

## Notes

1. Sayyid Amir Ali, *The Spirit of Islam: A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam with a Life of the Prophet*, London: Christophers, 1922:349. Henceforth this title will simply be referred to as *The Spirit of Islam*. The 'House' refers to the family of the prophet of Islam and its direct descendents.
2. *Spirit of Islam*, p. 232.
3. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Mysteries of Selflessness: A Philosophical Poem*, English translation from the Persian by Arthur J. Arberry (available online at the Iqbal Academy Pakistan site: <http://www.allamaiqbal.com/>), originally published in 1918 to follow the 1915 work *The Secrets of Self*, together representing Iqbal's decision to write a philosophical poetry.
4. ASRAR-I-KHUDI: *The Secrets of the Self*, trans. into English from the Persian by Reynold A. Nicholson (available online at the Iqbal Academy Pakistan site: <http://www.allamaiqbal.com/>), Prologue, line 12.
5. *The Secrets of the Self*, line 33 & 34.
6. *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, 'The Author's Memorial to Him Who is a Mercy to All Living Beings'.
7. From the Introduction to Djamchid Mortazavi and Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch's translation into French of *The Secrets of the Self* followed by *The Mysteries of Selflessness* (*Les secrets du soi suivi par les mystères du non-moi*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1989), p. 7. In a book of interviews with Rachel and Jean-Paul Cartier entitled *Islam, l'autre visage* ('Islam, the other face', Paris: Albin Michel, 1991), Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch talks about the profound resonance Iqbal's thought had in her own spiritual life and which led her to adopt the Islamic faith. In any case, Iqbal's work has found in her a translator that allows the Francophone reader to savor all of the beauty of his poetry. Elsewhere, in their *Panorama de la pensée islamique (Panorama of Islamic Thought)*, Paris: Editions Sinbad, 1984), Sheikh Bouamrane and Louis Gardet say of Iqbal that this 'source of inspiration and meditation for the young people, scholars and politicians of today and tomorrow ... is perhaps the greatest Islamic scholar of the 14th century of hijra, when his range of knowledges, his breadth of mind and the courage of his positions is taken into account', pp. 310-311.
8. The date 22 February 1873 is given by his biographer Sheikh Abdul Qadir, who knew him as a student, at the end of the 19th century and stayed his friend throughout his life. This date has often been used by many commentators. But Muhammad Hanif Shahid, who edited Sheikh Abdul Qadir's recollections under the title *Iqbal the Great Poet of Islam* (Lahore, 1975), indicates in this work that the research undertaken to determine the exact date of birth of the philosopher poet

led to that of '3, Ziqaad 1294 A.H', given by Muhammad Iqbal himself, and corresponding to 9 November 1877. The biographical elements found here are drawn from this work by Sheikh Abdul Qadir.

9. Later to become Iqbal College.
10. It is also important to mention in his regard that he shared the ideas of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), who stressed the need for Muslims to firstly emerge from their state of intellectual backwardness through education. In 1875 he founded Aligarh College, which in 1922 became a university and was a place of propagation of his own modernist ideas. We learn from Lini S. May (*Iqbal. His Life and Times*, Lahore, 1974, p. 52) that Mir Hasan inculcated his disciple Iqbal with the following doctrine: "divine unity, human unity", and that it signified, on the political level among others, the need for a unity between Hindu and Muslim Indians against the separatist forces within each community.
11. *Iqbal the Great Poet of Islam*, p. 71.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
14. Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch has translated this work into French under the title *La métaphysique en Perse* (Paris: Sinbad, 1980).
15. From *Iqbal, the Poet of Tomorrow*, Khawaja Abdur Rahim, Lahore 1968:7. These are the proceedings of a symposium dedicated to Iqbal in Lahore in 1963. Dagh (1831-1905) was a grand master of Urdu poetry to whom Iqbal had sent his poems in order to receive his comments. Regarding the ghazal poetic form, Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch writes: 'It was originally always a poem of profane love, then it often came to take on a mystical meaning. The ghazal, which always has a particularly deliberate form, is based on a single rhyme, comprising a certain unity of inspiration, but each line is independent and complete in itself and does not directly follow on from the idea expressed in the preceding line'. (from the Introduction to *Le Message de l'Orient*, a collection of writings by Iqbal translated by Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch with Mohammed Achena, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956:17.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 11. Towards the end of his life he will write in Urdu again, on the themes of his philosophical poetry in Persian, especially under pressure, as Sheikh Abdul Qadir indicates, from his admirers who wanted to see him contribute, once more, to the literature in this language, *Iqbal the Great Poet of Islam*, p. 112. Furthermore concerning Iqbal's decision to write in Persian, Abdul Qadir attributes a rather contingent reason to it by telling an anecdote according to which during a dinner with friends in London, Iqbal was questioned as to his ultimate ability to write poetry in this language. His response, Abdul Qadir says, was two ghazals in Persian 'that he showed him the next morning', *ibid.*, p. 73.
19. The kingdom of God on earth, he replied to a critic who thought Iqbal could be reproached with thinking that only Muslims would be entitled to this, belongs to all men 'provided they renounce the idols of race and nationality and treat each other as personalities' (my emphasis: this statement is cited in Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1977:26). Generally speaking, Iqbal's philosophy could not be further from the compartmentalisation of identity politics: 'Break all the

- idols of tribe and caste, /Break the ancient customs that keep men in chains!', he writes in *The Wing of Gabriel*, cited in *Mohammad Iqbal* by Luce-Claude Maitre, Paris: P. Seghers, 1964:135. The notion, which is central in his philosophy, of personality places identity within the affirmation, within the movement – which is life itself – of an ego tending always further toward more freedom of self-creation and not in the belonging that thereby constitutes a negation of identity, cf. below the Chapter entitled 'A Politics of Autonomy'.
20. From Abdur Rahim, *The Poet of Tomorrow*, p. 5.
  21. French translation: *Reconstruire la pensée religieuse de l'islam*, trans. Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1955. These lectures took place in the universities of Aligarh, Hyderabad and Madras. Iqbal later added a chapter at the time of publication.
  22. In his Presentation of the *Dîwân de Halladj*, Paris: Seuil, 1981:18.
  23. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, London, Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1934:104. References to this work concern this edition and will sometimes simply be referred to as the *Lectures*.
  24. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
  25. *Op. cit.* (*Dîwân de Halladj*), p. 84. Regarding Abû Yazîd al Bistâmî (d. 874), G. C. Anawati and Louis Gardet write, in *Mystique musulmane. Aspects et tendances expériences et techniques*, Paris: Vrin, 1986, 4th ed., that his aim was 'aloneness before the pure divine Essence – without however espousing the “monism of being”, despite the interpretation that Ibn Arabi was to give to this'; and they go on to cite this statement of the Sufi: 'I shedded my Self as a snake sheds its skin; then I considered my essence: and I was, me, Him', p. 32.
  26. Which can be summarized very generally by saying that for such a philosophy beings proceed from the One by a process of the emanation of its essence; a notion to which is necessarily linked that of a hierarchy of beings, an ontological gradation where the quality of being will depend on rank, i.e. proximity to the Source.
  27. *Reconstruction*, p. 106. The reference to Renan concerns the following statement: 'A living and permanent humanity, such thus seems to be the meaning of the Averroistic theory of the unity of the intellect. The immortality of the active intellect is thus nothing other than the eternal rebirth of humanity and the perpetuity of civilization'. Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997:109. The first edition of this book dates from 1852.
  28. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia: A Contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy*, by Muhammad Iqbal, London: Luzac and Company, 1908:148.
  29. *Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 93.
  30. *Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 113. When presenting the Sheikh Shahâb Al-Dîn Suhrawardî (1155-1191), Iqbal mentions that the dogmatic theologians had him sentenced to death at 36—for this reason he has the nickname *al Maqtûl*, 'the slain'—and draws from this the following double lesson: on the one hand that dogmatism, 'conscious of its inherent weakness, has always managed to keep brute force behind its back', p. 96; on the other hand that 'Murderers have passed away, but the philosophy, the price of which was paid in blood, still lives, and attracts many an earnest seeker after truth', p. 97.

31. If two objects in the world were identical, it would contravene the principle of sufficient reason that their situation be different and thus able to be distinguished. Consequently, there can be no two objects that are perfectly the same.
32. Regarding souls, which he considers to be like 'incorporeal lights', Suhrawardi declares that 'they are distinguished intelligibly through their cognizance of themselves, through their cognizance of their Lights and the illuminations of their lights and through a particularity based on their control of the fortress'. The philosophy of illumination, English translation by John Walbridge and Hossein Ziai, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999:§243, p.148. The term 'fortress' here is a metaphor for the body.
33. *Metaphysics in Persia*, Iqbal considers that this new philosophical attitude, which he holds responsible for 'the progress of recent political reform in Persia', has been encouraged by the religious movement known under the name of Babism, p.149.
34. *Reconstruction*, p. 187.
35. From the version given at the end of *Reconstruction*, p. 187.
36. *The Secrets of the Self*, line 241.
37. *Javid Nama*, line 2405-2406.
38. *Reconstruction*, in the Preface written by Louis Massignon for the French translation of this work, he indicates that the figure of Hallaj, often associated with Nietzsche, was one of the themes of his exchanges with Iqbal who, he says, saw in him 'one who, beyond ecstasy, manifested and expressed the supreme defiance of personalism'. *Reconstruire la pensée religieuse de l'islam*, trans, p.91. Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1955:4, my emphasis. He indicates that this reading of Hallaj's theopathic words makes these, in the eyes of his friend Iqbal, a 'personalist testimony from a divine rebel'.
39. *Secrets of the Self*, line 850.
40. *L'Aile de Gabriel*, trans. from Urdu by Mirza Saïd-Uz-Zafar Chaghtai and Suzanne Bussac, Paris: Albin Michel, 1977:107.
41. *L'Aile de Gabriel*, p. 111.
42. *Message from the East*, versified English translation from the Persian by M. Hadi Hussain available online at the Iqbal Academy Pakistan site: <http://www.allamaiqbal.com/>. This collection of Iqbal's poetry is presented by its author as an echo of the *East-West Divan (Westöstlicher Divan)* that Goethe wrote between 1814 and 1819 in the tradition of Eastern poetry.
43. English Ref.
44. *Reconstruction*, p. 60.
45. *Reconstruction*, p. 60.
46. Quran sura 112, English trans. M. Asad.
47. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. into English by Arthur Mitchell, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911:13.
48. *Reconstruction*, p. 59.
49. Gaston Berger, 'Le temps et la participation dans l'oeuvre de Louis Lavelle', *Phénoménologie du temps et prospective*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964: 177.

50. Cf. *Reconstruction*, p. 57.
51. *Reconstruction*, p. 57.
52. Richard K. Khuri, who has devoted an important work to the notions of openness and freedom in Islam, has written highly elucidating pages on Iqbal's philosophy, in which, regarding this question of time, he opposes the analytic mode of the intellect to what he calls an appreciative mode, *Freedom, Modernity and Islam. Toward a Creative Synthesis*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998:322. Those familiar with Gaston Berger will perhaps see in this notion of an 'appreciative' mode what this author calls a prospective attitude based on "a phenomenology of time" which is itself an 'indispensable introduction to a metaphysics of Eternity'. And, in fact, for Berger, 'after the phenomenological reduction, there isn't any time, there is the present'. See Berger, *Phenomenologie du temps et prospective*, p. 252 and p. 131.
53. *Reconstruction*, p. 29. Iqbal examines the Cosmological, Teleological and Ontological arguments in the second *Lecture* devoted to the 'The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience'.
54. *Reconstruction*, pp. 5-6.
55. *Reconstruction*, p. 6.
56. Translated into English by Michael E. Marmura, Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1997.
57. Al-Ghazâlî, *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, p. 12.
58. *Reconstruction*, p. 62.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 100-101.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 53-54. M. S. Raschid, who has devoted an extremely critical work to Iqbal's thought *Iqbal's Concept of God*, London and Boston: Kegan Paul International, 1981, refuses there this reading: this 'custom' of God only applies to human matters and society, he believes should be offered as an alternative reading, to 'save' the divine from immanence.
64. *Reconstruction*, p. 62.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
68. *Secrets of the Self*, lines 213-214.
69. *Reconstruction*, p. 44. In a letter written in 1931 and addressed to Sir William Rothenstein, Iqbal tells the story of his meeting with Bergson in Paris. Although he was very old and sick, he writes, Bergson was kind enough to make an exception to his prohibition of visitors to receive him and talk with him, for two hours, on philosophical topics, Berkeley among others. And Iqbal adds that, unfortunately, the friend who had taken notes during this interview was later incapable of deciphering his own handwriting, *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967:103.

70. *Creative Evolution*, p. 2.
71. *Reconstruction*, p. 45.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
75. *Phénoménologie*, p. 271.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
78. *Reconstruction*, p. 53, p. 58.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
80. *Ibid.*, p. ?.
81. *Message from the East*.
82. *Message from the East*, 'The Conquest of Nature'.
83. *Message from the East*, 'The Conquest of Nature'.
84. *Message from the East*, 'The Conquest of Nature'?
85. *Secrets of the Self*, Nicholson translation and introduction reproduced on the Iqbal Academy Pakistan site: <http://www.allamaiqbal.com/>.
86. *Reconstruction*, pp. 103-104.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
88. Javid Nama, 'Zinda-Rud Propounds his Problems to the Great Spirits', line 2246.
89. Javid Nama, 'Zinda-Rud Propounds his Problems to the Great Spirits', lines 2251-54.
90. *L'aide de Gabriel*, #33, p.64. We also find the following translation by Naeem Siddiqi:  
 Raise thy Selfhood so high that before each dispensation,  
 God Himself may ask thee what thy wishes are.
91. Javid Nama, 'Zinda-Rud Propounds his Problems to the Great Spirits', lines 2231-2234.
92. *Reconstruction*, p. 103. This distinction made between two opposed ways of understanding and living the feeling of fate corresponds to that which exists between the 'words taqdir and quismat' to express destiny: the first implies the sense of power, of ability, which is that of the verb qadara; in the second there is the idea of division, of splitting, and thus of the lot or share that falls to us and that we receive. 'No quismat', Iqbal writes, marking a subheading of a work he aimed to write *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, p. 107.
93. *Gabriel's Wing*, French p. 107.
94. *Reconstruction*, p.103. There is nothing incomprehensibly mystical in this significance of prayer, Iqbal explains: "Prayer as a means of spiritual illumination is a normal vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a larger whole of life", *Reconstruction*, p. 85.
95. *Reconstruction*, pp. 88-89.
96. Cheikh Hamidou Kane, *L'aventure ambiguë*, Paris: UGE, 1961; English trans. *Ambiguous Adventure*, by Katherine Walker, New York: Walker and Company, 1963, p.100.

97. *Message de l'Orient*, p.142.
98. Edgar Morin, *Amour poésie sagesse*, Paris: Seuil, 1997:69. 'Life', Iqbal writes, 'is simply inner fire!', *Gabriel's Wing*, French ref. p. 59.
99. *The Poet of Tomorrow*, p. 15. We find here one of the meanings of the philosophical tale of Farid uddin Attar, the Sufi poet, *The Conference of the Birds*; at the end of the quest, it is indeed what they are, themselves, that is encountered by the birds who go in search of the fabulous Being that is the ultimate object of all dreams.
100. *Gabriel's Wing*, #24. The Zarathustra of Nietzsche, whose figure if not thought is very present, as is known, in Iqbal's work, similarly says that the richest man can live alone in a cottage without losing a single fraction of his wealth. We can furthermore recall, still in relation to Nietzsche, the pleasure of difference stressed by Gilles Deleuze in *Nietzsche et la philosophie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962, p. 10; English translation *Nietzsche and Philosophy* by Hugh Tomlinson, London: Athlone Press, 1983, p. 9): "What a will wants is to affirm its difference. In its essential relation with the 'other' a will makes its difference an object of affirmation. 'The pleasure of knowing oneself different', the enjoyment of difference; this is the new, aggressive and elevated conceptual element...".
101. *Message from the East*, 'The Glow-Worm'!
102. There is also this dialogue between the firefly and the moth (French ref. p. 98):  
 The moth:  
 – The firefly is far from being equal to the moth  
 What is to boast about a fire with no heat?  
 The firefly:  
 – I thank God a thousand times that I am not a moth.  
 I would never beg fire from others!
103. Cited in *Reconstruction*, pp. 112-113.
104. *Reconstruction*, p. 113.
105. *Message from the East*, French ref. p. 157. This theme runs throughout the whole of Iqbal's poetic work. Thus we find again these lines in the Persian psalms:  
*Do not aspire to the end of the journey as you have no end,  
 As soon as you touch the goal, you lose your soul.  
 Do not think we are ripe, we are raw material,  
 For each destination, we are perfect and imperfect.  
 Never reach the goal: that's what it is to live!*  
 (in Luce-Claude Maitre, *Mohammad Iqbal*, p. 125).
106. Cited in *Reconstruction*, p. 115. The convergence of perspectives between Iqbal and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin has often been evoked. Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch points out that they knew each other (in *Islam, l'autre visage*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1991, p. 37). But the true meeting, for Iqbal, is with Rûmî.
107. *Message from the East*, French ref: pp. 120-121.
108. *Reconstruction*, p. 117.
109. *Reconstruction*, p. 116, p. 117.



110. Cf. for example Sayyid Amir Ali who, in Chapter III of *The Spirit of Islam*, precisely devoted to “the idea of future life in Islam”, makes an effort to respond to those who refer to its sensual character by spiritualizing the parabolic description of this future life.
111. *Reconstruction*, pp. 106-107.
112. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Le milieu divin*, Paris: Seuil, 1957:39-40. English trans. *The Divine Milieu* by Sion Cowell, Sussex Academic Press, 2004:18.
113. It seems unjust moreover to make the Nietzschean overman into the return, hopelessly identical, of an already infinitely repeated combination. In fact, and Deleuze insists on this point, the eternal return is creative and agrees in this sense with the Iqbalian doctrine of the achievement/invention of the world by the perfect man.
114. *Javid Nama*, 'The Station of the German Philosopher Nietzsche'. This cry of Nietzsche/Hallaj thus forms an echo to Satan's quest, he also, as we have seen, being in search of Man.
115. *Javid Nama*, 'Song of the Angels'. Cf also Luce-Claude Maitre's Introduction to *Mohammad Iqbal*, in particular, p. 70, the recalling of the Quranic nature of the Iqbalian idea of the overman.
116. *Javid Nama*, French ref. p. 63.
117. Anwarul Haq: 'Iqbal's Conception of the Human Ego', in *Iqbal, the Poet of Tomorrow*, p. 74. The passage by Javid Iqbal alluded to is found in the same volume, p. 15, in an article entitled 'Introduction to the Study of Iqbal'. *Faqr* is an Arabic word meaning 'poverty'. Kasb-hilal is, literally, the fact of acquiring (earning one's livelihood by) licit goods.
118. *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, under the title: "That Despair, Grief, and Fear are the Mother of Abominations, Destroying Life and the Belief in the Unity of God puts an end to those Foul Diseases.
119. Thus, for example, despising the limited world of the partridges, the falcon sings:  
*My blue sky is limitless!*  
*I am the dervish of the world of birds*  
*As the falcon builds no nest.*  
 (*L'aile de Gabriel's*, p. 130).  
 And in order to denounce the petrification of movement represented by the idea that one can hold a 'marabout's seat' simply by inheritance, it is quite naturally in the language of the birds that he declares: "The crows have monopolized the eagles' nests", *ibid*.
120. Cited by Luce-Claude Maitre, p. 38. The poet often insists on this point. Thus he returns to the theme in these lines:  
 You are not yet liberated from the bonds of water and clay,  
 You say that you are Afghan, or else Turkish;  
 Me, I am first of all a man, without mark or color:  
 I am only afterwards Indian or Turanian.  
*Message de l'Orient*, p. 81.
121. *L'aile de Gabriel*, p. 122.



122. *Message de l'Orient*, p. 153.
123. *L'aile de Gabriel*, p. 56.
124. Hélène Cixous, *L'Indiade ou l'Inde de leurs rêves*, Paris: Théâtre du Soleil, 1987.
125. *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Lahore, 1963.
126. Cited in *Iqbal, the Poet of Tomorrow*, p. 21.
127. Cf. p. 58, *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, compiled and edited by B. A. Dar, Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967.
128. Saleem M. M. Qureshi writes in *Jinnah and the Making of a Nation*, Karachi, 1969:9-10, that: 'the significance of the year 1926 lies in the rupture, which came after many separations followed by reunions, which ended the Hindu-Islamic honeymoon whose first phase of life was that of the Khalifat Movement'.
129. Cited by Javid Iqbal in 'Introduction to the Study of Iqbal', p. 16.
130. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, New York: The John Day Company, 1946.
131. This recollection on Iqbal and the idea of Pakistan is found, pp. 354-355 of the cited work.
132. Lini S. May, *Iqbal, His Life and Times*, Lahore, 1974.
133. Cited in Sharif Al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*, Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981.
134. See Lini S. May, *Iqbal, His Life and Times*, p. 245.
135. The text of the speech – 'Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 29th December 1930' – can be found in *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, compiled by A. R. Tariq, Lahore, 1973:3-32.
136. *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*, English translation by Steven Rendall, Janet Roitman, Cynthia Schoch, and Jonathan Derrick, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
137. *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*, p. 87.
138. Cf. Saleem M. M. Qureshi, *Jinnah and the Making of a Nation*, p. 18.
139. *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*, pp. 86-87.
140. This letter dated 28 March 1909 is cited by Lini S. May in *Iqbal, His Life and Times*, p.79. The emphasis in this passage is Iqbal's.
141. Cf. *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 10. The observation made by Jawaharlal Nehru, in the reflections he wrote between 1942 and 1945, should be noted in parallel. A Muslim middle class did not develop quickly enough in India, he notes. Once there is a generational gap, he writes, in the respective formations of Hindu and Muslim middle classes, which manifests itself on the economical and political levels among others, this produces a psychology of fear in the Muslim group. Cf. *The Discovery of India*, p. 354.
142. *Speeches and Statements*, p. 11.
143. *Speeches and Statements*, p. 14.
144. *Message from the East*, French ref. p. 191.

145. *Reconstruction*, p. 151 and 154. It should however be mentioned that on many points Muhammad Iqbal discusses the 'poet's Ijtihad' which, he says, 'is open to grave objections' (p. 153). The poet in question is Khâlid Zia Uçaglıl (1866-1945).
146. The plan of the projected work can be found in *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, pp.86-95.
147. *Letters and Writings*, p. 86.
148. *Letters and Writings*, p. 172.
149. Majid Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).
150. Muhammad Abduh French: *Rissâlat al Tawhîd or Exposé de la religion musulmane*, trans. B. Michel and Cheikh Moustapha Abdel Razik (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1984).
151. *Exposé de la religion musulmane*, p. 107.
152. *Exposé de la religion musulmane*, p. 109.
153. Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 355.
154. Thus, for example, we find in the collection *Les religions d'Abraham et la science* (Maisonneuve et Larose, 1996) a text entitled 'Islam and Science: The Interpretation of a Geologist' (by E. Hilmy), whose position illustrates this kind of approach: we thus read there that when the Quranic text gives, among the images that represent the day of Judgement, one of mountains, that were thought to be fixed, 'flowing past like clouds', the geologist is able to see in this an anticipation of the theory of tectonic plates according to which 'the continents, with their mountains (to a depth of 100km from the surface of the Earth) move about like lumps of earth floating on a viscous asthenosphere, and can diverge, giving rise to a new ocean, or else converge, giving rise to mountains, or else float parallel to each other', p. 175.
155. *Reconstruction*, p. 60.
156. *Reconstruction*, p. 64. My emphasis of the word 'reconstruction'.
157. The *Kalâm*, literally the 'Word', refers to the discourse that proposes to use reason to support the truths of faith. In the second century of the Hijra appeared the *Kalâm of the Mu'tazilab* (also called 'the dissidents') who referred to themselves as the 'supporters of justice and unity': these rationalists professed, in effect, that affirming the justice of God in punishment and reward assumed that man was totally free in his acts; that his unity assumed he had no distinct features that coexisted, in some way, with his unique essence. In reaction against this current of thought, Abu Hassan al Ash'ari (died in 935) will give birth to a *Kalâm* that bears the name of *Ash'arism* which presented itself as a more moderate rationalism. This school, which will coexist with Mu'tazilism, created the cosmology, referred to here, of atoms and accidents continuously supported by the acting power of God who is thus, in fact, the only true agent, created being only 'borrowing' action.
158. *Reconstruction*, p. 169.
159. *Reconstruction*, p. 65.
160. 'Islam et la science', *Les religions d'Abraham et la science*, p. 135.

161. Cited by Homa Pakdaman, in *Djamal ed-Din Assad Abadi dit Afghani*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1969:82.
162. Cited by Homa Pakdaman, in *Djamal ed-Din Assad Abadi dit Afghani*, p. 82.
163. These reactions which, for some, went so far as to raise doubts as to whether Al Afghâni was truly the author of this response, are analyzed by Pakdaman, *Djamal ed-Din Assad Abadi dit Afghani*, p. 82 onwards.
164. Cf. *Reconstruction*, pp. 135-136.
165. This article by Al Afghâni is reproduced pp. 101-122 in Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamâl ad-Dîn 'al-Afghâni'*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1983; quote p. 122.
166. *Reconstruction*, p. 6.
167. *The Secrets of the Self*, song VII titled 'To the Effect that Plato, Whose Thought has Deeply Influenced the Mysticism and Literature of Islam, Followed the Sheep's Doctrine, and that We Must Be on Our Guard Against His Theories'. We can observe that in the 'reversal of Platonism', Muhammad Iqbal picks up Nietzschean threads and opposes the lions – tigers in the English translation to the sheep in these terms:  
The wakeful tiger was lulled to Slumber by the sheep's charm.  
He called his decline Moral Culture.  
(*The Secrets of the Self*, song VI titled 'A Tale of which the Moral is that Negation of the Self is a Doctrine Invented by the Subject Races of Mankind in Order that by this Means They May Sap and Weaken the Character of Their Rulers', line 629-630.
168. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 38.
169. *Reconstruction*, p. 144.
170. *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, French ref. p. 130
171. *Reconstruction*, p. 144.
172. *Reconstruction*, p. 154.
173. *Reconstruction*, p. 120.
174. Muhammad Abduh, French: Rissâlat al Tawhîd/*Exposé de la religion musulmane*, p.108.
175. Cf. *Reconstruction*, p. 77.
176. On the points concerning inheritance and divorce, cf. *Reconstruction*, pp. 160-162. On these same questions and on polygamy, cf. *Writings and Letters*, pp. 63-67: this is the text of an interview granted by Iqbal to the *Liverpool Post* at the time of the round table. Iqbal declares there: 'Monogamy must be our ideal. But what remedy do we have when the number of women exceeds the number of men?', p. 66.
177. *Islam, l'autre visage*, p. 125.
178. Cf. Abu Nasr al Farâbi, *Book on Religion*.
179. In *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 109-139.
180. Cf. *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 130-134.

181. Michel Foucault, 'What is Enlightenment?' in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth. The Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*, Volume One, trans. Robert Hurley et al (Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1997), p. 309. This also means that if there is a movement of convergence of societies and cultures within an attitude of modernity, this doesn't indicate a cultural homogenisation. We can thus speak, with Charles Taylor, of 'alternative modernities'. On this point, we can read with interest the debate on alternative modernities initiated by the journal *Public Culture* (issue edited by Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar *Alter/Native Modernities*, Vol. 11, no 1, Winter 1999), in particular the article by Charles Taylor – 'Two Theories of Modernity' – and that by Thomas McCarthy – 'On Reconciling Cosmopolitan Unity and National Diversity'.
182. On this level, he points out, it is the same as the case of slavery. In the limitations that were imposed on this practice and in the multiplicity of recommendations aiming to free slaves, we can clearly read the intention to abolish slavery which, today, simply forbids it.
183. Richard K. Khuri, *Freedom, Modernity and Islam: Toward a Creative Synthesis* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998), p. 337. The emphasis in the text is the author's.
184. Amir Ali, pp. 183-184.
185. Amir Ali, pp. 183-184.
186. Amir Ali, p. 353.
187. *Reconstruction*, French ref. p. 108.
188. Jean-François Bayart, *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*, p. 235.
189. *Reconstruction*, p. 160.
190. *Reconstruction*, p. 165, p. 169.
191. *Reconstruction*, p. 155.
192. Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress. A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World*, trans. W. Montgomery, Boston: Beacon Press, 1958:64.