

IQBAL REVIEW

Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan

April 2003

Editor

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

Title : Iqbal Review (April 2003)
Editor : Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Publisher : Iqbal Academy Pakistan
City : Lahore
Year : 2003
Classification (DDC) : 105
Classification (IAP) : 8U1.66V12
Pages : 202
Size : 14.5 x 24.5 cm
ISSN : 0021-0773
Subjects : Iqbal Studies
: Philosophy
: Research



IQBAL CYBER LIBRARY

(www.iqbalcyberlibrary.net)

Iqbal Academy Pakistan

(www.iap.gov.pk)

6th Floor Aiwan-e-Iqbal Complex, Egerton Road, Lahore.

Table of Contents

Volume: 44

Iqbal Review: April 2003

Number: 2

1. THE UNIVERSALITY OF IQBAL	6
2. IQBAL'S VISION OF A COMPOSITE MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN-JEWISH NATIONALISM....	8
3. NIETZSCHE, IQBAL AND POST-MODERNISM.....	15
4. LALA I TUR – A FRESH ENGLISH TRANSLATION.....	18
5. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KANTIAN AND ISLAMIC VIEW OF HUMAN FREEDOM.....	53
6. THEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF PEACE AND WAR ACCORDING TO ISLAM.....	66
7. ALIGARH MOVEMENT: STORY OF A GENERATION AND SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLAMIC MODERNISM.....	87
8. ALLAMA IQBAL— NEWS, VIEWS AND EVENTS: A SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN DURING 1956	99
9. BOOK REVIEW	119
10. IQBAL YEAR PROJECTS.....	126
11. MERA PAYAM AUR.....	136
12. REMEMBERING IQBAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IQBAL AND HIS UNIVERSAL VISION INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, MALAYSIA	144
13. WHOSE IQBAL — OURS OR THEIRS?	152
14. ALLAMA IQBAL RESEARCH ACADEMY, DHAKA.....	160
15. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND RESUME OF IQBAL INSTITUTE.....	161
16. BUILDING BRIDGES THROUGH SCRIPTURES IN DIALOGUE.....	166
17. NEW PRACTICES OF SCRIPTURAL READING— TOWARDS A COMMON FEASTING	178
18. AN OBITUARY FOR PROFESSOR HAMIDULLAH	180

THE UNIVERSALITY OF IQBAL *

Dr. Javid Iqbal

Iqbal's thought is multi-dimensional. Its most important dimension is his cosmic view, which is tied up with his fundamental concept of individual and collective ego. Through this concept he elevates man and makes him stand side by side with God as co-worker and co-creator in the construction of a better universe and a more perfect world order. The universe, according to Iqbal, is not a block universe or a finished product, incapable of change. But it is a growing universe as God keeps on adding to it in the process of progressive change. Iqbal's God is a living God because of His continuous creative activity. Man as a spiritual being, realizing himself in space-time, can also become eternal like God if he takes the initiative, by regarding life as a struggle or a challenge, and by constantly creating or inventing for the betterment of the world and the universe.

However, the cosmic view of Iqbal cannot be properly comprehended, unless and until one grasps his worldview. He has a message for the Third World as well as a warning for the rich and affluent nations. For the nations of the Third World his message is that they must constantly endeavour to realise their collective ego, exploit their own resources, control their populations, learn to depend on themselves alone, build up their own industries and commerce, establish such politico-economic orders which are founded on their own tradition, help one another in reconstruction, resolve their disputes through bilateral negotiations, and must not go about with a begging bowl to the affluent nations. To the affluent nations his warning is that so long as they remain attached to fabricated dualism, such as distinction between white and black, coloniser and colonized, exploiter and exploited, capitalist and communist, underdeveloped and developed, they would not become aware of the moral implications of dignity of man and consequently shall perish or be obliterated from the face of the earth.

It is interesting to note that whatever Iqbal said 50 years ago, is now being reflected in the writings of the liberal thinkers of West. In the light of the

* Text of the speech delivered at New Delhi on December 26, 1977.

findings of the Reports of the Club of Rome, it is generally felt that capitalism as well as communism have failed to cope with under-development on a global scale and that at present the most highly developed countries cannot, possibly offer any such social order which provokes the enthusiasm of man. In the opinion of the liberal thinkers, the false distinctions and values created by the West have harmed mankind. In their view, if humanity is to survive in the 21st century, it must consider itself as one because all of us are under-developed in the sense that we are economically inter dependent on each other. It has been suggested that multi-national corporations be established in order to keep a watch on such destructive economic forces as inflation and take appropriate measures before they strike mankind. Iqbal has pointed out to the nations of the Third World that their collective ego cannot be realised merely by getting political independence. They must at the same time endeavour to achieve economic autonomy and technological emancipation. Iqbal's relevance to the present context is that his world view be properly understood, not only by the nations of the Third World, but also by the rich and affluent nations. It is only through this understanding that modern man may succeed in establishing an international economic order founded on the universally accepted norms of politico economic ethics, justice and equity.

IQBAL'S VISION OF A COMPOSITE MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN-JEWISH NATIONALISM

Prof. Fatch Muhammad Malik

Iqbal's concept of Muslim nationalism is neither local, nor parochial; it is universal in its essence. Iqbal regards his concept of Muslim nationalism as a "stepping stone towards the final integration of humanity". It is a pity that Iqbal's concept of Muslim nationalism has only been partially realized so far, and its universal dimension is only an unnoticed and unrealized ideal as yet.

Iqbal's famous Ilahabad address of 1930 is well-known for enshrining the vision of separate Muslim homelands in South Asia on the basis of his concept of a separate Muslim nationalism in India. But it is still unknown that Iqbal had espoused another vision of a composite Muslim-Christian-Jewish nationalism in the very same Ilahabad address. While rejecting the concept of a composite Indian nationalism, Iqbal cherished the view of a composite Muslim nationalism in the heartlands of Islam, highlighting the world-view shared by the People of the Book i.e. Muslims, Christians and Jews.

This simultaneous rejection of composite nationalism in India and affirmation of the composite Muslim nationalism in Muslim majority countries seems paradoxical. But a deeper study of Iqbal's philosophical arguments against the concept of a composite Indian nationalism is bound to clear the ambiguity. The Muslims of India cannot accept the territorial concept of a composite Indian nationalism because they "are differently situated". They are in a minority. The majority in India believes in the concept of a divinely created caste system. This exploitative system has divided even the Hindu community itself into high, low and untouchable classes. The existence of various social barriers means that mankind is divided into touchable and untouchable, pure and impure races.

According to Iqbal “Islam does not recognize caste or race or colour.”¹ His concept of a separate Muslim nationhood in India is based on spiritual homogeneity and not on territorial affinity or racial solidarity. Elaborating upon the fundamental concepts of Islamic culture, he has pointed out that “as an emotional system of unification Islam recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity,” he asserted that Islam has laid the basis of a new human culture by rejecting the old “culture of throne, and the systems of unification which were based on blood-relationship...The new culture finds the foundation of world-unity in the principle of *Tawhid* i. e. belief in one God. Islam, as a polity is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man’s loyalty to his own ideal nature.”² Hence, his total rejection of the concept of a composite Indian nationalism based on the modern Western concept of territorial nationalism. Since, the construction of a polity on Indian nationalist lines is in conflict with the Islamic principle of solidarity and is contrary to the spirit and ideals of Islam, Muslim India is bound to reject it. The idea of a composite Indian nationalism is inspired by the great Hindu writers, the central themes of whose writing is the veneration for *Bharat-Mata* (Mother India), which is *Arya-Verta* (Aryan homeland). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto has aptly observed that “the kind of consciousness of past greatness, regenerated by Indian writes to inspire Hindu cultural and political revival, has been the main spring of twentieth-century Indian nationalism. Nehru’s *Discovery of India* shows how the most westernized of Hindu minds fell captive to this spell of the essential Hindu-ness of India”.³ The famous Hindu writer, Nirad C. Chaudary has discussed in detail the nature and extent of the conflict between the Hindu society and Muslim society in India in his book *The Continent of Circe*. Elaborating upon the cultural significance of the advent of Islam in India, he has stated that unlike all previous conquests:

the Muslim conquest of India could not be made innocuous for the Hindus through the caste system. The conquest was an extension into a

¹. Iqbal’s Interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*, September-December 1931, included in Dar, B. A. Dar, (Editor), *Letter’s and Writings of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1981, pp. 55.

². *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore 1996, edition, pp. 116-117.

³. *The Myth of Independence*, Lahore Edition, pp.166-167.

new country of a well-established and mature society, with a fully developed way of life and a living culture. What was even more important was the fact the Muslims were not barbarians at a low level of culture who would consider admission to the Hindu fold as a promotion. On the contrary, not only were they themselves the creators and defenders of a new and aggressive culture. They were the first people in history to put forward the idea of an irreconcilable conflict between a particular way of life and all others, and to formulate a theory of permanent revolution.⁴

In order to avoid this “irreconcilable conflict” and to avoid the perpetual civil war going on between the two communities, Iqbal formulated the theory of a separate Muslim nationalism and demanded separate and sovereign Muslim homelands in the Indian sub-continent. This concept of separate Muslim nationalism in India is organically related to the concept of composite Muslim nationalism in Middle East.

Iqbal is of the view that in the countries where Muslims are in majority and the minorities there, are monotheists sharing the same world-view with the Muslim majority, “there is no conflict between Islam and nationalism”. He advised “the Muslim leaders and politicians” not to be “carried away by the subtle but placid arguments that Turkey and Iran and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i. e. territorial lines”. Muslim India cannot follow the ideals of territorial nationalism because:

The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Qur’an, “to the people of the Book”. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the “people of the Book”. A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the law of Islam allows inter-marriage with the “people of the Book”. Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Qur’an declares: “O people of the Book!

⁴. London, 1965 p.63.

Come, let us join together on the word (Unity of God), that is common to us all.⁵

The basis of Iqbal's concept of nationalism is derived from the Qur'an. The unifying principle is the common word (*Tawhid*: belief in one God). The Qur'an urges upon, again and again, the spiritual harmony of the people of the book. I am tempted here to the Qur'an:

1. Say [to the Jews and Christians], we [Muslims] believe in that which was revealed to us as well as that which was revealed to you. Our God and your God is one and the same. We all submit to Him (Qur'an 29:46).
2. Say, we [Muslims] believe in God, in what He revealed to us, to Ibrahim, Isma'il, Ishaq, Ya'qub and the tribes, to Moses, Jesus and all the revelations of the Prophets-without discriminating between them. To God we submit (Qur'an 2:136)."

Iqbal's rationale is rooted in Muslim history, as well. History bears witness to the phenomenon that during the hay day of Muslim civilization, spiritual was the order of the day. Tracing the origins of the academic discipline of comparative religion (*Ilm al Milal wal Nihal*), Isma'il R. al Faruqi states that:

In the early Middle Ages, the caliphal courts of Damascus, Baghdad and Cordova witnessed countless meetings of Jews, Christians and Muslims in which the learned adherents debated the three faiths. The reigning culture gave such honour to the three religions, such respect to their principles and institutions, that inter-religious debate was the subject of salon conversation, a public pastime.⁶

The most recent testimony to this fact comes from Karen Armstrong. While delivering the first Fazlur Rahman Memorial Lecture in Oxford, she has correctly observed that "in the Islamic empire, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians enjoyed religious freedom. This reflected the teaching of the Koran, which is a pluralistic scripture, affirmative of other traditions. Muslims are commanded by God to respect the "People of the Book", and reminded that they share the same beliefs and the same God. Constantly the

⁵. Syed Abdul Wahid (Editor), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1973.

⁶. Ibid. p. 190.

Koran explains that Mohammad has not come to cancel out the revelations brought by Adam, Abraham, Moses or Jesus.”⁷

In the light of the foregoing, Iqbal’s concept of Muslim nationhood is aimed at the final unity of mankind. Reconstructing Muslim political theory in the context of modern nationalist ideals, Iqbal formulates a new theory of composite nationalism of the followers of Abrahamic Faiths (*Millat-i-Ibrahimi*). He even widens the scope of his theory to include it its fold Zoroastrians and others possessing the same word-view. In reply to the questions raised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his three articles published in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), Iqbal stated categorically that:-

Nationalism in the sense of love of one’s country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the Muslim’s faith: it comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concept and claims to be a principle of human solidarity, demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life. In Turkey, Iran, Egypt and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i. e., Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, according to the law of Islam, are either “People of the Book” or “like the People of the Book” with whom the law of Islam allows free social relations including matrimonial alliances. It becomes a problem for Muslims only in countries where they happen to be in a minority, and nationalism demands their complete self-effacement. In majority countries Islam accommodates nationalism; for there, Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justified in seeking self-determination as a cultural unit. In either case, it is thoroughly consistent with itself.⁸

This Qur’anic ideal of “the final unity of humanity” could not be realized so far, because of “the wars of Islam and Christianity. And later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of “the

7. *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, op. cit, p. 188.

8. *Dialogue of the Abrahamic Faiths*, Virginia, 1986, Foreword.

Qur'anic verses, quoted above, "to the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism."⁹

Iqbal has finally an irrevocably rejected hereditary kingship as well as theocracy as contrary to the original spirit of Islam. He regards "spiritual democracy" as "the ultimate aim of Islam".¹⁰ In his Ilahabad address he has stated categorically that in the separate Muslim homelands of his dream spiritual pluralism is going to be the order of the day:

Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim States will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such States. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is a State conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism and possessing rights duties as a living in that mechanism. (p. 172)¹¹

Muslim nationalism is a tolerant, liberal and humanistic political and social creed. Referring to the teachings of the Qur'an, Iqbal declared that "a community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the teaching of the Qur'an, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby recreating its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness."¹² The concept of Muslim nationhood is thus inspired by the profound love with one's own community i. e. the Muslim community, and immense respect for all other communities.

⁹. *The Guardian*, London, Thursday, June 20, 2002. Karen Armstrong is the author of *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (Weidenfeld); *The Battle of God; Fundamentalism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Harper Collins), and *Islam: A Short History* (Weidenfeld).

¹⁰. *The Reconstruction*, op. cit, P. 142

¹¹. *Thoughts and Reflections*, op. cit. p. 172.

¹². *Ibid*, p. 169.

This divinely inspired ideology of the “essential unity of humanity” could not be translated into actuality, yesterday, because of the crusades and later on, by the “European imperialist encroachment, in its various forms, on Muslim soil”. It remains an unrealized ideal even today as a result of a fresh onslaught of the western hegemony.

NIETZSCHE, IQBAL AND POST-MODERNISM

Zamir Ali Badaiyuni

German thinker and writer, Nietzsche, was a multi-faceted genius who initiated the idea of ontological post-modernism. His conception of Superman is a declaration of a post-modern age and the end of the era of Man. His theory of “will to power” influenced philosophers and writers such as Heidegger, Jasper, Jean-Paul Sartre and the poet Rilke. He was not only influential in Western culture; his impact is visible on Eastern culture as well.

Allama Iqbal was basically an Eastern poet-philosopher but he was inspired by the idea of Superman presented by Nietzsche.¹³ According to him, man is not the ultimate goal of history and his value cannot be determined without the meaning of Superman. Superman is a guiding star of the entire world. The centrality of Man was challenged by him and the highest achievement is Superman.

Iqbal’s conception of the perfect man was an idea of history and culture. He was inspired by Rumi and Nietzsche, and presented his idea of the perfect man. Iqbal was not satisfied by the status of Man. He was moving towards the idea of Superman and his idea was extremely limited. The transcendental element is absent from Nietzsche’s idea of Superman. Iqbal admires Nietzsche and his powerful Superman, but he adds spirituality to the idea.

In his famous book *Thus Spake Zarathustara*, Nietzsche says “Be faithful to Earth”. But Iqbal’s view is the unification of Eastern and Western values. In the East, Man’s spirituality is as important as his material being and Superman is Man plus the spiritual and transcendental elements. His

¹³ This assertion, often encountered in the facile writings in Iqbal Studies, can hardly stand the test of verification through Iqbal’s works and a deeper study of Nietzsche’s own ideas. Facing a similar objection, Iqbal himself dismissed the possibility by pointing out to the critic that he had not read Nietzsche when he wrote the verses that are usually interpreted as harbouring a concept of man that, apparently, resembled Nietzsche’s idea of the superman. (Editor’s Note)

Superman goes beyond the earthly bounds and touches the highest peak of perfection that is known as *Insan-i-Kamil*. Iqbal's famous line is as under:

اے سوار اشہب دوراں بیا
اے فروغ دیدہء امکان بیا

Iqbal's Superman is the realization of the highest possibility of being, and the spiritual elements make him the crown of the universe.

This very conception of Superman inspired Derrida, Heidegger and Foucault. The post-modern era is basically the era of the Superman. The centrality of Man was challenged by post-modernists and they presented a philosophy of the new cultural phenomena, Literature, anthropology, aesthetics and all other important disciplines deviated from the idea of Man. Post-modern's include other topics such as legendary figures, myth and other areas of imagination.

Insan-i-Kamil or perfect man is basically a concept of the Muslim thinker, Al-Jili, According to him, the perfect man revealed himself in prophetic grace and Iqbal's view of Superman was a combination of Nietzsche and Al-Jili, and according to Iqbal, the Prophet of Islam (Peace be upon him) was a complete and perfect being who inspired history, culture and the entire humanity. He is an exemplary perfect man for the entire humanity, as he writes:

آدمی یا جوہرے اندر وجود
آن کہ آید گاہے گاہے در وجود

Apart from his Islamic view of Man, Iqbal's Superman is the conqueror of time and space. The rider on the horse of time and the light of possibility who makes Iqbal conscious of his absolute necessity for the evolution of history and Man. It is omega point for the spiritual evolution of Man.

Post-modern thinkers such as Derrida and Foucault believe in the superiority of coming Man or post-modern Man, as he is the ultimate goal of history and culture, and post-modern culture is basically a culture of Superman. Iqbal's thought is partly post-modern, but he does not agree with

the post-modernists who deny the spiritual element and transcendental reality as the guiding star for humanity.

According to post-modern philosophers, the idea of Man presented by the Renaissance thinkers cannot be a model for historical development and the cultural evolutionary process. Man was their basic concern, and not the entire universe, including all beings. Iqbal and his philosophical message of selfhood or *khudi* is not limited to Man and his mode of existence. *Khudi* is universal and all the beings are moving towards perfect *khudi*, according to their different status of being, as Iqbal says:

خودی کی زد میں ہے ساری خدائی

Iqbal's post-modernism is basically spiritual, ontological and contains an idealistic element. The objectives of *khudi* are not limited. They are as infinite as the ideal Man who never realizes and does not take the objective form, but moving towards the infinity or the absolute being, as Iqbal says:

خودی کا سر نہاں لا الہ اللہ
خودی ہے تیغِ فساں لا الہ اللہ

According to Iqbal, the birth of *Khudi* is the first ontological event and this ontological process in the universe makes all things move. And this process does not terminate in the being of Man, but moves on and on. Life and death are just passing phases, and not the objectives of *Khudi*.

حیات و موت نہیں التفات کرے لائق
فقط خودی ہے خودی کی نگاہ کا مقصود

Idealism of the self is the shining star of the creation and is a permanent incentive to human imagination. The literary and creative process is inspired by his ideal of *Khudi*, and human imagination realizes the essence hidden in human imagination.

Note

LALA I TUR – A FRESH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

(Persian Couplets from *Payam i Mashriq*)

Ismat Javid

There is no gainsaying the fact that Dr. Iqbal's Urdu poems, taken together represent only the tip of the ice berg when compared to his poetic outpourings in Persian, hidden from the eyes of a majority of his Urdu speaking admirers, Gone are the good old days when Persian ruled the roost, among the educated classes of undivided India, it being the official language in Indian Darbars fully patronized by the Muslim rulers and the nobles. All the well known Indian languages like Bengali, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Gurjarati and Marathi were greatly influenced by Persian. Urdu is rightly believed to be born out of the wedlock of Persian with Khari boli, Punjabi and Haryanvi. Even long after the advent of Urdu on the linguistic horizon in India, Persian continued to enjoy its popularity as a vehicle of expression both in prose and poetry. Even during the first half of the twentieth Century when Persian was no more the official language in India, there was a sizeable bulk of the Urdu speaking population which had a nodding acquaintance with the literary Persian. Dr. Iqbal had gained a leading command over Persian during the early days of his literary career by imbibing almost all the subtleties and niceties of Persian literature both in prose and poetry.

Iqbal's literary output in Persian is excellent in quality and excels Urdu in quantity. This of course does not mean that his Urdu poems and ghazals are in any way inferior to his Persian poetry. What, on my part, I want to emphasize is the fact that since Iqbal's Persian poetry carries his message more comprehensively and cogently than his Urdu poems, it becomes a must for his Urdu readers in order to fully appreciate the value and the depth of his philosophy.

Dr. Ismat Javid's versified version of Iqbal's two celebrated Persian Masnavies *Asrar-e-Khudi* and *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* have earned him a wide spread fame in India and Pakistan. His versified translations are nearer the original in style, thought content and literary values.

Dr. Ismat Javid (b. 1923) was a well known figure among the literary circles as a critic, research scholar, linguist, translator and a poet. He was an ardent lover of Iqbal in India and contributed several articles on Iqbal's message and poetic style like "The Role of Nature in Iqbal's poetry," "The Relevance of Iqbal's message in the latest context of scientific technology," "The philosophy of Action in Iqbal's poetry", "The role of Mard-e-Momin" etc.

He also translated Dr. Iqbal's Persian quatrains as contained in *Payam-e-Mashriq* under the caption "Lala-e-Tur". His command over the English language and its rich vocabulary, his selective ability to choose the most appropriate English equivalents, coupled with his sympathy and deep understanding of Iqbal's philosophy and an insight into the poet's stylistic mannerism, has stood him in good stead in his successful attempt as a translator.

Since Dr. Ismat Javid's basic intention behind this venture was to introduce Iqbal to the non-Muslim English knowing communities in India who are neither exposed to the Urdu and Persian literary patterns of expression peculiar to these languages nor acquainted with the universal appeal of Islamic tenets on which is based Iqbal's philosophy, the translator has made a special effort to make his rendering as intelligible as possible to the non-Persian knowing English readers without committing a serious departure from the original text. In order to facilitate the understanding of Iqbal's philosophy, the translator has given captions to each and every quatrain, not found in the original. The literary merit of the English version in question can be well judged only after they are actually read. Seeing is after all, believing. This translation is being published here for the first time.

DR. AKBAR RAHMANI, India.

1. DEVOTIONAL HYMN

All that exists, is enamoured of His charms,

His supreme authority is challenged by none

Have you not seen the mark of prostration

On the forehead of the morn, mistaken for the sun?

2. **DIVINE LOVE**

It's Love which illumines my heart with sadness

My bleeding eyes can see the entire world,

Let that wise man be blind to mysteries!

Who holds that Love is nothing but madness.

It's Love which gives gardens a shower-bath

It's Love which makes the deserts blossom

It's Love which splits the surging ocean.

It's Love which makes the fish seek its path.

Love releases partridges to hawks for fight

And puts the latter to disgraceful flight.

Though for self-lying wait, springs in a surprise attack

Love, lying in wait, springs in a surprise attack.

It's Love which makes the tulips bleed,

Its Love which causes commotion to breed.

If you split the earth and view its crust,

You'll find it bleeding with Love's dagger-thrust.

Love doesn't fall to every body's lot.

Nor does Love befit all and sundry

The red-hot tulip shines with its burnt spot,

While cold and sparkless is blood-red ruby.

3. **INSATIATION**

Albeit roaming like the vagabond smell

What I am seeking, I can not tell.

Irrespective of the fulfilment of desire.

I'm dwelling in its constantly blazing fire

4. **WORLD-A PART OF HEART**

It's heart that count, not the world of mud,

Though the heart is but a drop of blood.

Though the eyes are accustomed to see things apart,

Every one's world is carried in one's heart.

5. **THORN vs. FLOWER**

The nightingale, once, complained to the Morn:

“The heart grows naught but the Tree of Gloom

Blest with long life is the unworthy thorn,

While the flower dies in the prime of its bloom!”

6. **THE FELLOW CREATOR**

Adam, the divine lover, carries to perfection

The Universe which was initiated by the Maker;

Explorer of mysteries, though a mystery himself,

Ought not be called, “The Fellow Creator?”

7. ETERNAL EXPLORER

Thought myself a mystery, I am eternal explorer,

Even in case, Reality lifts Its curtain

I shall still hesitate to call It certain,

It's 'Ifs and Buts' that I shall reseed further.

8. SELF-DEPENDENCE

How long, moth-like, will you dive

Into the fire and commit the unmanly suicide?

How long this dance around the flame outside?

Have a plunge into your inner fire and thrive!

9. STRONG HEART IN A STRONG BODY

Build a body out of a handful of dust

Harder than the stone-walled citadel

Develop therein a Heart, malleable yet robust

As a meandering stream through a rugged vale.

10. THE INNER AND THE OUTER SELF

My body was made a beauty by God

More beautiful than the garden of Heaven

But the cup-bearer, with the help of his liquid fire,

Kneaded my clay into a world of desire.

11. ADAM vs. IDOL

The Brahmin, on the Last Day, addressed God,

“The life-spark Thou created was of short duration.

Excuse me if I claim that the idol I made
Was more stable than Man, 'Thou had created'.

12. MORNING STAR

Oh you, the quick-paced Morning star on high,
You kept, vigil at night, while we men slept.
Our sleep displeased you, perhaps, that's why
Vigilant you came and vigilant you left.

13. WORLD SANS LOVE

Had the heart been as wise as the head,
The taverns would have been devoid of commotion
Man would have been without emotion,
The world would have been the abode of the dead.

14. THE YOUNG BIRD

Oh thou, the young bird! How ambitious thou art!
With the desire to scale the higher skies
Lust prevents us from flying as far,
But a vast firmament before thee lies.

15. LIFE INSTINCT

The taste for life is a delicacy to relish,
All creation is anxious to flourish,
When the sprouting rose-bud splits the bough,

With a playful smile it shoots above.

16. NIGHT-LONG BURNING

Before birth, the moth requested the Creator:

“Give me a breath-full of restless strife

Scatter my ashes in the morn if thou likest

But give me a night-long burning life”.

17. A WORD TO MUSLIMS

Oh Muslims, I have a word to confide to you

More enlightening, than the Word of the Holy Ghost.

I have withheld it from the idol-minded ones,

It is the secret of Abraham, the iconoclast.

18. THE DESIRE PRODUCING HEART

Oh heart! My heart! Don't make me go in search

Of my Lady-Love and leave me in the lurch.

It appears thou hast no other job on hand

Except to create a heap of desires (like the desert sand).

19. GROW LIKE A TREE

You do have an access to stardom free

But still you are stranger to your inner self,

Germinate like a seed lying underground,

That you may grow into a giant huge tree.

20. ABOUT DOING SOMETHING

A singing bird while perching on a tree

Was telling in the garden to every body'
"Bring out whatever's in your heart-a joy,
A melody; a plaint or a deeply heaved sigh".

21. FLAME-GULPING MOTH

Avoid telling me the ear-rending story
Of the moth, lying dead at the foot of the candle,
As for me, that moth is worth its name
Which, sustaining agony, gulps alive the flame.

22. SPRING-OUTSIDE AND INSIDE

If you have no zeal for seeking the Truth,
My visit to the garden will bring you no gains
To me, the spring is not the talisman of colours,
I enjoy what's within the flowers' veins.

23. INNER SELF

Come out of the whirl-pool of entity-non-entity,
Rise above the world of quality and quantity
And build the inner self in your body confine,
Like Abraham who raised the Holy shrine.

24. SOLITARY SONGSTER

Unlike my friends; the other garden birds,
I sing lonely on the branch of my nest
Leave me alone, if thou hast a delicate heart,
My songs ooze blood, (thy heart with smart).

25. THE WORLD OF CONCORD AND DISCORD

Thy world, oh God, is full of pleasing uproar

Though Thou hast made all, of the common core,

Yet the stranger is the heart to heart and the soul to soul,

But, the eyes do greet, whenever they meet.

26. STRUGGLE, THE ESSENCE OF LIFE

Alexander, told Khizer, "Why dost thou flee?

Share the joys and pains of the land and sea

Thou art a distant onlooker only, not a fighter,

Join the struggle; die and thus live forever".

27. SEEING BEYOND THE SKIES

The throne of Kaikoba'd and Jamshid's cup,

The churches, the shrines, all've reduced to dust

Dust I am too, yet I look beyond the skies,

I don't know with what quintessence I'm made-up.

28. A LESSON FROM THE VERNAL CLOUD

If you clay body happens to shroud

A broken heart, ready to sprinkle blood-showers,

Learn how to shed tears from the Vernal Cloud

That, your tears may bring forth flowers.

29. MONOTONOUS LIFE-NOT WORTH LIVING

Like a painter, the ever-changing Life paints fast

Fresh pictures of the incoming and outgoing moments

One lacks indeed the spark of life

If one's present is the replica of its past.

30. IN CONGREGATION AND SOLITUDE

When my desire to sing brings me before a congregation,

The listeners applaud me in a big ovation.

But when to a secluded place I depart,

No trace of the outer world is found in my heart.

31. INTELLECTUAL FIRE

Your query; "What's the heart?" I admire!

The heart is the creation of my intellectual Fire.

It's this fire which brings my heart into play,

The moment it's off, the heart's a lump of clay.

32. DIVINE VISION—A POSSIBILITY

Reason claims: "You can never see Him,"

Yet, the hope to see God shall never be dim:

The "Episode of Sinai," shall never grow old

Every one has Moses in his heart's mould.

33. HEART IS BETTER THAN PLACES OF WORSHIP

By building mosques, temples, churches, I say

You have produced nothing but a lump of clay.

You haven't produced a heart instead, oh sage,

That frees one from others' bondage.

34. SOJOURN

I didn't attach my heart to a rosy

Garden nor have I found it cosy.

In the garden, like a morning breeze I crept,

Imparted lustre to the flowers and left.

35. DIVINE LOVE

Love made my clay into a wine-cup in motion,

I was but a drop, Love made me an ocean.

Reason had made my head a temple-so fine

Like Abraham Love converted it into a Holy Shrine.

36. GOD, IN SEARCH OF MAN

You went to the Mount Sinai for divine clue

Without knowing what's within you.

Find that lurking man within you, if you can,

God Himself is in search of such a man.

37. ADAM vs. ANGELS

When man is made of dust and angels; of Light,

Is it not, oh Gabriel a strange sight?

To see the Dust restless for Divine union

And the Light, unknown to the pangs of separation?

38. LEARNING V/S FAITH

If you want to ensnare the Phoenix of Learning,

Reduce your certainties; increase your doubts

But if interested in getting things done,

Believe in One, seek One and identify with One.

39. STRENGTHEN YOUR SELFHOOD

Don't fear death, my dear, any longer,

Don't go pale but strengthen your faith.

Realise your Self-Hood and make it stronger,

You shall then never die even after death.

40. BODY-SOUL RELATION

Don't ask me about the body-soul relation,

I don't fall a prey to such an enquiry indeed.

Like the restless breath, I wriggle in pain,

I am a plaintive note, escaping from the reed.

41. BEWARE OF BEAUTIES

A sage once told me, "Your heart laud.

Guard it against the Beauties Prime,

Because to surrender it except to God

Is unlawful and a heinous crime".

42. HEART IS ABRAHAM LIKE

Don't ask Razi, the meaning of the Qur'an

Which should be clear to your conscience, (the measuring rod).

The heart burns in the fire kindled by the Intellect,

The heart is like Abraham and the Intellect like Nimrod.

43. I AM

I hold my silence, about my existence or otherwise,

Because to say "I exist" is egoistic and sham
But some one within my bosom, whispers in a plain voice,
"I am; I am; I am; I am."

44. A WORD TO THE ROMANTIC POET

Tell the Romantic poet, whose poems may be blameless,
Why do you fake burning like a flameless tulip?
When you have no fire within you to mellow,
Nor can you brighten the eve of a grief-stricken fellow.

45. REAL IDENTIFICATION

A drop of water turns itself into a matchless pearl
When it extracts and acquires the lustre of its own.
Live among the like-minded, in a similar way
They, in their company, you look and feel alone.

46. HEART-A PLAY GROUND OF IDEAS

Oh you intellectuals and the sages smart,
To me, this query is an unsolved puzzle.
How can a clay body withhold a heart
Wherein ideas play like a leaping gazelle?

47. LIFE IS A STRUGGLE

Why do you spend your days in ease

By the seashore wherein blows the cool breeze,
If you want to live eternally, adopt this norm:
Jump into the sea and brave the storm

48. LIVING EARTH

I've a fathomless self with its widest range,
Whether I've Free Will or predestined, none can guess,
Nor the word-coining thinkers can trace,
I'm the living earth in a flux of change.

49. HALTING STAGE-STUMBLING BLOCK

Of the real aim of life, better not talk
When you are unaware of its multifarious side.
To keep abreast of life, I walk, with vigorous strides.
And treat my halting stage as a stumbling block

50. DIAMOND A STONE, GOLD A METAL

Become of your rating that you are prone
To see a brilliant diamond in a piece of stone.
A metal's value shoots hundred-fold
Because, oh miser, you see in it gold.

51. BETTER PARTNER

Unfaithful to me and given to discord,
My heart was looking out for a better partner,

It deserted me, as soon as it saw the Lord,
Like a tamed bird flying to its master.

52. DIVINE LOVE

Love, like a magician, assumes many a form,
(sometimes a cool breeze, sometimes a raging storm)
Lying in my bosom, it's a tiny dot,
When on my lips, it encompasses what not?

53. A NEWLY BORN BUD'S EXPECTATION

Don't be sad, oh newly-born bud;
What else do you expect from this garden?
Here are, the rivers; the trees; the flowers;
The breeze; the dew and the singing bird's jargon.

54. MASTERPIECE –A LABOUR LOST

With all its glory, attraction and glamour,
Beauty departs the rose, leaving it worth a dime,
I pity the Painter for his lost labour
Since his masterpiece vanishes away in time.

55. WORLD vs. HEART

Our boundless world, which is unique in its kind
Is like a fish submerged in the Ocean of Time,
This Ocean of Time you are sure to find
Plunged in my tiny heart, worth a dime.

56. GARDEN LOVER

Knower of the tongue of the tongue-less birds,
To the fold of the garden birds, I surely belong,
Mix my remains with the breeze when I die,
Since I have been around flowers life long.

57. WHAT IS SPRING IN REALITY?

The garden appears to be under colourful showers
But what's the inner side of the flaming flowers
And what's the reality? None can tell!
Does it look the same to the nightingale?

58. THOU AND I

Thou art the sun and I am a star,
I am brightened by thy shiny look,
I'm incomplete when thou art afar,
I am only a chapter of thy Holy Book

59. UN-ENDING GRIEF FOR GOD

It's better to nurture God's grief and pain
Than to unite with Him, since, as pointed out by a sage
"Better to take to the route serpentine
Than to rest and enjoy at the last halting stage.

60. SINCERITY OF FAITH PREFERRED TO RELIGION

Ignore my infidel head, which sketches; adores and discards features
And praise my heart that pines for God and His creatures

If thou findest me sincere in my word and deed,
What hast thou to do with my religion and creed?

61. MAN'S HEART –AN UNOPENED DOOR.

The Cypress is a freed slave of God's binding love,
His divine wine makes the flower shine to its deep core
The sun, the moon and the stars constitute His shrine
To which Man's heart stands as an unopened door.

62. BOUNDLESS BOUND

From stars to stars, celestial bodies roll,
The skies cry halt to the Wisdom's flight
But when I peep into my inner soul
Is not a 'boundless bound' within my sight?

63. LET'S HAVE A TRY

Don't say thy fate is sealed; it's not fair,
Under the revolving sky, there's always a way out,
Let's have a try in case thou entertains any doubt,
Step forward! Have a leap and lo! The success is there!

64. LOOK BACKWARD IN ORDER TO GO FORWARD!

Confined as I'm within my fantasy flights,
Which brightens my envisaged world, tiny yet vast,
Don't refer the calendar to determine my age,
Since I go backward in the direction of Golden past.

65. A QUESTION POSED TO THE CREATOR

How dost thou inspire my soul to sing; please tell?

How within me and outside me Thou simultaneously dwell?

Lamp-like, I burn with Thee and die without

How do thou fare, without me, O Matchless? Pray!

66. TO GOD—AN ENCOMPASSING POWER

My distracted breath is the wave of His Ocean,

Through His reed, my melody issues,

Like green grass, grown beside the lake of Eternity

His vital sap runs into my veins and tissues.

67. DON'T COMPLAIN OF MY LOVE

When the creative drive awakened within thee,

Thou created the world of multifarious dye,

Why then complain about my maddening Love?

It's thou who hast raised this hue and cry!

68. WHO SEEKING WHOM?

Whom do thou seekest? Him! Who is crystal clear!

Thou art thyself an enigma; why then trouble thy mind?

In searching Him, thou wilt find thy own image;

In searching thy own Self it's He whom thou wilt find!

69. DISOWN AN ARAB

If Islam is ingrained in a Muslim's nature,

He shall never boast of his pedigree and stature,

Disown an Arab for his grave deflection;

If he prides in his blue blood and fair complexion.

70. BIRDS OF THE SAME FEATHER

We are neither he Afghans nor he Turks,
Because we are the birds of the same feather,
None is superior on the basis of caste and colour,
We all belong to the New Spring, (brought up in common weather).

71. CUSTODIANS OF RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

Our bosoms envisage a world (so beautiful and fine)
Our bodies bear hearts throbbing with an acute pain
Because our flasks contain the dregs of that wine
Which once brightened our souls (and enlivened our brain).

72. HEART—A DEWDROP OR A BUD?

Oh my heart! My heart! My heart!!
My sea, my ferry, my shore, my inn,
Hast thou alighted like a dewdrop from above?
Or hast sprouted like a bud from me within?

73. BEAUTY—AN ILLUSION OR REALITY?

To call a thing beautiful or clumsy, I always refrain,
Since their meaning are too intricate to explain,
We behold the flowers and thorns as on the bough,
But with in the bough, are they what they look above?

74. SOULLESS BODY

He who suffers no inward pain
Possesses a body with out a soul,

Soul, if thou really wantest to possess,
An endless suffering should be thy goal.

75. SECRET OF EXISTENCE

May I tell thee the secret of my existence?
I constantly struggle, therefore I exist,
Like a restless wave on the surface of an ocean,
I have no identity unless I turn and twist.

76. GOD'S RELATION TO MAN

With so much outer manifestations, yet behind the veil,
Thou art beyond my eager sight,
Running in my veins, like intoxicating wine,
Thou art difficult to hold and prone to flight.

77. THE LOVE-BORN PAIN

If thou, perchance, experience the love-born pain,
Discard the ideal of reaching thy goal,
Nurture this pain and retain it in thy soul,
Even at the sacrifice of thy cult and qualities of brain.

78. BIRTH OF A NEW ADAM

Oh Love; the deep secret of our heart,
Our field; our harvest; our basis; our trust.
Since these hollow-headed fellows have grown out-dated,
Come on and raise a new Adam from our dust.

79. MY SWEET SONGS

My poetry causes grief; let it cause,

I revel in my bemoaning without a pause,
How Alexander would know; knowing as he does to fleece.
That my sweet songs excel the land of Greece.

80. A RICH PAUPER

I am not a courtier, nor a Cavalier royal
I am far, far away from regal pomp and glory,
Yet this much fortune is enough to satisfy me;
Whenever I dig up my heart, I bring out a ruby.

81. PERFECTION OF LIFE

In order to achieve perfection in life,
Open thy inward eye, to the exclusion of those who surround;
Gulp down the world like a draught of water,
And exorcise the talisman of the Cosmos around.

82. THE INTRINSIC POWER OF MAN

Thou thinkest that Man is as helpless as clay,
Limited in the cosmos is his sway;
If so, then why has the miraculous Nature laid
The foundation of an ocean on his fountain-head?

83. THE FEARLESS V/S THE FEARFUL

A lion is a lamb to the fearless shepherd,
To a coward, the deer is a formidable leopard,
The ocean looks desert like if thou doesn't recoil,
If fearful, each wave looks like a crocodile.

84. SOUL-BODY'S WHETTING STONE

Thou thinkest that the soul is incapable of flights

When it is encaged in flesh and bone

In my view, the embodied soul attains greater heights,

It's like a dagger whose sheath serves as its whetting stone.

85. HOW CAN HEART BE PHYSICAL?

How does at all my heart create a desire?

Who sees through my eyes? And what? And how my heart

Happens to be my material body's part?

86. PARADISE AND THIS WORLD

In paradise, I was surprised to find

The same horizon which I had left behind,

A doubt then crossed my dazed mind;

“Is this the world of a similar kind?”

87. WORLD-THE MODEL OF CLAY IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

The world which is like a sketch today,

Is the product of the changing Time-space range,

The Providence's Hand shall smoothen it one day

This model of clay is in the process of change.

88. THE SUN

How dost thou, oh travelling in the sky,

Descend to my eyes from a distance so long?

Attached to this world, and living so high

Oh “eye-lash breaker”, to what place dost thou belong?

89. THE BASIS OF VIRTUE AND SIN

Crave out thy own path, if thou want to win,
It's torture to follow the footsteps of others,
If thou performest a novel act with thy own hands,
Call it a virtue, may it be sin.

90. HEART-ILL AT EASE IN THE BODY

Out of humour, with the organic elements,
Our heart is deeply hurt to the core,
It's ill at ease in the confines of the body;
This ocean is always at loggerheads with its shore.

91. PURE SIGHT FROM PURE LIGHT

Be in communion with the Nature's beauty,
Don't flee from Her out of fright,
When God has given thee the purifying eyes
Develop a pure insight out of this pure light.

92. SELF-CONFIDENCE

I prefer to plough my lonely furrow,
To borrow other's sight I never thought right,
Remaining aloof from Plato and Averros,
I scanned the world with my own insight.

93. THE ORIGIN OF SELFHOOD

None knows when did the self-hood originate,
It's not a Spatial Time bound slave
Khizer once suggested a brilliant point;

“The ‘Ocean’ never pre-existed its ‘Wave’!

94. COMING FROM DOWNWARD AND LOOKING UPWARDS

Learn the secret of life from a bud,

To whom life is real and not a mere fun.

Growing out of the dark recesses of the earth,

It looks upwards to the rays of the sun.

95. GOD’S ALL-EMBRACING BENEVOLENCE

Every flora and fauna bears His hallmark,

Every flower-cup glows with his sparking wine,

His branded mark burns like a lamp in every heart,

Thus He hasn’t left a single soul in the dark.

96. THE BIRTH OF SELFHOOD

When a narcissus bud sprouted at long last,

And the (morning) dew washed away the sleeping it bore

The Selfhood raised its head out of Selflessness,

The world found at last what it has been looking for.

97. MICROCOSM A REFUGE FO MACROCOSM

A macrocosm, in order to express itself

Developed a desire to escape-then ran

Away from the bosom of non-entity

And found its refuge in the microcosm called, (man).

98. HUNDREDS OF WORLDS AFTER DEATH

I know the secrets of the body and soul

That the idea of death will aggrieve me, is wrong.

What! If I lose this world? It's not my goal,
Within my heart, hundreds of words throng

99. CONNOISSEUR OF SONGS

My knowledge of the self grown tulip is sound,
I can smell the flowers still underground,
To the friend circle of the singing thrush I belong,
Because I am the connoisseur of its melodious song.

100. DESIRE IS THE BASIS OF EVERYTHING

The Desire is like a beautiful lyre
Whose strings modulate the fortunes, misfortunes
Of the world which dances to its tunes
All that Was; Is and to Be is a glimpse of Desire.

101. SELF QUEST

Why do you expect me to compose a ditty
When my heart is full of turmoil and pity?
I am unable to compose a poem full of zest
Because I am fully engaged in my own quest.

102. PERPETUAL SUFFERING

I own my permanence to perpetual suffering,
Fish-like, rest is forbidden in my faith.
I never seek the shore because on the shore,
There's a momentary stir, followed by non-ending death.

103. OBEISANCE-A FORM OF RESPECT

Oh the urban preacher! Why do you fume and fret

When the Brahmin calls you to make an obeisance to the idol?

After completing the image did not the Creator call

The Angels of the Heaven to lie before Adam prostrate?

104. THINKERS' FAILURE TO DISCOVER MAN

Oh you thinkers, you are unable to cross

The limited bounds of the material cosmos.

How can you catch hold of God with His Angelic clan

When you have failed even to ensnare man?

105. BE LOST IN THE DESERT IN ORDER TO FIND HIM

Don't choose the wrong path leading to a dead end;

Reap my rich harvest, before you decide to embark,

If you earnestly want to meet our Common Friend,

For a moment, be lost in the desert of my heart.

106. NATURE IN RELATION TO MAN

For centuries, I sat in thoughtful communion

With Nature, to the point of self-abnegation.

To compress my long episode in a tabloid

I fashioned; I adored; I destroyed.

107. SALE VALUE OF MAN

Free from the bondage of material existence,

In the expanse of eternity I flapped my wings.

It was Thou, who prized me high in Thy esteem,
And brought me into the mundane market (with trappings)

108. BODY INERT AND SOUL DYNAMIC

Whence these flush of ideas within my inner self?

Why am I surrounded with the mysteries chaotic?

Tell me, oh philosopher, the knower of subtleties,

Why is the body inert and the soul dynamic?

109. TRANSMUTATION OF HEART INTO MIRROR

Even though a beggar, I am proud of my worth,

I wriggle, I twine, I sing and suffer,

I warm you from within; with my fiery songs,

Alexander like, I transmute your heart into a mirror.

110. INNER LIGHT

Realizing your worth, your intrinsic strength

Make an ocean of a dew drop, oh Nature's boon!

For your inner light, don't depend on the moon,

Brighten your nights with your fiery breath.

111. HEART SURVIVES RESPIRATION

Your heart is independent of your breath,

The Day-Night sequence will never drive

Your heart to death; so fear not death!

The breath goes out, leaving your heart alive!

112. WILL HEART SURVIVE AFTER DEATH?

As long as thou remainest to me royal

I prefer my rags to robes of honour; thought royal,

Oh heart! May I ask thee with bated breath?

“Shalt thou continue to accompany me after my death?”

113. SELFHOOD BETTER THAN SELFLESSNESS

The Sufis claim to see God in self-renunciation.

I submit to them with all humiliation

That I consider that self-worshipper brilliant and bright

Who, while retaining his Self, sees God through its light.

114. HEART SLEEPING WHILE INTELLECT WIDE-AWAKE

Don't pass away, with blind folded eyes

Form this mysterious world-for God's sake.

With your God-given insight, don't go away

While your heart's sleeping and intellect wide-awake.

115. ANTHROPOMORPHIC LIMITATION

I worshipped the idol, I worshipped the elf;

That I did make God in my own image, I admit.

Verily, in various forms, I worshipped The Self

Would that I could out step the anthropomorphic limit!

116. THE LAW OF HIGH AND LOW

A newly born bud once told a dew drop:

“We, the garden-born one have no source

To know if in a galaxy with hundreds of suns,
The 'law of high and low' is likewise in force".

117. LAND-POINTER TO CELESTIAL SECRETS

The secrets of the skies lie buried in the land,
It is the space that explains what's the Spaceless;
Since every particle flies towards the 'Traceless,
Trace your pathway within the flying sand.

118. THE EARTH IS MINE

You are the marrow of the creation alone,
A matchless index to the Signless Sign.
Since no other creature shares these qualities with you,
Proceed with the slogan: "the earth is mine".

119. WORLD-A PREFACE TO MAN'S ADVENTUROUS TALE

Even the earth and the sun can't race
With rising crescendo of my speed in the space.
To put the story of my struggle in a nut-shell
The world is a preface to my adventurous tale.

120. NATIONS SURVIVE THEIR KINGS

Alexander, the Great, vanished with his trappings,
Nothing remains of his conquered domains
Note that the nations survive their kings,
Jamshid has perished but Iran remains

121. DESIRES AND GRIEF ARE A PRECIOUS TREASURE

Thou whisked off my heart from my cleft bosom

And carried away every thing; my precious treasure in chief.

To whom hast thou given away the wealth of my desire?

And to whom hast thou handed over my age-old grief?

122. WHO LEFT WHOM?

There's no more trace of the world of mirth and joys

No earth; no sky; no all-round noise!

Oh heart! Didst thou forsake the world willingly with gratitude?

Or the world, of itself, withdrew from thy city of solitude!

123. WHO IS THIS MAESTRO?

Without knowing the subtleties of musical note,

I sing the psalm of life with an easy flow,
I sing so masterly that the flower asks

Its garden colleagues: "Who is this maestro"?

124. THE CO-OPERATION OF HEAD AND HEART

I sing with gay abandon the life-song in gatherings,

Firing their imagination and splitting their hearts apart,

I trained my heart, in the light of my reason,

And assayed my reason on the touchstone of the heart.

125. A CROWD FILING INTO A CARAVAN

Helter-skelter, the Easter's ran

But when my poetry gave them as inkling,

And my bell started thinking,

They filed themselves into an orderly caravan.

126. URFI'S SONG

The East is enthused with my clarion call,
My voice serves them as a caravan toll,
I chant in a higher pitch, the burden of Urfi's song,
Since "the litter is heavy and the pathway weary" and long.

127. MY CONTRIBUTION TO THE ORIENT LAND

Infusing her with my restless soul,
I deposited a heart into the Orient land,
And struck at her like a swift lighting
My wailing ignited her like a firebrand.

128. HUMAN NATURE'S PARADOX

Why am I made to loiter like the zephyr,
And my heart is torn like the floral petals' finery,
Albeit my eyes miss even the obvious!
Why am I destined to perish for the unseen scenery?

129. HARBINGER OF THE SPRING

I enjoy the fruits of my fervent aspirations,
I've solved the mysteries of life, of which I sing,
Oh archer, be cautious of the gardener's evil designs,
I warn thee as the harbinger of the coming Spring.

130. CREATIVE EXPERIENCE

How enchanting is the Muse's call!
When in response my mind spins a fantasy,

My heart begins to tremble in ecstasy,
Like a leaf, after the dew drop fall.

131. WHY I AVOID THE EAST

I know that the east is a limitless ocean,
Full of pearls with a diamond tings,
But I don't ferry my boat in calm waters
With no crocodiles in the waves in motion.

132. CATCH HOLD OF TODAY

Don't call the laws of Nature der vagaries;
Every moment of ours is covered by Eternity,
Catch hold of Today and let it not slip,
Since the Morrow is unborn and beyond your grip.

133. SLAVISH MENTALITY

Though free from the Western masters, you flock
The mausoleums and graves and lie before them flat,
So accustomed to slavish mentality you have become
That you carve out a god of this stone or that.

134. BE LIKE FALCON

Don't batten on things ill gotten,
Don't live on rubbish, like ants or flies,
How long will you walk like a tramp in rags?
Be like a falcon and fly in the skies!

135. BORROW A BIT OF YOUTH

Nestle among the tulips and flowers in bloom,

Learn from the humming bird the songs of yearning,
If thru' lack of enthusiasm you have grown old,
Borrow a bit of youth from the world so charming.

136. THE SOUL PRODUCES BODY

It's the soul that has given my body a form,
The desire to flaunt has made the flower multi coloured,
The restless soul possesses a myriad of charms,
The body is produced when the soul adopts one norm.

137. A SOUL-LESS BODY

The graveyard has given me a clue to the riddle;
That a (noble) man can live even after his death
But the man who plays to others a second fiddle,
Is soulless, though he inhales and exhales the breath.

138. EVOLUTION OF MAN

Don't despair, if man, who is a handful of dust
Is weak enough to require a pair of crutches
Whenever the Nature sketches out some figure
It's the Time, which gives it the finishing touches.

139. SOMETHING COMPLEMENTING

Though the world is beautiful; its flowers charming,
Yet something therein is still wanting,
If you keep your 'inward eye' open,
You will find within you something complementing.

140. A SHORT SIGHTED MATERIALIST vs. A CAUTIOUS SCEPTIC

You opine that it's you who exists and not the Creator;

That the matter is eternal and shall always endure

As for me, whatever I see around as real

Does really exist? I'm not sure!

141. FEEDING ON GRASS AND PRODUCING MUSK!

There is no roasted chicken on my tablecloth,

No sparking liquor in a fine wine glass,

Still the "gazelle of my poesy", while feeding on-grass,

142. THE POET'S ANGLE OF VISION

The Muslims feel the throbs of my heart

And share my tears and admire my mission;

Yet they are unaware of the storm within me,

They fail to view the world with my angle of vision!

143. THE MYSTERIOUS SOUL

The Spaceless defies description

Look into the soul for untying this knot

The soul dwells in the body in such a fashion

None can point out, "It's there and here it's not".

144. FIRST I AM ADAM

You are still under the spell of your homeland,

Why do you call yourselves a Turk, an Afghani?

Say, "First, I'm Man with no cast or creed,
Only after that I'm an Indian; an Arab; an Irani".

145. SPEECH, A HINDRANCE TO EXPRESSION

None can describe what one inwardly feels,
My craze for expression, has let me down,
The moment I explain what's Love, the mystery deepens,
Verily, speech conceals more that what it reveals!

146. THE PHILOSOPHER POET TURNS POET PHILOSOPHER

Saying adieu to the crafty Reason,
Aggrieved with enjoyment and enjoying sadness,
This intelligent philosopher, known as "Iqbal"
Has diverted his course from method to madness.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KANTIAN AND ISLAMIC VIEW OF HUMAN FREEDOM

Malik Mohammad Tariq

Islam is a religion which speaks to man as a being having full liberty and adequate intelligence to select his own way of life. Islam has presupposed freedom and intelligence for the human species; and by giving this freedom and intelligence Islam makes man the crown of creation, and a viceroy of God in this world. The purpose of man is to act as a vicegerent of God. That is why Allah is going to hold man accountable in the life hereafter. Being a vicegerent man has a responsibility to implement the laws of Allah in this world with complete authority given to him. This given authority is the actual freedom which makes man a superior being than the rest of the creation. Man is not only a creation but also a trustee of God. His immortality makes him alert and conscious and also responsible for his doings. Actually man once created will not be demolished, because being a crown-creation, he has to give account of the fulfilment of his responsibility for which he enjoys complete freedom.

Further, life of man is composed of many factors. Some of these are metaphysical, others moral, and some of them are biological. All these factors combine to give one unit Islam treats man as a unified being. All these aspects are simultaneous in human life. Freedom seems to give a harmonious and rhythmic synthesis to human life. As Islam is revealed to us through the prophet we can understand its concepts through thinking upon the prophetic teachings.

In the Islamic view human reason with all its capabilities is unable to reach where the prophetic reason soars. The prophetic reason leads to perfect and concrete principles, which are complete and practicle. There can be no system except the prophetic revelation, which can present such a harmonious and rhythmic sequence of human perfection.

In what follows we will show that Kantian analysis of freedom and Islamic analysis of freedom are not contradictory to each other. Prophet of Islam has clearly stressed the liberty or freedom of man and the Kantian analysis in 18th century has presented the same teaching. Particularly in the following points:

1. Both of the systems regard action as translation of the motive behind it.
2. Both the systems are desirous to preserve the dignity of man.
3. Both the systems are opposed to the predetermination of human acts.
4. Both the systems reject the utilitarian and egoistic view of morality.
5. Both the systems deny the idea of the original sin of man.
1. It is a fundamental principle of law in all ages and climes that motives and intentions are the criterion by which action of men ought to be judged. In other words, actions are held to be good or bad, just or unjust, criminal or innocent if the motives are good or bad, Just or unjust. If a man shoots a tiger but hits another man lying concealed in ambush, his action cannot be held to be criminate. Similarly if a man gives away something in charity with certainly be rewarded by Allah, but if he does it to become prominent in the public eye, he may attain that object but with no benefit in the next world which is the goal of our life. A tradition of the Holy Prophet goes:

“Actions are judged by the motives (behind them)”.

Since motives are closely connected with our will to do certain things, one cannot ignore the fact that this prophetic tradition points out a relationship between our will and the quality of the action resulting from it. A man having no will or interaction what-so-ever for anything is not expected to do anything, small or great. All actions are done with the help of will. Will is the chief element which leads men to act. If will is strong and firmly rooted, action will not be weak and ineffective. If the will is weak, it will have weak effect on the outside world. If the action/character is honest, the will behind it would be honest; If dishonest, it will be dishonest. The quality of an action is judged by the intercity and the quality of the will-force behind it. A tradition of the Prophet goes as follows:-

Umar-al-Khattab reported that the Messenger of Allah said. Actions are judged by motives. There is surely for man what he intends. So who so ever makes *hijrah* towards Allah and His Apostle, his *hijrah* is for Allah and His Apostle; and whose ever hijrat is towards the world which he seeks or

towards a women whom he intends to marry, his *hijrah* is that for which he makes *hijrah* (emigration)”.

Analysis of this tradition shows that act which are done for the sake of Allah without any regard to personal gain or loss are truly moral in their nature. They are generally praise-worthy. They are suggestive of deontological approach to morals. Same goes for Kantian insistence on categorical imperative where in he recommends that moral life is an end in itself. We should do good/duty irrespective of its consequences.

After explaining the Islamic view of motive and intention, now we will discuss the Kantian notion of intention and will. In the *Metaphysics of Morals*, Kant discusses first, what he calls the morality of common sense. He points out that nothing can be called absolutely good, except a good will.¹⁴ Unless the motive behind our action is pure, our behaviour cannot be called meritorious and deserving of the reward of happiness. Furthermore, the good will is the only thing whose goodness is not the goodness of a means to some further end, but it is an end in itself.

To be truly praiseworthy, Kant says, we must act not from inclination but from duty, that is, one can say at once that a dutiful action derives its worth, not from its consequences, but from some general law or principle. It is done because it is right in itself and not because it leads to something beyond itself. He further says that the rule of right behaviour is to act in a manner in which we should wish that all other people may also do the same. In brief, true moral behaviour is always founded on a universally applicable maxim: it allows no exception.

The maxim, Kant feels, is not empirical. As a matter of experience, we find that we are always falling short of our duty. The presence of the ideal, and the sense of ought and duty are therefore, not empirical. We have a sense of right and wrong, which we apply to events, as it were, from above, when they occur.

¹⁴. Stump, Samuel Enoch, *Socrates to Sartre, A History of Philosophy*, McGraw Hill Inc Edition 1993, P.316.

The seat of this sense must not be in the empirical content of will, but reason inaction, or, as we might call it a practical reason. However, since right and rational behaviour is hindered by immediate desires and interests in such a manner that human conduct is never wholly reasonable and praiseworthy, the good will is never a realized fact but appears in experience as an unrealized ideal, accompanied by the sense of necessity or obligation of realizing it, which commands the will as imperatively as the ideas of pure reason coerce our thinking. It is to be incumbent on everyone to do what is right, simply because it is right, as Kant says in his formulation.

“Act according to the maxim which can at the same time makes itself a universal law”.¹⁵

2. Man, in Islam has to act as the vicegerent of Allah in this world. The dignified position of man in Islam is as follows.

“We have honoured the sons of Adam; provided them with transport on the land and sea; given them for sustenance things good and pure, and conferred on them special favours, above a great part of Our Creation”¹⁶.

Also the Qur’an says:

“He it is who hath placed you as viceroys of the earth and hath exalted some of you in rank above others, that he may try you by (the test of) that which he hath given you”¹⁷.

In these verses the distinctions conferred by God on man are recounted in order to enforce the corresponding duties and responsibilities of man. He is raised to a position of honour above the brute creation: he has been granted talents by which he can transport himself from place to place.

It is a great trust of Allah on man to have been appointed as viceroy. It presupposes that man is a free being. Because an object which is absolutely ignorant of his will power and is unable to choose is either dead matter of just a plant. Nature is absolutely determined by the causal laws. It does not

¹⁵. Ibid. P. 317.

¹⁶. Al-Qur’an, 17:70.

¹⁷. Ibid, 18:

have any choice to act differently than what it does. It is determined and absolutely dependent; while, on the other hand, man, being a trustee of God, has absolute freedom of choice, action, and decision. He has been given an intuitive ability to select straight forward and clear cut way from the given choices of good and bad. The right and wrong is clearly show by the prophet and he also informed the people that if they choose the right path they will get reward. If they opt for the wrong path they will punishment. They have a free will and choice. For instance, the Qur'an maintains:

“If ye did well, ye did well for yourselves; if ye did evil, (ye did it) against yourselves”¹⁸.

This verse clearly indicates that man defines his own being by virtue of his own action. Further, reward and punishment is meted out to him because of his own actions. The purpose of creation of man is submission to the will of God and to acquire self-perfection. Actions are the means for the realization of this goal. The best man is he who is best action. There is nothing for men but what he strives for”¹⁹. The divine service can only be done by action and not by sitting idle. It is the secret of success and this world is world of action for reaping fruit in the next”²⁰.

Kant also strives for the dignity of man. The dignity and sanctity of man is to be respected at all costs. All socio-political institutions must see to it that the dignity of man is protected and preserved in the establishment of social order. Kant insists that: “Respect yourself & respect other impartially, & exploit no one”²¹.

Men according to this principle must respect each person and attribute dignity, because this is the only practical way to pursue their own ends in comparative safety and security.

In Kant's second formulation of the categorical imperative, we see it should respect all human beings impartially and avoid exploiting anyone. This formula applies to the agent's treatment of himself as well as of others.

¹⁸. Ibid, 17:7 .

¹⁹. Ibid, 55:38.

²⁰. Ibid, 51:56.

²¹. Wright, W. T. *A History of Modern Philosophy*.

Some thinkers hold that all duties are social, and even our duties to ourselves are duties to society of which we are members. While others hold that all duties are personal, and that if we respect our own personality, our duty to others will immediately follow. Kant takes the middle path between these one-sided views and holds that we shall have no duty to others unless we had a duty to ourselves. Moral behaviour is behaviour towards other men, each one of which is rational, and finds his good in the conscious realization of his nature as a rational being. Rational beings have a value for themselves, which cannot be measured in terms of the relative value they may have for other people, recognition in the others of the same absolute worth as each one of us finds in himself is the basis of moral behaviour and expresses itself in the following general rule, or “practical imperative”: “Act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or that of another always as an end and never as a means only”.²² This is the concrete content of ethical action. This is what we should do, and how we should act in dealing with our “fellowmen”. If our behaviour is to have a universal and absolute moral value & to be truly good.

The rule of action is not prescribed by our particular preferences, desires, and ends. It is derived, like the categories, from the nature of reason, and is, therefore, a priori. To put this idea in term of volition, the truly moral rational will prescribes its own law and its own imperative. With no other end in the view than to express its own nature. Its obligation is self-imposed. Hence the moral will is self-determined and self-legislating or as Kant calls it autonomous. So when we act morally, we are not only citizens of the world, to which incidentally, considerations of prudence and expediency might better adopt us, but we are also citizens of an ideal order, or a “Kingdom of ends”, of which we are both the subjects and monarchs, obedient in our actions to the laws laid down by our own will.

There is no compromising of these ends, nor is there any equivalent for them. The ends that have only an intrinsic value and dignity cannot be traded for anything without depriving us of self-respect. Since the autonomous will is self-legislating and exercises its causality uninfluenced by anything except itself, it is free. Its acts occur independently of causation we find in the

²². Kant, Immanuel *Foundations of Metaphysics of Morals*, Tr. by L. W. Beck, the Bobbs-Merill Inc, New York, 1959, P.47.

phenomenal world. Its laws of action, the categorical imperative and moral behaviour inspired by that law, originate in the transcendental self in the world of things-in-themselves.

3. In Islam the short span of life is a kind of sacred trust of God given to the individual, or groups of people, to prove that are honest in the use of the trust. If this trust confers on the individual the highest status amongst all created beings, he is also saddled with the gravest and the most challenging risks, which are associated with it. It is obvious, therefore, that this life is a test and trial for man to show his worth. He is free to choose and act, according to his will whatever he likes. Further, if God has desired. He would have made all people virtuous and pious, but than the purpose of creation would not be fulfilled. The evil doers could never be distinguished from virtuous persons. The test is meant to separate the chaff form the grain. It is indeed a touchstone to differentiate between the pure gold and base metal.

In the Islamic view angels, though holy and pure endowed with power from God, yet represent only one side of creation. We may imagine them without passion or emotion, of which the highest flower is love. If man was to be endowed with emotions, those emotions could lead him to the highest as well as drag him to the lowest. The power of will (when used rightly) can give him, to some extent, mastery over his fortunes and God-like nature, which has supreme mastery and will. The perfect vicegerent is he who has the power of initiative. God, the Almighty has given mind the needed guidance: the right and wrong ways of life are made clear to him. Besides, he is blessed with the ability to choose which-ever way of life he likes. In fact, the Qur'an is addressed to man who is supposed to have both freedom and intelligence; otherwise the purpose of revelation will be nullified.

Human will is heteronomous, as Kant calls it, or subject to motivation by an object other than the expression of its nature. Self expression can command the will and put it under an imperative obligation. It is not our duty to be happy, but it is our duty to be good, though it is not always within our power to be happy.

My acts, Kant says, may be as completely determined by antecedent causes as any other natural events. But it must remember that the natural order as a whole, and the nature of the entire succession of events appearing

in the relation of cause and effect, rest upon a world of things-in-themselves, which condition the sensible world to be the kind of world it is.

Suppose, however, we object that if we are created by God our freedom and moral responsibility are thereby destroyed, since God has made us what we are. To this Kant replies that the question of who made us has no bearing on freedom. Although God may be responsible for my existence, it is I who am responsible for how I behave, and it is the latter responsibility alone that has moral significance.

So Kant argues that if God is the cause of man's actions through original creation of man's substance, than only determinism exists and morality is impossible. Hence it can be said that morality depends upon freedom of will. Kant rejects the view that morality is based on religion. But he is far from rejection the view that there is a logical connation between the two things, though he thinks that religion is based on morality.

4. In the Islamic view a person is free to choose for himself, and is responsible for the consequence of his actions. No other person is responsible for his deeds. No one can get the reward or punishment on behalf of others. Man cannot transfer his responsibility to some also.

In the Islamic view we must act rightly without regard to consequences what ever these might be. For example, if we know any truth of any kind whatever, to that we must bear witness, protecting the lives or interests of our fellow-being firmly, not half-he-artily, without fear or even if we lose friends or associates in the process.

In the Islamic view justice is something higher than the formal justice of the Roman law. It is even more penetrative than subtler justice in the speculation of Greek Philosophers. It searches out the innermost motives, because we are to act as if we are in the presence of God, to whom all things, acts, and motives are known. Some people may be inclined to favour the rich, other the poor. Both these approaches are wrong, because, Islam recommends that, be just, without fear or favour as: "Witnesses for Allah even thought it be against yourselves or (your) parents or (your) kindred".²³

²³. Al-Qur'an (4:135)

Turning again to Kant, he preserves the dignity and sanctity of man in his second formulation of the categorical imperative. His ethical system is a revolt against utilitarianism and egoism, because both these systems are one-sided.

Egoism damages the altruistic nature of man; for the egoist every action is based rigidly on self-love or self-interest. They neglect the altruistic side of human nature. Such as a person who supports the view that we ought to seek our own pleasure rests his case on the fact that we do actually seek pleasure. To argue in this way is to confuse pleasure as our only motive with pleasure as a moral ideal or objective standard for judgment. If pleasure is our only motive, there is no point in arguing for it as an ethical standard, because we cannot help seeking it. If pleasure is not our only motive the fact that it is very common one does not prove that it ought to be the basis of our moral judgment.

In utilitarianism the ideal is the benefit of the majority i.e. utilitarianism is a philosophy of expediency. Yet we all recognize that there is a distinction between what is right and what is expedient. Even slavery and killing of an innocent person for instance, can be justified on utilitarian grounds. Obviously this approach has no commitment to the sanctity and dignity of man.

So in the Kantian analysis the dignity of man is exploited which is against the universal moral law. So both these systems are violating the human dignity, while Kant insists to preserve human dignity as an end in itself. He stresses the respect for the dignity of man at all const. In all his system the dignity of man is protected and preserved in the establishment of the social order.

The principle of humanity and of every rational creature as an end in itself is the supreme limiting condition on freedom of actions of each man. It is borrowed from experience, first, because of its universality, since it applies to all rational beings generally and experience does not suffice to determine any thing about them; and secondly, because in experience humanity is not thought of as the end of men, i.e. as an objective end which should constitute the supreme limiting condition of all subjective end, whatever they may be.

5. As against the Christian notion of the “Original Sin”. Islam holds that, the individual person is responsible for his own actions. It is quite unreasonable to hold that one can at one the sins of others as Christians believe, or that man is born as sinful. This theory of the original sin, the greatest black mark that could be attached to God and man who was created “in his own image”, is said to be based on the disobedience of Adam. It was thought that this act of transgression was the manifestation of the sin inherent in man’s nature which neither he nor anyone else could escape. Faith in the power of Christ, who did on the cross in order to redeem the whole of mankind of its natural depravity alone can save us. But if this original sin is an inherited corruption than it destroys the freedom of man and his responsibility which are basic to the very existence of morality and religion.

According to the Qur’an, man inherits no sinful nature, but simply a weak and forgetful nature. The conflict of Adam and Santa does not show that Adam disobeyed God because he was by nature sinful. He was created after the nature²⁴ and of goodliest fabric²⁵. It is man’s weak nature, the lack of proper balance and harmony between his natural impulses and reason that something leads him to the path of unrighteousness. There is no need of any elaborate process of atonement for the sins committed; repentance with a resolve not to commit them again is sufficient. “They who after they have done a base deed or committed wrong against their own selves, remember God and implore forgiveness of their sins-and who will forgive sins but God only-and persist not in what they have willingly done amiss: as for those, pardon from their Lord shall be their recompense²⁶”.

According to Christianity man is looked upon, not as a social unit, but as a single soul, responsible to God. Besides this, he has no social duties to perform. The moral precepts of Christianity-neighbourly love forgiveness, mercy are viewed not in social context, but as isolated actions of individuals to others as individuals and not as members of a reformed social order, which may set an ideal pattern for others to follow. There was, in short, no dynamism in Christian ethics at all. It was sordidly individualistic, other worldly, pessimist, fatalistic, negative, dogmatic, non progressive, static. It

²⁴. *Ibid* 30:30

²⁵. *Ibid*, 95:4.

²⁶. *Ibid*, 3:134.

cuts the roots of all family life, it destroyed the motive for social betterment, is preached a slavish subordination of man to political and economic status quo, it turned the attention of man from rightful participation in the affairs of the present life to a miraculous and supernatural appearance of a kingdom of God in some distant future-and all this due to a misinterpretation of the nature of man and his relation to god and to the hereafter. Naturally, the highest moral ideal in Christianity, was personal salvation and escape from this world in contrast to the Islamic ideal of flash (well-being), material and spiritual betterment.

Being a vicegerent of Lord, every man is responsible for his own actions. The Qur'an says: And no soul earns but as against itself, and no bearer of the burden shall bear the burden of another²⁷.

On the other side, Kant consciously or unconsciously appreciates the same notion of Islam, in preserving the dignity of man in his second and third formulation of the categorical imperative. Man cannot be originally sinful because it is against his nature. In the second formulation, Kant denied that man is an instrument. . In the interpretation of this formulation we can see that the sin of Adam has been forgiven by God after he was adequately repentant for his aggression. And the rest of the generation free from his sin, because if the rest of the generation is supposed to be guilty of the wrong deed committed by Adam it means the rest of the generation is being used as means for its predecessor. Every man has his own purpose of creation independent of influence of his predecessors. Therefore he is responsible for his own conduct. It is unjust to punish a man who is not guilty. This is what Kant's second formulation leads to.

In his third formulation he underlines the point of man being the crown of creation. A man who is free and conscious and has an authority of his own, acts to legislate a law. Being the crown of creation man must think himself as a universal being who is to be followed by the rest of the creation. Therefore every action or principle which he is to legislate must be universally acceptable.

²⁷. *Ibid*, 6:165; 53:30.

Islam appreciated this sort of thesis, that one should like the same for others as he likes for himself. As for as morality and good conduct is concerned. Islam defines it very simply. Islam gives the idea of morality and treatment of other people in such a way that a person must have good conduct. Conduct as meant here is a bundle of virtues and vices. If a bundle of virtues as defined in Islam is found in a person he is called a man of good conduct and if on the person he is called a man of good conduct and if on the other hand, a bundle of vices is found in him, he is called a man of bad conduct. The Holy Qur'an and Hadith are replete with instances of practical good conduct of the Holy Prophet, which captured, the entire heart of the Arab world like a magnetic force and which won for him adherents. In short he was a model and an ideal of good conduct.

Islam is an organic unit in which nature of man and personal dignity is required to be preserved at any cost. It can be easily understood from the last address of Holy Prophet in which he spoke the unforgettable words on the 9th of Zil Hijja, to the assembled people.

In conclusion I would say that both the systems underscore the following points:-

Similarities between Kant and Islam.

1. Both the systems regard action as translation of the motive behind it.
2. Both the systems strive for the preservation of the dignity of man.
3. Both the systems are opposed to the predetermination of human acts.
4. Both the systems reject the utilitarian and egoistic view of morality and are inclined towards deontological approach.
5. Both the systems reject the idea of the Original sin of man and hold that man is born innocent and is a bundle of possibilities. He is endowed with basic intelligence and freedom and is called upon to define his own being. His actions in the long run will be hung to his own neck and he will be rewarded or punished by his own deeds.

POINTS OF DISSIMILARITIES

There are some differences between Kant's position and that of Islam. The Kantian analysis of human freedom leads to the following points.

Kant's first formulation emphasizes to act in such a way that an action can be universalized. This is an implicative treatment for a law that when a man or a legislator is giving a law, this law must be a universal law. But he does not talk about the law itself that what sort of law can be universalized. There is an assumption that there exists a law, and his argument takes the form of asking what character a universal moral law must have.

The Kantian analysis leads to the universality of law, which implies ensures consistent application of law are two different steps. Even a bad law such as kill everybody who is over 40 years old can be consistently applied even though the law itself is against all sense of morals. We need impartiality rather than consistency for the formation of law. And when once the law is formed we need consistent application of law. These two distinct elements are not properly recognized in the Kantian system. Islam on the other hand, not only gives us the law but also demands (from us) that justice must be done according to the law irrespective of the fact whether its rigid application is in line with your own interest or is against your own interest.

THEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF PEACE AND WAR ACCORDING TO ISLAM

William C. Chittick

Few topics seem so pressing as the threat of war. Eager to establish peace and prevent a world-wide conflagration, people want to “do something” as soon as possible. Many of them look to religion with the idea that its help should be enlisted in accomplishing this most urgent of tasks. But religion – if one may speak in generalities – does not acknowledge any principles higher than its own, not even the survival of the human race. Asked to help establish peace, it will do so in its own way or not at all.

In the general Western view, which has certainly not been altered by certain recent events, Islam is one of the most warlike of all religions. Stereotyped opinions and the fact that few people have the patience to delve into the principles and “myths” underlying the surface appearance make the task of bringing out Islam’s actual views on peace and war especially difficult. But only by probing deeply into Islamic ways of looking at things can we hope to understand how Muslims view the current situation. Once we have taken a step towards understanding Islam, perhaps we will find the appropriate language with which to “enlist” its help in establishing true peace in the world.

The aim of the present paper is to clarify the basic Islamic view of peace and war on the assumption that real and effective cooperation with Muslims can only be undertaken after we have reached a genuine understanding of how they perceive the current human situation. We cannot ask followers of Islam to propose “practical” and “concrete” cures for the present crisis unless we first listen with a sympathetic ear to their diagnosis of the disease.

It is important for the reader to realize at the outset that what is being discussed here is the religion of Islam as set down in its fundamental texts, not necessarily the opinions of contemporary Muslims. No Muslim today would claim that the community as a whole lives up to the ideals established by the Qur’ān and the Prophet’s Sunnah. All agree that a distinction must be made between what Islam teaches and what Muslims think and do. At the same time, differences of opinion among present-day Muslims as to what in

fact Islam does teach –especially when it is a question of applying these teachings to the contemporary situation – run deep. Any attempt to sort out these different opinions, even in the limited domain of peace and war, would require a book-length study.²⁸ Hence the present paper deals only with the normative and underlying Islamic principles that are more or less agreed upon by all Muslims, whether or not everyone would express them in the terms employed here. The question of how to deal with the present situation on a practical level will have to be answered by those Muslims who wish to live in accordance with their own tradition.

To discuss the political reality of peace and war within the Islamic context, we need to understand how Islam views these two concepts in a general sense. Peace can be defined as “freedom from war”, while war can be called “a state of hostility, conflict, opposition, or antagonism between mental, physical, social, or other forces” (*cf. Webster’s Third New International Dictionary*). These definitions prove a starting point from which to approach the specifically Islamic way of looking at peace and war as set down in the fundamental source for all Islamic thought and activity, i.e., the Qur’ \AA n which is the Word of God as revealed to the Prophet Muhammad by means of the angel Gabriel. Once the general Islamic sense of the two terms is clear, we can turn to the specific issue of how traditional and normative Islam would strive to establish peace in the world.

All Islamic thought begins with God, or more specifically, with the “attestation of faith” (*Shah \AA dah*), the statement that “There is no god but God,” which is considered a unique certainty upon which all other truths depend. Hence our initial task is to answer the question, “in the Islamic view, how do peace and war relate to God and to the attestation of faith?”

“Peace” (*al-sal \AA m*) is a name of God. The Qur’ \AA n calls God “Peace” in the passage:

²⁸ For a recent attempt to sort out opinion relating to the political domain cf. R. Peters. *Islam and Colonialism. The Doctrine of Jibad in Modern History*. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.

He is God; there is no god but He. He is King, Holy, Peace, Faithful, Preserver, Mighty, Compeller Sublime, Glory be to God above everything they associate with Him. He is God, the Creator, the Maker, the Form-give. To Him belong the Names Most Beautiful. All that is in the heavens and the earth glorifies Him. He is Mighty, Wise. (59:23)

These few sentences epitomize Islamic theology. More specifically, they express two ideas about God found throughout the holy book: the transcendence of the Divine Reality, and His immanence in created things. “Peace”, for example, fits into the category of the “negative” (*salbâ*) Names of God (also called the Names of “incomparability” [*tanẓâh*]). It signifies that God is free from and infinitely exalted above all defects and imperfection, since these are attributes of the creatures, not the Creator. In himself God knows no “hostility, conflict, opposition, or antagonism. As for God’s immanence, this is expressed by the mention of His creativity, the fact that He is close enough to the creatures – in spite of His transcendence – to shape and form all things. All attributes and qualities found in the world derive from Him; so true is this that “Whithersoever you turn, there is the Face of God” (2:115). If “all that is in the heaven and the earth glorifies Him,” this is not only because all things alert us to the fact that he is exalted beyond their imperfections, but also because they tell us that every positive attribute comes from Him. As the Qur’ān constantly reminds us, everything in the universe displays God’s “signs” (﴿آيَات﴾).

Surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the alternation of night and day, and the ship that runs in the sea, ... and the clouds compelled between heaven and earth – surely there are signs for a people who understand. (2:164)

In short, the name “Peace” signifies that no imperfection or conflict is to be found in God. By implication, “There is no god but God” means that “There is no peace but God” and “There is no perfection but God.” Moreover, “everything other than God” (*ma‘ sim‘ Allāh*), which is how Muslim thinkers define the “world” (*al-‘ālam*), is different from God and therefore opposed to Peace in some sense. In other words, everything other than God is imperfect by definition – “all things perish except His Face” (Qur’ān 28:88). True peace belongs to God alone, while any peace possessed by His creatures can only be imperfect and perishing.

God's Peace follows upon His unity: He is one in every respect, so there is nothing in Himself other than Himself that could oppose or contradict Him. His Self is totally unlike the human self, which is constantly flooded with conflicting thoughts and feelings. Human beings are never wholly at peace with themselves because they are made up of opposing faculties and energies. And this is as it must be, since peace as such belongs only to God, while its opposite – war, that is “hostility, conflict, opposition, and antagonism” – is to some extent intrinsic to everything other than God, to all created things.

If God is absolute Peace, is the world “absolute war”? Certainly not since that would demand strife and conflict so deep and so far reaching that no two things in the universe could exist together in harmony. It would be total chaos if not pure nothingness. Hence the world is only “relative war,” but as such it is also “relative peace”. The world's peace – the harmony and equilibrium that exist among its opposing forces – is, in Qur'anic terms, a “sign” or reflection of God's Absolute Peace. The world is a mixture of opposing forces that may conflict or harmonize depending on the situation. If its relative peace is to be increased, this can only be done by bringing it closer to the Absolute Peace of God.

But is “war” understood as a “state of hostility, conflict, opposition, and antagonism” necessarily bad? No, says Islam, since war in this general sense is inherent to the world, and the world is God's good creation. Hence all conflicts must be working towards God's ends, even if they appear evil in our eyes. In other words, conflicts and opposition may in fact make up the different dimensions of an equilibrium that escapes our view.

It was stated above that God is Peace but not war, since this would demand conflict and opposition within His One Self. But many Muslim theologians provide a much more sophisticated explanation of the divine nature. In fact, they say, conflict and opposition must ultimately derive from God since He created the world and accomplished His aims through all the opposing forces found within it. To understand the theological roots of conflict, we need to turn again to the doctrine of the divine Names.

Though God in Himself is One, He takes on a variety of relationships with His creatures. He is the Life-Giver and Slayer, the Exalter and the

Abaser, the Benefiter and the Harmer, the Forgiver and the Avenger. At any given moment every creature is related to these and other pairs of opposing divine Names. Life has been given to us in this world and before long it will be taken away. We are exalted above some of our fellow creatures in wealth, power, and intelligence, but abased before others. We have received many benefits and suffered many ills. The ontological roots of every situation we experience derive from the divine nature. The fact that we undergo constant change shows that God continuously bestows upon us new relationships with these and other Names. Perfect equilibrium (*I'tidāl*) among the divine Names is found only in God Himself, who is the Coincidence of Opposites (*jam' al-a'īd*). “He is the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden” (Qur'ān 57: 3). But the creation of the universe demands that the Names display their opposite properties in unequal proportions, or else the properties would cancel each other out.

Though a certain “disequilibrium” of the divine Names allows the individual things of the world to exist in their infinite variety and constant change, it remains true that the world as a whole – “everything other than God” – represents an equilibrium among all the divine Names. Each name conveys to us a mode in which the Divine Reality establishes relationships between Himself and the creatures. The modes may conflict at any given moment and in any given existent, but the totality of existence represents a harmony of all the different modes, since existence gushes forth from Reality, Sheer Being, just as light comes forth from the sun. If one ray is perceived as green and another as red, this does not contradict the underlying unity of light.

In short, the archetype of peace *in divinis* is the Unity of the Divine Self, while the archetype of war considered as a positive reality is the multiplicity of the divine Names. In God Himself the Names coexist in perfect harmony and equilibrium, since the Names are not different from His Being. The “Forgiver” is God, and the “Vengeful” is also God; the Life-Giver is God, and so also is the Slayer. But the properties of the name reflected in the world display opposition and conflict, since, for example, God as the Forgiver displays Himself differently to His creature than God the Vengeful. Nevertheless, all opposition works within the context of the Divine Unity that gives birth to it. Vision of things as they are in themselves is to see all

things as God's creatures within the context of His one Being. It is to see all the colours of the spectrum as manifestations of the One Light.

It was pointed out that God is the Absolute Peace, while creation is relative peace and relative war. The world displays a certain conflict and strife as a result of the opposition among divine Names such as the Abaser and the Exalter, even though the activities of these two Names go back to the One God. This sort of opposition among the Names might be called "horizontal", since in the long run neither of the opposing Names dominates over the other, while each name manifests the Divine Peace through its harmonious relationship with its opposite on the same level.

But there is a second kind of opposition among the Names that might be called "vertical". In the present context, this means that certain Names display the Divine Peace, while their opposites bring about opposition and conflict. For example, God is both "Merciful" and "Wrathful". Though at first sight it might appear that these two Names stand on the same level, in fact, as the Prophet reported, "God's Mercy precedes [i.e., has priority over] His Wrath". Mercy is prior to Wrath because Mercy represents the divine nature itself, while Wrath is an attribute that God assumes only in relationship to certain creatures. In other words, God is Merciful toward all creatures and Wrathful only toward some. In the last analysis His Wrath must be considered an extension of His Mercy, just as a father's anger toward his child displays his love. The constantly repeated Qur'anic formula. "In the Name of God, the Merciful (*al-raĀmĀn*), the "Compassionate (*al-raĀĀm*), "expresses the priority of Mercy (*rahmah*) in the divine nature. (Note that Merciful and Compassionate both derive from the word *raĀmah*)

Names and attributes of God connected to Mercy represent God as He is in Himself, while Names and attributes connected to Wrath represent specific attitudes that God assumes in relation to certain creatures for special reasons. Mercy is closely allied to such divine attributes as unity, beneficence, bounty, guidance, forgiveness, and equilibrium, while Wrath is allied to multiplicity, harm, error, vengeance, and deviation. The eschatological fruit of Mercy is paradise (i.e., nearness to God), while that of Wrath is hell (i.e., distance from Him). In the cosmos, Mercy is made manifest by the prophets, who express the divine name the Guide (*al-badā*), while Wrath does not work on the same level. That which manifests Wrath is made manifest by Satan

and his attendant demons, who express the divine name the Misguider (*al-mu'īl*). Note that in Islam Satan is the ape of the Prophets, not of God: all things in existence, even the negative and dispersive tendencies, come under the sway of the Divine Unity.²⁹

The vertical opposition between Mercy and Wrath is fundamentally different from the horizontal opposition between, for example, the Life-Giver and the Slayer. In the case of horizontal opposition, all creatures and activities that manifest it remain at the same “distance” from God; the two opposing Names bring into existence of kind of “yin-yang” relationship between forces in the world, an opposition which is in fact a complementarity, since both forces work toward the same end. But Mercy and Wrath do not work on the same level. That which manifests Mercy is “closer” to God than that which manifests Wrath. If a being moves from Mercy to Wrath, it leaves unity and harmony and enters into multiplicity and disequilibrium. If it moves in the other direction, it travels away from conflict into harmony. In other words, “Peace “ or freedom from conflict lies at the centre of a circle; the centre is God Himself, while the circumference is as near to chaos as can be imagined. All creatures are situated on the radii. If they move centripetally, they travel closer to Peace, Unity, Bounty, Forgiveness, and Mercy; if they move centrifugally, they journey toward war, dispersion, harm, vengeance, and wrath.

The horizontal conflict among the Names is taken into account in the verse repeated several times in the Qur'ān, “Everything in the heavens and the earth glorifies God” (24: 1, 57: 1, 61: 1, etc.) This means that all creatures work in harmony toward the end for which they were created, even though a certain strife and opposition can be perceived on every level of created existence. But a second kind of conflict, peculiar to human beings, derives from the vertical opposition between Mercy and Wrath. It is alluded to in the Qur'ān verse:

²⁹ This in no way negates human responsibility for evil, as most Muslim theologians have taken pains to demonstrate Cf. for example, the doctrine of *kasb* according to the Ash'arites (H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1976, pp. 663-716).

Have you not seen how to God bow down all who are in the heavens and all who are in the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and the mountains, the trees and the beasts, and many of mankind? (Qur'«n 22: 18).

Not all of human beings bow to God. Those who do not bow have turned away from Mercy and Guidance and embraced wrath and error. In other words, they have rejected the purpose for which they were brought into the world, a purpose explained in the verse.

I have no created jinn and mankind except to worship Me [or “to serve Me] (Qur'«n 51: 56).

The first kind of war and conflict is inherent to the universe; it is willed by God because it displays the opposing qualities of His Names. It results from the divine command that brings all creatures into existence: “His only command to a thing, when He desires it, is to say to it ‘Be!, and it is” (Qur'«n 36: 82). All conflicts and wars derive from this “engendering command” (*al-amr al-takwânâ*), simply manifest the diverse possibilities of existence latent within the Divine Creativity.

But God has created human beings in his own image, giving them freedom to choose between good and evil. Since He has given freedom only to mankind (and the *jinn*³⁰), He directs at them alone a different kind of command: “He has commanded that you worship none but Him. That is the right religion, but most men know not” (Qur'«n 12: 40). This “prescriptive command” (*al-amr al-taklâfâ*) differs totally from the engendering command in that it can be disobeyed by those toward whom it is directed. The creatures cannot disobey God when He says. “Be!”, since this engendering command determines their existence and their nature. If horizontal conflict arises as a result of the engendering command – if lions devour lambs and waves smash against the shore – this only shows that hostility, opposition, antagonism, and “war” are inherent to the created world. But human beings can choose to ignore the prescriptive command, and as a result a new kind of

³⁰ *Jinn* are beings made of fire, while angels are made of light and human beings are made of clay. *Jinn* are semi-spiritual and semi-corporeal, just as fire is neither pure light nor pure clay. They were given free will by God and therefore can disobey His commands like mankind. Iblis or Satan was one of the *jinn*, which explains why he was able to disobey God. But the angels cannot disobey Him, since they always “act as He commands” (Qur'«n 21: 27)

conflict arises in existence, a vertical conflict between the creatures and the guidance desired for them by their Creator.

Given the fall of the human race and mankind's subsequent "forgetfulness" (*ghaflah*) of God, this kind of war may be inherent to the human situation, but it works counter to the divine purpose for mankind, which is "worship" or "service" of God. It removes human beings ever farther from their own Centre, which is Mercy and Peace, and hence it calls down upon them God's Wrath; in other words, it takes them ever closer to the circumference, which is dispersion, multiplicity, deviation, and disequilibrium.³¹

When God created human beings, He made them His vicegerents or representatives (*khalāfah*) on earth (Qur'«n 2:30). The human vicegerency, called by the Qur'«n the "Trust" that no other creature was able to carry (33: 72), means that human disobedience results in evil consequences not only for those individuals who turn away from God but also for the whole of creation, over which mankind was given power (cf. the repeated Qur'«nic declaration that all things were "subjected" [*taskhār*] to human beings, e.g., 14: 32-33; 31: 20; 45: 12-13). Conflict and war between mankind and God results in the corruption and ruin of the earth itself. The closer human beings stand to Divine Mercy, the more they are put into harmony with the Divine Peace. When they are at peace with God, they fulfil their functions as vicegerents and therefore govern and control the earth in a manner that brings all creatures under the sway of God's Peace. But if people move toward the periphery of existence – toward the circumference which is war and conflict – they fail to control the earth in the manner set down themselves, they call it down upon their own wards as well, that is, the creatures of the natural world.³²

These ideas are expressed clearly in the Qur'«n doctrine of the "corruption" (*fasād*) of the earth. According to the Qur'«n, God told the

³¹ In the final analysis Satan's rebellion and human disobedience also play a positive role in the divine plan, but most Muslim authorities have not considered it opportune to emphasize this fact, since the unbelievers cannot avoid the negative consequences of God's Wrath.

³² In the Islamic view, this is the root of the "ecological crisis." See Chittick, "God Surrounds All Things': An Islamic Perspective on the Environment", *The World and I*, I/6, June 1986, pp. 671-678.

angels, “I am setting in the earth a vicegerent.” They replied, “What, wilt Thou set therein one who will work corruption and shed blood?” (2: 30). “Working corruption in the earth” is a possibility reserved for human beings, since only they can turn against the Divine Mercy and their own natures by disobeying the prescriptive command, that is, by refusing to serve and worship God. The Qur’^{an} employs various forms of the word “corruption” fifty times, and in every case where actual corruption is envisaged it results from human activity. In short, “Corruption has become manifest on the land and in the sea through what men’s hands have earned, so that He may let them taste some part of what they have done. Haply they may return [to Him]” Qur’^{an} 30:41).

God allows corruption to appear because human beings have been given the free will to choose their own destinies; at the same time it can serve to remind them of their responsibility toward Him as His vicegerents. “Repentance” or “turning toward God” is seen as corruption’s only remedy; to repair the ill results of disobedience, people must once again follow the religion that God has sent down for them.

Obedience, through which human beings can carry the Trust, depends upon right faith and practice, which in the Islamic view can be defined as the “profession of God’s Unity” (*tawh  d*) on all levels – in the heart, mind, soul, and body. God’s One Reality is the source of peace and harmony, while obedience to Him roots out corruption from the earth. The connection between the Divine Unity and the disappearance of corruption is clearly expressed in the verse, “Why, were there gods in earth and heaven other than God, earth and heaven would surely be corrupted” (Qur’^{an} 21: 22).

Human disobedience and the resulting corruption in the earth grow up out of the failure to affirm God’s Unity, also called the “association of other divinities with God” (*shirk  *), the only sin that cannot be forgiven (Qur’^{an} 4: 48, 116). This erroneous introduction of multiplicity into the Single Source and Centre leads to disequilibrium and dispersion – or an encounter with the full force of the Divine Wrath – since the “association” or “idol-worshipper” (*mus  rik  *) in effect negates any possibility of linking himself with the Centre; he cannot possibly achieve peace, which depends upon contact and harmony with Unity, so he remains in conflict and war. More often than not the false

divinity that a person “associates” with God is self-will, ego-centric desires, or “caprice” (*hawā*). In the words of the Qur’ān:

Have you seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god? (Qur’ān 25: 43, 45: 23).

Who is further astray than he who follows his caprice without Guidance from God? (Qur’ān 28: 5).

Once people begin to obey their own whims and desires instead of following God’s revealed guidance, they are acting “as if there were gods in earth and heaven other God”. The result can only be the earth’s corruption, the dissolution of the kingdom over which they were made vicegerents. Hence the Qur’ān says,

Had the Real (*al-ʿĀqq*) followed their caprices the heavens and the earth and whosoever is in them would have been corrupted (Qur’ān 23: 71).

Only God’s Mercy keeps the universe intact despite people’s rejection of the Divine Command and their eager attempts to embrace His Wrath.

The opposite of *Fasād* “corruption” is *ʿĀlā* “soundness, rightness, goodness, wholeness, wholesomeness, holiness”. The Arabic term most commonly used for peace among nations is *ʿĀlā*, a word derived from the same root and closely connected in meaning. The literal sense of *ʿĀlā* is to set things right or to make things good, sound, and whole. To establish *ʿĀlā* in a conflict is to bring about a reconciliation between the opposing parties. The Qur’ān employs the word in a single instance, in the sense of reconciliation between husband and wife (4: 128). More importantly, the Qur’ān employs the term *ʿĀlā* and the adjectival form *salīh* in more than 120 instances to refer to an ideal activity or situation which human beings must strive to achieve. “Wholesome works” (*ʿamal salīh or salībat*) is the Qur’ān term for that activity which brings human beings into harmony with the divine command. In other words, it is the activity which erases corruption and establishes peace.

Obey not the commandment of the prodigal, who work corruption in the earth and fail to make things wholesome (Qur’ān 26: 152).

Or again, the Qur'ān quotes Moses' words to his brother Aaron:

Be my successor among my people, and make things wholesome; do not follow the way of the workers of corruption! (Qur'ān 7: 142).

The expression, “Those who have faith and perform wholesome works”, employed in the Qur'ān fifty-three times, has become a set phrase referring to good Muslims.

Thorough wholesome works the faithful are able to overcome corruption and dispersion and move toward peace, harmony, and wholeness. This “vertical” movement toward God is referred to in the Qur'ānic verse, “To Him good words go up, and the wholesome work – He uplifts it” (35: 10). In short, those who move toward God's Mercy and avoid His Wrath, who strive to achieve His Peace and avoid conflict with Him, will reach nearness to Him and Paradise.

Surely those who have faith, and those of the Jewry, the Sabaeans, and the Christians, whosoever has faith in God and the Last Day and performs wholesome works – no fear shall be upon them, neither shall they sorrow. (Qur'ān 5: 69).

Whosoever, male or female, does a wholesome deed, having faith, We shall assuredly give them to live a goodly life. (Qur'ān 16: 97).

I [God] am All-forgiving to him who repents, has faith, does wholesome deeds, and follows guidance (Qur'ān 20: 82).

Though a certain opposition and strife is inherent to existence, the world remains in relative equilibrium so long as human beings attempt to carry out their duties as God's vicegerents upon the earth by performing wholesome works. These duties are summarized by the term *islām*, which means literally “submission”, that is, to the Will of God, or to His command. Since there are two commands, there are two kinds of submission: On the one hand all things submit to the engendering command. In other words, all things in the universe are “submitters” or “muslims” through their created natures. That is why everything in the heavens and the earth sings God's praises. On the other hand only those human beings who submit themselves to the prescriptive command can be called “muslims” in the more specific sense of

having submitted their own wills to God's Will. (The Qur'«n does not limit this term to the followers of Islam, since for example, it applies it to Abraham and the apostles of Jesus [13: 67, 5:111].)

The word *isl«m* drives from the same root as *sak«m*, "peace". The literal sense of the term is to become free or safe from something, or to gain peace in respect to it, The implication is that through submitting one's will to God's Will, one gains safety from error, deviation, and corruption. One is integrated into the Divine Unity and hence put into harmony with the opposing yet complementary properties of the Divine Names. One has faith and performs wholesome works, which provide a remedy for the corruption that has taken place in the land and the sea at the hands of those human beings who have not carried the Trust. Hence submission to God brings about peace in the sense of *sak«m* and *ÁulÁ*: In the first sense, one gains the Peace of God, and in the second one gains a wholesome and peaceful relationship with al His creatures, a relationship through which the created world is put into correct equilibrium with its Divine Source.

In order to understand the Islamic idea of peace (*ÁulÁ*) in the world, we need a clear conception of the preliminary peace (*sak«m*) which must be established between human beings and God. In the Qur'«nic view, peace with God necessitates "war" against all tendencies that tend to dispersion and disequilibrium. It demands a movement towards the Centre—Mercy and Peace – and an active opposition against all forces that draw away the Centre. In other words, to be at peace with God is to be at war with error and caprice, which are the tendencies within ourselves which try to draw us away from Him.

But "peace" is not necessarily good, since itself the word merely defines a relationship among various forces. We have to ask about the nature of those forces. Peace cannot be good if it means harmony and equilibrium with dispersion, whether of the inward kind, which the Qur'«n calls "caprice," or the outward kind, which it calls "this world" (*al-duny«*). "Satan" personifies both the inward and the outward dispersive movements, since he works in the world as well as in ourselves.

Nor is "war" necessarily good, since in fact most people fight not against dispersive tendencies but along with them. In other words, most people

follow the natural movement of “this world”, the “path of least resistance” that draws them away from the Centre. The Qur’an refers to them as “those who have gone astray” (*al-illun*) if not “those toward whom God is Wrathful” (*al-maghdubun ‘alayhim*), whom it also calls God’s “enemies” (*a’du*).

It is important to note that “peace with this world” is not the same as “peace with creation. In fact, the two are diametrically opposed. To live in peace with this world (*al-dunyu*) is to be in harmony with those tendencies in the created world which take human beings away from God, while to live in peace with creation (*al-khalq*) is to act as God’s vicegerent on the basis of having been integrated into the Divine Unity and Peace; it is to contribute towards bringing all creatures under the sway of equilibrium and harmony.

In order to give a bare introduction to some of the basic Qur’anic ideas concerning peace and war, we will outline here two kinds of peace and two kind of war:

1. Peace with God.
2. Peace with caprice and this world.
3. War for God’s sake.
4. War against God.

1. **Peace with God.** Strictly speaking, peace belongs to God alone. But nearness to God, however envisaged, results in harmony with Him and therefore, relative peace. Hence the Qur’an refers to Paradise as the Abode of Peace (6: 127, 10: 25). The Muslim greeting, “Peace be upon you”, is the formula of welcome by which the angels accept the blessed into Paradise, and there the blessed exchange it among themselves (Qur’an: 7: 46, 10: 10, 13: 24, 14: 23, etc.). This may be interpreted to mean, “May you and your religion be free from defects and imperfections”, or, more simply “May Peace, God, be with you.” To achieve peace in this world and the next, people must follow God’s guidance, which will take them back to the luminous Centre, far from the shadows of dispersion and error.

There has come to you from God a Light and a Book Manifest, whereby God guides whosoever follows His good pleasure in the ways of Peace; He brings them forth from the shadows into the Light by His leave; and He guides them to a Straight Path, (Qur’an: 5: 16).

The Straight Path is the path of Islam, that is, submission to God’s Will and obedience to His prescriptive command.

Obey God, and obey the Messenger; ... if you obey the Messenger, you will be guided. (Qur'ān: 24: 54)

Whose obeys God and His Messenger, He will admit him into gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein dwelling forever; that is the might triumph. (Qur'ān: 4: 13)

The faithful ... obey God and His Messenger. Those, upon them God will have Mercy. (Qur'ān (9: 71).

God ever guides those who have faith to a Straight Path. (Qur'ān 22: 54)

Those who have been guided to God and who have reached peace with Him are called His “friends”. “Surely God’s friends, no fear shall be upon them, neither shall they sorrow” (Qur'ān 10: 62). Their hearts are “at rest” with God, or more specifically, with His “remembrance” (*dhikr*).

God wrought this not, save as good tidings, and that your hearts might be at rest; victory comes only from God. (Qur'ān 8: 10)

In God’s remembrance are at rest the hearts of those who have faith and do wholesome deeds. (Qur'ān 13: 28)

O, soul at rest with God, return to thy Lord, well-pleased well pleasing! (Qur'ān 89: 28)

When God is pleased with His servants, they also are pleased with Him; this is a “mighty triumph” (Qur'ān 5: 119, 9: 100, 58: 22).

2. **Peace with caprice and this world.** If a person is at peace with this lower world, he or she is one of the unbelievers, who have made their own caprice into a god. Paradise is the Abode of Peace, while life in this world is “naught but a sport and a diversion; surely the Last Abode is better for those who are god-fearing” (6: 32). One cannot take the rectification of this world’s situation as one’s goal, since this world in itself, considered independently of the God who gives it subsistence, has no stability or permanence.

The likeness of this life is as water that We send down out of heaven, the plants of the earth, whereof men and cattle eat, mingle with it, till, when the earth has taken on its glitter and has decked itself fair, and its inhabitants think they have power over it, our command comes upon it by night or day, and We make it stubble, as though yesterday it flourished not (Qur'ān 10: 24).

The unbelievers see nothing but this world and their own egocentric desires; they are heedless of God (*ghaflah*), never remembering Him. The faithful are at rest with Him and pleased with Him, while the unbelievers are pleased with this world:

Surely those who look not to encounter Us and are well-pleased with the present life and are at rest in it, and those who are heedless of Our signs, those, their refuge is the Fire. (Qur'«n 10: 7).

The “submission” of such people is to their own lower selves: “The evildoers follow their own caprices, without knowledge They have not helpers” (Qur'«n 30: 29)

3. **War for God's sake.** “peace with God” is a goal that the faithful must strive to reach, not their actual situation. It cannot be actualized if they take a passive stance toward existence, that is, if they accept their own situation as good and desirable. Peace can only come from obedience toward God and submission to His command. Hence, it demands great activity. Human beings must apply God's commands and prohibitions to every dimension of life. The basic practice that Islam requires of all its followers are known as the Five Pillars: the attestation of Divine Unity (*shah«da*), the daily prayers, paying the alms tax, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and making the pilgrimage to Makkah. But these and the other rules and regulations set down in the Shari'ah or Divine Law are only the outward shell of Islam; the full enactment of Islam's requirements demands also the perfection of virtue (*ihs«n*) through the actualization of the human theomorphic nature (*ta'allub*). In other words, to be “Muslims” in the true and full sense, people must dedicate themselves to God on every level of their existence; this is the only way that *taw«d«d* or the “profession of God's Unity” can be realized. God's Oneness demands that human beings conform to His nature not only in their deeds and activities but also in their hearts, minds, and souls. People must strive to gain nearness to God not only through wholesome works, which eliminate corruption and establish peace in the outside world, but also through the perfection of the inside world of their own souls.

One Qur'«nic term that describes human efforts to realize *taw«hid* on all levels is *jihad*, which means literally “to struggle, to strive”. This term commonly refers to the most outward and obvious kind of struggle, the war against the unbelievers on the field of battle. In this sense it has often been translated as “holy war”, an expression that is unsatisfactory for a number of reasons, not least being the fact that it conjures up a stereotyped picture in

the minds of most Westerners.³³ The term *jihad* has been used in Islamic history for practically any war fought by a Muslim king, whatever the motives for engaging in the war might have been. To suggest that these motives have always been considered “holy” is to ignore the fact that in many cases religious authorities did not consider these wars valid, since Islamic law lays down stringent rules that must be followed before *jihad* can be undertaken; moreover kings rarely consulted with those religious authorities who might put the objective standards of the Law before the subjective interests of the kingdom. “Holy war” can be a satisfactory translation of *jihad* only in the deepest and most inward sense of the term, that is, the struggle against God’s enemies within the soul in the effort to attain human perfection and sanctity. In the present context we will translate the term in its literal sense as “struggle” in order to bring out its broad implications.

The Qur’ān employs the word *jihad* and its derivatives thirty-five times, often with obvious reference to specific historical situations and the outward fight (*qit’āl*) against the unbelievers who were opposed to the early Muslim community. But several verses have a clear significance transcending specific events, e.g., “Struggle for God as is His due” (22: 78). In explaining the

³³ On *Jihad* cf. M. Khaddury, *The Islamic Conception of Justice*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984, chapter 7; and Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*. Peters’ summary of Western stereotype (pp. 4-5) is worth quoting: “The Islamic doctrine of jihad has always appealed to Western imagination. The image of the dreadful Turk, clad in a long robe and brandishing his scimitar, ready to slaughter any infidel that might come his way and would refuse to be converted to the religion of Mahomet, has been a stereotype in Western literature for a long time. Nowadays this image has been replaced by that of the Arab ‘terrorist’ in battledress, armed with a Kalashnikov gun and prepared to murder in cold blood innocent Jewish and Christian women and children. The assumption underlying these stereotypes is that Moslems, often loosely called Arabs, are innately bloodthirsty and inimical towards persons of a different persuasion, and that owing to their religion, which allegedly preaches intolerance, fanaticism and continuous warfare against unbelievers. This view of Islam and Moslems, which developed in the Middle Ages, acquired new life and vigour in the era of European imperialism. Moslems were depicted as backward, fanatic and bellicose, in order to justify colonial expansion with the argument that it served the spread of civilization, which the French called *mission civilisatrice*. At the same time, this offered a convenient pretext for use of force against the indigenous population, for behind the outward appearance of submissiveness of the colonized Moslems, the colonizers saw the continuous danger of rebelliousness lurking, nourished by the idea of jihad and waiting for an opportunity to manifest itself”.

meaning of this verse the commentators distinguish between the outward and inward struggles and cite the saying of the Prophet when he came back and from the Battle of Tabuk in 631, one year before his death: “I have returned from the Lesser Struggle to the Greater Struggle”, that is, from the struggle against the unbelievers to the struggle against caprice and the lower soul. The same sources cite a saying ‘Ali, the Prophet’s son-in-law, according to which struggle is of three kinds: with the hand (i. e., the sword), according to which struggle is of three kinds: with the hand (i. e., the sword), the tongue (by “commanding good and forbidding evil”, cf. Qur’ \AA n 3: 110, 9: 71, etc.) and the heart (by remembering God).³⁴ Most authorities agree that the inward and greater struggle takes precedence over the outward and lesser struggle, since the inward struggle is incumbent upon the faithful at all times and in all places, while the outward struggle depends upon circumstances; generations or centuries may pass before the authorities of the Law are able to agree on an instance in which the outward struggle may be fought.

The Law or Shari‘ah deals only with the domain of action, not with intentions and spirituality, which are the domain of the inward struggle. Those authorities who specialized in the inward and spiritual domain usually described the greater struggle in terms of the transformation of the should to be achieved through spiritual practice, referring to it by the term *mujahadah*, which is a different form of the term jihad.³⁵ Hence the distinction between the outward and inward kinds of struggle came to be reflected in these two forms of a single word; the authorities who speak about one or the other refer to the same Qur’ \AA nic verses and prophetic sayings to prove their points. Thus for example, the great al-Ghazali (d. 1111) hardly mentions *jihad* in his four volume masterpiece *L’ \AA ya’ ‘ul \AA m al-d \AA n* except to show that the inward struggle is more fundamental to the religious life than the outward struggle; but he refers to *mujahada* in detail.³⁶

In short, the way to God is to struggle against oneself and against those who are opposed to Him.

³⁴ Cf. Maybudi, *Kashf al-asrar*, ed. A. A. Hikmat, Tehran, VI, p. 405; III, p. 213; also Baydawl, *Tafsir*, on Qur’ \AA n 22:78.

³⁵ Both *Jihad* and *mujahada* are *ma‘ \AA dars* or verbal nouns representing the third form of the Arabic Verb. Either may be used to refer to the “struggle” that the Qur’ \AA n usually mentions in verbal form.

³⁶ E.g. *L’ \AA ya’ ‘ul \AA m al-d \AA n*, Cairo, 1309/1939, III, pp. 42, 57.

Obey not the unbelievers, but struggle against them mightily (Qur'«n 25: 52)
Whosoever struggles, struggles only for his own soul; surely God is independent of all the worlds (Qur'«n 29: 6)

Like “Struggle”, the word “fight” is used frequently in the Qur'«n and is interpreted in both an outward and inward sense.

So let them who sell the present life for the next world fight in the way of God ... Those who have faith fight in the way of God, and the unbelievers fight in the idols' way. Fight you therefore against the friends of Satan. (4: 74-76).

The aim of the inward warfare is to attain peace with God, while the aim of the outward warfare is to rectify the corruption worked in the earth by those who have failed to live up to their responsibilities as God's vicegerents. Only then can relative peace and harmony be established among the contending forces of this world. The Qur'«n makes this point in retelling the Story of David and Goliath:

And they routed them, by the leave of God. David slew Goliath and God gave him the kingship and Wisdom, and He taught him such as He willed. Had God not driven back the people, some by means of others, the earth had surely been corrupted; but God is bounteous unto all the worlds” (2: 251; et. 5: 33)

The faithful are at peace with God, and with the friends of God, but at war with His enemies;

Muhammad is the Messenger of God, and those who are with him are hard again the unbelievers, merciful to one another (Qur'«n 48: 29).

Oh you have faith, whosoever of you turns from his religion, God will assuredly bring a people whom He loves and who love Him, humble towards the faithful, disdainful toward the unbelievers, men who struggle in the way of God, not fearing the reproach of any reproach (Qur'«n 5: 54).

4. **War against God.** War against God, like struggling in God's path, may be outward or inward. The outward war takes place with the sword, the inward with the heart. In both cases those who fight this war have been overcome by unbelief (*kufr*— literally, “Ingratitude”) and disobedience toward God's prescriptive command. The unbelievers consider God their enemy (2: 98, 8: 60, 9: 114), and their recompense is the Fire (41: 28). The faithful struggle in the path of God, while the unbelievers strive to prevent others from entering this path. “Surely those who disbelieve and bar from the way of God have gone astray into far error” (4: 167; cf. 9: 34, 11: 19, 16: 88, etc.

They have taken up the work of Satan, who “desires to precipitate enmity and hatred among you ... and to bar you from the remembrance of God and from prayer” (5: 91)

This first survey of Qur’anic imagery could be extended indefinitely by further quotations from the Qur’an, the Hadith, and Islamic literature in general. But our conclusion would be the same: Islam considers peace in God as the goal of human life, while war against His enemies –in particular against the caprice of the human soul– is the only way to achieve this peace. But people cannot have peace at the present moment as long as they remain distant from God. To be with Him– and thus to become fully human – they have to struggle against everything that turns them away from their duties as His vicegerents. Only the greatest human beings – the prophets and those men and women who have attained to God’s good pleasure and proximity already in this life– have attained peace with God, their hearts being “at rest” with Him. But this inward peace does not contradict outward effort and strife, as the life of the Prophet Muhammad proves. Long after he had won the inward and greater struggle, he had to continue with the lesser struggle. Moreover, he never for a moment gave up the outward forms of the greater struggle, e.g., prayer, fasting, and other duties incumbent upon all Muslims. That is why the Muslim authorities point out that *jihad/mujahada* remains the lot of human beings as long as they continue to exist within the domain where God has prescribed (*taklâf*) religious duties for them, that is, as long as they live in this world. Full and total peace will not be achieved until they reach the Abode of Peace, which cannot be found on this plane of existence.

War and strife accompany human beings in the present world because they and all created things are evanescent and perishing. The changing nature of all creatures brings about opposition and conflict. To make the most of this conflict people must put themselves in harmony with Peace, the Divine Reality. In function of Peace they can struggle to bring relative harmony into the world by performing wholesome works and thereby eliminating “corruption”. As long as people want to remain human, they are forced to engage in the greater and inward struggle. If they do not carry the Trust they will enter into the ranks of the ungrateful and irresponsible infidels, and “their refuge will be the Fire”.

That the world is full of war and strife is a sign of God's Mercy, which always precedes His Wrath. War and conflict remind human beings that God alone is Peace. If people want peace, they must struggle in the way of God, not in the way of their own desires, no matter how grand may be their vision of a "better society" or a "happier world". They cannot escape turmoil by seeking to overcome it on its own level; the more they try to do so, the more it will engulf them. The history of the world during the past 200 years is all the proof this statement needs.

Islam offers no simple method of establishing peace on earth; the causes of the enormous social disequilibriums that face us throughout the world are built into the presuppositions upon which modern culture and contemporary life-styles are based. To solve the "problem of Islam" that faces us in the Middle East today, we have to solve the "problem of the human race" that faces us wherever we look, especially inside our own hearts. We cannot achieve real peace in the Middle East or anywhere else until we find it in ourselves.

ALIGARH MOVEMENT: STORY OF A GENERATION AND SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLAMIC MODERNISM

Ibrahim Kalin

Islamic modernism, of which the Aligarh movement is a part, represents one of the most active and colourful periods of Islamic history. The subject, that is Islamic modernism and the courses of the Islamic thought in the modern period, has its problems and ambiguities. It is still not clear what meanings the term 'modernism' conveys in Western and Islamic contexts; alongside modernism, what meanings the terms 'modernity' and 'modernization' have; whether the contemporary Islamic thought is a product of its own tradition or of the Western modernism or a mixture of the two and so and so forth. These questions which can be multiplied point to the necessity of a proper method and set of definitions for the study of modern Islam. With out a convenient methodology and contextualization, evaluation of the ideas and movements right from the attempts in the Ottoman state down to the intellectual modernism and Westernization in the subcontinent would remain incomplete.

As agreed upon, it is methodologically impossible to separate the life and work of Syed Ahmad Khan from the history of Aligarh due to two main reasons. Firstly, it was Syed who first thought, planned and carried out the Aligarh educational reform movement together with its sub-institutions such as M. A. O. College, M. A. O. College Educational Congress and Aligarh. Secondly, the passing away of Syed in 1898 signifies the beginning of the process of fading away of the most radical modernist and rationalist ideas of Syed from Aligarh. Furthermore, the educational and reformist ideas of Syed's colleagues who had been intimate supporters of him through out his life have never been as much radical as Syed envisaged with a few exceptions. Finally, the moment Aligarh was taken over by a traditional scholar points to the end of Syed's period whose influence was to appear time to time in the posterity down to Iqbal.

The Mutiny of 1857 was a turning point not only in the modern history of Indian Islam but also in the course of Syed's life. His dormant or at least latent feelings of being loyal to the British Rule became explicit after the Mutiny. He denounced the Mutiny as a justified Muslim reaction and considered it as one of the worst events Indian Muslims could ever suffer from. He wrote a book, *Asbab-i Baghawat-i Hind*, to explain the conditions and reasons of the Mutiny wherein he accused the both sides. This reaction was the starting point of Syed's intellectual and political loyalty to the British Rule and culture which was to result in repudiation of and kind of resistance or counter-movement whatsoever coming either from Muslims or from Hindus. Considering the political favouritism of the British for the Hindus and the decadent situation of the Muslims³⁷, Syed tried to bring about a *modus vivendi* between the rulers and the Muslims in order to improve the political, cultural and educational level of the Muslim population. In line with this out and out loyalty, Syed rejected and acted even against the moderate opposition movements such as the Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) and the National Muhammadan Association (founded by Amir Ali in 1887) both of which were meant to be an official forum to express the demands of the Muslims for the Government. His loyalism led him to the extreme of depicting the British Rule in India as the most wonderful phenomenon the world has even seen. This was justified in his mind by the fact that loyalty to the British Rule springs not from servile submission to a foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of a good government.³⁸ This staunch political loyalism sent Syed to the point of denouncing the leadership of the Ottoman state over Muslims as the Caliphate. He even went further and reacted against Pan-Islamist ideas and attempts issuing either from inside or outside India. At this point Syed's stance concerning the leadership of the Caliphate was really unique and syncretic, because, historically speaking, the reign of Abdul al-Hamid II was marked by an all-inclusive Pan-Islamist foreign policy which was in line with the common sentiment of the *ummah* at

³⁷ Disadvantageous situation of the Muslims of India over against the Hindu community became clearer, as Fazlur Rahman mentions, when some Hindus demanded the replacement of Hindu language with Urdu as the official vernacular after the Mutiny. See F. Rahman, "Muslim Modernism In the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent" in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXI, 1958, p. 86.

³⁸ Speeches and Addresses relating to Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (Aligarh, 1888), pp. 24-31; quoted in A. Ahamd, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan (1857-1964)*, p. 33.

that time. Such rigid attitudes of Syed and its repercussions on the Muslim community of India and other regions were to be one of the main reasons of the severe reaction of the ulama and their declaration of Syed as '*kaafir*'.³⁹

What Syed was bearing in his mind was not a mere political activity devoid of intellectual and theological basis –a point common to all modern reform attempts and movements within the Islamic world. Equivalent of Syed's loyalism in political domain was an uncompromising modernism in intellectual sphere. He urged the Muslims to reinterpret the old traditions and religious beliefs in the light of the eighteenth century empiricism and of the latest developments in natural sciences. He set out to bring about a rationalist/empiricist theology based solely on positivistic understanding of science and this was really a new phenomenon in the Islamic world. Syed's rationalism, though similar in some respects, differed from the Mu'tazilites' in its emphasis on empirical and methodological principles of science.⁴⁰ Philosophically speaking, to give a rational foundation to religion by appealing to the empirical findings and principle of natural sciences was something novel and to a certain extent peculiar to Syed's modernism.

Having based his whole speculative studies on a purely rationalist theology, Syed declared that religion and science are in full agreement in every respect. The word of God, that is the Revelation and religion cannot contradict the work of God, that is nature. It is not possible that what He declares be opposed to what He has created, or vice versa. "In some places we have called the speech of God *word âf gâd* and have called what He has created *vark âf gâd* and have said that agreement between the word and work

³⁹ Apart from Jamaluddin Afghani's verdict about him as '*dabri*' (materialist), Indian ulama under the leadership of Moulve Imdad-ul-Ali and Moulve Ali Bukhsh got a fatwa from the ulama of Mecca declaring Syed as '*kaafir*'. The style of expression in the fatwa is worth quoting. 'This man is misguided and misleads others; in fact he is the Khalifa of Satan for he intends to mislead the Muslims and his mischief is worse than that of Christians and Jews. May God punish him. The (Muslim) ruler of the place should punish him. Hali, *Hayat-i Javid*, p.254; quoted in Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, 1969, p.72. Strange enough, Syed's reaction to this verdict was very smooth.

⁴⁰ Syed's own statement of this combination (infact misleading oversimplification) reads as follows: Philosophy will be in our right hand, natural science in our left, and the crown of 'There is no deity save God, Muhammad is the messenger of God' on our head! Troll, *Sayyid Ahammad*, p. 218.

is essential. If the word is not according to the work, then such word cannot be the word of God.”⁴¹ By the work of God, Syed understood what the positivists and scientists of his time understood by it: Nature and natural laws which, being unchangeable, constitute the firm basis of all epistemological and theological claims. Laws of nature are as perfect and firm as religion in its structure and function. Its ‘perfection’ is guaranteed by the perfection of God. ...the violation of that law of nature, so long as that law exists, is impossible. If it does occur then it implies defect of the perfect attributes of God, the creating essence. Making these promises and setting up a universe a law of nature cannot be contrary to the absoluteness and infinitude of his power.⁴²

Looking from within, Syed’s views on the nature of revelation, prophecy, angels (‘divine moral support’), *jins* (‘savage tribes’), devils (‘dark passions’), prayer, etc. and other religious matters such as the transmission of the sayings of the Prophet and abrogation in the Qur’an could be explained as an extension of the ideas of the Mu‘tazilites. But his intellectual modernism was something more. Alongside other modernist movements in Egypt and Turkey, Syed and his generation shared or rather suffered from a common point that is the loss of self-confidence stemming from civilization-identity and consciousness. The fact that Islamic world was the ‘defeated side’ in this confrontation explains one of the reasons of the rise of apologetic literature of the time. Like his counterparts such as Namik Kemal in Turkey and Abduh in Egypt, Syed too involved in some apologetic and polemical disputes with the Orientalists.

⁴¹ Principles of Exegesis, The Fourteenth Principle, p.34; in A. Ahmad & von Grunebaum *Muslim Self-statement in India and Pakistan*, Wiesbaden, 1970.

⁴² Ibid., p. 29 The resemblance between Syed’s description of nature and the Enlightenment’s notion of the ‘perfect nature’ is striking here. Perfection of God has been replaced with this perfection of nature in the Enlightenment thinkers. For an account of the Enlightenment’s construal of the perfection of nature and God, see E. Cassier, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, pp. 37-92. Both in western and Muslim modernist thinkers, natural sciences and their methodologies derive their firmness and exactitude from this notion of the perfection of nature. Unchangeable and permanent structure of nature and natural laws is a consequence of this perfection. To state as a note, since then the idea of perfection of nature has gone through a substantial change.

Second and more essential characteristics of the modernist Muslims was their conviction that the same principles which had brought the Islamic civilization to its pinnacle were lost to Muslims but discovered by and transmitted to the West. The import and incorporation of these principles were believed to be neither an estrangement nor an acculturation. Appropriation of these principles was regarded the urgent need of the Islamic world for its re-birth. The notorious distinction between 'Western science and technology' and 'Western culture' was the common strategy of this feeling. But this point discloses also one of the weakest sides of the modernist thinkers, that is their knowledge of West and Islam. Those thinkers who initiated and followed the modernist line did not know either the Western world or the Islamic tradition properly. This was very clear in Syed's case. According to the information provided by his close friend and official biographer, Hali, Syed knew neither English which was necessary for the 'establishment of a new theology'. If it is true that to live in an environment (say in the Islamic world) does not necessarily mean to know it, Syed can safely be said to have had no necessary and sufficient knowledge of both the traditions. This lack of proper knowledge of the both worlds led them to an over simplification of the confrontation between the old and the new, or better said, oversimplification of the transition from an old and deep-rooted sphere to a totally new and alien area. This simplification and relegation of the confrontation of the two civilizations to a simple and steady modernization (Westernization) kept them away from grasping the real nature of the clash and the importance of the period they went through.

Syed's denouncement of the Islamic tradition as unsatisfactory for the needs of the modern times was a natural consequence of his rationalism. This negative attitude towards history and tradition, however, is not peculiar to his modernism but common to almost all rationalisms, Western or Islamic. In a sense every rationalism has to break away with the sense of time as history and tradition. Because, as far as the basic principles of reason and inferences from it are concerned, history in the broadest sense of the word is not a necessary constituent of the 'rational constructions' of reason. Point of reference in rationalism is a closed-system having no necessary link with tradition which is, for the rationalist, a redundant burden over reason. Within this context, the present (the 'modern') as Habermas points out, 'enjoys a

prominent position as contemporary history.⁴³ This lack of the sense of time and history can be observed in almost all modernist thinkers and in their religious and philosophical ideas.⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, modernist's references to history and their seemingly connection with the tradition (Syed's references to and quotations from Shah Waliullah, for instance) are not an essential part of their way of thinking but rather something emotional and necessary for some other reasons.⁴⁵

⁴³ *The philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, tr. by F. Lawrence (The MIT Press Cambridge, 1992), p. 6. In fact the literature of 'the end of history' goes back to this construal of time and present. Hegel, for instance, declared his time 'as the last stage in History' due to the completion of the self-grounding of reason in its historical track. *The Philosophy of History* (New York, 1956), p. 442. The reflection of this on Muslim modernism would be to denounce the tradition on the basis of the tacit claim that the present movement has come closer than ever to the 'real authentic understanding' of the religion since the first generation.

⁴⁴ Although it is the subject of another investigation, we can point very briefly to some similarities between modernity's consciousness of time in the west and the sense of history in modernist Muslim thinkers. In both schools tradition has been seen as a burden and obstacle on the new creation and reconstruction of the philosophical and religious credo. Both have seen their emergence as unique and incomparable in their history to the extent that most of the enlightenment thinkers have depicted their allergy to such words. The 'light of the reason' could not arise out of the reason. Lastly and most importantly, modernity (in the west) and modernism (in the Islamic world) had to bring about its 'self-grounding' without having any recourse to the experience and tradition of the past. What Hegel believed as the duty of Philosophy apart from its classical connotations was the justification of this 'modernity'. Among others, Hegel's below description of the 'new age' is a specimen of this attitude: 'It is surely not difficult to see that our time is a birth and transition to a new period. The Spirit has broken with what was hitherto the world of its existence and imagination and is about to submerge all this in the past; it is at work giving itself a new form. *Phenomenology of Mind*, preface. Syed explains the principles of Aligarh college on a different fashion but with a similar mood: 'The object of the college was to impart liberal education to the Muslims, so that they may appreciate the blessings of the British rule, 'to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our (Muslims') progress; to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence of our race; to reconcile oriental learning with Western literature and science; to inspire in the dreamy minds of the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West ... 'S. Muhammad, *op., cit.*, p. 67.

⁴⁵ Importance of the '*lebenswelt*' (life-world) of culture and civilization should be recalled here. As is clear from the writings and activities of the Young Turks and nationalists in Turkey, those who were passionately in favour of reform and modernization, either by affirming or denouncing the tradition, had to use the same language with the tradition due to the determinative power of the life-world. As happened at Aligarh in India, when a Muslim

Alongside all these political and theological ideas and stances, education was Syed's real field of struggle. He was emphatic that education was the underlying ground of all reforms for improvement and rehabilitation of the Muslim community. Having this firm conviction in his concrete educational endeavours. Aligarh College and M. A. O. Educational Congress were established in 1881 and 1886 respectively. Aligarh was open to all, Muslim or non-Muslim. Syed tried to attract the Muslim population to the College. But since the general discourse of the school was shaped by Syed's political and ideological stance which we summarized above, attitude of the Muslim community was not affirmative towards the school. Syed (that is, in a sense, the Aligarh itself) faced a formidable reaction. Muslims saw the college as a place aiming at, or at least leading to, the conversion of the Muslim pupils to Christianity under the name of Western culture and customs.⁴⁶ They believed that 'the philosophy and logic taught in the English language was at variance with the tenets of Islam and they looked upon 'the study of English by a Muslim as a little than the embracing of Christianity'.⁴⁷ Syed's diagnosis for this reaction was conservatism and bigotry despite the fact that the reaction of the deemed it to be true.

As stated earlier, Syed had many colleagues who have supported him in his intellectual and educational reforms. The generation of Syed which was deeply influenced by him included such names as Chirag Ali, Sayyid Mahdi Ali (known rather as Muhsin al-Mulk), Zakauallah, Nazir Ahmad and for a certain period of time, M. Shibli Nu'mani. These figures of the Aligarh movement as the considerable disciples of Syed contributed to the spreading

student was converted to Christianity in an American college in Bursa around 1925 or so, the college was immediately closed for ever by the order of the secular republican government of Mustafa Kemal despite the historical fact that at that time all gates of Turkey were open to western culture at the expense of the deep-rooted Islamic tradition.

⁴⁶ This identification of western culture with the religion of Christianity is remarkable characteristic of the Muslim community of that time. In Turkey as well as in the Subcontinent, there was no such a thing as, 'western culture and civilization' distinct from the Christianity. Such Islamist thinkers in Turkey as Ahmed Cuvdet Pasha, Said Halim Pasha, and Mehmed Akif and the traditionalist muslims of India have never accepted western values as universal, all-encompassing and applicable to the Muslim communities. Until the rise of modernism in the Muslim world, modernism and Christianity were the same thing going back to the same source.

⁴⁷ S. Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p.57.

of his ideas either by writing in the *Tabdhib al-Akhlāq*, the official journal of the movement or composing some other distinct treatise and books in defense of their modernist ideas. They were not creative and original in disclosing and finding out new more comprehensive and feasible solutions other than what Syed has already proposed. They were rather instrumental in the exposition and consolidation of these ideas. Like their master, their preoccupation were mainly social, political and educational reforms. As a leitmotif of the modernist movement, they insisted on the reform and renovation of the classical juridical system through which the usual practice about slavery, women, polygamy, authority of the classical ulama, adjustment to the new condition, etc. would be revisited and extensively modified. Chirag Ali, the ardent follower and propagandist of Syed's ideas, wrote a book titled *Proposed Political, Legal and Social Reforms in the Ottoman Empire* (1883) with such a feeling as that 'I have endeavoured to show in this book that Mohammedanism as taught by Mohammad, the Arabian Prophet, possesses sufficient elasticity to enable it to adopt itself to the social and political revolutions going on around it'.⁴⁸ In line with this mood he conceived of the classical Islamic law, that is *fiqh*, not as canonical but as common law.⁴⁹ This construal of *fiqh* was strategically necessary in order to pave the way for reformation and modernization in this field. Corollary of this stance was his denouncing hadith literature as distorted and unreliable. He followed Syed in the idea that the sayings of the Prophet (pbuh) were transmitted not literally, this was impossible, but as meaning, that is to say by the words and rearrangements of the transmitter. It can be seen in this effort that the main propose was to open a way and to justify the reformation of all juridical and hadith literature.

Muhsin al-Mulk, the other close friend and advocator of Syed, held a more moderate attitude towards traditional ideas. He was not in full agreement with Syed on the principles of exegesis, the nature of supernatural beings cited in the Qur'an and the absolute status of the natural laws. Syed had stuck to the laws of nature for the verification of the religious belief at the expense of this belief itself. Unlike Syed's radicalism, Muhsin al-Mulk

⁴⁸ *Proposed Political, Legal and Social Reforms in the Ottoman Empire and Other Muhammadan States*, Bombay, 1883, p. ii; quoted in W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London, 1946, p.29.

⁴⁹ A. Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964*, Oxford Uni. Press, 1967, p.61.

developed a more modest approach and did not take the laws of nature as immutable, absolute and immune of any explained by having reference to these exceptions. Moreover, he added, laws of nature didn't have any clear-cut definition in the West. Therefore complete dependence on the laws of nature had to be faced critically.⁵⁰ Alongside his intellectual position, Muhsin al-Mulk appeared in the political area as one of the forerunners of the Muslim separatism in the Subcontinent. He publicly rejected the political and religious leadership of the Ottoman State as the Caliphate and considered India as a separate region. Needless to say that this was to prepare the way for independent Muslim Pakistan in 1947.

Altaf Husain Hali, the official biographer of Syed, assumed an another stance towards the decadent situation of the Muslim community and contrasted it not with the 'glorious and enlightened' Western civilization but with the brilliant history of Islam. In comparison with the uncompromising ideas of modernism of the time, his path of thinking was inward and from within. He described the misery of the community in his famous poem *Musaddas* in a beautiful way. His book on Syed's life, *Hayat-i-Javid*, and his other literary works were the main contributions to the Aligarh as well as to the modern Urdu literature.

Aligarh Muslim college was given the status of university in 1920. As stated earlier, it was taken over by a traditional (ist) scholar from Deoband, Shibli Nu'mani who taught in the college during the lifetime of Syed too. But since he had almost no appeal to Syed's modernist ideas, his rule gave a new (or old!) shape to the college which was drastically different from what Syed has thought. As Fazlur Rahman points out, this resulted in that 'the modern never really met with the traditional, which remained extremely peripheral to the academic life of the institution... Concerning the dream of Syed Ahmad Khan...to re-fertilize Islamic thought and create a new science of theology vibrant with a new and potent Islamic message, Aligarh was doomed to failure from the very start.'⁵¹ Nevertheless Aligarh, apart from the intellectual in the Islamic world, was to have a considerable share in the creation of Pakistan.

⁵⁰ Disagreement between the two can be seen from their correspondence around 1892. See, *Muslim Self-Statement in India and Pakistan*, pp.39-42

⁵¹ *Islam and Modernity*, The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p,74.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: SOME OBSERVATION ON MODERNISM IN ISLAMIC WORLD

As stated before, the term ‘modernism’ has different connotations when used for Islamic and Western contexts. The same principle holds true for the terms ‘modernity’ and ‘modernization’. In the west, the general discourse of the Enlightenment has provided the intellectual background and basis of modernism. The roots of the modern way of thinking go back to Descartes and reach at its peak in Kant and Hegel. Philosophical and intellectual establishment of the discourse of modernism was preceded by the scholastic age and in that sense it was, as its advocates tend to believe, unique. An absolute subject-centred epistemology, establishment of the ontological reality on the basis of epistemological principles and results of reason and science, ‘oblivion of Being’ over against beings as Heidegger says, formation of the external world as a perfection (Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy), reduction of the continuity of the march of time to a new ‘start’ and ‘renaissance’ etc. were the basic parameters of modernism as an intellectual discourse. The so-called all-encompassing project of modernism was brought into practice by such historical events as the French revolution, formation of the nation-states, industrialization, colonialism, etc. In the intellectual sphere the process of modernization was accompanied by the disenchantment of nature and secularization⁵² whereby the abstract imaginations of modernism are realized and made manifest in its all possible forms. Therefore modernity’s project of reality, life and society presents itself as a blend of these three dimensions.

Unlike the western transformation which we just outlined very roughly, the rise of Islamic modernism followed a different course. Islamic modernism was an outcome of Islam’s encounter with modernity. What modernity meant to the Islamic world was not a mood or state imbued with the psychology of modernism but was an encounter and confrontation with a new violent power, with colonialism, with ideological attacks on values and beliefs. At this juncture the Indian subcontinent was the first part of Islamdom to encounter with ‘modernity’: Coming of the East India

⁵² This transformation and shift to modernity can be followed from Weber, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1985), p. 25; for a succinct account of this process see S. M. N. al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur, 1978), pp.13-47.

Company, disintegration of the Mughul empire, campaigns of the missionaries and the establishment of the British rule in India as the mighty power. Ottoman state, that is the centre of the Caliphate, was not exception. What it saw for the first time as 'modern' were western imperialism, loss and destruction of the Islamic lands, missionaries, Pan-Slavism, the rise of nationalism in Muslim lands, etc. All these encounters brought the Islamic world to 'modernization', that is reform attempts in social, political, economic and military matters. This can easily be seen in the reform proposals (*layiha*) in the Ottoman state and in the case of Muhammad Ali in Egypt. What the Islamic world has understood from modernization was neither the realization of modernism nor the internalization of modernization was neither the realization of modernism nor the internalization of modernity; it was a slow, presumably clumsy but at least careful move to face up to modernity. Islamic modernism appeared after this process of transformation.

This last point tells us something about one of the basic parameters of Islamic modernism. Unlike the western modernism flourished from the Enlightenment, Islamic modernism was a response to the encounter with modernity. In that sense Islamic world in general Islamic modernism in particular did not produce a discourse of 'Enlightenment' to bring about its 'historical self-grounding'. Except some thinkers who were completely westernized, Muslim intelligentsia of the time never came face to face with the intellectual discourse of modernity. What was essential for them was what they needed for the modernization of the Islamic world: Western science and technology. As is clear from the examples of the Ottoman state and Egypt, first Muslim response to the encounter with modernity was not modernism but modernization. This means that modernism was not modernism but modernization. This means that modernism in the Islamic world was not an unavoidable outcome of the intellectual and civilizational crisis of the Islamdom, if there was such a thing at all, whereas Western modernism was to bring about a very substantial as well as catastrophic transformation within Christendom. The *raison d'être* of modernism in the Islamic world was to pave the way to modernization and reform movements. As we see in Aligarh generation, main problems of modernism were and still are such social issues as the law of inheritance, polygamy, cutting off the hand, manners of dress, lifestyle, etc., which, when translated into the

language of Islam, fall within the confines of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). But the transformation which modernism created in the west was so substantial and irreversible that the basic premises of modernity have become the distinctive elements of Western 'subconscious' mind. As one can see from Foucault's analysis of power and will to power, Western civilization can no longer strip itself of the underlying categories of modernity for any past or future scheme even if it is accepted as an 'unfinished project'.

As for modernism in the Islamic world, the difference between 'modernism' and 'modernization' and modernism as a 'modernization movement' points to the fact that modernism was and is not an intrinsic part of the Islamic *welthenschauung* and that it has the potential and possibility to confront with and face up to the so-called universal values of modernity have become the common and indispensable ground of the consciousness of the modern world and that no escape is possible from this destiny.

By way of conclusion, one can say that modernism is essentially devoid of a philosophical content. Modernism's concern with its intellectual foundations is to be carried out. Granted that the tradition has always underlined the opposite of this strategy, the tension between the modernist's project of reality and tradition's commitment to the principles becomes clear. This was apparent in the Aligarh generation. Their starting point has always been the legal issues for whose justification they had to formulate some theological principles. Nevertheless the Aligarh has been a remarkable experience in Islam's path of overcoming modernity

ALLAMA IQBAL— NEWS, VIEWS AND EVENTS: A SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS OF PAKISTAN DURING 1956

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 sixth in the series of surveys that the present author has made.⁵³ We have made an attempt to trace all such functions as reported in the English newspapers of Pakistan during 1956. 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.

- The first available news related to Allama Iqbal appeared on February 15, 1956, in *The Pakistan Times* when, while publishing a photograph of Said Nafisy, the distinguished Iranian scholar, the paper stated that he was expected to arrive in Pakistan at the invitation of Iqbal Academy on February 23.¹

- In its issue of March 19, 1956, *The Pakistan Times* informed that the Sialkot Municipality arranged an ‘Iqbal Majlis’ in memory of Iqbal in Islamia High School with Shaikh Manzoor Elahi, Deputy Commissioner, in chair.

⁵³ This is the sixth 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, second, third, fourth and fifth parts of the survey, dealing with 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1955 respectively, see *Iqbal Review* Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2000, Vol. 41, No. 4, October 2000, Vol. 42, No. 2, April 2001, Vol. 42, No. 4, October 2001 and No. 2, April 2002. (Editor)

¹ “Prof. Said Nafisy...,” *The Pakistan Times*, February 15, 1956.

Literary persons of the town read papers on life of the great poet. A number of well-known poets of the country also recited their poems.²

- In *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 6, 1956, informed that a meeting of the Central Iqbal Committee was held in Lahore at the residence of Shorash Kashmiri under the chairmanship of Raja Hasan Akhtar. The programme for the Iqbal Day celebrations included *Khtam-i-Quran*, wreath laying at the *mazar* of Allama Iqbal and a public meeting in the University Hall.³ ► On April 17, 1956, an advertisement issued by the Central Iqbal Committee appeared in *The Pakistan Times* which gave the details of the Iqbal Day programme arranged by the Committee to be observed at Lahore on April 21, 1956.⁴

- Since the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan—an idea first visualized by Iqbal—this was the first Iqbal Day being observed on a countrywide scale. As usual, the English newspapers gave coverage of Iqbal Day celebrations held in various parts of the country, which are, examined the following pages.

The Pakistan Times, *Dawn*, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Morning News*, *Dacca*, *The Times of Karachi*, *The Morning News*, *Karachi* and *The Civil and Military Gazette* reported that Iqbal Day marking the 18th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was celebrated in Lahore with due solemnity. The Lahore newspapers brought out special Iqbal Day supplements. In the morning, *Khtam-i-Quran* was held at the *mazar* of Allama Iqbal in which more than two hundred persons participated. After *Quran Khawani*, wreaths were placed at the *mazar* by men of the Lahore Garrison, representatives of the Lahore Corporation, Central Iqbal Committee, and Majlis-i-Iqbal of the Government College, Lahore.⁵ ► Later glowing tributes were paid to Iqbal at a meeting held under

² “Iqbal Majlis in Sialkot: *Mushaira* also held,” *The Pakistan Times*, March 19, 1956.

³ “Iqbal Day programme,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 6, 1956.

⁴ “Under auspices....” *The Pakistan Times*, April 17, 1956. “Under auspices....” *The Pakistan Times*, April 17, 1956.

⁵ “Iqbal Day [an advertisement issued by the Central Iqbal Committee],” *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1956; “Iqbal Day programme for Lahore,” *Dawn*, April 21, 1956; “Iqbal Day,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 21, 1956; “Iqbal Day programme,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1956; “Iqbal Day today: Lahore programme,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1956; “Iqbal’s work echo of divine message, Gurmani: Nation wide homage to poet- philosopher,” *The*

the auspices of the Central Iqbal Committee, at the University Hall with the West Pakistan Governor, Mian Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani in chair. Among those who addressed the meeting were Agha Shorish Kashmiri, Salahuddin, Muhammad Baqar and Ashfaq Ali Khan.⁶ ► Addressing the meeting, Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani said that the services of the national poet could not be forgotten as he infused the idea of establishing an Islamic state among the people. He said that the main object of celebrating the Iqbal Day should be to popularize his message all over the world. He told the meeting that the free Pakistan envisaged by Iqbal did not foresee the mere acquisition of power by the Muslims but it was to found a nation, which should serve as the repositioning of all that is good in democracy. It was meant to enlarge and widen the field of individual and collective liberty so that man might be enabled to rise to the heights marked for him by the Creator and adorn him with the qualities of strength and greatness.⁷ Gurmani further said that Pakistan was indeed Iqbal's dream but on a way it was the first half of the dream- the second had been provided by the 'unification' of the province of West Pakistan which was the direct result of the Muslim unity of thought . With a single stroke, it had done away with geographical, racial, and linguistic boundaries which had separated various parts of West Pakistan and which was a legacy of prolonged period of slavery. He was sure that that experiment would be a success and prove the forerunner of the ultimate ideal of Islamic unity. Concluding, Gurmani stressed that Iqbal knew that even today Islam had the power to reunite the various factions, which was the cause of its disruption, not only in this sub-continent but also in other Muslim countries.⁸

► Speaking on the occasion, Agha Shorish Kashmiri suggested the building of a hall in Lahore as a memorial to Allama Iqbal. He also advocated the setting up of an academy where research should be conducted on the works

Pakistan Times, April 22, 1956; "Popularize Iqbal's message all over world," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 22, 1956; "Tributes paid to Iqbal at Lahore meeting," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1956; "Glowing tributes paid to Iqbal at Lahore," *Dawn*, April 22, 1956; "Glowing tributes paid to Iqbal," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1956; "Lahore tributes to Iqbal," *The Khyber Mail*, April 22, 1956; "Iqbal's services can't be forgotten," *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1956; "Gurmani's tribute to Iqbal's memory," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1956.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

of Iqbal. He appealed to the West Pakistan Government to allot a suitable plot of land for the Iqbal Memorial Hall and contribute funds for the building. ► Dr. Babashi, the Cultural Attaché to the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan, addressing the meeting said that Allama Iqbal's works were the common cultural heritage of all the Muslims. ► Messages from the Italian Ambassador to Pakistan and Said Nafisi were also read.⁹ ► Salahuddin Ahmed, Ashfaq Ali Khan, and Shams-ud-Din read papers on Iqbal. The correspondent of *The Pakistan Times* observed that the standard of papers read at the meeting was not up to the mark. ► Iqbal's poems were recited at the meeting by Shakil Badayuni, Shakoor Bedil and Ravish Siddiqi. ► The West Pakistan Public Relations Department exhibited photo strips on the life of Allama Iqbal in the University Hall¹⁰. ► Commenting on this function, one M.A. Khan in his letter to the editor of *The Pakistan Times*, regretted that in a city of a million-and-a half souls only a paltry five hundred people on a most liberal estimate, should turn up to attend the well-published anniversary celebration. He pointed out that about half the audience left shortly after the conclusion of the Governor's address and the remaining indulged in booing and hooting the speakers without any discrimination. The pandemonium continued until the very end despite the repeated emotional appeals of the stage-managers for restraint in the presence of the Governor and other official dignitaries.¹¹ ► The writer observed that one of the main causes of this fiasco appears to be the low standard of the various papers read on Iqbal and the confused and boring speeches delivered there. To add to that highly fatiguing fare for the public, the uncalled for interventions of the stage managers with their rhetorical sermons to a tired audience further aggravated the situation. The writer criticized the Central Iqbal Committee, which was perhaps formed solely to observe the poet's death anniversary regularly, some times as an independent public body and some times as an appendix of a government department, according to the politics and convenience of the times.¹² ► The author recalled that in the past Iqbal Day was observed in Lahore under the auspices of more than one institutions—a really befitting practice for this great national occasion. It provided ample opportunity for people from various schools of thought and walks of life to

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ M.A. Khan, "Iqbal Day meeting," *The Pakistan Times*, April 28, 1956.

¹² *Ibid.*

speak according to their choice. He argued that the amalgamation of the various agencies under the patronage of the government had unfortunately robbed the occasion of its inherent popular appeal and observed that this thing had not enhanced the prestige of those managing the affairs of the Central Iqbal Committee.¹³

- According to announcement appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette* and *Dawn*, the All Pakistan Muslim Women's Conference also planned to observe Iqbal Day by holding a meeting at Women's Club, Lahore in which Khadija Ferozuddin, Begum Mshtaq Ahmad, Begum Ishaq and Begum Bashir Ahmad were to speak on Iqbal's message to the nation.¹⁴

- The Lahore correspondent of *Dawn* also informed that the West Pakistan government was understood to have decided to award another square of land to aged Ali Bakhsh, who was in service of Allama Iqbal for long. The reporter revealed that Ali Bakhsh was given a square of land about three years back for his yeomen services to the national poet. He also narrated that thousands of Iqbal's admirers, who gathered at his grave to offer *fateha* on April 21, profusely garlanded Ali Bakhsh.¹⁵

- Raz in his 'Radio Review', appearing in *The Civil and Military Gazette* on April 25, 1956, reviewed the Iqbal Day programmes broadcasted by Radio Pakistan, Lahore. He regretted that this time everything was effete and jejune. It appeared that every one was exhausted and the Lahore station had nothing fresh and elegant to offer. He maintained that there was not a single item of programme, which could linger in the memory in theme, treatment, or production and presentation. He regretted that Iqbal Day too sounded to have become routine about which nobody seemed to have had bothered particularly.¹⁶

► The reviewer further regretted that our Punjabi Poets had not translated at least some of the poems of Iqbal into Punjabi verse. He stressed that the

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ "Lahore women's Club to observe Iqbal Day," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 20, 1956; "Model Town women to observe Iqbal Day," *Dawn*, April 21, 1956.

¹⁵ "More land for late Iqbal's servant," *Dawn*, April 22, 1956.

¹⁶ Raz, "Radio Review," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 25, 1956.

Radio Pakistan should have suggested that long ago to Sufi Tabassum or Abdul Majid Bhatti or some other bilingual poet to translate a selection of Iqbal's poems into Punjabi. It would have been a service to the regional language on the one hand and an advantage to the Radio Pakistan to enrich its *debatī* programme with Iqbal's ideas.¹⁷

• *The Morning News*, Dacca, *Dawn*, *The Morning News*, Karachi and *The Times of Karachi* reported that at Karachi, Iqbal Day was observed by the Iqbal Academy at a meeting which was presided over by well known Iranian scholar Said Nafisy. ► It was attended by a large gathering including the Central Education Minister, Abdus Sattar, who was also the President of the Academy, the Iranian Ambassador, diplomats, officials, teachers, and students.¹⁸ ► Mumtaz Hasan, Secretary Ministry of Finance and Vice President of the Academy, introduced the speakers who included Kazi Ghulam Mustafa, Mizanur Rahman and A. S. Nuruddin from East Pakistan; and Academy Director, M. Rafiuddin. ► He also read out the message of

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The first Punjabi translation of Iqbal's works was done by Pirmada Fazl Ahmad Farooqi in 1918, which was the translation of *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*. It was followed by Ahmad Hussain Qiladari and Kazim Ali's translations of same poems in 1963 and 1969 respectively: Abdul Ghafoor Azhar's translation of Persian part of *Arghaman-i-Hijaz* in 1973; Khalil Atish's translation of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* in 1975; Ahmad Hussain Qiladari's translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Musafir* in 1976; Sharif Kunjahi's translation of *Javid Namah* in 1977; Khalil Atish's translation of ten long poems of Iqbal in 1977; Qiladari's translation of *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* and *Bandagi Namah* in 1984, and *Pas Chah Bayad Kard* in 1994 and Aseer Abid's translation of *Bal-i-Jabril* in 1995. However, uptill 1956 there was a vide deficiency of Punjabi translation of Allama Iqbal's works. For further details see, Irshad Fazal Ahmad, "*Tasaneef-i-Iqbal kay Punjabi Tarajim: Tehqeeqi Mutalib*," Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliyat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1993.

¹⁸ "Iqbal Academy invites Bengali poet," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 19, 1956; "Elaborate Programme for Iqbal Day," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 20, 1956; "Iqbal Day today," *Dawn* April 21, 1956; "Iqbal Day today," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 21, 1956; "Iqbal Day session: He infused new spirit in Islamic world: Prof. Nafisy's tribute," *Dawn*, April 22, 1956; "Dedicate yourself to spirit of Iqbal: Mirza's message on poet's anniversary: Nation-wide homage," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1956; "City pays homage to Iqbal," *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1956, "Pakistan celebrates Iqbal Day," *Dawn*, April 22, 1956; "President's message on Iqbal Day," *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1956; "President's message," *Dawn* April 22, 1956; "Dedicate yourself to spirit of Iqbal: Mirza's message on poet's anniversary," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 24, 1956.

Iskander Mirza (1899-1969)¹⁹, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan who said that the “best homage we can pay to Dr. Iqbal is to dedicate ourselves afresh to the spirit of his message, which is in essence the message of the Quaid-i-Azam “Unity, Faith and Discipline”. He called Iqbal as one of the rare masterminds whose message inspired dynamic action within the framework of deep spiritual and moral values.²⁰ ► Said Nafisy, in fluent and flowery Persian which was translated into English by Khawaja Abdul Hamid Irfani (1907-1990)²¹, devoted his address to Iqbal’s mysticism which according to him changed the cult of sufism from ‘static individualism into a dynamic collectivism.’ Nafisy described Iqbal as one of the greatest poets of the symbolic school of poetry who ranked with Rumi, Jami and Hafiz. Iqbal’s philosophy of self, he said, was ‘extremely fine and subtle’ and a ‘beautiful poetic concept.’ Another great quality of Iqbal, Nafisy observed, was that his poetry while spotlighting the problems of his age also suggested the remedies.²² ► Mizanur Rahman, a former Secretary of East Pakistan Government in his speech debunked the popular misconception in West Pakistan that Iqbal and his poetry were not appreciated in East Pakistan. Rebutting this, Mizanur Rahman said that Iqbal has influenced the Bengali literature to a much greater extent than even known in West Pakistan. He said that it was in 1905 that Iqbal’s *Tarrana-i-Milli* was translated into Bengali and it had a great influence on the young minds of Muslim Bengali students. Then in 1927-28, a Bengali journal known as *Gulistan* published Iqbal’s poems regularly. Mizanur Rahman also made a strong plea for translating Iqbal’s teaching into practice. It would be a great homage to the poet if the people acted upon his teachings.²³ ► Kavi Ghulam Mustafa, a well known

¹⁹ Iskandar Mirza (1899-1969); civil servant; member Pakistan Legislative Assembly, 1955-56; last Governor-General of Pakistan, 1955-56; and first President of Pakistan, 1956-58.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Khawaja Adul Hameed Irfani (1907-1990); Urdu and Persian poet; writer, educationist, Iqbalist; expert on Iqbal and Rumi; remained Principal of Islamia College, Gujranwala and Government College, Quetta; Press and Cultural Attache in Iran. Pubs. *Iqbal Iranion ki Nazar Main; Sharb Zarb-i-Kalim; Rumi-i-Asar; Iran-i-Saghir; Iqbal aur Zarb-i-Kalim; Hadith-i-Ishq*. For a comprehensive review of services of Irfani in the field of Iqbal studies, see Imanullah, “*Khawaja Adul Hameed Irfani Bahasiat Iqbal Shanas*,” Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliyat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open University, 1995.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* For a detailed study of Iqbal studies in Bengali language, see Lutfur-Rahman Farooqi, “*Bangla Zuban Main Iqbal Shanas*,” Unpublished M. Phil Iqbaliyat thesis, Allama Iqbal Open

poet from East Pakistan, spoke on Iqbal's conception of an 'Ideal State'. He said that Iqbal conceives of an ideal state in the shape of *Millat-i-Islamia* where he thinks all the ills of the modern world will be healed up. Pakistan's mission, Kavi Mustafa urged, would not be fulfilled unless it first united all Muslim countries into an Islamic commonwealth and then establishing one world by inviting the people of the world to come under the horned moon banner.^{23A} ► A. S. Nurrudin read out a paper on 'the perfect man of Iqbal'. ► Khawaja Abdul Hamid Irfani made a brief speech on 'Iqbal in Iran.' He said that the glowing tributes and warm love that Iranian poets, scholars, public officials, and writers had shared on Iqbal had no parallel in their history. He said that Iqbal gave a new style to the Persian poetry and the Iranians were proud of it.²⁴ ► Speaking on the occasion, the Director of the Iqbal Academy announced its plans for the future. He narrated that the Academy had decided to bring out a half-yearly journal, the first issue of which would be out in October. The Academy, he said had published two books and seven more were in the press. Another twenty-one books, he said were written, eight of which were in Bengali. He informed that Jamila Khatoon and A. S. Nuruddin, Fellows of the Academy had completed their research work, which had been submitted to the University of Karachi for their Ph. D degrees. Hosiena Sheikh, another fellow of the Academy, was doing her research on "The idea of superman in Iqbal."²⁵ The Director complained about lack of funds. He said that the Academy was functioning in a single room of 14ft by 12ft. They got grant of Rs. one lac for the Academy building, which he declared too small, as the minimum needed, was Rs. 4 lacs. He maintained that it was again for the lack of funds that the Academy was not able to open its branches at Dacca and Lahore.²⁶ ► The staff reporter of *The Times of Karachi* in a supplement report informed that the two books published by the Iqbal Academy during the last two years of its

University, 2000. Also see, Wafa Rashdi, "Iqbal aur Bengal," *Iqbaliat*, Vol.32, No.2, July, 1991, pp.89-107.

^{23A} *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

active existence, were ‘*Iqbalīyat Ka Tanqīdi Jaiẓa*’ by Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar and an Arabic translation of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* by Abdul Wahab Azzam.²⁷

- *The Times of Karachi* and *Dawn* also informed that Muhammad Sharif, *charge d’ affairs*, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in a message issued on the occasion of the Iqbal Day celebrations expressed his happiness to see the realization of Iqbal’s struggle, namely the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on March 23, 1956.²⁸

- As usual, the Radio Pakistan, Karachi also broadcasted special Iqbal Day programmes. They included, as reported by *Dawn* and *The Times of Karachi* a feature programme, ‘*Markaz-i-Islam se Iqbal ki wabastagi*,’ ‘*Khutoot-i-Iqbal*’ an Urdu talk by Mumtaz Hasan; ‘*Baya Ba Majlis-i-Iqbal*,’ a symposium with Khawaja Abdul Wahid, Captain Abdul Wahid and Mumtaz Hasan; ‘*Digar Danae Raz Ayad ki Naayad*,’ a musical feature by Aslam Furrukhi, and eye witness account of Iqbal Day celebrations at Karachi.²⁹

- *The Times of Karachi* informed that on April 22, Said Nafisy, the celebrated scholar of Iran, was entertained at a dinner party by the Iqbal Academy. Amongst those who attended the dinner was the Iranian Ambassador in Pakistan, Abdul Qadir (1903-79)³⁰, Governor of the State Bank, Mumtaz Hasan and other leading literary figures.³¹ It may be pointed out that before his arrival in Karachi, Said Nafisy was also presented with a welcome address at Multan on April 17 by Taj Muhammad Khayal, President Oriental Society of Government Emerson College, Multan.³²

- Besides Lahore and Karachi, Iqbal Day was also celebrated in rest of the West Pakistan. *The Times of Karachi* and *The Morning News*, Karachi stated that

²⁷ “Iqbal Academy’s work”, *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1956.

²⁸ “Iqbal: An Indonesian’s appraisal,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 21, 1956; “Jakarta envoy’s tribute to Iqbal,” *Dawn*, April 21, 1956.

²⁹ “Radio Pakistan’s special programme on Iqbal Day,” *Dawn*, April 21, 1956; “Iqbal Day on air,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 21, 1956.

³⁰ Abdul Qadir (1903-79); renowned economist; remained Governor State Bank of Pakistan; Secretary Finance, and Federal Finance Secretary in 1962.

³¹ “Iqbal Academy fetes Dr. Nafisy,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956.

³² For details, see “Iran scholar’s tributes to Iqbal,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 18, 1956; “Prof. Nafisy prays for better Iran-Pakistan ties,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 20, 1956.

in Hyderabad, under the auspices of Hyderabad Markaz-i-Adab, an Iqbal Day meeting was held. ► Speaking on the occasion, Qazi Muhammad Akbar (1910-1979),³³ a former Sind Minister, said that Iqbal was not the poet of the East as he was known, but his message held equally good in the western world, if they could understand Iqbal's philosophy. He pointed out that Iqbal had created a sense of realization and spirit of self-determination among the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. ► The meeting was also attended by Agha Taj Muhammad (1904-1959)³⁴, Registrar Sind University and Ibrahim Khalil (1900-1982)³⁵, a well-known Urdu and Sindhi poet.³⁶ According to reports, the University of Sind, Hyderabad had also prepared an elaborate programme for the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal.³⁷

► *The Pakistan Times*, *The Morning News*, Karachi, and *The Times of Karachi* reported that at Baghdad-ul-Jadid, Bahawalpur, Iqbal Day was observed at the S. E. College Hall under the auspices of the All Pakistan Youth Movement, Bahawalpur Division with Syed Hashim Raza, Commissioner Bahawalpur Division in the chair. In his presidential address, Syed Hashim observed that Iqbal was a symbol of political awakening among the Muslims of the sub-continent, which at last materialized in the form of Pakistan

³³ Qazi Muhammad Akbar (1910-1979); politician, diplomat, journalist, worker of Pakistan movement; Vice President, Sindh Municipality, 1931, 1935; joined the AIML, 1935; *Salar*, National Guards, Hyderabad District, 1940, member, Sindh Legislative Assembly, 1946, 1952; editor, weekly *Sindh Observer*; daily *Sindh News*; Minister for Education, Sindh, 1955; Pakistan envoy to Portugal.

³⁴ Agha Taj Muhammad Khan (1904-1959); writer, poet, researcher of Urdu and Sindhi languages. Pubs. *Aaks-i-Latif*; *Dibati Geet*; *Hussain aur Islam*; *Thattab ki Sair*; *Sindh Kay Rasm-o-Rimaj*.

³⁵ Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil (1900-1982); poet, writer, researcher, short story writer, psychiatrist; head, Sir Kaoosjee Institute of Psychology, 1941-58; Professor Dow Medial College, Karachi; Liaquat Medical College, Hyderabad. Pubs. *Adbkar Shab Abdul Latif Bhitai*; *Iqbal-Hayat-o-Afkar*; *Sindh Main Qaumi Shairi*; *Kuliat-i-Khalil*; *Intikhab-i-Khalil*.

³⁶ "Tributes to Iqbal: Hyderabad," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956; "Universal appeal," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 23, 1956.

³⁷ *Ibid*.

because of the struggle waged by Quaid-i-Azam. Shabbir Bukhari, Captain Ghulam Muhammad and Muhammad Ahmed also addressed the gathering.³⁸

- At Sialkot a number of meetings were held to commemorate the Iqbal Day. *Dawn* and *The Times of Karachi* reported that Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, an old friend and close associate of the poet presided over a well attended meeting organized by the Bazm-i-Urdu. Hakim Qarshi during the course of a paper read on the life and works of the great poet, made a fervent appeal to the youth of the country to understand his message and contribute to the progress, prosperity and solidarity of the state in that light.³⁹

- *The Pakistan Times* informed that at Gujrat a big function was arranged under the auspices of the Gujrat branch of Anjuman-i-Azad Khayal Musannifin where papers were read on the life and works of Allama Iqbal. The meeting was followed by a '*mushaira*' in which Arsh Siddiqui (1927-1997)⁴⁰, Nazish Kashmiri (1926-1999)⁴¹, Mumtaz, Iftikhar Ahmad, Begum Surayia Salim and N. H. Aziz recited.⁴²

- According to *The Pakistan Times* and *The Times of Karachi* at Layallpur the Cultural Association arranged a literary meeting in the District Board Hall

³⁸ "Iqbal Day in Bahawalpur," *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1956; "Symbol of awakening: Tributes to national poet," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 23, 1956; "Tributes to Iqbal: At home," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956.

³⁹ "Glorious tributes paid to Iqbal in Sialkot and Dacca," *Dawn*, April 23, 1956; "Tributes to Iqbal: At home," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956.

⁴⁰ Irshadur Rahman (Arsh Siddiqui) (1927-1997); poet, critic, educationist, short story writer; founder, Urdu Academy Multan; Principal, Multan Post Graduate College, 1975-78; Registrar/Chairman English Department Bahauddin Zakria University, Multan, 1978-90. Pubs. *Bahir Kafan say Pa'um*; *Didab-i-Ya'qub*; *Muhabbat Lafz Tha Maira*; *Har Muj-i-Hama Taiq*; *Takniat*; *Mahakamet*; *Kali Rat Day Ghangharu*.

⁴¹ Muhammad Sadiq (Nazish Kashmiri) (1926-1999); poet, writer, journalist, columnist, expert of Urdu/English languages; editor, weekly *Yadgar*, Lahore; Secretary, Anjuman Taraqi Pasand Musannifeen, Lahore. Pubs. *Punjab Day Luk Ghat*; *Sadhran*; *Gian Dhan*; *Gird-u-Paish*.

⁴² "... Nation wide homage to poet-philosopher: Gujrat," *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1956. Besides Lahore and Sialkot, Iqbal was perhaps most closely related with Gujrat. For details, see Muhammad Munir Ahmad Salach, *Iqbal aur Gujrat*, Gujrat, Salach Publications, 1998.

which was presided over by Mir Abdul Qayyum, M. L. A. Many papers and poems were read which paid tributes to the national poet.⁴³

- At Muzaffarabad, the Azad Kashmir President, Col. Sher Ahmad Khan (1902-1972)⁴⁴, issued a statement on the celebration of the Iqbal Day, which appeared in *The Civil and Military Gazette* and *The Pakistan Times*. In it, he exhorted the people to celebrate the day with a spirit of devotion to the message of Iqbal in which he visualizes a new order for the material and spiritual advancement of humanity. The President recalled that Iqbal was in the vanguard of the Kashmir liberation movement. In fact, his ideas were responsible for rousing the people of Kashmir to cast off their shackles of bondage.⁴⁵

- At Peshawar, glowing tributes were paid to Allama Iqbal at a meeting held to observe his death anniversary. According to reports appeared in *The Khyber Mail, Dawn, The Times of Karachi* and *The Morning News*, Dacca lectures were delivered, papers read and poems recited on the life, works, and mission of the great poet. ► Musarrat Husain Zuberi (1911-1987)⁴⁶, Commissioner, Peshawar Division, in his presidential speech praised Allama Iqbal for his mission, dynamic poetry and his scientific approach to Islam. He observed that the time had come when unbiased estimate of the personality of the great poet should be attempted. He further said that Allama Iqbal was a great man in the real sense as his works contained practical solutions to many problems not only of the Muslims but also of the humanity in general. ► Prominent among others who took part in the meeting were Mir Waliullah (1887-1964)⁴⁷, Mazhar Ali (d.1971)⁴⁸ and Munawar Gilani.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Ibid.*, “[Iqbal Day] In Layallpur”, *The Times of Karachi*, April 22, 1956.

⁴⁴ Sher Ahmad Khan (1902-1972); prominent leader of Kashmir liberation movement; Minister Azad Kashmir Government, 1949; also remained President Azad Jammu & Kashmir Government.

⁴⁵ “Col. Sher’s tribute to Iqbal,” *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1956; “Iqbal Day celebrations: Col. Sher’s message,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 23, 1956.

⁴⁶ Mussarat Hussain Zuberi (1911-1987); civil servant, writer, remained Commissioner, Karachi; Federal Secretary, Secretary General RCD; first Chairman of OGDCL; Pubs. *Hazrat Ibrahim Alia Salam; Voyage through History*.

⁴⁷ Mir Waliullah Abboatabadi (1887-1964); Urdu poet, writer, researcher, lawyer; expert of Urdu, Persian, Hindi and Hindko languages; President, Abboatabad Bar Association, 1922-

• The death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was commemorated on April 21 all over Quetta and Kalat Division. *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn* and *The Morning News*, Karachi informed that the all government offices and educational institutions remained closed as a mark of respect to the memory of the poet. ► A public meeting was held in the local Government College, Quetta that was presided over by the Divisional Commissioner. Speakers and poets paid homage to Iqbal. Similar meetings were also held in other educational institutions of Quetta and Kalat.⁵⁰

TRIBUTES FROM EAST PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Observer, *The Morning News*, Karachi, *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn*, *The Morning News*, Dacca and *The Times of Karachi* reported that at Dacca, the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was observed by several literary organizations. • The Iqbal Hall Union at a meeting attended by renowned literary figures paid warm tributes to the memory of the poet. ► Paying homage to the poet, G. C. Dev said that Dr. Iqbal's ideal was not nationalism but internationalism based on love of humanity for the establishment of world peace. ► Mahfuzul Huq observed that the central theme of Iqbal's philosophy was to develop 'self' for the welfare of the society and that development of personality, he added, required courage and character as its basis.⁵¹

54; first Principal of Peshawar Law College. Pubs. *Khulq-i-Azīm*; *Lisan-al-Ghaib* (4 Vols); *Gulbang*; *Badab-i-Nab*, *Kas ul Krim*; *Namakdan-i-Fasabat*, *Mab-o-Perveen*.

⁴⁸ Mazhar Ali Khan (d.1971); researcher, theologian, writer and educationist, Prof. of English language and literature, Usmania University, 1943-47; Director Academics, Kakul Academy, 1948-55; Chairman, Department of English and Modern Languages; 1955-71.

⁴⁹ "Peshawar celebration of Iqbal Day," *The Khyber Mail*, "At Peshawar," *Dawn* April 23, 1956; "Peshawar homage to Iqbal," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 23, 1956; "Tribute to Iqbal: At home, Peshawar," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956; "Peshawar observes Iqbal Day," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 24, 1956.

⁵⁰ "... Nation-wide homage to poet-philosopher, Quetta," *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1956; "... nation-wide homage: Quetta," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1956; "Quetta," *Dawn*, April 23, 1956.

⁵¹ "Iqbal Day observed," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 22, 1956; "... Nation-wide homage: Dacca," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 22, 1956; "Nation-wide homage to poet-philosopher, Dacca," *The Pakistan Times*, April 22, 1956; "Mukul Fouj celebrates 'Iqbal Day'," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 23, 1956; "Glorious tributes paid to Iqbal in Sialkot and

- The Mukul Fouj (a student social organization) also observed Iqbal Day at Dacca. Students assembled in the Parade Ground at Motijheel where speakers threw light over Iqbal's life and paid glowing tributes to the poet of the East. Many of his poems were also recited. The death anniversary was also observed in the office of the Urdu daily *Pasban*.⁵²

- The Iqbal Day celebrations in the East Pakistan were at their lowest ebb in 1956. Commenting on it, *The Morning News*, Dacca, while informing that comprehensive Iqbal Day programmes had been chalked out by literary organizations in every prominent town in West Pakistan, in East Pakistan the only programme for the occasion was special broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Dacca.⁵³

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

Like previous years, Iqbal Day was celebrated in different cities of the world, which was properly covered by all major English dailies. ► *Dawn*, *The Times of Karachi*, *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Morning News*, Dacca, reported that the Pakistan High Commission in Calcutta commemorated the 18th death anniversary of Allama Iqbal by holding a literary function under the presidentship of H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal. Among the guests who attended the function were members of the Consular Corps, high officials of the local government, poets, litterateurs, journalists, and prominent citizens.⁵⁴ ► The function commenced with recitations from Iqbal's works and was followed by the speeches of different scholars reviewing the life and works of the poet. ► Paying glowing tributes to Allama Iqbal, Hiralal Chopra observed that to label Iqbal, as a Muslim poet was the height of injustice. He was a good Muslim as Milton was a good Christian and Kalidas a good Hindu. However, as a poet he belonged to the whole

Dacca", *Dawn*, April 23, 1956; "Tributes to Iqbal: At home, Dacca," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ "Iqbal death anniversary today," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 21, 1956.

⁵⁴ "Observance of Iqbal Day abroad: Bharat," *Dawn*, April 23, 1956; "Tributes to Iqbal: Abroad," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956; "Iqbal Day abroad: Calcutta," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1956; "Pakistan Mission in Calcutta celebrates Iqbal Day," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 25, 1956.

humanity like the other great poets of the world.⁵⁵ ► A. H. A. Baqi, ex-Vice Principal of the Central Calcutta College, paid a tribute to the poet by saying that Iqbal was the controller of the switchboard of human emotions, thought, and conducts. He said Iqbal was interested in man's place and position, promise and potency and fate and destiny.⁵⁶ ► Reviewing the works of the poet from the chair, H. C. Mookerjee observed that the complexity of Iqbal's genius was bewildering. He was an artist of outstanding ability and consummate skill and his versatile genius roamed freely and majestically in the realms of poetry, prose, philosophy, law, and statecraft adding lustre to each domain by his masterful columns.⁵⁷

• *The Pakistan Times*, *The Morning News*, Karachi, *The Times of Karachi*, and *The Morning News*, Dacca reported that glowing tributes to Iqbal's genius were paid at a largely attended *mushaira* that was held to celebrate the Iqbal Day at the office of the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner, Jallandar. About fifty poets from India and Pakistan participated. The gathering comprising over two thousand people indicated the respect that Iqbal enjoyed among the people in India in general and in the East Punjab in particular.⁵⁸ ► Abdur Rahman, Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan, who presided over the function, said that Iqbal's poetry was not only written in beautiful language, but also gave a philosophy that provided food for thought. ► Later, Gurbachan Singh Talib after paying tribute to the poet-philosopher, said that Iqbal put the Punjab on the literary scene and that he belonged to people on both sides of the border. ► Chand Narain Chand, until recently Deputy Commissioner, Simla and a very distinguished pupil of Iqbal, recited his own poems in praise of Iqbal. ► Among the poets who participated in the '*mushaira*' were Sufi Tabassum, Qaiyum Nazar (1914-1989)⁵⁹, Yusuf Zafur

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ "Iqbal Day celebrated in Jallandar," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1956; "[Iqbal Day] in Jallandar," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 24, 1956; "Homage to the poet: Iqbal Day in Cairo," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1956; "Iqbal Day in Jallandar," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 25, 1956; "Iqbal Day in Jallandar," *The Times of Karachi*, April 25, 1956.

⁵⁹ Abdul Qaiyum (Qaiyum Nazar) (1914-1989); poet, critic, dramatist; first General Secretary of Halqa Arbab-i-Zouq, Lahore; lecturer, Government College, Lahore; Resident Director, Pakistan National Centre, Lahore, Director Pakistan Arts Council; Chairman, Department of Punjabi, Punjab University, Lahore; Pubs. *Qalb-o-Nazar kay Faslay*; *Qindil*; *Zindab Hay Lahore*;

and Qateel Shifai from Pakistan, and Josh Malsiani and Mela Ram Wafa from India.⁶⁰

• *The Pakistan Times*, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Times of Karachi* and *The Morning News*, Karachi informed that at Delhi, Iqbal Day was celebrated on April 27, to enable Pakistani poets to participated in ‘*mushaira*’. ► The programme included a symposium during the day in which, K. G. Sayyadain, Dr. Faridani and Prof. Faruqi read papers on Iqbal and his poetry and philosophy. Sayyadain’s paper on Iqbal’s humanism and universalism was specially appreciated.⁶¹ ► Later a very well attended *mushairas*, participated by leading Indian and Pakistani poets was held which was presided over by India’s Food Minister, Ajit Prasad Jain, and inaugurated by Indian Vice President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan who observed that Iqbal’s poetry set before the world a classless social order without distinction of rich and poor and high and low. Faiz, Zohra Negah and Syed Muhammad Jafari drew not only prolonged applause from the audience but also repeated requests to recite again.⁶²

• In Colombo, Iqbal Day celebrations as reported by *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Times of Karachi* started with *Quran Khawani* and *Fatiha Khawani* held in Memon Mosque. ► Ceylon Radio devoted one hour special broadcast to the memory of Allama Iqbal which included a talk in English by E. H. Enwar, Second Secretary, Pakistan High Commissioner; a talk in Sinhalese by M. M. Uwais of the University of Ceylon and a special feature in Tamil. English and other language dailies published special articles.

Pawan Jhakolay; Gbass ki Pattian; Phul bi Phul; Urdu Natbr Unuiswian Sadi Main; Sawirab; Ham Safar; Wasukht Amanat.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ “Iqbal Day *mushaira* in Delhi on April 27, Radhakrishnan to inaugurate,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 26, 1956; “Iqbal Day *mushaira* in Delhi,” *The Khyber Mail*, April 26, 1956; “Iqbal Day *mushaira* in Delhi today,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 27, 1956; “Iqbal Day *mushaira* in Delhi on April 27,” *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 27, 1956; “*Mushaira* at Iqbal Day in Delhi: Faiz and other Pakistani poets attend,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 29, 1956; “Iqbal: A poet of humanity: Death anniversary observed in Delhi,” *The Pakistan Times*, April 29, 1956.

⁶² *Ibid.*

• Iqbal Society of Zahira College of Colombo brought out a publication containing Tamil translation of Iqbal's *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*. One thousand copies of that booklet were distributed in various institutions.⁶³

• *The Khyber Mail* revealed that The Iraqi Press paid tributes to Iqbal's memory by publishing articles on his life and philosophy on occasion of Iqbal Day. The Pakistan's *charge d' affaires*, speaking on Radio Baghdad commended Iqbal's services for the cause of Islam and humanity at large and described him as the architect of Pakistan.⁶⁴

• In Istanbul, the Turco-Pakistan Cultural Association organized an elaborate programme on Iqbal Day. A largely attended meeting was opened by Prof. Fahiriz of Istanbul University who called Allama Iqbal as one of the greatest poets of the Islamic world. Speaking next, the President of the Association, Faik Turkmen, described at length the philosophical aspects of Iqbal's works. He stressed Iqbal's admiration for Rumi and underlined his influence on him.⁶⁵ ► Another professor of the Istanbul University, Abdul Kadir Karahan, in a thought provoking address explained the message contained in the works of the poet. He said that Iqbal belonged to the East and his greatest contribution was that he taught the easterners self-confidence. ► Later the well-known poet, Bebchet Kemal Chaglar read out his own translation of Iqbal's poems on Rumi.⁶⁶ ► The Turkish press and radio also gave full coverage to the event. Many newspapers came out with articles on the works and life of the poet of East. The Ankara Radio broadcasted speeches by eminent scholars on Iqbal.⁶⁷

• *The Times of Karachi*, *The Morning News*, Karachi and *The Morning News*, Dacca stated that while addressing a gathering of five thousand at the Cairo University Auditorium on the occasion of Iqbal Day, Tafazzal Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador in Cairo spoke about the philosophy of Iqbal. Those present

⁶³ "Observance of Iqbal Day abroad, Ceylon," *Dawn*, April 23, 1956; "Iqbal Day abroad: Ceylon," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1956; "Tributes to Iqbal: Abroad," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* "Mid East celebrates Iqbal Day," *The Khyber Mail*, April 24, 1956.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

included members of the diplomatic corps, writers, journalists, university professors, and students. The University Auditorium, which was the biggest hall in the city, was packed to capacity. Later in the evening, broadcasting from Radio Cairo, Pakistan Counselor, Dr. V. A. Hamadani stressed that Iqbal's message was really meant for the whole of mankind. Its appeal is universal and it is addressed to every seeker of truth.⁶⁸

- At Nairobi, Iqbal Day was celebrated under the auspices of the Pakistan Commission, at the Manladad Nursery School as per reports appeared in *The Morning News*, Karachi, *Dawn* and *The Times of Karachi*. More than 300 persons including members of the diplomatic corps and the elite of the town attended the meeting. Students from different schools took part in the programme and spoke on the life and works of Allama Iqbal. S. A. Afzal, the Pakistan High Commissioner awarded prizes to the students.⁶⁹

- *The Morning News*, Karachi and *The Times of Karachi* informed that at Stockholm Iqbal Day was celebrated with great enthusiasm under the auspices of the Pakistan Sweden Friendship Society and the Oriental Society. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Gustar Munthe a well known man of letters and the Vice President of the Sweden Pakistan Friendship Society. A large number of persons from all walks of life including diplomats attended the function that was given good coverage by the Swedish press.⁷⁰

- *The Pakistan Observer* and *Dawn* revealed that in Netherlands, Iqbal Day was celebrated by the Netherlands- England Society in Maastricht (S. Holland) with Rana Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's Ambassador to the Netherlands in chair. In her presidential speech, Rana Liaquat observed that Iqbal's stirring message was finding an increasingly wide response among people every where. She thanked the organizers and the audience for their keen interest and paid glowing tributes to the national philosopher-poet for his inspiring

⁶⁸ "Homage to the poet: Iqbal Day in Cairo," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1956; "Iqbal Day in Cairo," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 24, 1956; "[Iqbal Day] in Cairo," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 25, 1956.

⁶⁹ "Iqbal Day at Nairobi," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 25, 1956; "Iqbal Day observed in Nairobi," *Dawn*, April 25, 1956; "Iqbal Day celebrated in Nairobi," *The Times of Karachi*, April 27, 1956.

⁷⁰ "[Iqbal Day] in Stockholm," *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 24, 1956; "Homage to the poet: [Iqbal Day in] Stockholm," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1956.

and dynamic message of personality development that was getting universal appreciation in the West.⁷¹

• *The Morning News*, Karachi, and *The Morning News*, Dacca communicated that at London, The Iqbal Society jointly with the Royal India, Pakistan, Ceylon Society, and the Pakistan Students Federation in the UK commemorated the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal at the Islamic Culture Centre, London with Pakistan's High Commissioner in the UK, M. Ikramullah in chair.⁷² ► The guest speakers of the evening included M. Samy Abdoul Fatouh, the Egyptian Ambassador who spoke on Iqbal's life and works, A.D. Azhar, Financial Adviser to the Pakistan Mission, London, and Ashiq Hussain Batalvi. Those present included the Ambassadors of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Burma, Philippines and a large number of English, Pakistani and Indian guests. After the meeting, a *mushaira* under the chairmanship of A.D. Azhar was held in which well known Urdu poets in London participated.⁷³

• *The Pakistan Times*, *Dawn*, *The Times of Karachi* and *The Khyber Mail* gave a detailed account of Iqbal Day celebrations in USA. They stated that at Washington, Iqbal Day was celebrated under the auspices of the Council of Islamic Affairs, a private organization dedicated to increase understanding between the Islamic countries and America. The ceremony that was held under the chairmanship of Dr. Ali Amini, Iran's Ambassador to the USA and Chairman of the Iqbal Commemorative Programme, drew speakers from Pakistan, Iran, Egypt and the United States.⁷⁴ ► Dr. Ali Amini in his presidential speech noted with pride that much of Iqbal's poetry was written

⁷¹ "Iqbal Day function in Netherlands. Begum Liaquat's glowing tributes to poet," *The Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 1956; "Iqbal Day celebrated in Netherlands: Begum Liaquat Ali Khan pays tribute to poet," *Dawn*, April 25, 1956.

⁷² "Iqbal Day in London", *The Morning News*, Karachi, April 23, 1956; "Iqbal Day in London," *The Morning News*, Dacca, April 25, 1956.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ "Iqbal's death anniversary: Washington programme," *The Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1956; "Preparations for Iqbal Day in Washington," *Dawn*, April 20, 1956; "Iqbal Day preparations in America," *The Times of Karachi*, April 20, 1956; "Iqbal Day in U.S.," *The Khyber Mail*, April 20, 1956; "Tribute to Iqbal: Abroad, Washington," *The Times of Karachi*, April 23, 1956, "Iqbal would have been proud of Pakistan, US Supreme Court Justice tribute," *The Times of Karachi*, April 24, 1956; "Iqbal Day functions: Washington," *The Pakistan Times*, April 24, 1956.

in Persian and turned Iqbal a ‘rare man of genius’ whose ‘words of wisdom will long remain a source of inspiration’ to all men. ► Speaking on the occasion, Justice William O Douglas of the Supreme Court paid tribute to Iqbal as philosopher, jurist, political leader, and poet. He observed that Iqbal was a voice from the East that found a common denominator with the West and helped to build a real community that absorbs all differences in race, in creed, and in language. ► Khalifa Abdul Hakeem and Azzam Pasha, former Secretary General of the Arab League also addressed the gathering.⁷⁵

- The Americans friends of the Middle East, as informed by *The Times of Karachi*, also celebrated Iqbal Day at New York. The Chief speaker was Khalifa Abdul Hakim who discussed Iqbal as a poet, author, linguist, jurist, politician, teacher, and art critic. He observed that Iqbal fashioned the social and political thought of more than one generation of Muslim intelligentsia. He brought a message of hope to a dejected community and reminded it of its great historical and cultural heritage.⁷⁶

Even a cursory glance on the above 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 1956 reveals that he was highly respected for his multi-dimensional 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.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ “[Iqbal Day] in New York,” *The Times of Karachi*, April 25, 1956.

BOOK REVIEW

SHARIF AL-MUJAHID, *Ideology of Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2001), pp. 212. Price not mentioned.

REVIEWED BY RAIS AHMAD KHAN.

The book was originally published in 1974 and was out of print for sometime. The Islamic Research Institute is to be lauded for publishing a largely revised, updated and enlarged version of the book.

The opening chapter discusses the relevance and importance of Islamic Ideology for Pakistan and supports the argument by pointing to the role of Christian concepts values and traditions in the west. Chapters two-three briefly trace the evolution of the two-nations' concept and the role Islam played in creating a Muslim nationhood in India. Chapter four argues the division of Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh were not necessarily the denouement of the Islamic Ideology or of the two-nation theory. All it showed was the gradual erosion of the cluster of shared values, beliefs, attitudes and political orientation because the ruling elites failed to translate the Islamic Ideology into social action programs. Chapter five is exclusively devoted to defining the basic ingredients of the Islamic ideology.

The division of India on the basis of religion did not make much sense to the people in the west where secularism reigned supreme. Many in Pakistan also questioned the attempt to make Pakistan an Islamic state. It seems the book was written to answer there critics. It is an extensively researched and very well argued book. Sharif al-Mujahid's scholarship is impressive indeed as is evidenced by the large number and quality of sources drawn upon.

His citing of the references to Christianity in the constitutions of a number of western countries is not very convincing. He has failed to make a distinction between Christianity as culture and Christianity as faith. The western societies are secular in nature and the role of Christianity there is only symbolic.

One has no quarrel with the general argument of the book but pragmatically speaking; one cannot but point out the dismal failure of the Islamic ideology as a tool of nation building. In the fifth chapter, Sharif al Mujahid has rightly pointed out that the essential ingredients of Islamic ideology comprise both *huquq Allah* and *huquq-al-ibad*, i.e., duties owed to God and duties owed to fellowmen. Unfortunately in Pakistan the emphasis has been only on the former and the latter has been forgotten. This bifurcation of individual morality from social morality and the total disregard of the latter has been calamitous. According to Sharif al-Mujahid it is not the ideology that has failed the nation; it is the nation that has failed the Ideology.

The value of the book has been greatly enhanced by a scholarly foreword contributed by Dr. Zafar Ishaq Ansari, four appendices, a comprehensive bibliography and an index. The production values of the book are excellent.

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR, *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man*, ABC International Group Inc., Chicago, Originally Printed in 1975, revised, enlarged and undated 2001. pp. 298, ISBN-1-930637-13-6.

Distributed by Kazi Publications, Lahore.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH.

“... Muslims in whom the power of Faith (Ƴm«n) has become weakened by the illusion that traditional (orthodox) Islam is something that belongs only to the past, believe that by identifying themselves with modernistic theories and interpretations, they are allying themselves with forces that must of necessity prevail in the future. In reality, nothing could be further from the truth!” (p.128)

This truth was suddenly revealed to the reviewer as she went through her old file of news clippings collected some forty years ago during the military dictatorship of President Ayub Khan (1958-1969), all dealing with his efforts under Martial Law to become a Pakistani Atatürk and change Islam to suit the demands of the 20th century. As she read through these clippings, the yellowed newsprint nearly disintegrated in her hands from age. It was then she realized that nearly all these self-appointed “reformers” had long been dead, forgotten and consigned to the dust-bin of history. The Luther-style Reformation and *aggiornamento* or drastic up-dating of Islam, never happened!

More than two centuries of the most enthusiastic imitation of the West in the military, political, economic, scientific, technological, industrial, cultural, educational and artistic fields never brought any Muslim country anywhere near the power, prosperity, riches and vitality enjoyed by Europe and America. Now with the social and cultural fabric of the West itself fast disintegrating, it can no longer attract *Dar ul Islam* as the supreme model to emulate.

Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr proceeds in this book to refute in detail the entire modern western mind-set, especially evolutionism and progressivism which has resulted in so much havoc in every Muslim land. He shows how evolutionism, diligently taught in every school, college and university, has resulted in a world-wide educational crisis. He also demonstrates that the environmental crisis is in reality the result of the pollution of the soul with atheism and materialism.

Islam is then presented in the light of Sufism as the only remedy that can save modern man. Far from having died out in the distant past, despite all assaults from without and within Islam) including its civilization and culture) still is very much alive. What is required is not the discovery of new truths or expanding the frontier of knowledge but the re-assertion and Re-application of nearly lost forgotten truths, no less by the West itself.

Nasr is a great believer in the necessity for Dialogue, not only between Islam and the West but even much more with the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian traditions. Although Islam and modernism (and post-modernism) are ideologically irreconcilable, nevertheless, on a purely human level, Islam and the West can peacefully co-exist, providing the latter stops its imperialist policies.

IQBAL SINGH, *The Ardent Pilgrim*,

New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997. xiv, 183 pp.

REVIEWED BY SHAFIQUE N. VIRANI.

This engaging volume is a revision of the author's biography of the noted poet and thinker, Mohammed Iqbal, originally published in 1951. The author, Iqbal Gurpratap Singh, was a noted journalist who passed away on February

5, 2000, at the age of 89. He had been well known for his column, “So it’s reported,” a weekly analysis of British reporting on India, which used to appear on the back page of the India Weekly.

Divided into twelve chapters, the book touches on a range of subjects, including the early influences on the poet; his education and training in both India and abroad; his return to his homeland and the increasing emphasis in his poetry on Islamic motifs; his desertion of many of the classical themes in Persian and Urdu poetry and his advocacy of the development of khudi, or ego; his reaction against the ideals of the West; the occasional dissonance between his philosophy as expressed in his writings and his deeds; his thought as expressed in his major works; some insights into his life; a summary; and finally a chapter entitled “Matters of No Importance?” which explores Iqbal’s personal life, including his marital relationships and his estrangement from his elder son. The placement of this last chapter strikes a somewhat odd chord and it would have been better integrated earlier in the work rather than after the summary.

The common theme that runs through the book is that Iqbal’s personality was “a sum of contradictions,” a confession made by the poet himself in one of his couplets. Singh’s purpose in highlighting this feature of Iqbal’s persona is not, as he himself cautions, “to prepare the ground for an adverse judgment” but rather to examine “the relation of theory to practice” (p. 141) in the poet’s life. This tension is ably demonstrated by example. While in verse Iqbal mocked those who sought titles from the government, he himself accepted knighthood. While in his *Payam-i Mashriq* he denounced the League of Nations as a “Society of Coffin-Thieves,” it seems that had the Viceroy agreed to his nomination as a member of the Indian delegation, he would have had no reservations to participation in the deliberations of the “Coffin-Thieves.” Such contradictions, and the poet’s possible motivations, are discussed in chapter 7, entitled “A Chapter of Deeds.” Despite such observations, by no means is *The Ardent Pilgrim* unkind in its assessment of Iqbal. Rather, these contradictions in the poet’s personality are seen as aspects of its complexity.

One of the book’s strengths lies in Singh’s assessment of Iqbal’s oeuvre. In a personal yet incisive treatment, the author appraises the contents of a number of the poet’s major works. Their themes and literary qualities are

expounded upon and salient points of the philosophy contained in them are brought to light. Translations of selected verses are quite beautiful, and at times the reader wishes that Singh had been less sparing in his quotations of them. He goes into some depth in explicating the *Javid Nama*, considered by many to be the poet's magnum opus. Iqbal's personality is investigated through his poetry, which is situated in its social and political context. It is a balanced account in which Iqbal emerges as a multifaceted, yet very human, figure. In summing up, Singh views Iqbal's importance not in founding any school of poetry but in acting as a bridge between past and present: "Iqbal is the link. Standing on the edge of two epochs, it can be claimed, he represents the last in the chain of classical poets of the Indo-Persian order and the first of the Moderns. That is his significance" (p. 139).

There are occasional blunders in the work. The author compares the Urdu language's history of less than five hundred years with Persian's of two thousand years or greater (p. 26). While descriptions of the trajectory of a language's development and judgments of its age are subjective at best, we can state with some confidence that the Persian language and idiom of which Iqbal was the inheritor did not reach back until the time of Christ. While he certainly would have understood the poetry of say, Rudaki (d. 940), Persian of a more distant past would have been incomprehensible, as the language underwent dramatic changes after Arabic words entered its lexicon with the spread of Islam. Copy errors, however, are few. We may note, for example, "the most fruitful phrase [i.e. phrase] of his career" (p. 98) and "Abdul Qadir had been Iqbal's friends [i.e. friend]" (p. 151). These minor drawbacks, however, do not significantly detract from the work.

On the whole, *The Ardent Pilgrim* is engagingly written with an elegance of style that makes it a pleasure to read. It should really be considered a series of interconnected essays on Iqbal. Those who seek a minutely annotated tome of Iqbal scholarship may therefore find themselves disappointed with this volume. Notes are rare, and occasionally statements are made without argument or reference to a source. This fact makes it difficult to trace the origin of the author's quotations. However, the title dubs it to be "An Introduction to the Life and Work of Mohammed Iqbal," and in this claim it is certainly successful.

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR, *The Heart of Islam: Enduring values for Humanity*, Harper Collins Publishers Inc., New York, pp. 338, ISBN-0-06-009924-0. *Islam: Religion, History and Civilization*, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Harper Collins Publishers Inc., New York, 2003, pp. 198, ISBN-0-06-050714-4.

REVIEWED BY MARYAM JAMEELAH.

Who was responsible for the events of 9/11/01, who really did it, we will probably never know! The bitter tragedy is the overwhelming price that the Muslim *Ummah*, especially in the U.S.A., has been made to pay for this without any true investigation, no fair trials of the accused but on suspicion and hearsay only.

Ever since these events, more and more curiosity has been aroused to know about Islam. The full glare of the media has greatly increased popular hatred and contempt for Muslims branded as fanatics and extremists, entirely overlooking the fact that extremists today are equally found in every religion. Witness the Christian evangelical “right”, the Zionist settlers in the occupied territories of Palestine, the Fascist Hindu nationalists responsible for such dreadful atrocities against the Muslims in India. All these extremists share in common an utter lack of mercy, compassion and love enjoined by the true teachings of all the major historic religions of the world. It is this rigid exclusivist approach which feeds the fires of more and more hatred and strife.

Both books under review were written in the light of 9-11-01 to combat prejudice and misinformation and promote better understanding between Islam and West. The author writes from a non-sectarian perspective and a full acceptance of the universal spiritual, cultural and historic legacy of Islam from its inception to the present day. It is to the credit of both books that the author’s lucid concise manner and of writing includes everything of importance within only a limited space and omits nothing the enquiring reader would most wish to learn.

Unfortunately, the author’s presentation of Jihad as purely defensive is not entirely correct. From 632-732 A.D. Islam was clearly on an extraordinarily vigorous offensive as it was also at the height of the Ottoman Empire and other periods of Islamic history as well.

Likewise, although Islam neither created nor encouraged slavery and the Holy Prophet certainly strove to ameliorate the terrible lot of slaves to the extent possible under the social conditions as he found them, to abolish slavery completely was inconceivable. Furthermore, all “medieval” *fiqh* in its explanation of *Shari‘at* regarded slavery as a legitimate social institution and issued elaborate legislation for slaves as property. Slavery was not eradicated for “internal reasons” spontaneously, as the author implies, but only by the European colonial powers throughout the Muslim world during the late 19th early 20th century by force, the colonialists themselves having no reason to feel self-righteous as only a short time previously they had conducted the most brutal traffic in human flesh from Africa to the New World.

Of course Muslim women have always worked, especially those in subsistence agriculture and the handicrafts but they almost always worked at home under the close supervision of their men folk, this work in the traditional sector greatly strengthening family and community. The author fails to point out the great contrast of work in the modern sector involving abandonment of home for office and factory under the impersonal competitive employment of total strangers at considerable distance from the home that has proved catastrophic for the family, especially the children, resulting in social breakdown. If nothing is done to stop this exodus of women from the home, what has happened in the West will eventually also take place in the East.

The author deserves to be most commended for his upholding the necessity for beauty as expressed in traditional Islamic art and above all, for his conclusive proofs that modernity and Islam are irreconcilable, especially industrialism and its horrific effects on the urban environment in every Muslim land. Both books written for a western audience convey in full the beauty, depth and spiritual peace of the author’s faith.

IQBAL YEAR PROJECTS



PERSPECTIVES ON IQBAL A WORLD SURVEY OF IQBAL STUDIES

International Iqbal Conference 2003

During the Iqbal Year, the Iqbal Academy organized, supported, hosted and collaborated in a number of conferences and seminars, both with in the country and abroad, culminating in the International Iqbal Conference 2003— *Perspectives on Iqbal– A World Survey of Iqbal Studies*. Earlier the proposed International Conference was to be convened on the 9th of November 2002. However, owing to the General Elections in October and formation of new Government thereafter, the Conference was postponed to April 2003. The four-day discussion was held in Lahore on April 21-24, 2003. The inauguration was made by the President of Pakistan and the event synchronized with the grand occasion of the Iqbal Day 21st April.

The Conference focused on the ways in which Iqbal was received in the various linguistic/cultural zones of the world using the following broad parameters:

- Status of Iqbal Studies in various areas, linguistic-cultural zones of Pakistan and other countries. That would mean a survey of the translations, academic and philosophic studies of Iqbal's ideas, exegeses, comparative studies with past and contemporary literary/philosophic figures etc. accompanied by a bibliography of works on Iqbal Studies in the respective area of study.
- Major Iqbal Scholars of the area with brief information on their life and works.

- Present trends in Iqbal Studies in your area of focus, existing gaps in the corpus of Iqbal Studies and suggestions for further studies and areas of research.

Although the focus of the Conference was on a *World Survey of Iqbal Studies* its wider objective was to contribute to an in depth understanding of Iqbal's thought and to the ways it informs issues of a universal and contemporary import. It brought together a select group of International Iqbal Scholars (List attached) with the Pakistani Iqbal Scholars and all those interested in Iqbal and Iqbal Studies in an effort to explore the full implications of Iqbal's reception and projection abroad. Expanded and revised versions of the papers are being prepared for publication.

**PERSPECTIVES ON IQBAL
A WORLD SURVEY OF IQBAL STUDIES

LIST OF DELEGATES**

Name	Address	Country	Phone/Fax/Email
A. R. Sabir Dr.	Director Baluchistan Study Centre Baluchistan University Quetta	Pakistan	Phone (off):081- 92111 Phone (res): 081- 4457 Fax:081- 9211255 Em sab7@hotmail.com
Ahmad A. Ramtally	Avenue Echassier Mont- Ida-Camp de masque	Mauritius	Phone (res):0230-4166 Fax: 230-211-2212 Email:rammad13@ho com
Ahmet Albayrak	Lecturer on Psychology of Religion Karadeniz Teknik University Rize Divinity Faculty 53100/Rize	Turkey	Tel/Off. (+90-464) 21 21-22 Fax/Univ. (+90-464) 2 11 24 Tel/Res. (+90-464) 21 36 Mobile Ph. (+90-532) 27 23 E-mails:

			ahmetalbayrak@hotmail.com albayrak16@yahoo.com albayrak99@dostmail.com Web site: www.gul.gezisi.com (in Turkish)
Asad Ullah Muhaqqiq	Flat No.32 Zakaria Plaza G-9/Markaz Karachi Company Islamabad	Afghanistan	
Axel Monte Dr.	Klosterweg 22a D-51149 Köln	Germany	Phone (res):49-2203-917907 Email: AxelMonte@aol.com
Bahr al-Din Ahmad (Dr.)	International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization 205 Jalan Damansara 50480 Kuala Lumpur	Malaysia	Phone (off):603-25444 Phone (res): 603-7874 Fax:603-6888163 Email: dawncity@tm.net.my
David Matthews Dr.	272 Grasmere Avenue Wembley Middx HAG 8 TW	England	Phone (res):0044-208-0829 Fax: 0044-208-900829 Email: matthews@matthewsindia.fsnet.co.uk
Emil Ghitulesco Dr.	Ambassador Embassy of Romania H. No 13 St. 88 Islamabad	Romania	Phone (off):051 282652825457 Fax: 051 282652825457
Filip Hajny	U dubu 1388/132 14700 Prague 4	Czech Republic	Phone (res):420 244 461531 Fax:420 244 464 1531 Email: filip@hajny.net
Ghous Bakhsh Sabir	8-20-97 Baluchi Street Quetta	Pakistan	Phone (off):081 920179211321 Phone (res):081 828034
Ghulam Rabbani Agro Dr	Chairman Sindhi Adbi Board Sindh University Jamshooro Sindh	Pakistan	Phone (off):0221-771321 Phone (res): 0221-771321
Ghulam Sabir	Taastrupgaardsvej 21 3tv.	Denmark	Phone (res): + 45 43

(Mr.)	DK-2630 Taastrup Denmark		522431/042 5124154 1 + 45-70205091 Email: Sabir@appm.dk
Hazeem Mohammad Ahmed Dr.	Lecturer in Urdu Dept. Faculty of Languages and Translation Al-Azhar University Nasr City Cairo	Egypt	Phone (off): 2615237 - 2614972 Phone (res): 7583171 (Mobile) 0105276348 Fax: 2638 Email: dr- hazem28@hotmail.com
Iqbal Naseem Khatak Dr.	c/o Dept. of Pushto Peshawar University Peshawar	Pakistan	
Liu Shuxiong (Prof.)	Vice Dean School of Foreign Languages 229 Wai Wen Lou Peking University 100871 Beijing	China	Phone (off): 86-10- 62765002 Phone (res): 10-62871898 Fax: 86-10- 62751362 (Office) Em shuxliu@pku.edu.cn
M Abdul Wahid	Sect. Allama Iqbal Sangsad 380/B Mirpur Road (IInd Floor) 27-Dhanmondi R/A Dhaka	Bangladesh	Phone (off): 880-2-912 - 823786 Phone (res): 2-8125288 Fax: 880-2- 9564532/9568634/81- Email: rabita@bdonline.com , ms@aitlbd.net
M.N. Kamil Asad Dr.	Head of Department of Arabic and Islamic Civilization University of Peradeniya Peradeniya	Sri Lanka	Phone (res): 00 94 326 Fax: 00 94 3265557 E kamilashad@yahoo.com
Mohammad Nabi Tavallaei (Dr.)	Faculty of Letters and Humanities The University of Urmia P.O. Box 165 Urmia 57135	Iran	Phone (off): 0098 441 008 - 12 Phone (res): 0 441 336 5779 Fax: 009 336 9716 Email: mtavallaei@yahoo.com
Muhammad Aigigdiev Dr.	c/o Pak Embassy Turkemanistan Kemine Street 92 Ashgabat	Turkemanistan	

Muhammad Baqai (Maakan)	18- Khayaban-e-Murjan Khayaban-e-Qumi Medan- e-Yasir Nayawran Tehran	Iran	Phone (res): 98 21 273 Email: makan_baghai@yahoo Phone (off): 6673438 6662971 Telex: 44733 YAQIN PK.
Muhammad Hanif Shahid (Mr.)	P.O. Box-22480 Riyadh- 11495	Saudi Arabia	Phone (off): 9661 467 Phone (res): 9661 401 Fax: 9661 4676170 En hanifsch@hotmail.com
Muhammad Yousuf Khushk Dr.	Editor Almas Department of Urdu Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur Sindh	Pakistan	
Muhammad Zahir Khan	Jalan Danau Agung Dua Blok E-13 No I-B Sunter Agung Podomoro Jakarta Utara	Indonesia	Phone (off): 685976 Fax: 685976
Muhammed Bin Hasan Azzeer Prof. Dr.	Dean of Faculty o Arabic Imam niversity Riyadh 11653 P O Box 92106	Saudi Arabia	Phone (off): 966 1 259 Phone (res): 966 1 454 Fax: 966 1 2590294 Te mobile 966 55454274
Mujibur Rahman Advocate	President Iqbal Society Bangladesh 380/B Mirpur Road (IInd Floor) 27- Dhanmondi R/A Dhaka	Bangladesh	Email: masud1@sparkbd.net
Muzaffar Iqbal (Dr.)	Centre for Islam and Science #349-52252 Range Road 215 Sherwood Park AB T8E 1B7	Canada	Phone (off): 780922-0 Fax: 780-922-0926 Em Muzaffar@cis-ca.org
Natali I. Prigarina	Head of Section of Textology and Literary Monuments Institute of Oriental Studies Russian Academy of Science 12 Rozhdestvenka Str. Moscow	Russia	Phone (off): 928-11-41 Phone (res): 137-16-43 Email: prig@tikhomir.mccme

	103301		
Nisar Ahmad Faruqi (Mr.)	A-42 (FF) 6th Street Batla House Jamia Nagar Post Box No.9723 New Delhi-110025	India	Phone (res): 6834067 1 6834067 Email: faruqi@vsnl.com <faruqi@vsnl.com>
Professor Dr. Emilio Ferrin	Estudios Arabes e Islamicos University of Seville Palos de la Frontera s/n 41004 Sevilla	Spain	Phone (res): 34 954220 Fax: 34 954551573 En ferrin@us.es
Pulodova Sharafjon Ms.	Senior Research of the department on Contemporary East Manuscript Institute Academy of Science of the Republic of Tajikistan# 32 Tehron str. Dushanbe	Tajikistan	Phone (res): 992 372 2 07
Radjabov Habibullo Dr.	Head of Department on Urdu and Indian philology Faculty on Oriental Studies Tajik State National University # 83 Loiq Sherali str. Dushanbe	Tajikistan	992 372 24 74 24
Rakhimova Gulrukhsor	30 Giprozem St. apt.14 Dushanbe	Tajikistan	Phone (off): 21-01-84(27-74-94(of) Fax: 21-0
Ramesh Bhat	P O Box 8666 Naipati Sundari Gal Khatmandu	Nepal	Phone (res): 00-9771- 450530 Email: rjnjaatheen@hotmail.c
Sabir Kalorvi (Dr.)	Chairperson Dept. of Urdu Peshawar University Peshawar	Pakistan	Phone (off): 091-9216 Ext-3069 Phone (res) 850468 Telex: Mobile- 6902501
Sa'dullah Uoldashev (Prof.)	Chief of Deptt. Philosofic History & Logic Tashkent State University Named after Mirzo Ulugbek	Uzbekistan	Phone (off): 466373 P (res): 554531

	Philosophy Faculty Tashkent 700100		
Saif-ud-din Akram Zada	# 89/2 Islamili Somoni str. apt. 26 Dushanbe	Tajikistan	Phone (res): 992-372 323879 Email: karoree@yahoo.co
Sameer A Ibrahim Dr.	Prof. Of Oriental Lang.& Studies Imam Muhameed Bin Saud Islamic Univ. P.O.Box 24760 Riyadh 11456	Saudi Arabia	Phone (off): 966 1258 Phone (res): 00 966 14021171 Fax: 966 1 2 0261 Email: samirnouh@hotmail.c
Shahbaz Malik Dr.	Department of Punjabi University of Punjab Lahore	Pakistan	
Shamsur Rahman Faruqi	29 C Hastings Road Allahabad 211 001 UP	India	Phone (off): 91-532-20 2693 Phone (res): 91-5 262 3137 Fax: srfaruqi@sancharnet.in
Sirajul Haq Prof.	President Allama Iqbal Research Academy House No. 54 Road No. 8/A Dhanmondi R/A Dhaka- 1209	Bangladesh	Phone (off): 9114000 9135155 Phone (res): 9122196 Fax: 880-2- 8113435 9135154 Ema shaque2002@hotmail.
So Yamane (Dr.)	Associate Professor Dept. of Area (South Asia Urdu) Osaka University of Foreign Studies Aomatani-higashi 8- 1-1 Minoshi Osaka 562- 0022	Japan	Email: soyamane@osa gaidai.ac.jp
Thomas Stemmer (Dr.)	Wilhelmstrasse 8 D-90439 Nurnberg	Germany	Email: dharana@gmx.
Vali Raza Nasr (Dr.)	1861 Caminito Velez La Jolla California 92037	U.S.A.	Phone (off): Mobile 61 339-9192 Phone (res): 858 551 0517 Email: vali_nasr@yahoo.com vnasr@alum.mit.edu
Vito Salierno	via Lorenteggio 39 20146	Italy	Phone (res): 0039 2 47

(Prof. Dr.)	Millano		Fax: 0039 2 471709
Dr. Inam ul Haq Kausar	Chairperson BIS Education Balochistan Quetta	Pakistan	Phone (res) 081-44228

ANNEX I– INT CONF 03-INTRO



INTERNATIONAL IQBAL CONFERENCE

PERSPECTIVES ON IQBAL

A WORLD SURVEY OF IQBAL STUDIES

The 2003 International Iqbal Conference will take place on April 21-24, 2003, at the Aiwan i Iqbal Auditorium in Lahore under the auspices of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan. The topic of the Conference shall be “*Perspectives on Iqbal– A World Survey of Iqbal Studies*”.

The focus of the Conference shall be the ways that Iqbal has been received in the various linguistic/cultural zones of the world. Apart from simple and annotated translations of Iqbal’s works, there is a vast secondary literature that has spawned during the last six decades and ranges from exegeses and interpretations to comparative studies. On another plane, Iqbal has influenced thinkers and poets of various areas in different ways.

To consider such questions the Iqbal Academy Pakistan has planned an International Iqbal Conference intended to facilitate exchange of views and information among Iqbal Scholars, thinkers and men of letters from all over the world. The idea is to bring together a select group of International Iqbal Scholars (list attached) with the Pakistani Iqbal Scholars and all those interested in Iqbal and Iqbal Studies in an effort to explore the full implications of Iqbal’s reception and projection abroad. The diversity of views among the small groups shall contribute to the plenary discussions that

follow each session, led by one of our participants who guides our common exploration.

The three-day discussion will be held in Lahore on April 21-24, 2003 (detailed program available separately). The inauguration shall be made by the President of Pakistan and the event synchronizes with the grand occasion of the Iqbal Day 21st April.

The topic of the Conference is “*Perspectives on Iqbal– A World Survey of Iqbal Studies*”. We also intend to look into the question of Iqbal in Pakistani languages in order to inform ourselves and the international audience present on the issue. Our endeavour shall consist of the following broad parameters:

- Status of Iqbal Studies in various areas, linguistic-cultural zones of Pakistan and other countries. That would mean a survey of the translations, academic and philosophic studies of Iqbal’s ideas, exegeses, comparative studies with past and contemporary literary/philosophic figures etc. accompanied by a bibliography of works on Iqbal Studies in the respective area of study.
- Major Iqbal Scholars of the area with brief information on their life and works.
- Present trends in Iqbal Studies in your area of focus, existing gaps in the corpus of Iqbal Studies and suggestions for further studies and areas of research.

Although the focus of the Conference is on a *World Survey of Iqbal Studies* our wider objective is to contribute to an in depth understanding of Iqbal’s thought and to the ways it informs issues of a universal and contemporary import.

Papers by the presenters shall be of 15 minutes length. The abstracts of the papers of the International Iqbal Scholars shall be circulated among the discussion groups in advance of the Conference. Expanded and revised versions of the participant’s papers shall be published later in edited book form. Consideration should also be given to distribution of materials through electronic media. The language of the Conference shall be English.

After the inauguration in the morning, the sessions will begin on Monday afternoon, April 21, 2003, and conclude after dinner on the evening of Wednesday, April 24th, 2003.

The shared study at this Conference makes a substantive contribution to achieving our goal of seeking out those aspects of our quest that help to map the future plan of Iqbal Studies in a global perspective.

Together towards Iqbal

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

MERA PAYAM AUR

Symposium on Mohammed Iqbal (1877-1938) at Oxford University

Muhammad Sabieh Anwar

Pakistan Discussion Forum, Oxford University

Pakistanis sometimes claim proprietary rights over Iqbal. But while venerating him to the fullest, they often lose sight of his wisdom and poetical finesse – concentrating only on his vital symbolism as a poet of the nation. This, sometimes transforms Iqbal into a mere ‘courtier poet’. Whereas, his works have been hailed as a great driving force in the revolutionary history of neighbouring Iran, our curricula only pay a muted tribute to his reformist, revivalist and rationalistic appeal. One wonders why Iqbal is subject to this selective appreciation and selective avoidance! The rulers throughout Pakistan’s chequered political history dread his calls of defiance, but use him, at the same time, in upholding their national pride. The *imam* on the pulpit, cites free-handedly from his verse, but fails to recognize his spirit of reconstruction. School teachers, would relate to their pupils when Iqbal speaks of the past glory of Muslims, but would at best, avoid speaking about his open criticism of eastern political systems. The aversion of the English-speaking high circles to the Muslim thinker is clear – to them, religion is a private, non-communalist undertaking. The intolerance of the Muslim jurist is clearer – to them, religious jurisdiction is a sacred appointment, beyond the need for any modern reinterpretation.

On the other hand, appreciating Iqbal in the west, is ever more difficult, as people grapple with the very idea of religion and God. As religion plays a diminishing role in the lives of western communities, Iqbal’s message will not be received with much enthusiasm. With these mixed feelings in mind, the Pakistan Discussion Forum took upon the task of introducing Iqbal in Oxford University in a possibly comprehensive and delicate manner. The motive was to touch upon, both his poetry and philosophy and especially the latter’s relevance to modern times.

Pakistan Discussion Forum, was established in 2001, by some zealous Pakistani Rhodes Scholars studying at Oxford University. The main objective behind its formation was to encourage discussion on the myriad challenges

facing Pakistan, and the Muslim and developing worlds in Oxford's academic settings and also to engender cross-pollination of themes between the eastern and western civilizations.

The symposium on Iqbal, which was titled *Mera Payam Aur* (My Message is Unique) took place on 24 May, 2003.

As the audience were seating themselves in the Nissan Lecture Theatre in St. Antony's College, they were greeted by some fine music – recitations of Iqbal's poetry, prepared and shipped for the occasion, by the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan. The audience were a fine mix of different nationalities; students and academicians. Several groups of Pakistani and Iranian students and researchers from London, Cambridge and Sheffield were also present.

The symposium was chaired by Prof James Morris, Head of the Department of Islamic Studies at the Exeter University. His area of expertise lies in Islamic spiritualism and the medieval Sufi Ibn-e-Arabi.

I had the privilege of introducing the spirit behind the symposium, caressing upon the international relevance and timeless appeal of Iqbal's message. What makes Iqbal different; his audacious conversations with God; his characteristic poetic terminology; his concept of the self, the *kebudi*; his remarkable blend of honour and detachment, of intellect and love; and his emphasis on human fate augmenting heavenly fate – were some of the concepts I tried to introduce. In my welcome address, I also read from the poem *Iltija-e-Musafir* (The Prayer of the Wayfarer) from *Bang-e-Dara*, where Iqbal is embarking on his westwards journey in search of education, and makes a profound prayer⁵⁴:

*I say farewell to my garden, like a rose's scent,
Now I have submitted myself to the test of patience.
My desire to satiate my thirst of knowledge,
Is pushing me out of the gallery I call my homeland.*

⁵⁴ Translation by Muhammad Sabieh Anwar

I am a solitary tree in a desert, my eyes are clung to the laden clouds,

Their shower can make me flower without the aid of the gardener.

O Lord, always keep me miles ahead of my kindred,

So that they can consider me as their destination.

O Lord, grant me the chance, once again, to lay my head at the feet of my parents,

By whose blessing, I possess the secret of love.”

Prof David Matthews is a renowned scholar on the languages of the subcontinent, especially Urdu and Nepali. His lifelong association with the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Iqbal Academy, speaks of his love and command over Iqbal’s message. He introduced Iqbal’s poetic artistry to the audience. His authority over Iqbal’s Urdu verse, at first, stunned the audience. He gradually traversed the different phases in Iqbal’s poetic upbringing – starting from his early years: the recitals organized by the *Anjuman-e-Punjab* in his college days, followed by his publications in Sheikh Abdul Qadir’s magazine *Makhlūqan*. He presented a historical progression of Iqbal’s metaphor and his poetic themes. He also spoke of Iqbal’s massive popular charisma as he recited his famous *Shama aur Shair* (The Candle and the Poet), *Shikwa* (Complaint) and *Jawab-e-Shikwa* (Answer to the Complaint) at the meetings of the *Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam* in the Islamia College, Lahore.

Dr Matthews paper was studied with beautiful readings from various poems such as *Himala* (The Himalays), *Saaqi Nama* (The Message of the Cupbearer) and *Eik Sham* (An evening – alongside the banks of River Neckar, Hidelberg, Germany)⁵⁵:

*“The moon’s light is silent,
The branches of every tree are silent.
The songsters of the valley are silent,
The green trees of the mountain are silent.
Nature has become unconscious,*

⁵⁵ Translation by M.A.K. Khalil

It is sleeping in the night's lap.

*Some spell of serenity does exist,
That Neckar's flow is also serene.*

*The caravan of stars is silent,
The caravan is moving without the bell.
Silent are the mountains, forest, river,
As if Nature is absorbed in deep meditation.*

*O Heart! You should also become silent,
And taking grief in your lap, must go to sleep.”*

Iqbal's poetic appraisal was followed by a dramatic rendition of excerpts from Iqbal's Urdu masterpieces *Shikwa* and the *Jawab*. Ali Abbas rendered the Urdu, while Fasi Zaka responded with succinct interjections in English. Both Ali and Fasi are students at Oxford University.

The translation of all selections being read throughout the symposium, were being projected in the background. The display of the actual verse accompanied by the translation, synchronized with the rendition, gripped the audience's attention. For the multicultural audience, language seemed to be no barrier!⁵⁶

*“O Lord! The aimlessly wandering nation of Islam faces the Ka'ba once again,
The wingless nightingale cannot resist its innate urge to fly,
The scent of love simmers in each and every bud in the garden,
The instrument awaits the pluck of the spectrum; so Lord! Please pluck its' strings!
The waves of music are anxious to escape the stringed prison,
The mount of Sinai longs to burn in the same effulgence that had once incinerated it.”*

⁵⁶ Translation by Ali Abbas and Muhammad Sabieh Anwar

Dr. Yahya Michot is a Fellow of Islamic Studies at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies and the Faculty of Theology, Oxford University. His specialty in the classical Muslim theologians Avicenna and Ibn-e-Taymiyya gives him a sound knack of traditional Muslim thought. He discussed Iqbal's religious reinvigoration in light of classical thought. In his paper titled "Mohammed Iqbal: Muslim thought for the 21st century?", Prof Michot claimed that Iqbal was the last great Muslim thinker in the lineage of illustrious intellectuals such as Ghazali, Razi and Shah Waliullah. He skillfully presented an overview of Iqbal's religious contributions and hailed them as a vitalizing spirit in the enervating pulse of modern Muslim intellectualism.

Dr. Homa Katouzian, who is permanently based in Exeter University, is a multi-dimensional personality with authorship in politics, economics and Persian literature. He shared his heartfelt association with Iqbal, with his Farsi renderings from the magnum opus *Javid Nama*. His exposition was in the *Dervish* style, common in Turkey, where artists frequent this style at Rumi's mausoleum. The *Javid Nama* is in fact, a journey of ascension taken up by Iqbal, in the leadership of Rumi, during the course of which he comes across several figures of importance. Dr. Homa read from Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's address to the poet wandering near the firmament of heaven ⁵⁷:

"A world is still lost in my heart,

And a world is still waiting for the call to 'Rise',

A world that is cleansed of dichotomies of color and race,

Will set into an evening, brighter than any dawn the West can ever produce."

Bihani Sarkar, a young classical singer from Indian Bengal and an Oxford student, grasped the audience with her performance of Iqbal's Urdu ghazal *Wohi Mere Kam Naseebe* (My Haplessness is Still the Same) ⁵⁸:

“Is	this	a	world	of	mine,
Or	a	magic	of	Thy	art?
Is	this	the	world’	of	the
					body,

⁵⁷ Translation by Muhammad Sabieh Anwar

⁵⁸ Translation by Naeem Siddiqui

Or the world of the soul?
My days and nights are tossed.
In a storm of confusion,
In the yearnings of a Rumi,
Or the bewilderment of a Razi.”

It was the first time, Bihani was reciting Iqbal, but her skill and inspiring melody was much appreciated.

Dr. Salman Asif, a literary critic, well rounded in Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi and Persian languages, recited a selection of Iqbal’s Persian quatrains from *Payam-e-Mashriq* (Message of the East). He also talked about Iqbal’s fondness towards his homeland, and pointed out how he used Sanskrit vocabulary and figures of narrative from Hindu folklore and mythology. His well selected Persian verse, highlighted Iqbal’s concepts of never ending motion and mankind’s supremacy as being the vicegerent of God.

The keynote speaker at the symposium was Revd Keith Ward, a well known author and Chair of the Faculty of Theology at Oxford University. His book “God: A Guide for the Perplexed” enjoys wide readership in Britain. His paper was titled “Iqbal from a Western Philosophical Standpoint” – a difficult undertaking, but his clarity and objectivity, simplified complicated theological questions in a befitting manner. Towards the end of the proceedings, his lively style and candid responses kept the audience on the edge of their seats. He took up the novel task of explaining to his audience, how Iqbal viewed God and how his outlook differed from a traditional Greek conception of the divine. Greek philosophy had upheld a static concept of God: who had made the universe once for all, set the laws of nature and then retired into a merely passive supervision of the grand scheme of things. This Greek picture of God is sometimes referred to as *Deus Otiosus*.

Iqbal’s concept of God, remarked Dr Ward, was however, inspired from the Quranic proposition:

يَسْأَلُهُ وَمَنْ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ هُوَ فِي شَأْنٍ ﴿٢١﴾

“Every (creature) that is in the skies and the earth begs of Him. Every day He appears in a new majesty.” (Al-Qur’an 55:29)

Keith Ward elaborated the verse and suggested that Iqbal considered God’s creative energy as a dynamic driving force in the universe, unleashing itself in a multitude of ways, each passing day, each fleeting second. So God is present in full glory, for *all times*. The concepts of “now” and “then”; “past”, “present” and “future” lose meaning in Iqbal’s temporal understanding of God. So God is approachable at all times – the means to approach him, being fervent prayer. In the same connection, Prof Ward also highlighted Iqbal’s meaning of the concept of “prayer”. He pointed out, that Iqbal’s theological understands are in full accord with his pervasive ideas about free human will, never-ending motion and the principle of permanent change in the universe.

The keynote address concluded with his apt epitome, “...and I think whatever Iqbal said of God, he was right”.

After the keynote address, Burzine Waghmar from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University paid tribute to the late Professor Annemarie Schimmel.

In his concluding address Prof James Morris, spoke of the perfect balance of beauty and content in all great works of art and philosophy. Ali Abbas, principal coordinator of the Pakistan Discussion Forum, expressed his heartfelt gratitude to all speakers and audience. The symposium was formally concluded by Bihani’s performance of the famous ghazal *Kabhi Ay Haqeeqat-e-Muntazar* (O The Awaited Reality!) ⁵⁹:

Whenever I place my head on the ground in humble prostration before the Lord!

⁵⁹ Translation by Muhammad Sabieh Anwar

The earth instantly speaks up: “What meaning does this prayer have, when idols inhabit your heart”.

REMEMBERING IQBAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IQBAL AND HIS UNIVERSAL VISION INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, MALAYSIA

July 3, 2002

Sir Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was born in November 1877 in Sialkot, Punjab (now Pakistan). He was one of the greatest of Urdu and Persian poets of the 20th century and one of its brightest philosophers. Iqbal set before him an ideal of combining poetry with doctrine. He took it upon himself to inspire the Muslims to consolidate themselves in order to imbibe the true spirit of Islam. He taught in London and in Lahore. He was an 'Allamah (the greatest *'alim*) and a Doctor in philosophy. He was a lawyer and a leader. He struggled against British colonialism and yet he received a knighthood from the British government. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is the spiritual founder of Pakistan which gained independence in 1947, nine years after he passed away in April 1938. As a poet, Iqbal was unrivalled. People bestowed on him the title of Shair-e-Mashriq (Poet of the East) and Malik al-Shu'ra' (the king of poets). He was also a jurist, a politician, a social reformer, and a great Islamic scholar. There is much more that can be said in praise of Muhammad Iqbal which has been said by many. The important thing is that Iqbal lived in the twentieth century, tried to solve the problems he encountered, and thought about the challenges Muslims would face in the twenty-first century. He addressed such burning issues as the relationship of the Ummah to the West; of pluralism and toleration and of living in a multi-ethnic society, and of the nature and feature of an Islamic state that Muslims are currently debating.

Iqbal had a multi-dimensional personality. He was a mystic, a rationalist, a philosopher, and a rebel. Conversant with all the traditions of Islam, Iqbal believed that all contributed to an understanding of the relation between God and Man, but none did so exclusively. Thus he extolled mysticism for demonstrating to the self the inner experience of God. He faults it, however, for not understanding the concreteness of nature. Iqbal praised the

philosophical school of Islam for demonstrating to the self, the rational structure of the universe, but faults it for neglecting the inner experience of the divine. He believed that law is a means for the self to find its fulfilment, but faults it for hardening into unyielding rigidity. He was a great mystic, with a pure spirit, delivered from materialism and, at the same time, a man who respected and honoured science, technological progress, and the advancement of human reason.

Iqbal was a person with a world view based upon the Qur'an. He developed philosophical-spiritual interpretations based upon it which he offered to the world and its people. The Qur'an, to him, was not only a book of religion but also a source of foundational principles upon which the infrastructure of an organization must be built as a coherent system of life. That system of life when implemented as a living force is what Iqbal called Islam. Based on permanent (absolute) values as stipulated in the Qur'an, this system provides perfect harmony, balance, and stability in the society. It also provides freedom of choice and equal opportunity for the development of personality for everyone within the framework of the Qur'an. For Iqbal, religion was not simply a matter of faith but a way of life, which has to be tested in accordance with the strictest moral and scientific standards. Iqbal was not a thinker who debases science, reason, and scientific advancement. Neither was he a proponent of "dry" factual science like the science of Francis Bacon or Claude Bernard, which is limited to the discovery of the relationships between phenomenal or material manifestations and the employment of natural forces for material life. Likewise, he was not a thinker who links philosophy, illumination, science, religion, reason, and revelation together in an incongruous way. Rather, in his outlook and attitude towards this world, he regarded reason and science as complementary and supplementary to each other. One of his unique contributions to the contemporary Islamic thought is his linking of modern science with "God-consciousness" which he considered more precious than mere belief in God. He equated the scientist's observation of nature with seeking a kind of intimacy with God, a kind of mystic search in the act of pray. He believed that scientific observation of nature would help maintain "a close contact with the behaviour of reality, and thus sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it." If Muslims had heeded Iqbal's advice and considered

scientific advancement as an act of prayer, the road map of world power today would have been very different.

Iqbal was despaired with the Muslim religio-philosophic tradition of his time, which he called a “worn-out and practically dead metaphysics” with its peculiar thought-forms and set phraseology producing manifestly “a deadening effect on the modern mind.” God had created the universe so that man could play a creative role with passionate zeal for the higher ideals of truth, justice, and social good. Iqbal emphasised that the conventional view of Islam, so sedulously propagated, needs re-examination to bring it in accord with the advanced scientific and philosophical knowledge. He stressed the interrelatedness of some of the fundamental Islamic concepts such as prophethood, revelation, knowledge, faith and its efficacy which serve as potential means for the apprehension of reality. For Iqbal, the illumined mind awakened by meditation over the essentials of Islam, self-realisation and self-affirmation are the pointers for the perfectibility of man which is the aim, goal and master-passion of human existence. The only alternative for Muslims, then, is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality, and political ideals with a view to rebuild their moral, social, and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality. Iqbal called upon Muslims to transcend their history. He believed that a participatory system is the natural form of government for Islam and that Islam’s message has been corrupted by centuries of autocratic empires.

He, therefore, called for a new jurisprudence, a new *ijitihad*, which he defined as movement. Iqbal’s contribution to the Muslim world as one of the greatest thinkers of Islam remains unparalleled. In his writings, he addressed and exhorted people, particularly the youth, to stand up and boldly face life’s challenges. Humanity, as a whole, has never faced the challenge posed by the enormity and the complexity of human problems, such as it is facing in the twenty-first century. The problems have now assumed a global dimension transcending the barriers of race, colour, language, geography, and social, political and religious ideologies. Most of the problems of mankind are universal in nature and, therefore, require a universal approach to the solution. Iqbal’s universal message of love, self-development, perseverance,

dignity and freedom is an attempt to address this challenge faced by humanity.

To introduce this universal vision to the youth, the International Islamic University Malaysia organized an international conference on Iqbal. Some of the papers read in this conference are presented in the special issue of *Intellectual Discourse*, on Iqbal and his universal vision, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2002. Also available at www.iiu.edu.my/irkhs/publication/PSCI/main.html. A brief report is given in the following pages.

Abdul Rashid Moten

International Islamic University Malaysia

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IQBAL AND HIS UNIVERSAL VISION

A one day conference on Iqbal and his Universal Vision was organized by the International Islamic University Malaysia and Pakistan High Commission in Kuala Lumpur, in collaboration with the Iqbal Academy Pakistan. The conference, which was held on 22 Rabiul Akhir 1423/July 3, 2002, included a seminar on Iqbal, exhibition of Iqbal's books and memorabilia, multimedia presentation, recitation of Iqbal's poetry, and presentation of poetry in honour of Iqbal by various poets.

Opening Ceremony

The opening ceremony of this international seminar was performed by Yang Berhormat Datuk Seri Panglima Syed Hamid bin Syed Jaafar Albar, the Malaysian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who congratulated the University for organizing such an important seminar. The Minister emphasized that Iqbal was one of the greatest poet and a philosopher who had an open mind and always willing to accept the inflow of new ideas as knowledge advances. Iqbal

challenged the conventional and reactionary thinking of Muslim scholars and presented a new approach for political, social, cultural and spiritual rejuvenation of Islam. Iqbal emphasized acquisition of knowledge, good governance, social justice and tolerance. Iqbal's message for Muslims was to forge unity and to acquire scientific knowledge to contribute for the betterment of the world. Iqbal's message is as relevant and applicable in the

contemporary period as it was during his time. Speaking on the occasion, the Pakistani High Commissioner General (R) Nasim Rana said that Iqbal was a revolutionary poet who inspired the slave nations to rise up and steer their ships towards the shores of liberty and freedom. Earlier Prof. Dr. Kamal Hassan, Rector of International Islamic University Malaysia, welcomed the honourable guests.

Seminar

The conference started in the morning with an academic session of papers presented by distinguished scholars from various countries. The first paper was by Tan Sri Dato' Seri Sanusi bin Junid, President of International Islamic University Malaysia, who spoke on "Iqbal and Muslim Unity." Tan Sri mentioned that according to the Qur'an, Muslims form one brotherhood because they are fused together by their beliefs. This is one of the major themes emphasized by Iqbal who started as a nationalist but later on, turned into an Internationalist. His internationalism is based on the fusion of politics with higher moral values derived from religion. He started writing on problems beyond that of Indian Muslims. His vision was to have a unified millat composed of individuals who have reached the stage of development of khudi and have gone over the state of be-khudi.

According to the speaker, Iqbal, known as the poet-philosopher of Pakistan, was not a narrow nationalist, and his vision was not limited to Pakistan. Iqbal's vision was ummatic and hence he should be referred to as "the poet-philosopher of Muslim unity." Iqbal had a distinct conception of Muslim unity and suggested clear-cut guidelines to attain that cherished goal. These ideas were as much as relevant to his times as they are to the contemporary Muslim world which is characterized by disunity.

The second paper was by Mr. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, Director of Iqbal Academy, Lahore. His paper entitled "*That I May See and Tell*": *Significance of Iqbal's Wisdom Poetry*. According to Mr. Umar Iqbal was unique among the Muslim poets in the sense that, while almost all of his contemporaries were singing praises of the high ups or indulging in indolent love poetry, Iqbal was concerned with issues that were of vital importance to the Muslim Ummah, both on the theoretical as well as the practical level. It is the "conscious concern" which provides the key to understanding the psycho-dynamics of

Iqbal's mind, and leads us to appreciate the reasons for which Iqbal's poetry has become significantly important and meaningful to us.

The third paper was on "Iqbal and the Challenge of Reform within the Muslim World" by Dr. Chandra Muzaffar. According to Dr. Muzaffar, fundamental to Iqbal's reconstruction of religious thought was his challenge to Muslims to understand *tawhid* and to re-think their entire concept of, and approach to, Islam. He pleaded for the return of the spirit of *ijtihad* in the interpretation of the law. He was impressed by Western civilization's passion for self-consciousness, social justice and egalitarianism though he distanced himself from its atheistic strain and from the ideas that were a hindrance to the spiritual and moral advancement of the human being. Iqbal abhorred imperialism, democracy and race-based nationalism. He equally attacked the fossilized religious dogmatism that had sapped the spirit of Islam. Iqbal sketched a blue print of a polity to give life and meaning to tawhidic values.

Dr. Altaf Husain Ahangar, Professor in the Faculty of Laws, presented a paper on "Iqbal's Approach to Legislation in Islam." He said that while *ijma'* is an established principle in Islamic legislation, Muslim jurists are divided on the format of *ijma'*. According to Ahangar, Iqbal contends that at present *ijma'* is possible only through legislative assembly.

Ustaz Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady, a Very Distinguished Fellow of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, presented an interesting paper on the relevance of Iqbal to the Malay World. He said that Iqbal attracted the attention of the Malay World as well as the Muslims in Southeast Asia through his prose works and his poetic compositions that were translated into Bahasa Malaya and Bahasa Indonesia. Most Indonesian and Malay front ranking leaders were influenced by his ideal of serving the cause of the Ummah. They used Iqbal's arguments to mobilize the Muslims for reforms of their respective societies particularly in Malaysia and Indonesia.

Basit B. Koshul, a scholar from the University of Virginia, USA, presented a paper on "Iqbal on Faith in the Modern World." According to him, Iqbal was acutely aware not only of the fact that modern society was facing a crisis of faith, but he was aware of the root cause of this crisis as well. Iqbal saw an intimate relationship between the modern crisis of faith

and modernist epistemology. Hence, he tried to articulate an epistemology that meets the critical rigour of modern philosophical and scientific thinking and also attempts to account for the reality and verity of religious experience as the most subtle and reliable source of knowledge. Iqbal's proposed epistemology is rooted in the Qur'anic narrative and the interpretation of this narrative by the "more genuine schools of Sufism." Iqbal combines the insights garnered from a study of these "religious" sources with his first-hand understanding of modern philosophic and scientific thought to recover and re-present an understanding of "knowledge" that is a companion to "faith" rather than its adversary.

Dr. Azizan Baharuddin, Professor in the Department of Science and Technology and the Director of the Centre for Civilizational Dialogue, University of Malaya, presented the paper on Iqbal's ideas regarding his perceptions of space and time. According to Dr. Azizan Baharuddin, the subject of science and belief has always been part of the *elan vital* of Islam. From hundreds of Qur'anic verses, Muslim scholars and thinkers have embarked on the exercise to understand scripture in the light of His creation (the study of nature or science).

When talking about space and time in the empirical and spiritual sense, it is indeed these "signs" that Iqbal was interested in. This paper presents some of the ideas Iqbal had elaborated upon regarding religion and science especially on the subject of the meaning and spiritual implications of the concepts of space and time.

Dramatisation, Poetry Recitation and Exhibition

The seminar was followed by a program of dramatisation and poetry recital in the evening. A multimedia presentation was made to introduce Iqbal and his contributions. This was followed by poetry recitation and *nashid*. A number of guests, students and faculty members recited poems of Iqbal and on Iqbal. The distinguished participants included Prof. Dr. Kamal Hassan, who recited his poem "Complaining to Iqbal: A Dialogue with the Dead," and the renowned Malay poet Dato' A. Samad Said, who recited a special poem on Iqbal composed for the occasion in the Malay language.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Azmi Omar, Dean Faculty of Economics and Management and Chief Organizer of the conference gave the closing remarks and congratulated the organizing committee members for a job well done.

During the day, the HUM library held an exhibition of its inventory of books on Iqbal. Another exhibition was held simultaneously in the Central Administrative Building showing the memorabilia of Iqbal, including his books in various languages, his manuscripts, letters, photographs and personal belongings. This exhibition was organized by the Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore.

Zafar A. Ansari

International Islamic University Malaysia

WHOSE IQBAL — OURS OR THEIRS?

A REPRESENTATIVE SEMINAR

AT THE

SAHITYA ACADEMY— NEW DELHI

Zafar H. Anjum

In the evening of November the 9th a literary and cultural soiree was organized at the Sahitya Academy auditorium in New Delhi. The occasion was the 124th birth anniversary of south Asia's famous poet and philosopher, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. The function was organized by the Communicators Cooperative India a collective of media and arts professionals, in remembrance and contemplation of what Iqbal and his works mean to us today, especially as a common heritage of south Asia.

The evening started with the rendition of Iqbal's poetry in musical/singling form. It was followed by a short seminar on the relevance of Iqbal in which eminent scholars Prof. Mohammad Hasan, Prof. Abdul Haq, and Prof. Naseer Ahmad Khan, among others, participated. Besides, there was an exhibition of Iqbal's archival photographs and graphic artwork using his poetry in calligraphic form.

The following reportage profiles Iqbal and his life and thoughts in the light of the discussion that took place in the seminar.

Flicking though the television channels last Friday, I happened to pause at PTV for a few moments, as a newscaster was announcing the celebration of the birth anniversary of “their” national poet, Allama Iqbal, across Pakistan. It was being discussed with conviction, how Iqbal was really the originator of the idea of Pakistan. At that moment, I found myself humming the tune of “lub pay aati hai dua ban kay tamanna meri” a prayer song composed by Iqbal that I used to sing when I was a school kid. And then I wondered how Iqbal could be the originator of Pakistan when I always have thought of him to be ours.

As I came to attend the literary evening on Iqbal that day, I heard a similar story. A few years ago, reminisced Professor Naseer Ahmad Khan (of the Department of Urdu, Jawaharlal Nehru University). When he invited a Pakistani Scholar to participate in a seminar on Ghalib, he received a curious reply. The Pakistani scholar wrote back that since Ghalib was an Indian poet, he would not be able to speak on him. However, he expressed his desire to India any way to hear what Indians has to say on this great “Indian” poet. Later, on telephone, Dr. Khan asked him who was “their” poet. “Iqbal,” said the erudite voice from the other side.

With the partition of India, india’s cultural heritage was partitioned too. Ghalib apparently fell on India’s side, and Iqbal was tossed across to Pakistan. When Iqbal died, his grave was in India. After 1947, it became the property of Pakistan.

“If Iqbal belongs to Pakistan just because his grave falls within their geographical boundaries, then what about the Harappan civilization of which the largest number of sites fall on the other side of the border? Does it make Harrapa a Pakistan heritage only?” asked Dr. Khawaja Ikramuddin of JNU’s Department of Urdu, How can a Iqbal who vouchsafed for Hindu–Muslim unity and targeted the exploitative religious figures, be labeled as a Muslim communalist– good enough to be exported to Pakistan? How can an Iqbal who said “Khak-e watan ka mujh ko har zarra devta hai” [Each dust particle of my motherland is god to me], be considered a poet of the Muslims?

Iqbal has described his dream of a new India in these words:

Sach keh doon aye Brahmin gar to bura na mane

Tere sanam-qadon ke b’ut ho gaye purane

Sooni padi huyi hai muddat se dil ki basti

As ek naya shiwali hum phir se yan bana de’n

Shakti bhi shanty bhi bhakto ke geet me hai

Dharti ke waasiyon ki mukti preet me hai

Mullahs had issued a fatwa on Iqbal for daring to see this dream for a new India. Yet, after his death, Iqbal was reviled as an Islamic poet. This was Iqbal's tragedy. "It is wrong to assume that Iqbal is the poet of Muslims or he belongs to Urdu literature alone. No Iqbal transcends all boundaries. You cannot put him in any category. Like all great poets, he belongs to the whole mankind," said Professor Abdul Haq.

Allama Iqbal was born in Sialkot in 1877. He learned Arabic and traditional eastern education under the guidance of famous scholar Meer Hasan. After M. A. in Philosophy, he received Ph. D. from Cambridge and German University. Passing the examination of Barrister, for some time he became professor of Arabic in London University. In 1908, he returned to India and became professor in Lahore. One and half years later he started practicing law. British government bestowed the title of "Sir" on him in 1922. In 1926, on the invitation of Madras University, he delivered series of 6 lectures on Islam. He was appointed as a member of Punjab Legislative Council. He presided over All India Muslim League in 1930. In 1931, he represented India in second "Round Table Conference". In 1932, on Shah of Afghanistan's invitation he participated in welcome Celebrations in Kabul, along with Syed Sulaiman Nadwi and Sir Ross Masood. He died on April 21, 1938.

After partition, Iqbal was claimed by Pakistan, so the argument goes, because he is credited to have originated the idea of Pakistan, a holy land for the Muslims. "This is not the whole Truth," said Professor Abdul Haq, an eminent Urdu critic. "Iqbal foresaw a federal structure for a free India, in which a Muslim-dominated north-western region could be a cultural unit like many others," he said. As far as the idea of Pakistan is concerned, Iqbal denied that he was the originator of this idea. "Iqbal has clearly denied this in his letters to Raghbir Hussain. People don't talk about these letters since they don't favour their point of view," said Dr. Haq.

"When nations begin to diminish in stature and gallop back to their annihilation, they begin to put things in categories: this is Hindu, this is Muslim, this is this and this is that," said Dr. Naseer Ahmad Khan of JNU's Department of Urdu. Iqbal's being dubbed as a Pakistani or a Muslim poet is a reflection of our intellectual poverty. It is not Iqbal's personal loss but reflective of our own inadequacies, Dr. Khan added.

“I’m not bothered whether Iqbal originated the idea of Pakistan. What matters to me, and should matter to everybody, is how far Iqbal is relevant to us today,” said Professor Mohammad Hasan, an eminent expert on Iqbal. He said that Iqbal’s greatness, as a poet is undoubted. Along with Ghalib, he is the only poet in Indian literature who had equal command over two languages: Urdu and Persian.

Dr. Abdul Haq said that Iqbal is the most misunderstood poet of the 20th century. “We must look at Iqbal in totality if we want to understand him,” He said. Iqbal’s tragedy was that his poetry was used by different groups to serve their own interests. His poetry had so many facets that he seemed to assume different roles in different phases of his poetry: he was a staunch nationalist, a vocal communist, an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, a humanist, a believer in Islamic revivalism, a freedom fighter, and an advocate of international brotherhood. “No poet in Urdu, and I’m sure in any other Indian language too. Has shed as many tears on India’s misery and colonial captivity as Iqbal,” said Dr. Haq.

Iqbal warned his countrymen by these words:

Watan ki fikr kar nadan musibat aane wali hai

Teri barbadiyon ke mashware hain aasmano me

Professor Haq said that in order to under to understand Iqbal, we must see him at three levels: as an Indian, as a Muslim, and as a humanist advocating universal brotherhood. As an Indian, Iqbal’s patriotism is indubitable.” *Saare jahan se achha Hindustan hamara,*” said Iqbal so blatantly. His poetry is full of patriotic fervor and a pride for India’s ancient civilization. In one of his couplets, Iqbal extolled Ram as the leader of the East.

Professor Hasan quoted from his most mature work, *Javid Nama* a couplet where he was traveling in the heavens and saw Prophet Jesus Christ, and Gautam Budhha seated side by side before the Lord God. “From a Muslim point of view, what Iqbal says in this couplet is sheer apostasy; yet, Iqbal is unfortunately understood as a communalist,” said Professor Hasan.

Iqbal also seems to be sympathizing with communism. He apparently believed that if you simply add God to the communist philosophy, it becomes Islam. Professor Haq said that Iqbal had the gall to put Marx on the pedestal of prophethood. He quoted a line from Iqbal wherein he had said that though Marx was not a prophet, but he has the book (*Das Kapital*) like the revealed ones. No wonder then, the Russian Revolution of 1917 prepared the background for themes of capitalist system and jostling of labor class in his poem “Khidr Raah”. He presented revolutionary views before moderate leader. He conveyed the message to class of laborers to get organized and unified.

Uth kea b daore jahan ka aur he andaaz hai

Mashroq-o-Maghrib me tere daur ka aghaz hai

et up now that he syle of the world has changed

the beginning of your age in the East and West.”]

Iqbal, while attaining a philosophical height in his poetry, was also writing “Decree of God to Angels” for the youth.

Uthho meri duniya ke gharibon ki jaga do

Kakhe umara ke daro deenar bila do

Jis khet se dehqan ko mayassar no ho rozgi

Us khet ke her kbosha-ye gandum ko jala do

Iqbal was unhappy with the situation of the Muslims in the world. Everywhere they were lorded over by the colonialists. In one of his poem, depicting the political situation of a particular period, he addresses Muslims and says that Allah has bestowed upon you with all qualities, you are the best people, you have to lead the whole world. So, regenerate the qualities of valor, justice, and truth in yourself.

“Read the lesson again of valor, of justice, of truth

You will be required to lead the world.”

Talking about Iqbal being branded a communalist, Professor Haq said, “it is unjust to label Iqbal a communalist. Every thinker, philosopher and creative artist turns to spiritual resources in his later life. The same also happened with Iqbal. Do we talk about the communalism of Aurobindo? Being religious does not mean being a communalist. You are communal only when you talk about harming the people of other communities. How can you put Iqbal in that category when he dreamt of building a ‘Naya Shivala’. Appreciating Iqbal, Dr. Haq said that Iqbal was the only Urdu poet, and perhaps the only poet in any other Indian literature, who linked the native literature to the world events. He made the events around the world the core of his poetry. Dr. Hasan said that if we look at his verses, we find them reflecting all the major events of the world of his times.

Dr. Hasan said that Iqbal was not without flaws. For example, he did not agree with his views vis a vis women. Iqbal does not allow much room for action to women. However, his poetry and his farsightedness cannot be flawed, he urged.

Dr. Hasan said that Iqbal’s entire philosophy can be summed up in one word: Khudi (which have meanings much deeper than simply, “self”). It is not an Islamic word or Islamic philosophy. It is mantra of action and struggle for any individual or nation to survive and succeed. That is his message to the world. Iqbal believed in action and continuous struggle. He quoted one of his Persian couplets which means:

Someone (supposedly a divine voice) asked me, are you happy with the way this world is I said no.

The answer came, then go smash it up and make it the way you wish (it to be)

Iqbal favours Iblees (Devil) over Adam for his action and his daring to defy Allah’s command. Iqbal’s concept of the Shaitan (devil) is that he is the leader of those who count their destiny responsible for their evil deeds and count their punishment already destined. He complains to Allah.

Harfe istakbar tere saamne mumkin na tha

Haan magar teri mushiyat me an tha mera sajoon

When he is put a question:

Kab kbhula tujh par ye raaz? Inkaar se pehle ke baad

He answers:

Baad! Aye teri tajalli se kamalat-e wajood

Then he realizes that he has understood it after having denied it and he dared to do it because of his weak nature. When you take it forward, we find out that he has envy and jealousy that is why he dislikes man to sit as the viceroy of God. It means that he considers man superior to himself because he complains in *Javd Nama* that man easily becomes a prey in his web. This is despite the hope from man that he fights him and tries to dominate him. Therefore, Iqbal sees in Iblees a power which helps in the development of man and his world; he alone brings out his best in real life through the struggle of good vs. evil Iblees invitation—“defeat me” —is a clear evidence that establishes that he wants to be the prey of a Mard-e Kamil (Perfect man).

Professor Al-e Ahmad Suroor has explained it this way: Iblees was in search of the perfect man as he refused to bow before a newborn Adam. It seemed as if Iqbal gained freedom from the devil by interpreting him in this fashion. He had achieved the power of action, faith in truth, self-respect, self-dependence and self-defense.

Teri zindagi isi se teri aabro isi se

Jo rabi kbhudi to shahi na rabi to ru-siyahi

That Khudi is Iqbal’s universal message. It is not only for the Indians or the Pakistanis but for the whole mankind to adopt and learn from. People may deep on fighting about Iqbal being our heritage or theirs. In his own lifetime, Iqbal had outgrown all categories. He is a shared heritage for the whole world.

Dhoondta phirta boom aya Iqbal apne aapko

Aap hi goya musafir aap hi manzil hun mein

(I keep looking, oh Iqbal, for myself,

As if I am the traveler as well as the destination itself)

Zafar H. Anjum was born in 1975 in India. He studied history at the Aligarh Muslim University and mass communication at the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi. He is a journalist and a writer based in New Delhi. He has a novel, Of Seminal Fluids, and a couple of short stories published to his credit.

64TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY AND SEMINAR OF ALLAMA IQBAL'S

ALLAMA IQBAL RESEARCH ACADEMY, DHAKA

M. S. Umar

SHORT REPORT

On the Occasion of Allama Iqbal's 64th death anniversary a Seminar was held under the auspicious of Allama Iqbal Research Academy, Dhaka. The Theme of the Seminar was Iqbal Study in Bangladesh, on which an article was presented by Prof. Dr. Umme Salma, Department of Persian and Urdu University of Dhaka.

Among others who spoke in the seminar were Prof. Anisuzzaman, Department of Philosophy University of Dhaka, Mr. Shahaboddin Daraei, Cultural Counsellor, Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mr. Shawkat Hossain, a journalist of Bangladesh, Mr. Siraj ul Islam, a Rtd. Judge, Mr. Sakhi Sultan a Prominent leading person of Dhaka and President Urdu Academy.

All the speakers emphasised on the importance of study and cultivation of Iqbal's works in Bangladesh and they thanked Allama Iqbal Research Academy of Bangladesh to organized this seminar and they also inspired it to introduce Iqbal among the youth community of Bangladesh. The seminar was presided by Prof. Siraj ul Haque, president of this Academy, Guests and audience were entertained.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND RESUME OF IQBAL INSTITUTE

UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR SRINAGAR

HISTORY

To commemorate and celebrate the 100th birth anniversary of the renowned poet-philosopher of the East and great son of the soil---Dr Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, in 1977, the University of Kashmir established a Chair after his name. Prominent academician and noted literary personality of the sib-continent Prof. Ale Ahmad Saroor was appointed as Professor to initiate a systematic, methodical and scholastic work covering all aspects of Iqbal's life, art and thought.

Keeping in view the fervent influence of Dr. Iqbal's philosophy and Teaching on the social, Political and cultural fabric of Kashmir, in 1979, the said Chair was elevated to Iqbal Institute with Prof. Ale Ahmad Saroor as its first Director.

The inception of this Institute was a milestone in the History of academic and literary circles, as this Institute is the only institute throughout India, which awards M. Phil and PhDs solely in Iqbal studies and the allied branches.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE INSTITUTE

The aims and the objectives o the institute:

- It aims the promotion of Urdu, Persian, Kashmiri and Arabic with special reference to Iqbal.
- It believes that it is in the general interest if the Humanity that the religious and philosophical doctrines of Iqbal should be made available to the world in scholastic perspective.
- It feels that students trained in the multi and inter disciplinary approach to Iqbal studies can tackle the complex, multi-dimensional contemporary and future problems of Muslim and non-Muslim societies.

- It further believes to educate and train students who may, by their researches in the various branches of literature and thought, be able to trace genetically the continuity of intellectual life between Muslim culture and modern knowledge.

Iqbal institute is not only compassed to the study of Iqbal alone but also encompasses versatility of Iqbal's genius. Iqbal's multi-dimensional personality has drawn the Institute into such areas, which were of special interest for him. Thus the Institute has over the years developed into a Center of whetted intellectual activities, scholarships and research.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH

Being an inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary in nature the Institute admits students from various disciplines like Urdu, Persian, Arabic, English, Political Science, Philosophy, Islamic Studies etc. A Separate Board of Research Studies (BORD) chaired by the Hon'ble vice-chancellor or Dean Academics grants registration to the aspiring research scholars.

The institute gradually developed strong links with various Post-Graduate departments of the University which enables the Institute to Co-opt members of different faculties to diversity its scope and exalt its nature of research.

Registration for M. Phil and PhD programs is a continuous process and more than thirty-five scholars have been awarded their respective M. Phil and PhD degrees till date. Currently more than eighteen research scholars are pursuing their M. Phil and PhDs in the Institute.

PROJECTS

Iqbal Institute, since its onset, has published more than sixty books, which were highly appreciated in the academic circles, and one of them, *Shairiyat-e-Iqbal*, was also awarded "Sahitya Academy Award". Iqbal Institute is also publishing an annual bilingual Research Journal under the title *Iqbaliyat*.

The Institute has completed number of projects and few more are under progress like Iqbal's Impact on Kashmir, *Nayay Aalimi Tanazuraat Aur Fikr-i-Iqbal Ki Maenwiyat* etc.

The Institute considers taking up some more substantial projects, which include a definitive biography of Dr. Iqbal, his contribution to Art, Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Education, Political Science Sociology, Comparative Studies of Religion and Literature, Mysticism etc. and also aims to frame an Iqbal Encyclopedia.

SEMINARS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Besides pursuing research and other literary activities, Iqbal Institute is among few institutes in the Kashmir University which remains active in organizing seminars, symposia, debates, extension lecture, poetic symposia and other literary programs of State and National Level in which Iqbal experts of National and International repute are being invited constantly to share their experiences and new research findings regarding Dr. Iqbal's contribution and his relevance to the modern world.

So far, more than fifty seminars, symposia, extension lectures, debates, poetic symposia etc. were organized which were highly appreciated in academic, literary, intellectual and social circles because of their academic and literary excellence. The proceedings of various seminars have been published in various international Journals which itself adds to the credibility of the Institute.

In concordance to the tradition, Iqbal Institute organized the following functions in the current academic session.

1. In order to commemorate the sanctity and the holy essence of Prophet's (SAAS) life and teachings, Iqbal Institute organized "the *Seerat* Lecture competition" on 08-05-2003 on the eve of the celebrations of *Idd-i-Meelad-un-Nabi* (SAAS). The huge gathering of Prophet's (SAAS) Lovers, Scholars, Students and Literary persons attended the grand function held at the lawn in front of historical Arts block of University of Kashmir.

Prof. A. Wahid the senior most Professor of the University Presided over the function and famous personalities of the Valley such as Prof. Margoob Banihali and renowned physician Dr. A. Q. Allaqb and were present in the function. In the inaugural speech Director Iqbal Institute, Prof. B. A. Nahivi, presented highest salutations to the glory of the holy Prophet (SAAS). While

elucidating various aspects of the Prophet's (SAAS) life Prof. Nahvi said that the only way to achieve salvation is to follow the footsteps of the holiest of the holy Prophets (SAAS). The proceedings of the function were so heart touching that eye of all the persons was full of tears. The cash prize of Rs. 3000, 2000 and 1000 were awarded to first, second and third positions respectively and in addition consolation prizes were distributed among all the fifteen participants.

2. Iqbal Institute invited the renowned Iqbalian Scholar Prof. Abdul Haque of Delhi University to deliver an Extension Lecture on the topic "*Iqbal Key Kalaam main Ishq-i-Rasool (SAAS)*". The lecture was delivered on 28-05-2003 in the Gandhi Bhawan of the University, a full gathering of academicians, scholars and students were present. Prof. Haque in his lecture said that the focal point of Iqbal's poetry and thought is *Ishq-i-Rasool (SAAS)*, which energizes a Muslim with miraculous feelings. Director Iqbal Institute Prof. B.A. Nahvi himself conducted the proceedings and the lecture was presided over by the renowned poet of the country Hakeem Manzoor.

3. Another renowned critic, Scholar and Urdu literature expert of National repute Prof. Zahoor-ud-Din of Jammu University was invited by Iqbal Institute to deliver an extension lecture on the topic "*Modernity and Post-Modernity in Literature*". The lecture was held on 05-06-2003, which was attended by various Heads of the departments, Dean Faculty of Arts Prof. M. S. Niyazmand and good number of Academicians, Scholars and students from various departments.

In his inaugural speech Director Iqbal Institute, Prof. B. A. Nahvi gave a detailed account of the multi-dimensional activities of the Institute. The lecture delivered by the invited Professor was very informative for scholars and opened new horizons for them. Head of the Deptt. Urdu Prof. Qudoos Javed presided over the function and stressed that such functions are very important to get benefited from and should be organized in frequently.

4. On 12 July 2003 Director *Shab-i-Hamadan* Institute of Islamic Studies Kashmir University, Dr. Syed Muhammad Yunus Geelani, delivered an extension Lecture on "*Research Methodology*" in the Seminar Library of Iqbal Institute and urged Iqbalian Scholars to adopt the doctrines of research methodology in its true letter and spirit while pursuing their researches.

FACULTY STRENGTH

The institute was launched with just three positions presumably with the intention of increasing the number gradually. The faculty strength of Iqbal Institute is presently as under:

	Name	Designation
1	Dr. Bashir Ahmad Nahvi	Professor/Director
2	Dr. Taskeena Fazil	Reader
3	S. Iqbal Quraishi	Teaching Assistant
4	Moyeed-ul-Zafar	Teaching Assistant
5	Muhammad Aijaz Ashraf	Guest Lecturer

LIBRARY

The library of Iqbal Institute consists of rich collections of more than 8000 books and Journals, on Iqbal Studies, Islamic Studies, Comparative Studies, Mysticism, Urdu English and Persian literature. The students and scholars of various departments and faculties are availing the facility.

BUILDING BRIDGES THROUGH SCRIPTURES IN DIALOGUE

CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM SEMINAR IN QATAR

(7-9 APRIL 2003)

From 7-9 April 2003, 25 Muslim and Christian scholars gathered in Doha, Qatar, for a seminar convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury and hosted by the Amir of the State of Qatar. Their purpose was to explore the contribution which a joint reading of their scriptures, the Qur'an and the Bible, could make to Christian-Muslim dialogue. The seminar was the second in a series entitled 'Building Bridges'. The first had been held at Lambeth Palace, London in January 2002 - a record of which was published as *The Road Ahead: A Christian-Muslim Dialogue* (ed. Michael Ipgrave; London: Church House Publishing, 2002). Like that earlier event, the Doha seminar involved Muslim and Christian contributions on a basis of equality and mutuality. It broke new ground in carrying out most of its work in small group discussions which focused on the reading side-by-side of biblical and Qur'an passages. In addition, the programme included public lectures on paired themes by Muslim and Christian speakers, as well as plenary discussions.

The Amir of the State of Qatar, His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani inaugurated the Seminar by the following remarks.

“There is no doubt that the convening of this seminar takes place under extremely difficult circumstances — namely the war now going on in our region. We have done our best to avert this war, and to limit its complications as much as possible. This grievous situation adds deep dimensions and noble meanings to this seminar since it is a meeting for the sake of peace and reviving the sublime values and ideals of both Islam and Christianity, which religions together believe in the oneness of the Almighty God, and call for fraternity, equality, tolerance, moderation, the rejection of violence, respect for human rights, and the maintenance of man's dignity, life and property. These sublime principles have for centuries formed the original common denominators between the two religions and cultures.

Perhaps it is useful to recall that the Holy Qur'an ordered us not to argue with Jews and Christians except in the best and most gracious ways, and to preach the right path with wisdom and good advice. Therefore, we beseech God to bestow success on your work so that dialogue between civilizations overcomes the challenges and obstacles. We are quite sure that your high status and enlightened thoughts will address in this seminar the obstructions that hinder the course of civilized cooperation between the followers of the two faiths.

Perhaps among the most evident obstructions are two major problems: first, the diversion of the course of the heavenly religions from the essence of their message and manipulation of their tenets to serve political purposes; and secondly, passing judgement on a whole nation because of the behaviour of a minority of extremists or ignorant people, and so distorting its civilization, threatening its interests and offending its established principles. In our view, these are the two original causes of the distorted and false stereotypes of Islam and Christianity, which we see here and there, as portrayed by the media and propagated by racist writers, and which only serve to widen the gap between the followers of the two religions, and make discord replace harmony and clash replace dialogue.

In face of the turbulent events of recent times, we should not forget to point out that our Arab region is honoured by God the Almighty with the revelation of the messages of Moses and Jesus Christ, peace be upon them, and the daybreak of the Muhammadan message. The Arab Muslims, Jews and Christians have lived together in peace, security and fraternity of faith, striving to excel in beneficence and common good. But the land of prophets has for half a century been suffering, and continues to suffer, from the lack of security, peace and stability, as a result of persistence of the Arab-Israeli conflict without a just settlement due to the absence of international legality. We look for much from this seminar, hoping that its discussions and papers would go deep into the roots of those obstructions, and find the effective mechanism to activate dialogue. I would like to take this opportunity to propose the formation of a permanent body for dialogue between Islam and Christianity, to be based in Qatar. We believe in the significance of such dialogue between civilizations and in the principles of affection, tolerance and consultation among societies and nations, and will be honoured to

contribute to the efforts aimed at deepening understanding and promoting rapprochement and cooperation among Muslim and non Muslim countries. Peace, mercy, and the blessings of God.”

Introducing the Seminar, the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Most Revd and Rt Hon. Dr Rowan Williams said:

“My first duty, which I discharge with the most sincere pleasure, is to thank His Highness the Amir of Qatar for welcoming us to his country and doing so much to facilitate this meeting. From earlier days when my predecessor was welcomed here, His Highness has shown exemplary commitment to this dialogue and has pursued it with an energy and vision characteristic of all he has done as ruler of this small but rapidly evolving country. He has shown precisely the kind of enthusiasm for honest exchange and deepened understanding which meetings such as this are designed to assist, and we are all profoundly grateful. It is a kind of openness that is also making possible significant gestures towards the Christian community here, and for that too let me express my gratitude. I have mentioned my predecessor, and I cannot let the opportunity go past of paying tribute to the courage and imagination with which he addressed these issues of mutual understanding across the frontiers of our communities of faith. I hope to continue such work, conscious all the time of doing no more than building on foundations which he laid through much labour, much thought and prayer, and much tireless fostering of relationships in many lands.

For many, a real dialogue about what we specifically believe and the thoughts we have about our faith ought to take second place to discussions concerning the practical tasks we can share, whatever our faith - and this is thought to be especially true at a time of tension. But this dialogue has been conceived rather differently. Christians are Christians and Muslims are Muslims because they care about truth, and because they believe that truth alone gives life. About the nature of that absolute and life-giving truth, Christians and Muslims are not fully in agreement. Yet they are able to find words in which to explain and explore that disagreement because they also share histories and practices that make parts of their systems of belief mutually recognizable - a story reaching back to God’s creation of the world and God’s call to Abraham; a practice of reading and absorbing scriptures and of shaping a life in response to the Word God speaks to creation. We are here to discover

more about how each community believes it must listen to God, conscious of how very differently we identify and speak of God's revelation. It is a significant meeting not primarily because it coincides with a time of such conflict and anxiety but because it highlights again a deeper and abiding need—a need which the run-up to this present conflict has made all the more urgent.

Listening to God and listening to one another as nations, cultures and faiths have not always had the priority they so desperately need. So this space for reflection is all the more important; it is both a symbol and an example of this kind of engagement.

In this dialogue, we are not seeking an empty formula of convergence or trying to deny our otherness; indeed, as we reflect on the holy texts we read, we shall be seeking to make better sense of how we relate to the other, the stranger with whom we can still speak in trust and love. As we do this—experience shows us—we learn more of the depths of what nourishes us in our own faith; and we hope to go from this dialogue better equipped to witness in a deeply troubled world, to witness to what faith and humble obedience to God and patient attention to each other might have to offer to struggling and suffering nations throughout the globe.”

Michael Ipgrave reported on the Seminar:

“The Doha Christian-Muslim seminar was held from 7-9 April 2003. On the three working days of the programme, the following general themes were addressed in turn: ‘Listening to God, learning from scripture’; ‘Legacies of the past, challenges of the present’; and ‘Scripture and the other’. Each day’s programme included two public lectures, the texts of which are included in Chapters 2-4 of this book. These chapters also aim to provide some record of the major part of the seminar’s work, which was carried out in four parallel small groups, each composed of Christian and Muslim scholars. These groups met on a total of six occasions for intensive reading of paired passages from the Qur’an and the Bible. Participants were greatly assisted in this study process by notes on the scriptural passages prepared by Kenneth Bailey, Vincent Cornell, Ellen Davis, Salwa el-Awa, Muhammad Abdel Haleem, Esther Mombo and Tom Wright.”

“The Qatar seminar was distinctive in building its dialogue around the joint reading by Christians and Muslims of passages from the Bible and the Qur’an. Held at a time when dramatic events in the region were impinging on Muslim-Christian relations globally— coalition troops were entering Baghdad at the time of the meeting in Doha— this way of dialogue through engagement with scripture made deep sense. For Muslims and for Christians, the scriptures are central to identity, beliefs, ethics, worship and ways of living. As great changes affect our world and our communities, there is an urgent need continually to remember, study and interpret these formative texts in order to be faithful to God in new circumstances. Christianity and Islam both have long traditions of scriptural understanding, and many ways of developing these traditions further to meet new situations and questions. But there are almost no places and occasions where Christians and Muslims can learn from each other and engage in dialogue around the scriptures together. It is also sadly true that many of the most disturbing things that happen in the name of Islam and Christianity are justified by reference to the Qur’an and the Bible. Any progress towards deeper understanding and peacemaking between the two faiths must, therefore, take these scriptures seriously, because they are linked to the best and the worst in history and in the current situation.

The textually based method shaped the pattern and the character of the dialogue in Qatar. With scripture at the centre of reflection, discussion and deliberation, it was the scriptural narrative that identified the parameters within which particular issues and concerns were discussed. In contrast to some other modes of inter faith discussion, where scripture may be almost incidental to the discussion, or be brought in only sporadically and haphazardly, one participant observed that here it felt that it was the living breath of the revealed Word that was the moving spirit behind the discussion, rather than abstract conceptual constructs of academic or theological discourse. Once the scriptures were opened and read, he said, an air of familiarity seemed to pervade the room; a peaceful and trustful atmosphere emerged, seemingly out of nowhere. It was this sense of shared intellectual and spiritual striving in response to the Word which made it possible for Christians and Scriptures in dialogue Muslims together to address some pointed and difficult issues in forceful yet positive discussions.

As our scriptures permeate our lives, so listening to each other grappling with texts offered us all a glimpse of each other's hearts as well as minds.

It was notable that a dialogue based around scripture led as much into the exploration of differences as into the identification of common ground. This was even true of passages which at first appeared to share a common focus—those relating to Abraham, for example. More generally, in both scriptures we found passages which are 'inclusive', in the sense that they show God's universal purposes, but in both also we met more demanding passages, which emphasize the need for response to a specific revelation and the threat of judgment to those who proved faithless.

Differences are also apparent at a methodological level, in the ways in which Christians and Muslims approach their respective scriptures, and at a theological level, in the ways in which they receive them as conveying the divine Word. It is clear that, by and large, Muslims and Christians view the inspiration of scripture in very different ways. For the one, it is possible to take account of the history of a text's transmission (including its background in oral tradition) as well as its later redaction, and at the same time to hold to the text's inspired status. For the other, divine inspiration is understood more directly and precludes literary and historical considerations regarding the text of scripture, even if other elements in the tradition are not exempt from such study.

Reading scripture in the company of the Other underlines the importance of a certain humility in exegesis. It reminds the reader that there are many things in his or her 'own' scripture which he or she will never fully or definitively comprehend. The Bible and the Qur'an speak to Christians and Muslims as texts which are full of meaning at many different levels, and as texts whose meaning will elude them at many levels also. The Qur'an affirms of itself that it includes 'ambiguous' verses whose import is known only to God. Augustine describes the Bible as a great and high room, but with a door so low that one must stoop in humility to enter into it. In an age when many in both faiths brush aside the very possibility of any uncertainty in their interpretation of scriptural truth, this lesson of exegetical humility is a valuable one for us to learn from one another. None of us has, and none of us ever will have, explored all the riches of our scriptures.

There is clearly ample scope for further engagement of Christians and Muslims together in a dialogue grounded in their reading of the scriptures together. One long and pressing agenda for such a dialogue is set for us by the massive transformations of recent centuries. This is especially obvious in relation to gender issues, but in other ways too dialogue cannot be only with one another (and with people of other religions); it must also engage with the secular understandings and forces in our religious and secular world. Guided by their engagement with the scriptures, Muslims and Christians face the challenge of discerning together what in these tendencies is to be affirmed, what rejected, and what reformed. Nevertheless, the greatest ‘issue’ which draws us into dialogue must be the reality of God and the seeking of his will for our world. Unclear as the way ahead may be, it does seem to be God’s purpose that Muslims and Christians should continue to follow through a dialogue of truth-seeking and peace-making. It is for the sake of God, and in line with God’s will and wisdom, that we come together to engage in study of scriptures together. Each of us loves our scriptures above all as writings through which God is revealed. As one participant at the Qatar seminar said, ‘Long-term devotion to God is the best context for understanding our scriptures.’

The beginning of the twenty-first century is a time when there is an urgent need for Christians and Muslims to engage with each other more deeply for the sake of understanding, peace-making, the blessing of the world, and the glorifying of God, and also a time when there are unprecedented conditions and opportunities for such engagement. We have found in the Qur’an and the Bible texts that can sustain us in a deep and searching dialogue with one another. The challenge facing us now is to develop ways of continuing this in the future so that each of our traditions and all of our societies can be shaped by the wisdom to be gained from our scriptures.

A record of the Seminar has been published in Michael Ipgrave, *Scriptures in Dialogue— Christian and Muslims Studying the Bible and the Qur’an Together*, Church House Publishing, London, 2004.

Participants

Professor Muhammad Abdel Haleem,

King Fahd Professor of Islamic Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Dr Salwa el-Awa

Lecturer in Islamic Studies, Department of Theology, University of Birmingham

Sheikh Dr. Zaki Badawi

Principal, The Muslim College, London

The Revd Canon Dr Kenneth Bailey,

Canon Theologian of the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Professor Vincent Cornell

Director, King Fahd Centre for Middle East and Islamic Studies, University of Arkansas

Professor Ellen Davis

Associate Professor of Bible and Practical Theology, Duke Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina

The Most Revd Michael Fitzgerald

President, Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, Vatican City

Professor David Ford Regius

Professor of Divinity, University of Cambridge

Dr Ida Glaser

Senior Teaching and Research Fellow, Edinburgh Centre for Muslim-Christian Studies

Dr Riffat Hassan

Professor of Humanities and Religious Studies, University of Louisville,
Kentucky

The Revd Canon Dr Michael Ipgrave

Inter Faith Relations Adviser, Archbishops' Council of the Church of
England

Dr Assaad Kattan

Institute of History, Archaeology and Near Eastern Studies, University of
Balamand, Lebanon

Dr Basit Koshul

University of Virginia and Lecturer in Comparative Religion, Concordia
College, Moorhead, Minnesota

Dr Jane Dammen McAuliffe

Dean of Georgetown College, Georgetown University, Washington DC

The Revd Dr Daniel Madigan sj

Director, Institute for the Study of Religions and Cultures, Pontifical
Gregorian University, Rome

Dr Maleiha Malik

Lecturer in Law, King's College, University of London

Professor Mustansir Mir University Professor of Islamic Studies,
Youngstown State University, Ohio

Dr Esther Mombo

Academic Dean, St Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya

The Rt Revd Dr Michael Nazir-Ali

Bishop of Rochester

Dr Mona Siddiqui

Head of Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Glasgow

Mr. Muhammad Suheyl Umar

Director, Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan

Mr Timothy Winter

Lecturer in Islamic Studies, Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge

The Most Revd and Rt Hon. Dr Rowan Williams

Archbishop of Canterbury

The Rt Revd Dr Tom Wright

Bishop of Durham

Professor Frances Young Edward Cadbury

Professor of Theology, University of Birmingham

PROGRAM

CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM SEMINAR IN QATAR

(7-9 APRIL 2003)

MONDAY 7 APRIL

Day One of Seminar: *Listening to God – Learning from Scripture*

08.00 Breakfast

09.00-10.30 Meeting with participants to introduce themselves

and be briefed on practicalities

His Highness the Amir of the State of Qatar arrives and meets participants.

- 11.15** **Official opening ceremony.**
- 12.00-13.00** **Lunch reception with the Amir**
- 13.00-14.30** **Break**
- 14.30-15.45** **Lectures (open to wider audience)**

**Canon Tom Wright to give the lecture from a Christian perspective.
Prof Mansoor Vincent Cornell to give the lecture from a Muslim perspective.**

- 15.45-16.15** **Responses in Plenary to the lectures**
- 16.15-16.30** **Break**
- 16.30-18.00** **Session One in study groups (see details for all sessions below)**
- 18.00-19.00** **Break for dinner**
- 19.00-20.30** **Session Two in study groups**
- 20.30-21.30** **Feedback from groups and plenary discussion.**

TUESDAY 8 APRIL

DAY TWO OF SEMINAR: *INTERPRETING THE SCRIPTURES: LEGACIES OF THE PAST AND CHALLENGES OF THE PRESENT*

Breakfast

- 09.00-10.15** **Lectures (open to wider audience)**
Dr Mona Siddiqui to give the lecture from a Muslim perspective.
Dr Esther Mombo to give the lecture from a Christian perspective.
- 10.15-10.45** **Break for refreshments (wider audience leaves)**
- 10.45-11.15** **Response in Plenary to the lectures**
- 11.15-13.00** **Session Three in study-groups**
- 13.00-16.00** **Lunch and Rest**

16.00-17.45 **Session Four in study groups**
17.45-18.00 **Short Break**
18.00-19.00 **Feedback from groups and Plenary discussion**
Evening Reception/Dinner

WEDNESDAY 9 APRIL

Day Three of Seminar: *Scripture and the ‘Other’*

08.00 **Breakfast**
09.00-10.15 **Lectures** (open to wider audience)
Prof Frances Young to give the lecture from a Christian perspective.
Dr Basit Koshul to give the lecture from a Muslim perspective
10.15-10.45 **Break for refreshments** (wider audience leaves)
10.45-11.15 **Response in Plenary to the lectures**
11.15-13.00 **Session Five in study groups**
13.00-16.00 **Lunch and Rest**
16.00-17.30 **Session Six in study groups**
17.30-17.45 **Short Break**
17.45-19.15 **Feedback from groups and Plenary discussion – and
also final session for reflecting on the seminar as a whole
and considering the next seminar**

Evening: **Dinner/Reception**

NEW PRACTICES OF SCRIPTURAL READING— TOWARDS A COMMON FEASTING

Meetings of the *Society for Scriptural Reasoning*

Toronto, Canada

21-24 Nov. 2004

In the quiet days building up to the American Academy of Religion (AAR) meeting in Toronto this year a group of Jews, Christians and Muslims met together in a series of meetings which many will remember as having been the climax of the whole event. While the AAR did not begin its activities until November 23rd, the meetings between the Jews, Christians and Muslims began the day before on Thursday, Nov. 22nd. The first took place in the private house of Robert Gibbs, a professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto. Graciously hosted by the said professor and his family, this meeting involved both the sharing of good food and a feasting upon the scriptures: Jewish and Christian sacred texts, side by side with Qur'anic ones. The purpose of the meeting was both to cement friendships and to see those with whom we have walked the strange path of 'scriptural reasoning'. At the centre of this activity was the 'feasting in common' which takes place where scriptures are shared and the discourse and practices of traditions other than one's own are valued and explored. The texts that were discussed were Genesis (28:10-22), Luke (9:28-36), and the visit to Medina by the Christians of Najran from the Seerah of Muhammad (saw). The common theme in the three narratives was the unexpected eruption of the Divine Word in the midst of an "ordinary" human activity.

There was a radical shift in the venue of the meeting the next day. From the warm, gracious and personal ambiance of the Gibbs residence, the meeting of the following day was held in one of the prime teaching rooms of the University of Toronto. This was a place of academic privilege: the centre of the highest intellectual and pedagogical values of the university system – where disinterested detachment and cool objectivity are considered the prime values. Even though there was a significant change in the character of the

venue, there was an undoubted continuity at work. The purpose of this meeting was not now to get down to the serious business, nor was it to forget about the proceedings of the evening before. Rather there was a carrying over of the hospitality of the preceding evening into the academic forum. The meeting on Friday morning centred on a document in the making titled "The Tent of Abraham." Prepared by the founders of the SSR, Peter Ochs of the University of Virginia, Dan Hardy and David Ford of Cambridge University – with contributions from Basit B. Koshul of Concordia College – this document will be the most coherent statement to date on the principles underlying the activity and methodology of Scriptural Reasoning. Besides being a statement of principles, it will contain a detailed description of the environment/principles of modern/secular academic inquiry in which SR has emerged and to which it is a response – and to which Scriptural Reasoning is an alternative/corrective.

The momentum of the Thursday and Friday meetings which was maintained at the formal session of the Societies of Scriptural Reasoning on Sunday night. This formal session was a part of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion. That session focused upon readings within the Abrahamic faiths of the key theme in the Song of Song – love, divine and human and the relationship between the two. The presenters were Ellen Davis of Duke Divinity School, Alon Gottstein of the Elijah Institute in Jerusalem and Qamar al-Huda of Boston College. The papers delivered at this session and the responses to them (as well as the proceedings from previous SSR meetings) can be viewed at the following web-site: www.depts.drew.edu/ssr/nationalsr. Indeed, the combination of ideas which emerged from this session to do with feasting, community, sharing, the love of God and textuality itself as it becomes present to us in the reading of sacred texts seemed to sum up the experience and adventure of the group as a whole.

The Societies of Scriptural Reading is a new religious and intellectual movement which is grounded in a new way of sharing and enjoying the sacred texts of the Abrahamic tradition. It finds expression both at the highest intellectual level, and, importantly, also in the practice of reconciliation and peace resolution (through CHAI, or Children of Abraham Institute). One of the many things that makes this movement distinctive is precisely this link between the two arms. This is based not upon a determination or decision that the one must be seen in terms of the other:

there is nothing of an ideology here. But it is grounded rather in the *discovery* that scriptural reasoning entails peace-making of and in itself. This configuration is at the heart of the scriptural reasoning enterprise, which cannot be understood without some reflection upon what the intertwining of scriptural reading and peace-making mean.

Historically, the way that we Christians, Jews and Muslims have read our own scriptures has proved as divisive as it has been reconciliatory. Christian history, for instance, is severely marred by deep-seated and often violent oppositions around different ways of understanding scripture. The Protestant Reformation with its Catholic Counter-Reformation would be only one instance of this. One can also cite a myriad of examples from Jewish and Muslim history that shows partisans within each community condemning/fighting each other due to differing interpretations of the same sacred texts. And yet no true believer within an Abrahamic faith could hold that the divine self-communication in their own scriptural tradition is about anything other than the rule and triumph of peace. Is it not peace, the peace of God on earth (whether structured as Kingdom, Law or loving submission) which is the foundational movement of each of the three religions? And yet there are many matters of belief and practice that continue to divide us. No one – and certainly no one in the field of Scriptural Reasoning— can begin to claim to have solved such problems. The differences between us remain, and are likely to remain for the foreseeable future, quite intractable. But there is nevertheless the possibility of a different way of relating with each other, through the common practice of scriptural reading, or what we might call ‘scriptural sharing’. This is to read our own scriptures in the company of others and to read their scriptures together with them. The bedrock of this sharing is the common presupposition that these sacred texts communicate the divine presence and will. The outcome of this practice is not easily quantifiable in terms of things learned as data, but is experienced rather as a process of enrichment. Paradoxically, one of the key elements in that enrichment is the sense of a rediscovery of the scriptural inheritance in one’s own tradition. The practice of engaging in scriptural reading with others from different Abrahamic faiths does not efface one’s own scriptural tradition therefore, by forcing it into some common ground with other traditions in terms of articles of faith (or philosophies of religion). This is not a modernist enterprise. But it seems rather to strengthen our own scriptural sources by laying bare the call to peace, and asking us to submit ourselves to

it, as common feasting, which drives through all our scriptural traditions. Part of that is actually a return to our own sacred texts in a new way and with a new attentiveness to its message of peace, and to the fellowship of peace which Scriptural Reasoning sponsors and affirms.

It is impossible to know what the future of Scriptural Reasoning will be. But it is clear that the Abrahamic faiths are critically involved in many of the world's most damaging conflicts. It seems right therefore that a new way of peacefulness and sharing might emerge which draws not upon a common inheritance rooted in the secular order, but rather upon the calling to 'common feasting' which is rooted in our scriptural traditions themselves, and which is the ground of our common scriptural practice.

Oliver Davies,
University of Wales Lampeter
Basit B. Koshul
Concordia College

AN OBITUARY FOR PROFESSOR HAMIDULLAH

Muzaffar Iqbal

It was a damp Paris morning. I had wandered through the streets for almost an hour and had finally found the apartment where Professor Muhammad Hamidullah, the renowned Islamic scholar, lived a solitary life. It was 1983. I knocked at the door but there was no answer. I waited for a while and knocked again. No answer. I left a note and returned to my hotel.

Later that day, I went out for a long stroll and then visited some book stores. When I returned to my hotel, there was a small note on my door: "I am sorry to have missed you. I was in my apartment, but my hearing is not good anymore. Please accept my apologies. Hamidullah."

I was surprised by the humility of tone and by the fact that the old Professor had taken to trouble to come to my hotel and leave the message; we had never met.

I went back to his apartment and had a memorable 2 hour meeting with him. He as lucid in his thoughts and his grasp of contemporary situation of the Muslim world was amazing.

Yesterday, (December 17, 2002), 94 year old Professor Hamidullah woke up in Jacksonville, Florida, USA for Fajr prayer and then after breakfast went to sleep never to wake up again. He was laid to rest in the Muslim cemetery in Jacksonville, with funeral prayers led by his friend and admirer Dr. Yusuf Zia Kavakci.

Born on February 9, 1908, in the Princely State of Hyderabad, Professor Hamidullah studied law and became a professor in his native city. Later he settled in France where he taught at Sorbonne University; he came to the United States in 1996.

Among Professor Hamidullah's 250 books and articles is a French translation of the Qur'an. He also discovered a very old hadith manuscript in a Damascus library. This he published in the Urdu language known as *Sabifa*

Hamam. In 1935 he obtained his doctoral degree from the University of Bonn, Germany, and an doctoral degree from France's Sorbonne University in 1936. During 1946-1948, Dr. Hamidullah was actively involved in the struggle against the Indian occupation of the State of Hyderabad. After the fall of the State of Hyderabad to the Indian military, Dr. Hamidullah opted for a life of exile in France. He was a scholar par excellence who was fluent in 22 languages besides his mother tongue Urdu.

In the early 1950s he helped draft the first Islamic constitution of Pakistan but resigned from the commission over differences with vested interests. He was awarded the highest civilian award of Pakistan in 1985, but turned over the cash award to Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad.