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## **Note to Contributors**

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Submissions must conform to the following guidelines:

- Be the author's original research. Simultaneous submissions to other journals, as well as previous publication in any format and language, are not accepted.
- Be between 7,000 and 10,000 words in length (shorter articles may be accepted when justified by their exceptionally high quality); book reviews and conference reports must be between 800-1,000 words;
- Include a 250 word (max) abstract;
- Cite all bibliographical information in endnotes. Provide full biographical information (e.g., full name(s) of author(s), complete title of the source, place of publication, publishing company, date of publication, and the specific page being cited) when the source is mentioned for the first time. For subsequent citations of the same source, list the author's last name, abbreviate the title, and give the relevant page number(s). Do not use footnotes or a bibliography;
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### Errata for AJISS 22:4:

Page 89 and 94: *Qawa'id al-'Aqa'id* should have read *Qawa'id al-'Aqa'id*.

Page 90: *muhkamat* should have read *muhkamat*.

CALL FOR PAPERS

**Islam in Southeast/Central Asia**

Post 9/11, the West has realized that Islam extends beyond the borders of the Arab world. While globalization had put Malaysia on the economic map, and military strategy and the independence of Timor heightened awareness of Indonesia and East Asia, the region of 250 million Malays, the most democratic part of the Muslim world, has not received due attention. Nor has the Muslim population in Central Asia. AJISS aims to redress the situation with a special issue on Islam in Southeast and Central Asia that provides in-depth analyses of the place of Islam and Muslims in these regions, both historically and contemporaneously, and thus contribute to an understanding of the context in which current events can be placed.

We are seeking academic and fully documented papers on what has caused these two regions to acquire such international prominence: the people involved, the driving ideologies/grievances, the historical context, the "terrorist" networks and sources of funding; how the regions' Muslims are reacting to this negative attention; and what Islamic activists hope Islam can offer the region both now and in the future.

**POSSIBLE TOPICS**

- Muslim Minorities: Movements of Self-Determination, Relations with the Larger Society and the Government, Communal Survival
- The Rise of Fundamentalism and Extremism
- 9/11 and Indigenous Muslim Minorities
- Islam and Other Asian Religions/Philosophies (Buddhism, Confucianism, Animism, Communism)
- Western Media Coverage
- Muslims in Chechnya, Kashmir, the Philippines, China, Thailand, Myanmar [Burma], Cambodia, Vietnam, Tajikistan, the Caspian region, China, and so on
- Authoritarian Rule vs. Religious Revival and Discontent
- The Impact of Western Policies
- Gender and Islam: Women's Groups; State Policies
- Emergent Social and Political Muslim Movements

Review essays and reviews of relevant books are also welcomed. Please contact our book review editor, Dr. Mahdi Tourage at [Tourage@yahoo.ca](mailto:Tourage@yahoo.ca) with your ideas.

Papers should conform to AJISS guidelines; be original, unpublished research; and be between 6,500 - 10,000 words, double-spaced and single-sided. Shorter reflection pieces of 2,000 - 3,000 words are also invited. Please send papers as an attachment in MS-Word, with a 250-word abstract and short bio, to:

**Jay Willoughby, [jaywill28@hotmail.com](mailto:jaywill28@hotmail.com)  
Special Issue, Managing Editor, AJISS**

**Deadline: April 30, 2006.**

**ALL PAPERS WILL BE CONSIDERED FOR PUBLICATION IN THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC SOCIAL SCIENCES**

## *Editorial*

When the tribes of Makkah decided to rebuild the Ka`bah, they worked together well until it was time to return the Black Stone to its corner. Each clan wanted the honor of this task, and tensions ran high for four or five days due to the stalemate over who would have the honor of lifting the Black Stone so that it could be returned to its proper place. With battle preparations underway, one man decided to try and avert a fight by suggesting a rather unorthodox idea: The first man to walk into the area would be appointed to arbitrate the dispute. Everyone agreed and began to wait. And so it was that Muhammad ibn Abdullah was the first to enter. Seeing this, the men reached a spontaneous agreement that he was indeed the best one to resolve this crisis, for he was known to all of them as a person of truth. Muhammad analyzed the situation and then asked for a cloak. Telling them to spread it out on the ground, he asked each clan to take hold of a corner. After placing the Black Stone in the middle, he asked them to raise the cloak so that he could place the Black Stone back in its proper place.

This was Muhammad ibn Abdullah, a man of truth, integrity, and peace; a man who, according to Muslim belief, later became the last Prophet of God. Muhammad ibn Abdullah: about whom Muslims say “*salla Allahu `alayhi wasallam*” (May the peace and blessings of God be upon him) each time his name is mentioned; about whom they ask God to bless, just as He had blessed Abraham his family, at each of the five daily prayers; about whom it is said that God say ten prayers on anyone who says one prayer on him. In contrast with the 1,400 year old Muslim tradition of reverence toward Muhammad ibn Abdullah (pbuh), (indeed toward all of the prophets), a European tradition gradually sprung up dedicated to depicting Muhammad ibn Abdullah as an evil “magician” out to destroy Christendom. Pope Innocent III (1161-1216) even called him the Anti-Christ. During the medieval era, the bogey used to frighten naughty children into obedience was “Mahomet.”

This negative image of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) remains deeply ingrained in the European psyche (and, by extension, the colonized New World, now known as “the West”). Indeed, it is so deeply ingrained that

western culture took it up after the rise of secularism. People these days may care less about the Anti-Christ from a religious point of view, but the taint of being evil has stuck in the western memory of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). The secular academic study of religion and the rise of multiculturalism in the West have opened up new, more empathetic vistas over the last ten years. Karen Armstrong's sensitively drawn biography of the Prophet (pbuh), *Muhammad: A Western Attempt To Understand Islam*, is a good example. But clearly the negative imagery retains a strong hold on the western imagination.

It is very disappointing, to say the least, to see the traditional negative European images of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) being resurrected in the European press, this time under the (dis)guise of the cartoon genre and as an example of "freedom of expression." While much can be said about Islam and its relationship (or non-relationship) to supposedly hallmark values of tolerance in western civilization, I want to focus my remarks here on the more general way in which the cartoon incident becomes another "event" in the tragic and ongoing miscommunication between Muslims and the West.

While I was outraged at the cartoons, I was equally upset by the violent response on the part of some Muslims. Such violence, as numerous Muslim scholars and leaders have stated, is totally un-Islamic. Our Prophet (pbuh) was a man who used to let a woman throw garbage on him when he passed by her house, only to go and inquire after her health when she did not do so for a few days. However, to have to talk about it in a way designed to point out what Islam says about freedom of expression, or violence, or whatever value the West holds dear, is to miss the point. Moreover, it is to misread the political and historical context that allows the publication of a cartoon to become an "event" in a series of events.

Typically, rioting Muslims are portrayed as religiously inspired fanatics who adhere to a religion that is intolerant, against freedom, and unable to take a joke. A colleague e-mailed me to find out if Muslims were really offended, because someone on his discussion list had argued that the Muslim response was simply political manipulation. To dismiss Muslim claims to offence so easily and blithely is yet another variation on the European historical memory of Muhammad (pbuh) and everything for which he stood. Since the Muslims' image of reverence, awe, and humility toward the Prophet (pbuh) is missing in the European psyche, offence at his characterization as a warmonger cannot be comprehended. Thus, the Muslims' response must be due to their tendency toward heated irrational passion that is easily whipped up by radical leaders.

The other character in the play is never drawn or explored. But consider this: In response to the cartoons, anti-Muslim sentiment in the West is on the rise. The latest poll in the United States to gauge American views of Islam and Muslims shows a rise in the number of Americans who have held negative perceptions of Islam since the 9/11 attacks. “According to the poll, the proportion of Americans who believe that Islam helps to stoke violence against non-Muslims has more than doubled since the attacks, from 14 percent in January 2002 to 33 percent today.”<sup>1</sup> *Doubled since 9/11*.

And negative sentiment leads directly to physical attacks. Hate crimes against Muslims, Arabs, or anyone even resembling them are on the rise. And yet this irony is never explored – “Your religion preaches hate and intolerance. I can’t believe people would riot over a cartoon. Don’t you guys know anything about freedom of expression? About tolerance? You just don’t belong in the civilized world. I hate you. Here, take what is coming to you (punch).” If this seems far-fetched, consider the latest attacks on Muslims at the University of Toronto. In March 2006, a fourth-year Muslim woman student wearing hijab was followed into the bathroom by two women. One woman shoved a flyer at her, pushing her back and telling her: “You need this. You’re a Muslim.” The flyer was advertising a rally in support of the Danish media’s publication of the cartoons. When the young woman threw the flyer away, her assailant asked her why and began yelling at her: “Go back to [your] f\*\*\*\*\* country and bomb it.” In addition, she kept yelling: ‘F\*\*\*\*\* Muslim terrorists.’ That same week, some other young hijab-wearing women had eggs thrown at them. Support for the war on terror comes out of this hatred toward Muslims.

This western intolerance and hatred of Islam and Muslims is never typecast in the West as springing from “westernness,” from western identity. Rather, it is considered an aberration. Or, more precisely an individualized or compartmentalized incident – the so-and-so who committed this hate crime – which is then juxtaposed to the de-individualized rioting mobs of Muslims.

Some have argued the problem is that secular people cannot understand the meaning of sacredness. But this is not true. Secularists have sacredness, but it is invested in different symbols. Just try to burn an American flag in the United States and see what happens! (Indeed in June 2005, the House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Constitution that, if passed by the Senate, will make burning the flag an act of desecration.) If an Iraqi youth burns an American flag, both the

burner and the “burnee” know that a symbol of American political power is being attacked and that such an act is offensive. The Iraqi youth chooses to burn the flag, and not the Bible, because he is aware, even if subconsciously, that this is the right symbol to pick if he wants to stir up the American public’s emotions. The Danish newspaper that originally published the cartoons, along with the European and other newspapers that republished them, were fully aware of the offensive nature of this act. Some newspaper editors “are on record stating that they published the cartoons as an act of defiance against ‘radical Islam.’” (Rachard Itani, “Cartoons and Hypocrisy: Danes Finally Apologize to Muslims [But for the Wrong Reasons],” [www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org).)

While most westerners may not be aware of their anti-Prophet literary heritage (for example, how many know that in Dante’s *Inferno* Mohammed [pbuh] is placed in the ninth circle of Hell?), most Muslims are. And so what we have are wounded feelings being re-hurt time and time again. Muslim reactions to these insults are cast into the pre-existent stereotype of the “intolerant and violent Muslim,” but the riots caused by this cartoon must be read in a politicized way, taking into account local contexts (e.g., Syrians feeling the heat of a possible American invasion, Pakistanis dismayed at American military violence in the war on terror on their soil, and so on). Westerners attack Muslims out of their proclaimed disgust with Islamic “values” – and the cycle continues.

The role of revenge in this ongoing conflict is seriously understudied. And so the chasm between Muslims and the West is continually reaching new lows. One sometimes wonders how much lower these relations can go. As a result, those of us in the middle who are seeking to build bridges and contribute to a world of peaceful exchange and mutual respect constantly find the ground being cut out under their feet ... by both sides.

The (re)/constant depiction of Muslims as uncivilized is easily dispelled by even a cursory glance at Islamic history. Two articles in this issue speak tangentially to this: M. Abdul-Huk’s “The Humanistic Note in Iqbal” and Yasien Mohamed’s “The Islamic Philosophy of Labor and Crafts: The View of the Ikhwan al-Safa’, Isfahani, and Ibn Khaldun.” Allama Iqbal, known as Pakistan’s poet-philosopher, reflected in his beautiful poetry a soul shaped by many influences, including Islam. As a result, his poetry demonstrates a sensitivity that one does not expect to find in the stereotypical “intolerant Muslim.” (This is a reprint of a booklet published by the author for limited circulation among his family and close friends.) Huk argues that Iqbal was able to reconcile humanism and religious faith. This would be quite a feat,

especially if Islam were meant to be a religion that is as backward as is claimed via the cartoon incident.

Yasein's examination of the Ikhwan al-Safa', Isfahani, and Ibn Khaldun on the meaning of labor and crafts is also instructive in this regard. Their philosophical discussions of labor are very sophisticated and, in many ways, prefigure the views of Adam Smith, Marx, and other western theorists who have addressed the issue. Labor is praised for its industriousness and antidote to sloth (Queen Victoria would have been pleased). Crafts are defined in relation to existing lifestyles: simple vs. complex. Therefore Isfahani, a tenth-century Persian philosopher, categorized agriculture, weaving, building, and ruling as essential crafts, and baking, embroidery, decoration, and law as aesthetic crafts. Truly, such philosophical investigations are not possible in the barren and violence-prone religion claimed via the cartoon incident.

Aliaa Ibrahim Dakroury's "Toward a Philosophical Approach of the Hermeneutics of the Qur'an," is in the same vein. She presents a careful argument considering how one can carry out a hermeneutical study of the Qur'an by drawing on the theories of Habermas, Heidegger, and Gadamer. Dakroury argues that even non-Muslims, provided that they fulfill such prerequisites as sincerity and having a fore-knowledge of Muslim cultures, will find their interpretations of the Qur'an accepted by the Muslim community. S. Sayyid's "Rituals, Ideals, and Reading the Qur'an," while exploring similar issues of the Qur'an and its interpretation, comes to a different conclusion: Any interpretation coming from those who do not follow Islam must be resisted, for those who engage in such an activity must regard what is considered sacred as sacred. Sayyid makes this point as part of his larger argument that interpreting the Qur'an must be depoliticized. For him, the Qur'an's meaning must always be contained as part of a "promise" – part of the human yearning to reach the Divine, and thus never "fixed" or settled.

While reaching different conclusions with respect to non-Muslims who try to interpret the Qur'an, both Dakroury and Sayyid are, from another perspective, also making similar points about its "meaning." Thus, Islamophobes who claim that Islam is evil must be rejected both because their interpretation fails to meet the preconditions suggested by Dakroury, and because of their lack of identity with the faith, as recommended by Sayyid.

One area in which Islam is receiving a lot of attention, though without a trickle-down effect to the general public, is Islamic finance. In recent

years, western capitalist banks have begun to offer Shari'ah-compliant banking for their Muslim customers. This is good business for them, since Muslims seeking to avoid interest-based banking represent a huge potential market of mostly untapped wealth. Islamic financial theory has much to offer the world, as evidenced by "The Time Value of Money Concept in Islamic Finance," a joint article by Abu Umar Faruq Ahmad and M. Kabir Hassan.

With Third World debt crippling many developing countries' economies, it is easy to see the injustices inherent in a capitalist economy based on the time value of money as a commodity. Islamic financial theory proposes that money is not a commodity that can be bought and sold, for the lender must share proportionally in the resulting profit or loss. Under capitalism, however, an interest-bearing loan always ensures that the lender makes a profit, even when the borrower faces total financial ruin. In such a cause, the investor will lose neither the initial loan nor the guaranteed interest-based income. As Ahmad and Hassan rightfully conclude, such an outcome is a "glaring injustice." Again, the humane financial system that Islam offers to the world is a far cry from its horrible image as portrayed by those who mock the cartoon episode.

This issue's forum section features a piece by Louay Safi, the previous editor of AJISS. While the cartoon commotion is the issue of the hour, another controversy always seems to be lurking nearby, ready to break out yet again: the "fate" of Muslim women. The latest outbreak in this area is the question of whether a woman can serve as the imam of a mixed-gender Friday congregational prayer, as Amina Wudud did recently. Safi's essay recognizes the unjust exclusion that many Muslim women face due to one particular unfortunate development afflicting the North American Muslim scene: The desire of many immigrant Muslims who come from strongly patriarchal cultures to try to reproduce these defective and harmful structures in North America. He argues that the Qur'an and Sunnah demand that women be fully involved in their local mosques, just as they were during the Prophet's (pbuh) time. However, he asserts, the solution is not to be found in the more revolutionary acts of women leading mixed-gender public congregational Friday prayers, but rather in the middle ground between the conservative and liberal extremes.

I would like to announce here that this year's special issue will deal with Islam and Muslims in Central and Southeast Asia. The Board of Directors of IJIT and AMSS, realizing that both regions have not received their due atten-

tion, as even a cursory reading of the western media will show, would like to at least start rectifying the deficit of knowledge, even among Muslims, when it comes to understanding and dealing with these large Muslim populations. Please see the “Call for Papers” right across from the beginning of the editorial and send us your research.

Katherine Bullock

### **Endnotes**

1. Claudia Deane and Darryl Fears, “Negative Perception Of Islam Increasing: Poll Numbers in U.S. Higher Than in 2001,” *Washington Post*, 9 March 2006, p. A01. [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/08/AR-2006030802221.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/08/AR-2006030802221.html)

## CALL FOR PAPERS

The 35th Annual Conference of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS)

### Muslim Identities: Shifting Boundaries and Dialogues

Cosponsored by Hartford Seminary  
Hartford, Connecticut – October 27-29, 2006

**Deadlines: Abstracts (250 words): May 15, 2006 • Papers: September 15, 2006**

Islamic/Muslim identities are being politically and ideologically defined and negotiated in a post-9/11 context and within and against competing doctrinal debates over what it means to be "Muslim" and Islam's "true" nature. Muslim subjectivities are also constituted through other sociocultural, legal, and political negotiations as part of individual/collective lived realities. Thus, the contexts and environments through which Muslim identities are constructed, framed, lived, and legitimated often warrant renewed examination. This conference seeks to deconstruct these dimensions. We invite papers that address the following and other related themes:

- 
- Muslim Identities in Historical, Textual, or Empirical Research
  - Religious, Social, Cultural, and Political Dimensions of Muslim Social Identities
  - Constructing the Muslim Subject in Colonial, Neo-Colonial, and Post-Colonial Encounters
  - Good Muslim/Bad Muslim: Identity Politics in the Post-9/11 Era
  - Divergent Discourses and Constructing Muslim Subjectivities: Traditional and/or Modern Perspectives
  - Essentialism/Anti-Essentialism in Muslim Identity Construction
  - Epistemological and Ontological Perspectives: Textual Narrations of Self/Identity/Community.
  - The Complex Relationship between Texts, Contexts, and Human Agency in Constructing Islamic Norms
  - Authoritative Identities: Exegetical Practices and Gendered Interpretations
  - Post-Modernism and the Crisis of Identity
  - Contesting Boundaries: Gendered/Sexual Identities
  - Indigenous and Diasporic Articulations of Identity, and Community, Nation: Authenticity, Hybridity and Belonging
  - Muslim Youth and Identity Politics
  - Marginality and the Politics of Resistance
  - Transnational Pan-Islamic Identities and Solidarities: Re-examining the Ummah
  - Collective Identities and Political Praxis: Muslim Sociopolitical Movements
  - Boundaries and Social Control: Regulating and Policing Identities
  - Identity and Representation: Media Characterizations and Muslim Identities
  - Religious Manichaeism: The Persistence of Orientalist and the Emergence of Neo-Orientalist Constructions of Self/Other and Civilizational Dialogues
  - Identities of Faith: Challenges of and Possibilities for Interfaith Dialogue and Collaboration

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*Abstracts (250 words) are due May 15, 2006*

*Accepted papers must be submitted by September 15, 2006*

Send abstracts and papers to **Conference Coordinator** Ms. Layla Sein at [conferences@amss.net](mailto:conferences@amss.net)

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**ALL PAPERS WILL BE CONSIDERED FOR PUBLICATION IN THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC SOCIAL SCIENCES**

# The Humanistic Note in Iqbal

*M. Abdul-Huk*

## **What Is Humanism?**

Like any other “ism,” humanism is a term of vague and varied usage, perhaps finally identifiable, but one from which certain aspects may be picked out.

Humanism, as a term for a certain attitude of mind, has a somewhat curious historical genesis. I say curious, because the attitude itself is much older than the period by which it was given this label – is, perhaps, as old as human nature itself. However, as a term of historical genesis, humanism came to be applied to the view of life that began to oppose and be contradistinguished from the older medieval view of life (since called “divinism”) from the time of the European Renaissance. Here, I can do no better than quote almost *in extenso* Professor Ramsay Muir’s description of the essential difference between the divinism of the Middle Ages and the humanism of the periods both before and after the “divinistic” interregnum:

The best men of the Middle Ages thought of the world as a place of struggle and discipline in preparation for another world; the Greeks thought of it as a place of wonder and beauty which ought to be explored and enjoyed, and they thought little and vaguely about the idea of another world. ... for the best minds of the Middle Ages the highest duty of Man was to conquer his passions and to subordinate his arrogant will to the will of God by obeying the rules of life set forth by God’s Church. For the Greeks, Man’s highest duty was to make the most of himself and to develop all his powers of mind and body in the most harmonious way, so that he might enjoy the beauty of the world and be able to seek the truth.

---

M. Abdul-Huk obtained his B.A. Honors in English and history, as well as his MA in English, from St. Stephens College (Delhi, India). During an active career in government service and the commercial arena, he continued his interest in writing poetry in English and Urdu, as well as articles on Islam.

To put the contrast in a single phrase, “self-repression was the highest ideal of the medieval world, self-expression of the ancient world.” What Professor Muir has said about the attitude of the ancient world toward life, as opposed to the corresponding attitude of the medieval world, applies with no very great difference essentially to the contrast between the medieval and the modern attitudes to life. Humanism is, therefore, roughly the ancient and the modern attitude, while divinism, against which modern humanism was a protest and a reaction, was the medieval attitude.

So much for a description of humanism. I shall now quote two well-known passages that may be regarded as specimens or products of modern humanism. One is that very famous apostrophe which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Hamlet and which runs:

... this goodly frame, the earth, ... this most excellent canopy, the air,  
took you, this brave o’erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted  
with golden fire, ... What a piece of work is Man! How noble in reason!  
How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable!  
in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty  
of the world, the paragon of animals!

This passage expresses both the essential notes of humanism – a sense of the wonder and beauty of the world and the universe, in other words, of the human situation; and a sense of the dignity and worth of Man himself. The other is an utterance in Latin which runs: *homo sum: humoni nihil a me alienun puto* and, roughly translated, means: “I am a Man: nothing pertaining to humanity do I consider alien to myself.” This saying strikes a note of sympathy with and interest in all that pertains to Man, thereby giving words and importance to everything that Man does or happens to him – another deepening note of humanism.

From an interest in all things human and a sense of Man’s worth and dignity, it is a natural and logical step to exalt Man, to apotheosize or raise him to a god – to exalt his place, his nature, and his potentialities. It is in this vein that Marlowe makes his Doctor Faustus say:

O, what a world of profit and delight,  
Of power, of honour, of omnipotence  
Is promised to the studious artisan!  
Here, Faustus, tire thy brains to gain a deity!

Shelley sings of the perfectibility of Man, of Man as a being of infinite capacities and destinies. In a sense, this is the acme and the culmination of

humanism and, broadly speaking, it is at this pitch that the humanistic note enters into the poetry of Iqbal.

### The Quality of the Humanistic Note in Iqbal

I shall now examine the humanistic note in the poetry of Iqbal with a view to assess, insofar as possible, its quality. What strikes one immediately in his works is the central and evolutionary place Man is given. His view of Man is, without doubt, one of the most exalted that at least I have come across. In the following lines I shall merely illustrate some of the features of that view.

One of the ideas that run throughout Iqbal's various works is the idea that Man is the supreme creation and that he is the over-lord in all nature. Thus, in his book *بانی جو ریل*, he makes the spirit of the Earth greet the prototype of all humankind, Adam, in these terms:

ہیں آئندے تصور میں یہ بادل یہ گیونیاں      یہ گنبد فلک پہ خاموش افسانیاں  
 یہ گرد ، یہ سمرا ، یہ سمندر ، یہ ہوائیں      تہیں پیش نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی اندھنیاں  
 آئندہ ایام میں آج تہی انا دیکھ  
 خوردہ جہاں لب کی حوالہ دے شرر میں      آئندہ ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیرے ہنر میں  
 چھتے نہیں بختے ہوئے فردوس نظرم میں      جدت تیری پہاڑی ہے آئندے خون جاگر میں  
 اے پیکر گل ، کو شادان پیہم کی جزائیکہ

These billowy clouds thy ministrants and thine  
 The vaulted sky, these azure silences!  
 These hills and stretching plains, this rolling deep,  
 And this vast, circling atmosphere: all thine!  
 Seraphic radiance hadst till now beheld,  
 To-day thou in Time's crystal gaze and see  
 Thine own bright majesty unfold itself.  
 The ray of th' world-illuminating sun  
 Is but a spark of thy Promethean fire;  
 And thy creative faculty doth hold  
 The germs of many a new world yet unborn.  
 Thou wilt not prize a conferred Paradise,  
 For thy true Heaven is naught but in thyself  
 And in that precious gift of thy life-blood.  
 O clod of earth! Witness the rich reward  
 That crowns all ceaseless effort; strive and see!

Elsewhere in the same book, Iqbal makes Man address the physical world around him thus:

عالم آب و خاک و باد! سرچن ہے تو کہہ میں؟  
وہ جو نظر سے ہے تہاں اس کلچہاں ہے تو کہہ میں؟  
تو کف خاک وے پسر، میں کف خاک و خود لگر  
کھلت وجود کے لئے آب روان ہے تو کہہ میں؟

O world of earth and water, air and fire!  
Art thou the living Miracle or I?  
Art thou the world of Him who lives unseen  
By eye or mortal sense, or that am I?  
A handful of blind dust thou art, no more!  
I, too, am just that handful, yet, behold,  
I see and feel and know myself, though dust!  
I therefore ask of thee that which of us  
Feeds as the vital stream the plant of Life?

Or, again, says he to Man:

تہ توں میں کے لئے ہے نہ آسمان کے لئے جہنم ہے تہرے لئے توں جہنم کے لئے  
رہیکا روانی و نیک و برکت میں کب تک تہرا سفیلہ کہ ہے بحیراں کے لئے؟

O Man, thou wast not made for earth nor sky;  
The world was made for thee, not thou for it.  
How long thy ship will hug the banks of Nile  
And ply o'er Ravi and the Euphrates,  
That for the boundless ocean was design'd?

Or says Iqbal in his poem **سالی نضہ** in his book **پہل جہان**:

Thy self is like the sovran lion who  
Is king of all the world and preys on all;  
Whether it be the solid globe of earth,  
Or e'en the azure and ethereal sky –  
It holds them all, neath his all-mastering sway.

Or, once again, Man is addressed in the following manner by the poet in his long poem **تلمع و شاعر**, which occurs towards the end of his first collection of works called **بلنگ در**:

کیوں چن میں سے سنا منگ رم شہام ہے تو اب کٹا ہو جا، سرود پرہذ عالم ہے تو  
ادا کن کی لڑو نوازہ رکھتی ہے تجھے؟ راہ تو رخ ویدی تو رہی تو ہی تو

Why weeps't like dew in silence mid the flowers?  
 Open thy lips, for verily thou art  
 The rising paoen at the heart of Life!  
 Alas! What seekest thou so feverishly?  
 For know that thou in thyself art the way.  
 Wayfarer, guide and destination – all!

The same idea of Man's supremacy is expressed by Iqbal in another place thus:

اپری سنرتا زمین ہے سمکلت زان گلے کی جہاز کے جوہر مضمحل کا گویا استحال تو ہے  
 بانگ درا

Garners thy nature like a treasure-store  
 The vast potentialities of Life –  
 Fair promise for the future that it holds;  
 Thou are the anvil whereon Providence  
 World's latent mettle does propose to prove.

And yet again:

یہ ہندی وہ جرمانی اس لغتانی وہ اورانی  
 تو آہ شرمندہ سلطنت اچھل کر بیکراں ہو جا  
 گذر جان کے میل نقد رو کوہ بیا بیا سے  
 کھسکتا راہ میں آئے تو جوئے تصمہ جوں ہو جا

Turani this, that Indian, yon Afghan.  
 A fourth of Khorassan; – thou stream confined  
 And hedged by margent banks which prison thee,  
 O'erflow thy banks and be the boundless One!  
 O'er craggy rocks, in brambly wilderness  
 Hew thy swift way in roaring torrents wild;  
 When passing flowery dales and fields a-bloom,  
 Become the languid, lampid, warbling rill.

Finally, in a poem entitled **صبح نبوت** in **پیام بشری** Man, in the person of Adam, appears before God on the morning of the Day of Judgment and recounts his own deeds and glories thus:

زورہ گرفتار من ، ماہ پر ملتد من  
 من بہ زمیں درخندم ، من ہنگامہ برتلم  
 حقل کلان کترم بہر جہاں دارو گیر  
 ہمتہ جانوئے من ذرہ و پیر ملیر

Venus I hold in thrall; the pearly Moon  
 Doth worship me; and reason's own great self  
 To master and control the world I forged.  
 Deep down within the solid earth I went,  
 And thence shot up with winged speed until  
 The azure lay beneath my flaming feet,  
 A carpet rich and velvet-smooth to tread.  
 Sand-grains and the effulgent sun himself  
 Obey me as the genii the magician.

Besides this idea of Man as the supreme creation, there runs another in the poetry of Iqbal. This is the idea that Man's role in the universe is complimentary to that of God and often that Man is the agency through which the divine purpose is achieved. It is a point to which I shall return later; for the present, suffice it to say that this idea, which implies an identification of the human will with the divine purpose, is of considerable importance as being a special contribution of Iqbal to the humanistic attitude. It is also an unusual note in the humanism generally met with in literature – particularly the Persian and Urdu literary tradition, of which the poetry of Iqbal is an important and integral part. In his Persian work **پیام بشری**, the poet has a poem in the form of a dialogue between God and Man in which Man tells God:

ساقی گوردی لیاغ آردم  
 خیا بان و گلزار و باغ آردم

تو شب آردی ، چراغ آردم  
 بیا بان و کھسار و راغ آردی

Thou did'st create the murky Night, whilst I  
 Did make the Lamp a jeweled pendant bright  
 Adorn the swarthy beauty of the Night.  
 I pour'd into the earthen bowl, thy gift,  
 My soul – intoxicating, luscious wine.  
 Thine are the forests, deserts, mountains high,  
 And mine the lawns, the gardens, ripening fields.

Or, says the poet in **ساقی نفعه** in **بل چیرنیل** the following about *Khudi*, for which it is very difficult to give any exact English equivalent, except that it corresponds to “nature” in the Aristotelean sense. In other words, it means the true Self of things, the sum of these vast potentialities, as these would be realized in the long process of their development. In Iqbal, of course, it is a most central theme to which he has devoted a whole long poem of the **مثنوی** genre called **اسرار و رموز**. In the piece quoted here, the *Khudi* referred to is that of Man. Thus:

Khudi the secret of the heart of Life;  
 Khudi is Universe awakened wide;  
 Khudi there was when nothing else there was,  
 And will survive when all has passed away.  
 In dire conflict she tossed ere Time began,  
 Assumed at last the earthly form of Man.  
 That thou may's't see thy Khudi face to face  
 Drive on the wheels of destiny and time.

Or witness the following, addressed to Man in the poem **تلمع و شاعر** in **بلگ درا**:

اے خبر تو جوہر تُو کونہ اپنم ہے      تو زمانہ میں خدا کا آخری پیغام ہے

O still oblivious of thine own true self!  
 Thou art the peerless Virtue which uncovers,  
 As through a mirror, all the convolutions  
 Of Time from first to last; know that thou art  
 God's last word in the chronicle of Life!

The poet's exalted conception of Man leads him on to consider the latter as superior even to the angels and other celestial beings. Though it is only a subsidiary point and therefore not widely met with in most poems, nevertheless the following few quotations will amply evidence the presence of this strand in the thought of Iqbal:

پہرہ لعل، اُس سونے اور لاکھ ہے جسکی نظر  
 گد سبوں سے بھی مقاصد میں ہے جو پیا میزہ تو  
 بلگ درا

And Man with gaze averted to the skies,  
 With aims and thoughts that in their loftiness  
 And purity out-soar those of the angels.

چہتے نہیں کتچنگ و حمان نسکی نظر میں  
 چہریں و سرافیل کا سبک ہی عومن  
 ضرب کلیم

Sparrows and pigeons are poor game indeed  
 For one that Israfeel and Gabriel hunts.

حور و فرشتہ ہیں اسیر میرے تغلیات میں  
 میری نگاہ سے خال تیری تجلیات میں  
 بل چہریں

I hold within the meshes of my thoughts  
 Houris and angels, helpless captives all;  
 Even the boldness of my peering glance  
 Disturbs the glorious radiance of Thy Light!

But the logical culmination of the humanistic note in Iqbal is reached with the apotheosis of Man. Not only is he the supreme creation, the divine agent, the superior of angels, but he is a god in the making and the becoming. This bold idea finds various expressions in the poem, now in the identification of the lover with the beloved, of the traveler with his goal and now of the sudden lifting of the mystic veil of separation. As a prelude, witness the universal repercussions of the advent of Man, of the birth of Adam in the poem **تسخیر فطرت** or the conquest of Nature in the beginning of Iqbal's celebrated **پیام مشرق**:

نورہ زد عشق کہ خونیں جگرے پیدا شد  
 حسن لرزید کہ صلح، نظرے پیدا شد  
 فطرت نداشت کہ تر خاک جہاں مجبور  
 خود گرے، خود شکستے، خود نگرے پیدا شد  
 خبرے رفت زگر دون بہ شبستان ازال  
 حد ام پرہ کجاں پرہ درے پیدا شد  
 نوز و بینبراز خونیں باخوش حیات  
 چشم و لکر دو جہاں نگرے پیدا شد  
 زندگی نکت کہ خاک ہیڈم ہمہ عمر  
 تا لڑیں گنبد دیں بنہ درے پیدا شد

... This sanguine Passion incarnate behold!  
 Cried Love; and beauty trembled and turned pale.  
 Amazed that Nature that from passive clay  
 One that examined, fractured and re-made  
 His Self to its true form was born at last.  
 Unto primeval twilight and the realm  
 Of the first dim beginnings of all things  
 Traversed through starry void the dread report:  
 "All ye inscrutables of Heaven, beware,  
 The renderer of your mystic veils hath come."  
 Desire that lay lapp'd in the arms of Life,  
 As yet oblivious of herself, did ope  
 Her eyes and lo! a wondrous and new world  
 The very instant started into view.  
 Quoth Life: "Forever have I in the dust  
 Grovelled and writhed to find me and vent  
 Out of this over-arching dome of sky!"

Similarly, this idea of the apotheosis of Man is rendered by the poet in terms of the union of the lover and the beloved, of the merging of the lover into the being of the beloved, in another place in *پیام مشرقی* thus:

چوں نام لنگہ سر نوا ناز می گردد لیلہ  
قیس را لیلی همی نامند در صحرائے من

The Paramour, when perfect, doth not woo,  
But is wooed; even as the weary traveller  
Is made one with his goal – his consummation!  
Hence in the clime whose denizen I am  
Lailah they often call by Majnun's name.

In the same poem Iqbal goes on to address Man as prophet, the nearest human approach to the divine, and to link-up the human and the divine as but different manifestations of the same reality. He says, for instance:

بنخدا در پردہ گولم ، بتو گولم افکار  
یا رسول اللہ! اوینہن وتولی ہدائے من

With God commune I secretly, with thee  
In open; therefore, O Apostle of God,  
Thou art my actual, He my hidden self!

The boldness of his thought encourages the poet to give expression to an idea, the full implications of which perhaps he himself did not clearly realize. The metaphor of lassoing the Deity – while still a harmless metaphor, yet has the startling significance behind it that the courageous lasso-thrower must be one greater than his noosed victim (i.e., the Deity). How far this was intended to be the meaning of Iqbal as a serious thinker is a debatable point, but I think Iqbal the poet has employed the bold metaphor to express poetically, at least, some such idea. This, then, can be seen to be the highest water-mark of the humanistic note in Iqbal. Here is Iqbal's own couplet, as found in *پیام مشرقی* :

گردنت چوں من جبریل ز یوں سیدے  
یزدان بکشد تو راے ہمت مردانہ

Gabriel himself is but a hapless prey  
In regions wild of my mad, fierce Desire;  
Bold and ecstatic courage! Let thee bring  
Enmeshed the very Deity in thy noose!

The idea of the mystic union, an established convention in the Oriental literary tradition, is used by Iqbal to express the identity between the human

and the divine, as in his last collection, *نور مغان مجاز*, where he says at one place:

نه "من" رلمی ششم من له "او" وا      وئے نظم "من" اندر هر "او" نعت

I own no difference 'twixt the "He" and "Me":  
This only know that "He" embraceth "Me."

He himself gives at least one source for this idea of the deification of Man, the source being that most famous of Persian mystics, Jalal al-Din Rumi, to whom otherwise too Iqbal is greatly indebted. In this connection, says Iqbal, in *پیام مشرق*:

شبهه در گورد زید برهن و خلائک من      مرشد رومی که گفت منزل ما کبریاست

Rumi, revered master, that proclaimed  
Highest divinity the goal of Man,  
Set me, a handful of poor twigs, ablaze.

However, this apotheosis of Man in Iqbal does not mean that Man is a god here and now. Although it is the inevitable destiny of Man, yet whole cycles of evolution must first be completed. And, in this all-important evolutionary process, Iqbal gives Satan a most vital role. Employing this greatest of fallen angels is nothing new to literature. He was a common enough character in medieval morality plays and figured very prominently in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. But even Milton, who, above all, has been held responsible for a most sympathetic treatment of Satan, especially in the earlier portions of *Paradise Lost*, has, after all, treated him as an arch-rebel against the majesty of God, however grand or heroic as a rebel he may have painted him. Moreover, in Milton again, Satan undergoes a very rapid and constant degeneration, particularly toward the end of the epic of *Paradise Lost*, while he is almost unrecognizable as the same person when he reappears in *Paradise Regained*.

Iqbal's treatment and conception of Iblis (ابلیس), which is the name by which he refers to Satan, is far different. For one thing, his Iblis never degenerates into a mere despicable creature: he is satanic and villainous, but this is not overstressed. And for another thing, this rebellion, far from being a hindrance or a dislocation in the divine plan of things, is an integral part of it and plays a most important role in furthering it. Iqbal's resolution of the conflict between good and evil, God and Satan, reminds one of the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis of Hegelian philosophy, for Iqbal sees progress and

evolution as a process of the conflict of opposites, resulting at each stage in some sort of synthesis, that again goes into conflict with its opposite. Dynamism is at the heart of all evolution, thinks Iqbal, and all the sorrows, hardships, and the various trials and vicissitudes of life are the very stuff out of which the human mettle is forged and evolves. And it is Satan who has precipitated this dynamism. In Iqbal's view, Satan's is a catalytic role in the universe. Here are Iblis' own words to God in *پیلم مشرقی* claiming for himself as much:

پیکر انجم ز تو ، گردش انجم زمین  
تو بہ بدن جان دہی شور بہ جان می دہم  
جان بہ جہاں اندرم ، زندگی منصورم  
تو بہ گون رہ زلی ، من بہ تہاں رہ پریم  
زاد نہ آہوش تو ، پیر شود نہ پریم  
آدم خلگی نہاد ، نور نظر و کم سواد

Their orbs the stars received from Thee, from me  
They got their motion; and this living world  
Because of me is vital; for I am  
The Life that throbs and pulsates through all things.  
Thou gavest the body life and in that life  
Did I create the turmoil and the strife –  
Dire agonies and exultations sweet:  
thou move'st serene while I tempestuous live.  
The earth-born Man, base-vision'd, fleshly-frail,  
That in Thine arms was born will at my breast  
Gow in the fullness of his wondrous powers.

Or similar thoughts did Iblis utter to Gabriel in their meeting recorded in *پیلم مشرقی*:

اے جبریل تو واقف نہیں اس راز سے  
کر گیا سرمست مجھ کو ٹوٹ کر میرا سپر  
اب یہاں میری گزر ممکن نہیں ، ممکن نہیں  
کس قدر خاموش ہے یہ حلقم بے کاخ و کو  
ہے میری جزات سے مشت خاک میں نوبق لہو  
میرے لگتے جملہ ستارے و خرد کے ترو پو  
دیکھتا ہے تو لفظ منحل سے رزم و خور و شر  
کون طوفانی کے طما ہے کھل جاہے ، میں کہ تو  
گزر کہی خلوت میں ہو تو پوجہ اللہ سے  
کھنہ کم کو دنگیں کر گیا کس کا لہو

Ah, Gabriel! This secret thou not know'st:  
When that my bowl did brake it drowned me quite  
In its rich, soul-intoxicating wine.  
I cannot here return. I cannot, now!

Bleak seems to me your immaterial world!  
 The glorious virtue of self-revelation  
 That Man, this clod of earth, doth now possess  
 My daring courage in him first call'd forth.  
 Right through the very texture of Man's wit  
 And reason run my wiles as warp and weft.  
 From far those merely see'st the Armageddon,  
 The dire and fateful grapple-unto-death  
 Wherein the mighty powers of Death and Life,  
 Of Good and Evil, like primeval Titans,  
 Are fiercely interlock'd; I in the midst  
 Of this cyclonic storm its buffets bear.  
 Alone with God when those art, ask Him this:  
 Life-blood of whom it was, O Lord of All,  
 That Tale of Man enriched with its own hue?

True to his role as a catalytic agent, Satan thus advises Adam in a poem entitled *اھولے آدم* or "The Abduction of Adam" in *پہلے مشرق*:

لغت کردار گیر ، گلہ ، گم بلہ ، جوئے کلم	زمت و لنگر زلدا وہم خداوند تست
چشم جہلی بیی کشا ، بھر لمانا خرام	خیزکہ ہنمالت مملکت تورا
از سر گزروں بیات ، گیز بدر یا مقام	تغیرہ بے مایہ ، گزہر کجاندہ شو
چہست حیثت توہم؟ سوختن لتمام	تورہ تسلیمی ، تلوز شوق ہمیرد زوصل

Goodness and evil are but figments of  
 The fancy of thy God; taste thou instead  
 The dizzy raptures that from Action come:  
 Set thee in motion, towards some Purpose strive!  
 Arise! for I will now disclose to thee  
 A brave new world, fresh vistas opening wide;  
 Sally majestic forth and ope thine eyes  
 This spreading panorama to enjoy.  
 Thou art as yet a rain-drop of no worth,  
 The vaporous clouds leave for the fertile deep  
 That in its heaving bosom thou may'st be  
 The pearly gem of "purest ray serene!"  
 As yet thou dost not know that keen Desire,  
 Fulfill'd in union, forthwith dies away.  
 What is immortal life? Nought else but this:  
 Ever to feed Desire's sacred flame!

## General Observations

I shall conclude this paper with two general remarks on Iqbalian humanism at large.

From the fairly wide variety of quotations cited above and from an independent study of the corpus of Iqbal's work, the impression is inescapable that, for all its loftiness and sublimity of tone, the humanism of Iqbal is rather narrow. In other words, while this work is a most glowing tribute to the immense potentialities of Man, there is very little by comparison of the appreciation for the more homely and every-day emotions, experience, and situations of Man. The range of such things depicted by the poet is very narrow as compared with the work of other poets, such as Ghalib. Except a little, perhaps in the earliest period, the poetry of Iqbal shows an absence of any interplay of the emotional and aesthetic sensibility to domestic relationships, to the domain of friendship, and to the extremely rich and complex realm of romantic love almost unparalleled anywhere in Oriental literature. But there are some exceptions, notably of the early period of **بلگ درا**, when filial love, patriotism, and nature-description find some pieces of sheer and poignant beauty dedicated to them. But the later Iqbal has practically none. Nature-description in a poem on the Himalayas in **بلگ درا** is thus depicted:

ایسی شب کھونکی ہے لکے جب زلف سیدہ  
 دلن دل کھینچتی ہے آبشاروں کی صدا  
 وہ خموشی شام کی جس پر نظم ہو ادا  
 وہ درختوں پر تفکر کا سماں چہنبا ہوا  
 کاپتا پھرتا ہے کیا ننگ شفق کو صدا پر  
 جو شامہ لگتا ہے عازرے تیرے رخسار پر

When Night, the dusky Lailah, opens wide  
 And spreads her flowing tresses lustrous black,  
 The dreamy murmur of the cataracts  
 In near-by verdant vales seductive tugs  
 At my heart-strings; at eve the silence deep,  
 So solemn that even the silvery speech  
 Is mute with adoration. Motionless  
 The tall trees stand in rows and silent brood,  
 And on the brow of towering snow-capp'd peaks  
 The lurid sun-set light doth fitful dance  
 And trembling shakes, even as some passion's glow  
 The milky whiteness of a maiden's face  
 Blushful suffuses, which now comes now goes.

Another feature is that this humanism is no blind or facile faith with the poet, but is justified to him by his study of history as a truly evolutionary process slowly unfolding itself. Most of his utterances are replete with ref-

erences to historical, philosophical and scientific truths. It is, I believe, his conviction of the inevitability of the perfectibility of Man that, more than any other factor, accounts for the growing and increasingly optimistic note in his poetry.

But perhaps the most interesting observation to make is on one very important aspect of this humanism, an aspect on which I briefly touched earlier in this paper. Humanism, we saw, grew largely as a reaction against the over-weighting divinism of the Middle Ages. Hence, there inevitably crept in a conflict between the two; a conflict that has persisted almost unabated down to the present day and has been one of the most fascinating phenomena in the world of letters and human psychology. In the Urdu-Persian literary tradition, Iqbal is the first man to have fairly satisfactorily resolved this age-old conflict. He has achieved this in three ways. First, Iqbal has harmonized the exalted position of Man among the other creatures with the fact of the presence and dominance of God over all, by making Man God's vicegerent on Earth. Second, and from the point of view of the bulk of his poetry, the most important one is Iqbal's identification of the human will with the divine, to which I referred earlier. And third, there is the foreshadowing in some dim, undefined ways of the attainment or realization by Man of the godhood as the culmination of the process of evolution and perfectibility.

It may be argued that both the identification of the human will and the divine purpose and the loss of the human into the divine entity have always been the prized heritage of all mysticism. That, therefore, there is nothing new that Iqbal has achieved. But there is, and it lies in the difference between the mode of achieving either an identification of the human will and the divine purpose or the merging of the human into the divine. While the mystic, in common with the medievalist, has upheld these to be possible only after complete self-repression and self-annihilation (خردنی), Iqbal, like any true humanist, maintains that this is possible and possible only through self development or **خردنی**. Hence, my feeling is that Iqbal has made a real and original contribution to the vexed problems of humanism versus divinism.