BS HISTORY

MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT IN SOUTH ASIA

Code: 9119 **Units: 1-9**



Department of History
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

STUDY GUIDE

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Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

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FOREWORD

The curriculum at AIOU is designed on modern parameters using the latest information, including updates on recent trends, theories, and techniques. An extensive consultative process is also a basic component of the activity. The development of the study material to help the students throughout the country is a challenge. AIOU takes pride in undertaking this major task for the effective learning of the students.

BS History (4 Year) is being offered by the Department of History, Allama Iqbal University, for students who are interested in the discipline of History. The scheme of studies for BS History (4 Year) has been designed and the courses are developed to make them relevant to the emerging national and global trends and to meet the needs of the society in this domain. The study material provides a comprehensive coverage of the core contents of the BS History (4 Year) Program. The selection of, and the treatment of, study materials have been designed to meet both general and specific aims set out by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) through the National Curriculum Revision Committee (NCRC).

In the end, I am happy to extend my gratitude to the course team, Chairperson, Course Development Coordinator, unit writers, reviewers, and editor for the development of the course. Any suggestions for the improvement of the course will be warmly welcomed by the Department of History.

Prof. Dr Nasir Mehmood,
Vice Chancellor

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INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Muslims ruled India for more than a thousand years and became a symbol of integrity for the people of India, including non-Muslims. Muslim theorists wrote extensively to propose a political settlement that ensured Muslim dominance in a largely non-Muslim society, particularly in India. These theoretical accounts were written with a sense of victory, and any political arrangement that allowed equal power-sharing with non-Muslims was considered unacceptable.

However, after the fall of the Mughal Empire and the establishment of British rule in 1857, the situation drastically changed. Instead of formulating political theories to govern others, Muslims were compelled to find ways to ensure their survival, preserve their identity, and safeguard their political rights. This new reality forced them to confront two significant challenges — the power of the British colonial state and the rising political consciousness of the Hindu majority.

This course aims to explore the transformation of Muslim political thought in India during British rule and the theoretical frameworks proposed for the survival and revival of Muslims in post-colonial India.

OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

After completing this course, you will be able to:

1. Create awareness about Muslim political thought.
2. Develop an understanding of the contributions of Muslim political thinkers to Muslim society.
3. Explain the political ideas of Zia-ud-Din Barani**.**
4. Analyze Shah Waliullah as a pioneer of intellectual modernism in South Asia.
5. Understand the historical and political importance of the Aligarh Movement for Indian Muslims.
6. Evaluate the political philosophy of Ubaidullah Sindhi**.**
7. Relate the philosophy of Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to Muslim political thought.
8. Analyze the transformation of Allama Iqbal's thought from nationalism to universalism.
9. Describe the major characteristics of Muslim reformation, with special reference to the contributions of Maulana Abul A'la Maududi**.**

Unit: 1

ZIA-UD-DIN BARANI

Written by: Syed Akmal Hussain Shah
Reviewed by: Abdul Basit Mujahid

INTRODUCTION

Zia-ud-din can be considered the first political theorist in the Muslim India. In this unit, an effort is made to introduce the contribution, political thoughts and historiography of Barani. Furthermore, his gigantic status being the writer of *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi,* which is an authentic source of historical studies, would also come under discussion.

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able:

- To understand the significance of the thoughts of Zia-ud-din Burni.
- To have a bird's-eye view of *Tarikh-i-feroz Shahi*.
- To have insight into the system of governance in the Sultanate era.

1.1 Political Thought

Ziauddin Barani (1285-1357) was a Muslim historian and political thinker who lived in the Delhi Sultanate during Mohammed –bin-Tughlaq and Firuz Shah's reign. He was the best 10 known for composing Tarikh-I- Firozshahi. It was a major historical work of Medieval India. He was born in an aristocratic Muslim family in 1285, in which his father, uncle, and grandfather all worked in high government posts under the Sultan of Delhi.

After his education, Barani also came to occupy an important position under the Khiljiis. Later, he became a courtier of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, where he stayed for more than seventeen years. Mohammad Bin Tughlaq held him in high esteem for his wide knowledge of history and scholarship and showered liberal royal favors on him. The Sultan often seeks advice on various crucial problems. However, under Mohammad bin Tughlaq's successor, Firozshah, he was completely neglected. He was not only deprived of the various honors but also thrown in prison.

During the last days of his he was reduced to extreme poverty and died a destitute. Barani was a great scholar. Apart from cultivating interest in law and philosophy, he took a keen interest in history. He dwells on the uses of History. He looks upon history as a panorama of human activity unfolded before man to guide his faltering steps in life's journey. A study of history gives a rare insight into human affairs and helps him to distinguish between good and bad and to learn from the experience of others. Barani also refers to the qualities of a good historian in the introductory chapter of Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. According to him, truthfulness, impartiality, honesty and fearlessness are some of these qualities. He also insists that a historian should be correct in his statements and should avoid exaggerations or hyperboles, which is an unusual quality of the poets.

The economic policy that he initiated in the Fatwa-i-Jahanadir is the same as that followed by Sultan Alauddin Khalji. He desired that the prices of articles of consumption should be fixed by the state authorities- none should be allowed to sell articles at higher rates than those fixed by the state authority- none should be allowed to sell articles at higher rates than those fixed by the state. Market inspectors and officials should be appointed to enforce the market tariff rigidly. 14 As Hindus had enjoyed the monopoly of trade and commerce. Barani had at many places initiated the principles of depriving the Hindu merchants and traders of their wealth and humiliating them socially. As Brahmans were well-to-do and had enjoyed good social status, Barani advocated the principles of robbing them of their wealth and annihilating them. According to Barani, this was an easy way to acquire wealth and enrich the poverty–stricken Muslims.

Barani is usually credited with eight historical works, most of which cannot be traced at present.

Then Barani, like other medieval historians, not only writes about the Sultan, their courts, nobles, battles, etc, he takes pains to narrate the social and economic reforms

of the sultan, their revenue regulations, assessment and collection of revenue methods of realization of taxes, market conditions etc. He describes some important madrassahs, contemporary officials, historians, scholars, poets, medical men, saints, philosophers, astronomers etc. He refers frequently to the article of daily life, dress, food, drink, fruits, etc. all these throw a flood of light on the social and economic conditions of the people in the 14th century. The historical writing of Barani suffers from several defects, some of which are as follows-

1. Events that he did not like were described in brief. But those which he liked were described at length. Campaigns, military strategy, conquest, treaties and such other events, which he did not like to habitually describe in brevity. Again, his personal malice against the Prime Minister Khwaja Jahan Ayaz leads him to declare the son of Muhammed Tughlaq as of obscure personage and to interpret the action of the minister in elevation him to the throne as a means of perpetuating his self-dominance. Despite all his likes and dislikes, the character sketches by Barani were excellent. He is a philosopher –cum-historian.

2. The chronological order of events is defective. This is seen in his account of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq and the centrifugal movements which commenced from the middle of the reign. He gives dates of four events of his reign. He gives a very elaborate account of the various contemporary rebellions. But he neither provides exact dates of many of them nor a complete and connected account.

3. Barani's outlook was colored by the faith of the school he belonged to, and therefore he interpreted the measures, method and policy of the Sultan in terms of his religion. When there was a religious difference, he criticized and condemned Muhmmed Tughlaq. The bazaar people and merchant community in the reign of Alauddin, being Hindu, were the worst of the seventy-two classes of the people that inhabited the globe, according to Barani.

4. Barani has tried to present the personality, character and individuality of the Amirs and Sultan in detail rather than the wars, battles, conquests and the life of the masses of the age.

5. He belonged to the Ulema group, which deeply influenced the politics of the people. He looked at the politics of the age with religious views. This has adversely affected his work, especially his description of the Tughlaq.

6. Barani was prone to making contradictory statements. In his narration, he lavishly praises Sultan Alauddin and at the same time, he dubbed him a pharaoh and this creates confusion in making estimates. It is difficult to conclude from his account whether Alauddin was a benefactor, liberal ruler or despotic tyrant.

7. Barani describes certain events and policies in the form of dialogue and conversations and then puts his own ideas in other people's mouths; for example, he describes Alauddin's ideal kingship and his anti-Hindu policy in conversations between Alauddin and Qazi Mughisuddin. Such a method cannot satisfy thy

craving for historical veracity. Peter Hardy criticizes it. He does not consider it authentic, because Barani was neither a tape recorder nor a cabinet secretary to note down carefully all that had passed between the Sultan and the Qazi during their conversation.

This is true, but it to be observed that this conventional style is used to make the narrative effective and interesting. It was well practiced in the medieval age and Barani was no exception to it. Then, this fact cannot be overlooked that Barani himself was a courtier, and he had his close association with many contemporary influential courtiers, nobles and high officers, and they were his sources of information, and they must have frequently talked about the dialogue in his work. It will be a great injustice to Barani if we reject all that he has put down in the form of conversion on the ground that he was not present at this time to record all that was talked.

1.2 Tareekh-i-Ferozshahi

The two most well-known works of Baruni are Tarikh-i-Firozshashai and Fatawa-i-Jahandari, which provide valuable information about the History of that period. He completed his work "Tarikh-i-Firozshahi" in 1357 and dedicated the same to the ruling Sovereign. It may be noted that the book does not exclusively deal with the reign of Firozshah. It begins with Balban and ends with the sixth regnal year of Firozshah. His account of Balban is based on what he learn about him of Balban. It 11 based on what he learn about him from his ancestors; the events pertaining to the reign of Sultan Julahuddin to the sixth year of the reign of Sultan Firozshah are based on his personal observations. He gives a graphic account of Muhammad bin Tuglaq and clearly pinpoints his various virtues and vices. While on the one hand he shows great admiration for the intellectual accomplishments, scholarship and qualities of head and heart of Mohammad bin Tughlaq on the other hand, he also criticizes the Sultan's capricious temper and high-handedness. However, while narrating the events of the reign of Mohammad bin Tughlaq, Barani does not present the various events in their chronological order. Barani himself was aware of this chronological order. Barani himself was aware of this shortcoming in his work and said:" I have written in this history the principle of Sultan Mohammad's administration and have paid no heed to the sequence and order of events".

Barani displays himself a shameless flatterer when he describes Firozshah. He finds divine attributes in the person of Firozshah and considers his court as the court of Allah. He lavishly praises the Sultan for his various works of public welfare. If we judge Barani by the canons laid down by him in the preface to Tarikh-I-Firojshahi, he stands condemned as a historian.

His other historical work Fatawa-i-Jahandari, which he compiled after Tarikh-i-Firozihahi. It analyses the qualities, virtues and talents that a good monarch should possess. He also describes the principles of administration and ideals of government and illustrates them by examples from the history of Iran and other Muslim countries. Barani held that his work was superior to the work of earlier writers. He

says, “old writers had many works on administration, but the way in which I have explained the principles and ordinances of administration for the guidance of kings, ministers, Maliks and Amirs has not been done so far by any writer”. While it cannot be denied that the detailed account provided by Barani of Sultan, their courts and how they farmed their polices as well as the description of the contemporary conditions of immense value in 12 forming an idea about the social and economic conditions of the people in the fourteenth century.

We noticed a number of defects in the historical writings of Tarikh-l- Firozshahi, these include (i) description of events, which were not to his liking, in brief, and overplay of the things which he liked; (ii) His narration lacks Chronological order. His account of the reign of Mohammad bin Tughlaq is an evidence of it; (iii) His work lacks order and arrangement; (iv) his vision was colored and he interpreted the various measures and polices in terms of his religion (v) He deals with personality and character of the Sultan and other Amirs in details and goes not provide detailed accounts of the wars, battles and the life of the people: (Vi) He makes contradictory statements which makes a proper assessment difficult. For example, “he lavishly praises Sultan Alauddin but dubs him as a pharaoh. As a result, it is difficult to make act also whether Alauddin was a liberal ruler or a despotic tyrant.

Despite the above shortcomings, Barani's works have great historical value. Prof. Luniya says: “Though he had his prejudices, drawbacks, weaknesses and obstructions, his account of the Sultan is reliable. Compared with others, he is more authentic, especially for the Khilji period”.

Although the introduction of the work Tarikh-i-Firozshahi is written in decorative language, other chapters of the book are marked by simplicity and clarity; he follows a simple, clear and lucid style. He avoids a highly ornamental approach, which was then in fashion. Though he has written in the Persian language, he has profusely used Hindustani words, like charai, chappar, mandidholak, palak, shaker, chauki etc. It is the influence of the environment in which he was living. Sometimes his language is broken and it is difficult to make out any clear, definite sense. However, he possessed a facile pen and wrote clearly.

Barani describes events so lucidly that he makes one believe them. His description of Allauddin’s conversion with Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana and Qutubuddin’s attachment to his favorite Wazir Khursu khan was very vivid. He so graphically and charmingly describes the eventful night of Qutubuddin’s murder as if he himself witnessed all the events there.

1.3 Self-Assessment Question

Q. What is the significance of Zia-ud-din Barani in the arena of Muslim political thought?

Q. Critically evaluate the historiography of *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*?

Q. Where does Zia-ud-din stand in the galaxy of Muslim historiographers?

Unit: 2

SHEIKH AHMAD SIRHINDI (R.A)

Written by: Humayun Abbas Shams
Abdul Quddus Suhaib
Reviewed by: Dr Hafiz Muhammad Sajjad

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan came into being upon the Two-Nation Theory and the founder of the theory in the South Asian context is Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi. His stand against *Deen-i-Elahi* is carved with golden words in the annals of history. To have in sight his religious thoughts is also an objective of the unit. His contribution to the *Sufi Naqshbandi* chain would also come under discussion in passing.

OBJECTIVES

- To know about the emergence of the Two-Nation Theory.
- To understand *Deen-i-Elahi* and Sirhindi's contribution to its opposition.
- To have a synoptic view of the religious thought of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

2.1 Religious Thoughts

The *tazkia-e-nafs* or purification of the soul, which is described by the Qur'an[1] is a pasture of mysticism.[2] The significance of the reality of this term is much more important than its development. Regardless of giving it the very name or the other, its reality is to follow the religion in true spirit.[3] The concept of Mysticism in Islam is subject to the obedience of Allah and His Messenger Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). Thus, the Subcontinent is grateful to the important role played by a mystic saint, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564/971 A.H.-1624/1034 A.H.)[4] , popularly known as *Mujaddid*[5] *Alf Thani*. He emphasized the reformation of the individual as well as society. The basic purpose was the implementation of Islamic laws and Shar'iah.

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[1] Al Quran 2:129, 2:151

[2] For mysticism, its importance and definitions.
a) Kashf-al-Mahjoob pp:161-266.
b) Encyclopedia for Islamic spirituality vol: 1
c) Islamic Sufism A Short History by Alexander Kynsh.
d) Islamic Sufism its saints and shrines by Subhan P: 6-16.
e) Mysticism in Islam by Dr. Omer A. Farrukh.

[3]The term used in different religions of the world are quite different from those of Islamic term. Smith has defined it in these words: "The word mysticism itself comes down to us from the Greeks and is derived from a root meaning "to close". The mystic was one who had been initiated into esoteric knowledge of Divine things and upon whom was laid the necessity of keeping silence concerning his sacred knowledge." (An introduction to the history of mysticism p.1)
Look at the following to get an overview of the concept of mysticism in other religions of the world:
a) Mysticism in the world's religions by Edward Geoffery.
b) An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mysticism and Mystery religions by Jhon Ferguson.
c) The Roots of Christian Mysticism: Text and Commentary by Oliver clement.
d) A Handbook of Christian Mysticism by Michael Cox.
e) Judiasm and Mysticism according to Gershom Scholem by Eliezer Schweid.
f) Hindu mysticism by Mahendranath Sircar.
g) Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism by Gershom.
h) Mysticism East and West by Rudolf Otto translated by BerthaL. Bracey.

[4] Please have an overview of the following for the life history, teachings, thoughts and achievements:
a) Hazrat ul Quds by Badar ud Din Sirhindi.
b) Zabatul Maqalat by Hashim Kishmi.
c) Jahan-e-imam-e-Rabbani edited by Dr. Muhammad Masood Ahmad in 11 volumes.
d) Sufism and Shriah by Muhammd Abdul Haq Ansari.
e) Contribution of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi to Islamic thought edited by Abdul Ali and Zafarul Islam.
f) A history of Muslim philosophy edited by M.M.Sharif vol: 2 P.873-83.
g) *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy* edited by Oliver Keaman vol: 2 P: 282-4.

[5] Renewer of the second millennium. This title has a historical and spiritual background.

He was born at Sirhind,[6] a famous city of India. His father was a renowned religious scholar and saint. He completed contemporary Islamic education at the age of seventeen. He made good relations with the courtiers. However, in his personal meetings with *Abu al Fadal and Faidi,* he talked about the educational problems, but this couldn't continue for a long time. As he inherited the mystic taste, therefore in 1599/1008A.H. he became a *mureed* (follower) of a well-reputed personality of the *Naqshbandi* chain, *Khawaja Muhammad Baqi Billah*.[7] He possessed such great capabilities that he had got *Naqshbandi* status in just two and a half months.[8] His letter no. 11 to his Shaykh is the proof of his being a high spiritual genius. After Khawaja Baqi Billah's death (1603-4/1012 A.H.) Sirhindi held the reins of Khawaja's school of thought. The time has proved that only the *Mujadadi* movement and its school of thought could prove a success in the development and existence of Islamic ideology. In this respect, *Sirhindi* played a vital role.

The number of Sirhindi's publications is eight, which consists of seven magazines and *maktubat* (letters) [9] in three volumes. It is concluded that the number of his publications is more than eight. Unfortunately, many of his scholarly researches were destroyed during the devastation of Sirhind, yet the fame enjoyed by the letters of *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi is* known to be as "The Maktubat-i-*Imam-i-Rabbani*". The number of these letters is 536 found in three volumes. The first volume consists of 313, the second of 99 and the third of 124 letters. These letters not only reflect the social and religious history but also *Sirhindi*'s thought. Moreover, the correspondents, which are 129 in number, are based upon different rationales, which describe not only *Sirhindi*'s *peer* (spiritual guide) "*Khawaja Baqi Billah*" but also his sons and caliphs, scholars, the general mass and the courtiers of the king.

Chronically, these letters[10] were written over a long period of twenty-six years, which reflects *Sirhindi*'s ideology, analysis and research. This accumulated his

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[6] For Sirhind see:

a) *Sirhind Through Ages.*

b) *The Mughal empire,* R.C.Majumdar (general editor) P.705.

[7] For his biographical sketch see Zubdatul maqamat P.137-84.

[8] Ibid P:195-6.

[9] There are no clues about the historical beginning of letter, still there is some proof about it that a queen of Persia wrote the first letter to her father. See for the history of letter writing, the paper used for it, the ink, pen and for the means of posting them. Roberts, William, History of letter writing from earliest period to the fifth century n.d. London.

[10] Letter writing is a common culture all over the world in all spheres of life. Some collections of the letters are given below as examples:

a) A life in letters by Gabriel Faure.

b) The letters of Mozart and his family by Mozart.

c) Correspondence of Karl Max and Friedrich Engels by Karl Marx

d) The correspondence between the prince A.M. Kurhsky and Tsar Ivan iv of Russia by Kurskii.

debates on *Shari'ah* and mysticism in the form of an organized book.[11] If someone tries to derive conclusions from these letters, he will find his puritanical thrust and this leads to removing many doubts about his great attempt as a great religious figure. His character, his general temperament about Shari'ah, his unshakeable trust in the Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) and his belief in the importance of following the Prophet Muhammad's teachings are the key points to comprehend his school of thought. The letters of his sons, autobiographies and the contemporary historical data should also be kept in view. It is also a wrong approach to derive the conclusions by studying the first half letter and leaving the 2nd half of it to get an understanding of *Sirhindi*'s personality. It is necessary to have a brief analysis of his contemporary religious circumstances.

2.2 Refutation of *Deen-i-Elahi*

Sirhindi was born in the age of *Mughal* emperor *Akbar* (1596/1014A.H.-1542/949A.H.). At the time of *Akbar*'s death, *Shaykh* was 43 years old. We can trace out a glimpse of the religious thinking of King Akbar's age. The initial time span was totally different then the later one. In the beginning, Akbar was a complete religious man who turned himself into a *mujtahid* (religious administrator)[12] , but later he considered that Islam had been around for one thousand years and now there was no need to keep any relation with Mohammedan Prophethood.

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e) An Epistle of comfort 1587-88/ Robert soputhwell (A poem declaring the real reference of Christ in the blessed sacrament,1606) by Robert Southwell.

f) The Brownson-Hecker correspondence edited by Joseph F. Gawer and Richerd M.Leliaert.

[11] Sheikh's epistle are the center of the attention of the eastern as well as western scholars. His letter are translated in different languages. Sheikh wajihuddin translated them into English. Its first volume has been published from Lahore. He worked diligently for this translation. He stayed on the shrine of Khawaja Baqi Billah and established his own terms in English. Other volumes of these letter are under process (this information is collected from Sheikh Wajihudin's letter to Mr. Amjad U.K.). The mystics preached these manuscripts to their followers. Their different Sharooh (explanatory notes) have also been written. An incomplete sharah was written by Allama Saeed Ahmad Mujadadi which was published from Gujranwala (Pakistan). Jhon Renard opines about the letters: "some two centuries later a little further to the west lived the famous Indian Naqshbandi Sufi Ahmad Sirhindi(d.1624). Most of his 534 Persian letters were written for broad circulation with only a few addressed individuals. He addressed to nearly six dozen bureaucrats and officials in the Mughal government, often confronting them boldly. Since most of Sirhindi letters function as treatises rather than as massives, they provide one of the more comprehensive overviews of a single spiritual authority's thought expressed in correspondence. M. Ansari has translated a selection of Sirhindi's letters that offers an excellent cross section of his central themes. They retain only hints of an epistolary style. Here and there Sirhindi calls his correspondent "my dear" or "my son; and several pieces have preserved elements of what was presumably their original form, as in the following example with its rather brusque tone. The opening remarks suggest that it was written with a group of correspondents in mind".

[12] Montakhab al Tavarikh vol. 2.

Hence, every step was taken to disconnect the strong bond with Mohammedan Prophethood. Likewise, using the names of Muhammad and Ahmad was banned and the mosques were closed.[13] *Sirhindi* has labeled this age as "the age of the Islamic poverty". The establishment of "*Din-e-ilahi*"[14] was wrapped in the enmity against Islam under the intended name of enlightenment and moderation. *Akbar* assumed the name of *"Ummi*"[15] to describe his compatibility with the rank of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him). These were the circumstances in which *Shaykh* debuted his work. *King Jahangir* also belonged to the same category of kingship as *Akbar,* but keeping in view the public response against *Akbar*, the attitude of *King Jahangir* changed.[16] The aristocracy, which had strong bonds with the Shaykh, was involved in maintaining the sovereignty of *King Jahangir*. Shaykh spent 20years of his life in King *Jahangir*. During this whole period, the epicenter of his educational zeal and ideological zest was the key points. These points draw an exact picture of his services for the teaching of Islamic ideology. *Shaykh* condemned emphatically the innovation in religion (Bid'at).

For the revival of Islam, Shaykh's condemnatory remarks about innovation in religion (Bid'at) could be found in all three volumes of his letters. We can find bitterness in his views about innovation in religion (Bid'at) because he was well aware of the importance of following the true teachings of Islam to get proximity to Allah and to avoid the contemporary tense situation. As the benefits of Prophet Muhammad's *Sunnah* were hidden from the king's eye, that's why he called that one thousand years of Prophet Muhammad had been completed and there was no need for it now. According to Shaykh, the innovation in religion was such a practice that had no linkage to the age of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him) and his followers (*Sahabah*). He maintained that the customar*y* and habitual things are not included in innovation in religion because he was well aware of the pace of the age and also of the fact that there would be so many new inventions on the scene due to man's endeavor to conquer nature.[17] The scholars have divided innovation in religion into two kinds.

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[13] To have a brief information about King Akbar's Din-e-Elahi and his religious beliefs see:
a) Akbar and religion by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.
b) The commentary of father Monserrate, by S.j.Hoyland.
c) Akbar the Great Mughal by Vincent A.Smith P:214-21.

[14] Maktubat, Vol:2,Lettyer No.23.

[15] Prophet Muhammad is believed to have no education from any educational institution of the world. The means of His(PBUH) knowledge of merely the revelations of God therefore, He is called with the name of "ummi".

[16] Jahangir wrote at the end of his *Nasihat Nama*--- " Follow the Islamic Shariah so that you may be saved on the doomsday". Hirwi,Khawaja Niamat Ali, Tarik-e-Khan Jhaani wa Makhzin-I-Afghani P.514, Also see , Maktubat Vol. 1, letter No.65.

[17] Maktubat vol.1, letter No. 186.

1) Bidaah tul Hasana
2) Bidaah tul Siyyah

Shaykh opposed that division of innovation. He considered that there could never be any beauty in the innovation in religion (Bid'at). The reason for this division of innovation in religion was the chaos of *Bid'at*. The evil effects of innovation were not evident because of the evil darkness prevailing those days, but whatever the situation was, innovation was not acceptable at all. Shaykh has cited these verses of the Holy Quran and the sayings of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) regarding the issue of Bid'at as:

1) "Today I've perfected the religion for you and have completed my favour upon you". (Quran)
2) "He who invents something false which has no linkage with the religion of Islam is forbidden". (Hadith)
3) "The best discourse is the discourse of Allah and the best way is the way of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the worst things are the inventions and every innovation in the religion is misleading". (Hadith)
4) "I advise you to fear Allah Almighty and to hear your ruler and obey, though he is a Negro slave. So it is a compulsion upon you to follow my *Sunnah* and my caliphs and demonstrate it strongly and avoid the innovations because every new thing is an innovation in religion and innovation is a misleading".[18] (Hadith) By the above-mentioned *Ahadith* (sayings of the Holy Prophet), *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi* has given clarity to his point of view. He considered innovation in religion the opposite of *Sunnah* and he has rejected innovation in religion. To prove innovation in religion, the opposite of *Sunnah* and to exalt *Sunnah,* he has given some examples. "A nation that invents innovation in religion is deprived of the analogy of *sunnah*."

These examples of *Shaykh* elucidate that they are in connection with religious matters and the customary innovations are not included in them.[19] *Shaykh* considered it extremely harmful to obey the ruler who believes in any kind of innovation in religion. According to him, it is a virtue to exalt *Sunnah* instead of innovation in religion.[20] He was also of the view that such novelties in religion should be ruled out of the society, but the method of bringing it to an end should not produce more evils from the lap of the virtues; instead, it should be dealt with

[18] For detailed information see Maktubat vol. 1,letter No.231,255,105,54,186,157, Vol. 2, letter No.23.
[19] Maktubat vol.1,letter No. 131,168,231,288.
[20] Maktubat vol. 3,letter No.105 Vol.2,letter No.23.

carefully and wisely. It is not the duty of every individual to cope with the innovation in religion; rather, it is the responsibility of the rulers.[21]

It is evident from *Shaykh*'s views about Bidaah that he wanted to see the practical application of *Sunnah*. As far as the mundane affairs are concerned, they should be dealt with according to customary habits by retaining the limits of *Shariah*. We find from his views on innovation in religion, the anarchy of India, the malpractice in the name of Islam and the deviation of the masses from the real and pure Islam. Moreover, *Shaykh's* political views are also hidden in it in which *Shaykh* emphasizes the need for rulers who could bring to an end all the novelties in religion. If we are unable to find such an *aul-al-umar*; the society will fall prey to anarchy.

Shaykh has condemned the wrong way of thinking about the saints. A separate portion of his letters explains this philosophy. In this respect, he has dealt mostly with *"Wahdat-ul-wajood"*. He is also an admirer of *Shaykh Ibne Arabi*. *Shaykh* has presented his admiration of the works of *Shaykh Ibne Arabi* as well as his theory of *"Wahdat-ul-shahood"*. *"Wahdat-ul-wajood"* believes in the oneness of Allah Almighty and the mortality of all the living beings except Him. Besides, it also demands belief and understanding of Allah Almighty's miracles and demonstrations. It is a kind of *"Ilmul-yakeen"* while *"Toheed-i-Mashoodi"* is to believe in the oneness of Allah Almighty. It is called *"Ain-ul-yakeen*".[22]

Shaykh has called *"Toheed-i-Wajoodi"* a basic requirement for the destination and *"Maqam-e-abdiat"* as a destination, which is an outcome of *"Toheed-I-Shahudi"*. After going through a deep study of *Wajoodi* philosophy, he has explained its impact on the individuals and collectively on the society that a man is not free from the restrictions of the *Shariah* and there is no system contrary to *"Tariqah and Shariah",* but it is an interpretation by implementing the spirit of *Shariah*. *Shaykh* has elaborated forcefully *sharah-o-bast* about the drama of *Hulul* (Incarnation) of the saints of his age.[23]

Usually, *"Wajoodi and Shahudi"* philosophy is not given as much importance as a mere philosophy and school of thought by the researchers. If *Shaykh's* philosophy and school of thought are analyzed, one thing is very clear that this is not only a theory but also a hidden power that has its effect on the thinking and actions of a man. *Shaykh* was well aware of the political and social deviation based on *"Wajoodi* philosophy," which is why he struck a heavy blow on this philosophy. He has paved the way for a positive change on both levels. The importance of logic is an accepted fact, but due to its shrewdness, it disguises and focuses on the individual interests, while the revelation of God always focuses on the collective

[21] Ibid vol.3, letter No. 105 Vol.2, letter No. 15.

[22] Ibid vol.1 letter No.43.

[23] Vol.1, letter No.43 Vol. 3,letter No.89.

interests. This is why the philosophers who consider themselves to be the whole rationalistic/wise are yet unable to gather one focal point. Although they are contemporaries but as far as the prophets are concerned, there is found to be the same philosophical structure, though there was a long difference in their respective ages. *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi* learnt the philosophical debates in his childhood and taught them later on. The new religion was formed keeping in view the demands of the worldly facts and the King's interests, neglecting God's revelations. *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi* was well aware of the conspiracies of the philosophy of the new religion, so he opposed the new religion based on two reasons.[24]

1) The denial of the orders of Allah Almighty, as well as the good news (*Basharats*) told by the Prophets.
2) The arguments presented by them to attain the wicked interests are false. Because these bits of information have no importance whatsoever with the hereafter (*Akhrat*) that's why a criticism on some points or an emphasis on their unnecessity in his writings is also found.

However, there is no objection if this knowledge is studied to fulfill the mundane pursuit, that's why writing about the medical science and astrology, Shaykh writes that the philosophy has stolen them from the discourse of the Prophets of God.[25] He has raised his school of thought based on *Sunnah* that carries the peace of the hereafter and the harmony of the society. This methodology produces belief instead of raising doubts; that's why *Shaykh* made Islamic teachings the epicenter of all his efforts, which practically explains the *Sunnah*. It is evident from the above discussion that *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi* criticized harshly the philosophers, scholars, vicious men of knowledge and the invention in the religion because he considered that the *Sunnah* was the only key to the success of an individual as well as for the society collectively. For this purpose, he wrote many manuscripts and books and sent them to his caliphs for the training of the people of the different parts of the country. The two most important points of this school of thought are as under:

1) The people it who were directly affected by it started opposing it; both the scholars and mystics belonged to this category. There were some people who were against this theory only on the basis of wrong judgment. The reason for this opposition seems to be as under:

a) Some people turned against him only based on jealousy. It was unbearable for the people whose aim was only gross materialism. The people who either belonged to the King's chair or to the rustic scholars and mystics turned against him because he was calling them to return to the ways taught by the Holy Quran.

[24] Ibid vol. 1, letter No.266, 259.
[25] Ibid vol. 3, letter No.23 Vol. 1, letter No.266.

b) Many mystics considered *"Wahdat-ul-wajood"* as a collectively accepted belief and belonging to the needs of the religion. Many people turned against him because they considered that *Shaykh* had rejected the collectively accepted belief. *Shaykh* proved it wrong by his experience and observation.

c) The terms used by *Shaykh* in his writings are the same as those used by *Ibn-e-Arabi* and *Philosopha*. Although the surface level was compatible yet there was a huge difference in meaning between *Shaykh's* and the other two mentioned above. This is the reason for the opposition of the followers of *Ibn-e-Arabi* and the *philosopher*.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal has admitted that the psychology of this age is unable to render a translation to the *Mujadadi* discourse.[26] A disparity in his research is also found with the passage of time because he developed relations with the common people. Some people found misconceptions based on his early research. This fact should also be viewed that there is no other source available on the *Mujadadi* school of thought instead than his manuscripts. There is no detailed book on this concern. The events and circumstances, the rank and status of "*Maktoob-e-alaihum"* and the feelings of the writer while composing these manuscripts should also be viewed.[27] If these things are kept in view, there will be no ambiguity at all. Some people also committed deliberate efforts *tehreef* (i.e. to change the meanings) from his manuscripts, some spread their wrong translation in Arabic and some very sincere fellows misunderstood it, but the reality dawned on them very soon.[28] It is a fact that the revolutionists always have to face the music. *Shaykh* himself brought to an end these misunderstandings about these manuscripts; his offspring and his caliphates also answered them. It is not comprehensible why such objections are being raised till today. *Shaykh* attempted to make the *Ummah* revolutionary and to bring it out of the decay; it could also be one of the reasons for its opposition. *Shaykh's* school of thought is as important today as it was in the 17th century. This is the reason why an attempt is made to hide the dimensions of his personality.

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[26] Muhammad Iqbal, Religious Reconstruction of Islam P.192, 298, 299.

[27] For this see the following lines of Mabda wa Maad:

If there is any contradiction or discrepancy in this author's description of the states, reptures and ideas(ahwal, mawajid, ' ulum, ma'arif), then it should be predicted to the difference in times and context. It is also because each and every moment has its own state(hal) and ecstasies(mawaajid). And for each context, the knowledge ("ulum va ma'arif) is different. Therefore there is no contradiction or discrepancy. For example, It is analogous to an injunction of the Shariah which seems to reverse after it has been replaced (mansukh) or changed. However we consider that the times and the contexts are different, then that contradiction or discrepancy vanishes. Mabda-wa-maad Minha No. 61.

[28] Abbas, Hamayun, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's contribution in Tafseer and Fiqah, Thesis of Ph.D Bahaud din Zakarya University Multan, Pakistan.

2) Not only should *Shaykh's* relations with King *Jahangir*, *Shah Jahan* and *Alamgir* be kept in view, but also it has to be seen in the context of ancient history. His spiritual relationship, which was inherited from *King Babur* by his father, should also be viewed. Perhaps the *Naqshbandi* scholars had a deep and historical relationship with the *Mughal* family, which later on appeared in the form of *Naqshbandi Mujadadi. King Babur's* father had love and devotion with "*Khawaja Abaidullah Asrar* ".[29] *King Babur's* maternal grandfather did *taubah* [30] (i.e. committed renunciation) in front of this personality of the *Naqshbandi* chain. *King Babur* was eight years old when *Khawaja Abaidullah Israr* died(1491/896 A.H*).* But King's devotion for him didn't dwindle. It was *King Babur* who translated a magazine under the title of "*Waladiya*" into the Turkish language.[31] *King Babur* had devotion for Maulana Muhammad Qazi,[32] a caliph of *Khawaja Israr*. Two of *King Hamayun's* daughters were married to the sons of the *Naqashbandia* family.[33] In the beginning, King Akbar also loved the *Naqashbandi* chain. It is a historical reality that *Jahangir* had relations with the *Naqashbandi* chain in his childhood[34] , also King *Shah Jahan* was deeply affected by the *Naqashbandi* chain.[35]

2.3 Founder of Two-Nation Theory in South Asia

The arrest and release of *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi* have a particular political and religious background.[36] It is clear from the *Shaykh's* manuscripts that when the

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[29] Masood Ahmad, Dr. Sirat-I-Mujaddid Alif Thani, P.316-63, Mujaddidi, Muhammad Iqbal, Ahwal wa Athar, Abdullah Khaweshgi P. 159-61.

a) Netton, Ian Richard, Sufi Ritual, P.64.

b) Cambridge History of Iran vol.6, P. 117.

c) Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammad Babur P. 31.

[30] Daughlat, Mirza Muhammad Haider, Tarikh_I_ Rashidi P. 97.

[31] Memoirs of Babur vol . 2, P. 347-8.

[32] Ibid vol.1 P.92-3.

[33] Maaqamat-I- Masumi vol.1, P.115.

[34] Asher, Catherine B., and Tabot, Cynthia, India, before Europe P. 226.

[35] Ibid P. 227, 294 Maaqamat-I-masumi vol. 2, P.261.

[36] King Jahangir arrested him due to his jealousy, misunderstanding and Shaykh's political impact but soon he released Shaykh when he came to know his fault. Shaykh's arrest and release is more important than his political impact .Dr. Beni Prasad is against the arguments that are presented against Sheikh that he begged padon. Here are words from the book The Mughal Empire: "He confined Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi in the Gwalior prison, first, because the Shaykh was accused of considering himself equal to the pious Caliphs and, secondly, because he refused to perform the Sajda(i.e. prostration) to the emperor. Jahangir later on realized his mistake and released the Shaykh and made amends for the punishment meted out to him. Similar treatment was meted out to Sheikh Ibrahim Baba. In both cases the punishments were due to the envy and fear excited by these Muslims divines amongst the less important members of their profession and influence which they wielded

army arrested him, he met King *Jahangir* several times to preach Islamic teachings to him.[37] King *Aurangzaib Alamgir* had relations with *Khawaja Mujadadi* while he was a prince as well as king. *Khawaja Mujadadi* supported and enticed King *Aurangzaib* to fight for the throne. He was a disciple/follower (i.e. mureed)[38] of *Khawaja Masoom Sirhindi*. *Allama Muhammad Farrukh ibn-e-Khawaja Muhammad Saeed* taught King *Aurangzaib* the book of *Ahadith* "*Sahih Bukhari*".[39] *Khawaja Saif-uddin* taught King *Alamgir* the teachings and the way of the *Naqashbandi* chain [40]. These people were invited frequently with honour and respect in the royal gatherings and ceremonies.[41] King met them with honour and respect.[42] *Khawaja Naqashbandi Mujadadi* had a deep association with the royal family. [43] This relation was strengthened through correspondence. *Khawaja Masoom* wrote letters to 6, *Khawaja Saif* 19, *Khawaja Saeed* 9, *Khawaja Muhammad Naqashband* 15, and *Khawaja Abdullah* 9, respectively.[44] Besides,

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on their devoted Afghan and other Muslim disciples. Dr.Beni Prasad is wrong in asserting that Ahmad Sirhindi repented or promised loyalty. It was Jahangir who realized his mistake". The Mughal Empire P.194.

[37] Maktubat, vol. 1 Letter No.43.

[38] Maqamat-I- masumi vol.2 P. 202,245,648.

[39] Ibid P.531.

[40] Maktubat-I-Masumiyyah vol.3,letter No.220,242 Maktubat-I-Sufiyyah letter No.148.

[41] Khawaja Saifuddin participated in the wedding ceremony of the eldest prince on January 3, 1669. This ceremony took place after the death of Khawaja Masum and it was a proof of the strong ties between the Royal family and Mujaddidi Chain and hence the statement of Yohanan Friedmann that this relationship was a matter of controversy proved worthlessness. (Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi- an outline of his thoughts P.95).

[42] Saqi Mustad Khan has described the meeting of Khawaja with Alamgir and the warm welcome for Khawaja in these words. "On Thursday, 3rd June 1669/13th Muharram emperor visited the porter's lodge which was assigned for residence of saint Shaykh Saifuddin Sirhindi. After an hour spent in talking with the saint and honouring him, he returned to palace". (P.53) there is detailed description on emperor's religious views on page 312-3 of this book.

[43] a) Princess Roshan Ara Begum the daughter of King Shahjahan wrote a letter to Khawaja Masum in which he showed her devotion for Khawaja.(Maqamat-I-Masumi vol.2' P.317), The princess also built the shrine of Khawaja Masum(Maqamat-I-Masumi vol.2, P. 332)(Rawadatul-Qayyumiyyah vol.2 P.281)

b) The sons of King Auranzaib were also the followers of Khawaja Siafuddin (maqamat-I-asumi vol. 2, P. 650)

c) Farrukh Sair was the follower of Khawaja Muhammad Sadiq.

d) For the relationship of different members of the royal family with Mujaddidia family see Maqamat-I-Masumi vol. 1, PP.147-51.

[44] This information is impated by Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi in his book A history of Sufism in India. See Vol.2, PP482-91 But his conclusion is not right-Khawaj Saifuddin has described the relationship with king just to bring to an end the malpractices. Then what was the motive of writing the letters? Was its aim just to waste the time. (Maktubat-I- Saifia letter No.4) Doesn't this sentence show that it's aim was to establish justice. Isn't this aim one of the most important aims of Islamic nation.

some letters to the other members of the royal family are also included in the manuscripts.[45] *Aurangzaib* called for a doctor for the treatment of *Khawaja Masoom*.[46] Without the active participation of the royal family, it was almost impossible to strengthen the religion[47] and this relation was developed in this concern. It is clear from the manuscripts that the personalities of the *Mujadadi* chain never got mundane benefits. These letters were a connection with the king through which the king was informed about his religious responsibilities. The people who reject these letters are basically unaware of the relation between a religious guide and his follower. They are also unaware of the aspect of the reformation of these mystics. It is evident from the above discussion that *Shaykh* was not only a religious scholar and mystic but also a reformist leader. He founded his teachings on *Sunnah,* which is why his political and social reformist efforts are hidden from our very eyes.

This is why many Western historians believed the political impact of *Shaykh* [48] and

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[45] Rizvi Saiyid Ather Abbas, vol.2 P.482-91.

[46] The name of the doctor was Sikandar Beg. (Maqamat-I-Masumi vol.1,P.152/vol.2 P.313).

[47] Maktubat-I-saifia letter No.162.

[48] Some references are as under.

a) "The order played an important role in the religious and political history of Mughal India as leaders of movement of reaction against the syncretist Din-I-ilahi (Divine religion) of the emperor Akbar.An important figure in this reaction Ahmad Sirhindi who was initiated the order into by its Shaykh Khawaja Baqi Billah in1600. The order remained involved in political developments". Jhoms, A.H. and Lewis F.D., Encyclopedia of Religion vol.13 P-9010)

b) Ian Richard Netton wrote. "It was from the intellectual morass thus engendered that Sirhindi is credited as having rescued Muslim India. He is also said to have been the inspiration behind the reforms of the Mughal emperor Aurangzaib(1617-1707) whose devotion to Shariah was rather than that of his heterodox predecessor. (Netton, Ian Richard, Sufi Ritual P. 65)

c) Frances Pritchett has written with reference to the importance and impacts of Maktubat-I- Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi in these words. " His forceful and eloquent letters addressed to the leading nobles at Jahangir's court, calling on them to rise in defence of Islam and uphold the dignity of their religion, have great power and effectiveness. These letters were meant not only for the individuals to whom they were addressed; they were really "open letters" and were no less forceful than the poems with which Byron tried to engender enthusiasm for the cause of Greek independence, or with which Hali tried to reawaken Indian Muslims. Copies of them were supplied to the Shaykh's disciples and admirers, and given wide circulation". He has described the policies of Aurangzaib in the following words. "Even more remarkable than these historic links between Aurangzaib and Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's family is the fact that almost all the steps which are forcefully by the Shaykh in his letters". Auranzaib's policies for Shias are described in these words. " Is it more coincidence that the attitude which Aurangzaib had toward Shias-at least during his early days-was identical with that of Shaykh Ahmad"? Pritchett, France, South Asia Study Resources available on the web. www.columbia.edu/itc/meal/Pritchett P4,5

d) Jhon P.Brown has described very carefully the aspect of reformation of Naqshbandia. "In the truth the Naqshbandi Khawajas seem to have sought to give new life to the old idea, that beside the secular king should stand a divinelyguided adviser, the keeper of his soul and his conscience and the interpreter of the spirit, not merely of the latter, of the formal laws".

the people who rejected it couldn't help but accept them partially.[49] While analyzing the age, it should also be kept in mind that it was not an age of political anarchy like today's politics, which is entirely based on the protests and processions. That's why *Shaykh* adopted the most proper way to correspond with the King. There is an inseparable bond in his personality as a *Sufi* and "scholarly silent political role". Julian Baldick has rightly called him the champion of the main line Islam in the 20th century.[50]

Self-Assessment Questions

Q.1 Analyze the role of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi as the father of the Two-Nation theory in South Asia.

Q.2 What do you know about *Deen-i-Elahi* and its implications? Discuss Sirhindi's contribution in refuting the concept.

Q.3 Elaborate in your own words the religious thoughts of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

[1] See Introduction by the editor in *Shah Wali-Allah kay siyasi maktubat*, ed. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (New Delhi: Nadwat al-Musannifin, 1969), p. 36.

[1] Sh. Muhammad Ikram, "Shah Waliullah: Life and Achievements in the Religious Sphere", in *A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1947*, vol. I (1707-1831), (Karachi: Board of Editors, History of Freedom Movement Project, 1957), pp. 498-500.

(Brown,mJhon P., The Darvishes, P.446)

e) John Renard has described Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's political role in the following words.

" Major religious scholar and mystical author from Punjab, Pir of the Naqshbandiya under Mughal dynasty. As a Sufi leader he was politically active, offering advice to the rulers concerning needed religious reforms". (Renard,Jhon,Historical Dictionary of Sufism P.244)

f) After describing Youhanan Friedmann's views, Alexander Kynsh described his views in the following: "he did seem to have struggled hard to bring about a change in the outlook of the ruling classes." After a few lines he writes: "The Naqshbandis played an important role in replacing the policy of reconciliation between Islam and Hinduism instituted by Akbar, by anti-Hinduist attitude that characterized Awrangzaib's region" (Islamic mysticism P.231) g) Kashwant Singh couldn't understand the meanings of the term "Mujaddid Alif Thani" but he admitted the Political role of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. "This hand of Sufias, though small in numbers, had influence in the court and with the Muslim aristocracy". (Kashwant Singh, A History of Sikhs P. 59) Friedmann also admitted the influence of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi in Hindi society which is also admitted by other researchers. But he has rejected this very point in the words below: "Most of scholars of medieval Muslim India maintain that Sirhindi performed a crucial role in the history of India. (Encyclopedia of religion vol.12 P.8413) it is also very trange that Naqshbandi chain with reference to Khawaja Ihrar is described in the 3rd volume of this Encyclopedia : It was his conviction that, "to serve the world, it is necessary to exercise political power". A critic, criticizing this sentence, says: "In other words, it is necessary to maintain adequate control over rulers in order to ensure the implement the divine law in every area of life".

[49] Ibid vol. 13 , P. 9010. Also see the statement of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, about the importance of king: "Well being of the king is the well being of the world; his corruption is the corruption of the world".

[50] Baldick, Julian, Mystical Islam, P.121.

[1] Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, *Shah Wali-Allah aur un ka falsafah* (Shah Wali-Allah and His Philosophy), 4th ed. (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1982), pp. 207-8.

[1] See details in Shah Wali Allah, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* (The Conclusive Argument from God), Eng. Trans. Marcia K. Hermansen (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2003), pp. 115-44.

[1] Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, *Islamic Renaissance in South Asia 1707-1867: The Role of Shah Wali Allah and His Successors* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2002), pp. 146-47.

[1] Muhammad al-Ghazali, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah* (Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Islamic Research Institute, 2001), pp. 84-85.

[1] Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Shah Waliullah: His Work in the Political Field", in *A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1947*, p. 536.

[1] Francis Robinson, "Islamic Reform and Modernities in South Asia", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 42, parts 2/3, March/May 2008, p. 281.

[1] See, for instance, Masoud Kamali, *Multiple Modernities, Civil Society and Islam: The Case of Iran and Turkey* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).

[1] This new approach has given birth to altogether a new discipline called *Ilm-i Asrar al-Din*.

[1] Ahmad Dallal, "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850", Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 113, no. 3 (July-Sept 1993), p. 344. For instance, the arguments in defence of polygamy and against celibacy can be related to the natural human instincts. If celibacy is discouraged in Islam, it is owing to the fact that by nature, human beings seek permanent company of other human beings, particularly of other gender.

[1] Shah Wali-Allah, *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wal Taqlid*, Urdu tr. Muhammad Mian Siddiqui (Islamabad: Shariah Academy, 2000).

[1] Mohammad Daud Rahbar, "Shah Wali Ullah and *Ijtihad*," *The Muslim World*, vol. 45 (October 1955), p. 357.

[1] See Foreward by Marcia Hermansen in al-Ghazali, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah*, p. v

Compulsory Readings

A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1947, vol. I (1707-1831), (Karachi: Board of Editors, History of Freedom Movement Project, 1957), Sh. Muhammad Ikram, "Shah Waliullah: Life and Achievements in the Religious Sphere", (Chapter 16), pp. 491-511; and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Shah Waliullah: His Work in the Political Field", (Chapter 17), pp. 512-41.

Ghazi, Mahmood Ahmad, *Islamic Renaissance in South Asia 1707-1867: The Role of Shah Wali Allah and His Successors* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2002), Chapter 7: Society, Economy and Polity in Wali Allah's Thought, pp. 133-53 and Chapter 8:Wali Allah: The Intellectual and Academician", pp. 157-63.

2.4 Self-assessment Questions

Q. Which causes of the decline of the Mughal Empire were identified by Shah Wali-Allah, and what measures were recommended by him for arresting it?
Q. Examine the problems of the Muslim society in South Asia, and how did Shah Wali-Allah try to overcome them?
Q. Shah Wali-Allah is considered the pioneer of intellectual modernism in South Asia. How and why?
Q. Discuss the main features of the political philosophy of Shah Wali-Allah.
Q. Assess the contribution of Shah Wali-Allah in the field of Muslim law.

Suggested Readings

Al-Ghazali, Muhammad, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah* (Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Islamic Research Institute, 2001), Part three: Selection from *Hujjat Allah al-Balighah*, Section 7: "The Conduct of Rulers", pp. 165-67; and Part two, Section 4: "Political Epistles of Shah Wali Allah", pp. 127-30.

Jalbani, G. N., "Shah Wali Allah," in *The Muslim Luminaries: Leaders of Religious, Intellectual and Political Revival in South Asia* (Islamabad: National Hijra Council, 1988), pp. 15-56.

Unit: 3

SHAH WALI-ALLAH OF DELHI

Written by: Dr. Tanvir Anjum
Reviewed: Dr Samina Awan

OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, the students will be able to:

- understand the philosophy of Shah Wali-Allah
- learn about Shah Wali-Allah's diagnosis of the problems of the Mughal Empire and the Muslim society
- explain Shah Wali-Allah as a pioneer of intellectual modernism in South Asia
- describe the contribution of Shah Wali-Allah to Muslim law and its sources
- appreciate the views of Shah Wali-Allah regarding a Muslim state
- assess the impact of the thought of Shah Wali-Allah on subsequent Muslim thought

3.1 Shah Wali-Allah of Delhi

(b.1703-d.1762) was a renowned scholar-Sufi, versatile thinker, philosopher, economist and macro-sociologist of eighteenth-century India. He was born in 1707 at Delhi, and his real name was Qutb al-Din Ahmad. His father, Shah Abd al-Rahim (1644-1718) was also a scholar and a Sufi of Silsilah Naqshbandiyya Baqawiyya, and taught at Madrasah-i Rahimiyya, which he himself had established. Shah Wali-Allah received his early education from his father, but later he proceeded to Arabia, and received higher education at Makkah and Medinah, particularly in Hadith (sayings and actions of the Prophet [PBUH]). He returned to India in 1732 and devoted himself to teaching at Madrasah-i Rahimiyya, and later took to writing. He studied Islam in its totality and developed a comprehensive and integrated framework for studying it as well as translating it into practice. He was a prolific writer, as he wrote a lot of books in both Arabic and Persian languages on themes related to Quranic studies, Hadith methodology, applied and theoretical aspects of *fiqh* (Muslim jurisprudence), philosophy, scholastics, Sufism, economics, history and biography. His most famous books include his magnum opus titled *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* (The Conclusive Argument from God) and *Al-Budur al-Bazigha* (Full Moons Rising on the Horizon). As a scholar and thinker, he was inspired by the ideas of many Muslim intellectuals, including Ibn Sina, Abu Nasr Farabi, Fakhr al-Din Razi, Abul Hasan Ali al-Mawardi, Imam Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah, Jalal al-Din Dawani, Ibn Miskaway, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi and his own father, Shah Abd al-Rahim.

He was born at a time when there was political turmoil in India, and consequently, there was despair and hopelessness among the people at large. After the death of Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707, the signs of political fragmentation had become gradually visible. Independent and semi-independent states began to emerge in many provinces of the Empire. The Jats, Marathas and Sikhs had started asserting themselves. Shah Wali-Allah had a sensitive soul, and what disturbed him the most was the disorder and chaos in the Mughal Empire and the degeneration of the Muslim society. He analysed the political, administrative and economic conditions of the Mughal Empire in order to explore the causes of its decline. He came to the conclusion that it was primarily the economic fiasco that was responsible for the decline of the Mughal Empire. The five factors he identified are as follows:[51]

1. Practice of *Ijarah* (revenue collection assignments to revenue collectors on contract without a fixed share)
2. Decrease in *Khalsa* lands (Crown lands or the lands owned by the king)
3. Delayed payment of salary to soldiers, which demoralized them

[51] See Introduction by the editor in *Shah Wali-Allah kay siyasi maktubat*, ed. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (New Delhi: Nadwat al-Musannifin, 1969), p. 36.

4. Emptiness of the state treasury
5. Abundance of fiefs (*jagir*s) in the Empire

Shah Wali-Allah also suggested solutions to these problems. Like Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, he employed the medium of correspondence or letter-writing. He wrote letters to his contemporary Mughal Emperors, members of nobility, army commanders, provincial governors, Muslim rulers of semi-independent states, and other influential people like tribal chiefs, etc., and gave them practical advice for improving the political, administrative and economic policies of the state. These letters have been compiled and translated into Urdu by the renowned Aligarh historian, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, with the title *Shah Wali-Allah kay siyasi maktubat*, published from New Delhi in 1969. It is important to note that Shah Wali-Allah had two political models in his mind: the Mughal Empire and the Ottoman Empire. What was common, among other things, was the emergence of semi-independent and autonomous states within these Empires. He did not view this process of political fragmentation in a negative way, as he did not believe in centralized and state structures, with concentration of power in the hands of a few. It is important to note that he was the first Muslim thinker of South Asia who linked the economy to the political conditions of the country, and realized the significance of economic factors in the state and politics. He highlighted the role of political economy in a polity. According to him, the most important causes of revolution in a society are the following: (i) economic disparity; (ii) heavy taxation; and (iii) over-staffing in state bureaucracy. He also suggested ways to overcome these problems. He stressed ensuring political and economic justice to the masses. He advised the rulers to minimize the burden of taxation on low-income groups such as small-scale farmers, petty traders and craftsmen. He urged the reduction of the size of the state machinery, and warned the rulers against the pursuit of selfish interests by organized and powerful political groups, such as groups of nobility at the Mughal court.

Regarding the question of land ownership, he believed that all land belongs to Allah, and He has merely allowed human beings to make use of it. To him, only those who make direct use of land (such as agricultural land) are entitled to own it. In this way, he rejected the concept of absentee landlordism in the Islamic economic system. He also wrote on the problems of the labour class, and discouraged the capitalists and the feudal lords (the *umara* and *mansabdar*s) who exploited the masses, and thereby created inequality in society. To him, the most important ideals or core values are *adl* or justice, which encompasses all the spheres of human life, and *tawazun* (economic equilibrium).

Shah Wali-Allah was also deeply concerned about the conditions of the Muslims in South Asia, and that is why he analysed the decline of the Muslim society as well. He identified the following three factors responsible for it:

1. Lack of strong faith among the Muslims
2. Lack of unity among the Muslims
3. Moral degeneration

Shah Wali-Allah also tried to arrest or halt the process of the decline of Muslim society through various measures. In order to overcome the problem of a lack of strong faith, he translated the Quran into the Persian language, titled *Fath al-Rahman,* in 1737. In those days, a vast majority of the Muslims (including the migrants and the native converts to Islam) were not familiar with the Arabic language, the language of the Quran. He believed that by understanding the real message of the Quran, the faith of the people would be strengthened. His translation of the Quran was the first systematic attempt of this kind in the Islamicate. In addition, he also gave a rational interpretation to fundamental Islamic beliefs in order to overcome the weakness of faith. For this purpose, he wrote *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* and *Al-Khair al-Kathir*.

In order to overcome the problem of disunity among the Muslims, Shah Wali-Allah used a 'synthesizing approach' to reconcile the various conflicting groups of the Muslim society. He tried to remove or minimize the differences among various schools of *fiqh* (such as Hanafis, Hanbalis, Shafis and Malikis, etc.), and wrote a treatise in Arabic titled *Insaf fi bayan-i sabab al-Ikhtilaf* (Justice in Explaining the Reasons of Differences) for this purpose. In this work, he highlighted the historical evolution of various schools of *fiqh* and the differences among them. Shah Wali-Allah also tried to bring harmony among the followers of the two sects of Muslims, namely the Sunni and the Shia, though he condemned the views of extremist Shia groups. He wrote a treatise in Persian titled *Izalat al-khafa un Khilafat al-Khulfa* (Removing the Mystery about the Caliphate) in order to reconcile the Sunni and Shia positions.[52]

Moreover, he also tried to remove the differences among the Sufi *silsilah*s that existed in South Asia, such as Chishti, Suhrawardi, Qadri and Naqshbandi *Silsilah*s, and bring their adherents close to each other. Not only that, he also tried to reconcile the Sufis and the rationalist philosophers, to whom Sufism was something irrational. He offered a rational interpretation of Sufi doctrines in order to reconcile Sufism with reason. He also tried to bring about reconciliation between the Sufis and the anti-Sufi *ulama* (scholars of Islam), who were opposed to Sufism and its doctrines and practices. Shah Wali-Allah tried to bring Sufism within the fold of *shariah* (the law of Islam), so as to make it acceptable to the *ulama*, who were the critics of Sufism. In fact, he tried to reconcile Sufism with the Quran and Sunnah. Like Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, he tried to reform Sufism by cleansing it of un-Islamic

[52] Sh. Muhammad Ikram, "Shah Waliullah: Life and Achievements in the Religious Sphere", in *A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1947*, vol. I (1707-1831), (Karachi: Board of Editors, History of Freedom Movement Project, 1957), pp. 498-500.

practices. Moreover, like Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, he tried to reconcile the conflicting Sufi philosophies of *Wahdat al-Wujud* (existential monism) and *Wahdat al-Shahud* (testimonial monism) by presenting their synthesized version. In this regard, he authored a treatise titled *Faisala Wahdat al-Wajud wa al-Shahud*.

In order to overcome the problem of moral degeneration among the people, Shah Wali-Allah advocated Sufism based on the Quran and Sunnah, as he believed that the Sufi doctrines, which are aimed at the purification of one's self or intentions, were necessary for the moral uplift of the people. To him, the spread of the teachings of the Sufi masters could help moralize the society. (Nevertheless, he warned that the Sufi works and poetry could be poison for the illiterate masses, as they might be misguided by them). Moreover, he also linked morality to the economic conditions of the society. He believed that sound economic conditions were a prerequisite for achieving high standards of morality (such as the absence of theft) in any society.[53] To him, a healthy economy is based on equitable distribution of wealth, circulation of wealth in a society, and the lack of exploitation of the poor. In the presence of economic problems (such as poverty or unemployment), high standards of morality could not be expected from the people, especially the poor and the needy. Moreover, Shah Wali-Allah believed that the moral reformation of the socio-political organization was more important than the establishment of an 'Islamic' society. As a macro-sociologist, he propounded his theory of *irtifaqat,* which dealt with the progressive stages in the development of social organization and their corresponding political orders.[54]

As far as Shah Wali-Allah's vision regarding the reform of the Mughal Empire and society is concerned, two points are mention-worthy:

1. Like Shaykh Ahmad, he also used the ' top-down' approach for the reformation of the society. He was convinced that without reforming the royal house, the nobility and the ruling elite, it was impossible to reform the common people of the society. In fact, he believed in the oft-quoted dictum that 'people follow the religion of their rulers.'
2. Shah Wali-Allah believed in gradually reforming the state and society. He never intended to bring about a revolution in the Mughal polity, as it might result in total breakdown of the political and legal order, disturbing peace, and deteriorating the law and order. He adopted both the long-term and short-term measures for reforming the state and society.

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[53] Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, *Shah Wali-Allah aur un ka falsafah* (Shah Wali-Allah and His Philosophy), 4th ed. (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1982), pp. 207-8.

[54] See details in Shah Wali Allah, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* (The Conclusive Argument from God), Eng. Trans. Marcia K. Hermansen (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2003), pp. 115-44.

> Shah Wali-Allah did not give a conventional interpretation to the concept of *khilafat*. He did not confine the concept of caliph or *khalifah* to only one person who exercises political authority; rather, he expanded it to include all human beings in the category as the *khalifah* or vicegerent or deputy of Allah on earth. To explain the concept of *khilafat*, he categorized it into two sub-concepts: (i) *Khilafat-i Zahri,* which included political authority related to the state; and (ii) *Khilafat-i Batni,* which included spiritual and religious authority.[55]

To him, historically speaking, the Caliphate or *khilafat* reflected the highest stage of political development, but he did not insist on its universal character. He argued that a transregional or supra-national Muslim polity could assume multiple forms. According to him, the need for the establishment of an Islamic state is rational and pragmatic. Certain duties, such as *jihad* (holy war), dispensation of justice, religious services, etc. cannot be performed without an Islamic state. The Caliph is necessary to carry out the duties performed by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).[56] However, to him, it was more important to capture the spirit of the Pious Caliphate Model, not the form, so that its principles could be applied according to the needs of the times.[57]

Shah Wali-Allah is considered to be the pioneer of 'intellectual modernism' in South Asia. Here it should be borne in mind that intellectual or religious modernism in South Asia, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, was not intellectually homogenous, and there had been a variety of intellectual positions among the modernists. In fact, the need to renew, revive or modernize religious traditions and institutions has been expressed in many different ways.[58] Moreover, diverse responses from the tradition-oriented Muslim societies have led to the emergence of the concept of 'multiple modernities'.[59] In addition, one needs to understand that Western modernism is only one of the many variants of modernism that have historically existed in the Islamicate. Indigenous modernism is not necessarily inspired by the Western modernism, and has its roots in indigenous thought.

Shah Wali-Allah rejected the presumed dichotomy between faith/tradition and

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[55] Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, *Islamic Renaissance in South Asia 1707-1867: The Role of Shah Wali Allah and His Successors* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2002), pp. 146-47.

[56] Muhammad al-Ghazali, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah* (Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Islamic Research Institute, 2001), pp. 84-85.

[57] Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Shah Waliullah: His Work in the Political Field", in *A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1947*, p. 536.

[58] Francis Robinson, "Islamic Reform and Modernities in South Asia", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 42, parts 2/3, March/May 2008, p. 281.

[59] See, for instance, Masoud Kamali, *Multiple Modernities, Civil Society and Islam: The Case of Iran and Turkey* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).

reason, and tried to reconcile them. He did not give a rigid and conventional interpretation of Islam; rather, he offered a rational interpretation of traditional Islamic beliefs. For this purpose, he wrote *Al-Khayr al-Kathir* and *Al-'Aqidah al-Hasanah*. He encouraged a direct approach to the Quran. He also wrote a treatise titled *Al-Fauz al-Kabir,* dealing with the principles of Quranic exegesis or *tafsir*. In addition, he pioneered the systematic study of Hadith in South Asia, which had previously been marginal among South Asian scholars of Islam. He wrote a commentary on Imam Malik's hadith collection *Muwatta*. He also highlighted the rational considerations behind ahadith.

Shah Wali-Allah developed a new tradition of *Ilm al-kalam* or scholasticism (the use of speculative reasoning in theological questions) in South Asia, as it had become outdated, having no contemporary relevance. He established it on the basis of the Quran and Sunnah, as well as substantive empirical evidence.[60] He also tried to establish the connection between the injunctions of *Shariah* and the innate urges of human nature. He was the first Muslim scholar of South Asia who put forward the argument that Islam is the natural religion of humanity, i.e. its injunctions are according to human nature.[61]

He almost rejected *taqlid* (literally meaning conformism), which is the belief that a person should follow one of the four schools of Sunni *fiqh*. In his treatise titled *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wal Taqlid*, he argued that the people who are well-versed in the Quran and Sunnah may choose to follow more than one school simultaneously. However, *taqlid* is recommended for the lay persons.[62]

The views of Shah Wali-Allah were quite radical regarding *ijma* (literally meaning consensus), which is considered a source of law based on the rulings or decisions of the earlier jurists or experts of Islamic law agreed upon by their majority. Unlike many other jurists, he did not accept *ijma* as an independent source of law. He rejected past *ijma*, and argued that the rulings of only the first three Pious Caliphs (Caliphs Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman) were binding for the Muslim community to follow. (He did not include the *ijma* of the times of the Pious Caliph Ali on the ground that there were conflicts and controversies among the people in his time). He asserted that the *ijma* of the later eras or medieval times was not binding for the

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[60] This new approach has given birth to altogether a new discipline called *Ilm-i Asrar al-Din*.

[61] Ahmad Dallal, "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850", Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 113, no. 3 (July-Sept 1993), p. 344. For instance, the arguments in defence of polygamy and against celibacy can be related to the natural human instincts. If celibacy is discouraged in Islam, it is owing to the fact that by nature, human beings seek permanent company of other human beings, particularly of other gender.

[62] Shah Wali-Allah, *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wal Taqlid*, Urdu tr. Muhammad Mian Siddiqui (Islamabad: Shariah Academy, 2000).

Muslims. Like *ijma*, he also refused to accept *qiyas* (analogical reasoning) as an independent source of law in Islam.

Shah Wali-Allah favoured *ijtihad* (literally meaning independent reasoning or judgment), which is the belief that if the Quran and Sunnah are silent about an issue, a jurist or expert in Islamic law may use his judgment to decide. He argued that the door of *ijtihad,* which was closed after the fall of Baghdad in the thirteenth century, needed to be reopened. To him, the scholars who were well-versed in Islamic sciences (Quranic studies, Hadith, *fiqh* or Muslim law) might not only undertake *ijtihad* but had the responsibility to do so.[63] Shah Wali-Allah believed that the needs of the present time, as well as those of the future, could not be met by laws framed during the medieval times.

Shah Wali-Allah was endowed with tremendous political vision and foresight. His ideas regarding the penal system of Islam and the revival of Islam were also quite radical and innovative. He maintained that the punishments imposed in the early period of the Muslim history were not definite, and thus they would not be strictly applicable in the future. Moreover, he believed that if Islam as a social and political force revived in the future, it would take on a new form. In other words, Islam, rooted in medieval traditionalism, was not suited to be revived in times to come. He encouraged the Muslims to shun old ways and traditions that have no basis in the Quran and Sunnah.

Primarily speaking, Shah Wali-Allah was a thinker or a man of ideas, but he also believed in political activism. He established a political party with the name Hizb Wali-Allah for furthering his political objectives. This party was organized by his son, Shah Abd al-Aziz (1746-1824) and Saiyyad Ahmad of Bareli (1786-1831). Moreover, Shah Wali-Allah wrote a letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali (1722-72), the founder of the Durrani Empire in Afghanistan, and invited him to attack India and crush the Maratha power. Abdali accepted the invitation, since he had already attacked India five times, and his son and deputy had already been expelled by the Marathas from the Punjab. He attacked India and defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in 1760-61.

The four sons of Shah Wali-Allah, namely Shah Abd al-Aziz, Shah Rafi al-Din, Shah Abd al-Qadir and Shah Abd al-Ghani, carried on his work after his death. Shah Wali-Allah's grandson (the son of Shah Abd al-Ghani), Shah Ismail Shahid, took an active part in the Jihad Movement against the Sikh rule in the Punjab and NWFP. The impact of Shah Wali-Allah's ideas on the subsequent Muslim political thought in South Asia is profound. He is seen as an intellectual inspiration behind almost all contemporary interpretations of Islam and schools of Muslim thought. The modernist thinkers such as Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan, Ubaid-Allah Sindhi,

[63] Mohammad Daud Rahbar, "Shah Wali Ullah and *Ijtihad*," *The Muslim World*, vol. 45 (October 1955), p. 357.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Ghulam Ahmad Pervaiz and Khalifa Abd al-Hakim, as well as religious groups such as Ahl-i Sunat wa al-Jama'at, Ahl-i Hadith, Deobandis and Jama'at-i Islami, view him as their intellectual precursor.[64] The centres of Muslim education in India, such as Deoband, Farangi Mahal, Nadwat al-Ulama Lucknow and Aligarh, assert their intellectual or spiritual indebtedness to his intellectual tradition. He is seen as a thinker who bridged the classical and the modern periods of Islamic history.

3.2 Compulsory Readings

A History of the Freedom Movement, 1707-1947, vol. I (1707-1831), (Karachi: Board of Editors, History of Freedom Movement Project, 1957), Sh. Muhammad Ikram, "Shah Waliullah: Life and Achievements in the Religious Sphere", (Chapter 16), pp. 491-511; and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Shah Waliullah: His Work in the Political Field", (Chapter 17), pp. 512-41.

Ghazi, Mahmood Ahmad, *Islamic Renaissance in South Asia 1707-1867: The Role of Shah Wali Allah and His Successors* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2002), Chapter 7: Society, Economy and Polity in Wali Allah's Thought, pp. 133-53 and Chapter 8:Wali Allah: The Intellectual and Academician", pp. 157-63.

3.3 Self-assessment Questions

Q. Which causes of the decline of the Mughal Empire were identified by Shah Wali-Allah, and what measures were recommended by him for arresting it?

Q. Examine the problems of the Muslim society in South Asia, and how Shah Wali-Allah tried to overcome them?

Q. Shah Wali-Allah is considered the pioneer of intellectual modernism in South Asia. How and why?

Q. Discuss the main features of the political philosophy of Shah Wali-Allah.

Q. Assess the contribution of Shah Wali-Allah in the field of Muslim law.

Suggested Readings

Al-Ghazali, Muhammad, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah* (Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Islamic Research Institute, 2001), Part three: Selection from *Hujjat Allah al-Balighah*, Section 7: "The Conduct of Rulers", pp. 165-67; and Part two, Section 4: "Political Epistles of Shah Wali Allah", pp. 127-30.

Jalbani, G. N., "Shah Wali Allah," in *The Muslim Luminaries: Leaders of Religious, Intellectual and Political Revival in South Asia* (Islamabad: National Hijra Council, 1988), pp. 15-56.

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[64] See Foreward by Marcia Hermansen in al-Ghazali, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shah Wali Allah*, p. v.

Unit: 4

SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN AND THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Written by: Muhammad Raza Taimoor
Reviewed by: Abdul Basit Mujahid

INTRODUCTION

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first among the Indian Muslims to recognize the British rule and to adopt modernism. As the British demolished the whole mantle of the traditional setup, the revival of the Muslim past as such became impossible. Therefore, Muslims had to revive under a modern setup and Sir Syed was a pioneer of this thought process. His educational setup at Aligarh acquired the status of a movement that laid down principles for Muslim politics under a modern setup. This chapter elaborates on the narration and the implications of accepting a modern system for the Muslims.

OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, the students will be able to:

- learn about the early Muslim development under the British
- explain the embracing of the modern system by the Muslims
- know the importance of the Aligarh movement for the Indian Muslims.

OUTLINES

4.1 Drive for Anglo Muslim Rapprochement
4.2 Response to the Emergence of Indian Nationalist Tendencies
4.3 Separate Muslim Identity
4.4 Two Nation-Theory
4.5 Reconciliation and Tolerance
4.6 Religious Thought and Rationalism

4.1 Drive for Anglo Muslim Rapprochement

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98) was born to a noble and religious family. His family had two types of ties: religious and political. Religiously, they were associated with the family of renowned Shah Waliullah; while, politically, his father and grandfather were under the service of ceremonial Mughul King Akbar II (predecessor of Buhadar Shah Zafar). However, Sir Syed preferred the East India Company for his life career, considering the de facto position of the latter. Actually, he was an admirer of the Company's administration and remained associated with the British during the chaos of 1857. Sir Syed was then appointed at Bijnaur. He saved English families from the inflictions of the revolutionaries by arriving at a settlement with the latter. For this, the British had all praise for him and trusted him for his services. This was the background in which Sir Syed acted as a mediator between the British and the Muslims.

After the failure of the Indian armed struggle against the British (1857) Sir Syed became assured of the British settlement in India for a long period. Therefore, he shed the idea of any revival of Muslim traditional rule in India. He deemed it desirable to develop amicable relations with the British for the survival of the community, which seemed to be at stake due to severe retribution of the British. Secondly, though the armed struggle was a joint gesture of both the communities (Hindus and Muslims), the British considered the Muslims solely responsible for it. Sir Syed was to calm down the wrath of the British against the Muslims and to transform the latter into a reliable subject of the British Raj so that they could prosper at the dawn of the modern age in India.

Sir Syed was from a religious background and had been given a traditional education. His early writings clearly showed the tendency of the traditional outlook imparted to him. However, his close contacts with the British persuaded him to change his outlook and with the Indian fate sealed in 1857, this change became a necessity to be adopted as the 'doctrine of necessity'. Gradually, he distanced himself not only from the traditional way of life but also from the outlook. He stopped penning traditional reads and worked solely for the better relations between the Muslims and the British. As a first gesture, he wrote a pamphlet "Causes of Indian Mutiny" in which he tried to convince the British that there were mistakes

on the part of the Company which prompted a mutiny by the natives. Secondly, he asserted that it was not only the Muslim community that was responsible for the mutiny; moreover, not all Muslims took part in the mutiny. By this, he meant to assuage the British towards the Muslims who had become the victims of revenge and retribution.

For this, he introduced many new trends and things. The Establishment of the Scientific Society (1863) was to familiarize the Muslims with European sciences by translating them into Urdu. The establishment of MAO College (1877) at Aligarh and Mohammadan Educational Association (1886) was to propagate Modern sciences among the Muslims, as he believed that only through modern education could Muslims emerge on the surface of normal life.

4.2 Response to the Emergence of Indian Nationalist Tendencies

A new development in India with the domination of the British was nationalism, a tendency popular in Europe for the integrity of certain people. For this, the British made a cunning move and instilled the passion for nationalism into the Indian population. For this, they carved a policy of divide and rule. Interestingly, to make this move successful, the British constituted the "Hindu" population by assimilating different and often hostile portions of the population towards each other into a single whole. Actually, there was no population with the label of "Hindu" on such a large scale before the British, but only the Brahman could be styled as Hindus and that is also with limitations. The factions that were labeled under "Hindu" were estranged towards each other and unaware of the move. However, with the advancement of political culture and with the torchbearer nature of the Indian National Congress, people with a common practice of idolatry and other superstitions accepted this label and testified to the British move. Thus, the British succeeded in erecting a majority to whom the national character of India could be assigned.

Against this majority, there was a Muslim minority, which could not be a minority if different Indian sections were not assimilated into the Brahman community, and were listed separately in the censuses of the British. With this arithmetic of the population, they could lay down the basis of divide and rule in which "Hindu" became more conscious of their so-called separate identity and the Muslims took the lead and had to be conscious likewise.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, though not critical of his master's move, was alarmed himself and warned the Muslims not to fall behind in the race in those fields where nationalism was taken into consideration. Specifically, he criticized the introduction of elections in India, as there was not a single nation in India and the system was not in favor of the Muslims. According to one report, Sir Syed gathered 40 thousand signatures against the introduction of elections in India. Similarly, when the Indian National Congress came into being (1885) and claimed to be the

sole representative political body of India, Sir Syed detested the claim and dissuaded the Muslims from participating in it, lest they lost their identity under this flag. In order to challenge the claim of the Congress, Sir Syed established the Patriotic Association (1886), in which Hindus were also included.
After Sir Syed doubted Indian Nationalism as a valid notion became familiar among the Muslims and they never accepted the constituted majority as decisive in the fate of the country. This tendency remained active throughout the British period and acquired the status of a characteristic in the making of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims.

4.3 Separate Muslim Identity

After the implementation of the Raj, Muslims were suspicious of getting a modern education as they considered it harmful for their faith; but when Sir Syed launched his school and college, Muslims readily responded and started sending their children to the institutions established on the model of MAO College. This was the first manifestation of the separate Muslim Identity. Other institutions were imparting the same education, but when a Muslim figure initiated this, Muslims recognized the effort. It was the effect of the fact that Sir Syed did not follow the lead blindly and introduced Islamic learning in his college to pacify the Muslims that they did not divorce religion while studying European sciences.
This thought pattern became legendary and the Muslims of India never accepted modernism until it was molded and made acceptable to the Muslim mind by adding some aspect of identity. In adopting any aspect of modern life, the Muslims kept the ideals of Islam in view. This trend remained intact till the creation of Pakistan, which was not without the promise of an ideological state with respect to the principles of Islam.

4.4 Two Nation-Theory

1867 was the year when a clear crack was drawn in the Indian Nationalism along religious lines, though the issue was not a matter of religion. The Hindus of Banaras protested against Urdu being the language of the court and insisted upon the proclamation of Hindi as the court language. Though the Hindus had some reasons for this demand, the move was not a reformist one but an agitated one. It aggravated the difference between Hindus and Muslims and the impression was propagated that the two communities could not make a peaceful co-existence as Urdu was the language that was a common heritage of both. If a common heritage could not unite the people, what else could be expected to be a cohesive force for developing national character? Moreover, the conflict was with the script as Urdu and Hindi are the same except for the script.

Besides this controversy, another development deepened the rift in the Hindu-Muslim controversy. That was the development of the Hindua revivalist movement, which, apart from reviving Hinduism, aimed to expel non-Hindus from India or make them convert to Hinduism. Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society were prominent movements in this regard. It can be inferred thus that consciousness of separatism among the Muslim started as a reaction to these movements and these were Hindus who laid down the basis of the Two-Nation-Theory.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was aware of this development and predicted the distrust between the two communities. He also took notice of Hindu revivalist movements and their political agitation, which aimed to harm the Muslims; therefore, he readily formed an organization named "Mohammadan Defense Association of Upper India" for a proper protest of Hindus' activities.

The prediction made by Sir Syed about the distrust between Hindus and Muslims contained a very important point which is related to the Tow-Nation-Theory. He stated that the rift would become more profound due to the role played by educated people. Actually, only educated people could understand the European notions of nationalism and they would promote it among the common people by acquiring the status of politicians and then rulers. And only educated people were capable of propounding the theories and the concepts. For this reason, Sir Syed focused on the education of the Muslims so that they could draw a line of action for their nation. It is clear that Sir Syed was not determined to fix any goal for the Muslim community, but he was assured of the fact that only educated Muslims could give an agenda to their fellow brethren.

4.5 Reconciliation and Tolerance

An important element of Sir Syed's policy was to resist the rigidity of Muslim clerics, which they developed along the course of time. He rejected many of their self-imposed restrictions regarding different aspects of life. His main concern was to harmonize the Muslim with the English norms by branding them fully lawful according to Islam and *Shariah*. It was imperative in an environment where animosity and rigidity towards the English could play havoc with the fate of the Mulsim community in India. However, many of his reforms regarding tolerating the English norms were also testified by the Muslim Law. For example, dining with the Christians was unnecessarily prohibited among the Muslims as there was no injunction found in Islamic Law. Therefore, Sir Syed advocated dining together with the Christians. It served his purpose of proving Muslims and their Law flexible and 'liberal'.

Similarly, he was not adamant about accepting the British as his rulers according to Shariah. He contended that if the British did not intervene in Muslims' religious matters, there was no reason to wage war against them, and they had the legitimacy

to rule the Muslim population. Thus, the Aligarh Movement paved the way for modernism among the Muslims and trained them in accepting the truth irrespective of the traditional practices.

4.6 Religious Thoughts and Rationalism

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan also commented upon the religious orthodox beliefs of Muslims and adopted a rational approach towards them. He practically suggested secularism for the Muslims, in which religious and worldly affairs are taken as separate conduct. Before discussing Sir Syed's reasoning, it is better to give a brief account of secularism.

4.6.1 Theoretical and Practical Bases for Secularism

Secularism is a result of deep philosophical movements spread over a large scale of time; hence, it is called philosophical theology.[65] It aimed to wreck religion by sharing ethics and knowledge with it. It was reinforced by scientific knowledge whose relation with religion was regarded as one of sharp opposition,[66] as the former ruled out many of the biblical propositions about the universe. Actually, secularism has its origin in the application of scientific reasoning to human life and conduct, thereby rendering religion irrelevant to human activity. However, relations of secularism with religion were not hostile but mutually exclusive.[67] Neither theism nor atheism entered into the secular scheme because neither is provable by experience.[68] For this reason, secularism stood distinct from other antireligious movements, i.e., atheism, agnosticism etc. This attitude softened the hearts of religious people who provided space for secularism without any warfare and bloodshed. All other antireligious movements gained credence through secularism, as it did not completely negate religion. Secularism can be styled as a transitional stage between religious and liberal worldviews because limits were drawn for it according to the ethics and knowledge. In the words of one of its principal authors, Holyoake, “We must be guided by reason, believing not what we desire, which gives the condition neither of certainty nor of conformity, but that which reason can vindicate.”[69] However, it soon transformed into liberalism and rationalism, which outrightlyrejects the possibility of God. Actually possibility of a God could not let secularism develop into liberalism because a God having no concern with material

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[65] B. Groethuysen, “Secularism”, *Encyclopedia of of the Social Sciences*, vol. XIII, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), 631a

[66] Eric S. Waterhouse, “Secularism”, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 11, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1962), 348b

[67] ibid

[68] ibid

[69] Ibid, 349a

does not make any sense;[70] hence, a futile concept which hinders the free thinking of a rational mind.

More details regarding the theoretical basis for secularism render the discussion an essay of philosophy[71] ; therefore, we now switch the analysis to practical aspects, which are directly related to the masses. The masses are more interested in material gains and do not even know the philosophical basis for some line of action. A strict attitude of religious classes further dissuades them from rejecting such a pleasure-making scheme of life. The challenge thus becomes more gigantic for reformists as the first stage to embark on any plan is to mould general opinion. Once the people are convinced, the state elites will not remain any considerable hurdle as these secular elites win the legitimacy to rule by having a vote bank of people and people are moved by promises of fulfilling basic needs.

4.6.1.1 Secularism in the Muslim World: Challenge and Response

Theoretical bases for secularism reveal that it was to dissuade people from religion without rejecting its spiritual aspects, but when the material aspect of life came into full focus with the miracles of techno-science, secularism was replaced by rationalism and positivism, which consider material only. Masses were fully unaware of these underlying currents and readily adopted the conduct. The same thing was exercised in Muslim lands when they were overpowered by Europeans. They took European occupation as Christian supremacy, which stood as a fallacy, as Christianity, in its traditional outlook, was rejected by modern Europe. In the face of this notion, the Muslims struggled hard in this so-called siege of Christianity against their faith. Consequently, Muslims successfully survived the onslaught of Christian missionaries who succeeded in proselytizing a population aplenty in America and Africa. However, secularism – the real threat – went unnoticed and Muslim thinkers were dodged by its appeasing and civilized spirit. What they struggled with was to replace their European elites with their own and the Western political system did not bother them as they regarded it as acquired from Islamic norms. Especially, Muslim thought was largely arrested by the concept of

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[70] Ibid, 349b

[71] From the philosophical side, weakness of secularism, as Holyoake presented it, consists in an inability to appreciate the between fact and value – a failure which is perhaps attributable to the dogmatic certainty which characterized the claims set forth in the name of science in the middle of 19th century. Whilst 'facts' i.e. abstractions from experience considered by themselves as science regards them, may be treated as matters of the intellectual knowledge alone, and permanence of values are poisted only by an act of faith. In attempting to construct ethical system of facts, analogous to mathematics or chemistry, to deal with knowledge and not with faith, secularism reveals its ignorance of a fundamental distinction it proposed to decide between competing values by a standard of fact, and spoke of truth and reason without any clear understanding of the relation of these terms to value, as it they gave self-evident proof of the existence of values and obvious means of distinguishing between competing values. Ibid, 349b

democracy, which had been rendered analogous to the early Muslim caliphate by great Muslim reformists. The principal protagonists of Islamic Revival accepted modernism as a model in which Islamic revival would work. Afghani, Abduh and Banna all wrote and worked in a modern frame.

4.6.1.2 Sir Syed's Reasoning about Religion

Unlike rejecting the Quran, Sir Syed embarked upon proving modern scientific reason from the Quran, an endeavor synonymous with that of Saint Thomas Aquinas, who did the same i.e. to prove Ptolemy's physics from the Bible. According to Sir Syed, the Quran is the word of God and the universe is the work; hence, there could be no controversy between the two. Consequently, nothing is mentioned in the Quran beyond the laws of nature. And if there seems to be something metaphysical, it could be interpreted according to the law of nature. By propounding this, Sir Syed dismantled the whole traditional belief system of the Muslims. Though the Muslims trusted Syed's efforts in educational and political fields, they tended to reject his views about the belied system out rightly and the affected were among his fellows as well.

However, a trend was set along the Syed's lines. Educated Muslims started comparing the Quran with the discoveries of Science and found that the two are compatible. Sir Syed's stance was so powerful that even clerics started repeating his works that Islam is a religion of nature. However, as we mentioned above, the trend is not new. Thomas Aquinas has practiced this and the result was the irrelevance of the religious text at the end because many things could not be proved by the Bible.

On the other hand, it is admissible that without adopting this approach, it was very difficult to persuade the Muslim community to acquire a modern education, as this system of education is based upon secular thought.

Rational thinking of educated Muslims created a rift among Indian Muslims and afterwards, there emerged two groups among them: one advocating for traditional Islam and the second for modern Islam. In the present times, the Muslim community of India and Pakistan is prone to this tussle and the situation has attained the status of stalemate.

However, it is again admissible that the Muslims did not take secularism as the Europeans embraced it. Even modern Muslims put checks and brakes when treating religion with rationality. At the most modern, Muslims advocate a political system which is not marred by the involvement of clerics; in turn, they do not consider the outlook of clerics with that of Islam.

4.7 Self Assessment Questions

Q. Sir Syed was the initiator of Muslims' identity in British India, discuss.
Q. What was the educational policy of Sir Syed?
Q. Describe the religious thoughts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Recommended Books

Hali, Altaf Hussain. *Hayat-i-Javid.* [Eternal Life], Lahore: 1980
Ikram, Sheikh Muhammad. *Muaj-i-Kausar.* [Muslims' Political Proceedings], Lahore: 1995

Unit: 5

UBAID-ALLAH SINDHI

Written by: Dr. Tanvir Anjum
Reviewed by: Dr Samina Awan

OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, the students will be able to:

- understand the political philosophy of Ubaid-Allah Sindhi
- learn about the salient features of the political party established by Sindhi
- define the political system envisaged by Sindhi for the solution of the multi-faceted problems of India
- grasp the elements of religious modernism in Sindhi' thought
- assess the impact of the thought of Shah Wali-Allah on the views of Sindhi

5.1 Ubaid-Allah Sindhi

Ubaid-Allah Sindhi (1872-1944) of Deoband School is among those very few political thinkers and activists who were trained in traditional *madrassah*s or theological seminaries but had a thorough understanding of their contemporary political and economic ideologies and were endowed with a deep vision and tremendous political foresight. Unlike most of his fellow *ulama* or scholars and political leaders of the Deoband School, he was receptive to modernism, though in a selective manner. It is for this very reason that he has been hailed as the most broad-minded Muslim scholar of South Asia after Shah Wali-Allah of Delhi (1703-1762). He was not only a profound thinker, but he was also an activist and a revolutionary. Amid the reactionary environment of *madrassah*s where he was trained, he was the first religious and political thinker of the twentieth century who was able to break away from traditionalism and embrace the various aspects of modernity, including political modernity.

Born in a Sikh family in District Sialkot in 1872, Ubaid-Allah Sindhi converted to Islam from Sikhism by his own choice during his schooldays in Jampur, District Dera Ghazi Khan. He spent some time in the *madrassah*s of Bharchundi Sharif (Distt. Ghotki, Sindh) and Dinpur Sharif (Distt. Rahim Yar Khan, Punjab). He became a disciple of Saiyyid al-Arifin Hafiz Muhammad Siddiq of Bharchundi Sharif (Distt. Sukkur), though later he received spiritual guidance and training from others as well. He joined the renowned theological seminary of Dar al-Ulum at Deoband (a town in northwestern UP) in 1889, and became a pupil of eminent scholars such as Mahmud Hasan (d. 1920), popularly known as Shaykh al-Hind, and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1905). There, he acquired profound knowledge of the Arabic language, *tafsir* (exegesis of the Quran), *hadith* (traditions of the Holy Prophet, PBUH), *fiqh* (Muslim law or jurisprudence), *falsafah* (philosophy) and *mantaq* (logic). In addition, he also got acquainted with the writings of the renowned Sufi scholar of Delhi, Shah Wali-Allah, and Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi (d. 1880), one of the founders of the Deoband School, which had a lasting impression on his thought.

Deoband was established in 1867 as an apolitical religious institution, but later, under the leadership of Mahmud Hasan, its graduates started political activism, and some of them played a very important role in Muslim politics. Ubaid-Allah Sindhi started his political career in 1908 when he was made the secretary of an association of Deoband graduates—Jamiat al-Ansar (Society of Helpers) in Deoband, founded by Mahmud Hasan.[72] The society had an apolitical character. Soon, Sindhi's views

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Notes and References

generated controversy in some circles of Deoband. As circumstances grew unfavorable for him due to his consequent opposition, he decided to leave Deoband in 1913. Mahmud Hasan sent him to Delhi, where he founded another institution named Nazarat al-Ma'arif al-Quraniyya with the aim of equipping the Western-educated Muslims with religious knowledge. Its patrons were Nawab Viqar al-Mulk (1841-1917), Hakim Ajmal Khan (1864-1927) and Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari (1880-1936). Soon, it became a platform for political debates. Here, Sindhi was introduced to Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931) and Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) by Dr. Ansari. So it was during 1913-15 that Sindhis became politically active and came in contact with the Muslim political leaders.

During the World War I (1914-18), when the British Indian forces left India to fight on the Middle Eastern and European fronts, the leading scholars of Deoband deemed the time ripe for liberating India from the imperial yoke. Mahmud Hasan planned to persuade the frontier tribes to wage war against the British. For this reason, he sent Sindhi to Kabul by himself in 1915 in order to muster the support of the Afghan government and urge the ruler of Afghanistan to attack India to keep the British Army occupied on the frontier. The British government, on the other hand, pressurized the Afghan government to prevent him from political activities. The attempt, nonetheless, could not become successful, and it is remembered in history as the 'Silk Letter Movement' of 1916. 73 Consequently, Sindhi got imprisoned and remained in the fort of Badakhshan for some time. Sindhi was forced to lead a life of exile for more than two decades, which proved very enlightening for him as he travelled far and wide, and got acquainted with international politics as well as his contemporary political ideologies and economic orders. He spent the next seven years (1915-22) in Afghanistan. He exchanged views with many influential people and political leaders, as a result of which his sentiments of Muslim brotherhood had begun to shake. He realized that the existence of quam (nation) in a geographical or territorial context was an objective reality. He soon became aware of the fact that the Afghans and the Indian Muslims constitute two separate nations, since each of them preferred not to work with the other as a subordinate.74 In addition, the Arab Revolt of 1916 against the Ottoman Empire had also shaken Sindhis' belief in Islamism. Before leaving India, Sindhi had a heightened vigour for Muslim unity, but his pan-Islamic dream began to fade when he was in Kabul, where he realized that the Arabs, Turks and Afghans had

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[72] Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 28-29.

[73] M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 78-80.

[74] Muhammad Sarwar, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi: Halat-i Zindagi, Talimaat aur Siyasi Afkar* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1967), p. 30.

their own interests and specific needs.[75]

Convinced of the futility of communal politics, Sindhis along with some associates of the Ghadar Movement and Indo-German-Turkish Mission, formed the Provisional Government of India in Kabul in December 1915. Raja Mahendra Pratap (d. 1979) was made life president of the Provisional Government of India, Muhammad Barkat-Allah Bhopali (d. 1975) was appointed the Prime Minister, while Ubaid-Allah Sindhi was entrusted with the portfolio of the Home Ministry.[76] This Provisional Government dealt directly with the Afghan Government, and also sent missions to the governments of Russia, Turkey and Japan to seek their help for the freedom of India, but the missions failed to achieve the desired results.[77] Sindhi's collaboration with a Hindu and the non-Muslim foreign governments bear ample testimony to his liberal and non-communal outlook in political affairs.

In 1919, he established a paramilitary organization with the name of Jund Allah or Junud-i Rabbaniyya (The Army/Armies of God). He mustered the support of the people, including the pirs who were enlisted and given high ranks in the army. Eventually, he became successful in raising an army of 100,000 against the British. However, the Afghan ruler, Amir Habib-Allah Khan (r. 1901-1919) urged him to seek the support of the Hindus for the liberation of India from the colonial yoke. Thus, Sindhi joined the Indian National Congress in 1919, and established an independent Congress Committee of Kabul in 1922, and himself became its president. Later, he got it affiliated with the Indian National Congress in the same year in its Gaya (Bihar) session through the efforts of Dr. Ansari.[78] Thus, it became the first branch of the Congress to work outside India.

From Kabul, he went to Moscow in 1922 and stayed there for eight months. During this period, he closely observed the emergence of Soviet Russia from the ruins of Tsardom. He also observed the revolutionary changes introduced by the Bolsheviks from close quarters. Moreover, he also studied the fundamental tenets of socialism. He held discussions regarding Islam, socialism, and their compatibility. From Russia, Sindhi went to Turkey in 1923 and stayed there for three years. During his stay in Istanbul, he carefully observed the emergence of modern secular Turkey under the dynamic leadership of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk (1881-1938). He met a number of political leaders, including Ismat Pasha, the Prime Minister of Turkey.

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[75] K. H. Ansari, "Pan-Islam and the Making of the Early Indian Muslim Socialists", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, (1986), p. 517.

[76] Mahendra Pratap, *My Life Story of Fifty Five Years* (Dehrandun: World Federation, 1947), p. 51.

[77] Muhammad Hajjan Shaikh, *Maulana Ubaid Allah Sindh: A Revolutionary Scholar* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), pp. 48-62.

[78] M. Moizuddin, "Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi" in *The Muslim Luminaries: Leaders of Religious, Intellectual and Political Revival in South Asia* (Islamabad: National Hijra Council, 1988), pp. 203-4.

Sindhi shaped his political ideology during his eventful stay in Istanbul. There, he founded the Mahabharat Sarvrajia Party in 1924. He himself became its president, whereas his close associate, Zafar Hasan Aibak, was made its Secretary General.
In 1926, Sindhi left Turkey for Arabia and spent the next thirteen years of his life there. He spent these years in Makkah, studying and interpreting the teachings of the Quran in the light of Shah Wali-Allah's works, particularly his monumental book Hujjat al-Allah al-Balighah. He delivered lectures and also wrote books and articles. In 1939, he returned to India when the British Government permitted him to do so. He formed another political party named Jamna Narbada Sind Sagar Party in 1939. He spent the rest of his life in austerity and simplicity, propagating the teachings of Shah Wali-Allah till his death in August 1944 in Sindh. Ubaid-Allah Sindhi has been hailed as Imam-i Inqalab or the 'Leader of Revolution' since his whole political philosophy revolves around the ideas of change and revolution. In fact, wherever he went from Kabul, he witnessed revolutionary changes which he deeply observed and analyzed with an open mind. Shah Wali-Allah's thought served as a beacon and guiding light for him. In short, Ubaid-Allah Sindhi's travels outside India greatly facilitated him in comprehending the changes and challenges all over the globe, and eventually reaching a solution to the Indian problems. He came back to his country with a heightened vigour and force of argument, a deepened vision and insight and a fresh clarity of ideas.
The political vision of Sindhis can be assessed from the Constitution of the Mahabharat Sarvrajia Party (All India People's Republican Party), which he founded in 1924. The name of the Party reflects its non-communal character. The political vision he envisaged and the political party he founded promised the Indians a rule with power shared by all classes, strata and sections of society irrespective of their caste, class, colour or creed. He drafted the Party's constitution titled The Constitution of the Federated Republics of India, published from Istanbul in 1924, which envisaged his political and socio-economic vision. When it was sent to India, its copies were confiscated by the British Government. According to this Constitution, the aims and objectives of the Sindhis' program were as follows:[79]

1. Winning complete independence for India;
2. Establishment of a confederal form of government in liberated India;
3. Safeguarding of Islam, the Muslims and other minorities living in India;
4. Formation of a government in India dominated by the working class (peasantry, labour, and intelligentsia);
5. Abolition of feudalism and capitalism from the country so that the people could not be deceived by the lures of Communism; and
6. Establishment of an Asiatic Federation to counter imperialism and colonialism.

[79] Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Aap Biti*, vol. 2 (Lahore: Mansur Book House, n.d.), pp. 101-2.

The Constitution of the Federated Republics of India presents a clear picture of the political and socio-economic ideals of Ubaid-Allah Sindhi. He rejected the idea of India as an indivisible single entity and the notion of creating a single nationhood, which was advocated by the Indian nationalists. According to him, the Indian Sub-continent was, geographically speaking, quite naturally divided into three distinct zones: north-western, eastern and southern zones. He promulgated the idea of dividing India into three such zones along linguistic and cultural lines. All three zones were thus to be declared as republics or democracies. The North-western Indian Republic was to comprise East Punjab, West Punjab, the Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sindh, Balochistan and Gujarat. Similarly, the Eastern and Southern Indian Republics were also to form two separate republics or democratic states. These three Republics were then to join a 'Central Government of the Federated Republics of India'. Thus, Sindhi's Constitution envisaged a unique form of confederalism for the country, where the electoral system was to be based on universal adult franchise, i.e. all adult men and women were to be granted suffrage. To Sindhis, the representation in the Assembly was not to be based upon territorial electoral constituencies. He advocated a system of proportional representation in the Legislative Assemblies so that the peasantry, labour and intelligentsia could be represented and have a say in the decision-making. Every social stratum was to elect its own representatives for the Parliament according to its population. The masses were to be professionally represented, creating a majority of the working class in the proposed Assembly. The Parliaments or the Legislative Assemblies of the three Republics were to be dominated by peasantry, labour/manual workers and intelligentsia (those involved in mental labour), constituting the majority of the country's population.

Sindhi also laid down some cardinal economic and socio-political principles for the conduct of these Republics. These can be briefly summed up in the following:[80]

All public utilities were to be nationalized, i.e. to be taken over by the state. The profit earned from the production units (industries, etc.) was not to be taken up by the state, but to be shared by the whole working class.

Private ownership of movable and immovable property was to be restricted and property exceeding a prescribed limit was also to be taken over by the state.

Wealthy and affluent persons were to be excessively taxed, which could go as high as 60% of their income.

All big landholdings were to be nationalized and the feudal system was to be abolished. However, in Republics having a clear Muslim majority, landlords were to be forced to renounce the ownership of their lands according to the decision taken by the second Pious Caliph Umar (r. 634-44), and according to another verdict by Imam Abu Hanifah (699-767), absentee landlordism or rent-farming was also to be

[80] Ibid., pp. 106-8.

abolished by force. These landlords would be permitted to work as agents of the government.

i. Every agriculturist family could retain that much land which it could directly cultivate by itself.
ii. Usury or interest was to be completely abolished, and all old debts of workers were to be written off. Arrangements would be made for granting interest-free loans to the people in the future.
iii. Labour unions were to run the nationalized industries, and the workers were to be granted a share of the profit.
iv. Free accommodation and medical facilities were to be provided to the workers.
v. Education till middle school was to be free and obligatory for every child.
vi. International trade and commerce were to be placed in the hands of the Central Government, while the domestic commercial activities were to fall under the jurisdiction of co-operative societies. However, the merchants and traders could become members of these societies.
vii. Every Republic was to declare its state religion, which was necessarily to be the religion professed by its majority. But the religion should not contradict the cardinal economic and social principles of the party program mentioned above.
viii. The three Republics were not to be responsible for their foreign affairs, defense and international trade and commerce, which were to be controlled by the Central Government of the Federated Republics of India.
ix. It also envisioned the formation of an Asiatic Federation in the future to counter imperialism. Governments were to be established in Asia along the lines of the above-mentioned principles. Moreover, Russia was also to be included in the Federation.

The membership of the Party was open to all irrespective of caste, creed or colour, but it was mandatory for the members was to keep down their needs and comforts of life to the standard of an average cultivator in the country. Therefore, any property exceeding one's needs was to be transferred to the party.81 It shows that Sindhis believed in creating a certain level of economic equality among the people in the country, and those who had an active interest in politics and wished to be party members were required to sacrifice their possessions. Moreover, it was not merely equality in economic terms which Sindhi intended to create; it was social equality as well, which he idealized. He wanted to establish a permanent system of

[81] Shaikh Muhammad Hajan, "The Political Thought of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi", in *The Quest for Identity* (Proceedings of the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture Held at the University of Islamabad, April 1973), vol. III, eds. Waheed-uz-Zaman and A H Dani (Islamabad: University of Islamabad Press, 1974), p. 124.

economy to save the peasants, workers and the intelligentsia from falling into debt and poverty, as well as the country from foreign loans.82

According to Ubaid-Allah Sindhi, the central government was to be secular in nature, and the Centre was not to be concerned with matters of faith, though the federating units or republics were allowed to declare their state religions. Since India had a multi-religious population and the Hindus were in an overwhelming majority, he was particularly conscious of the Hindu sensitivities. Therefore, he proposed that cow slaughter should be banned in areas having a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims83 so that the people having multi-religious backgrounds could live side by side in harmony and peace.

Though Ubaid-Allah Sindhi borrowed heavily from the socio-economic principles enunciated by Shah Wali-Allah, the former elaborated the Wali-Allahi views, and also translated them into a modern language in order to address the contemporary problems. He attempted to present a unique blend of nationalism and internationalism in his political philosophy. Moreover, it was Sindhi who first talked about an alternative system of parliamentary form of government. His idea of creating a Federation of Indian Republics, propounded in 1924, was an appropriate solution of the Indian problems, keeping in view the contemporary political realities. At that time, the Khilafat Movement had come to a close, shattering the hope of the Hindu-Muslim unity in the political arena.

Regarding the question of Indian nationalism, Sindhis believed that India was not a single country having one single nation, and maintained that India was the home of many nationalities. He considered the cultural and linguistic affinities to be the basis of a nation. To him, India resembled Europe, where the English, French, Germans and Italians, etc. were considered different nations. He defined a nation as a collectivity of men united by ties of language and culture. But India could not be divided into many petty states like the Balkan States. 84 The only solution, according to him, was that every unit should be granted freedom and autonomy, and the centre should bind them together. He asserted the fact that nations speaking different languages are forced to create a commonality by ideological unity, which is sometimes provided by religion and sometimes by an economic ideology, such as in Communism. Therefore, unity created by such a hegemonic ideological commonality cannot be termed national; rather, it is international in nature.85 He presented a blend of the communal and nationalist stances represented by the All

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[82] Zafar Hasan, *The Mahabharat Sarvrajia Party*, Istanbul, September 25, 1924, p. 29, as quoted in Shafquat Hussain Razvi, "Mawlana Obaidullah Sindhi: A Political Study", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XLIII, part II (1995), p. 113.

[83] Hajan, "The Political Thought of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi", p. 125.

[84] Sarwar, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, p. 425.

[85] Ibid., p. 426.

India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, respectively.

Sindhi was a realist political thinker, and his pragmatic approach can be best illustrated by his insistence that his fellow countrymen should admit their defeat at the hands of the British, and acknowledge the fact that their way of living, cultural traditions and legal system had been undermined by the ideological onslaughts and the policies of the West. Sindhi also declared his dissociation with all pan-Islamic movements. He refused to recognize any international religious convention or any religio-political institution like Khilafat.[86] He favoured the establishment of a political setup run by an elected body or parliament, and headed by an elected caliph. In fact, he de-emphasized the role of the caliph in an institutionalized political system at a time when the primacy of the Ottoman Caliphate was "an article of faith among Indian Muslims."[87] Sindhi criticized his contemporary ulama who insisted on reviving the Caliphate. He maintained that the political system of the Pious Caliphate could not be revived in contemporary times. The Pious Caliphate, suitable for its coeval social and political environment, could not necessarily be viable for the subsequent ages. It was only in the light of the basic principles of the Pious Caliphate that new forms of 'Quranic Governments' could be evolved in the future.[88]

Sindhi himself claimed that he was the first Indian to present the idea of dividing India in Kabul in 1916,[89] but it has been asserted that Sindhi's Party program was not taken seriously by his contemporary political leaders. The only exception was perhaps Lala Lajpat Rai (d. 1928), one of the founders of Hindu Mahasaba, who, after having inspiration by Sindhis' plan, presented his own scheme of partition. Some of the Muslim leaders, such as Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, and the Unionist leader, Sir Fazl-i-Husain (d. 1936), also appreciated the Sindhi party's program. Nonetheless, he remained a voice on the margins, and he himself knew that very few people understood his mission and philosophy. He remained outside the mainstream politics in India represented by the two major political parties, the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League.[90]

Ubaid-Allah Sindhi was a liberal and tolerant religious thinker who believed in the universality of the divine message. He believed that the sacred scriptures of other

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[86] Muhammad Sarwar, *Ifadat wa Malfuzat-i Hazrat Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1972), pp. 51-52.

[87] Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 60.

[88] Sarwar, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, p. 55.

[89] Muhammad Aslam, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi kay Siyasi Maktubat* (Lahore: Nadwat al-Musannifin, n.d.), pp. 60-61.

[90] Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (Cambridge; MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 225.

religions manifest the same reality in their respective ages. He argued that the Quran contains hikmah or wisdom, which needs to be differentiated from the laws. The hikmah or wisdom of the Quran is eternal, universal and unalterable, whereas the laws are time and space-specific.[91] Therefore, the laws derived from the Quran should not be considered eternal or universally binding. Sindhis insisted on a liberal reinterpretation of Islam, especially the fiqh (Muslim jurisprudence or the codified law of Islam) in order to fulfill the needs of people living in their respective times and spaces.[92] The laws of Muslim fiqh were not eternally binding for all times to come.[93]

Like Shah Wali-Allah, Ubaid-Allah Sindhi believed that the revival of Islam as an intellectual, social and political force in his contemporary times or future is possible, but he also believed that the traditions of the early period of the Muslim history could not be resurrected in the same old form. He argued that in order to revive Islam and make it an intellectual, social and political force, there was a need to rethink the dynamics of revival and change. He stressed the need to work for the revival of Islam, keeping in view the demands of the modern age. However, the spirit of the old order was to be captured, which was the spirit of the Quran and Islam, but, in his opinion, the new order that would appear in the future would appear altogether in a new garb.[94] According to Sindhi, Islam could again emerge as a dynamic force if the spirit and essence of Islam are accorded precedence over adherence to rituals. He was very critical of the exclusive focus on ritualism and ceremonialism in the religious practices of Islam.[95]

Sindhi is often accused of subscribing to the socialist ideology. In fact, for him, socialism was an effective tool that could be used in the nationalist struggle against the British. Like many other early Muslim socialists, he did not reject Islam in favour of socialism; in fact, he tried to bring socialism within the framework of Islam, and make the two ideologies compatible with each other.[96] His variant of socialism was not atheistic; it was theistic socialism. Sindhi is also accused of intellectual oscillation by his critics. They forget that political ideas may evolve and develop over time. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's political thought was, for instance, also evolutionary. Sindhi cannot be termed as a Communist or a pan-Islamist. His political thought was evolutionary, like many other political thinkers, and it should be understood as such.

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[91] Sarwar, *Ifadat wa Malfuzat-i Hazrat Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, pp. 124-25. See also Sarwar, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, pp. 45, 274.

[92] Sarwar, *Ifadat wa Malfuzat-i Hazrat Mawlana Ubaid Allah Sindhi*, p. 199.

[93] For details, see Sarwar, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, pp. 242-60.

[94] Ibid., pp. 176-77.

[95] Sarwar, *Ifadāt wa Malfuzāt-i Hazrat Mawlānā Ubaid-Allah Sindhi*, pp. 92, 38, 114.

[96] Ansari, "Pan-Islam and the Making of the Early Indian Muslim Socialists", p. 537.

5.2 Self-assessment Questions

Q. Ubaid-Allah Sindhi was a modernist and a liberal political thinker. Do you agree?

Q. Discuss the main features of the political thought of Sindhis with special reference to the Mahabharat Sarvrajia Party, and its Constitution.

Q. Identify and analyze the elements of religious modernism in the thought of Sindhi.

5.3 Compulsory Readings

Muhammad Hajan, Shaikh, "The Political Thought of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi", in *The Quest for Identity* (Proceedings of the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture Held at the University of Islamabad, April 1973), vol. III, eds. Waheed-uz-Zaman and A. H. Dani (Islamabad: University of Islamabad Press, 1974), pp. 117-29.

Sarwar, Muhammad, *Mawlana Ubaid-Allah Sindhi: Halat-i Zindagi, Talimaat aur Siyasi Afkar* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1967), pp. 55-78, and 331-40.

5.4 Suggested Readings

Shaikh, Muhammad Hajjan, *Maulana Ubaid Allah Sindh: A Revolutionary Scholar* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), pp. 159-78.

Moizuddin, M., "Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi" in *The Muslim Luminaries: Leaders of Religious, Intellectual and Political Revival in South Asia* (Islamabad: National Hijra Council, 1988), pp. 198-219.

Unit: 6

ALLAMA INAYATULLAH KHAN MASHRIQI

Written by: Muhammad Raza Taimoor
Reviewed by: Abdul Basit Mujahid

INTRODUCTION

Indian soil is famous for producing giants in various fields. Allam Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi was one of them. He had a promising career, but his actual height lay in his abandoning of this career and starting a movement for the common. He was an icon who could not conform to the popular ideas. That was why his movement could score considerably in the politics. His political philosophy could not be absorbed by the general masses; however, it reflects the broad spectrum of Islamic thought in the field of politics. This chapter seeks to probe the thought and philosophy of Allam Mashriqi.

OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, the students will be able to:

- relate the philosophy of Allama Mashriqi to the Muslim political thought.
- explain the absorption of modernism by Muslim thinkers of India
- know the political struggles of Indian Muslims

OUTLINE

Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi

6.1 Divine Sociology
6.2 Concept of Khilafat
6.3 Muslim Revivalism
6.4 Self-Purification and Leadership

Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi was born in a respectable and well-to-do Rajput family in Amritsar on August 25, 1888. His ancestors held prominent positions in the Mughal court. Allama Mashriqi liked reading and had a strong inclination for mathematics from his childhood. In school, he always got a number of awards and scholarships and was popular amongst his teachers and friends. After completing intermediate, he was admitted to the celebrated Forman Christian College, Lahore, where he distinguished himself by securing the first position in his Master's in mathematics at the age of 19. Then he proceeded to England for higher studies, where he had a distinguished career and took a number of degrees with distinction. At Cambridge, one of his teachers was a distinguished 20th-century scholar and authority on astronomy, Professor James Jeans, with whom he often shared thought-provoking dialogues. After completing his education in England, he traveled around Europe and returned to India in 1912. At the age of 25, he was appointed the vice-principal of the Islamia College, Peshawar, by the Chief Commissioner, Sir George Roos-Keppel (at that time equivalent to the governor). He was made principal of the same college in 1917. Thus, he served as the youngest Vice-Principal and Principal of the college. Owing to his outstanding caliber, competence and capability, he was appointed undersecretary, Government of India, in the education department. Sir George Anderson held the same position prior to Allama Mashriqi's appointment and was much older when he joined the education department. Thus, he was the youngest Indian to hold these important positions. Later on, he was offered the ambassadorship of Afghanistan at the age of 32 and the title of Sir at the age of 33, but both of them he straightforwardly declined. After serving for about 17 years in the education department, he proceeded to launch a movement known as Khaksar Tehreek. The Khaksars were volunteers mostly belonging to the lower middle class. However, it also attracted a number of youth, the highly educated and well-to-do class of Muslims from the sub-continent who liked his strict army discipline and austere way of life. Allama Mashriqi wrote many books, the most famous of which was Tazkirah (in two volumes), a commentary on the Holy Quran and the Laws of Nature. Other books he wrote include Isharat, Qaul-i-Faisal, Hedithul Quran, Farogh-i-Islam, and Takmilah. Some of his books remained incomplete at the time of his death. He died of cancer in Lahore in August 1963.

6.1 Divine Sociology

Mashriqi had a passion for mathematics from his childhood. He completed his Master's degree in Mathematics from the University of the Punjab at the age of 19 and broke all previous records. In October 1907, he matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, England, to read for the mathematics tripos. He was awarded a college foundation scholarship in May 1908. In June 1909, he was awarded first-class honours in Mathematics Part I, being placed joint 27th out of 31 on the list of wranglers. For the next two years, he read for the oriental languages tripos in parallel to the natural sciences tripos, gaining first-class honours in the former and - third-class - honors in the latter. After three years' residence at Cambridge, he had qualified for his Bachelor of Arts degree, which he took in 1910. In 1912, he completed a fourth tripos in mechanical sciences and was placed in the second class. Following the year, Mashriqi was conferred with a DPhil in mathematics, receiving a gold medal in his doctoral graduation ceremony. He left Cambridge and returned to India in December 1912. During his stay in Cambridge, his religious and scientific conviction was inspired by the works and concepts of the professor Sir James Jeans.

On his return to India, Mashriqi was offered the premiership of Alwar, a princely state, by the Raja. He declined owing to his interest in education. At the age of 25, he was appointed Vice Principal of Islamia College, Peshawar, by Chief Commissioner Sir George Roos-Keppel. He was made Principal of the same college in 1917. In Oct 1917, he was appointed Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Education Department in succession to Sir George Anderson (1876–1943). He became headmaster of the High School, Peshawar, on 21 October 1919. Aged 32, he was offered an ambassadorship to Afghanistan, which he declined. In 1930, he was passed over for a promotion in the government service, following which he went on medical leave. In 1932, he resigned, taking his pension, and settled down in Ichhra, Lahore. In 1924, at the age of 36, Mashriqi completed the first volume of his book, Tazkirah. It is a commentary on the Qur'an in the light of science. It was nominated for the Nobel Prize in 1925, subject to the condition that it was translated into one of the European languages. Mashriqi, however, declined the suggestion of translation.

Mashriqi was interested in the conflict within various religions. Instead of getting disgusted with the conflict and discarding religion, he tried to fathom the fallacy. To him, messengers from the same Creator could not have brought different and conflicting messages to the same creation. He could not conceive of a contradictory and conflicting state of affairs in the Universe, nor could he accept the conflict within various religions as real. Either Religion was a fraud and the prophets were impostors who misguided and disrupted mankind, or they were, misinterpreted by their followers and misunderstood by mankind. He delved into the religious scriptures and concluded that all the prophets had brought the same message to

man. He analysed the fundamentals of the Message and established that the teachings of all the prophets were closely linked with the evolution of mankind as a single and united species, in contrast to other ignorant and stagnant species of animals. It was on this basis that he declared that the science of religions was essentially the science of collective evolution of mankind; all prophets came to unite mankind, not to disrupt it; the basic law of all faiths is the law of unification and consolidation of the entire humanity. According to Markus Daeschel, the philosophical ruminations of Mashriqi offer an opportunity to re-evaluate the meaning of colonial modernity and the notion of post-colonial nation-building in modern times.

6.2 Concept of Khilafat

Allama met and exchanged correspondence with different world leaders on the issue of Muslims in India. Allama exchanged views on the issue of Muslims with different Kings and other prominent leaders of Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Tunis, Egypt, Iraq, and Turkey. He was also in constant contact with Muslim leaders in India, such as Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, Maulana Abu Kalam Azad, Sir Zia ud Din (Khaksar), Sir Zafar Ullah, Sir Suleman and other important distinguished personalities of the time. Allama was in contact with Non-Muslim leaders as well. He wrote letters to Mahatma Gandhi in order to bring reconciliation between him and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah over political issues. Other leaders he was in contact with included Jawaharlal Nehru (later became the Premier of India) and Rajagopalchariar (Premier of Madras). Mashriqi visited many countries in connection with Muslim affairs and was invited to Saudi Arabia by the King as a State Guest. He led a delegation at Motmar-i-Khilafat in Cairo, Egypt. This was where he delivered his historic speech, "Khitab-i-Misr." Allama also attended the Palestine World Conference and was the President of the World Faiths Conference (1937). In short, he was working continuously for the freedom of the Muslims of India and for the welfare and future of Muslims around the world.

Mashriqi is often portrayed as a controversial figure, a religious activist, a revolutionary, and an anarchist; while at the same time, he is described as a visionary, a reformer, a leader, and a scientist-philosopher who was born ahead of his time. After Mashriqi resigned from government service, he laid the foundation of the Khaksar Tehrik (also known as Khaksar Movement) in 1930. Mashriqi was opposed to the partition of India, which he believed played into the hands of the British.

Allama was constantly working for the welfare of Muslims before and after the creation of Pakistan. He met and exchanged correspondence with Quaid-i-Azam on the issue of Muslims of the Sub-Continent. Allama also met and/or was in contact with domestic leaders of Pakistan, such as Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin, Governor General Ghulam Mohammad, President

Sikandar Mirza and President Ayub Khan at different times in order to discuss the future of Muslims in Pakistan and Kashmir. Mashriqi was extremely dedicated to the cause of Kashmir and continued his efforts even after Pakistan was created. He wanted to see Kashmir liberated during his lifetime. Until the last days of his life, Allama stayed in contact with President Ayub Khan and offered him any services from the Khaksar Tehrik that could help solve the issue of Kashmir.

Allama had millions of followers. His followers and supporters came from every walk of life, rich and poor, from the general public, to Nawabs, Sirs (title given by the British Government) and Government Officials, including Federal Ministers, and Army Generals. He was respected by everyone, even politicians and Heads of State, despite their differences on political issues. All the Khaksars in his party were volunteers who were devoted to his movement's cause. They joined the movement with no personal interests or motives. The Khaksars were extremely dedicated people. If Allama asked the Khaksars to move from one place to another for public service or called them for a convention/meeting, they all followed his orders blindly and willingly at any time, day or night. They knew that Allama was an extremely honest, selfless, and devoted person and that whatever he did was for the welfare of the Muslims of Indo-Pak. Allama inspired and motivated his followers by making personal sacrifices, which people could see in his daily life. Because of the examples set by Allama, the Khaksars devoted their time, energy, and finances to the cause of the Muslims. Everyone in the Khaksar Tehrik, including Allama Mashriqi, was treated equally. They all wore the same simple khaki dress. If Allama made a mistake, he was punished in the same manner that any other Khaksar would have been punished. Allama made no distinction between himself and his fellow Khaksars and treated everyone with full respect.

Mashriqi devoted his life to the Muslim causes of rebuilding the nation and obtaining independence. He always put the Muslim cause before his own self and his family. One of Mashriqi's own sons, Ehsanullah Khan Aslam, was injured when hit by a police tear gas grenade during a raid on the Khaksar headquarters in Lahore on March 20, 1940. As a result of his injury, Mashriqi's son died on May 31, 1940. Throughout his life, Mashriqi was not only concerned about the future of the Muslims in India, Pakistan, and Kashmir, but also Muslims in other parts of the world.

6.3 Muslim Revivalism

Pan-Islamism emerged in the wake of Islamic Revivalism. Therefore, it is better to have a brief look at the nature of the Islamic revivalism. Islamic revivalism made its appearance with the loss of Muslim political hold upon the World. The European colonized the Muslim lands, which started from the eighteenth century up to the first half of the twentieth century. It provoked an upheaval in the Muslim societies in the world. The European social and political ideas proved more appealing than

the Muslim traditional conduct. Obviously, European civilization had a vivid effect on the lives of the conquered people. Those who visited Europe and themselves witnessed European societies were convinced that they were far better. They stressed the need to adopt the same measures which helped Europe to upgrade its society. The ideas such as democracy, fair play, justice and discipline fascinated the educated bourgeoisie of Muslim countries. They endeavored to introduce them in their native lands. But the *Ulema* expressed their apprehensions about the secular character of European civilization. The local population, who believed in the precedence of religion, used to see an alien civilization with hatred for both its merits and demerits. Traditional *Ulema,* with all their energies, started dissuading people from adopting a European lifestyle and acquiring a school and college education, considering their secular character a threat to their faith. They even discredited the technological progress of Europe.

Despite their immense influence upon the common man, *Ulema* could not give any better alternative to the political and academic systems of Europe. The only field in which they could satisfy the masses was to tell the details of the Islamic creed. They successfully stemmed the tide of Christian missionaries who failed to proselytize any considerable number from the Muslim population.[97] Consequently, it is a general trend even today that the ordinary Muslim looks for guidance from *Ulema* where matters of belief are concerned; while in the case of worldly affairs, they gradually leaned towards European civilization.

This practice, of reducing religion to the boundaries of dogma only, would give Islam a status which Christianity experienced in Europe; that is, the religion is a private matter of any individual and has nothing to do with national interests. A rich legacy of Islamic literature left by thousands of celebrated scholars of the medieval ages could not let the *Ulema* keep quiet on the issue, so they made their influence more profound in this way or that. But this practice of shedding European education and remaining outside of modern institutions would also prove fatal for the Muslim fate in the future. To tackle this problem, there emerged a group of intellectuals in every region of the Muslim world, considering the challenges of European civilization. They presented different versions of Islam addressing the modern problems of the world, while retaining the comprehensive status of Islam. These personalities are labelled as proponents of contemporary revivalism. They include Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Hasan-al Banna and Syed Qutub in the

[97] The fact was described by Jansen in his *Militant Islam*. Quoting from an historian he writes, "the 350-year-long tussle between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia was summed up thus by the foremost historian of Christian missions: 'Except through strong political and social pressure, Islam has never yielded many converts to Christianity. Yet in Java in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries converts from Islam to Protestant Christianity, though only a few thousands were more numerous than those made in all the rest of the world during the period. G. H. Jansen, *Militant Islam*, (London: Pan Books, 1979), 54

Arab World, while in the Sub-Continent, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is renowned in this regard.

Influenced by the currents of revivalism, the pioneers thought of the unity of the Muslim World as inevitable for obtaining the fruits of the revivalism. In this wake, the concept of Pan-Islamism came to the surface. However, its proponents belonged to the Arab World; therefore, other spheres of the Muslim World did not respond to the cause in any promising tone. Moreover, the international politics under the European Powers rendered it a difficult task to create a single Muslim political unit or any confederation. Those who tried to accomplish this dream were sidelined by the US power politics. Bhutto of Pakistan, Feisal of Arabia and Kaddafi of Libya were prominent examples of this 'trial'. For this and other reasons the Pan-Islamism was echoed only in regional efforts of the revivalism in different Muslim countries. Even the OIC (Organization of Islamic Countries) could not contribute any considerable part.

Actually, Panism was widespread in the World and it is not particular to Muslims only. There was pan-Americanism, pan-Africanism and pan-Europeanism. Among these, only Pan-Islamism had a religious call; otherwise, Panism had always been characterized by some lingual, ethnic, racial or cultural affinities. Due to the religious tag, the matter acquires a vast canvas which involves sectarian tussles and interpretative dissensions; therefore, Pan-Islamism could not get practical recognition as compared to other Pan movements. Pan-Islamism can be regarded more as a reaction than a creed, as envisaged in the following excerpt:

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed a Pan-Islamic movement which had its roots partly in the need of the Turkish Empire, partly in the revival of faith by the *Wahabis*, partly in the example of the West, but which at all events represented an impulse to resist and repulse the attacks of the European Powers.[98]

Though the zeal had a palpitation, it lacks an integrated plan and ground. There were mushrooms of societies and councils which vowed to address the Pan problem of the Muslim community all over the World, but they had no practical approach. One of such societies (Pan-Islamic Society) was set up by Sultan of Turkey, The Khedive of Egypt, the Amir of Afghanistan, the Sultan of Morocco and some other in London, in 1886 but according to the words of Arminius Vambery, "The society has not the necessary means, nor is London the place from which a sufficient influence can be exercised upon the Islamic World.

[98] Hans Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the Middle East,* (Harcoourt Brace, 1929), 38

6.4 Self-Purification and Leadership

"The greatest are the men who master our mind by the force of truth, and not those who enslave them by violence, that we owe our reverence" – Voltaire.

This adage of the 18th-century French philosopher can perfectly be fitted on Inayatullah Khan, popularly known in history as Allama Mashriqi, a genius in his own right. Allama Mashriqi was born in a well- well-to-do Rajput Muslim family in the year 1888 in Amritsar, a bustling Punjab town in undivided India. His father, Atta Muhammad Khan, besides being a man of means, possessed an aura of scholarship. His ancestors held prominent positions in the Mughal Court. Diwan Lal Muhammad Khan, his -great-grandfather, embraced Islam at the hands of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, in whose court he got a place of significance.

Allama Mashriqi was a precocious child. From a very early age, he had a strong passion for mathematics. He received his early education at home, but on entering school, his record was simply outstanding. After completing intermediate, he was admitted to the celebrated Forman Christian College, Lahore, where he distinguished himself by passing his MA in mathematics, securing first position.

His education record in Cambridge (1912) where he went to study as a foundation scholar and wrangler (as bachelor scholar) was equally brilliant. His achieving four 'triposes' in mechanical and natural sciences was widely publicized in the London papers. He completed his studies in England when he was 24. On returning to India, he was offered the post of premiership by the Raja of Alvar, a princely State, which he declined as his area of interest was education. Therefore, in 1913, when he was offered the post of Vice-Principal of Islamia College Peshawar, Allama Mashriqi immediately accepted the same and served as the youngest Vice-Principal of any college.

The most remarkable trait that Allama possessed, besides his deep interest in scientific knowledge and Islam, was the qualities of leadership and organization. After serving for about 17 years in the education department in different capacities, he launched a movement to transform Muslims into a well-organized and disciplined force along the lines of the army. Thus emerged the militaristic Khaksar movement.

The membership of this Spartan movement went into the hundreds of thousands. Amazingly, it even attracted a large number of youth from the highly educated and well-to-do class of Muslims from all over the Subcontinent. The Allama, through this movement, intended to bring about a revolution in society by elevating Muslims. Though his real intentions were masked, researchers on the subject suggest his political philosophy was to capture power.

His militancy, however, brought him into direct conflict with the government of the day. As an result, he suffered a lot of jail sentences and privations. But for the cause, he withstood all persecution with resilience and moral fortitude. His followers stood

and suffered with him through thick and thin. The religious right detested him because of his radical views about Islam.

The Allama was a towering, charismatic person. He was also a prolific writer. He wrote numerous books and articles, mostly on Islam. In his view, since all the Prophets had brought both knowledge and authority, religion and politics were inseparable. The most prominent of his writings was the Tazkirah, in two volumes. This magnum opus is a tafseer of the Holy Quran, which earned him great repute as the committee for the Nobel Prize nominated it, subject to the condition it was translated into one of the European languages. The Allama, however, declined the suggestion of translation.

In 1926, Allama visited various European countries in order to draw the attention of scientists and scholars to Tazkirah, and the most prominent among them was Albert Einstein, with whom he continued to communicate. His chance meeting with Adolph Hitler, whose party was still in an embryonic stage, is stated to have left a deep impact on Allama in forming the Khaksar movement.

When Allama was studying in Cambridge, his teacher was a distinguished 20th-century scholar and authority on astronomy, Professor James Jeans. One day, he had a very thought-provoking dialogue with Professor James Jeans on his religious conviction. The incident took place one Sunday morning when it was raining profusely. The Allama saw the Professor with an umbrella absentmindedly under his armpit, quickening to the Church. He inquired of the Professor why he was going to the house of worship without opening the umbrella to protect himself from the rain.

The Professor replied, “When I introspect about the Universe and the marvellous feats of creation, my whole being trembles in awe at the majesty of the Creator. And when I go to Church and bow before the Lord and say, ‘Lord, how great You are’, I obtain incredible peace and joy from my prayer. So tell me, Inayatullah Khan, now do you understand why I go to Church”?

In answering the question the Professor went on into an inspiring description of the creation of celestial bodies and the astonishing order to which they adhere, the incredible distance over which they travel, and the unfailing regularity which they maintain, their intricate journey through space in their orbit, their mutual attracting and their never wavering from the path chosen for them, no matter how complicated it might be. His eyes were shining with awe and wonder. Trepidation at the thought of God’s all-knowing and all-powerful nature made his hands tremble and his voice falter, the Allama noted.

Sir James Jeans’ words left Allama’s mind spinning. “Sir,” said he, “Your inspiring words have made a deep impression on me. I am reminded of a verse in the Holy Quran which, if I may be allowed, I would like to quote. “Of course,” said Sir James, on which the Allama recited Ayat 27-28 Surah Al-Fatir.

“Hast thou not seen that Allah causeth water to fall from the sky, and We produce therewith fruit of divers hues; and among the mountains there are streaks of various shades of red and white, and jet-black rocks. And men, beasts and cattle have different colours, too. From among his servants, it is the learned who fear God alone. Lo! Allah is Mighty, Forgiving.”

“What was that?” exclaimed Sir James. “It is (about) those alone who have knowledge of God. Wonderful! How extraordinary! It has taken me fifty years of continual study and observation to realize this fact. Who taught it to Mohammad (PBUH)? Is this really in the Quran? If so, you can record my testimony that the Quran is an inspired Book. Mohammad (PBUH) was untaught. He could not have learnt this immensely important fact on his own. God must have taught it to him. Incredible!”

However, regardless of the great eminence and renown the Allama attained during his life, he was not as successful in his marital affairs. Almost all of his five marriages ended in separation, save one. In his last days, Allama Mashriqi, the paragon of steadfastness and virtue, suffered serious health problems and finally passed away on August 23, 1963, at the age of 75.

Recommended Books

Hussain, S. Shabbir. *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius*. Lahore: 1991
Seth, Hira Lal. *The Khaksar Movement Under Search Light And the Life Story of Its Leader, Allama Mashriqi.* Delhi: 1946

6.5 Self Assesment Questions

Q. Describe a brief history of Allama Mashriqi.
Q. What Caliphate model was suggested by Allama Mashriqi?
Q. What was the nature of the Muslim Revival in Mashriqi'a outlook?
Q. Narrate the legend of Allama Mashriqi.

Unit: 7

ALLAMA MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Written by: Dr. Kishwar Sultana
Reviewed by: Dr. Samina Awan

INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will study Dr. Muhammad Iqbal and his Philosophy from different angles. Iqbal gave the concept of a Muslim state in South Asia in 1930. Iqbal's contribution is that he not only synthesized the old piecemeal ideas into one comprehensive whole but also rationalized his arguments and rationale in a commendable way. His Allahabad address of 1930 is the best exponent of this rationale. We will also discuss different phases of his life that produced such a kind of Iqbal. In this unit, major themes of his works, whether it is related to Poetry as well as Prose works, will be analyzed and discussed. Iqbal and Democracy and his thoughts will also be discussed in this unit.

OBJECTIVES

- To know about Iqbal's Life
  - Early education
  - Different Stages of Iqbal's Political Career
- To evaluate His Poetic as well as Prose works and their Major Themes
  To know Iqbal and Democracy
- To judge/evaluate those factors that transferred Iqbal from Nationalism to Universalism?

Allama Muhammad Iqbal

7.1 Indian Nationalism
7.2 Pan-Islamism
7.3 Muslim Nationalism
7.4 Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam

7.1 Iqbal's Early Life

He was born in Sialkot on November 9, 1877[99] and belonged to the middle class. Muhammad Rafique, his grandfather, had migrated from Kashmir. His father, Noor Muhammad, was a sufi who attached considerable importance to spiritual values. His mother, Imam Bibi, was also a religious Lady. It was under the spiritual guidance of his father and the inspiring supervision of his teacher, Maulana Mir Hasan, that the initial growth of Iqbal's mind had taken place[100]. He was an exceptionally bright student. He started writing verses during his school time. Initially, Mir Dagh(Poet) corrected these verses[101] , but after some time, he wrote back to Iqbal that his verses needed no correction. After completing his preliminary education in 1887, Iqbal joined the Scotch Mission High School. After passing his Primary, Middle and Matric examinations with distinction, he joined Murray College, Sialkot. He passed the Intermediate Examination in 1895. After two years, he got admission in Government College, Lahore for graduation. On 4th May, 1893, he was married to Karim Bibi. In 1897, he passed the B.A. Examination with distinction. In 1899, he received his Master's degree in Philosophy. After this, he won the *Macleod Arabic* scholarship and performed as Arabic Reader in Government College. After three years, he was appointed Assistant Professor in the same College[102]. Iqbal's life is divided into three Phases/Stages, which will be discussed later. During these stages, he looked like an ordinary man, an observer, a Poet, a Politician and Philosopher etc.

7.2 Phases/Stages of Iqbal's Career

7.2.1 Initial Stage 1877-1904

Three developments at this stage of Iqbal's political career were significant. First, Iqbal's poetry showed an increasing influence of English poetry, as attested, for example, by his many nature poems. But instead of making a clean break with the Indian tradition of Personate Urdu poetry, Iqbal draws on the literary resources of

[99] Kishwar sultana, Allama Muhammad Iqbal As a Politician, (Pakistan:NBF, 1998), p.iv.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Kh. Jamil Ahmad, Hundred Great vMuslims,(Lahore: Feroz Sons Ltd.,1984),p.241

[102] Kishwar sultana, *Allama Muhammad Iqbal As a Politician*,pp.v-vi

that tradition in dealing with the themes he had borrowed from English poetry. This was a new experiment, and was hailed as a breath of fresh air in the stifling atmosphere created by the styles of poetic composition then current in Urdu. A representative poem in this connection is the *Himalaya*.

Second, influenced by English literature and European political thought, but also by the political developments within India, Iqbal began to deal with themes of patriotism. His national song of India' (BD,83), which starts with 'our country India is the best in the whole world' became immensely popular and was frequently sung in chorus, virtually like a national anthem, at schools and other gatherings across the country.

Third, Iqbal's poetry received a new direction through his association with the Anjuman-i-Himayat -Islam (Society for the Support of Islam). The Anjuman was established in 1884 with a view to promoting support for students, establishing libraries and orphanages, and helping widows and poor people to stand on their own feet by giving them vocational training. It also set up a printing press to produce Islamic literature. The Anjuman's annual fund-raising events were attended by both distinguished national figures and the general public. At these meetings, speeches were made on important national and community issues and poems were read that appealed to religious sentiments. At the annual meeting of 1900, Iqbal read his poem ' The Orphan's Lament', which so moved the audience that he was asked to reread it. Thanks in part to Iqbal's poem, the Anjuman's fund–raising event that year was more than successful.

In Lahore, much more extensively than in Sialkot, Iqbal was exposed to the two traditions of eastern and western learning. This can be seen in the subjects he formally studied at Government College__Arabic, English, and Philosophy. In Sialkot and Lahore, Iqbal found an able mentor: the precious stone discovered by Mir Hasan in Sialkot was polished into a glittering jewel by Arnold in Lahore. Under Arnold's affectionate patronage, Iqbal the poet now also became Iqbal the academic. Iqbal's studies, writings, and interests came to have remarkable diversity: he taught English, philosophy, history, and economics at several colleges and his writings included treatments of equally diverse subjects. Arnold motivated Iqbal to pursue higher studies in the West. Iqbal had probably already begun the process of intellectually synthesizing the eastern and western traditions. In the fertile soil of Lahore, the sapling of Sialkot had become a sturdy tree.

7.2.2 Second Phase: Europe (1905-8)

Arnold and Iqbal were highly appreciative of each other. When Arnold left for England in 1904, Iqbal wrote a poem in which he paid tribute to Arnold and expressed his resolve to follow him to England. With the financial assistance of his elder brother, Iqbal was able to realize his wish. In 1905, he arrived in Cambridge, entering Trinity College as a research scholar. In the early part of the twentieth

century, Cambridge was a renowned centre of Arabic and Persian studies. Its luminaries included Reynold M. Nicholson, who later translated Iqbal's Persian poetical work asrar-I Khudi into English (1920). At Cambridge, too, Iqbal met with the philosopher John McTaggart and attended his lectures on Western thought. In the meantime, Iqbal also enrolled as a student of law at Lincoln's Inn in London. At Arnold's suggestion, he registered as a doctoral student at Munich University. In June 1907, Iqbal obtained a BA from Cambridge[103]. In November 1907, Munich University awarded him a PHD for his thesis on the development of metaphysics in Persia. In July 1908, Iqbal was admitted to the bar in London. In the same year, his doctoral thesis was published in London.

The European phase of Iqbal's life is notable for several reasons. During this period, Iqbal gave most of his exclusive attention to his studies: never before or after was he to lead such an intense academic life. His devotion showed results___three degrees from three prestigious schools in three years was a remarkable feat by any standard. During his stay in Europe, Iqbal acquired a sound knowledge of the German works in translation, but now he was in a position to make a first-hand, in-depth study of the German philosophical and literary tradition. From this period onwards, references to German writers and their thoughts become more frequent in his works, and he begins to see himself playing in India a role similar to that played in Germany by Goethe, whom he greatly admired. The influence of German thought and literature thus seems to have served as a counterweight to that of English. It has been rightly suggested that Iqbal's interest in German literature was due partly to the phenomenon of the Oriental movement, which represented the influence of Hafiz, Sa'di, Rumi, and other Persian poets on such writers as Herder, Ruckert, Goethe, Schiller, and Heine.

Iqbal's reoccupation with his studies in Europe gave him less opportunity to compose poetry: the number of poems he wrote during the period is small, and he often had to decline requests to contribute poems to Journals or newspapers in India. While in Europe, Iqbal, in fact, became skeptical of the need to write poetry at all: it seems that the opportunity for reflection and observation afforded by his stay in Europe compelled him to rethink the poet's role in society. With the Indian context in mind, he concluded that Urdu poetry, with its decadent themes and stock expressions, was totally inadequate to the higher task of nation-building. His association with the Anjuman-i- Himayat-e Islam had already led to his composing of poems about India's Muslim community, and Iqbal seems to have become further convinced of the need to dedicate art to life. At the same time, he seems to have felt a certain inadequacy on his part----namely, that he could not compose the type of poetry that was the need of the hour__and so he decided to stop writing

[103] Mustansir Mir, *Iqbal*, (Lahore: Iqbal Academy,2006),p.7-8

poetry. When his friends opposed his decision, he decided, he agreed to defer to Arnold, who persuaded Iqbal to continue writing poetry.

In Europe, as in Lahore, Arnold played an important role in Iqbal's education and intellectual upbringing and Iqbal's stay in Europe further strengthened the bond between them. It was Arnold who had arranged Iqbal's admission to Cambridge's Trinity College even before Iqbal had arrived in England. During his visits to London, Iqbal substituted himself as a professor of Arabic. It was at the recommendation of Arnold and others that Iqbal was exempted. During his doctoral studies, Iqbal's doctoral thesis, upon publication, was dedicated to Arnold[104].
In Europe, Iqbal was able to make a close and critical study of Western civilization, on which he was to comment in much of his later work. While he admired certain aspects of that civilization, he was critical of its secular character and warned Muslims of the dangers of blindly imitating the West. In one of his verses, Iqbal says: the storm from the west has transformed Muslims into real Muslims' (BD, 267). Arguably, this observation applies first and foremost to Iqbal himself. During his stay in Europe, Iqbal underwent a major change in his view and estimation of nationalism. Before leaving for Europe, he had championed the cause of Indian nationalism and had worked for Hindu-Muslim unity. His loyalty to the country could coexist without any serious tension with his commitment to his religion. Consequently, he wrote poems in which he extolled Indian nationalism. In Europe, Iqbal witnessed at first hand deep discord that jingoistic nationalism had caused among the major European powers and that, several years later, was to climax in World War 1. Reflection on the European political situation led Iqbal to draw a distinction between the territorial and ethnic nationalism of Europe and the ideological universalism of Islam, and he eventually rejected the former in favor of the Latter. This transformation in Iqbal's thought was to have far-reaching consequences[105] for his poetry and thought.

Third Phase: A sense of mission (1908-38)

On his return to India in July 1908, Iqbal set up a legal practice in Lahore, where, for a while, he also taught philosophy in Government College. The struggle to establish himself financially made strenuous demands on his time. His married life, too, was far from happy. His first marriage had been unsuccessful. In 1910, he married Sardar Begum and, in 1913, Mukhtar Begum. The troubles in his personal life left him little time to pursue his literary interests, and consequently, he wrote very little poetry in the first two or three years after his return from Europe. Increasingly, however, he took part in the activities of several social welfare

[104] Ibid,pp.viii
[105] G.Allana, *Muslim Political Thought Through the Ages: 1562-1947*,(Rawaipindi:Bilal&Co. Publisher, 2001),p.187.

organizations and became involved in different capacities with a number of educational institutions, including Punjab University and Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College.

In 1911, the British government, acceding to Hindu political demands but causing grave disappointment to the Muslims, rescinded the 1905 partition of the Bengal province[106]. The international scene, too, was depressing to Muslims. In 1911-12, Italy occupied Libya, France annexed Morocco, and several Balkan states attacked Turkey, divesting it of its eastern European possessions. The events at home and abroad created a sense of despair and helplessness in many sensitive Muslims, including Iqbal, whose life from now on is marked by a growing earnestness of purpose. In both prose and poetry, Iqbal now begins to address the plight of Muslims-not only in India but in the Islamic world at large-and in the process, his philosophical and political ideas start to take a more definite shape. According to Iqbal himself, it was during his stay in England that he became preoccupied with the question of the decline of the historic Muslim community. This preoccupation is conspicuous in his subsequent literary output. Iqbal's Urdu poems had been appearing in periodicals, but his first book of poetry to be published in 1915 –was the Persian Asrar-i- Khudi, which sought to offer a systematic treatment of core concepts of Iqbal's developed thought. Nicholson's English translation of the work (1920) introduced Iqbal in the West as a major literary and philosophical writer. Reviewing the English version, Herbert read that he compared Iqbal to the famous American poet Walt Whitman (1819—92). In its scope and appeal, asrar-I khudi addresses the worldwide Muslim community. Several other Persian and Urdu coactions of poetry followed. Becoming heavily engaged on the intellectual, educational, and social fronts, Iqbal gave public talks and academic lectures, wrote articles for journals and newspapers, assisted in the production of textbooks for students at school and college levels and corresponded with many people, expressing, in many cases, his views on issues of national and international importance. His major philosophical work, the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, was published in 1934. He was invited to give the Rhodes lectures in 1934, but ill health prevented him from travelling to England.

The worldwide Muslim community- the ummah-became a major focus of Iqbal's attention in the post-Europe period. Iqbal, who had previously written the national song of India (BD, 83), saying we are Indians, and India is our country (the poem national song of Indian children (BD.87) may also he mentioned in this connection), now wrote the Islamic community's some, proclaiming we are Muslims, the whole world is our country. Iqbal's concern for the uplift and well-being of the ummah is evident from his active involvement in several global Islamic

[106] See more detail in I.H.Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*,(Karachi: University of Karachi,1997),pp. 23-25.

causes. When the adventurer Bachchah-i-Saqao captured Kabul in January 1929, ousting the ruler Amanaullah Khan, Iqbal appealed to the Muslims of India to support the Afghan general Nadir Shah's campaign to defeat Bachchah-i-Saqao[107]. In September 1929, Iqbal presided over a large public gathering held to protest the growing Zionist influence, under British patronage, in Palestine. In his speech, he declared that Muslims put no trust in the investigative commission that Britain had intended to send to Palestine. In 1931, he represented the Muslims of India at a meeting of the World Islamic Congress held in Palestine. In 1931and 1932, again representing India's Muslims, Iqbal participated in the London Round Table conferences held to decide India's political future. In 1933, Iqbal and two of his friends travelled to Afghanistan at the invitation of Nadir Shah, who wished to consult them about Afghanistan's educational system.

In practice, of course, most of Iqbal's political activities were confined to India. In 1926, he was elected a member of the Punjab legislative council, a position he retained until 1930. He played an important role in determining the course of the Muslim League, which was to become India's largest Muslim political party. When the activities of militant Hindu proselytizing movements like the shuddhi and sangatan led to Hindu-Muslim riots, Iqbal urged Muslims to follow the example of India's Hindu community and rely on themselves for their communal survival and progress. Formerly a supporter of the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, Iqbal eventually became doubtful of the viability of the project, concluding that the Muslims of India must maintain their distinct religious and cultural entity. He also spoke of the need for a separate electoral system for Hindus and Muslims in India. In December 1930, at the annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad, he delivered his famous presidential address in which he proposed the creation of a separate homeland at least for the Muslims of northwestern India. Although he did not live to see the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Iqbal is revered as its spiritual father and as its national poet.

7.3 Poetical Works[108]

Asrar-i-Khudi (*Secrets of the Self*: Persian; 1915). Drawing on the religious, spiritual, and literary sources of Islam, Iqbal in this work offers a detailed statement of his philosophy of selfhood, illustrating the main elements of that philosophy with stories and anecdotes. In the poem, Iqbal is conscious of his role as the bearer of a prophetic message to the Muslims of his age. The essence of that message is the cultivation of a dynamic human personality through action, struggle, and acceptance of life's challenges. In the poem, Iqbal acknowledges the influence of

[107] Mustansir Mir, *Iqbal*, p.11.

[108] M. Ashraf, Iqbal and Modern Muslim Society,(Islamabadi:NIHCR,2005), Annexure "B"

Rumi, who became a constant source of inspiration and guidance. The poem also illustrates Iqbal's conviction that the proper function of art is the ennoblement of life.

Rumuz-i-Bikhudi (Mysteries of Selflessness; Persian; 1918)[109]. This work is a companion volume to *Asrar-i-Khudi*. If *Asrar-i-Khudi* is concerned with developing the selfhood of the individual, Rumuz-8-Bikhudi deals with the role and function of the individual in society. Individuals, in Iqbal's view, can develop their full potential only within society and only when they contribute to the larger objectives of the community to which they belong. In a very real sense, one can speak of a communal self just as one speaks of the individual self.

Payam-i-Mashriq (*The Message of the East*; Persian; 1923)[110]. In the Preface to Payma-i-Mashirq, Iqbal says that he was motivated to compose *Payam-i-Mashriq* by Goethe's West-Ostriches Divan. After quoting Heine to the effect that Goethe's Divan represents a spiritually weak West's attempt to draw strength and vitality from the East, Iqbal says that Paymam-i-Mashiriq aims to highlight the moral and religious verities that bear on the character-training of individuals and nations. The work also has a more immediate, practical goal, for Iqbal observes that the conditions of India in his day bear some resemblance to the conditions of Germany in Geothie's age. *Payma-i-Mashirq* deals with a variety of philosophical, political and literary themes and subjects, and represents some of the highest points of Iqbal's poetic art.

Bang-i-Dara (*The Sound of the Caravan Bell*; Urdu; 1924). Divided into three parts, with the first part ending in 1905 and the second in 1908, this book helps us to understand, as no other book of Iqbal's does, several aspects of the evolution of his thought and orientation. Part 1 includes some memorable nature poems, several poems for children, some of them translations or adaptations of Western originals and a few patriotic poems. Sir Abdul-Qadir's Introduction provided a useful background about the work.

Zabur-i-Ajam (Persian Psalms; Persian; 1927). In one of his letters, Iqbal summarizes the contents of this four-part work; the first two parts present, respectively, man in conversation with God and man commenting on the world of man; the third part offers responses to a series of philosophical questions raised in a poem by a Muslim mystic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the fourth part discusses the impact of slavery one nation's religion and culture in general usage, however, the title *Zabur-i Ajam* refers to the first two parts, each of the last two parts having acquired an almost independent status as a poem. Both for profundity of thought and exquisiteness of diction and style, *Zabur-i- Ajam* occupies a distinctive place in Iqbal's poetical corpus.

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[109] Masud-ul-Hasan,Life of Iqbal,BookII,(Lahore:Ferozsons Ltd.,1978),pp.57-60.

[110] See more detail in Ibid.,pp.61-79

Jawid-Namah (*The Poem of Eternity*; Persian; 1932). Often compared to Dante's Divine Comedy, *Jawid-Namah* recounts Iqbal's spiritual journey, under Rumi's guidance, through a series of heavenly spheres, the journey ending with Iqbal reaching God's presence and holding a dialogue with God. All the major philosophical and other issues that Iqbal had dealt with in his writings are here treated from a unified perspective, forming a coherent scheme of thought. In this work, Iqbal discusses a number of thought-system movements and personalities of ancient and modern history.

Musafir (*Traveller*; Persian; 1934). This poem contains Iqbal's reflections on Afghanistan's history during his visit to the country at the invitation of Nadir Shah, and expresses his hope that the brave and freedom-loving Afghans will, taking guidance from the Quran, revive the glory of Islam.

Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ay Aqwam-i-Sharq? (*What Must Now be Done, O Nations of the East? Persian; 1936*). This poem aims to shock the world's Muslims into reality after Italy invades Abyssinia in 1936. Though focused on political issues of the time, the poem develops several of the religious and philosophical themes found in Iqbal are other works.

Zarb-i-Kalim (*The Stroke of Moses*; Urdu; 1936). Called by Iqbal a declaration of war against the present age, *Zarb-i-Kalim*[111] is highly critical of certain aspects of modern, more specifically, Western politics, culture, and lifestyle. The book inveighs against both Muslim societies and the world at large for their failure to live up to high, noble principles; it also calls upon its readers to act to change the world.

Armaghan-i-Hijaz[112] (*The Gift of the Hijaz*; Persian and Urdu; 1938). Published posthumously, Armagahna-i-Hijaz has two parts, one Persian and one Urdu. It consists mostly of quatrains that sum up Iqbal's views and ideas on a variety of subjects. The Urdu section contains the celebrated 'Iblis's Advisory Council' in which Iblis, or Satan, after listening to his advisors, who are apprehensive about the rise of new philosophies and movements in the world, tells them that Islam is the only real threat to Satanic rule.

7.4 Major Themes of His Poetry

There is an extraordinary variety of themes, i.e., religion and politics, reasons and intuition, freedom and determinism, life and death and their mysteries, individual and society, eastern and western culture, art and literature and their role in society, knowledge and education, master and slave and their philosophy, natural phenomena and distinguished figures of world history[113]. He uses poetry not only

[111] Ibid. p.168.

[112] Ibid, p.191

[113] See detail in Mustansir Mir, *Iqba*l, (Lahore: Iqbal Academy,2006),pp.22-54.

to express feelings but also to discuss metaphysical, political and economic issues, to comment on cultural and artistic matters, to reflect on the human existential situation and above all to contribute to the transformation of individual and collective life in accordance with the dictates of an all–embracing ethical vision[114].

7.4.1 Prose Works[115]

Ilmu'l –Iqtisad (*Political Economy*; Urdu; 1903). *Ilmul-Iqtisad*, Iqbal says in the Preface, is based on 'several well-known and authentic books' and contains, in places, his personal opinions as well. After stating the nature and method of economics, the book treats the subjects of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption of wealth, in that order. In this book, Iqbal coined Urdu equivalents for a number of English economic terms. Iqbal argues that a nation's economic development is bound up with the education of the masses. Several economic ideas presented in his later prose or poetical writings hark back, directly or indirectly, to *Ilmul-Iqtisad*.

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia (English; 1907; published 1908) was the title of the doctoral thesis that Iqbal presented to Munich University. Though written almost a century ago, it is still of considerable interest to the scholar, and several portions of it are accessible to the general reader.

Stray Reflections (edited by Javed Iqbal; English; 1910). This is a notebook containing Iqbal's odd jotting based on his impressions of the books he was reading at that time, his thoughts and feelings about the environment in which he lived, and reminiscences of his student days (editor's Introduction, p.1). Considering that Iqbal made these jottings in the span of a few months in the year 1910, one is struck both by young Iqbal's range of intellectual and literary interests and by his perceptive comments and evaluations of many writer, ideas and theories, institutions, and historical events and movements. A number of ideas presented herein were later developed by Iqbal, so that *Stray Reflections* might be called a springboard for his mature philosophical thought.

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (English; 1930; expanded Oxford edn., 1934). This work originally consisted of six lectures that were delivered in several Indian cities in 1929; a seventh lecture, written at the request of London's Aristotelian Society, was later added. Many consider it the most important philosophical work of modern Islam. It is seriously engaged with the vast and diverse Western and Islamic philosophical and literary traditions, offering a keen analysis of Issues and often presenting an original synthesis of ideas. Iqbal's aim in the book is to meet "the demand for a religious knowledge. . ..by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical

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[114] Ibid.,p. 55

[115] *Iqbal and Modern Muslim Society,* Annexure'B'(See more detail)

tradition of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge.[116] Iqbal points out the direction in which the task of the reconstruction of Muslim Thought in modern times must proceed. For example, he stresses the need to study classical Islamic theological thought in the light of modern physics[117]. Iqbal has been called an original thinker and the reconstruction offers justification for that view as noted above. Reconstruction treats the thoughts and ideas of numerous thinkers and writers from diverse backgrounds. It evinces Iqbal's strong faith in the possibility of Islam's rejuvenation in the modern period. Iqbal is convinced that "the Islamic renaissance is a fact."(VI.121). But in his view, this renaissance must fulfil certain conditions in order to become a full-fledged movement of growth and progress, one of the most important conditions being intellectual openness. But the intellectual openness demands that Muslims be willing to re-examine their own heritage with a critical eye. In this connection, he cites Turkey.

Iqbal published a number of Journal and Newspaper's articles on various subjects, issued statements on many important occasions, and engaged in correspondence with people from practically all walks of life. Latif Ahmed Sherwani's Speeches, Writing and Statements of Iqbal is a representative compilation of such writing, though it does not aim to offer a selection of Iqbal's correspondence[118]. Finally, the Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah[119] provide an important elaboration of some aspects of Iqbal's political thought.

An English manuscript of Iqbal about a poet-philosopher of Muslim India, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil (d. 1721), has been edited, with an Urdu translation, by Tehsin Firaqi. The work *Bedi*l in the light of Bergson (Lahore; Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1995; first published 1988) is a highly interesting study in comparative philosophy and literature and awaits study by Iqbal scholars.

7.5 Iqbal and Democracy

Iqbal was basically a democrat. He was not only a theoretical politician, but he also practically participated in the politics of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In 1926, he stood for election and was chosen to the Punjab Legislative Council. As Dr L.S. May[120] writes, Iqbal was an active member of this Council, speaking often on land revenue and taxation, Education, demanding greater justice in land assessment and even land revenue deductions in hardship cases. In his speech of 10 March 1927,

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[116] Allama Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought in Islam,(Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture,1986),pp.xxi-ii.

[117] Ibid., (III)pp.54-55

[118] Latif Ahmed Sherwani's Speeches, Writing and Statements of Iqbal, 3rd ed, (Lahore; Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977)

[119] Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah(Lahore 1974; first published 1942)

[120] L.S.May,Iqbal:His life and times,(Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd,1974) Whole book

he pleaded the case for compulsory primary education, and in his speech of 5 May 1927 on the 1927-28 Budget, he advocated for better sanitation conditions in villages as well as for medical aid to India's women. He started his political career as a member of the National Liberal League, but later on joined the All-India Muslim League[121]. When the Muslim League was split in 1928, Iqbal became Secretary of the Shafi branch, from which position he later resigned. Iqbal was actively involved in the politics of the subcontinent and, in many important respects, he rather moulded the destiny of Muslim India, which was later to become Pakistan. Thus, Iqbal lived a full political life as a democrat[122]. In bal-i- Jibril, he ushers in the democratic era in these strong words:

Poetry

- According to Iqbal, the form of government is a very important determining factor of human destiny and life. He disagrees with Alexander Pope, who held: "Let fools fight for the forms of government", and says, 'To my mind government, whatever its form, is one of the determining forces of a people's character. History bears out his opinion because we find that people under dictatorial or despotic rules are generally submissive.
- Again, one of the reasons for the moral deprivation of Muslims was their loss of power in the subcontinent. Iqbal endorses the democratic system on the grounds that it gives the individual a maximum of freedom and fair play to his potentialities and capabilities. Democratic rule has its impact on scientific thought. As Iqbal says, "The growing spirit of individualism in politics is not without its influence on contemporary scientific thought. Modern thought regards the universe as a democracy of living atoms. Thus, the government determines the character as well as the thought of a people; it has its inroads into the philosophical and scientific ideas of a nation. He goes on to add that a democratic system exerts a healthier influence on the thinking and conduct of a people.
- Democracy is primarily a science or a methodology rather than an ideology or a philosophy, and this is how Iqbal seems to treat it. It is a way to ensure and confirm a certain ideology through common suffrage.
- Iqbal subjects democracy as a methodology for searching criticism. To start with, it is a methodology and should be treated as such but as used in the West, this methodology is quantitative. Iqbal expresses this fact in the following verse:

[121] Ibid.

[122] See more detail in Riaz Hussain, The Politics of Iqbal, (Lahore: Islamic Book Service,1977)

7.6 Poetry

In this method, no discrimination is made on the basis of education, talent, mental caliber, and individual potentialities. It fails to differentiate between a fidel and an infidel, a Mulsim and a non-believer; that is why Iqbal compares it to an unsheathed sword.

- Iqbal says that it is sometimes not good for a community to have a democratic approach. It may be very useful to a majority, but it will always keep a minority suppressed and wretched. This is also another just of democracy. It was in view of such a situation in the subcontinent that in 1886 Sayyid Ahmad Khan urged that "if the democratic principle was introduced in India, the Muslims would find themselves completely at the mercy of the Hindu majority. Democracy is not advisable if it is manipulated to suppress a minority, because it is, in itself, the handmaid of the majority, irrespective of their views and the moral value of those views. If the case between the early Muslims and the non-believers of Mecca had been decided by a common suffrage rather than on the battlefield of Badr. Islam would have been buried there and then. Iqbal very rightly says that democracy, being a methodology, is in itself neither good nor bad; it is the use to which we put it that decides its value and which is again relative[123]. He says;

7.7 Iqbal From Nationalism to Universalism

The events of 1857 dealt a shattering blow to the political supremacy of the Muslims in India. They seemed to have a bleak and uncertain future. The new rules treated them as a vanquished enemy. By conscious efforts, all avenues of progress and advancement were blocked and they were left to suffer in an atmosphere of depression and frustration. However, there was a ray of hope. Sayyeid Ahmed Khan, Shibli, Hali and other leaders of the Aligarh school made tireless efforts to keep them aware of their past and endeavored to keep them together as one religious unit. In the beginning, it was not possible to provide a clear picture of future objectives. Sudden infiltration of Western secular nationalism had confused the Western-educated classes. The Hindus accepted the Western concept of nationalism wholeheartedly and strove to merge all religious communities of the subcontinent to form a single secular entity. A section of the Muslim community was also carried away by this idea. But the vast majority listened to Sayyid Ahmad Khan and remained aloof from any political activity and concentrated on acquiring knowledge through Western-style education.

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[123] See more detail in Mohammed Ma'ruf, "Iqbal on Democracy" in *Iqbal Review*, Journal of Iqbal Academy, (Lahore:Iqbal Academy, April 1997):pp.70-71.

Muhammad Iqbal, born in Sialkot in 1877, came to Lahore in 1895 as a sensitive young Muslim and joined Government College, Lahore, for higher studies. At that time, it was clear that the glory of Islam was fast becoming a matter of past history. The Ottoman Empire was in the process of breaking up. The Chinese Nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. The Muslims were gradually being driven out of Eastern Europe. Iran was collapsing. Egypt was controlled by the British. France was preparing to seize Morocco; The Muslims of India had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom after the events of 1857. Under the British, they had been reduced to a minority of one hundred million people. The Indian National Congress had been formed in 1885 and gradually the Hindu majority was acquiring more and more favour with the British. The initiative had been snatched away from Muslim hands and they lived like an old man in the past and were perpetually on the defensive.

In this condition of utter despair, the Indian Muslims turned towards the movement for Islamic solitarily. This movement was called the Pan-Islamic movement and it was led by Jamal ud din Afghani. Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity.

Iqbal went through a traumatic experience by moving from a nationalist to a Universalist. He himself admitted in an interview with a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle*, 17 September 1931, during the Round Table Conference in 1931 that during his student days he was a staunch nationalist, but a change came in his ideas later on. He wrote, "There is no doubt that my ideas about Nationalism have undergone a definite change. In my college days, I was a zealous Nationalist, which I am not now. The change is due to mature thinking[124].

Iqbal, however, differentiated between Pan-Islamism and Islamic universalism; Islam being a universal religion does not have a nationalism of its own. Iqbal states, "Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members"[125].Iqbal was very sensitive to the fast-moving changes in his milieu. One can discover a broad division of three main phases in his thought:

First, the Pan-Indian nationalist phase up to 1905;

Second, the Pan-Islamist phase, up to 1926, and

Third may be described as the Pakistan nationalist phase[126], in which he synthesized his religious Pan-Islamism of the second phase with modern territorial nationalism.

Between 1895 and 1912, Iqbal's attention was attracted by numerous subjects. In fact, he wrote on whatever moved him. He was fascinated by Nature. He wrote

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[124] B.A. Dar, Letters and Writings of Iqbal, Karachi, pp.58-59.

[125] Muhammad Iqbal, The reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,(Lahore: 1968),p.159.

[126] See more detail in Razi Wasti, "Dr.Muhammad Iqbal:From Nationalism to Universalism" in *Iqbal Review*, Journal of Iqbal Academy,Lahore,January,1978):pp.29-35.

about the Himalaya; and expressed himself on topics like love, solitude, loneliness, etc., and wrote Ghazals in the conventional style of Dagh. Between 1895 and 1905, he wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. His appeal was for the union of the two communities, which together formed what he thought of as one Indian nation. He desired the extinction of bigotry and fanaticism; in his poem Naya Shivalah, he expressed the same sentiments. Thus, in this phase, his poetry shows him as an ardent supporter of nationalism.

During this period, although he wrote poems in the satirical style of Akbar Allahbadi and poems for children, his most moving poems are those in which he bewailed the miserable plight of the Indian Muslims or lamented the sorrows of the Muslims of the Middle East involved in their bitter struggle for independence.

This period terminates with the famous poems "Shikwah and Jawab-I Shikwah' (The Complaint and the Answer), which was written in 1911-12. A careful selection was made and compiled by Iqabal and, along with some later ones, Bang-i- Dar was published in 1924. Although the message element is non-existent in the poems of this period, the lyricism of Iqbal is captivating.

It was during this period (1895-1905) that he founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy and wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. But side by side with this trend proceeded the love for his own religio-cultural tradition, which found expression in numerous exquisite poems, written in the same period, in which he spoke of the Muslims as Tasvir-i-Dard" (The Portrait of Pain) or as "Nalah-i- Yatim (The Sighing of an Orphan)

Iqbal went to Europe in 1905 as an ardent supporter of pantheism, nationalism, patriotism and at the same time of Islamic solidarity. He went to Europe for higher studies and stayed there till 1*908. His interests were primarily philosophy and English Common Law. Iqba,l's three-years stay abroad was divided between Cambridge, Munich and London. He studied philosophy at Cambridge, obtained a doctorate on the Development of Metaphysics in Persia from Munich and was called to the Bar in London. Iqbal was not influenced by materialistic and atheistic trends in European thought of the early twentieth century. Actually, it was during his stay in Europe that Iqbal became disgusted with pantheism, secular nationalism and territorial patriotism and subsequently referred to his own pantheistic and nationalist period (1895-1905) as "my phase of ignorance and folly".

Iqbal's three- years stay in Europe helped him a great deal in the development of his thought. The libraries of Cambridge, London and those in Germany were easily accessible and Iqbal read voraciously and discussed matters with European savants and scholars. His outlook on life underwent two important changes about this time. He evinced an utter dislike for the narrow and selfish nationalism which was the root cause of most political troubles in Europe and his admiration for a life of action and struggle became more pronounced.

Besides, he had seen the forces of secular nationalism and territorial patriotism active in Europe and concluded that the construction of human solidarity on the foundation of race, languages, colour and territory, or fighting or dying for it was not only inhuman but contrary to universally accepted spiritual values of equality and brotherhood of man.

Thus, he developed new ideas which were in effect the antithesis of his earlier political philosophy. He found the idea of nationalism inadequate to solve the problems of humanity. The absence of religious sentiments on the one hand and the presence of hollow nationalism on the other nauseated him. Greedy and selfish competition between man and man and between nation and nation could not be the basis of a society that Iqbal was dreaming. The following lines, composed in 1907, reveal his changed attitude, in which he warned Europe in lines of prophetic vision of the abyss towards which her materialism was leading her.

7.8 Self Assessment Question

Q.1 Critically evaluate the three Phases of Iqbal's life.

Q.2 What were the major themes of His Poetry Works? Elaborate.

Q.3 What were the factors which responsible for shifting his thought from *Nationalism* to *Universalism*?

Q.4 Write Short Notes on the following:
Iqbal and democracy
Iqbal's Early Life

Q.5 Write a Book Review on Iqbal's Book, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought.

Recommended Books

Sailen, Debnath. *Secularism: Western and Indian*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.
Shafique, Khurram Ali. *Iqbal: His Life and Our Times*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2014.

Unit: 8

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

Written by: Misbah Umar
Reviewed by: Syed Akmal Hussain Shah

INTRODUCTION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was a keen intellectual, articulate scholar and an intrepid politician who attained significance in the religious, political and intellectual endeavours. He remained an eloquent exponent of Islamic revivalism in India and across the world among the Muslims, and also laid a great emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity against British imperialism. He rejected Muslim separatism on the basis of religion and declared that it represented communalism, which was against the spirit of Islam. He rather favoured composite Indian nationalism in the Indian struggle for independence. The present unit will provide an overview of Azad's political philosophy with special reference to his conception of Islam and nationalism.

OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to;

- Examine the significance of Maulana Azad as a philosopher and political thinker of British India.
- Comprehend Azad's conception of Islam and nationalism.
- Discuss the historical significance of Azad's Ramgarh address.

8.1 Concept of Islam

Azad believed in Pan-Islamism and was in favour of a strong Muslim diaspora. The beginning and gradual extension of pan-Islamic thoughts were a derivative of the transformation in the religious insight and outlook of Azad. The detachment from religious dogmatism contributed to the expansion of his religious orientation. From the very beginning, Islamic revivalism had been a matter of great concern for him. It served as a prelude and a pre-requisite in Azad's scheme of pan-Islamism, which could ensure suitable circumstances for the achievement of pan-Islamic ideals.

Azad lamented over the state of the Muslim community in India, which constituted a sufficient majority but was spending their lives in a manner that "does not bind them together, they are not united and are scattered among the population of India. This way is un-Islamic and the entire community is living an irreligious life".[127] Azad stated that by the end of 1914, the solution to the problem had dawned upon him. "I was convinced", he said, "that unless this problem is solved, no effort, no endeavour on our (Muslim) part will be successful".[128]

He came up with the idea of founding *Hizbullah* (Part of God) imbued with the informing zeal of transforming society in accordance with the teachings of Islam. In Azad's concern over the degrading conditions of Muslims, Islam occupied centrality. He attributed that deviation from the true teachings of the *Quran* had drifted the situation of the Muslims towards decline. Therefore, he provided a solution to take direction from the *Quran* in every affair of life. The *Quran* should be studied from within itself, in its own right, and not in response to an extraneous pressure, for self-sufficient understanding and not for explanations or endorsements or rejections.[129]

Azad was convinced that the reason for Muslim decline was their deprivation of political privileges. He strictly adhered to the belief that Islam is a dynamic religion which provides guidance to its followers on matters of low significance to the political complexities. To him, religion and politics were inseparable because Islam governs all aspects of life. The fifth issue of *Al-Hilal* (September 8, 1912) carried a long article entitled *'Reply to a Letter Concerning the Objectives and Political Teachings of Al-Hilal'*. It stated,

You observe that the political questions should be kept separate from religion. But if they are separated, what will remain with us? We have learnt our political ideals from religion. . . We believe that *every idea which is derived from any other source other than the Quran is sheer heresy, and this includes also politics*. . . (emphasis

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[127] Malik Ram, ed. *Khutbaat-e-Azad* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1974), 131 quoted in Mushir-ul-Hassan, *Islam and Indian Nationalism*, 108.

[128] Ram, ed. *Khutbaat-e-Azad* , 136 quoted in Mushir-ul-Hassan, *Islam and Indian Nationalism*, 108.

[129] Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 177.

added). Islam has given to man a complete and comprehensive law, and there is no problem of human life for which it does not provide a solution. . . According to our belief, a Muslim who is in practice and faith accepts any party and teaching other than the *Quran* as his guide, is a heretic and not a Muslim . . . .[130]

This notion reveals that Azad firmly believed in the merger of religion and politics and the negation of this idea was regarded as defiance of the teachings of Islam. Islam is a vibrant and comprehensive religion that provides directions to carry political activities. Only Islam should be followed as a political doctrine to define the principles, goals and the course for the accomplishment of set objectives.

After examining the problem, he came to the inference, which became the underlying idea of his pan-Islamic thoughts, that Muslims should strive hard to expel Western domination as it had destroyed their unique Islamic character. Muslims should also commence measures and prepare grounds for the promotion of solidarity among them.

Azad's pan-Islamic thoughts were inspired by the ideas of Shaikh Jamal-ud-din Al-Afghani. Azad had also read a great deal of pan-Islamic literature produced by Shaikh Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), a pan-Islamist scholar and Al-Afghani's close associate, and Rashid Rida (1866-1935), the Syrian Islamic Scholar. Azad had learnt anti-imperialism through their writings published in the Arabic press.[131] These writings further infused aspirations in Azad for the regeneration of the entire Muslims of the world and their convergence on common Islamic ideals.

Azad's views on pan-Islamism echoed loudly during the period of the *Khilafat* movement when the situation raised concerns over the continued existence of *Khilafat*. He regarded the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire and the independence of the Ottoman Sultan as indispensable for the preservation and security of Islam as well as for the unity of the Muslim world.[132] Azad had emphasized that the defence of Islam and of the Muslim community was not the concern of the *Khalifah* only, but was also the duty of the entire Muslim community. In a speech made before the Bengal Provincial *Khilafat* Conference in February 1920, which was later published as *Masala-e-Khilafat wa Jazirat al-Arab*, he gave a lengthy analysis of the institution of the *Khilafat*, the challenges then facing it, and the action incumbent upon the Indian Muslims, with arguments gleaned from the *Quran* and *Hadith*.[133]

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[130]Abul Kalam Azad, *Tarjuman-al-Quran*, vol.I, ed. Malik Ram (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), 11; *Al-Hilal*, 8 September, 1912 quoted in Mushir-ul-Hassan, *Islam and Indian Nationalism*, 106.

[131] Mushir-ul-Hassan, *Islam and Indian Nationalism*, 22.

[132] Abul Kalam Azad, *Masala-e-Khilafat wa Jazirat-al-Arab* (Calcutta), 28 quoted in Mushir-ul-Hassan, *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India*, 71.

[133] Mushir-ul-Hassan, *Islam and Indian Nationalism*, 23.

He, along with Abdul Bari, one of the chief ideologues of the *ulema*, authored a *fatwa* on *hijrat* to articulate the permissible conduct for Muslims during *Khilafat* agitation. It stated,

After examining all the reasons embodied in the *shari'at*, contemporary events, interests of the Muslims. . . I feel completely satisfied in my perception that for the Muslims of India, there is no *shari'* alternative but to go on *hijrat*. For all those Muslims who would like to fulfil their biggest Islamic obligation in India today, it is imperative that they should embark on *hijrat*; and those who are unable to do so immediately should help and assist the worthy *muhajirin* in such a way as if they were themselves going on *hijrat*. . . Before the war, it was commendable; now, in accordance with the spirit of *shari'at* it has become mandatory.[134]

8.2 Concept of Nationalism

Trends of nationalism in India experienced evolution under various political, socio-cultural, economic and intellectual situations. Inception and gradual rise of nationalism on one hand influenced the form and spirit of the phenomenon of nationalism and on the other hand, it laid a deep-rooted impact on the political environment, economic conditions, socio-cultural leanings and intellectual inclinations in India. With the passage of time, two trends, "composite nationalism" and "Muslim nationalism" gained wide range prominence during the movement for freedom from British imperialism. The former stood for the preservation of the rights of Indians on common grounds, avoiding any cultural or religious discrimination, while the latter, as opposed to the essence of composite nationalism, advocated the safeguard of Muslim interests to uphold their uniqueness.

Composite nationalism was propagated by the Indian National Congress, while the All India Muslim League became the chief exponent of Muslim nationalism. The supporters of composite nationalism worked to design a national identity for all Indians on common cultural lines and asserted a common land, avoiding any division. The followers of Muslim nationalism made efforts to protect and promote their religious and cultural identity and stood for the territorial divide in this regard.

One of the main aspirants for composite nationalism was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was affiliated with the Indian National Congress. He remained an eloquent speaker and worker for Hindu-Muslim communal harmony and for the Hindu-Muslim alliance against the British rule in India. He invited the Muslims in the Indian National Congress to strengthen its hands for British expulsion from India. He envisaged common territorial existence and stood for staunch opposition to the scheme of Pakistan. He favoured the role of a powerful diaspora for the Muslims in India rather than seeking a quest for a separate homeland. He proposed an alternate political solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem, which was based on

[134] Ibid., 188.

a federation with a weak centre and autonomous constituent units. He represented his ideological and political standpoint to earn the support of the Muslim masses for composite nationalism and Indian unity.

The scheme of composite nationalism by Azad incorporated the themes of anti-imperialism, pan-Islamism and anti-communalism. Any clear demarcation is difficult to separate one from another. These aspects of composite nationalism overlap and intertwine with each other in terms of inception, development and manifestation.

The composite nationalism by Azad appealed to the Muslims to fight for the independence of India on the lines suggested by Congress. He also emphasized that the mutual differences should not be allowed to interfere with the struggle for freedom, which was the foremost task, and attainable only through united nationalism.[135] He held a view that the persistent assertion of the right of self-determination for Muslims and the idea of a separate land were merely an outcome of their doubts and suspicions, which would evaporate when India gained independence. He maintained that an independent India with a federation composed of fully autonomous units, where the centre would have limited powers, would eliminate Muslim fear of Hindu domination.[136]

8.3 Ramgarh Address

In the political arena of India, two significant developments occurred in March 1940. First was the demand of the Muslim League for a separate homeland for Muslims and the second was the session of Congress at Ramgarh, in which there was a suggestion for non-cooperation against the British Government. Azad was elected as Congress President on March 17, 1940, at Ramgarh. He won with a significant majority by securing 1864 votes against M. N. Roy.[137] He made a Presidential address with great vehemence at the fifty-third session of the Indian National Congress on March 19, 1940.

In his address, he focused mainly on India's immediate political problem in the context of the prevailing international situation during the Second World War. He also took into account the communal problem and the question of the freedom of India.[138] On the Hindu-Muslim problem, which had been mounted in response to the Congress rule 1937-39, he emphasized that for communal harmony it was important for both the communities to regard "common nationality"[139] which had

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[135] Safia Amir, *Muslim Nationhood in India: Perceptions of Seven Eminent Thinkers* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2000), 165.

[136] *The Amrita Bazar Patrika,* 17 April 1946 quoted in *Chopra*, ed. *Maulana Azad: Selected Speeches & Statements, 1940-47* (New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, 1990), 135.

[137] V. N. Datta, *Maulana Azad* (New Delhi: Vanguard Books, 1990), 154.

[138] Ibid., 154-158.

[139] Ibid., 157.

evolved over the centuries due to their mutual cultural interaction.[140]

About the future of India, Azad laid stress for a joint alliance of Hindus and Muslims against the British. For the accomplishment of this goal, he stated that "I remind you that our success depends upon three factors: unity, discipline and full confidence in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership."[141] He exhorted Muslims to express complete trust in the leadership of Gandhi, for he did not talk about the interests of any single community but was committed to the Indian cause.

Azad criticized the rise of Nazism and Fascism in his address and termed them as "reactionary movements which were directed against democracy and individual and national Freedom".[142] He did not spare British imperialism, either, which, to him, had deprived Indians of their natural right to freedom. He also protested that, without consulting the Congress, Britain had the impudence to push the country into War.[143]

[140] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 March 1940 in Chopra, ed. *Maulana Azad*, 21.
[141] Ibid.
[142] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 March 1940 in Chopra, ed. *Maulana Azad*, 5.
[143] Datta, *Maulana Azad*, 155.

8.4 Self Assessment Questions

1. Discuss in detail the concept of composite nationalism as espoused by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
2. Elaborate on the stance of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad about Pan-Islamism.
3. Critically evaluate the presidential address of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Ramgarh in 1940.

Suggested Readings:

Azad, Abul Kalam. *India Wins Freedom: The Complete Version*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1988.

_____. *Tazkira*. Edited by Fazal-ud-din Ahmad. Calcutta: Albalagh Press, 1919.

Bakhshi, S. R. *Abul Kalam Azad: The Secular Leader*, Indian Freedom Fighter Series 19. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1991.

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Kumar, Ravindra, ed. *The Selected Works of Abul Kalam Azad*, Vol. I, 1936-42. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1991.

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Rajput, A. B. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. 2nd ed. Lahore: Lion Press, 1957.

Rozina, Perveen, ed. *Jamiat –ul-Ulamai-Hind: Documentary Record of the General Sessions, 1919-1945*. Vol. II. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1981.

Shahabuddin, Syed, ed. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Selected Speeches and Statements*. Hyderabad: Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, 2007.

Articles in Journals

Engineer, Asghar Ali. "Maulana Azad and the Freedom Struggle." *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, 50 (December 10, 1988): 2633-2635.

Noorani, A. G. "Maulana Azad," *Criterion* vol. 5, no. 3 (July- September 2010): 3-45.

Unit: 9

MAULANA SYED ABUL AALA MAUDOODI

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Reviewed by: Abdul Basit Mujahid

INTRODUCTION

Islam and the Muslim Identity were two major factors in the making of Pakistan. However, the question of an Islamic state under a modern system remained a problem everywhere in the world. Muslim reformists presented their agendas to transform a modern state into an Islamic one in different quarters of the world. Maulana Syed Abul Aala was one of those who struggled hard to transform Pakistan into an Islamic state. This chapter discusses the nature of his program and subsequent struggle.

OBJECTIVES

After reading the unit, the students will be able to:

- understand the possible nature of an Islamic state under a modern system
- relate the caliphate to the modern-day democracy
- know the scope of Jihad under a modern setup
- Narrate the characteristics of the Muslim reformation with a special study on Maududi.

OUTLINES

Maulana Sayyed Abul Aala Maududi

9.1 Revival of Muslim Political Thought
9.2 Concept of Islamic State
9.3 Al-Jihad Fil Islam
9.4 Khilafat wa Mulokiat

9.1 Revival of Muslim Political Thought

Having no formal education, Maulana Abu'l A'ala Maududi was a journalist by profession. Not included in the formal religious scholars (Ulema), he rose to such prominence in Islamic religious discourse scarcely attained in the contemporary world. The turning point of his life was an outcry against Muslims of India on the death of a Hindu Leader, Shardhanad, on account of blasphemy by a Muslim, that Muslims were fanatics who believed in holy war against non-Muslims. Maududi resolved to respond to this propaganda and wrote *Jihad fil Islam* to elaborate on the nature of Jihad in Islam. This was the beginning of an unending series of books and pamphlets, which included a celebrated Exegesis on the Quran. He was equally an activist and fully participated in colonial and postcolonial events vehemently.

After the promulgation of the 1935 India Act under the British Government, Indian political parties sped up their struggles for independence. At this stage, Maududi wrote on Muslim political struggle in detail and laid the foundation for an organization called Jama'at Islami, which was destined to forward his agenda for an Islamic order in the Sub-Continent. He was a staunch opponent of nationalism, secularism and even democracy, which, according to him, is a cult of incompetence and tyranny of the majority. An interesting aspect of his movement was that he opposed the cause of the All India Muslim League, a modern, educated Muslim politician who won independence for Indian Muslims in the form of a separate homeland named Pakistan. In this way, Maududi opposed the Idea of Pakistan, which was going to be a nation-state on the lines of nationalism; hence, secularism would inevitably be the spirit of the state system. However, with the inception of the new state, Maududi migrated to Pakistan as the Jama'at's headquarters (Pathankot) remained in Bharat, popularly known as India.[144] In Pakistan, he launched his program and tried to persuade the state elites to implement Islamic law

[144] It should be noted that at present India exists only geographically while politically India has been divided into Bharat, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Politically there is no country known as India, Therefore it is a fallacy to brand Bharat as India. It is interesting that if there is any region which is to name India, that is the areas comprising of Pakistan because word 'India' is from River Indus and 92 percent length of Indus runs through Pakistan.

in Pakistan.[145] The struggle lasted for his whole life and became a legacy after him. Though he made many compromises on his principles for the expediency, his movement has a profound impact on the society of Pakistan regarding thought and action. The following are some aspects of his movements regarding the battle with secularism and achievements for Islamic thought in Pakistan, a modern nation-state.

9.1.1 Muadudi accepted Democracy: Secularism made an Incursion

All India Muslim League under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (first Governor General of Pakistan) demanded a separate state for Muslims on the slogan of Islam and with the conviction that Muslims will lead a life according to their religion. Maududi did not accept this stand as he thought that Islam could not be the goal of a nation-state in which democracy was operative. He blamed Muslim League elites for fooling the nation in the name of Islam. However, after the creation of Pakistan, Maududi started efforts for the establishment of a true Islamic state. Soon, he accepted democracy as a means to the election of the head of state and started participating in the elections. However, Jama'at could not win public support in elections even a single time in the history of Pakistan; moreover, some sections departed from Jama'at for accepting the modern political system and established other organizations to propagate their version of Islam. Almost all reformist organizations in the country are offshoots of Jama'at Islami. Maulana did not accept democracy as expediency only, but worked for its theoretical basis. He wrote a book on the Caliphate and Democracy. In this book, Maududi rules out absolute kingship in Islam and considers the democratic spirit as an Islamic phenomenon.

9.2 Concept of Islamic State

9.2.1 The State of Pakistan: Constitutional Islam

Maududi worked a lot for the Islamic character of the Pakistani constitution, thereby developing constitutional Islam along the lines of constitutional monarchies. Before Pakistan had a constitution Pakistan Constitutional assembly passed the Objective Resolution, in which constitution was promised to be an Islamic one, recognizing the supremacy of God. This resolution serves as a preamble in all three constitutions of Pakistan. The resolution was allegedly authored by Maududi. However, civilian governments remained reluctant to adopt the constitutional Islamic practice; a practice destined to be on the floor in democratic rule. It became possible under the military regime of Zia ul Haq when some regulations of Islamic law were implemented, but the practice was never

[145] It is alleged that some modern Islamists invited Maududi to come to Pakistan and to launch a religious program for the society as well as the state.

accomplished due to the secular character of the state. It is generally held that the impetus behind this Islamization was that of Maududi and his Jama'at Islami.

9.3 Al-Jihad Fil Islam

9.3.1Concept of Jihad as Envisaged in Maududi's Thought

Though Maududi presented a very careful opinion about jihad and did not recognize the proxy war as jihad but it has also transformed. In his first book (United India phase) al Jihad fil Islam, he presented the most rational interpretation of Jihad. In his words, "in reality, Islam is a revolutionary ideology and a program which seeks to alter the social order of the whole world and rebuild it in conformity with its own tenets and ideals. Muslim is the title of that international revolutionary party organized by Islam to carry into effect its revolutionary program. And jihad refers to that revolutionary struggle and utmost exertion which the Islamic Party brings into play to achieve this objective."[146] In reference to the enforced spread of Islam, Maududi argues, "If jihad is understood in these terms, the distinction between offensive and defensive warfare simply disappears. These terms are relevant only if the existence of nation state is acknowledged; but since Islam does not accept the existence of sovereign states that can attack each other in self-aggrandisement, the use of these terms in the Islamic concept of Jihad becomes meaningless."[147] On these bases, Maududi declared proxy war as unlawful according to Islam. In this connection, he ruled out war in Kashmir as Jihad for which he was imprisoned by the government. However, under political expediency, Maududi could stick to this notion and in the Indo-Pak War of 1965, he rendered his full support to the government and declared the war as jihad.

9.3.2 Society of Pakistan: Conscious about Secularism

Whatever the legal position adopted by Jama'at and whatever the compromises regarding conduct are made, Maududi thought that Jama'at's efforts moved Pakistan society against secularism to a considerable extent. Though complete avoidance was not possible, the society remained conscious about being fully indulged in a secular life. Jama'at always proved to be a driving force behind the religious sentiments of the Pakistani people. It was religious fervent that caused the downfall of the popular government of Z. A. Bhutto in the name of Nizam-i-Mustafa (Islamic order). Despite the success of secular parties in elections, people of Pakistan have deep allegiance to religious organizations like Jama'at Islami. Actually, an Islamic social order was much stressed in the thoughts of Maududi, as only this order can lead to a revolution which would be essential for an Islamic state.

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[146] Abul Ala Maududi, *Jihad in Islam,* (Damascus: The Holy Koran Publishing House, 1977), 5

[147] Ibid, 25

Because Islam is all-encompassing, Maududi believed that the Islamic state was for all the world and should not be limited to just the "homeland of Islam". 'Jihad' should be used to eliminate un-Islamic rule and establish the worldwide Islamic state: Islam wishes to destroy all states and governments anywhere on the face of the earth which are opposed to the ideology and program of Islam, regardless of the country or the nation which rules it. The purpose of Islam is to set up a state based on its own ideology and program, regardless of which nation assumes the role of the standard-bearer of Islam or the rule of which nation is undermined in the process of the establishment of an ideological Islamic State. Islam requires the earth—not just a portion, but the whole planet .... because the entire mankind should benefit from the ideology and welfare program [of Islam] ... Towards this end, Islam wishes to press into service all forces which can bring about a revolution and a composite term for the use of all these forces is 'Jihad'. .... the objective of the Islamic ' jihād' is to eliminate the rule of an un-Islamic system and establish in its stead an Islamic system of state rule.

Maududi taught that the destruction of the lives and property of others was lamentable (part of the great sacrifice of jihad), but that we must follow the Islamic principle that it is better to "suffer a lesser loss to save ourselves from a greater loss". Though in jihad "thousands" of lives may be lost, this cannot compare "to the calamity that may befall mankind as a result of the victory of evil over good and of aggressive atheism over the religion of God." He explained that jihad was not only combat for God but any effort that helped those waging combat (*qitaal*), including non-violent work:

"In the jihad in the way of Allah, active combat is not always the role on the battlefield, nor can everyone fight in the front line. Just for one single battle, preparations have often to be made for decades on end and the plans deeply laid, and while only some thousands fight in the front line, there are behind them millions engaged in various tasks which, though small themselves, contribute directly to the supreme effort."

9.4 Khilafat wa Mulokiat

This book tells about the rules of the Islamic caliphate. It said that the Caliph is selected by the majority vote of Muslims. The caliphate always works within the outline given by Islam. The book discussed the era of Uthman, the Third Caliph, and the events that occurred at that time. It said that unrest in the society starts in the era because of some unpopular decisions by the government. After Uthman, Ali was selected as a Caliph by the majority of Muslims. The Book portrays Mu'awiyah as a rebel Governor of Syria. The book also discussed the simplicity of Ali and the cleverness of Mu'awiyah. After the peace agreement of Hassan and Mu'awiyah, Mu'awiyah became the first King of Muslim History. It also tells us about the different factional groups of that time.

Maulana Maududi wrote his book on the basis of authentic Islamic history books e.g., Tareekh al umam wal malook, Tareekh al Kamil, Albidaya wal nihaya, authentic hadith books Sahih Bukhari and Muslim and their commentaries, Fatah ul bari, Faiz ul bari, Tareekh al khulafa. Tareekh al umam wal malook written by ALLAMA IBNE JARIR TABRI, Tareekh al Kamil written by Allama Ibne Aseer, Albidaya wal nihaya written by Allama Ibne Kasir, Fatah ul bari written by Allama Ibne Hijar asqalani, Faiz ul bari written by Allama Anwar Shah Kshmiri, Ahkam al quran written by Imam Abu Bkar Jssas, Usud al Ghaba written by Allama Ibne Aseer, Alistayab written by Allama ibne Abdul Bar, Tareekh al Khulafa written by Imam suyuti, Tahzeeb at tahzeeb written by Allama ibne hijar asqalani, Jamiul Bayan fi Tafseer al Quran by Imam Ibne Jarir Tabri, Rooh ul Maani by Allama syed mehmood aalusi Baghdadi, Umda tul Qari sharah Sahi Bukhari by Allam Badar uddin Aini Hanafi, Minhaj al Sunnah by Imam Ibne Taimiyah, Muqaddama ibne Khaladoon by Allam Ibne Khaladoon, Musnad imam Ahmed bin Hanbal, Mustadrik by Imam Hakim, Kitab Al Khiraj by Imam abu Yusuf, Mishtaak Al Masabeh, etc.

The modern conceptualization of the "Islamic state" is attributed to Maududi. In his book, *The Islamic Law and Constitution*, published in 1941 and subsequent writings, Maududi coined and popularized the term "Islamic state" itself. In addition, he coined and popularized the term "Islamic revolution" in the 1940s, even though this phrase is commonly associated with the 1979 Iranian Revolution that occurred 40 years later.

The state would be an "Islamic Democracy," and underlying it would be three principles: *tawhid* (onenessofGod), *risala* (prophethood)
and *khilafa* (caliphate). The "sphere of activity" covered by the Islamic state would be "co-extensive with human life ... In such a state, no one can regard any field of his affairs as personal and private."

The state would follow Sharia Islamic law, a complete system covering family relationships, social and economic affairs, administration, rights and duties of citizens, judicial system, laws of war and peace and international relations. In short, it embraces all the various departments of life ... The Sharia is a complete scheme of life and an all-embracing social order where nothing is superfluous and nothing lacking.

Consequently, while this state has a legislature which the ruler must consult, its function "is really that of law-finding, not of law-making." Maududi believed that the sovereignty of God (*hakimiya*) and the sovereignty of the people are mutually exclusive. Therefore, while Maududi stated in one of his books that "democracy begins in Islam," Islamic democracy, according to him, was to be the antithesis of secular Western democracy, which transfers *hakimiya* (God's sovereignty) to the people, who may pass laws without regard for God's commands.

While Maududi warned of the danger of foreign influence and conspiracies, (nationalism, for example, was "a Western concept which divided the Muslim world and thus prolonged the supremacy of Western imperialist powers") he also advocated personal freedom and condemned suspicion of government: This espionage on the life of the individual cannot be justified on moral grounds by the government saying that it is necessary to know the secrets of the dangerous persons. ... This is exactly what Islam has called as the root cause of mischief in politics. The injunction of the Prophet is: "When the ruler begins to search for the causes of dissatisfaction amongst his people, he spoils them" (Abu Dawud).

In expanding on what the government of an Islamic state should look like in his book *The Islamic Law and Constitution*, Maududi took as his model the government of Muhammad as the first four caliphs (*al-Khulafāʾu ar-Rāshidūn*). The head of state should be the supreme head of the legislature, executive and judiciary alike, but under him, these three organs should function "separately and independently of one another." This head of state should be elected and must enjoy the country's confidence, but he is not limited to a term in office.

The state's legislature "should consist of a body of such learned men who have the ability and the capacity to interpret Quranic injunctions and who in giving decisions, would not take liberties with the spirit or the letter of the *Shariah*" They must also be "persons who enjoy the confidence of the masses". They may be chosen by "the modern system of elections" or by some other method which is appropriate to "the circumstances and needs of modern times." No non-Muslims or women could be a head of state and would vote for separate legislators. On dealing with possible conflicts between the head of state and the legislature, Maududi proposed that referendums should be used to decide who is in the right, with the referendum loser resigning. Maududi would allow the formation of parties and factions during elections of representatives, but not within the legislature.

Recommended Books

Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi, *Political Theory of Islam*, Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1976

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9.5 -Self-Assessment Questions

Q. Describe the nature of an Islamic state as envisaged in Maududi's thought.
Q. What was the view of Muadudi about Jihad?
Q. Describe the views of Muadudi about the Caliphate

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