup>132</sup>

- At New Delhi, a large and distinguished gathering of members of the diplomatic corps, poets and literati celebrated Iqbal Day in the Pakistan High Commissioner on April 21. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Morning News* reported that the Ambassadors of Egypt and Iran and Ministers of Syria and Iraq were among those present. Khawaja Hasan Nizami (1878-1957)<sup>133</sup>, who presided over the meeting, said that Iqbal was not only the poet of India and Pakistan, but of whole of Asia, for the awakening of the people of which he made great contributions. The meeting was followed by a *mushaira* in which a large number of well-known Indian poets including Bismil Shahjahanpuri, Pandit Zar Dehlvi, Tilok Chand Mehroom, Anand Mohan Zutshi Gulzar and others participated. Several poets, including Hindus, recited poems on Iqbal and paid warm tributes to his memory.<sup>134</sup>

- *Dawn* and *The Pakistan Observer* reported that Iqbal Day was also celebrated at Calcutta by the office of Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner in a simple yet dignified manner. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju<sup>135</sup>, Governor of

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in Cairo and Ankara," *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951; "Ankara News: Foreign policy debate: Iqbal Day observed," *Dawn*, April 28, 1951; "Iqbal: poet of humanity," *The Sind Observer*, May 3, 1951; "Iqbal belongs to whole humanity: Ankara homage," *Dawn*, May 4, 1951; "Iqbal belong to whole humanity: Glowing tributes to poet at Ankara meeting," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, May 4, 1951.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Khawaja Syed Ali Hasan (Hasan Nizami) (1878-1957); well known writer, scholar, mystic and journalist; editor, *Tauheed*, Merrut, 1913; launched weekly *Munadi* and *Nizamul Mashaikeb*; Published numerous writings.

<sup>134</sup> "New Delhi meeting," *Dawn*, April 22, 1951; "Poet of Asia," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 22, 1951; "Delhi celebrates Iqbal Day," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951; "Iqbal Day at Delhi," *The Morning News*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>135</sup> Kailash Nath Katju; Lawyer and politician, educated at Lahore and Allahabad; practiced Law at Cawnpur, 1908-14; and Allahabad; member UPCC, and AICC, 1921-46; Minister of Justice, Industries and Development, U.P., 1937-39; April 1946 – August 1947; Governor Orissa, August 1947 – June 1948 and West Bengal, June 1948.

West Bengal, presided over. The function commenced with recitation from Iqbal. Makkan Lal Roy Chaudhry and Tripurari Chakravarty of Calcutta University and Hiralal Chopra of Punjab University spoke on the occasion. Dr. Katju in his speech dealt with the life and literary achievements of the poet. Distinguished gathering included ministers, litterateurs, and journalists.<sup>136</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also planned to be observed at London under the presidentship of Ali Sohaily, Iranian Ambassador in London, under the auspices of Iqbal Society in Britain. *Dawn* reported that the principal speakers at the meeting included Javid Iqbal, then studying at Cambridge. A number of British film and radio artists had agreed to recite English adaptations of some of Allama Iqbal's poems. The recitations in Persian were expected to be done by a member of the Iranian Embassy in London.<sup>137</sup> BBC also planned to broadcast a series of special programmes for the occasion in Urdu and Bengali as well as in English. As per reports appearing in *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, highlights of the Iqbal programme in English were a recording by Javid Iqbal, and a talk on Iqbal specially contributed for the occasion by a young Pakistani writer, Jalaluddin Ahmed. The Urdu programme included a contribution from Javid Iqbal. In the weekly Bengali programme for East Pakistan; Abdul Hai of Dhaka University was to give a talk on Iqbal and read Bengali translation of one of his poems.<sup>138</sup>

- *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, *The Khyber Mail* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore informed that the Pakistan Legation at Jeddah also decided to observe Iqbal Day on April 21 in which a large number of Pakistanis, Indians and Saudi Arabians were expected to participate. Jeddah Radio also planned to broadcast talks in Urdu and in Arabic on Iqbal's life, message, and poetry.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> "In Calcutta," *Dawn*, April 22, 1951; "Iqbal Day in Calcutta," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1951.

<sup>137</sup> "Iqbal Day in London," *Dawn*, April 20, 1951.

<sup>138</sup> "Iqbal's death anniversary: BBC programme," *The Pakistan Times*, April 14, 1951; "BBC programme for Iqbal Day," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 21, 1951.

<sup>139</sup> "Iqbal Day at Jeddah," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi, April 20, 1951; "Iqbal Day in Jeddah", *The Khyber Mail*, April 21, 1951; "Iqbal Day observed at Jeddah," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 21, 1951.

- Two of the leading scholars of the United States also extended greetings to the people of Pakistan on the observance of Iqbal Day, which was carried in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. Dr. Luther Harris Evans, Librarian of Congress (National Library of the United States) said that to Pakistanis, “Allama Iqbal was and would be, equally remembered for those prophetic utterances of social and political ideals which had touched the hearts of the people and confirmed their resolution.” He argued that Iqbal’s magnificent gifts and widening influence are a universal legacy, which betters the human lot in every place. Walter H. Maurer, head of the South Asian section of the Library of Congress resolved, “As time goes on, he will become increasingly known and appreciated by Americans.”<sup>140</sup>

- *The Morning News* informed that the Iqbal Academy, Rangoon arranged an Iqbal Day meeting at Rangoon on April 21 presided over by U. Khin Maung Lat, Burmese Minister for Judicial Affairs. Speaking on the occasion, Maung said that Iqbal was a great pioneer of the renaissance in the East as his writings prevented the drift of blind imitation of western civilisation by infusing new faith and pride in the heritage of the East. He said that as a poet, Iqbal ranked with the greatest poets of all ages and as a philosopher, his message to humanity was to establish the dignity and unity of man.<sup>141</sup> R. S. Dugal, President of the All Burma Indian Congress in course of his speech observed that Iqbal’s poetry and philosophy were so profound and universal in their significance, transcending limits of race, nationality and religion, that they would remain as a permanent treasure in the world heritage of literature and philosophy.<sup>142</sup>

- The meeting was followed by a *mushaira*, in which local poets recited poems composed especially for the occasion. Talks on the poet in Urdu and Burmese were relayed from the Rangoon Radio. Local daily papers of English and Burmese published his photograph and special articles on various aspects of his life and works. The leading English daily *Union Gazette* in an editorial “Poet of the East” paid rich tributes to him.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> “Iqbal Day greetings from U.S,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 24, 1951.

<sup>141</sup> “Great pioneer of Renaissance in East: Burma’s tribute to Iqbal,” *The Morning News*, April 27, 1951.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

- *Dawn* informed that the Pakistan Legation at Baghdad also observed Iqbal Day through a function held under the presidentship of Iraq's Education Minister and attended by a distinguished gathering. Several speakers including Pakistan's Ambassador Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who had specially flown there from Tehran for the meeting, discussed life and works of Allama Iqbal. Among those who attended were two members of the Pakistan Press delegation to Egypt, Umar Farooqi and Nasim Hijazi.<sup>144</sup>

- At Sydney, more than sixty persons including well known Australian poets attended a supper held at the Women's Club on April 20 at the invitation of the High Commissioner for Pakistan to commemorate the 13th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal. Specially prepared traditional Pakistani dishes as well as Australian dishes were served.<sup>145</sup> George Caiger, General Secretary of the Australian Institute of International Affairs addressed the gathering on the life and works of Allama Iqbal whom he called a man with a spirit like a flame. He observed that the sands of time were running out and nations and men did not remain stand still but were always changing. How they changed depended on men like Iqbal, he concluded. After Caiger's talk, M. A. Rafi, a Pakistani UNESCO scholar, read extracts from Iqbal's works in Urdu and then their translations in English.<sup>146</sup>

- Iqbal Day was also observed at Paris at a meeting held at Hotel Plaza Athena on April 21 under the presidentship of Prof. Massignon, France's foremost oriental authority. Among those who attended were Prof. Meile of *Ecole des Langues Orientales*, Prof. Granai of *Fa culte des letters de Lyon*, Prof. Levi, *Directeur de l'Institut d'Etudes Islamiques*, members of the cultural section of the *Quaid' Orsay*, representatives of literary journals, diplomats and Pakistani nationals residing in Paris.<sup>147</sup> Presiding over the meeting, Massignon recounted his pleasant association with Iqbal and paid lavish tributes to his great contributions to world literature and thought. He said that Iqbal

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<sup>144</sup> "Iqbal Day observed in Baghdad," *Dawn*, May 4, 1951. Nasim Hijazi, the well known Urdu novelist had a special devotion for Allama Iqbal. For detail, see Tahira Naz, "*Nasim Hijazi par Allama Iqbal kay Ashrat ka Jaizya*," Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 2001.

<sup>145</sup> "Australian tribute," *Dawn*, May 4, 1951.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> "Iqbal's affinity with French tradition: Persian scholar's tribute," *Dawn*, April 29, 1951.

belonged not only to Pakistan but to the entire world.<sup>148</sup> Professor Meile discussed the close relationship, which existed between Iqbal and France. He said that Iqbal was fond of France and knew her thinkers and his keen sentiments regarding individuality brought him close to us. For it was the concept of individuality that lay behind all his thinking. The notion of *Khudi* which he thoroughly studied, was something very well known in France. In that way Iqbal was eminently in the French tradition of Encyclopaedists and of French philosophy of the 19th century. It was in that way that he gave a new stimulus to his country and contributed to the great revival of the East, which was a landmark of our time, Prof. Meile, concluded. Earlier during the day, the French Radio aired a talk on Iqbal.<sup>149</sup>

- Even a cursory glance on the above mentioned materials would reveal that Allama Iqbal being the originator of the idea of newly established state enjoyed a special status among the Pakistani intelligentsia. A survey of English dailies of Pakistan which existed during 1950 reveals that he was highly respected for his multidimensional services and his views were persistently quoted by renowned personalities of every walk of life, like writers, politicians, intellectuals, civil servants and theologians as guidelines to be pursued in reshaping the proposed structure of the motherland. His ideas were presented as a panacea for all the ills and rallying point for the development of a sense of unity and oneness.

## IQBAL STUDIES: GUEST SCHOLARS



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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* Allama Iqbal was very fond of Mansur Hallaj's book *Kitab al Tawvasiin* edited by Massignon in 1913. During his journey to London to participate in third RTC held in 1932, Iqbal stopped at Paris and especially went to Massignon's residence to meet him. For details, see Muhammad Siddique, *Allama Iqbal and Unkay B'aṣ Abbab*, Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1988, pp.96-105. For an English translation of Massignon's notes on *Tawvasiin*, see R. A. Butler, "Louis Massignon's Notes on *Kitab Al Tawasin*," *Iqbal Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3, October 1970, pp.28-57.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

1- *Concept of Movement and*

*Nature of Shari'ah*

ABDUS SAMAD

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2. *Muhammad Iqbal and Germany*

M. A. H. HOB OHM

★★★

3. *Reflections of Allamah Dr.*

*Muhammad Iqbal*

*on Palestine*

M. A. K. KHALIL

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# CONCEPT OF MOVEMENT AND NATURE OF SHARI'AH

**Abdus Samad**

o much has been discussed about the *Sharā'ah* the legal theory and its inert principles. This research note aims at discussing the nature of the *Sharā'ah* in terms of movement and time as explained by Muhammad Iqbal in his philosophy of *Kbudā* which is translated by R.A. Nicholson as Ego, the Self and the Personality.

In order to discuss the nature of the *Sharā'ah* familiarity with the nature of the Muslim Community is a prerequisite that is, the institution of the *Sharā'ah* in Islam is closely related with the *Ummah* (the community) and its daily life. The Qur'«n of course, tends to bring about a community characterized by faith, justice and solidarity. It is however, understood that the Qur'«n in its silence and its attitude, that it reduces the legal matters into a very small volume, keeps the door open for the natural emergence of legal element and its evolution as an organ of the community itself, and not as an institution *sui generis*. What is then the nature of the Muslim community from whose bosom these legal elements emerge, develop and flourish?

Professor T. Kuroda assumes that the basic nature of Arab Islamic community is characterized by the nomadic culture, a unique feature of Bedouins who constitute the general body politic of Arabia and its neighbouring regions. Borrowing the concept of nomadology introduced by G. Deleuze and F. Guattari in their “Mille Plateaux Professor Kuroda explains in his essay “On the Nature of Community in the Arab-Muslim World,” the nature of this society in terms of *espace Lisse* (smooth space), in the sense that it is a community of GO which stands *vis-à-vis* Chess. To elaborate this theory, let me reproduce what G. Deleuze and F. Guattari assert.

According to them, GO and Chess are different entities. Whereas Chess is semiology, Go is a pure strategy; thus, their spaces are totally different. In Chess it is a question of going from one point to another of occupying the maximum number of squares with minimum number of pieces. In GO, it is a question of arraying oneself in an open space, of holding space, of maintaining the possibility of springing up at any point. The movement is not from one point to another, but becomes perpetual without aim or destination. The smooth space of GO stands against the striated space of Chess. The difference is that Chess codes and decodes the space, whereas GO proceeds altogether differently, territorializing and de-territorializing.

This nature of *espace lisse*, as a dynamic character of Arab-Islamic Community, is truly reflected in the *Sharâ'ah* and its process. In this respect Max Horten rightly says that the spirit of Islam is so broad that it is practically boundless. With the exception of atheistic idea alone it has assimilated all the attainable ideas of surrounding peoples and given them its own peculiar direction of development. This is what Iqbal expresses in his philosophy in terms of *Kbudâ*, a means of movement and tension and a prime factor for its survival and permanence.

The Concept of *Kbudâ* (the Self) is the core of Iqbal's philosophy which he developed on his own. His writings, both poem and prose are embellished by this concept. He wrote two volumes of poetry explaining his philosophy: *Asrâr-i-Kbudâ* (The Secret of the Self), and *Rumûz-i-be-Kbudâ* (The Secret of the Selflessness). Iqbal developed such a philosophy out of some reasons: a profound understanding of the Qur'anic philosophy as dynamic and eternal, parallel to that of the scientific principles; a deep study of the nature of human-life; and the milieu in which he was living that is, the political, the economic and the religious instability. Iqbal understood that the world today is totally different from the one before. A call to return to the Qur'ân and the *Sunnah* alone will not provide solutions. This should be allied with the revolutionary force of some philosophy which is apt to vitalise the movement and ensure its triumph. He realised that the Western scientific

interpretation of phenomena, Hindu Intellectualism and the blind fatalism of reactionaries had destroyed the capacity of action, leaving the people in intellectual and moral slavery. Iqbal firmly believed that “only by self-affirmation, self-expression and self-development can the Muslims once more become awaken and free,” because the capacity of movement ultimately depends on the individual personality and its power, i.e. the Self. In his words:

*The form of existence is an effect of the Self*

*Whatsoever thou Seest is a Secret of the Self*

Among many things Iqbal explained in terms of *Khudā* (the self or Ego), concept of movement that is the continuation of the personality and concept of time are our concern. According to him, “in man the centre of life become an Ego or Person and personality is a state of tension and can continue only if that tension is maintained. If a state of tension is not maintained relaxation will ensue.” He further elaborates his idea and says,” that which tends to maintain the state of tension tends to make us immortal. Thus the idea of personality gives us a standard of value; it settles the problem of good and evil. That which fortifies the personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the stand point of personality.”

It is a serious question in Islam whether “law is a divinely ordained system or it is a developing phenomenon adapting itself to the changing social conditions.” The orthodox *‘ulamā’* assume that the *Sharā‘ah* is ordained and eternal, meaning that there is no change, no possibility of reinterpretation, an idea vehemently opposed by modernist scholars among whom Iqbal is the leading one. Since Iqbal had already developed the philosophy of Ego, he saw it appropriate to apply it as a basic method to actualise the principle of movement in the structure of Islam that is *ijtibād* and thus keep the *Sharā‘ah* *dynamic* and vital.

Personality of a person or a system, according to Iqbal, can continue only if the state of tension is maintained. The same is true in *Sharâ'ah* that is, the tension brings change and the change causes continuation and thus expansion and immortality ensue. This idea is supported by the Concept of Time which Iqbal seems to have borrowed partly from Bergson, partly acquired from his profound Qur'anic study. He says: Bergson taught us that time is not an infinite line. On the other hand the Qur'an repeatedly uses a term '*ajalun musammâ*', meaning a limited time, for matters relating to a person, a nation and an epoch etc, (Qur'an, 6:2, 7:34, 13:2, 46:3). Bergson seemed to have guessed this Qur'anic viewpoint before Iqbal when he said that time is not an infinite line. Iqbal, however, seems to be confident that if matters relating to a person, to a nation or to an epoch are, according to the Qur'an governed by certain limited time, then why not the *Sharâ'ah*? Is not the *Sharâ'ah* concerned with every matter of a person, a nation or an epoch? That which tends to determine the life of man tends to determine the laws that govern his entire affairs of life. That is, the *Sharâ'ah* in its process towards integration, expansion and permanence has been frequently facing the relaxation resulting from this Quranic principle of *ajalun musammâ*, which is why, it needs reinterpretation and reconstruction for the sake of its survival and revival.

Whereas Plato emphasised that physical existence is unreal, Iqbal, however, criticises him and says that such idea is responsible for the emergence of mysticism which negates action that is Ego in man. He held that extinction of human-ego has been one of the major causes of man's decline. He highly appreciates the moot point of *Being and Becoming*, a basic principle of the philosophy of Heraclitus which determines the law of change and permanence in the Universe. Iqbal also completely agrees with Professor McTaggart in his opinion that the Universe is an association of individuals," and then elaborates by saying: we are gradually travelling from chaos to cosmos and are helpers of achievement of an orderliness and adjustment in that association. On the other hand, Iqbal was however, deeply influenced by

the Qur'anic Concept of Creation, *kehalq*. He made the Qur'anic notion "Every day He is with a project" (55:30) substance of his philosophy of movement; he thus holds that members of the mentioned association are not fixed. That is to say that new members are ever coming to birth to co-operate in the great task.

According to Iqbal, the Universe is not a complete act, it is still in course of formation and the process of creation is still going on and man too takes his share in it. Being thus, the concept of movement and permanence, an ultimate principle of Divine Sovereignty, not only governs the Universe, but also stands as the basic principle of action, tension, creation and integration and man takes part in this gigantic process of expansion towards infinity. Islam, according to Iqbal comes in full agreement with universal dynamism. For him, a society based on conception of change in its life must reconcile the categories of permanence and change and this can be maintained only by maintaining the tension and movement in the structure of Islam, which in *Sharā'ah* is *Ijtihād*.

The nature of Islamic law is the nature of dynamism in human life that is, it is not purely legal in the strict sense of the term; rather, it embraces all the spheres of life in balance, harmony and equipoise. This does not necessarily mean that Islamic law primarily grows out of, and moulded by, society as it is the case with positive law. It remains Divine supreme and self-existent and to its flexibly valid dictates the structure of society must conform in every age. Although the foundation of the structure of Islamic society is monolithic, the nature of Islamic law remains flexible and harmonious with the requirements of every age agreeing with the Quranic principle of '*ajalun musammā*' (a limited time), that is to say that it stands in every age as the self-existent law for its revival's sake. Since the nature of law is dynamic, change will occur and thus law becomes an ineffaceable pace towards its eternity. God says: Every day He is with a project, (55:30) Here Time loses its speculation within the dynamic process of existence and its expansion. In this respect, Iqbal rightly says: In reality we are timeless. Yes, the concept of movement not

only governs the Universe, but also stands as the basic principle of action, tension and integration and man takes his part in this gigantic process towards infinity. Since the nature of the *Sharâ'ab* is dynamic and its plain is *espace isse*, no wonder it enjoys the characteristics of permanence and eternity.

The principle of movement in the structure of Islam was a matter of prime concern for Iqbal until his last breath. He was perfectly aware of the painful situation which was about to take place in Europe during his lifetime. He suggests and reminds that “the lesson which the rise and outcome of Luther's movement teaches should not be lost on us”. He assumes that “the Reformation was essentially a political movement and net result of it in Europe was a gradual displacement of the universal ethics of Christianity by system of national ethics”. He was badly agonized by the result of the Great European War which, far from bringing any workable synthesis of the two opposing systems of ethics has made the European situation still more intolerable. Hence he calls for reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, an attempt “to move forward with self control and a clear insight into the ultimate aims of Islam as a social polity.”

# MUHAMMAD IQBAL AND GERMANY

## *'A Correspondence of the Heart'*

M. A. H. Hobohm

It is well known that the poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal had a deep admiration for Germany, German thought, German poetry and there are innumerable instances in his writings, in his poems, in letters and in recorded conversations with him which indicate clearly that the works of German philosophers and poets have been a source of great inspiration to him.

Foremost among them was Goethe to whom he refers again and again of whom he says, I though not a prophet, he has a book namely 'Faust, and whom he compares to Gh̄lib the great poet of Urdu and Persian of the nineteenth century and to that illustrious sage of the East, Maulāna Jalāl al-Dān Rēmā. In a poem in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* Iqbal imagines Goethe meeting Rēmā in paradise and reciting *Faust* to him. Rēmā listens and extols Goethe as one who has really understood the Great Secret. In bringing Goethe and Rēmā together, Iqbal brought together not only two of the greatest spirits of the East and West, but also the two men who have influenced him more than anyone else in his career as a thinker and as a poet.

None other than Iqbal himself has told us so. In his preface to the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, the book in which Iqbal's art probably reached the height of its power and perfection, he writes these Lines: "The *Payam-i-Mashriq* owes its inspiration to the *Western Divan* of Goethe, the German 'Philosopher of Life', about which, Heine, the Israelite poet of Germany says: "This is a nosegay presented by the West to the East as a token of high regard. This *Divan* bears testimony to the fact that the West, being dissatisfied with its own spiritual life is turning to the bosom of the East in search of spiritual warmth."

The *Payam-i-Mashriq* is Iqbal's response to Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* on the title page of which —I should like to recall to our memory— Goethe had written in his own hand the following words in Arabic language and script:

‘*Ad-Dân«n Sharqâ lil Mu’allif al-Gharbâ*’ —An Eastern Divan by a Western Author.

Iqbal’s introduction to the *Pay«m-i-Mashriq* also contains a short but extremely interesting account of the ‘Oriental Movement’ in German literature. It serves to give us a glimpse of the extent of Iqbal’s contacts with German culture, just as his philosophical work, as for instance reflected in his Lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* reveals his profound knowledge of, and his deep admiration for German thought, inspite of his frequent differences with German thinkers as for instance Nietzsche. Though Iqbal was a great admirer of Nietzsche and there is much that they both had in common observes Justice Javid Iqbal ‘the poet’s son in an essay on Iqbal and Nietzsche, there are fundamental differences between the two, namely their sources of inspiration and basic to their whole concept of, and outlook on life, their conception of God.

In an article, entitled ‘Conversations with Iqbal’, by Syed Nazir Niazi, a close friend of Iqbal, who has had extensive conversations with him, which he recorded from time to time, we have another treasure trove of information on Iqbal’s preoccupations with German culture and German thought. Again it is Goethe who figures most prominently in their conversations. Writes Niazi: ‘Perhaps what life needs most are men who can understand its ultimate purpose. Goethe was such a man and so was Iqbal. And it was Iqbal who turned our attention to Goethe. It is a remarkable episode in our history that Iqbal alone should have resisted the force of a whole literature and culture, namely English, which was dominating our life through political control. It is a fact that we accepted Goethe rather than Shakespeare. Shakespeare is no doubt admired, but Goethe is the favourite. Shakespeare is a unique artist whom we all recognize, but Goethe is one of us who has secured a place in our heart. If we bear this point in mind a glimpse of the perfect man or Vicegerent of God or *Mu’min* or Man of Faith and his character, disposition as conceived by Iqbal, is seen to some extent in

Faust a creature of Goethe's thoughts, and not for instance in the 'Superman of Nietzsche.

The sources from which we can glean information on Iqbal's connections and contacts with Germany and the instances in his writings where he expresses himself on her poets and thinkers are numerous and manifold.

It is my privilege today to contribute to that material by presenting to the public for the first time a report on a collection of letters written by Iqbal which have an immediate and direct bearing on his connections with and his feelings for my country. They are letters and postcards addressed by Iqbal to his German language tutor in Heidelberg, Miss Emma Wegenast, letters and postcards of which I possess photo copies and some originals.

The collection is a gift which Miss Wegenast, the recipient, made in the early sixties, shortly before her death, to the Pakistan-German Forum, a bilateral cultural association of which at the time the late Mr. Mumtaz Hasan was President while I had the honour to be its honorary General Secretary.

The Pakistan-German Forum, being an organisation whose aim it was and is to promote and strengthen cultural relations between the two countries, was fully aware that Muhammad Iqbal is the greatest cultural link that exists between Germany and Pakistan. It was only natural, therefore, that when Mr. Mumtaz Hasan and I were invited to visit Germany in the summer of 1959, we made it a point not only to visit the cities and universities of Heidelberg and Munich where Iqbal had stayed and studied in 1905 and 1906 but to make every effort and attempt to trace any person still alive who had met Iqbal during his days in Germany.

It was in the pursuit of this aim that with the help of friends we were able to find and to contact Miss Emma Wegenast to whom our attention had been drawn by references to her in Begum Atiya Fayzee's book on, Iqbal.

Although we could not meet Miss Wegenast personally, a correspondence developed between Mr. Mumtaz Hasan and her. As a result of this correspondence she made over to the Forum the letters she had received from Iqbal with the request to pass them on to any archive in Pakistan where they could be accessible to scholars engaged in research into Iqbal's life and work. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan was kind enough to prepare for me a complete set of photocopies which he gave to me along with two original letters. Since, I had to leave Pakistan on transfer soon after, I do not know the present whereabouts of the letters that were donated by Miss Wegenast.

But before examining the letters further let me return once again very briefly to our visit to Germany which yielded yet another fruit: we succeeded in persuading Inter Nations, a German organisation founded in Bonn in 1952 to promote intercultural relations and contacts with other nations to locate the original thesis submitted by Iqbal to the University of Munich for his Ph.D. and to have it copied for the Forum. The thesis was found and thanks to the late Dr. Richard Mönnig, the Director of Inter Nations, who himself had taken a keen interest in Iqbal, some 30 photo-mechanical reprints of the thesis were produced.

The thesis is properly preceded by a 'Lebenslauf', a curriculum vitae, presumably compiled by Iqbal himself and signed by him, in which he gives his date of birth as the 3rd of Dhë Qa'dah 1294 A. H., with the year 1876 in brackets. The method of calculation which led to this year: of the Christian era was probably the one widely used by Orientalists in Germany and elsewhere at that time. It follows the formula year A. H. minus year A.H. divided by 33 plus 622 equals the year of the Christian era.

The thesis was submitted with the approval of Professor Dr. Friedrich Hommel, Iqbal's supervisor or doctor-father as he is called in Germany, to the Faculty of Philosophy, Section I (respectively II) of the Ludwig Maximilians University at Munich. It was published in London in 1908 by Luzac & Co. and was printed by E.J, Brill of Leiden in Holland. I would like to add the remark that at the time when Iqbal obtained his degree in Munich,

it was quite customary, even obligatory at German universities to submit Ph. D. Theses or '*Inaugural Dissertationen*' as they are called in German, in print, and in a set fairly large number of copies to be distributed to important libraries and relevant research centres in the country and abroad.

But let me now turn to the letters. They are altogether 27 in numbers including two postcards. They cover two distinct periods, namely the year from 1907 to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 and the years from 1931 to 1933. The long silence between these periods is only interrupted once by a letter written in 1919.

There is every possibility that I may have lost some of my photocopies in the course of several moves from one continent to another and that the original collection is larger than mine. I have a faint recollection that there were altogether more than 40 letters plus some photographs.

As I already mentioned, the person to whom the letters were addressed is Miss Emma Wegenast. She was Iqbal's German language tutor in Heidelberg at the 'Pension Scherer', one of those highly respectable boarding houses for students—so common in German university towns before the advent of the students hostel tower blocks.

'Pension Scherer' or the Heidelberg School, as Iqbal calls it in one of his letters, seems to have been a boarding house mainly for foreign students, which explains the tutorial facilities. Fraulein Wegenast was in her twenties when she and Iqbal met and we have it on the authority of Begum Atiya Fayzee that she was very beautiful and highly accomplished, polished young lady.

Iqbal was very fond of her—there is no doubt about that— but as the letters reveal, it was a pure and innocent fondness. I have the feeling when reading the letters, that to Iqbal Fraulein Emma Wegenast was the embodiment of all that he loved and respected of all that he was so strongly

attracted by, in German culture, in German thought, in German literature, perhaps in German life as a whole.

Iqbal addresses her throughout very formally as 'Mein liebes Fraulein Wegenast' or 'My dear Fraulein Wegenast' with only the 'Mein' hinting at his fondness for her.' But it is fondness coupled with respect, for in all the letters written in German and they all belong to the first period when his memories of her were the freshest and his feelings for her must have been the strongest, he always uses the formal and respectful 'Sie' in addressing her, not once lapsing into the intimate 'Du'.

The letters do not reveal anything sensational. They are rather ordinary letters as any two friends would exchange among themselves: no deep thoughts, no poetry, and yet they answer some of the questions about Iqbal which were still open and they certainly throw further light on Iqbal's feelings for my country.

The first question answered is the one posed by Syed Nazir Niazi in his essay on conversations with Iqbal. When he writes: 'I had always been curious to find out how far Iqbal had studied the German language... I personally believe he had made a deep and penetrating study of German literature in original. He must have been well-versed in German Language. But he never used any German word in his conversations, not even at the time when his children were under the care of a German governess who lived in his house.

Well, the letters certainly provide an answer to this question. All his letters written before the outbreak of the Great War except two are written in German, and although Iqbal complains in them time and again about severe shortcomings in his knowledge of that language and of his inability to express himself in the way he would like to, even apologizing for insulting the reader by his '*schlechte Deutsch*', (bad German). I can only say that when Iqbal does so, he is much too modest. I find it remarkable how well he expresses himself in that language, a language after all, in which he has had

tuition for only a relatively short time. No, he knew German alright, as the letters reveal, though in latter years, his active knowledge of that language must have progressively faded away, and quite understandably so.

In his first detailed letter after his return to a native country, dated 11th January 1909, Lahore, he gives a very lucid and fluent account in German of the overwhelming welcome accorded to him by his countrymen.

As a by-product, so to say, the letters yield another, hitherto unknown piece of information: the addresses at which Iqbal stayed in London in 1908 and again in 1931 and 1932 when he attended the Round Table Conferences. They are: 49, Elsham Road in Kensington in 1908, 113 A St. James Court, Buckingham Gate in 1931 and lastly Queen Anne's Mansion, St. James Park in 1932. Now these addresses are known, the Buildings Advisory Committee of the Greater London Council should be requested to put up a blue plaque at one of these addresses, in commemoration of him who is one of the greatest sons of Pakistan, if not the greatest.

However much I should like to do so, the time at my disposal today does not permit me to quote extensively from the letters I feel however, that I owe it to you to read out one passage at least which is particularly expressive. On receipt of the news that Fraulein Wegenast's father had died, he sent her the following message of condolence:

Dear Miss Wegenast,

I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of your father's death; and though my letter must reach you a good many days after this sad event, yet neither time nor distance can make my sympathy with you in your bereavement any the less warm. The news has pained me very much indeed, and I pray that Almighty God may be pleased to shower his choicest blessings on the venerable old man, and to give you strength to endure your sorrow. *Verily we are for God and to God we return.* This is the sacred text that we recite when we hear the news of death. And I recited

this verse over and over again on reading your painful letter. Such events though do happen in everybody's life and we must meet our troubles like those who left us their lives to imitate. You remember that Goethe said in the moment of his death —'More Light! Death opens up the way to more light and carries us to those regions where we stand face to face with eternal Beauty and Truth.' I remember the time when I read Goethe's poems with you and I hope, you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other —so much so that I spiritually share in your sorrows, Please write to me when you feel inclined to do so, I wish I had been in Germany to convey my sympathy to you personally. May God be with you.

Yours ever,

Mohammad Iqbal

Some more representative quotations could be cited as follows:

'I remember the time when I read Goethe's poems with you and I hope you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other spiritually speaking'.

Here it is: Fraulein Wegenast, that is Goethe, Heine, Kant and Schopenhauer, it is Heidelberg, the Neckar, Germany —it is those happy days!

And that is the Leitmotif of Iqbal's letters to Emma Wegenast.

'My body is here, my thoughts are in Germany'.

'It is impossible for me to forget your beautiful country where I have learned so much. My stay in Heidelberg is nothing now but a beautiful dream. How I'd wish I could repeat it!'

‘I am very fond of Germany. It has had a great influence on my ideals and I shall never forget my stay in that country.’

‘Never shall I forget the days I spent at Heidelberg when you taught me Goethe’s Faust and helped me in many ways. Those were happy days indeed.’

‘I’d wish I could see you once more at Heidelberg or Heilbronn whence we shall together make a pilgrimage to the sacred grave of the great master Goethe.’

‘The other day, I was reading Heine and I thought of the happy days when we read the poet together.’

And a final quotation:

‘Germany was a kind of second home to my spirit. I learned much and I thought much in that country. The home of Goethe has found a permanent place in my soul.’

Yes indeed! Fraulein Wegenast that is Goethe and Heine, Kant and Schopenhauer, Heidelberg’ the Neckar ‘Germany’ those happy days —And those happy days, Germany the Neckar, Heidelberg Schopenhauer and Kant, Heine and Goethe that to Iqbal was Fraulein Wegenast, as this correspondence not of the mind, not of the intellect, but of the heart reveals.

# REFLECTIONS OF ALLAMAH DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL ON PALESTINE

*Dr. M. A. K. Khalil*

## **Introduction**

Islam and the Muslim world constitute the central theme of all the works of Allamah Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. The defeat and dismemberment of the *Khilafat-i-Uthmaniya* hurt Allamah Iqbal's heart most severely. The problem of Palestine constitutes the greatest tragedy of this century for the Muslim world. This is a festering wound which has continued in the body politic of the Muslim world till today. It constituted the greatest stress to Allamah's heart and its evidence exists throughout his writings and lectures. As the Palestine problem is one of the most important problems of the present day Muslim world I felt it appropriate to present this topic to Muslim intelligentsia. Recently an article entitled "Iqbal awr Masa'alah-i-FilasṬîn" written by Maulvi Shams Tabriz Khan passed my eyes. It has been included in a book entitled, *Nuq̄sh-i-Iqbal* by Sayyid Abul Āsan 'Alā Nadvâ published by Majlis-e-Nashriyat-e-Islam, Karachi, Pakistan in 1975. This book is an Urdu translation of an earlier Arabic book entitled, *Raw'î' Iqbal* by the same author. Though the book *Raw'î' Iqbal*, was written to acquaint the Arab world with the thought of Allamah Iqbal it did not have any paper on Palestine. This grave omission was noticed by the translator of the book into Urdu and has been rectified by him which is a very valuable addition. An English translation of this paper is presented below for the benefit of English knowing Muslims.

Note. The material within parentheses in what follows has been inserted by me for clarification.

## **Translation**

Iqbal had a very deep personal interest in the problem and future of Palestine and Arabs. His personal letters, particularly those to Miss

Farquharson, show his heart-felt intense dismay concerning the Palestine problem. In a letter to Mr. (Muhammad Ali) Jinnah he writes.

The Palestine problem has long kept Muslims in mental distress. The Palestinian Arabs perhaps may attain some benefit through the Muslim League. Personally, I am prepared to go to jail for any issue influencing both India and Islam. The forcible establishment of a Western military cantonment at the gateway to Asia is fraught with dangers both to Islam and India.

He writes to Miss Farquharson:<sup>107</sup>

The Jews also have no right over Palestine. They had bid farewell to Palestine willingly long before its occupation by Arabs. Zionism also is not a religious movement in addition to the absence of any interest among religious Jews in Zionism. *The Palestine Report* has brought out this fact to broad daylight.

The advice and sympathies of Iqbal with Palestine were part and parcel of every Palestine conference held in India. The Allamah made a statement against *The Palestine Report* in the Muslim Conference held at Lahore in which he said:<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> This refers to the two letters of Allamah Iqbal to Miss Farquharson, dated July 30 and September 30, 1937 respectively, regarding Palestine, which are included in *Iqbal Nama* (Mak«tāb-i-Iqbal) Vol. 1, pp. 446-50. Miss Farquharson was the President of the National League of England. Perusal of these letters is urged to readers.

<sup>108</sup> Ditto, pp. 451-56 - Statement of Allamah Iqbal to the Lahore session of the Muslim Conference in 1937 to protest against the Palestine Report. Considering the context reference to "Peter the Hermit" in the statement of Allamah Iqbal in the reference cited and also appearing in the paper translated appears to be a printing error.. In the New Testament Peter is not referred to as "the Hermit". However, in the Book of Revelation St. John is referred to as "the Divine". Moreover, neither of the two Epistles of St. Peter deal with the subject of the text. The Book of Revelation does. In this book St. John describes his dream in which he states to have seen the shape of things to come at the end of the world. Chapter 21 describes the ascent of the Jews in which they are shown to be in full possession of Palestine and Jerusalem. Perhaps, this is also listed by Jews and their supporters as an act of the inevitable Divine Will of making Jews masters of Palestine.

The injustice meted out to Arabs has touched me intensively as it could touch any person who is conversant with the conditions prevailing in the Near East. This problem provides an opportunity to the world Muslims to declare with all the force at their command that the problem, the solution of which is the aim of the British politicians is not only the occupation of Palestine but is a problem which will lead to the creation of intense influence on the whole Islamic world. If the Palestine problem be viewed in its historical background it will be obvious that this is a problem which is purely Islamic. If viewed in the light of the history of Bani Israel, the Jewish problem in Israel had ceased to exist thirteen centuries before the entry of Hazrat Umar in Jerusalem. The forcible expulsion of Jews from Palestine never occurred (through) Muslims but, as is pointed out by Professor Hocking. Jews had spread out of Palestine voluntarily and intentionally and the larger part of their

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The authenticity and reliability of whole of the New Testament is held in doubt. Reference is invited to Appendix III of Allamah Abdullah Yusuf Ali's "Text, Translation and Commentary of the Holy Qur'an" in which he discusses this subject on the authority of world famous Christian scholars of Christianity. He says that, "about the Gospel of St. John, there is much controversy as to authorship, dates and even as to whether it was all written by one and the same person". The authenticity of the Book of Revelation by St. John, the Divine is even more seriously disputed than his Gospel. Allamah Yusuf Ali says, "The Apocalypse of St. John, which is the part of the present canon in the West, forms no part of the Peshita (Syriac) version of the Eastern Christians., which was produced in 411 C.E., and which was used by Nestorian Christians". The text of "Revelation" is so confusing that it verges on mythology. Perusal of the whole Appendix III is urged for a complete understanding of the subject. The readers are also urged to read *Tafhām-ul-Qur'an* by Maulana Abul A'ala Mawdoodi, the *Tafseer* of Surah A'eff, verse 6. This discussion is also based on world literature on Christianity. The 'New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the English Language' describes the Book of Revelation as "the 27<sup>th</sup>". or the last book (late 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> Century) of the New Testament of uncertain authorship. It contains apocalyptic visions of the victory of God over Satan and was apparently written, "to strengthen the persecuted Christians" (p. 851). This is a fallacious belief from the Islamic point of view. According to Islam, God reigns supreme from eternity to eternity. Satan has been given the power of misleading mankind temporarily, primarily to grant his desire of complete freedom to mislead and as a system by which people can be tested for different grades of their piety or lack of it. This is part of God's universal plan.

scriptures was written and organized outside Palestine. The Palestine problem was never a Christian problem. The recent historical discoveries have thrown a shroud of doubt over the existence of Peter the Hermit himself.

The most tragic result of the First World War was the infliction of severe damage on the Islamic world. On the one hand, the Islamic *Khilafah* of Turkey was disorganized and on the other, the allies again freely used their old stratagem of injudicious division of the booty. Consequently, the eastern part of Turkey was given over to Russia and the western provinces of Balkan, Hungary and Bulgaria etc. were declared completely independent. Iran and Syria were given over to France and Britain occupied Egypt and Iraq. In this way the Islamic world was dismembered and distributed among imperialist European nations. As the Palestine problem had international dimensions it was placed under the guardianship of Britain “to guide it to the path of progress and civilization”. Iqbal throws light on this state of affairs and exposes the cunning stratagem of Europe. He shows how Europe first makes the weak countries the target of its tyrannies, then sheds crocodile tears over their misfortunes and shows sympathy, so as to retain its acceptability in the world of Islam in addition to attaining its own ends

*All applause to your compassionate heart, as for the sake of thanaab*

*You have come to the funeral prayer of the one killed by your amorous glance*

Europe designates this diplomacy to be a combination of discipline and guardianship but it is nothing short of blood sucking.  
*Iqbal has no doubts in its apparent civility*

*Europe is the “guarantor” of every oppressed nation*

*However, Syria and Palestine break my heart*

*Prudence fails to uncover this complex enigma*

*After coming out of the influence of the “unjust Turks”*

***These poor countries are now engulfed in “the whirlpool of civilization***

Even at that time that the League of Nations (which was the predecessor of the present day United Nations) had perpetrated discriminatory treatment against Arabs and Asians which continues till today. This was due to the overpowering influence of Jews and Western countries over it. For this very reason Iqbal sometimes called the League of Nations “*D«sbta-i-pâarak-i-Afrang*” (a keep of the West) and sometimes presents it with the similitude of shroud thieves who wanted to designate the East as a grave yard whose graves they wanted to distribute among themselves for stealing their shrouds.

*I do not know more than this that some shroud thieves)*

***Have formed an association for distributing the graves among themselves***

Iqbal had understood the growing influence of Jews over Western politics. He had considered it inevitable that Europe would some day fall a victim to their snare of fraud.

*The usurious Jews are waiting since long*

*To whose deceit the prowess of the tiger is no match*

*The West is bound to fall by itself like a ripe fruit*

*Let us see in whose lap the West falls*

He expresses the same thought in another poem titled, “Europe and Jews”

This prematurely dying civilization is in the agony of death

The Jews will perhaps be the trustees of the Church

Since the Arab-Israeli war of June 5, 1967 opinion has been expressed by Jews and their supporters that because Arabs had expelled Jews from their homeland Jews are not to blame if they have wrested their homeland again

and that this land is the “Promised Land” where their return is inevitable, as the Zionists say.

Iqbal had responded to this to the effect that Jews had emigrated from Palestine voluntarily and that this “Diaspora” had occurred even before the Arab conquest of Palestine. Accepting this claim of Jews, Iqbal raised a pertinent but unwelcome question. This was that if Jews had their rights over Palestine why could not Arabs have their rights over Spain, Sicily and other European lands previously owned by them? This claim of Jews is equivalent to the launching of their claim by the Red Indians over North America and that of the Hun, Goth and Gaul nations over Britain or of the Aryans of India against Iran and Russia that their homelands be returned to them.

In Iqbal’s view this is an outrage and a joke on history and is a ridiculous attempt at its wilful distortion. If Jews have to be rewarded with a homeland at all this should be conferred upon them in Germany from where they have been really expelled. This new claim of Jews over Palestine after a lapse of a thousand years of its relinquishment, followed by silence about it is totally baseless and is only the result of prompting by the West.

### **If the Jew has the right over the land of Palestine**

*Why is there no right of Arabs over Spain*

*The object of British imperialism is something very different*

### ***It is not concerned with orange orchards or “the Land of Milk and Honey***

Allamah Iqbal is aware of the conceptions and potential of Palestinian Arabs as well as with their capabilities. Consequently, he wants to stir them up for the development of *Khudâ* and excitement to the desire of being counted, and reminds them of their spiritual elegance from which the world is still benefiting. It is well known that in Iqbal’s message of *Khudâ* the feelings of Arabs, their Islamic sentiments, the pleasures of *ʿImān* and Belief, spiritual potentials and a stable determination alone are the basic

components. Inviting Arabs to the war of independence, after furnishing themselves with these very arms, Iqbal says beside Faith in God and in *Khudâ* any trust in Europe and the League of Nations (or the United Nations) is nothing short of vain imagination and self-deception.

*I know that your existence still has the fire*

*From the warmth of which the world is still benefiting*

*Your cure lies neither in Geneva nor in London*

*The jugular vein of the West is in the clutches of Jews*

*I have heard that freedom of nations from slavery*

*Lies in the development of Khudâ and the joy for rising up so as to be counted*

#### *Discussion*

Some discussion of “the Promised Land” in the light of Jewish history appears necessary here. For a complete understanding of the concept of “the Promised Land” and the behaviour of Jews regarding it I shall restrict myself only to the Old and New Testaments of the Holy Bible. The teachings of the Holy Qur’an on this subject are well known to its readers and will not be included in this discussion for brevity. According to the Holy Bible God promised “the Promised Land” of Canaan to Abraham and his progeny in 1900 B.C. (Genesis 12:1-7). This land roughly corresponds to the present day Palestine and Jordan. The progeny of Abraham includes Banë Isrâ’âl (Jews) as well as Banë Ismâ’âl (Arabs). So, both branches of Abraham’s progeny have equal rights to “the Promised land”. This promise is conditioned with the obligation of piety, as is general with every promise of God. From 1900 B.C. to 1000 B.C. i.e. for a period of 800 years this land was ruled by Egypt and Philistines, which gave it the name of Philistine, now anglicised to Palestine. Moses brought Banë Isrâ’âl to Palestine in about 1100 B.C. after their Exodus from Egypt and wandering about in the Sinai Peninsula for 40 years. In spite of the promise of God, which should have given strength to

Banë Isrꝰâl they refused to face the travails of a war with Philistines (Numbers Chapters 13-15). A summary of the history of Jews follows

721 B.C. - 715 B.C. - Assyrians, followed by Babylonians conquered Palestine with complete destruction of Banë Isrꝰâl and their cities.

530 B.C. - Return of Banë Isrꝰâl to Palestine with the help of the Persian king Cyrus II.

332 B.C. - Palestine conquered by Greeks under Alexander.

63 B.C. - Conquest of Palestine by Romans.

135 C.E. - Revolt of Banë Isrꝰâl and its suppression by Romans with extremely heavy losses to Banë Isrꝰâl and destruction of the Temple of Solomon.

About 650 C.E. - Muslim conquest and rule arrived, which continued till the end of World War 1. in 1918.

Thus, “the promised Land” was not given to Banë Isrꝰâl for a period of 800 years from 1900 B.C. to 1100 B.C. During the Exodus when Moses, on command from God, planned to invade Canaꝰn, Banë Isrꝰâl flatly refused to go with him. (Numbers Chapters 13-15).

The Muslims remained rulers in Palestine for about 1270 years which is four times longer than the rule of Banë Isrꝰâl. The expulsion of Banë Isrꝰâl from Palestine was completed in 715 B.C. after its conquest by Babylonia and continued off and on for about 1400 years when the Muslims arrived in 650 C.E. The emigration of Banë Isrꝰâl since 715 B.C., technically known as “Diaspora”, was either due to the atrocities of Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks and Romans or occurred voluntarily in search of ‘greener pastures’ elsewhere. It was not brought about by Muslims (or Arabs). In fact Banë Isrꝰâl were rehabilitated in Palestine by the Uthmanian *Khalifah* in the late 15<sup>th</sup> Century and early 16<sup>th</sup> Century, when they were expelled by the Christian

kings of Spain during the infamous “Inquisition”. These disasters were not brought on to Banë Isræ’âl by Muslims but by their own backsliding from the Covenants with God on Mount Sinai after the Exodus, followed by abandoning the straight path shown to them by their own prophets and scriptures, which brought the wrath of God over them. There are innumerable references to this in the scriptures of Banë Isræ’âl, Christians and Muslims. The following is a very short list of such references in the Old and New Testaments. References in the Holy Qur’an are omitted because they are well known.

The Old Testament: Psalms 106: 34-43:

34. They did not destroy the nations, concerning whom the LORD commanded them.

35. But were mingled among the heathen and learned their works.

36. And they served their idols: which were a snare unto them.

37. Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils.

38. And shed innocent blood even the blood of their sons and their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan and the land was polluted with blood.

39. Thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions.

40. Therefore was the wrath of the LORD kindled against his people, in so much that he abhorred his own inheritance.

41. And he gave them into the hands of the heathen, and they that hated them ruled over them.

42. Their enemies also oppressed them, and they were brought into subjection under their hand.

43. Many times did he deliver them; but they provoked him with their counsel, and were brought low for their iniquity.

Isaiah 1: 3-5 and 21-24, and 3:16-26;

Chapter 1: 3. The ox knoweth his owner and the ass master's crib: but Israel doth not know: my people doth not consider.

4. Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the LORD, they have provoked the holy one of Israel into anger, they have gone away backward.

5. Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more; the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.

21. How is the faithful city become as harlot! It was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers.

22. Thy silver has become dross, thy wine mixed with water.

23. Thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves: everyone loveth gifts and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

24. Therefore, saith the LORD, the LORD of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge of mine enemies.

Chapter 3:16-26

16. Moreover the LORD saith Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet.

17. Therefore the LORD will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion; and the LORD will discover their secret parts.

18. In that day the LORD will take away the bravery of *their* tinkling ornaments about *their feet* and their cauls, and *their* round tires like the moon.

19. The chains and the bracelets and the mufflers.

20. The bonnets and the ornaments of their legs, and the headbands and the tablets, and the earrings.

21. The rings and nose jewels.

22. The changeable suits of apparel and the mantles and the wimples, and the chipping pins

23. The glasses and the fine linen, and the hoods and the Vail.

24. And it shall come to pass *that* instead of sweet smells there shall be stink; and instead of girdle a rent; and instead of well set hair baldness; and instead of a stomacher a girdling of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty.

25. Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war.

26. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she *being* desolate shall sit on the ground.

### Jeremiah, Chapter 3:

6. The LORD also said unto me in the days of Joshua the king. Hast thou seen *that* backsliding Israel hath done? She is gone up upon every high mountain and under every green tree, and there had played the harlot.

7. And I said after she had done all those *things*, Turn thou unto me But she returned not. And her treacherous sister Judah saw it.

8. And I saw, when for all the causes whereby backsliding Israel committed adultery I had put her away and had given her a bill of divorce; yet her treacherous sister Judah feared not, but went and played the harlot also.

9. And it came to pass through the lightness of her whoredom, that she defiled the land and committed adultery with stones and with stocks.

St. Mathew, Chapter 23:

35. That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zachariah son of Batrachia, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.

36. Verily, I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.

37. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *thou* that calloused the prophets, and steepest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.

38. Behold your house is left unto you desolate.

# BOOK REVIEWS



## 1. *THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ISLAM*

Ed. John L. Esposito,

Reviewed by **Maryam Jameelah**



## 2. *THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE OF SYED MUHAMMAD NAQUIB AL-ATTAS*

Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud,

Reviewed by **Mohammad Din Juahar**



ED. JOHN L. ESPOSITO, *The Oxford History of Islam*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, pp. 749.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH, Sant Nagar, Lahore

“...The most hideous aspect of this counter-revolution (Monarchy replacing the Rightly-Guided Caliphate) was the emergence of all three types of Ignorance (i.e. atheism, polytheism and asceticism) under the guise of Islam and their fast-spreading influence in the Islamic community. Atheism grabbed power and authority in the name of Khilafat, but in reality, it was monarchy, the very antithesis of Islam. This change worked a tremendously far-reaching negative influence on the lives and mental attitudes of the chiefs, government officials, soldiers and the ease loving people in general to the extent that their very view of morality and social life was altogether perverted. Then naturally an urge was felt to (project) un-Godly arts, literature, philosophy and science so as to make them fit in with the new patterns of life and trends of

thought. Such things can flourish only under the patronage of wealth and authority. Here then was a large opening for them to emerge freely. Such were the general intellectual conditions that favoured the downpour of all admixtures of philosophy, literature and science from the Greek, Iranian and Indian skies on the Muslim soil... Not only that: the fine arts, which are strictly un-Islamic, found patronage from those who had been forbidden to practice these ugly arts. Polytheism made incursions on the common man's mind and led him into the blind alleys of ignorance and sin. People of the un-Godly communities who embraced Islam... and the world-seeking *ulema* worked hard to distort Qur'an and misinterpret the *Hadith* with a view for making grave and saint-worship an integral part of their system of Islam. Monasticism attacked the religious scholars, spiritual guides, righteous and good-natured people and influenced them in all the above-mentioned evils. Under the impact of this anti-social creed, the Muslim society became impregnated with Greek philosophy, monastic morality and a general pessimistic attitude towards life... It (Sufism) perverted Islamic literature, arts and sciences and incapacitated the thinking elements of the society as if by an injection of morphia (and).... it reinforced monarchy.....<sup>109</sup>

These words do not come from the pen of some prejudiced western Orientalist or an over-zealous Christian missionary? No, Not at all! None, but the most famous Islamic revivalist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose prodigious writings and activities immensely influenced the contemporary Islamic movement all over the globe, is the writer of these remarks.

The book under review effectively refutes this extraordinarily negative view of our history and civilization. It is a very balanced account which defies all efforts by such modern zealots to paint our past black. In its full detailed

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<sup>109</sup> (Tajdid-o-Ihya-Din) *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Abul A'la Maududi, Islamic Publication Ltd., Lahore, 1963, pp. 27-30.

and unbiased presentation of all the positive achievements of traditional Islamic civilization to the world in religion, spirituality, military and peaceful conquests, statecraft, commerce, jurisprudence, literature, philosophy, theology and all the arts and sciences, this book can be judged as fair and objective as possible for non-Muslim scholarship.

The Muslim reader can only wish that more space and attention had been given to the Holy Prophet himself and the Rightly-Guided Caliphate without which all this could never have taken place. There should also have been more reliance on Hadith literature and less on western sources. The reader of this book cannot but be astounded that despite all the political turmoil following the assassination of Hazrat Uthman, Islam continued to spread and flourish with undiminished vitality.

As the Holy Prophet and the Qur'an were the final culmination and re-affirmation of all the previous religious Traditions, so did the early Muslims regard themselves as the only rightful heirs to all the civilizations of antiquity. This inspired a tremendous love for knowledge and quest for learning wherever it could be found. The translation of the major Greek, Persian, Indian (and much later, Chinese) classics on science and philosophy into Arabic and their gradual Islamization, was one of the most important events in the history of human civilization. No external military or economic pressures were involved to explain this momentous development, but only love of knowledge for its own sake. This book clearly reveals that had not this intellectual activity taken place, God forbid, Islam

might have remained an obscure Arab sect and never developed into a world religion.

The chapter on the immense achievements of “medieval” Muslim sciences, mathematics and technology unfortunately fails to reply to the key question as to why the scientific, technological and industrial revolution arose in the West and not *Dar ul Islam*?

More than any other single factor, Sufism inspired the forms of Islamic calligraphy, mosque architecture and crafts. The shockingly un-Islamic statue of the half-naked dancing girl which adorned the Umayyad palace in Jericho (p. 231) only illustrates the aesthetic infancy of Muslim art before it had opportunity to mature into its characteristic forms. From the Umayyads, the Abbasids to the Mamluks and Ottomans, these much-maligned monarchs lavishly patronized all the arts, sciences, hospitals, public works and charitable and educational institutions without which Islamic civilization would not have been possible as all these sciences and arts were dependent on patronage.

Illuminating chapters discuss the rich Islamic heritage in Africa, China and South-East Asia, replying to the often-asked question if culture can be separated from religion? The fact is, one is inseparable from the other as no culture can grow in a void. Hence the traditional Chinese, the African, the Indo-Pak and Malaysian expressions of Islamic culture are all equally valid. Islam was never intended to be a uniform monolith but the embodiment of unity in diversity. Never intended to achieve an earthly utopia, despite all

imperfections and failings, traditional Islamic civilization provided maximum stability, equilibrium and collective support for the individual Muslim in his quest for eternal salvation.

All that was thoroughly devastated by the advent of colonialism and post-colonialism. In a brilliantly revealing chapter, Dr. Syed Vali Reza Nasr, Professor of Political Science at San Diego University, presents the colonial and post-colonial period as a colossal loss, both to Muslims themselves and to the world at large which may prove beyond repair and irreversible. He shows how the colonial heritage has decisively shaped the present post-colonial Muslim-majority, anti-Islamic national-states with their emphasis on western-style “Development” and top-down state-managed social and cultural transformation in the modern western image, - a direct successor to the colonial “white-man’s burden” and his “civilizing” mission to “improve” the “natives.”

The final chapter on Islam today by Esposito himself shows how Muslims did survive the colonial mayhem, though with terrible spiritual and cultural impoverishment, illustrated by the preceding chapter on Islam in the modern West. After suffering discontinuity from their heritage by two centuries of alien colonialism, it is hardly surprising when youth today attempt to reconnect, they easily lose their way (see illustration on p. 673)

This book is an eloquent presentation of the incredible richness and depth of traditional Islamic civilization throughout the world from its inception to the present-day.

WAN MOHD NOR WAN DAUD, *The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas*, ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

REVIEWED BY MOHAMMAD DIN JAUHAR, Sadiq Abad.

The currency of modern educational ideas in the Islamic lands is a historical testimony to the epical failure of the Muslims over the past two

hundred years, and practices are the slow, but inexorable, unravelling of the Muslim mind. Education in the contemporary world is like the most pervasive ‘conveyor belt’ transmitting the ideas of the dominant culture and the values system of politico-economic elite to the credulous and dominated generations. Education in the true Foucauldian sense is plugged into the grid of reigning ideas and values, not necessarily predicated on ‘truth’. It is also a master technology of control, which leaves nothing untouched. The content of modern education and the whole process of schooling/disciplining are aimed at ‘manufacturing’ human beings to fulfil certain political and socio-economic objectives set by the political powers that be. The individual and the needs of his self are absent from the whole project of modern education.

The Muslim case was aggravated by our home grown ‘epistemological lackeys’ who, in their effort to ingratiate the colonial masters, messed up everything. They failed to live up to their traditional religious heritage and discover its relevance in the changed times, and miserably failed to see the West for what it really is. Occasional sparks of wisdom were visible in the Muslim societies but they were soon overtaken by the ‘secular darkness’ viciously spreading in the Muslim lands in the wake of colonialism. Iqbal’s following couplet now looks poignant:

*T«za phir d«nish-e-Á«ür ney key« wo si-Ár-i-qadâm.*

*Guzar is ‘ehd mün mumkin nahân be chëb-i-Kalâm*

Modern knowledge has revived the ancient magic of Pharaoh

No one can pass through this age without the staff of Moses.

Muslim civilization in the present times looks like a tree, withering fast, losing sap, leaf-less and fruitless, ready to die or about to be cut down for others’ fuel. But lo! All *of* a sudden a robust and sturdy shoot sprouts from the trunk. The tree lives and the forebodings die. This new symbol of the invigorated Muslim life is none other than the formidable Al-Attas. And Wan

Mohd Nor Wan Daud has done a great service to the Muslims in general by writing this book. It is interesting that as the Muslim heartlands bleed and lie humbled in the face of the renewed colonial onslaught, a man from the backyard of the Muslim civilization unexpectedly emerges to lead the battle for the Muslim soul.

No adjectives can do justice to the achievements of Al-Attas. His contribution to the Muslim intellectual life is original, comprehensive and practically viable. First and foremost, as the author says, he has pointed out the root cause of Muslim malaise as “confusion and error in knowledge”. This sets the stage for all socio-political, cultural and educational ills. This in turn fundamentally affects the individuals who lose Islamic *adab*. Their selves are replicas of falsehood and they span out into all walks of Muslim life, thus aggravating the confusion even further. This vicious coterie of false leaders sets up a macabre play of musical chairs, while the Muslim peoples look on befuddled and bamboozled. In other words, apparent Muslim failure is merely an exteriorisation of a deep-seated failure which is spiritual and epistemological.

Dr. Daud fully elaborates Al-Attas’ seminal contributions to the religious thoughts and their bearing on the modern Muslim education. Following the tradition of the higher Sufis, Al-Attas delineates the contours of Islamic metaphysics and world-view of Islam. His metaphysics is rooted in the Islamic fundamentals as set forth in the Qur’an and the *Sunnah*. Once we get this philosopher’s stone, everything is transmuted. Eyes begin to see and hearts begin to hope. The magical dazzle of the modern secularism and its technological achievements begins to flicker off and we see things in proper perspective. This is *adab* which is a blessing of proper worldview of Islam. The man of *adab* is central to the whole Islamic scheme of things. And *adab* means: recognizing and acknowledging the right and proper places of things, the acquisition of good qualities and attributes as well as actions to discipline the mind and soul, and the avoidance of erroneous actions. *Adab* is built on

knowledge, proper methods of knowing and *Áikmah* (wisdom) leading to ‘*adl*’ (justice).

The book dwells long at Al-Attas’ most sustained and in-depth critique of the modern West and its conception of reality. His ideas bring into sharp relief the “the fundamental elements, characteristic of the Western spirit and worldview, that are antithetical to Islam, namely the dualistic view of reality, the secular ideology, the humanistic philosophy and the tragic conception of life”. These elements are worked into the modern humanistic education at universities through literary classics and secular science and philosophy. The modern university suffers from the absence of epistemological authority and the normative ‘character’. The ideals and aims of modern education are always in flux and trapped in a Sisyphean process of becoming. Authority in Muslim education is predicated on the divine guidance and the Absolute Truth of the Holy Qur’an. The presence of the Holy Prophet at the heart of the Muslim education saves it from the meaninglessness of modern becoming and sets up a model before individuals to emulate and achieve.

Islamization of modern knowledge is the natural consequence of Al-Attas’ Islamic metaphysics. Even at the risk of plagiarism and simplification, a real danger to Al-Attas’ preternatural ideas, one cannot help saying that Islamization essentially means bringing the *farí kifíyah* knowledge UNDER the purview of the *farí ‘ayn* knowledge. This is what Islamic *adab* demands and this is what leads to Islamic *adab*. As soon as the divine touches the mundane, its secular crookedness straightens and its profanity is sanctified. Hierarchical view of reality is central to the whole project of Islamization. Al-Attas’ perspective on the role of language in the process of Islamization in the early Islamic history and its role in de-Islamization and secularisation of the Muslims in the modern times is an intellectual *tour de force*. His efforts to rediscover the original definitions of the key terms of Muslim discourse and his resistance to their semantic erosion have greatly strengthened his argument for the Islamization project. If a human being can be ‘Islamised’, so can all his endeavours be. Knowledge, as Dr. Daud shows in the light of

his mentor's ideas, is an attribute of man. Once modern secular knowledge is plugged into the grid of *fari' ayn* knowledge, it will be divinely 'enlightened'.

The author makes a convincing case for a radical transformation of Muslim university education, incorporating the ideas of Al-Attas which have universal relevance. He enumerates all the efforts undertaken in the major Muslim lands in response to the colonial education and the challenge of the modern knowledge and exposes their inadequacy. Interestingly, the author does not mention Jami'ah Usm $\kern-0.25em\text{a}$ niah, Hyderabad Deccan, where the medium of instruction was Urdu and which produced internationally recognized scholars representing true Muslim character. The Jami'ah was a glorious effort, begun with great difficulty under the interfering English nose. Pakistan is now paying the wages for its forgetfulness of such a successful venture. The stress to transform the higher education is understandable. It is the higher education in the Muslim lands that has brought us low and it is where we traded our dignity for trivial and ephemeral things.

**INFORMATION AND COMMENTS**



# **IRCICA AWARD FOR: PROF. SYED MUHAMMAD NAQUIB AL-ATTAS**

Report by: (Professor Dr. Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud)



**IRCICA AWARD FOR:**

**PROF. SYED MUHAMMAD NAQUIB AL-ATTAS**

Professor Dr. Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud

## **PROF. SYED MUHAMMAD NAQUIB AL-ATTAS TO RECEIVE IRCICA AWARD FOR EXCELLENT STUDIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION**

The International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) is really privileged and takes great pleasure in announcing that Y.M. Professor Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, The Founder-Director of ISTAC and the Holder of the al-Ghazali Chair of Islamic Thought, has been honored by the Islamic World as a distinguished scholar who will receive the IRCICA Award for excellent contributions to various fields of Islamic Civilization.

The Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) is a subsidiary of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The Governing Board of IRCICA, in its meeting in January 2000, has proposed to institute this award in recognition of the great contributions of Muslim scholars to the intellectual world. The proposal was approved by the OIC Islamic Commission and was later adopted by the 27th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers that convened recently in Kuala Lumpur (27 - 30th June, 2000). As such, this Award is officially recognized on behalf of the Muslim World.

The decision to nominate Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib as a distinguished scholar was communicated to him by the Director General of IRCICA in a special letter of 5th July 2000. The award presentation

ceremony is scheduled to take place in Istanbul on 25th October 2000, concurrently with the OIC Ministerial Meeting to be held therein under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic of Turkey.

This international award has been instituted on behalf of the Islamic World in appreciation of outstanding scholars who in meaningful ways have contributed to the Islamic History and Civilization.

Such an award establishes once again the fact that the Muslim community in the Malay Region at large and in Malaysia specifically do in fact have a figure of repute who has been persistent in improving the community in various fields of achievement, especially in the area of Islamic Thought and Civilization. Besides being an honor to Prof. S.M.N. al-Attas in person, the award is also a rare gift for the Muslim community of Malaysia who are reputable for their active involvement in the struggle for the Muslims' cause all over the world. It will certainly add to the list of international recognition of Prof. al-Attas, a man who since 1974 has been in the Marquis ***Who's Who in the World***. He is definitely one of the very few eminent academicians in the Islamic World, who has been entrusted to occupy various academic chairs in a number of prestigious universities abroad, apart from being appointed since 1960's as distinguished member of numerous academic boards and committees of international standard. Among them are: UNESCO Expert on Islamics (1978), First Holder of the Tun Abdul Razak Distinguished Chair of Southeast Asian Studies (1981-1982), and being the honorable conferee: as Fellow of the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy by the Empress of Iran (1975); of Iqbal Medal by the President of Pakistan (1979); of the Membership of the Royal Academy of Jordan by the late King Hussein (1994), and of the Degree of Honorary Doctorate of Arts (D. Litt.) by the University of Khartoum (1995).

