The Horizons of Islam in South Asia: Iqbāl and Maudūdī

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How wonderfully did Iqbāl express this reality!
Do not consult with Westerners about the Islamic state,
For the composition of the Prophet's people is special.
Both state and nation are formed under the name of the *ummah*,
And your *ummah* is built only through the power of faith.

(Maudūdī 1978a: 57)

Preamble

South Asia has the largest population of Muslims of any region in the world, with more than one hundred million each in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Muslims from this region have migrated to other countries around the world, where they have built up their own communities and international networks, and they are also known for their dynamic transregional commercial activities. As well, South Asia is known for having produced large numbers of activists and thinkers involved in Islamic revivalism and modernization. In this essay I shall attempt to shed light on the dynamics of Indian Muslim intellectuals in South India and on part of the intellectual foundations of the contemporary Islamic revivalist movement by exploring the thought and political activities of the poet Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877−1938) and the journalist and thinker Saiyid Abū al-A'lā Maudūdī (1903−79), both of whom have had an intellectual influence on Muslims in modern South Asia.[1]

1. Maudūdī and *Jihād in Islām*

Maudūdī was the founder of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī (Islamic Party), an organization seeking social reform in Pakistan through Islam, and he has been described as "the most systematic thinker of modern Islam" (Smith 1957: 234). He was also a prolific writer, authoring more than 140 books

and essays about Islam in Urdu. Representative of his writings are his translation of the Qur'ān (Maudūdī 1976) and his commentary on it (Maudūdī 1951–72), and even today Muslims in Great Britain, Southeast Asia and elsewhere continue to come in contact with the English translations of these two works. In addition, his main writings have been translated and introduced in many languages, including English, Arabic, and Persian, and consequently he is regarded as someone who established the philosophical guidelines of the revivalist movement in Islam beyond the borders of South Asia.

Maudūdī was born in 1903 in the city of Aurangabad in the Deccan in South India. His father was a lawyer who was descended from a line of Islamic saints, while his mother was the granddaughter of a renowned poet who had been a regular visitor to the Mughal court in Delhi. In spite of living in South India, during his childhood Maudūdī was compelled to speak the standard Urdu of Delhi at home (Nasr 1996: 13). He studied the Qur'ān at home and then enrolled at a madrasa. But when he was twelve, his father moved to Bhopal to recuperate from an illness, and so Maudūdī left the madrasa after one year. With the family finding itself in straitened circumstances, in 1918 at the age of fifteen Maudūdī began to study composition and English together with his older brother Abū al-Khayr Maudūdī with a view to earning a living as a journalist.

At the time there was much discussion in India about the abolition of the caliphate (*khilāfa*) in Turkey, which had conceded defeat in World War I. The harsh measures taken by Great Britain against Turkey raised concerns about India's future, and an anti-British movement developed in India among both Hindus and Muslims. In March 1919 the Rowlatt Act, intended to crack down on the anti-British movement, came into effect, and in April a protest gathering was held in Jaliānwālā Bāgh, a park in the city of Amritsar in the Punjab, whereupon British Indian Army soldiers opened fire on the crowd, resulting in 379 fatalities according to official sources (but about 1,000 according to the Indian National Congress). This was the Jaliānwālā Bāgh massacre, and it resulted in an immediate upsurge of anti-British feeling. In November the All India Khilafat Conference was held in Delhi, and an anti-British non-cooperation movement, known as the Khilafat movement (Khilāfat Taḥrīk), was launched. Because the movement also promoted patriotism and anti-British feeling, Hindu leaders also took part. According to some, the word *khilāfat*, meaning "caliphate," was regarded as synonymous with *khilāf* "opposition" and was interpreted in the sense of "opposition to British" rule and all forms

of social and economic exploitation, and this was one reason that support for the movement transcended religious and sectarian differences (Kagaya and Hamaguchi 1977: 105). Also in November 1919 a national organization of *ulamā* from all schools, called the Organization of Indian 'Ulama (Jam'īyat al-'Ulamā-e Hind), was formed in Amritsar. The guiding principle of its activities was loyalty to the caliph's country of Turkey, and it regarded defence of the caliphate and observation of Islamic law (*sharī'a*) as religious duties, but it was also underpinned by anti-British feeling and a love of India.

However, the Khilafat movement was also behind a succession of violent incidents, and in 1922 Gandhi, who had been advocating non-violence and non-cooperation, announced the suspension of the non-cooperation resistance movement, which led to a widespread sense of failure among the movement's supporters. After this setback, Hindus and Muslims each launched their own movements, seeking solidarity amongst themselves, and conflict between the two groups increased. In the case of Hindus, the Shuddi (Purification) movement (Śuddī kī Taḥrīk) and (Hindu) Sangatan (Consolidation) movement under the direction of Madan Mohan Mālavīya called in 1923 for conversion to Hinduism, while Muslims formed the Tablīghī Jamā'at (Preaching Party) and Tanẓīm (Organization) to promote the propagation of Islam. As conflict between Hindus and Muslims continued, the caliphate was abolished by the Turks themselves in 1924, and as a result the Khilafat movement came to an end.

During this time Maudūdī, together with his brother Abū al-Khayr, travelled as a journalist among cities where the Khilafat movement was active, and he was involved in editing journals. Maudūdī also wrote around this time laudatory biographies of Mālavīya and Gandhi (Nasr 1996: 15−16).

In 1921 Maudūdī moved to Delhi, where he made the acquaintance of representatives of the Organization of Indian Scholars and became the editor of its newspaper *Muslim*, as well as gaining the opportunity to study Arabic and the various disciplines of Islam. Having earlier left a madrasa in mid-course, he now made a systematic study of Islam. Publication of *Muslim* was temporarily suspended in 1923, whereupon Maudūdī moved to Bhopal, but in 1924 he returned to Delhi as editor of *Hamdard* (Sympathy), a newspaper published by Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī (1878−1931), a leader of the Khilafat movement, and in 1925 Maudūdī became editor of *Al-Jam'īyat*, another paper published by Muḥammad 'Alī.

In 1926, as confrontations between Hindus and Muslims worsened,

Svāmī Shraddhānand, the leader of the Shuddi movement, who had been publicly voicing his animosity towards Muslims, was killed by a Muslim, whereupon Hindus denounced Muslims and Gandhi declared, "Islam is a religion of the sword (*talwār*), and the religion of Muslims teaches such violence" (Maudūdī 1994: 14). In response Maudūdī wrote an essay entitled "Islām kā Qānūn-e Jang" (Islam's law of war), in which he sought to dispel misunderstanding of the Muslims' holy war, and this appeared in *Al-Jam'īyat* on 2 February 1927. After two instalments had been published, this essay was substantially revised and published as a book in 1930 under the title *Al-Jihād fī al-Islām* (Jihad in Islam).

In his preface to the first edition of this book, dated 15 June 1927, Maudūdī wrote as follows regarding his motives for writing this book.

> Currently Europe is casting various aspersions and slurs on Islam for its own political ends, the prime example of which is that Islam is an uncompassionate religion and teaches its believers to kill people.... Europe has been tremendously successful in blocking the world's eyes regarding this issue. And nations with a subservient attitude [towards Europe] have thoughtlessly accepted, without any verification, the view of Islam's *jihād* presented by Europe as if it were a revelation from heaven.... There recently occurred the murder of Svāmī Shraddhānand, the founder of the Shuddi movement, and this incident has given ignorant people and those with narrow-minded views the opportunity to express erroneous ideas about *jihād*.... Furthermore, it was reported in the newspapers that [the arrested Muslim] considered the killing of Svāmī, an enemy of religion, to be a good deed and thought that he would be able to gain the qualification for going to heaven by means of this good deed.... And they tried to condemn the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān for training Muslims to become murderers.... Thus the rational faculties of right-thinking people have also begun to waver. Even someone of the calibre of Gandhi, the most learned of the Hindus (*Hindū qaum*), has been influenced by this erroneous view and has gone so far as to express the view that "Islam has relied in the past and in the present on the sword for its final judgement." ... Malicious views such as these have always appeared on the path of Islam, but on this occasion, using the little time that remained in the midst of editing a newspaper (*Al-Jam'īyat*), I began writing a study of this incident. At the same time, I had it published in a column in *Al-Jam'īyat*.... After having published instalments of

it in nos. 23 and 24 [of *Al-Jamʿīyat*], I suspended its publication, and now, having completed writing all of it, I am publishing it as a book. (Maudūdī 1979a: 15–19)

At the time, criticism of Islam was also occurring among Muslim intellectuals in India. In the late nineteenth century many Muslims wrote essays arguing against *jihād*, and in the early twentieth century direct criticisms of Islam appeared in literary journals and so on. These circumstances too are said to have instilled in Maudūdī a sense of crisis about the future of Islam (Salīm 1992: 26; 1999: 145–147).

Jihād in Islām is a bulky tome of 600 pages in A5 format in which Maudūdī attempts to demonstrate the differences between "war" (*jang*) in the non-Islamic world of Western concepts, etc., and *jihād* in Islam by discussing in particular their objectives and significance with reference to a wide range of topics, including "Respect for Human Life," "The Difference between Legitimate Homicide and Illegitimate Homicide," "Unavoidable Killing," "War as an Ethical Duty," "*Jihād* in the Path to Allah," "The Position of *Jihād* in Civilized Society," "Various Forms of Self-defensive Wars," "Methods of Warfare among Arabs in the Age of Ignorance," "Methods of Warfare in Rome and Iran," "The Islamic Concept of War," "The Concept of War in Hinduism," "Deficiencies in Buddhism," "The Concept of War in Judaism," and "The Concept of War in Christianity." In addition, approximately 150 pages in the second half of this book deal with the course taken by World War I, the circumstances behind the establishment of the League of Nations, the meaning of war in international law, and methods of warfare in Europe. It is written in clear and concise Urdu, with many quotations from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* regarding the definition of *jihād* in the first half, and these are accompanied by translations into Urdu. There are also many quotations from English books regarding European history and law.

In this book, Maudūdī argues that whereas the wars currently taking place under colonialism have arisen out of the pursuit for national or individual profit, properly speaking neither Islam nor Muslims seek any profit, and, as is indicated in the Qur'ān when it says, "O Muslims, fight in the way of Allah and know that Allah hears everything and knows everything" (2:244), war in Islam is an act of legitimate defence against persecution of Islam and is different in nature from modern warfare (Maudūdī 1979a: 50). He also repeatedly discusses the importance of *jihād* and, viewing persecution of Muslims and Islamic states as attacks on the Islamic world

as a whole, he states in the form of a commentary on the Qur'ān that Muslims throughout the world have a duty to engage in *jihād*.

Allah has ordained that war prosecuted for the purpose of defending oneself against tyrants and tribulation is "war of a special way to God" (*khāṣ rāh-e khudā kī jang*). What needs to be made clear here is that this war is not for the sake of humans but for the sake of Allah, and it is carried out not for objectives espoused by humans but especially for the will of Allah. It is enjoined that one must continue this war until oppression by tyrants ceases so that the innocent servants of Allah may obtain spiritual peace. Therefore it says, "Go on fighting with them till there is no more a state of tribulation" or "Go on figting until the war lays down its arms, until there is no longer any need to continue the war and the roots of tribulation have been eradicated." (Maudūdī 1979a: 40)[2]

"And fight in the way of Allah with those who fight against you but do not commit aggression because Allah does not like aggressors. Fight against them wherever they confront you in combat and drive them out from where they drove you out. Though killing is bad, persecution is worse than killing. ... Go on fighting with them till there is no more a state of tribulation and Allah's way is established instead" (2:190−194). The command to protect religion and defend the Islamic world is extremely strict, and should some force launch an attack to destroy Islam or annihilate the Islamic system, all Muslims have the personal duty to abandon all [everyday] work and rise to fight the enemy. And they must not rest until Islam and its system are no longer threatened by this danger. (Ibid.: 56−57)

Attacks on Islamic governments and Islamic nationality (*Islāmī qaumīyat*) are in fact attacks on Islam itself, and even if the enemies' own objective is not the destruction of Islam but simply depriving Muslims of political power, fighting with them is for Muslims a duty similar to fighting with those seeking to do away with Islam. (Ibid.: 58−59)

In his treatment of European history in this book, Maudūdī cites the examples of the slave system and the spectacles of gladiatorial combat by slaves in Roman times and, criticizing their lack of respect for human

life, argues that it was Islam that had brought respect for human life to the world (ibid.: 27–28).

These arguments have bearings on his theory of rule which he was to develop in later years. That is to say, they tie in with his assertion that whereas in Islam sovereignty (ḥākimīya) belongs to Allah alone, in the West the error of rule of humans by humans gave rise to the colonialism of modern Western powers.[3]

In his criticism of Western-style "rule of humans by humans," Maudūdī frequently reiterated in later writings his assertion that in Islam sovereignty belongs to Allah alone. After Pakistan's independence, and following an extensive campaign by the Jamā'at-e Islāmī over which he presided, the statement that "Sovereignty belongs to Allah alone" was included at the start of the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1949. Thus his views came to be put into practice. In this sense, his arguments put forward in *Jihād in Islām* underpinned his subsequent writing and political activities, and this work could be described almost as the starting point of his thought.

Jihād in Islām elicited a huge response among Indian Muslims. According to Iqbāl, "Instead of adopting a muted stance, Mr. Maudūdī clearly presented Islam's views on war and *jihād* without concealing anything, and this is the best point about this book."[4] Maudūdī was encouraged to publish *Jihād in Islām* by Sulaymān Nadvī, a man of letters who presided over the "House of Writers" (Dār al-Muṣannifīn) in A'ẓamgaṛh. Dār al-Muṣannifīn acted as the publisher of *Jihād in Islam*, and Nadvī also chose the title. When it had originally appeared in *Al-Jam'īyat*, the title had used words such as "war" (*jang*), and by distinguishing these from *jihād* the aim of the work became clearer.

The most important point about *Jihād in Islām* is that it clearly rejected the application of Western concepts such as "nation" and "warfare" to Islam when seeking to dispel misunderstanding of Islam. Instead of trying to interpret Islam within the framework of Western thinking, Maudūdī sought to interpret world history, including the present age in which Western concepts were spreading widely, on the basis of the framework of Islam, i.e., the Qur'ān and *sharī'a*. In the milieu surrounding Maudūdī at the time, keywords such as "war" and "warfare" had become symbols of the "present age" on account of developments such as World War I, which had triggered the Khilafat movement, and the increasing visibleness of antagonism between Hindus and Muslims. The act of discussing "war" in this book turned into a discussion of the very conceptual framework of

the West that had produced the concept of "war." Whereas many Muslim intellectuals in India were aiming at a "contemporary recodification of Islam," the novel point about Maudūdī was that he adopted the completely opposite perspective of interpreting the "present age," a Western concept, from the vantage point of Islam. In addition, this idea of interpreting the present age on the basis of Islamic values also stood in direct opposition to the view that Muslims constituted a "nation" in a Western sense, a view that was spreading among Indian Muslims at the time, and Maudūdī was to emphasize this point in his later writings too. He felt resistance to the hemming of Muslims into the framework of a "nation" in a Western sense and thereby establishing Western "states of the Muslim nation," and he spoke of the existence of the *ummah*, which transcended borders and nations. In this respect, Maudūdī was offering a view that differed from that of contemporary political leaders among Indian Muslims.

It goes without saying that Maudūdī's views were neither original to him nor novel. However, at a time when Turkey was becoming secularized, national self-determination was being advocated around the world, and even in India it was being argued that Muslims constituted a nation and plans were being laid for modernization and state-building on the basis of Western values, Maudūdī represented a rare instance of someone seeking to revive Islamic values. The fact that he was a forerunner of subsequent worldwide Islamic revivalist movements has led to his being identified as one of the intellectual wellsprings of contemporary Islamic revivalist movements. In this sense *Jihād in Islām* is extremely important and may be regarded as one of his representative works. During his teenage years he had awoken to a love for his country and became involved in the Khilafat movement, adopting a policy of cooperation with Hindus, identifying with the anti-British movement, and lavishing generous praise on Hindu leaders. But he understood the schema of subsequent Hindu-Muslim conflict under British colonial policy as a struggle between Hindu and Christian concepts and Islam, and in *Jihād in Islām* he examined "war," a concept symbolic of the age, through a comparison of different religions and came to reconfirm the legitimacy of Islam. In this sense, the second half of the 1920s was an intellectual turning point for Maudūdī.

In 1931 Maudūdī returned to Hyderabad, and in 1932 he launched the magazine *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* and became more actively engaged in writing activities.[5]

2. Iqbāl

From the second half of the 1920s to the 1940s, when Maudūdī's writing activities were at their peak, there was an Indian Muslim poet advocating activism through his poems. This was Muḥammad Iqbāl, who is today revered as the national poet of Pakistan.

Iqbāl was born in 1877 in Siālkoṭ in the Punjab. After gaining an M.A. at Punjab University in Lahore in 1899, he became a teacher at a college in Lahore. He attracted attention for some free verse (*naẓm*) of his that was published in the inaugural issue of the literary magazine *Makhzan* in 1901, at which time he was writing Romantic poetry about love for one's country (*ḥubb-e waṭan*), i.e., India, based on a love for humanity that transcended nation and religion.[6] From 1905 to 1908 he studied in England (Cambridge) and Germany (Munich) and received a doctorate at the University of Munich. In 1908 he joined the Muslim League when its London branch was established, and convinced that the greatest enemies of Islam and Muslims were racial discrimination and the idea of nationality at a state level, he became a Muslim philosopher after his return to India, formulating a philosophy of the self that advocated the establishment of the self and activism and giving expression to his ideas chiefly in poetry written in Persian and Urdu. For a time after his return to India he taught, but in 1911 he started a law practice. Beginning with *Asrār-e Khudī* (Secrets of the Self), a collection of poems in Persian published in 1915, he brought out a succession of poetic works, including *Ramūz-e Bēkhudī* (Mysteries of Selflessness; 1918) (in Persian), *Bāng-e Darā* (The Call of the Marching Bell; 1924) (in Urdu), *Bāl-e Jiblīl* (Gabriel's Wing; 1935) (in Urdu), and *Ẓarb-e Kalīm* (The Rod of Moses; 1936) (in Urdu). He died in Lahore in March 1938.

The way in which Iqbāl moved from a stand of cooperation with Hindus, advocating love for India, to opposition to the idea of nationality at a state level is similar to the path taken by Maudūdī, and this was not the only point of contact between these two men. In 1929 Maudūdī listened to a lecture given by Iqbāl in Hyderabad (Fārūqī 1977: 23),[7] while Iqbāl read Maudūdī's *Jihād in Islām* and also the magazine *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*, and they were reading each others writings (ibid.: 20−21). While it is not possible to clearly demonstrate any influence of one on the thought of the other, it can be surmised that Maudūdī was extremely sympathetic to Iqbāl's ideas (including the way in which they were expressed in poetry) when one considers that he quotes seven of Iqbāl's verses, including those

cited at the start of this essay, in his article "Qaumīyat-e Islām" (Islam Nationality), published in 1933 (Maudūdī 1978: 57).[8] Just as Japanese were formerly familiar with lines of classical Chinese poetry, so too were Iqbāl's poetic writings widely read by Indian Muslim intellectuals at the time.[9]

Iqbāl's poem *Tarāna-e Millī* (Song of the Muslim Community) is written in the same metre as *Tarāna-e Hindī* (Song of Indians), one of his representative early works, but a comparison of the two shows that his interest had shifted from love for India to the *ummah*.

> *Tarāna-e Hindī*
> Better than the entire world, our Hindustan;
> We are its nightingales, it is our garden abode.
> That tallest mountain, that shade-sharer of the sky,
> That is our sentry, that is our custodian.
> Religion does not teach [us] to keep enmity with each other;
> We are of India, our homeland is Hindustan.
>
> (Iqbāl 1989: 83)

> *Tarāna-e Millī*
> China and Arabia are ours, Hindustan is ours;
> We are Muslims, the whole world is our homeland.
> The trust of Oneness is in our breasts;
> It is not easy to erase its name and sign.
> Among the world's idol-temples the first is that house of the Lord;
> We are its custodians, it is our custodian.
> We have been raised in the shadows of swords;
> The scimitar of the crescent moon is our mascot.
> In the valleys of the west our call to prayer echoed;
> Our moving flood did not stop on account of anyone.
>
> (Iqbāl 1989: 159)

In the poem *Waṭanīyat: Yaʿnī Waṭan Ba-ḥaiṯhīyat Ek Siyāsī Taṣawwur ke* (Nationalism: Country as a Political Concept) Iqbāl maintains with respect to the concept of "country" (*waṭan*) that the Western concept of "country" as used by politicians differs from the concept of "country" in Islam, which is not subject to any regional constraints. Here too one can detect the notion of *ummah* as well as differences between Western and Islamic concepts.

These idols chiselled by a new civilization
Have made the religion of the Prophet their target.
Your arm is strengthened by the power of Oneness.
Islam is your country, and you are a follower of the Prophet.
Show the world that spectacle of yore!
O follower of the Prophet, shatter those idols to dust!
The result of being shackled to the regional is destruction.
One who is free from the fetters of country is free like a fish in the sea.
Country in the parlance of politics is something else,
And country in the teaching of the Prophet is something else.

<div align="right">(Iqbāl 1989: 160)</div>

In an essay entitled "Qaumī Zindagī" (About the Life of Muslims), published in two instalments in the magazine *Makhzan* in 1904−05 shortly before his departure for Europe, Iqbāl wrote about the need for a "new interpretation of Islam."

Now is an extremely important time. Nothing can be done unless all Muslims (*qaum*) unite and turn their attention to spiritual change.... If one thinks of learning from the history of Japan (which understood the significance of current changes and succeeded in becoming independent by seeking to adapt its own cultural, moral, and political conditions to these changes)—at the present point in time this country is our best model—then two things are very important. These are, namely, cultural reform and the spread of education. For Muslims, the question of cultural reform is in fact a religious question. This is because Islamic culture is essentially the concrete form taken by the religion of Islam and in our cultural life there does not exist a single aspect that is free from the principles of religion. I do not intend to discuss this important question from the aspect of religion, but since a major change has occurred in our living environment, it has to be said that there has arisen a cultural need requiring a reexamination of the proofs of legal scholars, which are in their entirety generally called the *sharī'a* of Islam. I do not mean that there is some defect in the principles endorsed by Islam, on account of which they cannot respond to our present cultural needs; what I mean is that the majority of the proofs undertaken by legal scholars as the occasion demanded on the basis of the wide-ranging principles of the Holy Qur'ān and

ḥadīth were certainly appropriate and practicable in a certain period
but are unable to respond adequately to present demands. (Iqbāl
1984: 154−155)

At this time Iqbāl harboured a fear that whereas Hindus, like the
Japanese, were awakening to the need for self-reform in accordance with
present-day demands, Muslims were not yet aware of this. He also began
to argue that Muslims should establish a sense of self and, instead of being
content with a passive position, they ought to engage in action aimed at
independence. Iqbāl shared with Maudūdī the view that Muslim indepen-
dence from colonial rule was not a political issue but a question concern-
ing the Islamic world. After his return from Europe, he began to speak
to those around him of his plans to establish an institute for the study of
Islam in the Punjab, which had a large Muslim population, with a view
to undertaking the "modern codification of Islam" (*Islām kī tadvīn-e jadīd*)
(Sakīk n.d.: 211−212). In the lecture that Maudūdī attended in Hyderabad
Iqbāl also argued for the need to reconstruct Islamic thought from a scien-
tific viewpoint suited to present-day demands. This lecture was included
in *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Iqbāl 1996),
published in 1930,[10] while his plans to establish a research institute for
Islamic learning aimed at the "modern codification of Islam" eventually
came to fruition in his final years. This was Dār al-Islām.

3. Dār al-Islām

In 1935 Caudhrī Niyāz ʿAlī (d. 1976), who had been employed at
the Department of Canals at Pathānkot in Gurdāspūr district, Punjab, ap-
proached Iqbāl with the idea that he would like to devote the rest of his
life to Islam. In response, Iqbāl spoke to him of the need for a modern
codification of Islamic law and the need for Muslim intellectuals to think
about the present situation on the basis of Islamic law (Iqbāl n.d. a: 249−
250), and asked him to provide the facilities for establishing a research
institute of Islamic learning. In March 1936 Niyāz accordingly donated
sixty acres of his estate near Pathānkot and had the necessary buildings
constructed.

Iqbāl then set about securing scholars for the institute. Having heard
that al-Azhar University in Egypt was sending Islamic scholars to various
places around the world, he first sent a letter of invitation to its president
Shaykh al-Azhar ʿAllāma Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, dated 15 August 1937, in

which he requested that, "taking into consideration our aims and circumstances, Egyptian intellectuals like you come to the Punjab with the financial assistance of al-Azhar University" (ibid.: 251−253). The requirements for those coming to the institute were that they be versed in the history of Islamic law and culture and also be proficient in English. In its reply, the university welcomed Iqbāl's proposal but declined the invitation to send someone on the grounds that a course in English had started only the previous year and there was no one able to speak English (Fārūqī 1977: 288).

Next, Niyāz sent invitations to leading Muslim intellectuals in India at the time, such as Maulānā Ashraf ʿAlī Thānavī, Abū al-Kalām Āzād, ʿUbaid Allāh Sindhī, ʿAbd Allāh Sindhī, ʿAbd Allāh Yūṣuf ʿAlī, and ʿAllāma Muḥammad Asad. Thānavī was a Deobandi scholar, and his *Bihishtī Zewar* (Heavenly Ornaments), written for Muslim women, continues to be printed today. Although these scholars all approved of the plans for a research institute, they declined the invitation for reasons of their respective positions, and it proved difficult to secure the necessary personnel for the institute.

Iqbāl then singled out Maudūdī, saying to Niyāz, "There is a fine magazine called *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān* that is published in Hyderabad, and Maudūdī is its editor. I have read some of his writings, and he deals with present-day issues as well as religion. His book *Jihād in Islām* was a good book. How about inviting him? He will be sure to accept" (ibid.: 21). And so it came about that a letter of invitation was sent to Maudūdī.

At the time Maudūdī was devoting his energies to activities in Hyderabad, and he had also acquired land for this purpose (ibid.: 22). Looking back at this period, he later wrote:

> Not only did I have no interest in the Punjab, but as a result of my observations of journalism and politics in the Punjab and the discussions that were taking place there, I had no intention of going to the Punjab. But at the end of 1936 Professor [Iqbāl] turned my interest towards moving from the Deccan to the Punjab. However, when I decided to leave the Deccan at the end of 1937, I went to Lahore to consult with Iqbāl, and I then thought that it would be fitting for me to live henceforth in the Punjab. (Ibid.: 77−78)[11]

The reasons that Maudūdī left Hyderabad are encapsulated in his statement that "opportunities to work actively in South India were dimin-

ishing by the day, and I felt that North India was suited to determining the future of Muslims" (Maudūdī 1963). On the Indian subcontinent at the time, there was a large population of Muslims in the Punjab, and they were conspicuous for their political and social activities (Iqbāl n.d. a: 79). At the same time, the circulation of *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* had failed to grow, and Maudūdī was finding it difficult to raise money to meet the publishing costs, as a result of which he was allocating the proceeds from the sale of traditional medicines to the publishing costs (Maudūdī 1995: 49). Therefore, it was inevitable that he should have chosen the Punjab as the base for his activities.[12]

In the November 1937 issue of *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* Maudūdī announced that the journal's headquarters would be moving from Hyderabad to Paṭhānkoṭ (Nasr 1996: 36), and he relocated to the Punjab with the aim of "gathering capable young men who had received a modern and classical education and establishing an institution for training new leaders in ethics and praxis" (Maudūdī 1994: 23). Upon his arrival in the Punjab, he joined Dār al-Islām.

Dār al-Islām, established in December 1937, was both the name of the institution and also became the name of the place where it was located. According to records from the time of its establishment, its official name was the Dār al-Islām Trust and its name was chosen by Iqbāl. It was located in Jamālpūr in Gurdāspūr district, and it was announced that

(1) it would undertake publishing activities for the purpose of spreading knowledge about the religion and culture of Islam;
(2) the land had been donated by K͟hān Ṣāḥib Caudhrī Niyāz 'Alī K͟hān on 3 March 1936 for the management and operation of the institution. (Fārūqī 1977: 23−24)

The operations of Dār al-Islām were supported by the religious endowments (*waqf*) of its supporters, centred on Niyāz.

Maudūdī arrived at Paṭhānkoṭ in March 1938, after the establishment of Dār al-Islām (Nasr 1996: 38). According to Maudūdī, Iqbāl had promised that if Maudūdī came to Dār al-Islām, he would spend half the year in Lahore and the other half at Dār al-Islām (Maudūdī 1963), but on 21 April, little more than a month after Maudūdī's arrival, Iqbāl died.

Upon hearing of Iqbāl's death, Maudūdī wrote the following piece in memory of him for *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*:

At the start of last year I offered up prayers to Allah, but I did not imagine that less than a year later the daring act of advancing a small damaged boat against the waves of a raging sea would befall me. At the time I still felt as if I was enveloped in fog, and so I prayed to Allah that, in the event that such a weight should fall upon my shoulders in the near future, I wanted the strength to be able to bear it: "Give me the faith of a *mujahid*!" and "Give me a [strong] spirit to whom it would not occur to capitulate or concede at the enemy's gates!" ... But today I have been cast from the safety of the shore to the stormy waves of the ocean. That small boat of my dreams, the small boat that was entrusted to me, has lost its bottom and its sail is in tatters. My greatest mainstay was the assistance of Iqbāl. But just when I thought that I had set foot in this place his assistance was taken away. (Fārūqī 1977: 25–26)

Maudūdī had moved to the Punjab as a result of his association with Iqbāl, and with the latter's sudden death he was now charged with the mission of the "modern codification of Islam."

At Dār al-Islām Maudūdī became actively involved in its organization as well as pursuing his own writing activities. In October 1938 eleven representative Muslim intellectuals from India joined Dār al-Islām. They set about organizing the institute, creating members (*rukn*) and a consultative body (*shūrā*), and Maudūdī himself became president (*ṣadr*). This organizational structure served as the basis for the structure of the future Jamāʿat-e Islāmī (Nasr 1996: 38). The journal *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān* also began to be published at Paṭhānkoṭ, and many of Maudūdī's essays were published in book form after having appeared in the journal. Representative of these publications were a collection of essays entitled *Tanqīḥāt* (Clarification), *Musalmān aur Maujūda Siyāsī Kashmakash* (Muslims and the Present Political Conflict; 1938), which included an essay linked to the founding of the Jamāʿat-e Islāmī, *Islāmī Masʾala-e Qaumīyat* (The Question of Nationality in Islam; 1939), and *Parda* (The Veil; 1940).

Around this time new developments, centred on the Muslim League, had been taking place among Indian Muslims. At the 27th conference of the Muslim League held in Lahore in March 1940, the chairman Jinnah gave a speech in which he put forward a two-nation theory (*do qaumī naẓarīya*), arguing that India was composed of two nationalities—Hindus and Muslims—whose civilization and historical traditions were completely different on account of their religious differences, and he demanded a sep-

arate independent state for Muslims. At the time, Jinnah was concerned with how to gain the right to represent Indian Muslims, and it was of secondary importance to him whether his supporters belonged to the upper classes or the masses so long as he obtained the right to represent them (Kagaya and Hamaguchi 1977: 135–138). But this stance of Jinnah's differed from Iqbāl's ideas and was also removed from the establishment of an Islamic social system aspired to by Maudūdī, who felt uncomfortable with the fact that the new state of Pakistan for which the Muslim League under Jinnah was aiming defined Muslims as a "nation" on the basis of the Western concept of nationalism (*qaum parastī*), and he was strongly opposed to Pakistan's becoming a secularized Muslim state under the Westernized leaders of the Muslim League. Consequently Maudūdī's books from around this time include many essays about nationalism, typical of which was *The Question of Nationality in Islam*, published in 1939. This book brought together essays that had appeared in *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* between 1933 and 1939, and they included essays with titles such as "The Nationality of Islam," "The League of Nations and Islam," "Does the Liberation of India Lie in Nationalism?" "The True Meaning of Islamic Nationality," and "Two Paths for Consanguineous Muslims."

Common to these essays is first of all Maudūdī's assertion that the general terms used for referring to Muslims in the Qur'ān are words like "group" (*ḥizb, jamā'at*), "Allah's party" (*ḥizb Allāh*) and "community" (*ummat*), and not "nation" (*qaum*).

> Just as among Arabs of ancient times the word "nation" (*qaum*) was usually used to refer to people of a certain blood relationship or tribe (*qabīla*), today too the notion of "common descent" is invariably included in the meaning of "nation." Because these are fundamentally contrary to concepts expressing "group" in Islam, in the Qur'ān the word "nation" and other Arabic words of the same meaning, such as "race" (*shě'b*), were not used as words referring to groups of Muslims (*musalmānoṇ kī jamā'at*). Elements such as blood relationship, regional bonds, and skin colour were completely absent from the basis of Muslim groups, and their organization and structure were based solely on principles (*uṣūl*) and rules (*maslak*). Furthermore, from the outset Muslim groups undertook migration (*hijra*), severed blood relations, and abandoned blood relations. (Maudūdī 1978a: 172)[13]

Maudūdī does, however, note in *Jihād in Islam* that the existence of

"nations" (*qaum*) is mentioned in the Qur'ān.[14)] The point that he was making was that "nation" does not enter into the definition of "Muslim." He states that "Muslim" signifies a believer of Islam and cannot be used in the same way as "Hindu" or "Japanese," which indicates an attribute based on a person's descent (ibid.: 184–185). As is indicated by statements in the Qur'ān such as "You shall not find a people who believe in Allah and the Last Day befriending those who oppose Allah and His Messenger even though they be their fathers or their sons or their brothers or their kindred" (8:22) and "Abraham's prayer for the forgiveness of his father was only because of a promise which he had made to him. Then, when it became clear to him that he was an enemy of Allah, he dissociated himself from him" (9:114), even fathers and brothers are unrelated persons in Islam if they are not Muslims, and Maudūdī stressed that "Muslim" has the meaning of existing only in a one-to-one relationship with Allah and that a Muslim is a Muslim only on account of his belief in Islam and his practice of Islam (ibid.: 174). If Muslims intermarry over several generations and a consanguineous group comes to be composed entirely of Muslims, it may appear outwardly to be a "Muslim nation," but according to Maudūdī it was wrong to call such a group "Muslim" if its members did not fulfil their duties as Muslims. In the same way he maintained that it was wrong to refer to past instances of monarchic government by Muslims as "Islamic régimes" and to call the extravagant culture of their rulers "Islamic culture," and he asserted that the history of these monarchic governments fell under political history and not the history of Islam.

Having thus given a clear definition of "Muslim," Maudūdī severely criticized moves by many Muslim intellectuals in India, centred on the Muslim League, to establish Pakistan "for the benefit of the Muslim nation," arguing that this was not a movement that accorded with Islam, but was based on secular and Western utilitarianism (ibid.: 182–184).

> What you call Islamic brotherly love (*ikhwat*) is in reality nothing more than the like of ignorant nationality adopted from non-Muslims. As a phenomenon born of this ignorance, there arises within you the strange concept of "national benefit" (*qaumī mufād*), which you brazenly refer to also as "Islamic benefit" (*Islāmī mufād*). What exactly is this nominal Islamic benefit or national benefit? It means that people called Muslims (*musalmān*) become happy and gain wealth, receive respect, and take pride in their power. But all these benefits are unrelated to the viewpoint of whether they follow or contravene

Islamic ideas and the principles of Islam. Even if nothing Islamic can be recognized anywhere in their way of thinking and mode of behaviour, you call anyone who is a Muslim by birth or whose family is Muslim a "Muslim." It is just as if "Muslim" were for you a designation not of the spirit but of the body, and it also becomes possible to call even someone who has views divorced from Islamic attributes (*ṣifat-e Islām*) a "Muslim." On the basis of such mistaken ideas you call people of such a party Muslims and regard their government as an Islamic government (*Islāmī ḥukūmat*), their advancement as the advancement of Islam (*Islāmī taraqqī*), and their benefits as benefits for Islam. You do not care if such government, advancement, and benefits are completely inconsistent with the principles of Islam. Just as Germanness (*Jarmanīyat*) is not the appellation of some principle, but is nothing more than the appellation of a mere nationality, and a German nationalist (*Jarman qaum parast*) is merely seeking the glory of Germans in some form or another, so too have you turned Muslimness (*muslimīyat*) into a nationality of mere Muslim nationalists (*muslim qaum parast*). Furthermore, your so-called Muslim nationalist is merely seeking the glory of his own nation and does not mind even if such glory is the result of having followed forms that are completely contrary to Islam in principle and action. What is this if not ignorance (*jāhilīyat*)? Have you not forgotten that "Muslim" is the appellation of an international party that has upheld its own ideals (*naẓarīya*) and programme of action for the prosperity and welfare of humanity on earth? (ibid.: 182−184)

Worth noting in this passage is the fact that Maudūdī uses the word "ignorance" (*jāhilīyat*) with reference to Muslims who are in thrall to Western concepts. When pointing out how Saiyid Quṭb, a thinker and leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, was influenced by Maudūdī, Choueiri (1990) and also Iizuka (1991a; Itagaki and Iizuka 1991), who bases himself on Choueiri, note that just as Maudūdī used the concept "age of ignorance" (*al-Jāhilīya*) to criticize political thought of Western provenance that seeks sovereignty in humankind, so too did Quṭb employ the same concept with reference to Egyptian society to which he himself belonged (Itagaki and Iizuka 1991: 274). Maudūdī's idea of equating the present day with the "age of ignorance" was to provide an important perspective for subsequent Islamic revivalist thought, and it is evident that he held this view already in the late 1930s.

Apart from his writing activities, Maudūdī also held study meetings about the interpretation of Islamic law. These continued after his move to Lahore, and their content was published under the title *5−A. Pānc A, Dhaildār Pārk*, which was named after his address in Lahore.

But a difference of opinion arose between Maudūdī, who took a critical stance towards the Muslim League and its emphasis of "benefits for Muslims" and had begun to place greater emphasis on the political activities of Dār al-Islām, and Niyāz, who was a fervent supporter of the Muslim League and wanted to preserve Dār al-Islām purely as a research institute, as originally proposed by Iqbāl. Maudūdī countered that it was impossible to separate Islam from politics, and the upshot of this disagreement was that in late 1938 (or early 1939) Maudūdī resigned and moved to Lahore (Nasr 1996: 38−39). For a time Dār al-Islām shifted its headquarters to Lahore, but its activities later stagnated.

4. The Formation of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī

Having gained many acquaintances in the Punjab through his experiences in the course of establishing a research institute in the form of Dār al-Islām and through his teaching activities, in 1941 Maudūdī established in the fullness of time the Jamā'at-e Islāmī. As is indicated by the fact that he had sought to emphasize the functions of a political group at Dār al-Islām, around this time he was absorbed in political activities (Nasr 1996: 39). He also published a book on the Islamic reform movement, entitled *Tajdīd o Ĕḥyā-e Dīn* (Religious Reform and Revival), which surveyed the activities of Islamic religious reformers such as Shāh Walī Allāh.

In 1941, in the third volume of *Muslims and the Present Political Conflict*, Maudūdī discussed the meaning of Islamic movements and the need to form some sort of group, and in *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* he called upon those who agreed with this view to notify the editorial office of their willingness to participate in such a group (Kagaya 1987: 69). Hāshmī has described *Muslims and the Present Political Conflict* as the foundation stone (*sang-e buniyād*) of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī (Hāshmī 1999: 733). It was founded on 26 August 1941 at Maudūdī's home in Lahore, and seventy-five people gathered on this occasion. In his speech at the inaugural meeting Maudūdī stated that in the course of his campaigning for the theoretical reform of thought the establishment of Dār al-Islām had been the first step in the Islamic movement, and although it had been ignored, supporters had subsequently increased and the establishment of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī at a time when

small circles of like-minded people were springing up throughout India meant that the time for taking the second step in systematically promoting the Islamic movement had arrived (Kagaya 1987: 70). Although Dār al-Islām may have ended in failure, his experiences there no doubt served Maudūdī well when it came to establishing the Jamā'at-e Islāmī.

Maudūdī went on to say that the objective of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī was to "establish socially a system of religion in a practical way and strive to eradicate any forces that hindered this" and that "it addresses Islam itself and original Islam, and it is complete Islam that constitutes our movement." Maudūdī stressed that this "practice of a religious system" (*iqāmat-e dīn*) was the aim of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī (Maudūdī 1994: 29). Further, "only pious Muslims were permitted to join," and whereas past groups had "adopted the forms of various kinds of secular societies and parties," the Jamā'at-e Islāmī "adopted the same rules as the group first founded by the Prophet." Consequently, the members of the *shūrā* were directly elected by the group's members, and its chairman was also elected (ibid.: 26−27). He called for social reform based on Islam: "[Jamā'at-e Islāmī's] participants must change the system of living in the whole world. They must change everything, the world's ethics, politics, civilization, society, and economy. They must change the system of living contrary to Allah that is being conducted in the world and make it so that it is based on obedience to Allah."

Maudūdī also took care to have people who had received both a classical and a modern education join the group, as is evident from his following reminiscences:

> When establishing the Jamā'at, we took care that people who had received both a classical and a modern education participated so that both would promote a single movement for the establishment of an Islamic system. Judging from my past experience, a group of people who have received only a modern education is unable to establish a religious system because, however sincere they may be towards Islam, they are ignorant of religion (*dīn*). Likewise, however much people who have received a religious education may know about religion, they are unable to administer a modern state system (*jadīd riyāsat kā niẓām*) in the present age. Therefore, one cannot build a pure religious group, religious system, or contemporary Islamic state founded on Islam with them alone. For these reasons I believe that it is necessary for both to have contact with each other.[15]

This stance of his could be said to indicate that the "practice of a religious system" was not something reactionary, but was aimed at an Islamic revival in the modern age.

Maudūdī assumed the position of leader (*amīr*) of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī, and in June 1942 he returned to Paṭhānkoṭ. His reason for moving back to Paṭhānkoṭ was that, with the campaign for the establishment of Pakistan intensifying in the cities, he wanted to ensure that no problems that might provide an impetus to the campaign would arise (Fārūqī 1977: 45).

On 29 August 1947, about two weeks after Pakistan's independence on 14 August, Maudūdī decided on "migration" (*hijrat*) to Pakistan. A clue to his reason for moving to Pakistan, despite his refusal to recognize Muslims as a "nation" and his opposition to the founding of the Muslim state of Pakistan, can be found in a piece that he contributed to the semiweekly newspaper *Kauthar* on 5 July, shortly before Pakistan's independence. It had been decided that the inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province bordering Afghanistan would vote in a referendum on whether to join India or Pakistan, and this piece was written in response to local inhabitants who had sought Maudūdī's opinion on which country they should join.

Maudūdī wrote that since the Jamā'at-e Islāmī had no power to impose any restrictions regarding matters other than those concerned with the principles (*uṣūl*) of Islam, the people were free to vote either way. But at same time, while making clear that this was his "personal" view, he displayed a stance that favoured joining Pakistan, writing, "If I were an inhabitant of the Frontier Province, I would vote for Pakistan. This is because I believe that where the partition of India is about to be carried out on the basis of Hindu and Muslim nationalism, one ought to join the country where Muslims will be in the majority" (Maudūdī 1992: 288). But he also stated, "A vote for Pakistan does not signify support for Pakistan's system of government. It will be all right if Pakistan's system of government is an Islamic system, but if it turns out to be a non-Islamic system, then one will have to continue efforts, just like now, for the introduction of Islamic principles." He thus provisionally accepted the Muslim state of Pakistan, composed of Muslims, but also indicated his intention to undertake activities aimed at the establishment of an Islamic state. It should be noted that in an interview Maudūdī referred to his move to Pakistan as *hijrat* (Fārūqī 1977: 67), and in his writings he used the same word enclosed in quotation marks. The use of quotation marks for emphasis may be considered to have been an indication of his intent, namely, that he

was deliberately moving to Pakistan in order to make it an Islamic state.

Around the same time Maudūdī also established the Jamā'at-e Islāmī Hind in India, although it is now unrelated to Pakistan's Jamā'at-e Islāmī. It was established because it was thought that it would be impossible to travel back and forth between India and Pakistan (ibid.: 50–51).

In this fashion Maudūdī settled in Pakistan and engaged in activities aimed at the establishment of an Islamic state system, succeeding for instance in having the statement that "Sovereignty belongs to Allah alone" included at the start of the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. In 1953 Maudūdī criticized the Ahmadiyya community, founded in North India in the late nineteenth century, as non-Islamic and was imprisoned and sentenced to death on the charge of having criticized the government. He was later released from prison and continued his writing activities. The Jamā'at-e Islāmī rapidly came to the fore in the 1970s at the time of the Islamization policies of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's government in Pakistan and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Since then its political influence has waned, but it retains deep-seated support in Pakistani society.

5. The Spread of the Horizons of Islam in South Asia

As we have seen in the above, Iqbāl and Maudūdī worked for the revival of Islam by a process of trial and error, which included the establishment of Dār al-Islām, and by writing poetry and prose and through political activities. Their poetic sentiments and arguments continue to have an influence on Muslims not only in contemporary Pakistan, but also in other regions.

The most distinctive feature of Maudūdī's thought and conduct lies in his stance rather than in the content of his ideas. That is to say, as well as taking a positive stance towards Islam, seeking to comprehend the present age through Islam, he also had a positive attitude towards modern education and knowledge. The question of the reinterpretation of Islam was already being discussed in South Asia before Maudūdī arrived on the scene, and Iqbāl had been one those debating this question. Moreover, there existed among Indian Muslim intellectuals fond of Persian and Urdu poetry, including Maudūdī, an amorphous poetic and abstract space directed towards the contemporary codification of Islam advocated in Iqbāl's poems. Esposito has described Iqbāl as "the renowned Islamic modernist and poet-philosopher, who had fired the imaginations of many

Muslims with his call for a Muslim state in the 1930s" (Esposito and Voll 1996: 103), and this is a reference to the fact that his importance lies in the fact that he not only put forward ideas about state-building, but also expressed these ideas through the medium of poetry. Whereas Iqbāl dealt with concepts such as sovereignty and nationality in his poems, Maudūdī made use of his career as a journalist to write clear and concise prose in which he presented his arguments systematically and in concrete detail with quotations from the Qur'ān. A task for the future will be to undertake individual studies of the thought of Indian Muslim intellectuals, including Iqbāl and Maudūdī, and then integrate the findings of these studies.[16] Towards this end, it will be necessary to study not only the Islamic revivalist movement, but also Sufism and various other aspects of Islam.

Although Maudūdī agreed with Iqbāl's policy of codifying Islam along modern lines while also being familiar with Western learning, what he actually advocated was the Islamic interpretation and codification of contemporary phenomena, reflecting his consistently held position that "in the beginning there was Islam." This stance of his differed from the current aiming at the modernization of Islam, which carried within it the possibility of exposing contradictions through its accommodation of Islam to Western values.

Furthermore, the way in which the Jamā'at-e Islāmī was administered by encouraging interchange between people who had received a modern education and those who had received a religious education differed from reactionary Islamic movements that flatly rejected Western values. It was because Maudūdī recognized the importance of the latest Western scholarship and knowledge that he was able to understand and criticize Western concepts of war, nationalism, sovereignty, and so on. His level-headed criticisms and expositions, free from the shackles of regionality and nationality, won him many supporters. His writings were translated into Arabic in the 1940s and 1950s by his friend Mas'ūd 'Alam Nadvī (d. 1954),[17] and through these translations his ideas exerted an influence on Islamic revivalist movements around the world. His identification of the present age as the "age of ignorance," mentioned earlier, played an important role in the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and other Islamic revivalist movements.

In 2002 I came across Maudūdī's English translation of the Qur'ān and English translations of his commentary on the Qur'ān and other books by him at a bookstore in a Muslim residential area on the outskirts of London, and I also found an English translation of one of his books

(Maudūdī 1999) published in Kuala Lumpur at a bookstore in Malaysia. This state of affairs, in which Muslims around the world are coming into contact with his writings, is indicative of the spread of Islam revivalism from South Asia. It is interesting to note that many of the books on Islam in Malaysia are reprints of books that were originally published by the Jamā'at-e Islāmī in Pakistan or Nadwat al-'Ulama in Lucknow, India (Haque n.d.). An English translation of the Qur'ān and an English commentary by Maudūdī's friend 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf 'Alī ('Alī 1999, 2001) are also frequently encountered in Southeast Asia.

Iqbāl, on the other hand, is revered as Pakistan's national poet, and his poems are often quoted in the mass media. There has also developed a field of research called Iqbāl studies (*Iqbāliyāt*), and there are institutions in Pakistan devoted to the study of his thought, such as the Iqbāl Academy and Bazm-e Iqbāl. In neighbouring Iran, where he is known as Iqbāl Lāhorī, his Persian poems have been published and are widely read (Iqbāl 1956). The Iranian poet Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (1886−1951), who was active in the first half of the twentieth century, refers to Iqbāl in one of his poems as the "champion" of Muslims.

When poets surrendered in defeat,
This champion did the work of a hundred cavalrymen.

(Bahār n.d.)

As Western-style secularization advanced, the modernization of Islam as advocated by Iqbāl was subsequently conveyed to Mortaza Motahhari (1920−79), one of the scholars behind the Iranian Revolution. In his book *Nahẓathā-e Islāmī* (Islamic Movements), Motahhari identifies Iqbāl as one of the leading reformers of Islam outside the Arab world and extols him for his extensive knowledge of Western science and philosophy (Motahhari n.d.: 56). 'Alī Sharī'atī (1933−77), a reformist thinker who had a philosophical influence on the Iranian Revolution, also regarded Iqbāl as a brilliant thinker (Irfānī 1999: 4).

Another noteworthy development in the context of Islam revivalism, alongside the Iranian Revolution, was that the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was defined as a *jihād* and Muslims from around the world volunteered to take part in it, and it is interesting to note that in 1977, when Soviet influence in Afghanistan was growing, five studies of Iqbāl, including translations of his poems, were published in Kabul. In addition, the publication at the height of the war against the Soviet

Union of a book about an Afghan poet with associations with Iqbāl by the Jami'at-i Islāmī (Islamic Society), a representative group of mujahideen, could be regarded as another example of Iqbāl's role in lending support to Islamic revivalist thought.[18]

In addition, Iqbāl's *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* has been translated into languages such as Persian, Russian, Turkish, German, Spanish, Tajik, and Dari, while many studies of his thought have appeared not only in these languages, but also in French, Chinese, Uzbek, Turkmen, Italian, and Japanese.[19] However, while the translations and research in Persian, Tajik, and Uzbek have been carried out in the context of Islamic revivalism and have had a not inconsiderable influence on the thought behind Islamic revivalism, in translations and studies published in other languages the emphasis has been on academic research, with a focus on Iqbāl's thought in the context of the movement to establish Pakistan and on his philosophy of the self.

Whereas the greater part of Iqbāl's œuvre consists of poems, which are difficult to translate, Maudūdī wrote in clear and concise prose, and therefore translations of his writings have presumably circulated more widely throughout the world of Islam. His theses went on to be adapted in, for example, Egypt and Iran as forms of practice-oriented thought.

While there are thus differences in the circulation of their translated writings, Iqbāl's thought and Maudūdī's theories and methods of practice regarding the Islamic revivalist movement have been introduced widely throughout the Islamic world beyond South Asia through the medium of Urdu, Arabic, Persian, and so on rather than English. This points to the spread of an international network of Islam revivalism outside the English-speaking world, and there is a need to shed further light on this kind of Muslim network.

Postscript

The English translations of passages from the Qur'ān quoted in this essay have been taken from *Towards Understanding the Qur'ān: English Version of Tafhīm al-Qur'ān* (Markfield, LE: The Islamic Foundation, 2006), an English translation of Maudūdī's *Tafhīm al-Qur'ān* (cf. http://www.islamicstudies.info/tafheem.php). In writing this essay, I am grateful for the instructive comments I received in response to my paper "Maudūdī's Thought and the Jamā'at-e Islāmī," presented on 22 September 2000 at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University, under the auspices of Group 1a of the research project "A Dy-

namic Study of Contemporary Islam," and I am also grateful for advice received at the international conference "Intellectuals in Islam in the 20th Century: Situations, Discourses, Strategies" (13−15 October 2000, Hotel JALCITY Yotsuya, Tokyo) and the International Iqbal Conference (21−24 April 2003, Iqbal Hall, Lahore). As well, I am indebted to Mr. Qāẓī Ḥusain Aḥmad, the former amīr of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī, and Dr. Rafi'ī al-Dīn Hāshimī of Oriental College, University of the Punjab, for some valuable materials and guidance. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude.

Notes

1) This essay is an English translation of a revised version of Yamane 2001.
2) Maudūdī similarly writes as follows about *jihād* (Maudūdī 1979a: 39): "It is the [Western-style] latter that is the war of tribulation and upheaval, and in order to extinguish this flame Allah ordered good servants to take up the sword. Therefore, He spoke as follows: 'Permission (to fight) has been granted to those for they have been wronged. Verily Allah has the power to help them: those who were unjustly expelled from their homes for no other reason than their saying: "Allah is Our Lord."' (22:39−40) ... This is the first verse (*āyat*) of the Qur'ān directed at mass killers (*qattāl*). It is clearly stated that the people to be fought against are not people who own fertile land or have large markets or imitate each other's religions, but those who persecute religion, causing calamities such as committing atrocities, expelling people from their homes for no reason, or tormenting people for merely saying that Allah alone is God (*parwarda-gār*). People like these were given not only an order for war to protect themselves, but also an order to save other people who have been persecuted. And He urges one to rescue the weak and powerless from the hands of oppressors: 'How is it that you do not fight in the way of Allah and in support of the helpless—men, women and children—who pray: "Our Lord, bring us out of this land whose people are oppressors and appoint for us from Yourself a protector, and appoint for us from Yourself a helper"?' (4:75)."
3) Maudūdī was the first person in the Islamic world to try to understand the Western political concept of "sovereignty" by translating it as *ḥākimīya/ ḥākimīyāt* (Kosugi 1994: 31). He was critical of this concept, writing, "Currently popular sovereignty (*'umūmī ḥākimīyat*) is being extolled under the name of democracy, but in states being created today only a small number of people are creating laws to benefit themselves and are enforcing them" (Maudūdī 1990: 25). Further, maintaining that "elections are held under a democratic régime, but they are detrimental in that those who deceive others are elected by those who have been deceived and they stand in authority over them," he pointed out that such abuses "are seen in the United States, Great Britain, and elsewhere, which champion democracy as if it were heaven." He also raised the question that under a democratic system

"laws in society are not fixed but change in accordance with changes in public sentiment, and the criteria of good and evil depend on who is elected (as a ruler able to change the laws)" (ibid.: 67).

These questions concerning democracy ultimately lead to the question of where sovereignty resides. Because it is Allah "to whom belongs the dominion over all things" (23:88), Maudūdī, citing the exhortation to "follow what has been revealed to you from your Lord and follow no masters other than Him" (7:3), maintained that the root of present-day evils lay in the fallacy of rule of humans by humans, which recognizes sovereignty outside God, and he pointed out that this gave rise to various problems such as racial discrimination and imperialism. Further, criticizing popular sovereignty as something that brought about this relationship between ruler and ruled and corrupted people, he argued that sovereignty belonged to Allah alone. And quoting the statement "His is the creation and His is the command" (7:54), he declared that "All authority to govern rests only with Allah" (12:40) and maintained that Allah, to whom sovereignty belonged, was the sole lawmaker and that an Islamic state should be governed by *sharī'a* and *ijmā'* (Maudūdī 1995: 132–134).

4) These comments appeared on 25 April 1954 in the weekly magazine *Ciṭān*.

5) Contributors to *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* included Maudūdī's older brother Abū al-Khayr Maudūdī, Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī, 'Abd al-Majīd Daryābādī, Maulānā 'Abd Allāh 'Āmadī, and Maulānā Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad Khayr Allāh.

6) For Japanese studies of Iqbāl's love of his country in his earlier years, see Matsumura 1982 and 1983.

7) In December 1928 and January 1929 Iqbāl gave lectures on the reconstruction of Islam in Madras (Chennai), Hyderabad, and Aligarh at the invitation of the Muslim Association of Madras.

8) Maudūdī 1978: 57. This essay was published in the November and December issues of *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*. It is true, as is pointed out by Nasr, that there is a tendency among Maudūdī's supporters to stress contacts between Iqbāl and Maudūdī and points shared by their thought. This is said to have the aim of defending the latter by bridging the gap between the positions of Iqbāl, the national poet of Pakistan, and Maudūdī, who had opposed the establishment of the secular state of Pakistan. But what is important is the fact that they read each other's writings and influenced each other, either directly or indirectly (Nasr 1996: 36, 153).

9) As an example of the penetration of Iqbāl's poems among Muslims at the time, it has been pointed out that during strikes in Bombay in 1946 the workers shouted, "Long live Iqbāl!" (Kagaya 1960). According to Kagaya, Iqbāl's thought "was representative of progressive intellectuals among Indian Muslims of the 1930s and was an outstanding example of their weakness and strength" (ibid.: 85), and students during the 1940s "were aiming both theoretically and emotionally at the realization of an Islamic state on the basis of Iqbāl's ideas on reform" (loc. cit.).

10) After some revision, this book was reissued by Oxford University Press in 1934 (Iqbāl 1996). It is Iqbāl's best-known prose work.

11) Maudūdī had similar recollections on other occasions too. For example, "Iqbāl sent me a letter asking me to come to the Punjab, but because no details were written, I too was unable to fathom his intentions. But by the middle of 1937 I myself had the feeling that I ought to leave South India and go to North India. Just as I was on the point of doing so there was an invitation to come and see some land that Niyāz had donated for the establishment of a research institute. I thought that I would travel around the Punjab and look for a place where I could carry out my activities. I accordingly travelled around the Punjab at about the end of August 1937. After visiting Jalandhar and Lahore, I went to Paṭhānkoṭ, and I was able to have a leisurely talk with Allāma Iqbāl in Lahore" (Maudūdī 1963). Further, "in October '37 I met Allāma (Iqbāl), and we agreed that conditions were of their own accord becoming conducive to the assembling of Muslims, and this strength was gathering in the Muslim League, but the basic defects of the Muslim League had to be rectified; the present Muslim League could not possibly be expected to protect the interests of Muslims; and it behoved us to appeal to the leaders of the Muslim League through the publishing activities of Dār al-Islām" (Maudūdī n.d.: 249). "At my meeting with Iqbāl we agreed to do constructive work for the sake of Muslims, but we had no image of an Islamic movement (*Islāmī taḥrīk*). What the two of us aimed for at the time was to resolve problem areas regarding which people at the time thought that the Islamic system did not suit the times and to train Muslim intellectual leaders. Iqbāl seemed to have in mind the codification of Islamic thought. He appeared at a time when there was a need for a learned person who, conversant with Western scholarship, would stand up in defence of Islam with knowledge that Western researchers could not refute. There is no need to go along with all of his ideas, but I believe that, all in all, he made a great contribution" (Maudūdī 1963).

12) Maudūdī describes the train of events in the following way: "In September 1937 when I revisited North India, I had a meeting with the late 'Allāma Iqbāl in Lahore. He said that opportunities for me to carry out my work in South India would decrease in the future and that the Punjab was a more suitable place for the work that I had to do. This opinion of his moved me, and I decided to shift to the Punjab" (Maudūdī 1963).

13) For a Japanese translation of this essay, see Maudūdī 2001.

14) According to Maudūdī (1979a: 146), Islam was not opposed to a nation-state (*qaumī ḥukūmat*) if it strove for domestic stability, but if that nation was unable to achieve stability and had moral faults, then Allah would chose another nation to rule it, and in support of his view he quotes the following passages from the Qur'ān: "If you turn away, He will replace you by a people other than you, and they will not be like you" (47:38); "If you do not march forth, Allah will chastise you grievously and will replace you by another people, while you will in no way be able to harm Him" (9:39).

15) Maudūdī 1994: 33−34. In 1970 the *shūrā* of the Jamā'at-e Islāmī was composed of five *'ulamā,* three bachelors of art, two masters of art, and one engineer from East Pakistan and seventeen *'ulamā,* five bachelors of art, two

bachelors of laws, twelve masters of art, one master of business administration, and one master of science from West Pakistan, and Maudūdī stresses the fact that a considerable number of members of the *shūrā* had received a modern education (Maudūdī 1994: 41). He states, however, that even if someone had received a modern education, a prerequisite for his selection was that he had to be able to accept the establishment of an Islamic religious system.

16) For a history of Indian Muslim thought written in Urdu, see Shaykh Muḥammad Ikrām's *Āb-e Kauthar, Rūd-e Kauthar* and *Mauj-e Kauthar* (Lahore: Nāẓim Idāra-e Thaqāfat Islāmīya, 1996). These three volumes were written in the 1950s and deal with the pre-Mughal, Mughal, and post-Mughal periods respectively.

17) Nadvī had studied Islamic studies and Arabic at Nadwat al-'Ulama, a college in Lucknow, and it was during this time that he came in contact with Maudūdī's writings and identified with his views. Fifty of the letters exchanged between the two men have been published (Maudūdī 1983). Leaders of Islamic revivalist movements such as Saiyid Quṭb of Egypt have written forewords for publications of Nadwat al-'Ulama. I have ascertained the publication of Arabic translations of Maudūdī's writings in Kuwait, and I have also come across an abridged Arabic translation of *Jihād in Islām* that was published in Iran, but without the author's name (*Al-Jihād fi al-Islām,* Tehran: Al-Jannat al-Tālīf, 1989).

18) The five books published in Kabul include an account of Iqbāl's visit to Afghanistan with his views on Afghanistan and translations of his Urdu poems. The Afghan poet with associations with Iqbāl is Khalīl Allāh Khalīlī, whose son Mas'ūd Khalīlī is a senior member of Jami'at-i Islāmī and has since the 1990s served as the Afghan envoy in Pakistan and the Afghan ambassador to India.

19) I was able to acquaint myself with the state of Iqbāl studies around the world when I presented a paper at the International Iqbāl Conference held on 21–24 April 2003 in Lahore. Although details must be omitted here for want of space, the research on Iqbāl's thought that is being published around the world is substantial in both quality and quantity.

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