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Dr. Muhammad Rafi-ud-Din

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SOME THOUGHTS ON ISLAMIC STUDIES

DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

We are publishing below a note on Islamic Studies written by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal to Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan on 4th June 1925. The letter has been copied from the records of the Muslim University, Aligarh and is being published through the courtesy of Dr. S.M. Yousuf, Head of the Department of Arabic, University of Karachi. Although the Urdu translation of this letter has been published in *Iqbal Nama* the original English letter remains unpublished. We are publishing it here as it will interest the students of Iqbal to know his thoughts on Islamic Studies in his own words.

—Editor

My Dear Sahibzada,

I have read with great interest your excellent note on Islamic Studies to which, it seems, you have given a great deal of thought and attention. The subject has to be looked at from various points of view and in reference to the birth or rather rebirth of humanism in the world of Islam today. However, I beg to offer a few stray thoughts which have come to me. Before I proceed further I would state the objects of what you call Islamic Studies as follows:-

1. To educate and train well-qualified theologians, divines etc. (This is your first object on page 4 of your letter and I fully agree with it).
2. To produce scholars who may, by their researches in the various branches of Muslim literature and thought, be able to trace genetically the continuity of intellectual life between Muslim culture and modern knowledge. (This requires a little more elucidation. The political fall of Islam in Europe unfortunately took place, roughly speaking, at a moment when Muslim thinkers began to see the futility of deductive science and were fairly on the way to building inductive knowledge. It was practically at this time that Europe

took up the task of research and discovery. Intellectual activity in the world of Islam practically ceased from this time and Europe began to reap the fruits of the labours of Muslim thinkers. The Humanist movement in Europe was due to a large extent to the force set free by Muslim thought. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that the fruits of modern European humanism in the shape of modern science and philosophy are in many ways only a further development of Muslim culture. Neither the European nor the Mussalman of today realises this important fact because the extant work of Muslim thinkers still lies scattered and unpublished in the libraries of Europe, Asia and Africa. The ignorance of the Mussalmans of today is so great that they consider thoroughly anti-Islamic what has in the main arisen out of the bosom of their own culture. If, for instance, a Muslim savant knew that something like the theory of Einstein was seriously discussed in the scientific circles of Islam (Abut Ma'ali quoted by Averroes) the present theory of Einstein would appear to him less outlandish. Again his antipathy to modern Inductive Logic would be very much diminished if he knew that the whole system of modern Logic started from Razi's well-known objection to the deductive logic of Aristotle.)

The production of such scholars is absolutely necessary as they alone can help in the assimilation of modern knowledge.

3. To turn out Muslim scholars well-versed in the various aspects of Muslim History, Art, General Culture and Civilisation. (This is really your third object mentioned on page 4 of your letter, which I have a bit narrowed by excluding science and philosophy from its scope.) This will include your object No. 2.
4. To produce scholars who may be fitted to carry on researches in the legal literature of Islam. As you know, our legal literature, a good deal of which is still unpublished, is simply enormous. In my opinion it should be treated as a separate branch of Muslim learning. (By law I mean the law relating to *fiqh* only).

It is in the light of these general considerations that we should devise a scheme of Islamic Studies in the Muslim University at Aligarh.

I will now proceed to consider the practical aspect of the matter:-

The *Study of Muslim Theology*: Our first object in which we both agree is the training of well-qualified theologians to satisfy the spiritual needs of the community. But the spiritual needs of a community change with the expansion of that community's outlook on life. The change in the position of the individual, his intellectual liberation and infinite advance in natural sciences have entirely changed the substance of modern life so that the kind of scholasticism or theological thought which satisfied a Muslim in the Middle Ages would not satisfy him today. This does not mean an injury to the spirit of religion. But it certainly contradicts traditional views. If rejuvenation of Muslim life and the regaining of original depths are desirable then a rebuilding of theological thought is absolutely necessary. The vision of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on this point, as on many others, was almost prophetic. As you know he himself undertook the task, which did not, and could not, prosper because it was mainly based on the philosophical thought of a bygone age. I am afraid I cannot agree with your suggested syllabus in Muslim Theology (para 4 of your letter). In my opinion it is perfectly useless to institute a school of Muslim Theology on older lines unless it is your object to satisfy the more conservative portion of our community. Spiritually, the older theology is, generally speaking, a set of worn-out ideas; educationally, it has no value in view of the rise of new, and restatement of old problems. What is needed today is intellectual activity in fresh channels and the building of a new theology and *Kalam*. This can obviously be done by men who are properly equipped for such a task. But how to produce such men?

I fully agree with you in your suggestion that a system be devised for utilising the best material from Deoband and Lucknow. But the point is what would you do with these men after having trained them up to the Intermediate standard? Would you make them B.A.s and M.A.s after the suggestion of Sir Thomas Arnold? I am sure that so far as the study and

development of theological thought is concerned they will not serve your purpose. These Deoband and Lucknow men who disclose a special aptitude for theological thinking should, in my opinion, be given a thorough grounding in modern thought and science before you allow them to pass through Arnold's course, which, for their purpose, will have to be very much shortened. After completing their study of modern thought and science they may be required to attend lectures on such subjects in Arnold's course as have a direct bearing on their special study e.g., sects of Islam and Muslim Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy. With this equipment they may be made University Fellows to give original lectures on Muslim Theology, *Kalam* and *Tafsir*. Such men alone will be able to found a new school of Muslim Theology in the University and serve our object No. 1. My suggestion, therefore, is that if you wish to satisfy the more conservative portion of our society you can start with a school of Theology on older lines as suggested in para 4 of your letter but your ultimate aim must be gradually to displace it by the work of original thinkers produced in the manner I have suggested.

Coming now to our second object, those among the Lucknow and Deoband men who disclose a special aptitude for purely scientific research should be given a thorough grounding in Mathematics, Science or Philosophy according to their respective aptitudes. After having completed their study in modern science and thought they may be permitted to pass through Arnold's course, which will have to be shortened for their purpose also. For instance, a man who has studied Physical Science only should be called upon to attend lectures on "Science in the Muslim World", Arnold's No. 3 in the M.A. course. You can then make him a University Fellow to devote all his time to researches in the particular science he has studied.

Coming to our third object, Arnold's full course should be opened to those who do not happen to possess a special aptitude for science or philosophy but want a general training in the principles of Muslim culture and civilisation. But this need not be confined to men from Deoband or Nadwa only. Your own University men with a better knowledge of Arabic

may take it up. I would find a place for Muslim art and architecture in this course.

Coming to our fourth object i.e., the study of Muhammedan Law and Legal History, we should pick up more brilliant men from Deoband and Lucknow who happen to possess a legal mind and disclose a special aptitude for legal subtleties. In view of the fact that the whole system of Mohammedan Law stands in need of constructive readjustment we should give them a thorough grounding in modern Jurisprudence and principles of legislation and perhaps also in modern Economics and Sociology. You can make them LL.B.s if you like and then permit them to pass through Arnold's course, which will have to be shortened in their case also. For instance, they may be required to attend lectures on such subjects as Muslim Political Theory and development of Muslim Jurisprudence. Some of them may be allowed to take up the profession of law. Others may accept your University Fellowship and devote themselves to legal research work. The present state of the administration of Muhammedan Law in this country is simply deplorable and there are difficulties which can be solved through legislative agencies only. Mohammedan professional lawyers thoroughly well-grounded in the principles of Mohammedan Law will be of the greatest help both in court and council.

Briefly my suggestions are: I accept the course of study suggested by Sir Thomas Arnold. But the whole of it should be opened only to those candidates who do not disclose a special aptitude for Law, Theology and Science. In so far as the study of Theology is concerned, I allow your suggestions (para 4 of your letter) but consider it is only a tentative measure to be displaced eventually by the work of original thinkers, who shall have to be trained in the manner I have suggested in the course of my letter. For these men as well as for those who take up the study of Law and Special Sciences, Arnold's course will have to be shortened according to their needs. It is hardly necessary here to point out that a workable knowledge of

German and French is absolutely necessary for those who take up the study of Muslim thought, literature, art, history and even of Theology.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) Muhammad Iqbal.

RELIGION AND POETRY IN IQBAL

SYED ALI AHSAN

In poetry, it is not words that have meaning, but the poet or listener who means something by them. A poet starts his poetic career as a person intellectually fashioned by a particular idiom, acquired through his affiliation to a civilization that prevailed in the places where he had grown up, at a particular period of history. Within it he has to find his theme and seek the terms for its expression. All his later amendments to these original terms will remain embedded in the system of his previous beliefs. The words that a poet has used and is yet to use mean nothing by themselves; it is only the poet who means something by them. As a Hungarian philosopher has said, "I do not focally know what I mean, and though I could explore my meaning up to a point, I believe that my words must mean more than I shall ever know, if they are to mean anything at all". Because poetry has its immediate starting point in a state of excitement, it gives rise to certain thoughts and ideas before it can be expressed in words and therefore these words will not mean anything by themselves — only the poet will mean something by them. To set up strictness of meaning as the ideal is wrong; words for poets must have an open texture.

Iqbal had his affiliation to Islam at a particular period of IndoPakistan history. For him this affiliation was an experience, a realization and not an unconscious acceptance. He as a highly sensitive poet, discovered words for such an experience. When we study Iqbal, we become interested only in what he is saying and thereby uproot language from experience. Iqbal definitely never aimed at this. He wanted his words to reveal his religious and emotional experiences. In his introduction to the *Muraqqai-Chughtai* Iqbal says:

"The spiritual health of a people largely depends on the kind of inspiration which their poets and artists receive. But inspiration is not a

matter of choice. It is a gift the character of which cannot be critically judged by the recipient before accepting it. It comes to the individual unsolicited and only to socialise itself. For this reason the personality that receives and the life-quality of that which is received are matters of the utmost importance for mankind. The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or pictures, may prove ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Atilla or Changiz . To permit the visible to shape the invisible, to seek what is scientifically called adjustment with Nature is to recognise her mastery over the spirit of man. Power comes from resisting her stimuli and not from exposing ourselves to their action. Resistance to what is with a view to create what ought to be, is health and life, All else is decay and death. Both God and Man live by perpetual creation."

This creation in poetry means the poet's response to a stimulus, spiritual and religious experience and his sensations of delight and awe. The words that the poet uses are embedded in his experience. The greatness of Iqbal lies in the fact that he never expresses his religious beliefs. He expresses his realizations — realizations which had their beginning in a state of excitement. Just as a painter paints to unload himself of feelings and visions, similarly Iqbal uses metaphors, similies and images to express his deep and intense realizations with equilibrium and clarity. The greatest art is an inseparable blend of reason and emotion springing from excitement in the mind and in the feelings. This highest sphere of all is the sphere of vision, where the mind of genius is in contact with the eternal pattern of things. "In his poetry it is not the awareness of religion that moves us, but a capacity to see into the life of things".

Denis de Rougemont has remarked that man alone among animals can lie. A truthful statement commits the speaker to a belief in what he has asserted: he embarks in it on an open sea of limitless implications, whereas an untruthful statement withholds this belief. In poetry, unless an assertion is accompanied by some persuasive feeling, it is a mere form of words saying

nothing. I am now quoting from a critic of Iqbal who has stated this beautifully: "According to Iqbal, poetry which fails to awaken in man sympathy for neglected truths and to provide guidance towards the light in dark and gloomy days has completely failed in its great mission. To him the true function of a poet is to benefit man for a more courageous grappling with life's problems and to enable him to overcome all obstacles in the way of his onward march". With Iqbal, Islam is the Truth, and he discovers the fullness, the meaning and the exuberance of life in Islam. And here lies the greatness of Iqbal as a poet of deep religious sensibility. In his poetry we do not get the expression of an accepted belief, we actually get a creation in words, an objective equivalence of his emotional experience and religious determination. In *Tulu-i-Islam* and *Khizr-i-Rah*, Iqbal expresses through metaphors and symbols his religious affirmation and realizations. It is because of this emotional blending of religion with poetry that Iqbal's poetry have metaphorical significances. Had it been only a traditional and social acceptance of Islam, Iqbal's poetry would have lost its value. It would have become religious poetry and not poetry of religious experience. This experience is so universal, that whether the reader is a Muslim or not, believes in Islam or not, his poems are a poetic success. There are, in many cases, analysis and argument in Iqbal's poetry, but over and above the analysis and argument there is an affirmation. It is not reason which makes Iqbal a poet, it is not analysis and argument but affirmation and ecstasy of realization which make him a poet and a great poet indeed.

I have translated Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* in Bengali. While translating it the thing which inspired me was the sublimation of an imaginative flight into the realm of ideas. This flight is presented with arguments. There are also many highly didactic parables and anecdotes in *Asrar*. But these parables and arguments do not disturb our appreciation, rather they add to it. The moments of purest inspiration acquire these arguments and parables as they proceed to express the secret of life. Iqbal's comment on the secret of life,

which according to him is desire and seeking, is refreshing and has definite emotive content. To me it is religious and poetic experience at the same time:

"The secret of life is in the seeking,

Its essence is hidden in desire.

Keep desire kindled in your heart,

Lest your dust becomes a tomb.

Desire is the soul of this world of colour and scent,

The nature of everything is faithful to breast,

And by its glow the breast is bright as- a mirror.

It gives to the earth the power of growing,

It is the *Khizr* to the mooses of perception".

Professor Nicholson describes the scope and purpose of Iqbal's *Asrar* in these words:

"Its author professes, indeed, to expound the inmost sense of the prophetic revelation; but any one looking through the work at random can see that the doctrines, interwoven with apologies, anecdotes, fables, legends, and traditions range over the whole domain of medieval religious life and thought. Whereas in his odes he often wishes from the standpoint of the mystic who sees nothing but God, the *mathnawi* shows him as an eloquent and enthusiastic teacher explaining the way to God for the benefit of those who have entered upon it."

Iqbal found in himself a sense of identity of spiritual purpose with Rumi and like Rumi he saw as his main mission in life the exposition of "the inmost sense of the prophetic revelation." Through the process of negation

and purification by clearing the mind of all irrelevancies and by purging the world of Islamic thought of all that was impure and alien, Iqbal wanted to experience the truth of the revelation. And in his ecstasy to experience the truth of the revelation, Iqbal reached the heights of true poetry. *Asrar* is essentially the imaginative story of the journey of the poet to the desert sublimity of Arabia:

"You who have gathered roses from the garden of Persia
And seen the birth of spring in India,
Now taste something of the heat of the desert,
Drink the old wine of the date,
Lay your head for once on her hot breast,
Yield your body a while to her scorching wind".

In *Asrar*, we find Iqbal the poet's creative process as an active enjoyment, not a passive suffering of his experiences. Like all great poetry we find here the ordering activity of the imagination which gives significance to emotion. Mere emotion in itself is not what is needed in great poetry ; what is necessary for poetry is the imaginative command of this emotion. "The life of art is in this sense a strenuous effort after release from emotion in the very act of experiencing it. There must be a quietness in the midst of the speed of passion. Poetry is not concerned primarily to awaken 'emotion' and attitude; its concern is to convey imaginative ideas of, among other things, emotions. Successful conveyance of such imaginative prehension will certainly be accompanied by excitement — but excitement of a unique kind, which is not itself part of the content of the poem, for it is that which accompanies contemplation of the object. Judged from this standard, *Asrar-i-Khudi* is great poetry.

It is true that one cannot afford to ignore Iqbal's philosophical and theological beliefs; but it must be remembered that the reader should not be called upon to believe them himself. It will be wrong to think that *Asrar* or *Ramuz* is of interest only to Muslims, because in these poems we do not discover philosophical beliefs. What we do find is poetic assent. It is not

necessary for me to know what Iqbal believed as a man, I am interested in what he believes as a poet.

THE MEANING OF REVELATION

MUHAMMAD ABDULLA QURAIISHI

Among the devotees and intimate friends of Iqbal, Sir Ross Masud occupies an eminent place. He was the son of Justice Syed Mahmood and the grandson of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. On retiring from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Aligarh Muslim University, Sir Ross Masud joined service at Bhopal in the capacity of Minister for Education and Religious Affairs, from 1934 till his death in July 1937. This friendship resulted in Iqbal's visits to Bhopal and was the occasion for the presentation of his "*Zarb-e-Kalim*" to His Highness the late Nawab Hamidullah Khan, the ruler of the State, with the words:

بگیر این همه سرمایہ بہار از من

کہ گل بدست تو از شاخ تازہ تر ماند

(Take from me this Glory of Spring,

For in thy hand the flower is fresher than it was on the bough.)

Iqbal, on his part, had a great love for Ross Masud, and a great admiration for his capabilities and the qualities of his heart and head. In the words of Iqbal:

"He inherited the heart of his grandfather and the head of his father and with such heart and head he served his country and nation all his life."¹

On the death of Ross Masud, Iqbal has thus expressed his deep sense of regret upon human helplessness and the destruction wrought by death:

¹ "Letter to Lady Masud" *Makateeb-e-Iqbal* Part I, page 392

رہی نہ آہ زمانے کے ہاتھ سے باقی

وہ یادگار کمالات احمد و محمود

زوال علم و ہنر مرگ نا گہاں اس کی

وہ کارواں کا متاع گراں بہا مسعود

مجھے رلاتی ہے اہل جہاں کی بے دردی

فغاں مرغ سحر خواں کو جانتے ہیں سرور

نہ کہہ کہ صبر میں پنہاں ہے چارہٴ غم دوست

نہ کہہ کہ صبر معمائے موت کی ہے کشود

”دلے کہ عاشق و صابر بود مگر سنگ است

ز عشق تا بہ صبوری ہزار فرسنگ است“ (سعدی)

(Alas from the cruel hands of Time could not be protected,

That monument of the accomplishments of Ahmad and

Mahmood.

His sudden death marks the decline of learning and talent,

For Masud was a valuable possession of the caravan.
I weep over the callousness of people;
They take the lament of the morning bird for a song.
Tell me not that in endurance lies the remedy of the pang
of separation,
Nor that it unravels the mystery of death.
It is callousness for the lover to be patient,
For it is a long distance from love to endurance.)

This deep attachment of Iqbal was responsible for those thought-provoking, fine poems which he composed in his sojourns at Bhopal at the house of Sir Ross Masud. It will be of some interest to remember the words of Dr. Zahir-ud-Din Ahmad Aljamaee, Head of the Department of Religious and Cultural Affairs at the Osmania University:²

"Once on my way to Lahore, I broke journey at Bhopal in order to see Sir Ross Masud. Iqbal was at that time staying with him, but was ill and nearly confined to bed. It was *Shab-e-Me'raj* (the night of the Ascension of the Holy Prophet). In his capacity as Minister for Religious Affairs, it was incumbent upon Sir Ross Masud to be present at a meeting in the Shahjehan mosque. He took me to the meeting. A divine was delivering his sermon. The vulgar manner in which he spoke on the mysteries of Revelation and Prophethood and the brazen-faced way in which he quoted Iqbal in his support, greatly pained Sir Ross Masud. He could not stay there for long, as it was not possible for him to stand that kind of nonsense.

²اقبال کی کہانی کچھ میری اور کچھ ان کی زبانی، صفحات ۵۵-۶۳

"On returning home, we found that Iqbal had not yet gone to bed, for he was a little restless on account of heart trouble. Ross Masud, who was a fine conversationalist and had a lively sense of humour, and whose words were a nectar to the ailing Iqbal, went up to him and narrated the entire incident, which had depressed him but which amused Iqbal. It greatly comforted him and a broad smile beamed upon his face, and in a sportive yet serious tone, he retorted:

" 'If the divine has quoted my verses to his purpose, there is nothing strange in it, for a similar incident happened to (Imam) Ghazali. When after a long and tiresome journey, he arrived at Damascus, on a Friday, it was time for prayer and he decided to go to the Ummayyid mosque in the city. The mosque was already filled to capacity, and Ghazali had to accommodate himself on the steps where the devotees leave their shoes, for he did not like to push his way through the congregation, but was content to be seated at that very spot. When the prayers were over, a preacher tried to prove his eloquence. At one stage he quoted Ghazali in his support. The Imam was taken aback at being so grossly misquoted but due to his own good nature, ascribed the preacher's misquotation to be based upon some misapprehension.

" 'In keeping with the conventions of renunciation, Ghazali, however, did not interrupt the preacher during the course of the sermon, but no sooner was it finished, the meeting being dispersed, he moved towards the speaker, in utter humility and requested him to be permitted to have a private audience with him. The preacher dismissed the request summarily, calling him a child and saying that there was no need of granting a private audience for he permitted him to say publicly whatever he had in mind. When Ghazali pointed out the mistake, the preacher flew into a wild rage. 'Are you crazy that you should call yourself Ghazali? Even if your father named you thus, you cannot impersonate Imam Ghazali', rebuked the preacher. At this Ghazali quietly came away without offering any reply to him'.

"After narrating the incident, Iqbal cheerfully added: 'Had I told the divine that what he had expressed was quite foreign to my purpose, I do not expect to have been treated any better than Ghazali'.

"This short talk made Iqbal feel as if he had regained health. Sir Ross Masud, however, did not like to wait upon him any longer and left after bidding the poet good night.

"The idle talk of the divine spurred Iqbal on, and proved to be a fine source of inspiration, for out of evil cometh good." Dr. Zahiruddin Ahmad has further recorded that, "when on the following morning all of them sat down for tea, Iqbal informed them he had spontaneously expressed his views on the Meaning of Revelation. Ross Masud, for whom every word of Iqbal was a revelation, was all ears and he requested the poet to recite his new poem, which Iqbal did in his usual dignified manner:

عقل بے مایہ امامت کی سزاوار نہیں

راہبر ہو ظن و تحمیں تو زبوں کار حیات

فکر بے نور ترا اور عمل بے بنیاد

سخت مشکل ہے کہ روشن ہو شب تار حیات

خوب و نا خوب عمل کی ہو گرہ وا کیونکر

گر حیات آپ نہ ہو شارح اسرار حیات

(Poor as Reason is, it is not capable of guiding;

Miserable would be life if the guide suffered from doubts.

Thy thoughts lack the light of Faith and thy acts are utterly without a foundation.

The dark night of existence can hardly receive any light from thee.

How can the riddle of good and evil be solved?

If Life itself be not the interpreter of the Secrets of Life)

"The exposition of the meaning of Revelation from Iqbal's own lips cast a spell on the audience, which can better be felt than described. Sir Ross Masud was almost besides himself and was repeating the verses time and again. This original exposition of the meaning of Revelation removed every sense of strangeness and remoteness attached to this problem, and made us realise that Revelation is not a superim-posed commandment, on the other hand it is a stream springing out from the depths of human heart. The heart of the Prophet is a bright mirror for humanity, reflecting the individual conscience of man and the natural needs of human life. From the heart of the Prophet there springs the stream of knowledge and intuition which slake the thirst of human nature, and represent the conscience of entire humanity.

"What a wonderful and satisfying exposition of the Revelations? It proves that while passing through the evolutionary process, life gets involved in different problems and doubts and loses its way. Reason, being subservient to life, can only doubt and guess but is incapable of setting a sure standard to be followed. When it finds itself helpless in solving these riddles with the aid of the senses, it goes to solve these riddles without the aid of senses and at last takes the right and sure path to the real destination. This solution of the riddle is according to Iqbal 'Revelation'."

"The birth of Islam, as I hope to be able presently to prove to your satisfaction, is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves

the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality."³

Similarly *Shariat* or the Divine Law, whose fountain head is Revelation, is no superimposed commandment. On the other hand, it is a set of rules originating from the depths of life, to which Iqbal refers thus:

فاش م ی خواہی اگر اسرار دین

جز باعماق ضمیر خود میں

(If you want to know the secrets of the Faith,

Do not look anywhere, but into the depths of your own hearts)

In other words:

حقیقت را بہ رندے فاش کردند

کہ ملاکم شناسد راز دین را

(The Truth dawned upon the Libertine,

For the Divine scarcely comprehends the secrets of the Faith)

³ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, reprinted January 1962, page 126.

The term revelation as used by Sir Ross Masud is synonymous with poetic inspiration. Hence it must be differentiated from Revelation when used in its strict sense.

Sir Ross Masud held that Iqbal's poetry is a fine specimen of poetic inspiration, which is distinguished from Revelation in so far as Revelation presupposes some divine agency through which divine commands are conveyed; on the other hand inspiration is the inner voice, which is further distinguished from Intuition. Intuition is the developed form of Intellect. It presupposes training in a particular field; while inspiration is the inner voice or the outburst of one's conscience. Hafiz beautifully illustrates this subtle point:

سر خدا که عارف سالک یہ کس نہ گفت

در حیرتم کہ بادہ فروش از کجا شنید

(The secret of God which the gnostic never revealed to any body I am at a loss to know, how it inspired the wine-seller.)

A STUDY OF IQBAL'S VIEWS ON 'IJMA'.

DR. S.M. Yusuf

Iqbal penned his lecture on "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam" (No VI in *The Reconstruction*) at a time when Turkey was hailed as "the element of stability in the world of Islam". No doubt, the stirrings of new life in Turkey in the wake of World War I touched off a wave of excitement throughout the world of Islam. Iqbal's appraisal of the potentialities for good or evil of the new trends in Modern Turkey is worth a critical study in the light of the facts of subsequent history. Today one cannot help feeling that at several places in the above lecture the emotionalism of the revivalist gets the upper hand of the cool analyst and the calm thinker. For example, one is at a loss to see, as Iqbal would like one to do, "that following a line more in tune with the spirit of Islam he (i.e., Sa'id Halim Pasha of the Religious Reform Party) reaches practically the same conclusion as the Nationalist Party, that is to say, the freedom of *Ijtihad* with a view to rebuild the law of *shari'ah* in the light of modern thought and experience". One can only wish that Iqbal had lived longer to see that the Nationalists only sought the freedom to displace the *shari'ah* and not to rebuild the law thereof. Even if the Nationalists called it 'free *Ijtihad*', it as clearly a case of free-thinking — free from, and without any reference to, the *shari'ah*.

It is clear that, like all modern thinkers, Iqbal was distracted by the thought of "the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years". He was afraid that if the new reforms of Modern Turkey were condemned outright the 'immobility' might get a fresh lease of life. That is why he would say: "The structure of Islam as a religio-political system, no doubt, does permit such a view (the separation of Church and State), though personally I think it is a mistake to suppose that the idea of State is more dominant and rules all other ideas embodied in the system of Islam". As if it were just a minor mistake! Further: "Turkey's *Ijtihad* is that, according to the spirit of Islam, the Caliphate or *Imamate* can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected

Assembly. The religious doctors of Islam in Egypt and India, so far as I know,, have not yet expressed themselves on the point. Personally, I believe the Turkish view is perfectly sound. It is hardly necessary to argue this point. The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam". True, but just a simple question: Is it the Caliphate/Imamate that is vested in the elected Assembly? If so, then what about the separation of Church and State? And further on, "Most people in India will condemn the displacement of Arabic by Turkish. For reasons which will appear later the poet(Zia)'s *Ijtihad* is open to grave objections, but it must be admitted that the reform suggested by him is not without a parallel in the past history of Islam". Iqbal is merely pleading a bad case, pointing to unreliable evidence for mitigation of sentence. Ibn Tumart was an eccentric who could only have erred on the side of unrelenting opposition to '*shirk*' and '*bidah*'. He was so particular about the Qur'an in Arabic that he invented a novel method of teaching the '*Fatiba*' to the barbarous Masmuda. He called individuals of them by a word or sentence from this *Sura*: the first was called " *al-hamdulillahi*", the second "*rabbil*", the third "*alamin*" and so on. He then told them to give their names in the order in which he placed them till he succeeded in getting them to repeat the first *sura* of the Qur'an.' But at the same time Ibn Tumart was anxious that the ignorant Berbers should understand, and be inspired by, the *Tawhid* (the opposite of *shirk*'). That is why he utilised his gift of extraordinary proficiency in the Berber language to compose a treatise called the *Tawhid*, which he himself taught and insisted on everyone of his followers to learn. In course of time the *Tawhid* and other collections of the writings and commentaries of Ibn Tumart in the Berber language became popular until his opponents, anxious to fight him with his own weapons, called this circulation of Berber treatises, in preference to the Qur'an as they must have put it, a '*bidah*' par excellence. All the reliable histories like the *Tarikh* of Ibn Khaldun, *al-Hulal al-Mawshiyya*, -the *Mujib* of alMarrakushi, and the *Rawd al-Qirtas* of Ibn Abi Zar, make no reference to the strange things about him

mentioned by Iqbal. The modern researcher, Uthman al-Kaak, reaches the same conclusion as given above (*Al-Barbar*, Tunis, 1956, p.115/116). But even if the parallel is established, parallelism does not necessarily mitigate the gravity of objections; it also accentuates the same if the ultimate results are taken into consideration. Ironically enough, the *Tanbid* of Ibn Tumart survives only in its Arabic translation and the attachment to Arabic is so great that even in the last century two persons who dared to bring out a Berber version of the Qur'an were killed outright (*Al-Barbar* p.116-117) Is not Turkey before our very eyes hard put to it to save the legacy of Atatürk from the nemesis of time?

Having chosen at random a few pointers to the mood that dominated Iqbal at the time of the emergence of Modern Turkey, we shall now proceed to the main subject of this article viz., a critical examination of Iqbal's observations on *Ijma*. This is exactly what he has to say about it:-

"The third source of Mohammedan Law is *Ijma*, which is in my opinion perhaps the most important legal notion in Islam. It is, however, strange that this important notion, while invoking great academic discussions in early Islam, remained practically a mere idea, and rarely assumed the form of a permanent institution in any Mohammedan country. Possibly its transformation into a permanent legislative institution was contrary to the political interests of the kind of absolute monarchy that grew up in Islam immediately after the fourth Caliph. It was, I think, favourable to the interest of the Omayyad and the Abbaside Caliphs to leave the power of *Ijtihad* to individual *Mujtahids* rather than encourage the formation of a permanent assembly which might become too powerful for them. It is, however, extremely satisfactory to note that the pressure of new world forces and the political experience of European nations are impressing on the mind of modern Islam the value and possibilities of the idea of *Ijma*. The growth of republican spirit, and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands constitutes a great step in advance. The transfer of the power of *Ijtihad* from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative

assembly which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only possible form *Ijma* can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussion from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs. In this way alone we can stir into activity the dormant spirit of life in our legal system and give it an evolutionary outlook. In India, however, difficulties are likely to arise; for it is doubtful whether a non-Muslim legislative assembly can exercise the power of *Ijtihad* "One more question may be asked as to the legislative activity of a modern Muslim assembly which must consist, at least for the present, mostly of men possessing no knowledge of the subtleties of Mohammedan Law. Such an assembly may make grave mistakes in their interpretation of law. How can we exclude or at least reduce the possibilities of erroneous interpretation? The Persian constitution of 1906 provided a separate ecclesiastical committee of *Ulema* — 'conversant with the affairs of the world' — having power to supervise the legislative activity of the *Mejlis*. This, in my opinion, dangerous arrangement is probably necessary in view of the Persian constitutional theory. According to that theory, I believe, the king is a mere custodian of the realm which really belongs to the absent Imam. The *Ulema*, as representatives of the Imam, consider themselves entitled to supervise the whole life of the community; though I fail to understand how, in the absence of an apostolic succession, they establish their claim to represent the Imam. But whatever may be the Persian constitutional theory, the arrangement is not free from danger and may be tried, if at all, only as a temporary measure in *Sunni* countries. The *Ulema* should form a vital part of a Muslim legislative assembly helping and guiding free discussion on questions relating to law. The only effective remedy for the possibilities of erroneous interpretations is to reform the present system of legal education in Mohammedan countries, to extend its sphere, and to combine it with an intelligent study of modern jurisprudence."

It is obvious that Iqbal is pained at the lack of organisation and of permanent 'institutions' for legislation in Islam. This, I am afraid, only shows an inadequate appreciation of the true nature of Islamic society and the bases

and the processes set forth for its growth and evolution. So far as *Ijtihad* and *Ijma* are concerned, it is in their very nature that they are diffused among the whole community in such a way as to defy all attempts at regularisation and organisation into rigid mechanical institutions which, as practical experience will amply bear out, are dangerously exposed to rigging and regimentation. It is the inalienable non-transferable privilege of every Muslim possessing the necessary qualities for the task to exercise his mind and form his individual judgment in regard to the new situations arising out of the forward march of life — history, culture and civilisation. Any question of representation, delegation or election is completely beside the point. Even the number of *mujtabids* is indeterminable; it is bound to vary — from time to time and place to place according to the nature and extent of education and culture. Further, the recognition of a *mujtabid* is not won through a counting of votes or the award of certificates by statutory bodies. The recognition is *commanded* by the *mujtabid* from the general body of believers through his personal qualities as revealed during a whole life time and not on the eve of a hectic election campaign. No periodicity, no registration of electorate and no mechanical method are needed for this purpose. When the individual *mujtabids* have put forward their opinions there sets forth a process of conflict and survival of the fittest comparable to the natural selection in the physical world. Both follow certain well-known principles and laws, which are nevertheless immeasurable in mathematical terms. The process is slow sometimes very very slow — it may take a generation or even more and nobody can set the pace for it. The reason is that there is no silencing of the opposition or browbeating of the minority by the majority. The opposition is not killed; it is tolerated until it dies its own natural death. There is no snapping and no guillotine. Of course, it requires a great deal of patience but the result — a consensus of the free will of the entire community — is worth much more than that. Once *Ijma* is achieved there remains no dissident minority waiting for its turn to impose its own point of view. That is why there have been very few instances of the later generations going back upon the *Ijma* of a previous generation. Theoretically it may be permissible but practically it is

redundant. A community which shows patience and tolerance for about a generation has a right to expect a high degree of permanence and stability for the decisions taken collectively by it. If there is a change in the situation it is sure to call for a fresh *Ittibad*, there being no question of the reversal of a previous one.

Those who lament that the progressive doctrine of *Ijma* was turned into a handmaid of conservatism are simply mistaken. To imitate the externals of the constitutional and political life of Europe is not much different from the borrowing of the externals of European civilisation which Iqbal has denounced so strongly and graphically. It must also be borne in mind that there can be no such thing as *Ijtihad* for the sake of *Ittibad*; *Ijtihad* is only forced by the genuine needs of an unprecedented situation, which cannot be met otherwise. Even a certain amount of reluctance to 'innovate' is quite understandable in view of the caution against turning the law into a plaything of *hawa*" (هوى) — the deviationist tendencies inherent in man. The truth underlying the general impression about the closing of the Gate of *Ittibad* is only this: By the time the Islamic civilisation reached the Golden Age the corpus of Islamic law had developed sufficiently enough to cope with the various needs of a complex life so much so that there remained no actual need for fresh efforts in the field (unless the *Ittibad* were taken as a mere game of cricket). In proof of the same it can safely be asserted that the corpus of Islamic law as evolved during the early centuries of Islam continued down to the modern times to minister to all the needs of family life, public activity, highly developed industry, crafts, international commerce, international relations, war and peace. Particularly the fact is remarkable that the vast and vigorous economic activity of the Muslims extending from Spain to Canton and involving all sorts of transactions was governed by no law other than that which is dubbed today as 'static.' It is really to be regretted that this fascinating aspect of Muslim civilisation is still awaiting painstaking researches which may help the construction of a complete picture. Nevertheless the broad fact that the lack of *Ijtihad*, as it is asserted, seldom let

down or handicapped the Muslims in any department of life is incontrovertible. It would be true to say that life was static: for the non-Muslim peoples the Middle Ages were all but darkness, for the Muslims it was an age of decline — no progress in science, no inventions, no change in the means of agriculture, industry and transport, in short, no change in the life-situations. But that is precisely the reason why there was no need for *Ijtihad*. The Muslims of those days knew their needs better than the protagonists of *Ijtihad* today. The real need of the time was not so much the forward movement of *Ijtihad* as the codification of law. This latter task was undertaken in right earnest particularly in India and Turkey, of which we have the monuments today in the form of the *Fatama* and the *Majalla*.

Theoretically, of course, the door of *Ijtihad* has always remained open and actually many a bold spirit has throughout been entering the same with appreciable gusto. But let it be remembered that *Ijtihad* is the exclusive and jealously guarded privilege of the competent and the knowledgeable. Modern legislative councils, constituted as they are on the Western model, cannot but violate this privilege outrageously. Iqbal is well aware of the same yet his anxiety for regularisation and fondness for 'institutions' are so great that he attempts a compromise and a reconciliation. The apparently generous and somewhat flattering concession that the Ulema should *guide* the deliberations and the laymen *contribute* to the same is a vague illusion. All the Muslim countries have been making one experiment after the other in this direction until now the hypocrisy lurking in it is fully laid bare. The history of constitution-making in Pakistan, where the religious feeling is strong, offers a striking illustration of the same. A union between the competent and the layman is an utter impossibility, a contradiction in terms, if not deliberate dishonesty. What contribution, for example, can a layman make to the deliberations of a board of medical experts? A layman can only give an account of his ailment, he can only present the problem (and even his understanding of the nature of the problem is not to be relied upon — an experienced medical practitioner is always on the guard against being misled

by the story of the patient) but he can never have a voice in the prescription of the remedy. In the West the layman has a voice, a full vote, because legislation springs from the *ignorant will* of the common man (just take the offensive examples of alcoholism, homosexuality, adultery, racism, colonialism and imperialism) without reference to the Will of God or even the true nature of man. Conformity to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* as *one of the principles* of law-making and even that conformity to be ultimately judged and determined by a lay assembly is nothing but lay statesmanship. The layman, when confronted with the competent (*alim*) in such a circumstance, is bound to behave impudently. The point that we were driving at is that the grave errors which Iqbal visualised as 'possible' are just inevitable. Iqbal's was only a longing optimistic vision of the future; for us it is pathetic history of the past and painful experience of the present.

Ijtihad is often rendered as 'independent judgment.' The rendering, though not incorrect, is liable to give a wrong impression. For the sake of precision, I would call it 'individual effort' to arrive at a judgment as proximate to the pattern of Divine Wisdom and Guidance as can be. Such an effort is neither independent nor free; it is so well-grounded in the sum total of Divine Guidance — the Word of Allah and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet — that the resultant judgment is merely an unfolding of the Divine Will through the agency of human reason — in contradistinction from the meditation of the Prophet — in the manner of the germination of a seed. Otherwise the product of pure reason will only form an interpolation into the *shariah*. To qualify the *Ijtihad* with 'free' is in itself suspicious; the qualifying adjective may just discredit the so-called *Ijtihad*. Obviously, Iqbal has been constrained to use the qualified term (FREE *Ijtihad*) because of the weakness of the position of the Modern Turks in relation to the accepted traditions of *fiqh* and *Usul* in Islam. Can we have a category of FREE Science? Every fresh advance in science represents an effort (*ijtihad*) of human reason *along scientific lines*. Weightlessness in space poses a new problem for the scientist; an answer to the question of correct human behaviour in the unprecedented situation

must naturally conform to the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of science. Prescription of some charms and *mantras* would be the FREE scientific *Ijtihad* — the exact counterpart of the so-called free *Ijtihad* in Islam. And let it be repeated that just as an atomic scientist would regard a 'layman' as an intruder into his laboratory endangering the lives of both of them as well as hundreds and thousands of human beings around, similarly an *alim* is in duty bound to refuse to be juxtaposed with a layman councillor,⁴ who, all appearances and even good intentions notwithstanding, constitutes a virtual danger to the rectitude and piety of the multitude of the followers of Islam.

Really *Ijtihad* can be free only in one sense i.e., in the sense of the freedom of the conscience of the *Mujtahid* from political pressure and surveillance to temporal authority. Paradoxically enough, this is best achieved in the absence of a rigid mechanism and regularised institution. It is always easier to influence and corrupt a concentrated well-defined body, even though it be an elected one (in the mechanical Western way) than an unlimited body of independent scholars recognised spontaneously by the people at large for their personal qualities and achievements. The view that the Abbasid Caliphs were afraid lest 'a permanent assembly became too powerful for them' is falsified by the evidence of history. On the contrary, it was the *Mujtahids* themselves who resisted the attempts of the caliphs to accord statutory recognition to them because they were afraid that such recognition might be a handle for regimentation. The life of Abu Hanifa amply proves the point. It was also Imam Malik who persisted from the time of Abu Jafar al-Mansur to that of Harun al-Rashid in his stout opposition to the suggestion that his *Muatta* be promulgated as the official code of the Empire. Mention must also be made of the advice of Ibn al-Muqaffa to the Caliph Mansur as contained in the *Risalat al-Sababa (Rasailal-Bulagha*, 4th Ed., 1954 p.117 *et seq.*). Ibn al-Muqaffa was steeped in the traditions of

⁴ Even the *mutakallim* and the *muhaddith* (specialist in *hadith* who is not supposed to possess a knowledge of the subtleties of law) are excluded from *Ijtihad* and *Ijma*. Vide *Usulal-shashe*, ch. III.

centralisation in vogue at the Persian Court. He urged the Caliph to end the irregularity and the informality about the different, sometimes conflicting, judgments of the independent individual *Mujtabids*. But the Caliph dared not do that for fear of rousing the public opinion, led by the Ulema themselves, against him. This should not cause any surprise at all. Is it not a fact that all the attempts of the modernists to regularise the activity of the Ulema have so far ended in failure; they only generated a feeling of distrust and suspicion so wide-spread as to be uncontrollable?

I remember some years back they was a dollar-powered stunt to bring about a Christian-Muslim *entente* to safeguard religion against godlessness. When it came to finding a counterpart of the Vatican in the world of Islam even the Azhar could not muster the courage to assume that flattering role. Some of the Muslims must have felt ashamed of the lack of organisation among them but, as a matter of fact, it only proved how Islam and the truly Islamic conscience of the community as a whole were fortified against the pressures of power-politics both within and without. Thanks to the absence of rigid organisation, no one is able to lay his hands on Islam; when anyone tries to hammer Islam he ultimately finds to his chagrin that he has only been beating in the air.

How true and perspicuous the following exposition of *Ijma* by a Western scholar of Islam:-

"The Islamic religious structure, true to its egalitarian principles and conscience, had never countenanced any form of external organisation or any kind of hierarchy. Although it recognised *Ijma*, consensus of the doctors, as a valid source of the doctrine, there was neither Council nor Curia to promulgate its decisions. The volitional element that runs through all the pre-Ottoman religious institutions, and that made their efficacy dependent on their appeal to the will rather than on careful regulation of duties and powers, was naturally at its strongest in this sphere. To 'broaden down from precedent to precedent' was characteristic of Islamic usage long before the

birth of the British constitution. Each forward step was secured by tacit assent on the part of those who were most qualified to express an opinion, and from whom the rank and file took their cue. No one was prevented from opposing and trying to gain support for his opposition, but within a generation or two controversy on the point at issue would die out.'

Islamic Society and the West, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 74

IQBAL AND THE PROCESS OF HISTORY

PROF. D.M. AZRAF.

Iqbal is not a philosopher of history in the technical sense of the term. For he has not attempted an explanation of the process of history, as had been done by Ibn Khaldun, Kant, Herder, Hegel, Comte, Karl Marx and Spengler. Yet his writing in prose and poetry make it abundantly clear that he has a philosopher's insight into the meaning of history as a single principle which is the key to unlock the door of the mystery of historical process.

Though his views about the meaning of history have been to a large extent inspired by the teachings of the Qur'an, yet these can be studied apart from the teachings of the Qur'an and in their own right and status as intellectual views and one can find in them much to prove that he has contributed new elements to man's knowledge of the process of history. In fact he had studied the Qur'an with an eye fully saturated with all the lights of the sciences and philosophies of the modern era and his theory of history has taken quite a new shape. One can ill-afford to forget that he was as great as a philosopher as a theologian.

His views on the processes of history can be gathered from three sources.

1. His ideas about evolution.
2. His ideas about Politics.
3. His ideas about the principle of movement in Islam. II

Evolution which has been accepted as a fact of Biology, has been the bone of contention since Darwin propounded it as a theory. Though Darwin did not dare to divest his theory of the activity of the Godhead, he could hardly accommodate Him either in his theory which was out and out mechanical. Darwinism interpreted literally leaves no room for end, or purpose, and may safely be characterized as a reflex of Materialism in biological sphere. But in spite of all its achievements, it may be said to be a

delineation of the order of evolutionary process — the 'how' of it but not its explanation or the 'why' of it . Though the supporters of Darwin in later period tried to give an explanation of it with reference to a purpose, it was also out of joint with the main organism of the theory.

Darwin's main objective also did not permit him to go beyond the 'Descent of Man'. He forgot that the 'Descent' is not the final step in Evolution, even if it were accepted as a principle. The 'Descent' might have its own 'Ascent' and the process might run on till eternity. His supporters particularly Herbert Spencer wanted to enlarge the concept of Evolution and began from the Cosmic phase and drew it right upto the society. He tried to synthesize the findings of Laplace with that of Darwin. But so far as development is concerned, the categories used for explanation were almost the same and the end was envisaged to be more complexity. The process of evolution according to them is a passage from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from simplicity to complexity.

But the difficulty that appears in human level can hardly be solved in this way. At human level, there emerge some phenomena which can only be understood through the concepts of choice, initiative, and enterprizes which have no parallel in other fields of existence.

As a matter of fact, we find a marvellous progress of a particular people in science and technology, in arts and crafts, in literature and philosophy. How all these are to be interpreted? Why and how all these developments take place in nations (both in its secular and religious meanings)? Neither from Darwin nor from any other supporters of mechanical evolution can a satisfactory answer be found.

The attempt to explain the development of man in his post-descent period had been made by Kant, even before the contribution of Darwin startled humanity. The keys were found in human psychology by Kant. As he had been a rationalist in philosophy, in pursuance of his inclination towards

it, he had set his theory as a directive in course of enquiries into the historical processes.

Kant found in human psychology two opposite traits which lead to the progress. His own language is very clear on this point. "Man has an inclination to associate himself with others since in such association he feels himself more than man, so as to his being able to develop his natural capacities. On the other hand, he has a strong propensity to cut himself off from his fellows. Since he finds in himself simultaneously the anti-social propensity of wanting to order everything according to his own ideas, as a result of which he everywhere expects to meet with antagonism knowing from his own experience that he himself is inclined to be antagonistic to others. Now it is this antagonism which awakens all the forces of man, forces him to overcome his tendency to indolence and drives him by means of the desire for honour, power or wealth to produce for himself a position among his fellows whom we can neither get on with nor get on without But for these anti-social properties unlovely in themselves, whence, springs the antagonism every man necessarily meets with in regard to his egoistic pretentious, man might have lived the life of the Arcadian shepherds, in perfect harmony, satisfaction and mutual love, their talents for ever undeveloped in the bud").⁵

Kant had evidently before his eyes "a form of society which combines with the greatest possible freedom and antagonism of its members, the most rigid determination and guarantee of the limits of this freedom in such a way that the freedom of each individual may co-exist with that of others."⁶

The history of human race as a whole "may be regarded as a realization of a secret plan of Nature for bringing into existence a political constitution perfect both from the internal point of view and so far as regards this

⁵ Kant's works, Berlin Edition, Chapter VIII, P 20-22.

⁶ *ibid* P-223

purpose, from the external point of view also. Such a constitution being the sole condition under which Nature can fully develop all the capacities implanted in human nature.⁷

But Kant has not been clear as to the effect of this tension between the social and unsocial tendencies in man. Nor had he been clear as to whether these were the only factors necessary for the course of evolution.

His successor Herder's contribution is, in a sense, an improvement upon his. Herder not only takes the psychological characteristics into account but also takes note of geographical and biological conditions. He is impressed by the fact that there is a continuous series of gradations from the simplest form of inorganic matter to man, the highest, because the most complex form of animal life and he propounds the hypothesis that the whole universe is animated by a single organising force or unified set of organising forces, working for the free emergence of spirit. Man is the highest product of this life force (for so it may be called) on the earth and all else exists to subserve his development but it would be wrong to think of him as the only spiritual creature in the universe. On the contrary everything goes to suggest that he stands half way between two worlds, forming the connecting link between them a world of animal beings of which the highest and one of spiritual beings of which he is the lowest member".⁸

It is evident therefore in the interpretation of history that Kant accepted a heuristic pole, a purpose, to which he was very much opposed in *Metaphysics*. Herder also relied on the hypothesis of an organising force which drives all elements forward for the emergence of a spirit.

But he also does not specify the activity of the organising force nor can he attribute any motive to it.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ W.H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History*, P-133.

III

Iqbal had very rightly taken up this task and has delineated the stages as well as the end of Evolution. Though his conception of Evolution is in line with that of Kant and Herder, he unlike them clearly attributes full consciousness to Nature or to the organising principle. Iqbal with the fullest conviction conceived this force to be self-conscious. Here he supports Aristotle in the sense that for the production of a thing, four causes are needed of which the final cause is as important as the others are.

"According to Iqbal the reality of the universe is an all-powerful consciousness which is conscious of itself. This entity which he denotes by the name of self-consciousness of self (*Khudi*) is the creator of the world."⁹

"The Central and the most fundamental attribute of this self-consciousness or self of the world (of which full reflection is to be found only in the human being who alone of all the creation has acquired self-consciousness) is to love an ideal and to act and strive for its realization".¹⁰

"The universe is the result of the creative activity of the world-self and the ideal that the world-self is realising through this activity is the perfect Man i.e. the perfect human society of the future."¹¹

It is of course very difficult to conceive of this process of evolution. For it is in a sense inverted. Darwinism. According to Darwin, man appears at the last stage of evolution. Consequently his consciousness also appears at the last stage. But here not only consciousness but fully developed self-consciousness is accepted to be the root cause of evolution of which the emergence of man is supposed to be the end towards which the entire course of evolution is moving. Self-consciousness, therefore, is the beginning as well as the end of this process. The question naturally

⁹ Dr. M. Rafiuddin, "Iqbal's Concept of Evolution", Iqbal Review, April 1960, P-20

¹⁰ *Ibid*-P 21.

¹¹ *Ibid*-P 21-22

turns up: how can consciousness which is immaterial bring into existence matter which is diametrically opposed to it? Iqbal's answer to this question is: Matter as conceived in popular thought to be something hard indestructible and standing on its own foot is not to be found anywhere. What it really means is that there is something which evokes under such and such conditions such and such sensations in us. The gulf between matter and mind has further been bridged by the recent researches of Sir Arthur Eddington, Sir James Jeans and the philosopher Whitehead. Eddington and Jeans have showed that there is ample evidence to prove that material bodies or atoms have affinities with human mind and Whitehead has shown that "Nature is not a static fact situated in an adynamic void but a structure of events possessing the character of a continuous creative flow which thought cuts up into isolated immobilities out of whose mutual relations arise the concepts of space and time".¹²

If Nature be a creative flow then there can be no difficulty for the creative consciousness to have it in existence out of his own will. In fact the stages through which evolution passes will speak for themselves the plausibility of their actuality in experience.

"The whole of the creative activity of the world-self which occurred in the past now belongs permanently to history and we have no means of reproducing it. But since the process of creation is still going on and a portion of this creative activity is stretched before our eyes into the present, we are eminently in a position to study it and to understand its nature as a whole."

"The fact that the creative activity of the world-self in the universe has a single purpose, the perfection of man and this driving force is love; it has its concomitant of Hate since the creator loves everything that is favourable to his ideal. He hates everything that is unfavourable to it. The result is that the driving force of evolution expresses at early level of creation in particular

¹² Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, P-35.

forms of attraction and repulsion which are suitable to that level. During the material stage of evolution it expressed itself in the attraction and repulsion of the particles of matter on account of which matter continued to develop in complication and organization till all the physical laws came into existence and matter became ripe for further production of the first living cell. On reaching the biological stage the driving force of evolution expressed itself in the animal's instinctive attraction for everything that is favourable to its existence and repulsion from everything that is unfavourable to it. As the animal expressed its instincts of attraction and repulsion in its activities, its biological constitution became more and more complicated and organised and its instincts too developed in number and quality, till man, the most highly organised animal, came into existence. As living creatures strove to realize their desires and purposes arising from their instincts, their efforts or struggle brought the driving force of the desire of the world-self more and more into play with the result that they developed new characters and capacities needed by them for the realization of their ends and thus actualized a little more of the potentialities of life and came a step nearer to the final objective or evolution, namely, the human form of life, with all its qualities and characteristics. It is by effort or struggle that birds have grown wings and learnt to fly or walk or sing and we, on our part, have developed such complicated organs as the eyes, the ears, the hands, the teeth and the brain of such useful faculties as thought, intelligence, imagination and memory. In man life has come to its own and regained its quality of self-consciousness with its fundamental attribute of love for an ideal i.e. an idea of the highest beauty and perfection, i.e. an ideal which has all beautiful and admirable attributes that he can imagine and is free from all the defects and shortcomings that he can think of.¹³

"To say, that struggle is necessary for evolution means that life meets at every step, with some resistance which it has to overcome. This resistance comes in the way of life from life itself, it comes from the whole of life's

¹³ Dr. M. Rafiuddin, Iqbal's Concept of Evolution. *opt. cit.* p. 25

past. The reason is that the tendencies of life are not only hormic but mnemonic. Life not only strives for the realization of ends but also safeguards and preserves the ends it has already achieved."¹⁴

"During the ideological stage of evolution that is now going on, life is meeting resistance not only from the physical laws but also from the instincts which like physical laws it had itself developed for its own protection. The past of life at every distinct step of its ideological evolution includes not only the physical laws and the instincts in man and other species but also the ideals of all the ideological communities which had come into existence previous to that step. Hence at this stage of evolution every ideological community meets resistance not only from the physical laws and instincts but also from the objectives of all the contemporary ideological community that proceeds in accordance with a moral code which exists potentially in its ideal and becomes actualized gradually in the life of the community. In due course of time it becomes fixed, automatic and permanent and is known as the constitutional, the civil and military law of the community. At this stage if the members of the community desire to change over to a higher ideal they have to struggle against this law in order to shatter its resistance. If they succeed, the event is known as a Revolution otherwise, a Rebellion."¹⁵

This is in nutshell Iqbal's theory of evolution. His idea of the struggle is here much in conformity with Lamarck's idea. Efforts and struggles are necessary in order to create new values. But whereas Lamarck confined it to Biological sphere, Iqbal has extended this concept to ideological sphere also.

IV

But as we find here the struggles are very many. In history we find so many struggles to record, with awe and dismay. Clans fought against clans, tribes fought against tribes and nations fought against nations. The

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p-25.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 26-27.

world has been torn asunder by two global warfares which broke out in 1914 and 1939 respectively, If the tendency of the world soul is to produce perfect man who will be attracted towards the ideal through love all that retards that progress must therefore be counted as evil and the foremost amongst them is the sense of nationality fostered during the recent period. As a matter of fact it has been noticed in history that sooner or later clans have to be merged into tribes and the tribes have to be amalgamated in order to form nations. The basis of nationality which has been bolstered up in the recent periods has been found to be very obscure. It is neither race nor language, nor ethic consideration nor geographical environment. But it is a Tradition evolved from all or anyone of the factors which bind together a group of people for a pretty long time and enable them to resist aggression from outside. This is really a negative aspect of the national spirit. But in its positive aspect it glorifies its fatherland and finds a fair justification to exploit others in others' land. Nationalism based on geography had the worst effect on different nations and has been denounced by all right thinking man on humanitarian grounds. The principal opponent of geographical nationalism in our time is Bertrand Russell who has exposed both its recent growth and pernicious effects in unparalleled language.

Iqbal's own conception of geographical nationalism tallies with that of all the great humanitarins of our age. But his conception of Nationalism differs from others in this that he believes in Ideological nationalism which brings all the members of a people together and fosters in them a sense of fraternity. The early history of Islam gives us a full account of the growth of Ideological nationalism. Soon after the revelations were received by the Prophet (peace be upon him) and Islam was preached, the Quraishites who were the kith and kips of the Prophet rose against him and wanted to extirpate Islam from the Arabian Peninsula. The cause is known to all. The Prophet declared in unequivocal terms the abolition of priesthood and aristocracy which were the

cornerstone of the Arabian life, particularly of the Quraishites. They therefore could not brook the abolition of the principles they imbibed from their fathers. Islam preached the sovereignty of Allah and the Vicegerency of men. It abolishes distinctions of race, colour, geography and language and unites them on platform of humanity.

The call of the Prophet though resented by his own people was responded to by foreigners who joined either his rank and file or supported him indirectly. Bilal from the Negro land of Africa and Solman from Faras accepted this ideological nationalism and joined the Prophet as his lieutenants; whereas Negius the first, willingly housed the fugitives who migrated from Mecca as a result of persecution. So, Negius the first may rightly be characterized as a member of the Muslim fraternity though he was not physically converted, while even the uncle of the Prophet, the affectionate Abu Talib cannot be ranked as a member of the Muslim fraternity.

To Iqbal, therefore, the world process and with it the process of history in moving towards the production of *Insan-i-Kamil* who will have fraternity amongst themselves and who will have federation of states built on ideological nationalism. But this is now thwarted by the obnoxious growth and rise of geographical nationalism which according to Iqbal's conception of Evolution was once a step forward for fostering a sense of homogeneity amongst the members belonging to it. So in order to have that advance every nation has to outgrow this limitation and move forward towards higher stages.

As a consequence the ideas of modern nationalism which are by themselves pernicious have been imbibed by the Muslims only to drag themselves downwards — towards a lower stage. Iqbal has condemned this evil spirit of the age in clear terms. His language sounds like the notes of a lament. "Is this going to be the end of all this progress and evolution of civilization, they ask, that man destroy one another in mutual hatred and

make human habitation impossible on this earth. Remember, man can be maintained on this earth only by honouring mankind and this world will remain a battleground of ferocious beasts of prey unless and until the educational forces of the whole world are directed to inculcating in man respect for mankind. Only one unity is dependable and that unity is the brotherhood of man which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded Imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialize."¹⁶

Not only the deadly spirit of geographical Nationalism but also the respect for so-called democracy is a cause of retardation of the progress of the universe towards its highest goal. Democracy which is so much extolled in modern times without regard to the highest values of life is nothing but a counting of heads which are more inclined to acquire something for their own personal ends or for the sake of their own nations. Democracy divested of higher values means to Iqbal "a step no better than a blind and mechanical counting of heads and political wisdom and justice are apt to become mere functions of a numerical majority".¹⁷ There are other grounds on which modern Democracy may be assailed. Laski has very nicely criticized the concept of the sovereignty of numbers which coupled with the sovereignty wealth leads to a contradiction. Even from a purely secular and non-ideological view, modern democracy is full of so many contradictions of which the one referred to above is the most damaging. On the one side, in democratic atmosphere, every body is free to cherish his own views on any political creed, he is also free to cast his vote in favour of any person he likes. But in practical life even in so-called democratic countries, people are divided

¹⁶ Iqbal, *Whither Civilization*, quoted, *Iqbal Review*, April, 1960

¹⁷ K.G. Saiyidain, 'Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought,' *Iqbal as a Thinker Lahore*, p. 89.

into the rich and the poor, and in some extreme cases into the 'haves' and 'havenots'. The rich people can easily purchase the votes and be the masters of the poor. So democracy, divested as it is now of all higher values in life, is not a progress towards the highest good which Iqbal conceived to be the final stage in human evolution. As a deduction from this view, we have the further consequence of exploitation of man by man, of nation by nation and of country by country.

The values of secular democracy as evolved against autocracy and despotic rule during the French Revolution do constitute an obstacle or to use Iqbal's own expression, 'resistance' to further progress.

V

The resistances thus far mentioned are more clear in Iqbal's estimation of the movement of Islam within its own structure.

As is well-known Iqbal conceives Ultimate Reality to be the spiritual basis of all life. This, according to him, "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foot-hold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of Europe in political and social science illustrates the former principle, the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years illustrates the latter. What then is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam? This is known as *Ijtihad*."¹⁸

Though he has taken *Ijtihad* to be the source of movement in Islam, he is inclined to accept it as a complete authority in legislation which is practically

¹⁸ Iqbal- *Reconstruction* p. 147-148.

confined to the founders of the schools. Here he exposes the faults of the extremists in a very critical manner. Islam has been interpreted and practised in different periods of history in a different way, for no other reason than the extremist views which the Muslims held with regard to the static and dynamic attitude in Islam.

Conservative thinkers like the later "Rationalists and the Sufis wanted to make the structure of their legal system as rigorous as possible"¹⁹ whereas the Turkish people in our times are trying to separate the church from the state by all means. The rise of the Turks is an indication of the awakening of the Muslims in one part of the world from their slumber. Iqbal heartily welcomes this liberal movement in Islam but he also finds a danger in it. For "liberalism has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration and the ideas which have evolved among the Turks, of nationalism and race may tend to disintegrate the Muslims as had been done earlier by Reformation amongst the Christians."

The question which is most important in this connection is whether the laws of Islam are capable of further evolution? It is a fact of history that "the Muslim has always adjusted his religious outlook to the elements of culture which he assimilated from the peoples that surrounded him. From 800 to 1100, says Horten, not less than one hundred systems of theology appeared in Islam, a fact which bears ample testimony to the elasticity of Islamic thought as well as the ceaseless activity of our early thinkers Turning now to the groundwork of legal principles in the Quran, it is perfectly clear that far from leaving no scope for human thought and legislative activity the intensive breadth of these principles virtually act as an awakener of human thought".²⁰

So in his opinion — "the teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 150

²⁰ *Ibid* pp. 163-168 .

unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problem."²¹

Here also Iqbal's views of the movement of Islam are in line with his idea of evolution. As in each successive stage there are two forces which either lead to progress or retard it, similarly in the progressive development of Islam there are opposing forces — one that leads to progress and the other that retards it. Here the values stated in the Qur'an are the progressive elements but the diehard opposition to it by the most conservative elements is the retarding force. As there can be no evolution simply by change, so there cannot be any evolution in Islam if there were no nucleus from which the development must start.

The concept of development in this evolution, as in biology, is the fullest realization of the inner potentialities of men as individuals and to create a society of free individuals who will be bound together with a sense of love and fraternity with each other and there will be a confederation of states without any sense of separation from and animosity with each other.

As he was an optimist he believed that though it has not been realised in the past due to the bifurcation of man's nature into political religious, in Europe, it is sure to be realised by the Muslims in future.

VI

While discussing Iqbal's views on the process of history two points may be raised.

- 1) Whether the trend of evolution is really towards the production of perfect man or *Insan-i-Kamil*? and
- 2) Whether the values evolved in the Qur'an are really eternal in character?

²¹ *Ibid* p. 168

The trend of evolution as we have indicated above shows a tendency towards that end. The 'descent' of man as propounded by Darwin is really the 'ascent' of an animal fully equipped with an apparatus of body which may, with successive trials and errors, unravel the mysteries of the universe and also be a master of it. The progress of humanity from the life in the cave to this sputnik age is a clear indication of the truth of this theory

This is also a postulate of all the sciences. It is accepted as a postulate that man is after all the only animal, who can determine his position along with others in a universe which is full of so many beings. It is he and he alone who can command Nature to obey her. To him alone Nature reveals all her secrets. Without this postulate not a single step in science and philosophy is possible.

As to the second point, doubt has been expressed in many quarters as to the eternal principles of Islam. Even a disinterested political thinker like late M.N. Roy has indirectly cast a shadow of doubt on it. In his well-known work *The Historical Role of Islam* he has brought forward the contributions of Islam during the dark mediaeval period but has not given us any hope about Islam's future achievements. That indirectly means that the values of Islam have long been outmoded in the present context and that any progress in the present age is not possible in and through the values of Islam. Equality of women, abolition of the different strata of society, share of each in the production of the state and also contribution according to capacity to it, are supposed to be the newest values which have been evolved and are also supposed to have superseded the Islamic ones.

One thing which may be pointed out in this connection is that these acutest minds often identified Islam with the Muslims. They forgot that Islam had a history which should be differentiated from Islam as a principle of life. Though after the mediaeval period Muslims have ceased to be the pioneers in any walk of life, Islam as a force comprised of so many lofty ideals still works forcefully. The rise of so many schools of thought after the

advent of Imam Ibn Taymiyya testifies to the vitality of Islam. Moreover the values that Islam has set up had been wrongly interpreted in the past, due either to the conservatism or over-liberalism as pointed out before.

Interpreted in the light of the modern world, Islamic values are synthetic in character and are based on the fundamental nature of man which demands satisfaction in all its spheres. Modern values are either found to be dehumanising or despiritualising man. For example Freud in his psychological interpretation has used some concepts which give a direct lie to all higher values. Socialism on the other hand, laying great emphasis on the economic equality of man, has conceived him to be divested of any sense of spiritual values such as love, generosity, feeling of kinship etc.

As a matter of fact, however, it is found that man is a combination of an unlimited number of propensities which require co-ordination and synthesis with reference to an ideal which is to be achieved. Without this attracting force of this ideal there would have been chaos and confusion in a man's life. Similar is the case of nations. They have been guided by one-sided propensity and the history of civilization may very successfully be interpreted economically as well as psychologically. The ancient world was ruled by power which is supposed by Adler to be the supreme moving force in man. Since Renaissance there was a tendency to extol freedom of the individual which culminated in French Revolution. The Revolution in Russia in 1917 has ushered in a new era of thought and has demanded equality in the share of production which is quite natural in us — the gregorian animal. The votaries of different creeds have forgotten altogether that besides these propensities there are other equally important phases in man's life which require satisfaction. These also require fullest co-ordination in order to enable man to lead a harmonious life. The existence and activity of the ideals also cannot be gainsaid. The ideals are sometimes misinterpreted. Sometimes physical pleasure, sometimes physical torture are counted to be the ideals which lead men from one contradiction to the other. Unless the ideals be

comprehensive there will be one experiment after another without leading to a good result.

History, therefore, to Iqbal has made experiments after experiments and has not been able to achieve anything substantial. What it requires is the keen insight into ever vitalising force working within men and driving him onward towards the realisation of his fullest nature which alone can set right the order which has been lopsided by the false gods of our times.

IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF FAQR

Yusuf Salim Chishti

A thorough study of the Quran and the lives of the Holy Prophet (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) and his blessed Companions goes to reveal that the *Summum Bonum* of the Islamic teachings is to create in Muslims the attitude of *Faqr*; and when this *faqr* reaches its perfection it embodies the whole of Islam in itself so much so that it becomes synonymous with it (Islam).

لفظ اسلام سے یورپ کو اگر کد ہے تو خیر

دوسرا نام اسی دن کا ہے ”فقر غیور“

"If Europe has any inborn hatred against Islam and does not like to hear that word; well, we can represent Islam by styling it "*Faqr-i-Ghayyur*".

The word '*Ghayyur*' applied by Iqbal as an attribute of *Faqr* in reality denotes nothing external to it; it simply emphasises its most outstanding characteristic i.e. *Ghairat*; (غیرت) for *faqr*' is nothing if it does not inspire '*Ghairat*' even in the remotest cells and tissues of a Muslim — he has *ghairat* as his ideal and cannot tolerate anything which is detrimental to it, and will lay down his life — if need be — in upholding that ideal which in reality he holds dearer than life itself. In short *Ghairat* is something which is generated from *faqr* itself; it does not come from outside. Further this *Ghairat* is the outward symbol of a true Muslim. In the words of Iqbal, a Muslim minus *ghairat* is a nonentity, pure and simple.

تا کجا بے غیرت دیں زیستن

اے مسلمان مردن استا میں زیستن

How long wilt thou live without any *ghairat* (love) for thy faith? O Muslim! this sort of life is (worse than) death (if you ponder over it).

Now, *faqr's* logical consequence is that when a nation or community becomes imbued with it, it acquires power and sovereignty on the earth; take for instance, Hazrat Umar, Hazrat Usman and other companions; they were intoxicated with the wine of the unity of Allah and this made them masters of the East and the West.

ملتے چوں می شود توحید مست

قوت و جبروت می آید بدست

When a *millat* (nation) becomes Unity intoxicated, she automatically acquires power and might.

But sovereignty brings its own evils in its train and Muslims could not be an exception to this rule — blinded with power and riches, all ranks forgot their position and function in life and what do we find in the 4th century Hijra ? Nobles and the rich indulging in women and wine; *Ulama* (Divines) indulging in scholastic hair splitting; *Sufia* (Mystics) indulging in neo-platonic dogmas, with the result that the nation as a whole totally forgot that Islam was only another name for *faqr*. It is why the dead body of Tipu Sultan Shaheed was found half naked — his garments, sword-belt, and turban all gone — beneath a heap of slain by Major Allan on the 4th of May 1799 — the year which sounded the death-knell of the political suzerainty of the Indian Musalmans. The brave sultan would not have met his martyrdom in this way if the Musalmans of India had even an ounce of *faqr* left in their souls. After his martyrdom all those Muslims who could not maintain their

faqr, were brought under the yoke of British Imperialism through the fateful subsidiary system well known to the students of Indian history.

کیا گیا ہے غلامی میں مبتلا تجھ کو

کہ تجھ سے ہو نہ سکی فقر کی نگہبانی

"Thou art labouring under the yoke of slavery simply because thou couldst not preserve the quality of *faqr*."

یورپ کی غلامی پہ رضا مند ہوا تو

مجھ کو تو گلہ تجھ سے ہے یورپ سے نہیں ہے

"Thou submitted thyself to the slavery of Europe (out of thine own free-will) hence I do not find fault with Europe--rather hold thee responsible for thy wretched plight."

The didactic role of Iqbal

The greatest achievement of Iqbal, in my opinion, is that he reminded the Muslims their long forgotten lesson — the great truth that Islam is not prayers and fasting alone; it is not a set of rituals alone; but in essence it is an attitude towards life in its manifold aspects and the technical term employed by the Holy Prophet to denote that attitude is *faqr*.

This aspect of Iqbal's thought has received but little attention up to this time for reasons which I do not like to discuss here; suffice to say, that it is high time now that Muslim students of Iqbal should start studying this subject with the seriousness that it deserves, for Iqbal himself draws our attention to this most important aspect of his teachings in the following words:

اب ترا دور بھی آنے کو ہے اے فقر غیور

کہا گئی روح فرنگی کو ہوائے زر و سیم

The European nations have become dead to all higher values of life on account of their lust for gold and silver. Therefore, gird up thy loins O Faqr! as thy time is about to come.

The great war is now over. The Axis and the Nippon both have met their Waterloo. Now, according to the prophecy of Iqbal the era of *Faqr* is to commence anew. Having full faith in the prophetic vision of Iqbal I think it would not be out of place if I try to present an exposition of the doctrine of *faqr* as propounded and so fervently preached by Iqbal throughout the last six years of his earthly sojourn i.e. from 1932 to 1938.

Though the two main ideas underlying *faqr* — Knowledge and Love — were made the basis of his philosophical thought as early as 1914, yet the term itself was not used by him before 1932. It is *Jaweed Namah* (published in Feb. 1932) that we come across this term for the first time.

The reason for keeping this term in the background for such a long time is best known to Iqbal himself. My own conjecture is that *faqr* is, so to say, a crown and you need a royal head for it beforehand; so Iqbal first of all propounded the doctrine of *Khudi* and when he had said all that he could possibly say about it, he came forward with the diadem to adorn the royal head (a crown is useless if there is no *head* to wear it). Hence we find that from 1932 onwards he harps upon the strain of *faqr* in all his works:-

Jaweed Namah, published in 1932

Musafir, published in 1933

Bal-i-Jibreel, published in 1934

Pas Che Bayad kard 1935

ZarbiKaleem 1936

Armughan (posthumous) 1938

All these works are teeming with the exposition of this wonder-working doctrine expressed by three simple letters of the Arabic Alphabet, but carrying in its bosom one of the profoundest truths inculcated in the word of Allah — the inimitable Quran-i-Majeed.

Presentation of the doctrine

جز بقرآن ضیغمی روباهی است

فقر قرآن اصل شاهنشاهی است

فقر قرآن اختلاط ذکر و فکر

فکر را کامل ندیدم جز بدکر

All sovereignty, not based on the teachings of the Quran, is in reality deceit and fraud ; the true basis of sovereignty is to be found in the doctrine of *faqr* as preached by the Quran.

The *faqr* of the Quran is a happy and harmonious blending of '*ziker*' and '*Fiker*' ; and hearken! *fiker* can never be perfected without the aid of *ziker*.

These memorable verses occur in connection with the message which Iqbal has put into the mouth of Allamah Syed Jamaluddin Afghani for the communist Russia. Afghani exhorts the Soviet Russia in these words:

کرده کار خداوندان

تمام بگذرد از لا جانب الا خرام

You people have done away with Imperialism and Capitalism — well and good; now from "*La* (No kings) i.e. (no earthly gods) turn your face towards "*Illa*" (ال).)

اے کہ می خواہی نظام عالمے
جستہ اورا اساس محکمے؟
داستان کہنہ شستی باب باب
فکر را روشن کن از ام الكتاب

If you want to establish a new world-order, find out a sure and sound basis for it first of all; and what else can that basis be, but the Holy Quran; so get your light and guidance from this book, and beware all sovereignty not based upon the Quran is deceit and fraud.

Now what is the meaning and significance of these two terms? Iqbal says, "Go to the Quran, if you want to understand my message."

دارم اذدر سینه نور لا اله

درشراب من سرور لا اله

My soul is illuminated by the light of the Divine Unity; and all intoxication in my wine is due to this doctrine of the unity of Allah.

Let us go therefore to the source of Iqbalian philosophy, viz. the Holy Quran:

"Unto Allah belongeth the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth. Allah is able to do all things.

Lo! In the creation of the heavens and the earth and in the difference of night and day are tokens of His sovereignty for men of understanding; such as remember Allah standing, sitting and reclining and consider the creation of the heavens and the earth (and say) our Lord! thou createth not this in vain. Glory be to Thee! Preserve us from the doom of the

fire." (III: 183-191)

These verses, as is evident to every reader, contain the two fundamental principles upon which Iqbal has built up his whole philosophy of *Faqr*, i.e. *ziker* and *fiker*.

Now let us study in detail both these terms which have been utilized by Rumi and other mystics as well in expounding their mystic thought.

Definition of Ziker

"To feel the presence of Allah in one's heart and to fervently employ all the limbs of one's body in the discharge of obligatory duties constantly and ceaselessly, through immense reverence and love for Him."

Definition of Fiker

اختصار المعرفتين او المعارف لاستنتاج معرفة اخرى

"To keep in view two or more already known facts in order to infer some other unknown fact from them." For instance we know that (a)

الآخرة البقى من الدنيا

The hereafter is more durable and permanent than this world and (b)

الابقى اولى وبالانتخاب The more durable and permanent is worthier to

be chosen.

Now keeping in view both these premises and contemplating upon them seriously we come to the conclusion that (c) فالآخرة اولى بالانتخاب therefore, the hereafter is worthier to be chosen. Now this third truth is the result of our contemplation and reflection upon the first two truths which were known to us before. In short *Fiker* means to reach an unknown through the help of two or more known.

Again suppose, a prophet said something and we believed it to be true — this is *Taqleed* (following somebody). But if we reflect upon his saying and through syllogistic reasoning come to the same conclusion, as arrived at by that prophet — this is *Tahqeeq* (realisation of truth through one's own reasoning).

Differentia between Zikr and Fikr

(a) It is possible that you may acquire certain truths or new ideas through *Zikr*, but there is no inference involved in the process of *Zikr*; while the chief characteristic of *Fikr* is that by means of that you make inferences and draw conclusions for yourself. *Zikr* pertains to mind and bodily limbs (جوارح) both; while *Fikr* pertains to mind alone. The faculty of *Fikr* is not found in everybody while that of *Zikr* is a universal phenomenon. Everybody cannot be a *Mufakkir* in this world; but *Zikr* is possible to everybody. *Fikr* includes *Zikr*; but *zikr* does not include *fikr*; i.e. كل مفكر مذكر (Every *Mufakkir* is *Muzakkir* as well) ; but every *Muzakkir* is not necessarily a *Mufakkir* وبعض مذكر ليسن بمفكر In short *Zikr* and *Fikr* are exclusive and inclusive terms. A *Muzakkir* is generally *Muqallid* (مقلد) but a *Mufakkir* is a *Muhaqqiq* (محقق) He does not follow others blindly; on the other hand, he examines every truth and accepts it after he has fully realised it for himself.

Life and these two principles

The perfection of human life depends upon the harmonious development of these two faculties in man.

- (a) The *Zikr* of Allah
- (b) And *Fikr* about or regarding the attributes of Allah and the universe created by Him. Even the Muslim confession of faith "*La ilaha illa*

Allah" (لا اله الا الله) is based upon these two principles (*Zikr* and *Fikr*). Human *Fikr's* highest flight in the realm of thought is *La ilah* i.e. there is no God. Now comes the faculty of *Zikr* for his guidance and says to him, "yes, you are right in that there is no God in the Universe superior to or above men; but there is one Being over and above every thing and that is Allah the *Rabb* of the universe. Says Akbar:

یہ عشق ہی ہے کہ منزل ہے جس کی الا الله

خرد نے صرف رہ لا اله پائی ہے

It is love whose destination is "except Allah",
For Intellect couldn't go beyond "There is no God".

Various forms of Zikr

- (a) *Oral i.e.*, to remember the Beloved i.e., Allah and utter His Holy Names with lips and tongue every now and then.
- (b) *Contemplative or reflective i.e.*, to contemplate upon the different names or attributes of Allah and strive to imbue one's self with those attributes. This is, in the Quranic phraseology, to dye oneself in the dye of Allah (صبغة الله) i.e. obedience and submission to the Divine will. This is the highest and real form of *Zikr*. This is to follow in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet and to carry out the injunctions of the *Shariah* most willingly and sincerely. C.f. the *Hadith* من اطاع الله فقد ذكر الله

"He who obeys Allah and carries out all His commandments is one who really remembers Allah." In other words, *Zikr* means obedience to the divine will. According to the Quran everybody who is not *Zakir* (ready to obey) is '*Ghafil*' (i.e. neglectful) and everybody who is *Ghafil* is just as dead.

Life has two aspects (a) Biological

(b) Spiritual

Biologically alive is one, who inhales and exhales, spiritually alive is one, who is *Zakir* c.f. the Quran: —

ولا تطع من اغفلنا قبله، عن ذكرنا

"and do not obey him whom we have made unmindful of Our *zikr*"
The reward of zikr:-

The importance and significance of *zikr* in the life of a "*Momin*" can be best realised from the fact that the parting advice given to Moses by Allah was:- ولا تينا في ذكرى

"Be not remiss in remembering me"(20 ; 42)

The greatest reward bestowed upon a *Zakir* is that Allah Himself begins to remember him in return $\text{فَاذْكُرُونِي اذْكُرْكُمْ}$

"(You) remember me, I will remember you (in return)". (2: 152).

This shows that *zikr* in its essence is based upon *love* for:

- (a) You cannot remember a person constantly unless you are in love with him.
- (b) Love is reciprocal. Hence when a man begins to remember Allah; Allah in His turn responds to his love, and remembers him in return.

Various forms of Fikr

(a) By the help of the known to arrive at something unknown.

Deduction, Induction, Inference, Analogy and various forms of syllogistic reasoning these are all so many activities of *Fikr*.

Induction means act or process of reasoning from particulars to generals or from the individual to the universal. "Induction is the process", according

to J.S. Mill, "by which we conclude that what is true of certain individuals of a class, is true of the whole class."

The Holy Quran has laid so much emphasis upon observation of the various phenomena in the universe, and the process of reasoning from the individual to the universal, that the unbiased reader is sure to be convinced of the fact that the Quran wants each one of us to exercise our faculty of *Fikr*. There are many verses in it which make constant appeal to ponder, contemplate and reflect upon the phenomena of of Nature, e.g.

ان في ذلك لاية لقوم يتفكرون

"Verily there is a sign in this (observation) for a people who reflect." (16: 68)

Rightly has Iqbal concluded that "the birth of Islam, as I hope to be able presently to prove to your satisfaction, is the birth of INDUCTIVE intellect"²²

Bacon formulated his well known Inductive method under the direct inspiration he received from the works of Muslim thinkers and scientists who flourished in Spain long before he was born.

- (b) Various sciences e.g. Logic, Psychology, Ethics and Metaphysics — are the sweet fruits of this faculty.
- (c) Inventions, discoveries and researches.
- (d) Physics, Chemistry, Biology and various other sciences — all owe their origin to *Fikr*.

Zikr and Fikr Complementary

Although *Zikr* is superior to *Fikr* (as the former is by itself capable of making one virtuous) yet there can be no permanence in *Zikr* without *Fikr*; hence according to an authentic tradition *Fikr* is superior to "*Nawafil*" c.f: the tradition: —

²² *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* p. 120.

تفكر ساعة خير من قيام ليلة

"Contemplation for an hour is better than standing in prayers for the whole night".

Hence the mystics have regarded "مراقبه", (contemplation and meditation) far superior to "شغل" (repetition of the Divine names). The Quran has indeed laid greater emphasis upon the study of Nature than ritualistic prayers. There are about one hundred and fifty verses in the Quran regarding prayers, fasting, *Zakat*, *Hajj* etc. but there are seven hundred and fifty six verses in which Allah has exhorted us to study Nature and its ways. No wonder then, that *Fiker* too is a form of worship and if obedience to the commandments of Allah is worship (عبادت) certainly *Fiker* also is worship. Let me quote Iqbal who says that, "Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self. In the picturesque phrase of the Quran, it is the habit of Allahnowledge of Nature is the Knowledge of God's behaviour. In our observation of Nature, we are virtually seeking a kind of intimacy with the Absolute Ego; and this is only another form of worship."²³

Ziker illumines one's heart; *Fiker* illumines one's mind.

إذا المرء كانت له فكرة

ففى كل شىء له عبرة

"When a man contemplates and meditates upon this universe, he can draw lessons from everything."

In short, both these faculties are complementary to each other; but *Fiker* alone is useless without *Ziker* in making one a true *Mo'min*.

²³ *Reconstruction*, p. 54

Realisation of the ideal

The ideal of a '*Mo'min*' according to the Holy Quran is "لقاء رب" (the Divine vision or one's meeting with his *Rabb*) and this ideal can only be realised through *Zikr* and *Fikr*; as the well known mystic saying goes:

لا لقاء بدون المحبة والمعرفة

"No vision without Love and Gnosis".

What is the function of Love?

المحبة تقتضى دوام الذكر المحبوب

The characteristic of love is that a lover always thinks and talks about his beloved, e.g. (a) he will constantly form visual images of his beloved, (b) he will always picture to himself the form of his beloved in different poses and styles, (c) he will always be writing or talking about the extra-ordinary physical or intellectual charms of his beloved; (d) he will place all his internal and external faculties and all the members of his body at the disposal of his beloved and will always be ready to carry out his orders and wishes.

والمعرفة تقتضى دوام الفكر فيه و في صفاته

It is the characteristic of gnosis (true knowledge) that it always includes one to contemplate and meditate upon the object of one's attention.

The *fikr* (thought) of a lover shall always be either about the being of his beloved and its various aspects or his own being. When he meditates or reflects upon his own being or personality, he invariably says to himself:

- (a) as compared with my beloved I am just as dust
- (b) I should not do anything which may displease my beloved

- (c) I should lead my life in accordance with my beloved's wishes
- (d) I should hate whom my beloved hates and admire whom he admires
- (e) In short, I would merge all my passions and desires in the personality of my beloved; and do nothing which he does not like.
- (f) As my whole life is devoted to my beloved, I should not foster any attachments with other people.

Likewise, a *Mo'min* says to himself:

- (a) as compared with Allah, I am just as dust
- (b) I should not do anything which may displease Allah
- (c) I should lead my life in accordance with my Allah's wishes i.e. obey the Holy Prophet.
- (d) I should hate whom Allah hates or love whom He loves
- (e) I should merge all my passions and desires in the Shariah
- (f) As my life is devoted to Allah alone I should not foster attachments with other people.

If a Muslim observes all these rules he is sure to become the beloved of Allah. In short, the whole *Shariah* is only another name for keeping the will of the Beloved (Allah) permanently before one's self.

When the lover contemplates upon his nothingness and insignificance as compared with the personality of his beloved, gradually a spirit of humility and meekness is engendered in his heart, and this spirit does away with pride and haughtiness in him. c.f. Rumi

شادباش اے عشق خوش سودائے ما

وے طیبب جملہ علت ہائے ما

اے دوائے نخوت و ناموس ما

اے تو افلاطون و جالینوس ما

Long live our malady of Love which is in reality a physician who can heal all our wounds.

O Love! thou art the sure remedy for our disease of pride and egotism surely thou art Plato and Galen to us.

This attitude of complete submission and surrender to the will of the

beloved (اللہ) is the true spirit of Islam. In other words a Muslim can be a

Muslim only when he is a lover. c.f. Iqbal:

طبع مسلم از محبت قاہر است

مسلم از عاشق نباشد کافر است

"A Muslim acquires the power of conquest only through love.

If he is not a lover surely he is *kafir*.

This attitude of submission further prepares the lover to obey all the commandments (آوامر) and shun all the prohibitions (نواہی) And what is the *Shariah*? Only a collective name for commands and prohibitions. And Allah will be pleased with those persons only who observe these two component parts of the *Shariah*.

He whose beloved is Allah, will naturally contemplate and reflect upon the work of his beloved i.e., the universe; (there is no other course open to him as Allah is not visible to our physical eyes; hence no mental image of Allah is possible). Now if this universe is beautiful, surely its Creator and Sustainer must also be beautiful — not only beautiful but also the source of all beauty and charm. *Mo'min* or a lover always remembers Allah (یدکرون اللہ)

(قیاماً و قعوداً) and when he reflects upon the beauties of creation and finds

out the wonderful adjustment between man and his environs and the precise working of various laws and alternation of day and night and the blowing of winds and the down-pour of rain and the regular movements of the heavenly bodies, he shouts forth:

ربنا ما خلقت هذا باطلا

"O Lord! thou has not created this universe in vain or in sport. i.e. this universe is not unreal; on the other hand there is a great purpose hidden behind it."

A lover is always careful lest he should do something which shall belittle him in the eyes of his beloved. There is nothing in the world which he dreads more than his humiliation in the estimation of his beloved. If a lover goes down in the estimation of his beloved, the inner tie which binds the lover to the beloved is rent as under.

Respect and esteem in the sight of the beloved is the basis upon which a lover rears his whole superstructure of love. It is why a true lover will prefer hundred deaths to one humiliation or disgrace in the eyes of his beloved. Love's fire is extinguished altogether if a lover loses his honour and esteem in the sight of his beloved. It is for this reason that a woman came to the Holy Prophet and said "O Apostle of Allah! when news reached me that my husband was returning home from the military expedition along with his regiment, I went out to receive him and took my stand on a mound in order to catch a glimpse of his face; but when I beheld him, he wore a very dirty and dejected countenance; there was nothing soldierly or manly about him. Thereupon a feeling of utter disgust and loathsomeness arose in my heart; therefore I request you to dissolve my *nikah* (marriage) with him. He has become of no value in my eyes, hence I cannot pull on with him any more." Hearing this the Holy Prophet declared her marriage null and void.

A *Mo'min* (lover) can never tolerate the idea of falling into disgrace with his beloved (Allah) and it is why he loves him with all his might and mind.

والذين آمنوا اشد حبا لله

"Those who believe are staunchest in their love for Allah"

How can he love Allah? By following in the footsteps of the Prophet. What is its consequence? Allah loves him in return. cf. the Quran:

ان كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعوني يحببكم الله

"If you love Allah, obey me (in all walk of your life) and Allah will love you (in return)"

What is *Shariah*? Only another name for the sure and certain method of winning the favour of the Beloved (Allah).

Beliefs (عقائد), worships (عبادات) and dealings

(معاملات) all the three aspects of religion are only so many manifestations of *ziker*. The whole religious life of a Muslim is remembrance of Allah i.e. *ziker*. The *ziker* of Allah does not stand in the way of business, trade, occupation, social relations, marriage, domestic life, study jihad, and sovereignty or other worldly affairs. *Ziker* (remembrance of Allah) in Islam does not necessitate renunciation or monasticism. One's life in accordance with the *Shariah* is *Ziker* pure and simple, whether he is a soldier or a sailor or a trader or a judge. *Ziker* (ذكر) in mosques and monasteries which we behold today is only an elementary form of it — this is only lip-service — and certainly it is not the whole of it.

There was a time when the Quranic term *Ziker* included all lawful human activities in its meaning and import — the doing of good deeds (اعمال صالح) and performance of all the duties prescribed by the *Shariah*; but like several

other terms (e.g. *sabr* صبر), *taqdeer* (تقدير) etc.) it has now come to mean only recitation or repetition of the divine names with the help of a rosary. The causes of the deterioration of the meaning of *zikr* are two-fold;

- (a) The introduction and acceptance of the un-Islamic type of *Tasawwuf* (تصوف) which Muslims borrowed from Gnostics, NeoPlatonists and Hindu Pantheists. This totally alien mysticism taught self-abnegation and renunciation and these principles destroy all impetus to action. When a man believes that matter is evil, corporeal body is unclean, world is evil and wicked and life is a misery or drudgery, naturally he would avoid all activity and hide himself in some cave or monastery.
- (b) The neglect shown in the development of *fikr* due to overemphasis on *taqleed* (تقليد) which became the rule of Muslim life from 5th century Hejra onwards, (for further discussion on this subject the readers are recommended the study of *Hujjatullahil Baligha* by Hazrat Shah Waliulla Dehlawi)

The secret of the phenomenal success of the companions of the Holy Prophet and early Muslims lies in the fact that they developed both their faculties to their *full* — *zikr* and *fikr*. To them *zikr* was nothing but the performance of all the duties — religious, moral, social, economic and political — enjoined upon them by the *Shariah*. Also they gave a free play to their faculty of *fikr* which provided them with the knowledge of those duties, as well as knowledge of the universe.

What is *fikr*? The knowledge of duties as prescribed by the *Shariah*. What is *zikr*? The fulfilment of those duties to the best of one's abilities. Both these faculties must work in harmony; mere '*fikr*' without *zikr* is useless. Suppose, by means of my *fikr* (reasoning) I come to know that the Quran is the word of Allah ; but this knowledge alone (unaccompanied by good deeds) cannot make me a good or virtuous Muslim. Similarly *zikr* without *fikr* (true

knowledge) is misleading in many cases and renders the *Zakir* an early prey to unQuranic ideas and practices of Iqbal: —

رائے بے قوت ہمہ مکر و فسوں

قوت بے رائے جہل است و جنوں

"Knowledge without power eventually results in deceit and fraud and power without knowledge is ignorance and folly."

In its higher form *ziker* means pious deeds (عمل صالح) and *fiker* means deduction and inference (اجتہاد). But, un-Quranic mysticism killed all impetus to action and *taqleed* put a stop to all reasoning and independent judgement. In short, when Muslims, refused to avail themselves of both these divine gifts and decided to lead a life of inactivity and mental slavery, they gradually came to be governed by others.

ہر کو برخود نیست فرمانش رواں

می شود فرماں پذیر از دیگران

"He who cannot govern himself, of necessity comes to be governed by others."

We, in the twentieth century are reaping the fruit of our un-Islamic, therefore, irrational attitude towards life. If we want peace, prosperity and happiness we must betake ourselves to the eternal truth:

الا بذكر الله تطمئن القلوب

"(Hearken O'ye mankind!) It is only through *ziker* or remembrance

(obedience to Allah) of Allah that human hearts attain peace and tranquillity."

No doubt, man can achieve peace of mind through the *ziker* of Allah alone i.e. by walking in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet. And it is the *نفس مطمئنه* "مطمئنه" who will ultimately win the favour of Allah and enter His Paradise of the Quran:

يا ايتهما النفس المطئنة ارجعي الى ربك راضية مرضية فادخلي في عبادى و

ادخلي جنتى

"O soul that art at rest! return to thy Lord well pleased (with Him) well pleasing (Him) so enter among my servants and enter into my garden."
Faqr and Jibad

The Holy Prophet says:

لى خرقتنا الفقر والجهد

"I possess two robes (dresses or aspects), the *faqr* and the *jibad*". *Faqr*, as we have seen means *ziker* and *fiker*; so this statement comes to mean that:

Ziker + Fiker + Jibad = the three aspects of the Prophet's life. Psychology teaches us that human personality also has three aspects: —

Knowing, feeling and willing.

Fiker (فكر) represents the faculty of knowing

Ziker (ذكر) that of feeling

Jihad (جهاد) that of willing.

In other words *faqr* and *jihad* cover the entire field of human personality. By means of *fiker* we acquire the knowledge of being and attributes of Allah. By means of *ziker* we learn to love Him, and this love urges us to sacrifice our wealth and life for the sake of Allah. In other words, "*Jihad fi saebelillah*" is the logical consequence of *faqr*. If a Muslim acquires the quality of *faqr*, he will necessarily practise *jihad*, just as:

فاذا الشمس طالعة فالنهار موجود

"As soon as the sun rises, it becomes day"

The essence of *faqr* is that a Muslim attaches no importance to worldly riches or his earthly life. He has full realisation of the Quranic truth:-

ان الله اشترى من المومنين انفسهم و اموالهم بان لهم الجنة

"Lo Allah has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth because the garden will be theirs."

He knows that his life and his property are not his, but Allah's; therefore he is always ready to sacrifice both of them in the path of Allah. *Ziker* teaches him to love Allah above everything else; so he lives for Allah and dies for Allah.²⁴

قل ان صلاتى و نسكى و محياى و مماتى لله رب العالمين

²⁴The greatest objection to Nationalism from the Islamic point of view is that it teaches man to love his country above everything else — a doctrine which strikes at the very root of Islam and everything it stands for.

"Say (O' Apostle) my prayers and my sacrifice (religious rites and ceremonies), my living and my dying are for Allah alone, who is the *Rabb* of this universe."

But with the lapse of time, Muslims acquired un-Islamic ideas which threw the entire teaching of *faqr* overboard. They were taught by the Quran to

- (a) Meditate and contemplate upon the universe and study the working of its laws.
- (b) and to love Allah with all their might.

But they forgot the Quranic lesson totally and reversed the order of things entirely. They began to discuss the Being of God — although Allah and His Apostle both had advised them never to speculate regarding the nature of His essence or the relation of His attributes to His Being — a course of action, not only fraught with dangers but also beyond human power, cf. the Quran:

وما اوتيم من العلم الا قليلا

"and of knowledge you have been vouchsafed but little"

What do we find during the reign of Al-Mamun and subsequent periods? *Ulema* (theologians and schoolmen) indulging in heated discussions regarding the being and attributes of God. They began to love life and riches; and when the Quranic order was reversed, the spirit of *jihad* automatically died out; for you can't sacrifice your life unless you hold Allah dearer than yourself. Muslims of the early phase of Islam courted death simply because they loved not their own selves, but Allah; later on when they began to love their own selves the logical consequence was that they began to shun *jihad*, which means risking one's life and riches both.

Man's relative position

Zikr of Allah makes Him our Beloved. *Fikr fil makbluqat* makes them subservient to us. This order of things postulates the true position of man in this universe.

(a) Allah — our Beloved (مخدوم) and Ideal

(b) Universe — subservient to us (خادم)

(c) Man — vicegerant of Allah and His servant

The whole universe is subservient to man, and man, in his turn, is Allah's servant and slave; this is the order promulgated by the Quran and *faqr* is the sole means of preserving this natural order intact.

The faculty of *fikr* is bestowed upon us by Allah so that we may subjugate this universe and that of *zikr* is granted to us so that we be able to love Him.

The one great aim of the entire teachings of Islam is that man should strive to preserve this divinely ordained order of things — to conquer the universe through the faculty of *fikr* and to submit himself along with his conquests to Allah, through the instrumentality of *zikr*. This happy blending of *zikr* and *fikr* produced in the history of Islam men like Hazrat Siddiq-i-Akbar, Faruq-i-Azam, Khalid bin Waleed, Zubair and Talha — to name but a few out of a galaxy of those angelic beings who swept everything before them and within a short space of time planted the green banner of Islam by the shores of the Atlantic. But when their descendants declared war against the word of Allah (acceptance of values utterly un-Quranic is tantamount to wage war against Allah) their sorry plight in this world today can better be imagined than described.

نه ايراں ميں رهے باقى نه توراں ميں رهے باقى

وه بنده فقر تھا جن كا هلاك قيصر و كسرى

"Neither in Persia nor in Turkistan are to be seen those men any more whose *faqr* sounded the death-knell of the *Qaiser* and the *Kisra* (of Iran)".
The Historical Role of Iqbal

The greatest service rendered by Iqbal in my humble opinion is that he has reminded the Muslims the great lesson which they have totally forgotten for the last five or six centuries. He wants the Muslims of today to go back to the Quran and the Holy Prophet;

گر تو می خواهی مسلمان زیستن

نیست ممکن جز بقرآن زیستن

"If you want to live in this world as Muslims, it is impossible to do so without making the Quran your sole guide in life.'
so that they may be able to re-discover themselves:

چیست دیں؟ دریافتن اسرار خویش

زندگی مرگ است بے دیدار خویش

"What is *Deen*? to discover the hidden secrets of your self. Believe me, your life is just as death, if you fail to behold your self."

How can they re-discover themselves ? By developing the spirit of *faqr*.
What is *faqr*? The harmonious blending of *ziker* and *fiker*.

فقر قرآن اختلاط ذکر و فکر

فکر را کامل ندیدم جز بذكر

Mere *fiker* unaided and unguided by *ziker* is never perfect; rather it leads man to very dangerous paths. In our own times Hitler and Mussolini are nothing but true specimens of *fiker* unaided and unguided by *ziker*.

Fikr urges man to subjugate this universe and if this faculty is under the guidance of *ziker*, the conqueror becomes a *Faruq-e-Azam*; if not the same man becomes a Changez or Halaku.

جلال بادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو

جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہی چنگیزی

"Whether it be the glory of monarchy or the performance of democracy, if the politics is divorced from religion, the result in either case is Changezi (barbarity and brutality)."

Now let us turn to Iqbal and see what he has to say about *faqr*. A survey of his philosophical and theological thought would go to reveal that there are four fundamental ideas in his system:

1. Allah: the ultimate Reality — the Creator
2. Man: the lord of His creation and His vicegerent
3. *Faqr*: the two principal faculties vouchsafed to man
4. Universe: the field for his activities.

The relation between these realities is that Allah has created man with a definite aim in view:

ان جاعل فی الارض خلیفہ

"I am about to appoint a vicegerent in the earth" and his vicegerancy demands that he should bring this universe under his sway (تسخیر کائنات) and he would achieve this purpose by means of *Faqr* and having conquered the elements he would rule over the earth in the name of Allah and establish His Kingdom therein.

From this statement, the importance of "*Faqr*" shines forth like the mid-day sun. The *khudi* is there, but without the aid of *Faqr*, it is of no value.

Allah has endowed man with two faculties *viz* reason or intellect(فكر)and Love (ذکر) so that he may be able to conquer this universe; and these faculties are the component parts of *Faqr*. A Muslim without *Faqr* is just like a lamp without oil. The importance of *Faqr* can be easily realised by pondering over this *Hadith* (الفقرى فخرى). The Apostle of Allah says, "I take pride in that I am in possession of *Faqr*". In other words, *Faqr* is the highest honour that a Muslim can earn by his individual effort.

Faqr literally means the breaking of the back; hence "فقرات الظهر" (the vertebrae composing the spinal column) then it came to mean want, penury and poverty or being in possession of nothing.

Faqr teaches man to believe that all he possesses, (his soul, and

wealth) is *not* his, but Allah's, therefore, a *Faqeer*(فقير) is one who, in spite of all worldly riches which he possesses, regards himself utterly destitute; and having nothing, he will naturally go to Allah for all his wants. He possesses everything, but out of his own free will, gives, away everything, and accepts the status of a *Faqeer* so that he may grasp the hand of Allah and His Apostle [firmly. cf.](#) Siddiq-i-Akbar's attitude,

پروانے کو چراغ ہے بلبل کو پھول بس

صدیق کے لئے ہے خدا کا رسول بس

"The lamp is sufficient for a moth and the flower will suffice a nightingale, likewise the Apostle of Allah is quite sufficient for Abu Bakr Siddiq.

SOME PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY OF LAW

Khurshid Ahmad

"It is my firm conviction that he who critically reviews modern jurisprudence from the Qur'anic viewpoint, reconstructs it, and establishes the truth and eternity of the Qur'anic laws, would be the real leader and pioneer of Islamic renaissance and the greatest benefactor of humanity at large. This is the time for action; for in my humble opinion, Islam today is on trial and never in the long range of Islamic history was it faced with such a challenge as the one that besets it today."

(IQBAL — letter to Syed Suleman Nadavi)

The challenge which emerges from modern jurisprudence and legal philosophy, it seems, was regarded by Iqbal as of prime and paramount importance and according to his line of argument, the modern renaissance of Islam would depend upon successful grappling with the problems of legal theory. In this article an attempt is being made to explore the problems that are posed by modern juridical thought.

The Importance of Law

'Where law ends, tyranny begins' — is an old adage. Beyond doubt it is an embodiment of truth. For as J. Holland has said: "Laws are the very bulwarks of liberty; they define every man's rights and defend the individual liberties of all men." They are the standard and the guardian of liberty, the sheet-anchor of a society. The role of law in modern society is not merely negative; its task is not restricted to arresting the hand that creates evil. It plays a positive role as well. It regulates the life of man on every turn and pass, sets before him the ideal and norms of civic life and spurs him to live and act justly.

Law has always comprehended the entire gamut of human life. Its jurisdiction spreads over all the departments of human activity. All sciences and arts are grist to the law's mill. It has always occupied a sovereign place in the life of man and society.

But in the modern state the position of law has been further enhanced. Its hands are more strengthened; its position more consolidated.

The technological revolution that has swept over us in the last two centuries has narrowed the area of individual life and has widened, beyond any semblance of the past, the field of social contact and of collective life. Mutual dependence has increased. People have been endowed with such powers as would, if left uncontrolled, bring havoc. To take a very simple instance, in the bygone there was hardly any need of rules of traffic. The bullock-cart did not pose any danger to the human life. But today the motor vehicles, running at a speed of sixty miles per hour, are a veritable threat to human life. Their very existence brings home the need for rules and regulations. The area of legal control is widening. Personal freedom is shrinking into a tiny shell. Law is assuming mightier proportions.

This increasing importance of law suggests that a careful study of the nature and meaning of law should be conducted. In this essay an attempt is being made to present some salient features of the contemporary thinking on the nature and problems of law. First of all we shall try to cast a glance over the modern concept of law, then we shall proceed to discuss the different aspects of the philosophy of law and finally shall briefly give a resume of those main problems of legal theory which beset the modern thinker.

II

THE MODERN CONCEPT OF LAW

What is law ? is a question with which man has been faced from the very dawn of civilization and whose clear and precise answer has evaded his grip

ever since. Perhaps it would be no exaggeration to say that if there are ten Jurists there are no less than eleven definitions of law! Despite this abundance and variety of thought we can distinguish some main strands of thought.

Law, literally, means any set of rules of conduct. But in legal philosophy the term is used for those rules of behaviour which are enforced through the agencies of the state. *The Pocket Law Lexicon* defines law as:

"a rule of action to which men are obliged to make their conduct conform; a command enforced by a sanction to acts or forbearances of a class"²⁵

This definition may be defective in certain respects and, many modern schools of legal thought would not subscribe to it fully. This is so because a fundamental conflict of opinion exists as to the nature of law. Some believe that law is nothing but the will and command of the sovereign who is the real creator of law. Others suggest that law is but custom confirmed by the state. State has no law-making power as such. It only puts its stamp over that which already prevails in the community. Some regard *state sanction* as the real determining factor in law. Others would say that *obligation* makes law, and not just sanction. These conflicts arise because of a conflict of ideologies and of fundamental approaches to the phenomenon and it would be instructive to preface the discussion of these approaches by a brief review of the evolution of law.

Modern view on evolution of law

Here again there is a wide difference of opinion and the difficulty is aggravated because the facts of known history reveal that a definite concept of law was present even in the earliest societies. *Code of Hammurabi*, the ruler of Assyria and Babylonia (2084-2081 B.C.) is an instance in view.

²⁵ Motion A. W., *The Pocket Law Lexicon*, English Edition, 1951, page 216.

Law presupposes community life. With the dawn of communal life, the need of rules of social behaviour became imminent. In the primitive society only a few rules were rampant and they were forced through the sanction of the society. Most of the wrongs were regarded as private wrongs and the victims were free to take revenge and make good their loss. But from earliest days some offences were regarded as crimes against the community as such and were avenged by the society. This was, it is said, the beginning of law.

Custom played an important part in setting these rules of social behaviour. But perhaps more important was the role of religious beliefs and practices. The famous historian of law Sir Henry Maine says that:

"There is no system of recorded law, literally from China to Peru, which, when it first emerges into notice, is not seen to be entangled with religious ritual and observance."²⁶

It is said that the primitive law passed through three distinct stages. Earliest was the era before the emergence of the courts of law. Then the courts of law appeared and with their emergence separation of the legal rules from the vast plethora of custom and social regulations was affected. This occurred in the early periods of the Agricultural stage. With the evolution of the courts a definite line of legal development became visible. Now a machinery for the application of law to specific cases was established. Moreover, a definite institution for the creation and evolution of law also emerged and this greatly helped the growth of law. Third stage was that of codification, wherein legal codes were prepared for the guidance of the courts of law. These codes reduced diversity to clarity and eliminated to a great extent the conflicts and divergences which were bound to appear in individual judgments. This stage is represented by the *Code of Hammurabi* and the *Twelve Tables of Rome*.

²⁶ Sir Henry Maine, *Early Law and Custom*, (1883), p. 5

After primitive law came the period of Legal formalism. Sir Maine says that "when primitive law has once been embodied in code there is an end to spontaneous development"²⁷ This period witnessed the growth of definite techniques for the enforcement of the law. Stability was achieved and law became rigid. Specialists in the field of law appeared and general thought grew. During this period the concepts of equity and legal fiction were developed to meet the exigencies of formalism. Institutions for the creation of new law were also evolved. This brings us to the classical period of law which began with the critical study of law among the Romans.

The classical period is the period of introspection and examination. Now an attempt was made to discover general principles of law, the universal rules of justice. Tools of classification and analysis were employed and endeavours were made to evolve a synthesis of divergent natural approaches. The Roman search for universal principles is most important manifestation of this classical period. The same search for universal foundations of law was carried on by the European Jurists of the 18th and 19th centuries.

During the mediaeval age major developments of a different kind took place in another part of the world *i.e.* the Islamic world. The Muslim genius for law surpassed the achievements of their predecessors. They developed a magnificent system of law, based on the divine injunctions of God and His Messenger. But the nature and quantum of work done by the Muslims is an independent topic of inquiry and lies outside the scope of the present study which is confined to the thought currents of the Western World. A critical study of the evolution of law in the Western World reveals the following important trends:

- (a) The development of a machinery for legal decisions and of a definite class of judge and legal specialists.
- (b) The separation of law from the mass of custom and its development through codification.

²⁷ Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law*, (ed: Pollork), 1924, p. 26.

- (c) The development of definite forms of legislative techniques monarchic, oligarchic, dictatorial and democratic.
- (d) Gradual separation of private and public law and the development of each in its own sphere.
- (e) Emergence of the concepts of equity and legal fiction, endeavours to develop theories of rights and the classification and categorisation of law.
- (f) Overall search for justice and of some general principles of law.

This may be said to be a brief resume of the Western thought of the evolution of law.²⁸ Now we may proceed to discuss the concept of law as developed in the West.

Austin's Definition of Law

John Austin was one of the foremost legal thinkers of England and his ideas have influenced the modern legal thought immensely. *He distinguishes "law as it is" from "law as it ought to be" and defines positive law as:*

"a rule laid down for the guidance of an intelligent being by an intelligent being having power over him."

An analysis of this definition shows that:

- (i) He divorces law from justice and devotes only to 'what is'. The normative and ideological aspects are ignored.
- (ii) He regards law as a *command* which is emanating from a higher authority, the sovereign. Law is nothing but the command of the sovereign. As such sovereign must be above the law for he is the creator of law and is bound by no law. The sovereign might be restricted by extra-legal considerations, but not by law as such.
- (iii) Every command of the sovereign creates a duty for the subjects, who by their very position are bound to obey the law.
- (iv) Law is characterised by the sanction that follows with it. Sanction

²⁸ This discussion is based mainly upon "*A Text Book of Jurisprudence*" by G. W. Paton (1948), J. W. Jones' *Historical Introduction to the Theory of Law* (1940), Maine's *Ancient Law* and Friedman's article in *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* (1950) Volume 8.

is the real power to impose law, for, disobedience of law entails penalty. There can be no law without sanction.

These views of Austin have been criticised on several counts. The divorce between law and justice has been deplored by the moralists and the reformers, for, as Salmond says, justice is an essential part of law. His own definition is as follows:

"Law may be defined as the body of principles recognised and applied by the state in the administration of justice. In other words, law consists of the rules recognised and acted on by the courts of justice."²⁹

Others say that it is difficult, rather impossible, to locate sovereign in a society. Sovereign powers are divided between different organs and Austin's insistence on the concept of the sovereign is superfluous.

Modern writers say that it is wrong to regard law as essentially the *command* of a superior. Many legal rules such as private rights, declaratory laws, legal powers etc. are not commands at all. Similarly the concept of sanction is also, it is said, vastly exaggerated. Most of the legal rules are accepted and obeyed willingly and voluntarily. People obey laws because they regard them as proper rules of behaviour, because it is in their interests to follow them. Tradition and religion also play a great part. The realisation of obligation is more important than the threat of the sanction. Sanction is effective only for the recalcitrant minority and not for the willing majority. Paton rightly says that 'academic preoccupation with the sanction led to a false view of law.' The idea of health does not at once suggest to one's mind hospitals and diseases, operations and anaesthetics, however necessary these things may be to maintain the welfare of a community. The best service of medicine is the prevention of disease, just as the real benefit of law is that it secures an ordered balance which goes to prevent disputes.

²⁹ Salmond, Jurisprudence, 10th edition, (1946) edited by G.L. William p. 41.

Then there is the question of the constitution. Constitution is obeyed not because of any sanction, but because of the realisation that without it no law can operate and no system can work.³⁰ Thus, the modern view seems to be that a disproportionate emphasis on the imperative aspect should not be given.

Sociological Concept of Law

The sociological school takes an altogether different view.

The modern sociological view is a representation of the German Historical School led by Savigny. Its theory was that "Law is altogether the outcome of popular consciousness consolidated from time to time by legal service." Its modern advocate is the sociological jurist Engen Ehrlich. He re-asserts the supremacy of the law-making habits of the community as against the law-creating authority of the State.

This school has over-emphasised the importance of custom, a term which it uses as more or less synonymous with law. This is a sheer case of confusing the role of custom as a source of law with law itself. They ignore the position of the Modern State which occupies a powerful authority and plays a dominant part in moulding the conduct of the community. The facts of modern life are definitely against this concept of law which assigns a very secondary place to the State.

Towards a Definition of Law

Following the line of Dr. Paton, we may now sum up the modern thought on law. Thus we must be clear about two things.

- (a) the precise meaning of law
- (b) a picture of law as it operates today.

³⁰ For a discussion of the obligation conception of law see *New Outline of Modern Knowledge*, Chapter on "Law" by A.L. Goodhead p. 581-600.

We have already seen that law presupposes the existence of a community and society. Society can exist only if there exists a fundamental agreement among its members upon its basis *i.e.* upon the basic framework of values. This society, in course of time, sets up a machinery through which law is created and enforced. Law is always *normative* and is enforced through the willing acceptance of the community and the sanctions created by it for its unhampered enforcement. A legal order can be effective only if it is endowed with the following:

- (a) An active and efficient machinery for the administration of law and its strict enforcement;
- (b) A framework of methods and institutions for incorporating new concepts and ideas into the legal code;
- (c) Proper sanctions for the enforcement of law; and
- (d) A peaceful method for the transfer of power in the country from one group to another — at least the opportunity to change those who hold reigns of power — should be adequately provided. This is essential for the integrity of the legal system as a whole.

Now we are in a position to state the definition of law.

The *Chambers Encyclopaedia* gives the following definition:

"We can define law as the rules of conduct laid down by the authority of the sovereign power in the state as applied and enforced by all authorities entrusted with their application."³¹

Although quite comprehensive this definition does not take full cognizance of the obligation aspect of law which is being given greater importance in modern legal thought. However, we may safely say that it can roughly be a representative of the modern trends of thought. Professor Paton says that there are two sides of the problem. Law, on the one side, is "an abstract body of rules" and on another side it is "a social process for

³¹ *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* (1950) Vol: VIII, p. 406

compromising the conflicting interests of men" in society. Law, may thus be defined as

"a legal order tacitly or formally accepted by a community and it consists of the body of rules which that community considers essential to its welfare and which it is willing to enforce by the creation of a specific mechanism for securing compliance".³²

III

PHILOSOPHY OF LAW

Law is an important instrument in fashioning the life of a community. Perhaps, it can be justifiably said that life, for its growth and manifestation, employs the channels of law. As such some basic questions have always remained the pivot of discussion among the jurists and philosophers. What is the real underlying basis of law? What are its moral foundations? What purpose it is going to serve? What values it seeks to uphold? What is its relationship with justice? What is justice itself? — the task of legal philosophy is to provide answer to these vital questions. The German Philosopher Radbranch regards legal philosophy's task as: "The clarification of legal values and postulates upto their ultimate philosophical foundations".³³ Throughout the history of law we find that it is invariably linked up with philosophy and political theory. This is so because, in the words of the famous judge Lord Wright:

"Law is not an end in itself. It is a part in the system of Government of the nation in which it functions, and it has to justify itself by its ability to subserve the ends of government, that is, to help to promote the ordered

³² G.W. Paton, *A Textbook of Jurisprudence*, p. 83

³³ *Interpretation of Modern Legal Philosophies*, p. 794

existence of the nation and the good life of the people"³⁴ Lord Wright has, on another occasion, put the thing more squarely when he says:

"I am firmly convinced by all my experience and study of and reflection upon law that its primary purpose is the quest of justice".³⁵

Thus, it is the job of legal theory to find out what is justice. In the words of Professor Friedman:

"To formulate political ideals in terms of justice and to ascertain the means by which these ideals can be translated into social reality, through the agency of a legal order, is the vital function which legal theory must fulfil."³⁶

This being the task of the legal theory, now let us see what the main trends of thought are?

The natural law philosophy

The Modern Western legal thought is the product of Greek philosophy, Roman Jurisprudence, Medieval scholasticism and the secular and materialistic approach of the post-renaissance period. It is a conglomeration of all these strands of thought and is infested with the conflicts and antimonies which dominate them.

Greeks regarded law as essentially related to justice and morality. Plato in his Republic tried to reconcile between law and justice. He believed in absolute values and visualised legal rules as conforming to them. Aristotle tried to distinguish between natural law and the positive law. Natural law was the embodiment of reason and universal justice and it was the dictate of reason to abide by it. Positive law on the other hand, was binding only because it was decreed by a particular authority.

³⁴ Vide W. Friedman, *Legal Theory*, p. 446-47

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ Friedman. *Legal Theory*,

The stoics popularised the concept of natural law. They upheld the maxim: "live according to nature" and pleaded that "a thing was in accord with nature when it was governed by its own leading principle; and in the case of man this was reason".

The natural law philosophy has ever since grown and flourished. During the Middle Ages Christian Scholastics tried to give the natural law a divine sanction. In the age of renaissance and after, it prospered in a more secular atmosphere. Grotius (1583-1645) based natural law on the nature of man and his inward need of living in society. It was in this background that the theories of natural rights emerged. French Revolution derived its inspiration from this very stream of thought. American constitution incorporated the essence of the natural law thinking of the eighteenth century. This was the golden period of natural law theories and its imprints are visible even today on the American thought and institutions. Bodenheimer rightly says that "no other philosophy moulded and shaped American thinking and American institutions to such an extent as did the philosophy of natural law in the form given to it in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries"³⁷.

Nineteenth century witnessed a reaction against natural law theories. Real emphasis was given to technical problems or to the natural reform of law. The author of the article on legal theory in the *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* justifiably says that "The nineteenth century was as lean in the production of fertile thought about the ends and purposes of law as it was productive in the systematization and development of law as a specialised science."³⁸

In the twentieth century a reaction against specialisation and departmentalisation of the 19th century has set in and there is the realisation that "a completely self-contained legal science is an illusion". Revival of natural law thinking is taking place in the disturbed times that our century has witnessed.

³⁷ Bodenheimer, *Jurisprudence*, Page 164

³⁸ *Chamber's Encyclopaedia*, Vol: VIII page 443

The basis of all natural law theories seems to be the belief that law is an essential foundation for the life of man in society and that it is based on reason, on the needs of man as a reasonable being. Two great ideas have mainly dominated over the intellectual scene of natural law *viz*: a universal order governing all men and the concept of indestructible rights of the individual.

But despite such prolific thought the problem remains confused and unresolved. W. Friedman comes to the conclusions that:

"the history of natural law is a tale of the search, of mankind for absolute justice and of its failure. Again and again, in the course of last 2,500 years, the idea of natural law has appeared, in some form or another, as an expression of the search for an ideal higher than positive law after having been rejected and derided in the interval. The problem is as acute and as unsolved as ever. With changing social and political conditions the notions of natural law have changed. *The only thing that has remained constant is the appeal to something higher than positive law.* It is easy to derive natural law as it is easy to derive the futility of mankind's social and political life in general, in its unceasing but hitherto vain search for a way out of the injustices and imperfections, for which so far Western civilization at any rate has found no other solution but to move between one extreme and another"³⁹. This is a very correct portrayal of the state of natural law theories. Despite ceaseless yearnings man has failed to solve the problem of the ends of law in the light of this set of theories. These theories have been used by revolutionaries and reactionaries alike and they were unable to give any sound foundations to law.

Some other Modern Theories

The failure of natural law gave birth to the historical school whose main thesis is that it is not possible to arrive at any universal rules of law at all.

³⁹ W. Friedman, *Legal Theory*, (1953), Page 17-18

They hold that law is relative to time and place and is a peculiar produce of each society. As such it is futile to try to formulate some general and universal basis of Law.

Kohler develops the thought of historical school and adapts it to the streams of evolutionary thought and approach. Law, in his view, is a social fact and is the product of culture. Cultures vary in time and place, so must law. Evolution is the basis of his work and he comes to the conclusion that "there is no eternal law: the law that is suitable for one period is not so for another. We can only strive to provide every culture with its corresponding system of law. What is good for one would mean ruin for another"⁴⁰

Further developments on similar lines have brought us to the so-called realism which has robbed law of all stability. It is heading towards atomistic relativism, and without an absolute foundation, can go nowhere else. This modern relativism, which throws all values into jeopardy, is coming more and more under criticism now. The way fascism has exploited this relativism has opened the eyes of a vast majority of thinkers. Roscoe Pound calls it "sceptical realism" and "give-it-up" philosophy. The author says:

"Absolute ideas of justice have made for free Government and skeptical ideas of justice have gone with autocracy....

If the idea **is** absolute, those who wield the force of politically organised society are not. Skeptical realism puts nothing above the ruler or ruling body"⁴¹

This is the dilemma of the modern man. This realisation is spreading far and wide that modern philosophies have failed to deliver the goods and man is where he was, bewildered and aghast. Paton writes:

⁴⁰ Kohler, *Philosophy of Law* (Translated by Albrecht) p. 5

⁴¹ Quoted by Friedman, *Legal Theory*, p. 453

"Philosophy has not yet evolved an acceptable scale of values, its answers to the fundamental problems of jurisprudence are still confused."⁴²

Morris Cohen says that

"No ideal so far suggested is both formally necessary and materially adequate to determine definitely which of our actually conflicting interests should justly prevail".⁴³

W. Friedman comes to the conclusion that

"What is the purpose of the life ? is the fundamental question to be answered by legal theory as by philosophy, political theory, ethics and religion.

"In many endeavours to give an answer the principal movements in legal thought veer between certain fundamental values of life. Western civilization at any rate has hitherto been unable to agree even theoretically on the ultimate values and purposes of life. So persistently has the pendulum swung backward and forwards between certain antinomic values that we cannot but register a tension which perpetually produces new efforts and a search for harmony".⁴⁴

Earlier in the same work Dr. Friedman has emphasised that

"What emerges from all these varying attempts is the failure to establish absolute standards of justice except on a religious basis". "A theological basis provides the simplest and perhaps the only genuine foundation for absolute ideals of justice".⁴⁵

But the simplest, it seems, is still the farthest from the West. The to-and fro-movement of the pendulum is going on and perhaps will go on:

"Law is closely related to the deepest aspirations of mankind, and the

⁴² G.W. Paton, *A Textbook of Jurisprudence*, p. 106

⁴³ Morris Cohen, *Reason and Nature*.

⁴⁴ *Legal Theory* p. 465

⁴⁵ *Ibid* p. 450

theories of what the law ought to be, play their part in changing the law that is. Any true standard of legal criticism requires a basis in a theory of eternal values, but no acceptable doctrine has yet been developed".⁴⁶

IV

MAIN PROBLEMS OF LEGAL THEORY

Now we are in a position to refer some of the major problems of legal theory.

The most important problem is that of the ends of law. The question can be simplified if it is discussed in two parts: what have actually been the ends of law? and what they should be? Professor Pound says that in the past establishment of peace, protection of liberty from within and without, economic welfare and quest for increasing freedom for the human will have been the major purposes of law. As far as the question of the ideal is concerned different school of thought stand for different ideals. Analytical school would strive for logical harmony; Historical school for progress through evolution and the Positivists for cooperation of interests. But the fact is that no satisfactory ideal has been put forth by legal theory as yet. The failure of modern thought on this count has been discussed in an earlier section and we need not delineate upon the same here. The problem of ends of law continues to stare us in the shape of a question mark and no one can say how long this haunt would continue?

Stability and change

Another major problem that besets the modern legal theory is that of stability and change. Roscoe Pound puts the problem in these words:

⁴⁶ Paton, *Op. Cil.* p. 98. Also see Fuller's *The Law in Quest of itself* (1940)

"Law must be stable and yet it cannot stand still. Hence all thinking about law has struggled to reconcile the conflicting demands of the need of stability and of the need of change."⁴⁷

The history of legal thought reflects a constant and unending conflict between the demands of stability and change, of rigidity and elasticity, of tradition and progress. To maintain order and establish internal peace it is necessary that the laws should be rigid. Law determines the complexion of a polity and sets its four-corners. If it is ever-changing, every thing would be cast into a melting pot. Therefore in the interest of peace and other stability law must have strength and permanence. If it changes with every social and political change it would lose its force and strength.

But if rigidity is maintained at the cost of justice then it is too costly. Changes, when they are material and affect justice, should be taken cognizance of. But how to adjust change with rigidity? What element of law is eternal and what changeable is a question that remains unsolved in the metrix of modern thought. American Judge Cardoza has rightly said that one of the greatest need of the law today is:

"A philosophy that will mediate between conflicting claims of stability and progress and supply a principle of growth."⁴⁸
Idealism and Positivism

Eversince the dawn of legal philosophy a tussle is going on between legal idealism and legal positivism. Idealistic theories reduce the law from the first principles while the materialistic and positivistic theories regard it as essentially a product of social organism. This tussle seems to be a reflection of the struggle that prevails in philosophy between idealism and naturalism. The Marxist materialism has accentuated the conflict and perhaps the tussle

⁴⁷ Roscoe Pound, *Interpretation of Legal History*, p. 1

⁴⁸ Justice Cardoza, 37 H.L.R. page 279

is most acute between German idealists and Marxist materialists. The tussle is again unresolved and in the words of W. Friedman

"The struggle never ceases. Tired of ideals and abstractions, man turns towards correctness and positive fact, towards action and power. Disillusioned he turns back again to ideals and metaphysical principles."⁴⁹

Individualism and Collectivism

Whether community is supreme over the individual, or the individual is an end in itself? has been a basic problem of political thought. Legal theory has also inherited this problem and great divergence of thought is rampant in respect of it. Plato made the community supreme. Christian church also led its support to this view. The stoics, on the other hand, made the individual supreme. In the contemporary world communists and fascists have subdued the individual to the community while the protagonists of modern democracy regard individual as the ultimate value. Lock and Mill were the upholders of individualism and the American Constitution is its high charter. All attempts at the solution of the conflict and for the establishment of a balance between the needs of individualism and collectivism have not succeeded as yet. This problem also provides the modern legal thinker with a challenge to grapple with.

The Question of International Law

If the imperative schools' views on law are upheld and law is regarded as a command enforced by a specific sanction, then international law does not remain law at all. And Austin actually did not regard it law as such. The controversy is live in legal theory and widely conflicting views hold the swing. The fact is that the demands of nationalism and internationalism are conflicting with each other. Submission to international law abridges the sovereignty of the nation-states. No sanctions have as yet been discovered in

⁴⁹ W. Friedman, *Legal Theory* page 471

the international field. How the rules of international ethics are to be enforced? Wars are no sanction at all, they do not deter the powerful. Rather they have been the instruments of the mighty powers against the weaker nations. Can International law reign along with the concept of national sovereignty — this is a question that confronts the modern man. And on the solution of it depends the peace and tranquillity in future.

The Task Ahead

In the foregoing pages we have given an exposition of the problems of legal theory. The vast ground we have tried to survey will give a fairly general idea of the nature of the problems the researcher in jurisprudence is to face. If we want to reconstruct the juridical thought in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Quran and *Sunnah*, as Iqbal has emphasized time and again, then the proper course for the researcher will be to find out the answers to the questions posed in legal theory from the original sources of Islam. An effort should also be made to study the development of the juridical thought in Islam to see how the Muslim thinkers tried to tackle these problems in the past. The crying need of the hour is to organise thorough research on problems of legal theory and thus endeavour to reconstruct the modern science of jurisprudence in accordance with the principles of Islam. It would, perhaps, be correct to say that the twentieth century renaissance of Islam will depend upon the successful performance of this primary task.

IQBAL'S ESTIMATE OF GURU NANAK

M. Abadulla Farooqi

Before we try to discover Iqbal's opinion about Guru Nanak and his estimate of Nanak's thought, it is imperative at the very outset to give a brief account of the Sikh leader about whom Iqbal spoke in admiring tones. This is necessary to enable the readers to form a complete and comprehensive idea of his achievements and reforms in the domain of social and religious activities.

Guru Nanak was born in November 1448 of the Christian era at Nankana Sahib (Talwandi), district Sheikhpura. This was a time when the Hindus were hopelessly divided among themselves and were dominated by the Lodhi dynasty of Afghans who had established themselves at Delhi. Hinduism had become a set of formalities and ceremonies. The object of the religious formalities was no longer understood or sought to be understood. The Hindus worshipped the elements and incarnations of God in various forms. Even many a Muslim had lost touch with the real being spirit of their revolutionary religion and were going to the mosques as if to repeat certain set of Arabic words without understanding or seeking to understand their import.

Before Guru Nanak undertook the social and religious reforms, the wave of religious revival had set in throughout India. It was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy. This religious upheaval was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and of the law of the love, to all others acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work of the people, of the masses and not of the upper classes. At its apex were saints and philosophers, a few of whom had passed before Guru Nanak, and those, too, not in the Punjab; though after him, followed a host of them, here as elsewhere. It is established beyond any shadow of doubt that the influence

of higher spirituality of these movements was not confined to this and that class but permeated deep through all strata of society, high and low, Muslims and Hindus alike. In northern and eastern India a similar movement manifested itself much at the same time. Guru Nanak stirred up the Punjab to rise and made a supreme efforts to reform Hinduism under the impact of Islam.

Rama Nand, Kabir, Tulsi Dass, Sur Dass, Rohi Dass, and Jaya Dev, contributed each in his own way to the work of spiritual enlightenment. Thus, before Guru Nanak's birth, comparatively few of these saints flourished to make any substantial and lasting improvement in the masses, but the current of religious reforms were not withstanding there.

It is, thus, evident that in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Hindu mind was no longer stagnant or retrogressive. It had been aroused to assimilate new developments. "Rama Nand and Gorakh had preached religious equality and Kabir had denounced images. They appear to have been so much impressed with the nothingness of worldly life that they deemed the amelioration of man's social condition as unworthy of a thought. They aimed chiefly at emancipation from priestcraft or from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism. They formed pious association of contented quietists or they gave themselves up to the contemplation of futurity in the hope of approaching bliss, rather than called upon the people to throw aside every social as well as religious trammel and to arise a new people, freed from the debasing corruption of ages. They perfected forms of dissent, rather than planted the germs of nation and their sets remain to this day as they left them."⁵⁰

It was reserved for Guru Nanak to perceive the true principles of reform and to lay those broad foundations which enabled his successor, "Gowind", to fire the mind of his countrymen with a new nationality and to give

⁵⁰ History of the Sikhs by Cunningham, p. 48

practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes and aspirations.

Such were the times when Guru Nanak appeared and it was given to him to reform the society as he found it. As pointed above, political lawlessness, social confusion, religious corruption, moral degradation and spiritual slavery were the order of the day. No doubt, Rama Nand, Gorakh and Kabir had already introduced reforms in northern India to rise the people from the spiritual lethargy; but they utterly failed to perceive the true principles of reform. That Guru Nanak succeeded in bringing about the much needed reform is sufficiently clear from the History of Sikhs and the history of Punjab by late Syed Muhammad Latif.

Iqbal seems to be deeply impressed by Nanak's humanitarian principles and broader outlook of religion. He sings in praise of him:

نانک

قوم نے پیغام گوتم کی ذرا پروانہ کی

قدر پہچانی نہ اپنے گوہر یک دانہ کی

آہ! بد قسمت رہے آواز حق سے بیخبر

غافل اپنے پھل کی شیرینی سے ہوتا ہے شجر

آشکار اسنے کیا جو زندگی کا راز تھا

ہند کو لیکن خیالی فلسفہ پر ناز تھا

شمع حق سے جو منور ہو یہ وہ محفل نہ تھی

بارش رحمت ہوئی لیکن زمین قابل نہ تھی!

آہ! شودر کیلئے ہندوستان غم خانہ ہے

درد انسانی سے اس ہستی کا دل بیگانہ ہے

برہمن سرشار ہے اب تک مئے پندار میں

شمع گوتم جل رہی ہے محفل اغیار میں

بتکدہ پھر بعد مدت کے مگر روشن ہوا

نورا براہیم سے آذرکا گھر روشن ہوا

پھر اٹھی آخر صدا توحید کی پنجاب سے

ہند کو اب اک مرد کامل نے جگایا خواب سے!

(بانگ درا)

The nation did not pay heed to the message of Gotam;

She never realised the true worth of her gem.

Alas! they were unlucky to harken the real voice of the saint!

As indeed the tree is unaware of the sweetness of its fruit.

He disclosed the real secret of life;

While India indulged in a pride of its contemplative thought.

Her assembly was not Lit by the Light of divine lamp;

The rain of divine grace fell; but her soil was no good;

Alas! India is an abode of sorrow for a low-caste person;

Surely, her heart is blunt to the sufferings of humanity.

The Brahman is still proud of his vanity;

While the candle of Gotam's teaching is burning in the assembly of others.

The idol-house of India has once again become illuminated after a pretty long time;

As if the house of Aazar is illuminated by the light of Abraham.

Again, the voice of 'Tawheed' has arisen from the Panjab;

And thus, a perfect man has awaken India from her dogmatic slumber.

چشتی نے جس زمین میں پیغام حق سنایا

نانک نے جس چمن میں وحدت کا گیت گایا

تاتاریوں نے جس کو اپنا وطن بنایا

جس نے حجازیوں سے دشت عرب چھڑایا

میرا وطن وہی ہے میرا وطن وہی ہے

(بانگ درا)

1. The place where Chishti gave his message to the people;
The place where Nanak sung unity of God;

The place where the Tartars took their habitation;

The place which compelled the Arabs to leave the deserts of Arabia ;

Is my native country — Is my home-land.

From the above quoted verses of Iqbal it becomes abundantly clear and is established beyond any shadow of doubt that he regarded Guru Nanak a monotheist, rather than a polytheist as some European scholars would have us believed.

Iqbal glorifies Nanak for the obvious reason that the latter never gave utterance to the sacriligious idea that he was God. On the other hand Nanak believed himself to be the humble servant of God. God was in him and he felt himself with God. His are, therefore, the outpourings of a sincere, true, tender, sympathetic and devoted heart filled with unbounded love of God. He did not formulate any elaborate system of philosophy like Iqbal. On the other hand, he took the world as he found and began to teach and reform. He taught people as to what they ought to be, not so much as to what they have been or whence they have come and whither they have to go. He loved humanity and wanted to save them from their religious differences. To use the words of Syed Mohammad Latif author of *History of the Punjab*:

"The good Guru Nanak tried to amalgamate the Hindus and Mohammadans by the creation of a new sect which in time merged into confederate feudalism; but these institutions gave way before all the grasping power of Ranjit Singh".⁵¹

Similarly, in his *History of Lahore* he remarks that "Guru Nanak's best endeavour during his long public career were directed towards removing or reducing to a minimum, those religious and social differences which had sprung up between the two great religious sects of India, the Hindus and the Mohammadans, and to a great extent he was successful".

Iqbal is so much impressed with this effort that we hear the echo of Nanak's preaching in his poetry.

در دیر نیاز من در کعبه نماز من

زنا ر بد و تشم من بشیخ بدستم من

"I beseech in the church while I pray in the house? Sad;

I wear a sacred thread on my shoulder; while I hold rosary in my hands.

Again, Nanak's essential character, like Iqbal, was that of a reformer in the best and the truest sense of the word and his religion tries to possess a noble ideal, with social and practical meanings. His object was to raise religion from the lowest depth of polytheism and superstitions of convention and formalities, into which it had fallen and to preach in addition, a nobler doctrine, a pure morality and a more exclusive monotheism. Iqbal, in addition to these fundamental principles of humanity preached the gospel of "self" or "individuality" against the doctrine of absorption into the doctrine of Eternal self. Apparently, this doctrine of self was unknown to Nanak, yet

⁵¹ History of Punjab by Syed Mohammad Latif., p. 3.

he did preach the gospel of self by emphasising the importance of human self as a humble servant of God. He was definitely opposed to the doctrine of pantheism. Unity of God and universal brotherhood constitute the basic principle of Iqbal as well as of Nanak's teaching. They penetrated beneath the crust of observances and conventions and found the root of the matter in the unity of God and equality of men before Him. According to Nanak there is but one God, the Creator, all-pervading devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, great and gracious. It is contended by Nanak that His qualities are beyond reckoning and beyond comprehension. He says "do not fall in useless struggle, worship not other than God, bow not to the dead".⁵²

Both Iqbal and Nanak emphasise the divine origin of man and assert that his good consists in his close association with God. This exactly is what Nanak means by the realisation of God—an idea which Iqbal conveys through his concept of the realisation of self. The nature of God according to Iqbal is self, while according to Nanak it is indescribable, self-existent, incomprehensible, timeless, all-pervading Both agree that He is the creator and sustainer of the phenomenal world. This conception of Nanak abrogated all petty distinctions of creed and sects, dogmas and ceremonies. The realisation of such a God shatters the sophistries of the theologians and the quibblings of the dialecticians. It clears the brow from the gloom of abstruse pondering over trifles and leaves the heart free for the exercise of human sympathies. Dr. Ernest Trump, however, takes a different view of Nanak's religion. He says "We should be wrong in assuming that Nanak forbade the worship of other God, on the ground of the unity of Supreme. Far from doing so, he took over the whole Hindu pantheon with all its mythological background with the only difference that the whole was subordinated to the supreme Brahmā. The position of the popular God was thereby, though not openly attacked, naturally lowered, and their service must need appear less important". He further remarks that "It is a mistake if Nanak is represented as having endeavoured to unite Hindu and Mohammadan ideas about God.

⁵² *Rag Sorath*, M. I. Asht Sh. 1-1

Nanak remained a thorough Hindu, according to all his views, and if he had communion with Mohammadans, it was owing to the fact that Sufism which all these Mohammadans were professing, was in reality nothing but a pantheism derived directly from Hindu sources and only outwardly adapted to the form of the Islam."⁵³

Iqbal definitely rejects the view held by Dr. Trump and vigorously holds _Nanak as a staunch monotheist. Thus, the mistaken notions of Dr. Trump do not justify the charges laid against Nanak of believing in the Hindu pantheon. According to Professor Wilson: "The doctrine of Nanak being a mere metaphysical notion was founded on the abstraction of Sufism and Vedant philosophy." "But it is difficult," says Cunningham, "for any one to write about the omnipotence of God and the hopes of the man, without laying himself open to the charge of belonging to one speculative school or another".⁵⁴

The next fundamental principle of Guru Nanak's religion is the brotherhood of man, without distinction of race, caste or creed. Iqbal also denounced caste and racial differences most emphatically to establish equality of man before God.

مٹا کر امتیاز رنگ و بو ملت میں گم ہو جا

نہ تورانی رہے باقی نہ ایرانی نہ افغانی

Submerge with the nation, negating all distinction of race and creed so that neither a Tourani, nor Irani nor Afghani is left.

⁵³ Translation of the *Adi Granth* by Dr. Ernest Trump, German Translator

pp: CI-CII

⁵⁴ Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* page 101-102

Nanak claimed liberty from prescribed trammels, equality before God and the fraternity of mankind. The practical application of the doctrine thus taught led to the formation of a new nationality. The unity of God and the unity of mankind were the two fundamental doctrines of Guru Nanak. This was Nanak's religion and this he preached to his followers. "One-ness", both of God and of mankind was his motto, and he preached that whereas God is one, it will be the principal source of eternal beatitude for all brethren to dwell together in perfect unity. As God Himself is one, so is He pleased with one-ness. Produce concord and avoid discord; Love all, despise none and produce one-ness, believe in one, love one and one-ness and be one.

That Nanak believed in the transmigration of soul is doubtless true.

"Life is like the wheel circling on its pivot,

O, Nanak! of going and coming there is no end"

He did teach of a previous birth and did connect the present with the deeds of the past. The present life is sure to be followed by another whose nature will be determined by our own good or bad actions. This apprehension of a future birth is what troubles the soul of man and thus it is to get rid of this apprehension, which is a source of happiness to the soul. One enjoys eternal bliss when God is constantly with him. This is the goal of human life and both Nanak and Iqbal are unanimous in holding that this stage can be reached even in this life. However, Iqbal does not believe in transmigration of Soul. Cunningham is wrong in holding that Nanak regarded bliss as the dwelling of the soul with God, after its punitive transmigration should have ceased. For, this stage of union is neither envisaged in Iqbal nor in Nanak's system of religion. Both advocate the stage of association rather than that of a union. According to Nanak devotion to God, meditation of His true name, with a heart full of faith and pure moral deeds, are the means by which the grace of Almighty is obtained and these methods may be adopted by obeying the instructions given by the Guru. Thus, implicit obedience of Guru or Sheikh is shown to lead man's salvation

in the end. Like Iqbal and many other mystics, Nanak emphasises the doctrine of self-annihilation with a view to attain the height of a spiritual self. He positively holds that divine love cannot be excited without Guru and similarly the filth of egoism cannot be removed without him. (*Shri Rag M. I. Asht. Sh. 11*).

Iqbal while following different trends gives expression to these ideas:

اندکے اندر حرائے دل نشیں

ترک خود کسن سوئے حق ہجرت گزیں

(اسرار خودی)

منور شو ز نور من رآنی

شرہ برہمن مزن تو خود نمائی

(زبور عجم)

تا نہ رمز لا الہ بدست

بند غیر اللہ رانتوان شکست

در جہاں آغاز کار ار حدف لا است

این تحسین منزل مرد خداست

(مثنوی پس چه باید کرد)

- (1) Sit for a while, in the Valley of your heart;
And negate yourself; so as to be able to migrate to the divine self.
- (2) Enlighten yourself with the light of divine effulgence;
Do not close your eyes; as this will annihilate you.
- (3) So long you are unaware of the secret of one-ness; You cannot break
the bondage of plurality of Gods.
- (4) The origin of the universe is based on oneness.
And this one-ness constitutes the goal of godly people from the very
beginning.

Yet self negation is not the object of his philosophy.

Thus, Love is a dominant theme of Nanak's thoughts. The eternal bliss or unbounded love of God is included in the principle of *Bhakti*. He explains his conception of love in his following lines:

"O man. ! How wilt thou be released without Love?

Through the Guru's Word. He becometh manifest as pervading all and
exciteth Devotion in them?

O man, love God as the lotus loves the water!

The more it is beaten by the waves, the more its love is excited.

Having received its life in the water, it dies without water.

O man, love God as the fish loves the water!

The more the water is, the more is it joyous and its mind and body are
contented

Without water it cannot live for a moment, the pain of separation from water is so great to it.

O man, love God as the chatcik loves the rain!

The tanks full and the hands green are nothing to it, without a single rain-drop.

O man, love God as the water loves the milk!

It endures itself the boiling, but doth not allow the milk to be consumed.

O man, love God as the *chakvi* loves the sun!

(Without sun) Doth not sleep for a moment, and considers as distant that which is present."

(Sri Rag. M.I., Asht. Sh. II)

The principle of love is taken still further by Guru Nanak who likens the deity to the husband and disciple to the wife. Such a height of devotion and love can only be met with in the Warsi-sect of Muslims and perhaps by far the most of all in the religion of Guru Nanak. His following lines are noteworthy.

"All are the female friends of the Husband, all adorn themselves;

They make their own estimates; but mind, fancy dress is not the proper ode.

By hypocrisy the affection of the Husband is not obtained ; counterfeit, overgliding is miserable.

O God, thus the woman enjoys her husband!

The favoured women, who please Thee. Thou mercifully adornest.

The body and heart of her, who is adorned with the Guru's Word, are with the Beloved (Husband)

Both hands joined she attends and looks out and utters an earnest prayer.

(Sri Rag. M.I. Asht. Sh.2).

Thus, the whole system of Guru Nanak is founded on love, which has been taken to the highest pitch by him. He was by far the greatest preacher of this principle like Hafiz of Shiraz, and love taken out of his religion, the whole fabric must necessarily fall to the ground. Brotherhood and equality of man is one of the two fundamental principle of his creed. In other words, Love for humanity was the religion; so too, unbounded love for God was the principal means of salvation.

The efficacy of prayer and forgiveness of past sins by the grace of God are also the means of salvation, which are acknowledged by Nanak. Prayer must ascend from the sincere and humble heart of man to God and it is sure to be heard.

(Var. Magh. M. 1. Shlock 23)

The last but not the least of all the pure moral deeds. Without purity of life, neither of the above means of salvation are attainable by man. Pure moral deeds are so to say the means to the means of salvation. The remark of Dr. Trump that "in a religion, when the highest object of life is the extinction of individual's existence, there can be no room for a system of moral duties", and his assumption "Sikhism is not a moralising deism", is not true.

According to Nanak, the moral tone of a man's character can never be high unless he scrupulously abstains from a bad company and seeks and frequents the company of saints and mystics. In order to be good and noble man must always keep before his eyes a high ideal of virtue and devotion. Thus like Iqbal Nanak does not believe in formal religions with their rituals.

He was a non-believer of the outer formalities and always showed absurdity and the superstitious character of rituals. Iqbal, though adhered to the formal practices of Islam, denounced all other rituals and formalities which he considered unnecessary.

BOOK REVIEWS

*Diplomacy in Islam*⁵⁵

Diplomacy is said to be the art of saying 'no' in such a way that it sounds, 'yes'. To be more blunt, it has become the art of deceiving others without offending them. As such, one might feel that there can hardly be a place for diplomacy in Islam. The book under review, however, shows that Islam has given its own concept of diplomacy and made it the art of negotiations and of tactful handling of international situations. If all this is done with due regard to moral principles, then it is Islamic Diplomacy.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the negotiations, the second with the political delegations and the third with the salient features of moral diplomacy. The author has kept himself restricted to the diplomacy of Muhammad (peace be on him). The major portion of the book gives a simple narration of those phases of the Prophet's life which could be regarded as exercises in interregional and international diplomacy. The reader expects some detailed analysis of the factors that led to a particular decision — its reasons, repercussions, advisability etc — but he is disappointed in this respect. The author has compiled the facts but has not taken the pains of explaining and analysing them. He fails to give the rationale behind the decisions of the Prophet, which in fact were masterpieces of diplomacy. One may, therefore, say that the subject has not really been tackled 'diplomatically'.

Leaving this aspect apart, the book is quite a success from the point of view of opening new avenues of research in this field. Keeping aside the Prophet's diplomacy — which still needs an exhaustive and objective study — the book can stimulate further studies in the diplomacy of the *Khulafae-a-Rashidin* and other Muslim rulers. It was in the later periods when the

⁵⁵ By Afzal Iqbal, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, pp. 156, Price Rs. 10/-

boundaries of the first Islamic State, with headquarters at Madinah, widened, that it had to deal with the vexing problems of maintaining healthy relations with other powers. It was during these periods that the principles of Islamic Diplomacy were put to hard test. A study of this period would be most illuminating and may show a new path to the diplomats who are beset with a strife-ridden world.

The book has brought to light certain facts which deserve careful consideration.

I. It proves the baselessness of the claim of some narrow-minded Muslims who preach that Islam has nothing to do with the affairs of the State. 'Reform the individual and it would automatically result in a Islamic Society' is their slogan. The study of the Prophet's life tells an altogether different story. If the Prophet, after *Hijrah*, had not assumed full control over the situation and utilised it to his benefit by entering into treaties with different tribes, the Islamic State of Madinah — a tiny power as it was in the beginning — would have succumbed to the onslaughts of the Qurayish and the internal conspiracies of the Jews of Madinah. But the First Head of Islamic State — diplomat of the highest order as he was (peace be upon him) — did not let the opportunity go by and because of his insight into the situation got the best out of it. The treaty with the Jews which is rightly called 'constitution of Madinah' is remarkable from the point of view that it constitutionally accepts Mohammad (peace be on him) as the Head of the State to whom all disputes would be referred. The conduct of this phase, which was a great diplomatic success for the Prophet, clearly shows that Governmental powers should be taken in hand so that they are rightly used. To leave them for the evil-doers is against the intent and purpose of Islam.

2. There is no harm in conducting negotiations even with the opponents of Islam. The Muslims should not keep themselves aloof from other groups simply because they are non-believers. Negotiations should be carried — diplomatically of course — and agreements reached if possible, with the sole purpose of furthering the cause of Islam. The Prophet's treaties

with non-Muslim tribes and Jews ultimately proved to be for the good of the state.

3. Although the Prophet (peace be on him) was keen in signing treaties and expanding his state's influence and power and for that he negotiated and was out to accommodate the other party, it was never at the expense of any basic principle.

The demands of the delegation from Ta'if, which asked for concessions 'to practise adultery, maintain interest and drink liquor' were not accepted. Their plea that their economic system could not work without interest was not granted. Thus, it was clearly shown that whatever be the circumstances, there can be no compromise on fundamental principles.

Diplomacy consists not only in the proper handling of the foreign relations, but also in the tactful management of the internal affairs. The incidence relating to the fixation of the *Hajr-e-Aswad* in the pre-Islamic period, grant of general amnesty to all the Meccans after its conquest, distribution of wealth largely among the new-Muslims as against the Ansar and a host of other incidents which include dealing with the numerous attempts on the part of the Jews and the *munafiqueen* to create internal strifes among the Muslim, all are but an integral part of the history of Islamic diplomacy and prove beyond any shadow of doubt that Muhammad (peace be on him) the First Head of the Islamic State, was a diplomat *par excellence* and a statesman of the highest calibre.

Muslim Sajjad

*Islam and the World*⁵⁶

The book under review is a beautiful translation of the Urdu book '*Insani Dunya per Musulmanon Ke-Uruj-o-Zawal Ka Asar*' by Maulana Abul-Hasan Ali Nadvi. Originally the book was written in Arabic in 1950 and its Urdu

⁵⁶ By Abul Haan Ali Nadvi. Translated by: Mohammad Asaf Qidwai. Published by: The Academy of Islamic Research-Publication, 9-Railway Road, Lahore. p.p 194. Price Rs. 4/-

rendering appeared in 1954. Now Dr. Qidwai has done well to translate it into English.

It is a thoughtful and inspiring survey of the history of Muslims, not with a view to provide historical details but with the sole purpose of pinpointing the role and contribution of Muslims towards the advancement of mankind. The author has, in an admirable way, dealt with all the underlying currents and forces which have shaped the events and has tried to arouse in the Muslims of the present-day world the desire to fulfil the demands of their mission as a nation. The author has written the book with an unimpeachable faith in the supremacy of Islam as the only panacea for the ailments of the humanity which is suffering at the hands of a materialistic civilisation. It would not be an exaggeration to say that every word of the book is charged with this faith and spirit which steel into the heart of the reader.

The book begins with a detailed survey of political, economical and social conditions prevalent before the advent of Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him). This is followed by a survey of the era of Muslim glory and of Muslim decadence and the rise of the Western civilization. Evaluating the achievements and the failings of this civilization, he brings into limelight the fact that mankind has suffered real at the hands of the Western civilization. "The Western nations" the author says, "have received the worship of the perceptible, epicureanism, local patriotism and libertinism from the Greek and the bankruptcy of religious belief, racial pride, power-worship and imperialism from the Romans". The religion of this civilization is not Christianity, but materialism. Religion has been ostracised and secularized. The materialistic approach to life has given rise to a society of Godless, selfish and irresponsible individuals who have no standard of values except their own personel gain.

Muslims to-day are facing a challenge from this civilization. The West has made inroads in the Muslim Society and during the last centuries of

contact has considerably damaged the *supra-structure* of Muslim culture and civilization. As a matter of fact they are serving as devoted camp-followers of the West in many parts of the world. The modern Muslim has given up the role of leadership and has lost faith in himself.

But there is a ray of hope. In spite of all this survey of materialism, there are powerful and organised movements in the Muslim World which are facing this challenge boldly and which believe that Muslims, by living upto the real Islam, can even now dethrone the West from the leadership of the world.

The publication of this English translation is most commendable. At a time when there is no dearth of those intellectuals who are trying to modernise and reform Islam so that it could suit their own fancies, the publication of this work would help in wiping out the apologetic and defeatist mentality of the intelligentsia and of the rising generations of Muslims. The crying need of the hour is that all the traces of Western supremacy over the minds of the Muslim youth should be removed with the result that they may start taking pride in their own past, traditions and values for it is on this pride and faith that the future of the mankind hinges. The book successfully serves this purpose.

M. S.

*Muslim Institutions*⁵⁷

Islam is not a religion in the limited sense of the word—it is an all embracing Religio-Socio-political ideology guiding all facets of human life: individual and social, material and moral, national and international. It has its own outlook on life: it lays down the foundations on which man's relationship with God and his creation is to be established and it gives an exhaustive programme for the reconstruction of human life. Instead of renouncing or belittling this world Islam tries to reform it and remould it on moral formation. And herein lies the difference between Islam and other religions. It is because of its peculiarities as an ideology that Islam has been one of the most important culture-producing forces of human history. The revolution that Islam brought about in human life and society was a *total revolution* as against other revolutions of human history that have been *partial* ones. It transformed human life in all its manifestations, moral and material, mundane and spiritual, economic and social, political and juridical and national and international. And the sheet-anchor of this revolution were the new socio-political institutions which this ideology established. It was these institutions which moulded the pattern of the human life and made the Islamic ideology a living reality. They determined the new tone and temper of the society and enabled the unlettered Arabs to drink deep at the cultural wells of Islam, to communicate their culture to the following generations and thereby to become one of the most formidable forces of history.

It is an irony that the Muslim historians of the recent past have not given to the study of the socio-political institutions the importance which they rightly deserve. The fact is that the real meaning and significance of Islamic history cannot be appreciated by a study of the ups and downs of the political forces alone; a correct appraisal of Islamic history can be made only

⁵⁷ The Origins and Development of Muslim Institutions. By Dr. A.H. Siddiqi, Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Karachi, Jamiyatul-Falah Publications 1962. Rs. 9/-

if the political history of Islam is 'studied alongwith its social and cultural history.

Dr. A. H. Siddiqi is a well-known writer on Islam and he has, in the book under review, made an attempt to present the origin and the growth of Muslim Institutions from the advent of Islam to the fall of the Abbasides. As the subject has been treated from a historical viewpoint, the book begins with a study of institutions during the glorious reign of the Holy Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him). This has been followed by a detailed study of the institutions during the rule of the pious Caliphs. The two periods put together constitute the ideal period of Islamic history. The following chapters have been devoted to a survey of the later developments under the Umayyads and the Abbasides. As such, the book is an attempt by a Muslim writer to explain the social conditions of the first phase of Islamic history. It is hoped that the Muslim intelligentsia will feel interested in this book.

K. A.

***Living Religions of the World*⁵⁸**

The contemporary international conflict has once again brought to the limelight the need for religion. The realisation is dawning that religion can play a very decisive role in setting the house of humanity in order. Dozens of books, dealing with the great *religions* of the world, are appearing in the Western world. It is unfortunate that none of them honestly presents the viewpoint of the Muslims. Nay, even on point of facts and figures about the Muslim world they signally fail to do justice. Moreover, the approach of most of the writers on world religions is primarily theological, with the result that there is much more emphasis on their polemics than on their socio-political aspects. Mr. Abdullah Al-Masdoosi has tried to break new ground by making comparative study of the socio-political aspects of the world religions. This is

⁵⁸ Living Religions of the World: A Socio-Political Study. By Ahmed Abdullah al Masdoosi, translated by Zafar Ishaq Ansari, Aisha Bawany Wakf, Karachi, p.p. 363, Price Rs. 15/-

the first book which surveys the panorama of world religions from the Muslim viewpoint in the light of actual facts and figures.

The book begins with a chapter on "what is religion" followed by the chapters dealing with the available contemporary data about the world population of Muslims. The reviewer has found these chapters most instructive and rewarding. In his opinion they constitute the most valuable parts of the book which contains many valuable pieces of original and painstaking research. The following nine chapters deal with other important living religions of the world viz Paganism, Buddhism, Taoism, Sikhism, Shintoism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism and Judaism. The basic postulates and the economic-social strength of every religion and its political significance has been stated in very clear terms. This discussion is followed by three concluding chapters *viz* 'Islam and Christianity Points of concord and conflict', 'Rise and Fall of colonialism' and 'Statistical Survey'.

The entire book is informative, thoughtful and thought-provoking.

K. A.

***Muslimnews International*⁵⁹**

We have been faced with a queer paradox: Muslims constitute one-fifth of the human race; and Muslims did not have a single international newsmagazine which could present their viewpoint before the world. The appearance of the *Muslimnews International* from London has fulfilled this long-felt need. The standard of the journal (four issues have appeared so far) has been as high as that of any other international journal and this kindles high hopes for the future. The objectives of the journal are:-

1. Providing its readers with authentic information about the events

⁵⁹ Muslimnews International, monthly, Excel House, Whitecomb Street, Pall Mall, London, W.C. 2; Karachi Office: 4th Floor, Bank House No. 1, Habib Bank Square, Bunder Road, Karachi. Price 2s. (Rs. 1.50) Annual subscription 20s (Rs. 15.00)

- and trends in the Muslim world;
2. Attempting to portray Islam in all its pristine purity and simplicity, and in a language which is widely understood ;
 3. Trying to eradicate the misconceptions about Islam and Muslims which persist in many quarters;
 4. Fostering closer and better understanding among Muslim peoples themselves and placing before them viwes and ideas which will help the Muslim world to play its rightful role in saving humanity from the perils it is facing today.

We welcome the emergence of the *Muslimnews International* and wish it a long life and a distinguished caree .

K. A.