

IQBAL REVIEW

Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan

October 1999

Editor

Muhammad Suhey'l Umar

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

Title : Iqbal Review (October 1999)
Editor : Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Publisher : Iqbal Academy Pakistan
City : Lahore
Year : 1999
Classification (DDC) : 105
Classification (IAP) : 8U1.66V12
Pages : 174
Size : 14.5 x 24.5 cm
ISSN : 0021-0773
Subjects :
 : Iqbal Studies
 : Philosophy
 : Research



IQBAL CYBER LIBRARY
(www.iqbalcyberlibrary.net)

Iqbal Academy Pakistan
(www.iap.gov.pk)

6th Floor Aiwan-e-Iqbal Complex, Egerton Road, Lahore.

Table of Contents

Volume: 40

Iqbal Review: October 1999

Number: 3

1. IQBAL AND THE DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS	6
2. KANT AND IQBAL; EPISTEMIC VIEW	15
3. KIERKEGAARD AND IQBAL: STARTLING RESEMBLANCES IN LIFE AND THOUGHT.....	26
4. DIVINE BEATITUDE: SUPREME ARCHETYPE OF AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE	54
5. ISLAM AND THE WEST: A CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS.....	64
6. IQBAL: A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST	90
7. PERFECT MAN IN THE EYES OF RUMI AND MUHAMMAD IQBAL..	99
8. IQBAL'S RELEVANCE TO THE 21ST CENTURY	106
9. THE WORLD CONGRESS ON SADR AL-DIN SHIRAZI (MULLA SADRA).....	110
10. IQBAL AND GOETHE	114
11. CONFERENCE IN HONOR OF TITUS BURCKHARDT	123
12. TITUS BURCKHARDT (IBR��H��M ��ZZ AL-D��N).....	127
13. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TITUS BURCKHARDT	148
14. IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN: SUMMARY ACTIVITY REPORT — 1997- 1999	158
15. ANNOUNCEMENT	176

IQBAL AND THE DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS

Dr. Javid Iqbal

Some political analysts of the US have propounded theories the conclusion of which is that after collapse of the Soviet Union, Islam is the next ideology of hate and that the world is likely to witness a clash of cultures of Islam and the West in the 21st century. The main issue in this debate in the West is that in the future a united Islamic World will pose a threat to the interests of the Western civilization.

Among these experts, Bernard Lewis is of the view that there would be a clash between Islam and Christianity because the two civilizations are incompatible, they present rival modes of life, have confronted each other since the past 1300 years and that what is unacceptable to Islam is Western secularism and modernity (*Roots of the Muslim Rage*). John Esposito thinks that while the Western leaders are proceeding to establish the New World Order, transnational Islam is generally being regarded as the new global monolithic enemy of the West (*Islamic Threat-Myth or Reality*). Huntington believes that Islamic and Confucian (Chinese) civilizations could join together against the West because of their basically different beliefs and value systems. He maintains that Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, free markets, and the separation of church from the state are not found in Islamic and Confucian cultures. Therefore a clash between the Western civilization, with its universalist vocation and global attraction, and the Islamic and Confucian cultures is inevitable (*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*).

According to Fukuyama, their Japanese counterpart, history of mankind has been generated as a result of tension and conflict between ideas. Every idea endeavors to establish itself as the universal principle and constructs a society and a political order in conformity with the model set up by it. In this struggle only the superior ideas survive and the inferior ones are destroyed. The West, by vanquishing the socialist creed of the Soviet Union, has established superiority of its ideas. Therefore, history has now ceased to

move forward and has been brought to a halt (*The End of History and the Last man*).

It is difficult to reconcile the theories of Lewis and Huntington with that of Fukuyama. If the clash of civilizations amounts to a continuous battle of beliefs and values then history, even after the collapse of the socialist order, is bound to be moving along instead of becoming static and immobile. Some of the Chinese scholars reject the Fukuyama theory on the ground that it smacks of the cultural hegemonies of the West. They also repudiate the view that one civilization is superior to the other or that the Western model should be considered as a universal standard for the entire world to follow after the end of the cold war.

As for the views of Huntington respecting the collaboration of Islamic and Confucian civilizations for the extermination of the Western civilization, one is reminded of the nineteenth century propaganda in Europe under which terms like “Pan-Islamism” and “Yellow Peril” were evolved. The term “Yellow Peril” was coined in order to make the West conscious of the Japanese threat. The Japanese had started competing with the West by throwing cheaper goods in the so-called free markets established by the West for economically exploiting Asia and Africa. However, “yellow Peril” has now been replaced by the “Confucian” threat probably because the Chinese (also considered as a “Yellow” race in Western terms) are likely to emerge as a great economic power by the next century.

“Pan-Islamism” was an expression used by the journalists and policy-makers of Europe to emphasize that Islam contemplated the union of its forces against Christian Europe. The underlying purpose of Western diplomacy during those times was to revive the old Christian hatred against a fundamentally aggressive Islam. Therefore, if there was a desire on the part of weak Muslim countries to offer a joint front against the penetration of European Colonial Powers, it was interpreted as the old Muslim plot to blow up Europe.

Thus the term “Pan-Islamism” was coined in the nineteenth century by the Western diplomacy to serve as a scurvy pretext for the spoiling of the fast decaying Muslim states. According to Zafar Ali Khan, “To the man in the street (in Europe) Pan-Islamism was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Moslems of the World, having for its cherished object the extermination

of Christianity as a living political force. As long as Morocco, a Tripoli, Persia, or a Macedonia had to be grabbed, the bogey of Pan-Islamism was a most useful adjunct. It helped the stalwarts of Christendom to constantly confront their fanatical dupes with an imaginary peril, the bare possibility of which was to be removed by depriving the Moslem of his hearth and home. “(Nationality and Empire by B. C. Pal)”. So when the Western theoreticians maintain that Islam is the future enemy, the Muslims, by their past experience, are left with no other alternative except to interpret this statement as another move on the part of the West for economic or political exploitation of the Muslim lands.

It is interesting to note how the Chinese have reacted to the Huntington thesis of the Confucian civilization’s clash with the West. Chinese scholars hold that the history of mankind reveals that different civilizations have always clashed and merged with each other at the same time. China absorbed Buddhism, and the Western civilization. They think that in the light of modern scientific developments it is possible to construct a universal civilization of the West—willing to learn from other. There are also thinkers who are opposed to the concept of fusion and believe in the diversity of civilization. However, they too reject the theory of Huntington holding that cultural diversity does not necessarily lead to conflict but different cultures have coexisted and can co-exist. Some of them feel that the clash theory is being advanced for diverting attention from the real issue, which is the clash of economic interests.

When the European Colonial Powers penetrated the Islamic world, the Muslims’ reaction to the new ideas imported from the West was:

- (i) of total rejection;
- (ii) of acceptance and adaptation; and
- (iii) of reconciling the new ideas with Islam.

The Muslims belonging to the first category, consisting mostly of religious zealots, was considered as “Conservative”. The second category was called “Westernized”, and the “conservatives” also designated the third category that came to be known as “liberals” or “reformists” as “westernized” Muslims. Ever since Islam entered modern history the “Westernized” have usually sided with the “liberal-reformists” as against the “conservatives”.

Therefore, there exists an inter-civilizational conflict between the “conventionalists” and “reformists”, and this divide within Muslim societies cannot be considered as a clash between two different civilizations but a clash within a single culture.

The resistance on the part of the “Conservatives” could not stop the advance of the European Colonial Powers into the Muslim world because they were totally unaware of the progress made by human knowledge as well as science and technology in the West. They fought against the long-ranged guns of the imperialists with time-worn rifles and swords. Subsequently when the pragmatic reformers like Syed Jamal udin Afghani etc. preached that in order to know the secret of Western power, the Muslims must acquire the new knowledge, they opposed them as “Westernized” Muslims. The problem of “conservatism” was handled in two ways in Turkey and Muslim India. In Turkey Kamal Ataturk eliminated the Ulema completely from the religious life of the Turks. But in Muslim India reformers like Syed Ahmed Khan and Iqbal tried their best during their life time to educate and train the Ulema so as to create among them a group of new Ulema to provide a new enlightened motivation for Islam to the new Muslim society which they thought of bringing into being.

The former “conventional” or “conservative” Muslims, who are now being categorized as “fundamentalist”, “radical”, “militant” or “political” by the West, do not accept the new Western ideas. They regard “change” as an “innovation”, therefore they reject “modernity”. Furthermore, since the Western notions of individualism, liberalism constitutionalism, human rights, the rule of law, nation-state etc. stem from “secularism”, which, according to them amounts to “Godlessness”. All these are also repudiated. “Secularism” is denounced since it is defined as “not sacred”, temporal or “profane”. It is an ideology that aims at the destruction of the very foundation of religion. The Western concept of “nation state” is likewise unacceptable as it divides humanity into groups, establishes barriers between man and man, and therefore conflicts with the Islamic notion of “Ummah” (oneness of the Muslim community). According to them the Muslims’ constitution is the Quran; their concept of the “rule of law” is the “supremacy of the Shari‘ah”; “individualism” and “liberalism” have no equivalent in Islam, as every Muslim is to act in accordance with the injunctions of Islam. Islam has its own system of “rights of God”, ‘rights of human beings” and “rights which

are common to both God and human beings". This system is superior to the man-made system of "human rights". Islam is founded on the principles of equality and liberty of Muslims. It does not tolerate separation of church from the state as there is no "church" or clergy in Islam. The free-markets are permitted to function so long as they abide by the rules of the Shari'ah. Finally, the "new world order" of the West must be repudiated because every Muslim is enjoined to impose the "Divine Order" (Nizam-i-Islami) in the whole world. Briefly this is the manner how the so-called "fundamentalist" Muslims confront the Western ideas. But this confrontational posture towards the West of some individuals in different Muslim societies does not represent the views of the entire community that believes in peaceful co-existence with the other communities.

At this stage three relevant questions may be raised: First, why does the West regard the Muslim world as its new enemy? Second, why are the so-called "fundamentalist" Muslims opposed to the West? And third, how have the 'reformist' Muslim thinkers, particularly of South Asian Islam reconciled the Western ideas with Islam and, as a result, stand for peaceful co-existence with the West and other civilizations?

The West's antagonism against Islam dates back to the times of the Crusades. The memories of Muslim rule over Spain, the fall of Constantinople, the siege of Vienna, the defeat of Gallipolis and numerous other such recollections, make Westerners feel threatened by Islam, particularly when new challenges come forth from its "militant" factions. Generally speaking the three major events in the recent past that have raised the Western apprehensions of a new Islamic resurgence are Khomeini's revolution in Iran, Sadat's assassination, and the victory of the Mujahidin in Afghanistan over a "super power". The image of an aggressive and revolutionary Islam, which believes in a fusion of the spiritual and the temporal, recognizes no territorial boundaries, cuts across continents, nations and races, and besides Christianity, is the only other global religion, could be a matter of concern. As a proselytizing faith Islam is convinced of its ultimate triumph and universal prevalence. Therefore, as a rival ideology, this by itself is a challenge to the West's arrogance of its own civilizational superiority claimed on the basis of secular humanism, and the belief in its ultimate victory. In this background, according to Shireen Hunter, "Islam is the ideal

candidate for the new enemy figure that will fill the gap created by the fall of communism (The Future of Islam and the West).

As for the Muslims' opposition to the West, their memories of Western domination are more recent and fresh. Generally speaking, the roots of their rage are to be found in the past three centuries of humiliation under the expansion of Western imperialism from Africa to South East Asia. The situation was aggravated by the creation to Israel and humiliation of the Arab Muslims because of the Western military support of Israel. The support to anti-people rulers like the Shah of Iran, pushing Sadat to the Camp David for a gun-marriage with Israel, the Gulf War, continuous blockade of Iraq and the denial of democracy to "Islamists" in Algeria are some of the many irritants. The continuing genocide of the Muslims in Bosnia, Kashmir, Chechnya and Kosovo and a large number of Muslim refugees leaving their homes in these countries have been completely ignored by the West. They are convinced that the U. S. and her allies in the West have no moral standards where Muslims are involved. They lower their standards of human rights and the rule of law when dealing with Muslims. For instance, the resolutions of the U.N. against Israel are always ignored whereas those against Iraq are immediately complied with, leading to the Gulf War and Muslim casualties. In short, the false promises and fork-tongued diplomacy of the West, particularly the U.S. is responsible for engendering aggressive extremism in some Muslim circles.

As it has been pointed out, a large number of members of the Muslim community in the world who stand for peaceful co-existence with the West and other civilizations, have either accepted the new Western ideas or have reconciled them with Islam. The "liberal-reformist" Muslim thinkers differentiate between "modernity" and "Westernization". According to them "modernity" is the acknowledgement of "change" as a normal process in the life of a society. But" Westernization" is the adaptation of an alien culture. It is possible to remain tied up with one's own cultural traditions and yet welcome "change" or "modernity".

Muslim "liberal" thinkers in South Asia, e.g., Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, Syed Ahmed Khan, Shibli and Iqbal successfully reconciled the new ideas imported from the West with Islam. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani exhorted the Muslims to acquire the new scientific and technological knowledge in order to discover the secret of Western power. Syed Ahmed Khan disseminated

modern education among the Muslims and made them realize that there were two nations in the Indian subcontinent, and in this way, reconciling the Western concept of territorial nationalism with Islam, paved the way for the development of religious (or cultural) nationalism among Muslims. This consciousness was further reinforced by Iqbal's philosophy of "Individual and Collective Ego", led Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah to establish the state of Pakistan, as homeland for the Muslim nation in South Asia. Thus Pakistan is a product of the fusion of new Western ideas with Islam.

Iqbal believes that Islam as a religion is neither national, nor racial, nor personal but purely human; and as a culture, it has no specific country, no specific language, no specific script and no specific mode of dress. His perception of Islam is humanistic and egalitarian. He creates a bridge between Islam and the West when he argues that in the sphere of knowledge the Western civilization is a prolongation of Islamic civilization.

Iqbal regards the establishment of democratically elected legislative assemblies in some Muslim countries as a return to the original purity of Islam. The Islamic state, according to him, is founded on the ideals of human equality, human solidarity and human freedom. He thinks that to consider secular as profane is a Christian way of thinking and not Islamic. He is of the opinion that modern science has revealed that the merely material or secular has no substance until we discover it rooted in the spirit. Therefore there is no such thing as a profane world. He rejects the Western idea of separation of church from the state as based on the metaphysical dualism of spirit and matter. But upholds the separation of religious and the temporal functions of the Islamic state as merely a division of functions. He subscribes to the view that the state should manage and control religious matters.

He is also of the view that "Ijtihad" (independent inquiry) should be adopted as a legislative process by modern times in the Muslim legislative assemblies. He supports the claim of Muslim "liberals" to re-interpret the foundational Shari'ah principles in the light of their own experience and altered conditions of modern life. He is convinced that the world of Islam is confronted and affected by new forces set free by the extraordinary development of human knowledge in all its directions. Therefore he suggests that each and every generation of Muslims, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems.

In short, Iqbal maintains that the real object of Islam is to establish a “spiritual democracy”. He was the first Muslim in the Indian subcontinent to define the state in Islam as a “spiritual democracy”. In other words, he considers that state as genuinely Islamic in which all faiths, sects and creeds are equally free, authentically tolerated, respected and accepted (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*). Thus in his view the state contemplated by Islam is superior to the different varieties of states evolved by the Western civilization on the basis of secular humanism.

The clash theories seem to be based on fantasies rather than facts. The theoreticians have not cared to study the recent past or contemporary history of the Muslim world. The world of Islam is composed of different nation-states, governed by different political systems, guided by different political interests, and although it is rich in resources, it is not united. Therefore it cannot pose any threat to the West. Two Muslim states, Iran and Iraq have recently fought against one another, and in the inter-Arab war between Iran and Kuwait, some Arab Muslim states made defense alliances with the Western powers under the leadership of the U. S. against Iraq. However, the main concern of the West in the Muslim Middle East is the preservation of Israel at all costs. Therefore the West feels threatened if any weak Muslim state acquires military strength.

Pakistan's nuclear device has been named “Islamic bomb: merely because there is an apprehension on the part of the West that if the bomb is transmitted to any other Muslim state like Iran, Iraq or Libya, it may be dropped on Israel. It is conceded that Israel owns more than a hundred nuclear bombs which she can drop on all the big cities of the Muslim world if such a need arises, but her own territorial entity being small, not more than five or six such bombs may be required to cause complete annihilation.

Apparently there exists no possibility of a general clash between Islam and the West. But if the “terrorist” activities of some Muslim militants against power-drunk and arrogant U.S. goads her to retaliate by throwing missiles on sovereign Muslim state instead of picking up the culprits through other means, then the Muslim “liberal” governments in the Islamic world are likely to be affected by the spill-over and their liquidation under public pressure may lead to their replacement by extremist elements.

The “liberal” Muslim governments must remain in the field because they stand for cultural pluralism and peaceful co-existence. There are built-in complementaries between them and Western governments. They have always been involved in negotiations and dialogue with the West in order to resolve controversial economic and political issues. However, it is high time that these Muslim states that are in the process of holding dialogue with the U. S. and her allies, should suggest to them to remove the real cause of Muslim rage. It is reasonably probable that if the problems perceived by the Muslims to have been created by the West such as Israel, Kosovo, Chechnya, Bosnia, and Kashmir are justly and equitably settled, there would be nothing left to be angry about. Such a break-through may lead to the establishment of a pluralistic world where justice can be obtained through peaceful negotiations and agreements.

KANT AND IQBAL; EPISTEMIC VIEW

Dr. Mohammed Maruf

I have felt a need for a comparative study of the epistemic views of Immanuel Kant, an eighteenth century thinker from Germany, and Muhammad Iqbal, a twentieth century thinker from the Indo-Pak Sub-continent, because the two come interestingly close on many important issues, though differing on no less significant points. Kant presented his epistemic views in his famous Critique of Pure Reason (first pub. in 1781).¹

He begins his Introduction to the above Critique with the remarks, ‘There can be no doubt that all our knowledge begins with experience’.² But he goes on to clarify that ‘... though all our knowledge begins with experience, it does not follow that it all arises out of experience.’³ What he means to say is that even our empirical knowledge is made up of what we receive through experience and of what our own faculty of knowledge (sense impressions serving merely as the occasion) supplies from itself.⁴ When closely analysed, Kant’s above position shows that no knowledge is possible unless the Faculty of Sensibility is first aroused by the presentation of some object in the external world. He says, ‘Objects are given to us by means of sensibility, and it alone yields us intuitions; they are thought through the understanding, and from the understanding arise concepts’.⁵ Iqbal not only endorses Kant’s analysis of knowledge, he rather epitomises it in one sentence when he writes, ‘knowledge is sense-perception elaborated by understanding’.⁶ He goes on to add that ‘the character of man’s knowledge is conceptual, it is with the weapon of this conceptual knowledge that man approaches the observable aspects of Reality’⁷ Thus, for both Kant and Iqbal it is understanding which turns precepts into concepts, and that human knowledge is basically conceptual.

¹ *Critique of Pure Reason*, Eng. Tr. Norman K. Smith (London, Macmillan, 1963).

² *Ibid.* p. 41

³ *Ibid.* 1

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 41-42

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 65

⁶ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, (Lahore, Sh. Ashraf, 1977), p. 12

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 13

In his first part of the Critique entitled “Transcendental Aesthetic” Kant explains the word “intuition” by which he means that through which ‘a mode of knowledge’ is ‘in immediate relation to’ objects.⁸ The capacity for receiving representations he calls “sensibility”. Now Iqbal agrees with Kant that “intuition” is not a special mysterious faculty,⁹ as is generally believed by the religious people, and also that it is direct presentation of an object to a mode of knowing. However, Iqbal differs with him on a very important basic point. Kant makes a clear distinction between, what he calls, “sensible intuition” and a special mode of intuition which he calls, “intellectual intuition” and adds, ‘which is not that which we possess, and of which we cannot comprehend even the possibility.¹⁰ Iqbal, on the other hand, following the lead of Muslim Sufis and thinkers like Jâdâl-ud-Dân Rämâ¹¹ and Al-Fârûbi,¹² admits the possibility of a special kind of intuition to man provided he develops a special kind of ‘sensitivity’. When Kant philosophised, the Faculty Psychology was very much in vogue. Iqbal philosophised at a time when Faculty Psychology had almost become obsolete; so he denied that intuition was a faculty. Iqbal, though agreeing with Kant on the basic mechanism of intuition, treated it in a special sense He said, ‘...it is rather a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation, in the physiological sense of the word, does not play any part’.¹³ His view of intuition is quite favourably comparable to Kant’s “intellectual intuition” as we will see later while discussing his own view of knowledge—especially, religious knowledge. He goes on to add that ‘the vista of experience thus opened to us is as real and concrete as any other experience’.¹⁴

Again, Kant makes a distinction between to ‘think’ an object and to ‘know’ an object. Knowing involves two factors: ‘first, the concept, through which an object in general is thought (the category); and secondly, the intuition, through which it is given. For if no intuition could be given corresponding to the concept, the concept would still indeed be a thought,

⁸ Kant, *op. cit.*, p. 65

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 268

¹¹ (1207-73), the greatest Sufi poet of Persian Literature.

¹² Abé NaÄr Al-Fârûbî (258/870-339/950), a renowned Muslim thinker, and founder of a philosophical system in Islam.

¹³ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 16

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

but would be without any object, and no knowledge of anything would be possible by means of it.¹⁵ He, however, admits that if we were ‘to think an understanding which is itself intuitive (as, for example, a divine understanding which should not represent to itself given objects, but through whose representation the objects should themselves be given or produced), the categories would have no meaning whatsoever in respect of such a mode of knowledge.¹⁶ Iqbal, on the other hand, believes that it is ‘possible to take thought not as a principle which organizes and integrates its material from the outside, but as a potency which is formative of the very being of its material. Thus regarded thought or idea is not alien to the original nature of things: it is their ultimate ground and constitutes the very essence of their being, ...¹⁷ In fact, Kant, following the legacy of the Western thought, believes in the dualism of thought and being which led him to reject the Ontological and Teleological arguments for the existence of God. Iqbal, however, believes that the human situation is not final and that thought and being are ultimately one. This is possible only if we carefully examine and interpret experience, following the clue furnished by the Qur'an which regards experience within and without as symbolic of a reality described by it, as the ‘First and the Last, the Visible and the Invisible’.¹⁸ Thus, Kant and Iqbal differ on the very basic point whether thought in any sense can be formative of its own material which, as seen above, the former answers in the negative, but the latter answers in the affirmative on the basis of his view of thought which we will discuss in the sequel. This is, in my view, a very important difference.

Kant further faces the question as to what unifies the multiplicity of representations of intuition and how it becomes the knowledge of an object? In his view, these representations are accompanied by the “I think”; ‘All the manifold of intuition has, a necessary relation to the “I think” in the same subject in which this manifold is found.’¹⁹ But according to him, ‘this representation is an act of spontaneity’, it cannot belong to sensibility. He calls it pure apperception or original apperception. ‘The unity of this

¹⁵ Kant, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹⁷ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* [see *The Qur'an*, LVII: 31]

¹⁹ Kant, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

apperception', he says, 'I likewise entitle the transcendental unity of self-consciousness, in order to indicate the possibility of a priori knowledge arising from it'.²⁰ Thus, the unification of all representations is possible through the unity of self-consciousness that brings the representations in relation with the self, on the one hand, and unifies them in the form of an object, on the other. According to Kant, 'The principle of apperception is the highest principle in the whole sphere of human knowledge'.²¹ Then, he proceeds to identify this highest principle of apperception to understanding as he says, 'Indeed this faculty of apperception is the understanding itself'.²² Iqbal will agree with him that self-consciousness plays an important part in unifying the multifarious representations of intuitions, but these mental states (representations) 'mean and involve one another. They exist as phases of a complex whole, called mind'.²³ He says, 'Mental unity is absolutely unique'.²⁴ Iqbal calls it "the unity of a directive purpose". My whole reality lies in my directive attitude.²⁵ He compares it to 'the unity of the germ in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole'.²⁶ He emphatically says, 'You cannot perceive me like a thing in space, or a set of experiences in temporal order; you must interpret, understand, and appreciate me in my judgements, in my will-attitudes, aims, and aspirations'.²⁷ Thus, the problem which Kant tried to solve on purely cognitive grounds, Iqbal has tried to solve on conative ground which is quite in line with his general thought which is

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 154.

²² *Ibid*, p. 154 f.n.

²³ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 103.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 48: Iqbal makes a distinction between the efficient self and the appreciative self, the former being superficial while the latter is deeper and profounder. He says, 'It is only in the moments of profound meditation, when the efficient self is in abeyance, that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience' pp.47-48. Here we merge into the appreciative self, rising above the superficial (discursive) level of thought into the realm of deeper (non-discursive) level where, as said before, it rises to the level of ecstasy, communion, and inspiration (see page 8 above). In this avocation thought is capable of reaching the infinite Reality as well as real time.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 103.

vitalistic as we will see in the sequel that for him religious facts are ‘vital facts’.

Kant, no doubt, entered upon a great, incisive analysis of the human cognitive capabilities themselves, but he failed to fully capitalize in his such a great venture due to his Western background. He failed to transcend his basic assumption, says Iqbal, ‘that all experience other than the normal level of experience is impossible’.²⁸ Kant’s famous rejection of the possibility of metaphysics is based on this assumption. Iqbal questions this very assumption when he asks, ‘whether the normal level is the only level of knowledge-yielding experience’.²⁹ Kant’s distinction between the two kinds of intuition discussed above and his distinction between Noumenon and Phenomenon led him to answer the above question in the affirmative. To him, ‘The thing-in-itself is only a limiting idea. Its function is merely regulative’.³⁰ If there is any actuality corresponding to this idea, it falls beside the boundaries of human experience, and consequently its existence cannot be rationally demonstrated.³¹ In reply to the above sceptical position of Kant, Iqbal holds in the light of the latest developments of science ‘such as the nature of matter as’ the bottled-up light waves”, the idea of the universe as an act of thought, finiteness of space and time and Heisenberg’s principle of Indeterminacy in nature, the case for a system of rational theology is not so bad as Kant was led to think’.³² Again, Iqbal refers to the great Muslim Sufi philosopher, MuÁyuddn Ibn ul-‘Arab, who made the acute observation that God is a percept; the world is a concept’.³³ He infers from the above that the external world is only an “intellectual construction” a position which can be inferred from Bertrand Russell’s position when he called descriptions as “logical fictions” or “logical constructions”.³⁴

Kant believed in a unilateral order of space and time. Space and time, according to him, are essentially one; that there is no diversity of space and time. He says “we can represent to ourselves only one space; and if we speak

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 182.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ *Ibid*.

³² *Ibid*.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 183

³⁴ Stebbing L. S., *A Modern Introduction to Logic*, (London, Mathuen, 1958), p. 152.

of diverse spaces, we mean thereby only parts of one and the same unique space”.³⁵ Similarly of time he says, “Time has only one dimension; different times are not simultaneous but successive . . .”³⁶ He adds, ‘Different times are but parts of one and the same time...’³⁷ Kantian universe is, thus, organized in this unilateral space-time framework which has forced him to the epistemic inferences which he eventually inferred. Iqbal, on the other hand, following the lead of the Sufi poet, Fakhr-ud-Dân ‘Irqqâ, ‘.... insists on the plurality of space-orders and time-orders and speaks of a Divine Time and a Divine Space’.³⁸ Iraqi believed that ‘there are three kinds of space—the space of material bodies, the space of immaterial beings, and the space of God’³⁹. Then these spaces are further sub-divided. Again, Iqbal refers to Jakd-ud-Dân Daww n , also a Muslim poet and thinker of the fifteenth century, who believed in a variety of time. Iraqi had a similar view of time. ‘He conceives infinite varieties of time, relative to the varying grades of being, intervening between materiality and pure spirituality’.⁴⁰ These times are further sub-divided and qualitatively different from each other. Thus, following the two Muslim Sufis, Iqbal believes in a multifarious variety of space and time relative to various types and grades of beings. This led him to infer that ‘there are other levels of human experience capable of being systematized by other orders of space and time - levels in which concept and analysis do not play the same role as they do in the case of our normal experience’.⁴¹ Modern psychology, and especially psychoanalysis, have proved that the normal stream of consciousness is not the only reality, rather not by any means even the most important reality. Iqbal refers to the evidence of religious experts of all ages and countries that ‘there are potential types of consciousness lying close to our normal consciousness. If these types of consciousness open up possibilities of life-giving and knowledge-yielding experience the question of the possibility of religion as a form of higher experience is perfectly

³⁵ Kant, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 183: Iqbal, perhaps, alludes to Sh. Fakhr ud-Dân Ibr h m al-Hamad n  (686/1287) referring to the book *Ghayat al-Imk n*, wrongly attributed to ‘Irqqâ.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75: Muhammad b. Asad Daww n  (830-908/1427- 1502); Iqbal refers to a passage of his book *Zoura*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

legitimate one and demands our serious attention'.⁴² Herein lies an extremely important difference between the epistemic views of Kant and Iqbal, and latter's views are rendered thereby much more wider than those of the former.

There is another assumption on which Kantian position is based, viz., that the normal facts of human life are the only facts amenable to man. Iqbal, rejecting this assumption also, appeals to the revealed and mystic literature of mankind which 'bears ample testimony to the fact that religious experience has been too enduring and dominant in the history of mankind to be rejected as mere illusion. There seems to be no reason, then, to accept the normal level of human experience as fact and reject other levels as mystical and emotional'.⁴³ He adds, 'The facts of religious experience are facts among other facts of human experience and, in the capacity of yielding knowledge by interpretation, one fact is as good as another'⁴⁴ In this connection we may refer to A. C. Ewing in his article "Religious Assertions", where he urges against the position of the positivists that they limit the term 'fact' to empirical facts, i.e., facts which can be the object of observation and natural science, and in that sense God is not a fact. But this is not the usual meaning of the word outside the books and lectures of these philosophers. The position that nothing can exist except the type of subjects we know in science and ordinary sense-experience is certainly not true, and if other things do exist there will certainly be facts about them (in a well-recognized sense of "fact"). The metaphysicians may rightly claim to be giving" factual information", though not about the empirical facts of ordinary life".⁴⁵ Again, as said above, if modern psychology and psychoanalysis have shown that there are other, and deeper, levels of consciousness—the sub-conscious and the Unconscious levels—then by virtue of the same logic there are facts other than the normal facts, perhaps having greater importance for the human life than the latter. Iqbal holds that Reality reveals itself both internally and in the external appearance, and in order to have a fuller and completer vision of the real we require to approach from both angles, i.e.,

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 185.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ Maruf Dr. M., *Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion*, (Lahore, Islamic Book Service, 1988), taken from *Philosophy*, Vol. XXXII, July 1957, p. 214.

from within and without. He very emphatically says that ‘religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching the most real’⁴⁶. He adds, ‘In the domain of science we try to understand its meanings in reference to the external behaviour of that reality; in the domain of religion we take it as representative of some kind of reality and try to discover its meanings in reference mainly to the Inner nature of that reality. The scientific and the religious processes are in a sense parallel to each other!’⁴⁷

Kant rejected the possibility of metaphysics, including rational theology, on purely cognitive grounds, but on practical grounds in the Critique of Practical Reason,⁴⁸ he was forced to admit the very same entities as indispensable postulates of human life, viz., Immortality, freedom positively considered (as the causality of a being so far as he belongs to the intelligible world), and the existence of God.⁴⁹ For Iqbal, on the other hand, religious realities are not practical postulates; they are rather the very facts of human life and its necessary preconditions. That is because to Iqbal religious life is not only a cognitive fact, it is rather more a “vital” fact, a fact concerned with the realm of values. He says, ‘The basic perception from which religious life moves forward is the present slender unity of the ego, his liability to dissolution, his amenability to re-formation and his capacity for an ampler freedom to create new situations in known and unknown environments’.⁵⁰ Again, he says, ‘...the ultimate aim of religious life,’ is ‘the reconstruction of the finite ego by bringing him into contact with an eternal life-process...’⁵¹ Though admitting a cognitive value to religious experience, for Iqbal, ‘The ultimate aim of the ego is not to see something but to be something . . . The end of the ego’s quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something

⁴⁶ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-96.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁴⁸ Kant Immanuel, Eng., tr. T.K. Abbott, (London, Longmans Green, 1959).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

⁵⁰ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

to be made and re-made by continuous action'.⁵² Thus, Iqbal agrees with Kant that religious facts cannot be known through pure reason, but he adds that reason has other higher avocations too, which it is capable of reaching the Infinite, which Iqbal calls 'the deeper movement of thought'.⁵³ This was beyond Kant due to his Western legacy.

Kant, following the legacy of Aristotle, mainly concentrated on two kinds of Thought or Reason —viz., Pure Reason and Practical Reason; he published his two famous Critiques on these two kinds of reason. No doubt, he published his Third Critique⁵⁴ on the Beautiful and the Sublime in which he mainly dilated in the field of Aesthetics. Iqbal, on the other hand, added a third kind of thought of which he says, ' In its deeper movement.. thought is capable of reaching an immanent Infinite ... In its essential nature, then, thought is not static; it is dynamic and unfolds its internal infinitude in time.....'⁵⁵ He adds, 'The idea that thought is essentially finite, and is for this reason unable to capture the Infinite, is based on a mistaken notion of the movement of thought in knowledge'.⁵⁶ He says, ... Kant ... failed to see that thought, in the very act of knowledge, passes beyond its own finitude'.⁵⁷ He goes on to say, 'Kant, consistently with his principles could not affirm the possibility of a knowledge of God'.⁵⁸ Iqbal's third kind of thought gave him a great insight that enabled him to employ the epistemic model of Kant in the realm of divine knowledge, i.e., knowledge of God. Agreeing with the latter on the basic mechanism of intuition, he conceived the word 'intuition' in a special sense; according to him religious knowledge is a special kind of data given by 'intuition', an internal sense, and organized by thought or understanding. Of intuition he says, 'It is, according to the Qur'an, something which "sees", and its reports, if properly interpreted, are never false'.⁵⁹ Comparing the two he says, 'As regions of normal experience are subject to interpretation of sense-data for our knowledge of the external world, so the region of mystic experience is subject to interpretation for our

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 198.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, Eng. tr. James C. Meredith, (Oxford: Clarendon,1952).

⁵⁵ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, P. 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 16.

knowledge of God'.⁶⁰ Iqbal brings out the difference when he says, 'Religion is not physics or chemistry seeking an explanation of nature in terms of causation; it really aims at interpreting a totally different region of human experience— religious experience—the data of which cannot be reduced to the data of any other science'.⁶¹ Thus, according to Iqbal, the epistemic model of religious knowledge is the same as for sensory knowledge of the world with the following differences:

1. It begins with a special kind of data provided by a special inner sense called 'intuition';
2. A special data that are non-physiological, are then systematized into religious knowledge proper by 'thought' (understanding) in a special sense of avocation which Iqbal has called 'the deeper movement of thought';
3. The religious data are systematized in a specific Space-Time framework that is totally different from the everyday Space-Time order. Iqbal calls it 'divine'.

The points 1-3 above open the way to interpretations of the universe other than the materialistic and mechanistic interpretations of everyday experience and science. This greatly enlarges the vision of man and enables him to see reality in a new and much wider perspective not amenable to modern man who is living a very mundane type of life.

To conclude, then, Iqbal propounds a much wider view of knowledge and the universe. According to him, the fundamental pattern of knowledge remains the same whether we are dealing with perceptual type of knowledge of everyday life or with a special type of knowledge called mystic or religious knowledge. This insight was not within the purview of Kant who was working his way through specific limitations imposed by his Western legacy. Iqbal, no doubt, drew inspiration from his Muslim legacy as bequeathed by thinkers like Al-F r b  according to whom higher thought (or 'intellect' as he called it) 'rises to the level of communion, ecstasy, and inspiration'.⁶² It was

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, P. 18.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 29.

⁶² Sharif M. M. (Ed), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), Vol. I, p. 463.

under the inspiration of Muslim Sufis and thinkers that he could enlarge his vision regarding the knowledge of man.

KIERKEGAARD AND IQBAL: STARTLING RESEMBLANCES IN LIFE AND THOUGHT

Ghulam Sabir

Kierkegaard writes in his Diary: "I rise in the morning and thank God and I start my work. At a set hour in the evening I stop, and I thank God—and then I go to sleep (1848—No.173)". Let us also begin in the name of God, who is Most Gracious and Most Merciful, and seek his aid to the straight path for search of Truth. This is the way, which was adopted by Kierkegaard and Iqbal who were sent on this earth by God on a particular mission.

Kierkegaard and Iqbal were gifted with prophetic vision. They knew and explained the meaning and the way of "Know thyself". They have taught us how to undertake the journey into "selfhood" from the very start of its alphabets. Their lives provide us excellent examples of sacrifice for the sake of others, the honorable way of living in this world, how to achieve 'salvation' and the eternal peace in the life hereafter. Iqbal and Kierkegaard both strongly stress on Self-discovery, which is the only way to reach the Ultimate. Scientists, mathematicians and philosophers have been running all the times on their respective paths to catch a glimpse of the Real, but most of them got stuck after reaching a certain point. Of course, achievement of some of them is remarkable and some have gone very near to the goal on account of their hard struggle and belief; but ultimate successes have been the share of those who also carried with them the power of Love and Faith. But what is Love and what is Faith, where can we find them and how should we arm ourselves with these weapons. To find out the answer, we must read Kierkegaard and Iqbal—not only read them as we read a book but also must dive into the ocean of their thought.

Before we proceed further, let us have a glance on the life pattern, environment and historical background of the two great philosophers;

SØREN KIERKEGAARD (1813 – 1855)

Søren Kierkegaard was born on 5th May 1813 in Copenhagen. His parents descended from poor peasants from the harsh moors of West Jutland in Denmark. His father Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard was born on 12th

December 1756. At the age of 11, he left his home of Jutland and came to Copenhagen, where he joined his uncle Niels Andersen in his business as an apprentice and after twelve years hard work he was able to acquire his own license as a hosier in 1780. He married Kirstine Nielsdatter Royan, who died on 23rd March 1796. After one year he married his girl servant Anne Sørensdatter Lund (1768-1834). They had four sons and three daughters. Their youngest son was Søren Kierkegaard⁶³. The business of Kierkegaard's father flourished substantially and with the passage of time he became a rich man and a known person in Copenhagen. He managed to secure a respectable place in the society; his home in Copenhagen was a meeting place of intellectuals where they usually discussed day to day problems of the society and topics of political and religious nature; Søren Kierkegaard used to observe all that.

Describing his feelings of that time, Søren Kierkegaard says: "I was born in 1813 in that crazy financial year when so many other bank notes were put into circulation"⁶⁴. Kierkegaard was a born intellectual and by nature a philosopher. Fortunately he got chances of good education on account of being the son of a wealthy father. In 1821 he was admitted in famous school 'Borgerdydkolen' in Copenhagen and matriculated from University of Copenhagen in 1830⁶⁵. He attended Poul Møller's lectures on general concepts of Metaphysics during 1836-37⁶⁶. In Copenhagen University he studied theology but spent most of his time in the study of literature and philosophy. Kierkegaard passed his final theological examination on 3rd July 1840⁶⁷. On 26th October 1841 the governing board of University granted the Art Faculty Authority to confirm on Kierkegaard the degree of Master of Arts. At that time he was not in Copenhagen as he had already left for Berlin on 25th October for further study of philosophy at the Berlin University. Later on while he was studying in Copenhagen, he passed through a mental and spiritual turmoil on account of his tragic love with Regina, Corsair affair (to be discussed on following pages) and above all the death of his dear father. His father had died on 8th August 1838. Kierkegaard has described the

⁶³. KAP p.9-10

⁶⁴. KAP p.12

⁶⁵. DSK p.244

⁶⁶. Ibid.

⁶⁷. DSK p.244

event as ‘The big earthquake’.⁶⁸ Kierkegaard, however made no mention and said nothing whatsoever about his mother in any of his writings. The life of Søren Kierkegaard became a history of sickness and after the death of his father he lived for many years as an eccentric in Aalborg.⁶⁹

At the time of his prime youth, Denmark was under the spell of German Culture. The young Søren Kierkegaard could not help keeping himself away from the plague of young German rebels—called later as “Romantics”. He had a marvelous literary taste and possessed a poetic spirit. As against the family pattern and wishes of his father he rejected the bourgeois life—may be his physical shortcomings also played a part towards this. The poets like Byron, Wordsworth and Coleridge were the favorite of young romantics at that time. Kierkegaard was no exception; Byron also influenced him. Actually it was Lord Byron (1788-1824) who inspired Kierkegaard to forego the bourgeois life. The romantic poet Byron had a very short but highly emotional life. He died in young age when Kierkegaard was only 11 years old. John Douglas Mullen states that Byron’s ‘life was tormented by broken love, persistent melancholia, and by a terrible secret, which he would neither forget nor reveal. And of course as all good men do, he died young in the service of a just cause’⁷⁰. Lord Byron died while working in Greece for the forces of unification. His secret related to his incestuous relationship with his half – sister⁷¹.

Kierkegaard loved Regina Olsen whom he first met on 9th May 1837. She was too young at that time and therefore he kept his love undisclosed to her for three years till she was 17. During this period he continued to come closer to her and gradually she also started thinking positively about him. Kierkegaard was also helping in her studies and often lending her books to read, with the result that both became quite intimate with each other. On 8th September 1840 Kierkegaard left his home fully determined to tell his beloved about his so far hidden love. By chance he met her in the street outside Regina’s home. Regina told him that there was nobody at home, which Kierkegaard took as invitation and, therefore, accompanied to her

⁶⁸ . Ibid.

⁶⁹ . KAP p.12

⁷⁰ .KP p.12

⁷¹ .KP p.165

home. While they were together alone in the house Kierkegaard observed that Regina was a bit restless, so he asked her to play piano for him which she gladly started. But according to him this time he had no interest in piano, so he suddenly picked the music book and threw it on the piano saying: ‘O, what do I care about music, it is you I seek, for two years I have been seeking you’⁷². Regina was wonder-struck on this sudden burst from Kierkegaard and just kept silent. Kierkegaard left Regina in the stage of a pleasant shock and then straight went to her father, before whom he submitted his request for Regina. His father did not commit at that time but called him home after two days. Accordingly in the afternoon of September 10th 1840 a meeting took place at the residence of Regina’s parents and Kierkegaard got consent from her father. Regina also showed her willingness. Their engagement was subsequently announced in a ceremony, which was attended by distinguished guests from Copenhagen.

The following day Kierkegaard realized that he had committed a mistake. From now his period of anxiety starts. After this, one year of his life passed in emotional turbulence and at last on 11th August 1841⁷³ he wrote a letter to Regina returning the engagement ring. In his letter to Regina, he told her to forgive a person who could do every thing but was unable to make a girl happy. Upon getting the letter Regina ran to Kierkegaard’s place but he was not home. She then left a letter for him requesting not to break the engagement. Kierkegaard states that: ‘It is true that she had yielded to me almost adoringly, pleaded with me to love her, and this had so affected me that, I would risk anything and everything for her’⁷⁴. But there was a divine protest, so it seemed to me. Marriage — I would have to keep too much from her, base the whole marriage on a lie⁷⁵. Expressing his inner pain Kierkegaard says ‘It was frightfully painful time — to have to be cruel and to love as I did. She fought like a lioness; if I had not believed there was divine opposition, she would have won’⁷⁶. The father of Regina also tried his best in persuading Kierkegaard not to break the engagement, but nothing could change his decision, which he firmly believed as being the will of God. At

⁷² KAP p.32

⁷³ DSK p.245

⁷⁴ .KAP p.33

⁷⁵ .KAP p.34

⁷⁶ .KAP p.34

last after hard struggle and a tough period of two months Søren Kierkegaard wrote final letter to his beloved on 11th October 1841 finishing the relationship completely.

Heart broken Regina's father Councilor Olsen contacted Kierkegaard and told him that his daughter was in despair and that this would be the death for her as she was utterly desperate. Kierkegaard then accompanied to his home and ate supper with the family and also had a talk with Regina. Next morning he got a letter from her saying that she could not sleep that night and that he must come and see her⁷⁷. Kierkegaard went to her and they had a light exchange of words – of course with heavy hearts of both. Regina requested him to forgive her for any trouble that might have been given by her to him. In reply he said that it should be him who must apologize to her. Kierkegaard writes: "She said, "promise to think of me". I did so. She said: 'kiss me', I did, but without passion. Merciful God!". After that Kierkegaard left for Germany on 25th October 1841. During next four years he had made three trips to Berlin. Later Kierkegaard recorded in his diary (PAP.X, 5 A149):

"I went to Berlin. I suffered exceedingly. I was reminded of her every day. Upto this day I have unconditionally kept my resolve to pray for her at least once every day, often twice, besides thinking about her as usual"⁷⁸.

As earlier stated God sent Søren Kierkegaard to this world on a particular mission and such people by their gifted insight know very well about their task. If they are at any time attracted towards temporal charm they are reminded and then they return to the right direction. Exactly it happened to Kierkegaard. The love between Regina and Kierkegaard had reached very near to climax – rather to a period which is called 'point of no return', but a return was inevitable as there came a divine warning which was more powerful than the power of erotic love. Kierkegaard himself states the stage on which two lovers were standing: "There was a divine protest, so it seemed to me". It was that divine call which received from within and which pulled him out of a total chaos.

⁷⁷ .KAP p.35

⁷⁸ .KAP p.36-37

Two years after the death of her father, Regina married Fritz Schlegel on November 3rd 1847. Her husband later on became Governor in the West Indies. In a letter to Regina, Hanne Mourier quoted extracts of a letter, which according to her was written by Kierkegaard to Regina, which says: ‘Thank you that you married, but specially that you married Schlegel! Because, he said, that she had loved before him. S. K. added, ‘You see, Regina, in eternity there is no taking in marriage, there both Schlegel and I will be happy being with you’⁷⁹.

After break with Regina, Kierkegaard did not sleep for nights together and for the rest of his life; he carried with him the memory of his ‘Regina’. He remained restless throughout his life and he often uttered that ‘one can never forget his first love’. Regina rightly told him once; ‘you will never be happy anyway’⁸⁰. He himself has said: ‘since my earliest childhood a barb of sorrow lodged in my heart. As long as it stays I am ironic – if it is pulled out I shall die’⁸¹. The tragic love with Regina made his life still more tend towards melancholy. However, S. K. had a gentle soul in him in spite of his frequent expressions about his humanly shortcomings and sometimes talking of his own sin. It was the height of gentleness, that he never crossed limits of morality during his love affair with Regina. His love was pure in every respect and he kept his beloved’s honour in the society above every thing. His sensual passion towards his beloved could not overpower him and he firmly protected the sanctity of ‘love’. The life-long anxiety of Søren Kierkegaard played a significant role that kept him bodily at a reasonable distance from his beloved. He was cautious enough to avoid a sin like his father, who due to his folly, had to repent and lamented throughout his life – and may be due to Søren Kierkegaard’s own wrong doings in his early youth⁸².

Kierkegaard possessed a vast outlook of life. He realized that his country in particular and Europe in general were in turmoil culturally as well as politically. He fought simultaneously on both fronts. He found the remedy of cultural sickness in religion where he is seen standing alone and facing the whole Christian World. Politically he criticized rulers and warned them against their drifting towards a wrong direction in the name of democracy

⁷⁹ .KAP p.39

⁸⁰ .KAP p.34

⁸¹ .DSK p.23

⁸² . Intentionally the details avoided being considered irrelevant here.

and in patronizing the priests for making the common man asleep under the spell of their sermons. The youth of the country just damn cared about politics or religion. To them their life was once and the period of their youth was just once of which they must enjoy every moment, and that was all. The young generation was under the spell of romanticism of German Culture, which young ‘Romantics’ practiced to the extent of all-out freedom of action and human behaviorism crossing the outer limits of moral values. They were mercilessly trampling social laws and were totally devoid of discipline.

Out of many things, which worried Kierkegaard was daily newspaper ‘Corsair’ of Copenhagen. The owners of this Daily targeted Kierkegaard ruthlessly. The struggle began in January 1846. S.K was busy in his literary work and always sitting aloof on his desk at home, but the outer world was engaged in denouncing and making a mockery of him. He was fighting simultaneously against the press, the priests, and the ruling people and, above all, against his own self. The Corsair used to publish cartoons of Kierkegaard and wrote indecent remarks about him. Whenever he was seen walking outside, the boys in the street ridiculed and laughed at him. ‘He became the object of amusement when he appeared in the streets of Copenhagen.’⁸³ S. K. in his journal entry says: “This matter of the press is the deepest degradation of the human race for it encourages revolt from below.”⁸⁴ “The daily press, especially in minor affairs, is evil simply and solely through its power of circulation...”⁸⁵ S. K. counter attacked the press forcefully. He said; “Those bunglers, those retired color guards and yes-men and half-baked students are called journalists.”⁸⁶ The condition in 1847 as prevailed in the country is described by S. K. in his words; “How disgusting is the tyranny of grossness and vulgarity that prevails in Copenhagen, what nauseous dissolution, one does not feel it so much because each individual only contributes his own small share.....The Danish people are almost no longer a nation, but a herd.....Copenhagen no metropolis, but a regular small town”⁸⁷.

Those were last days of the absolute kingdom of Danish monarchy. Christian VIII ruled from 1839 to 1848 and was the last absolute King of

⁸³ KAP. P122

⁸⁴ KAP. P122

⁸⁵ KAP, P123

⁸⁶ KAP, P123

⁸⁷ .DSK p.79-80

Denmark⁸⁸. Although, Danish constitution was introduced in 1849 in response to massive demand for political freedom, S.K. was not satisfied. According to him, ‘political freedom in the sense of democracy, government by the people is an absurdity. The catastrophe is that the time requires what it does not need.’ All these demand for freedom in church, school, government and in daily life were, in his eyes, of far less significance than the question how the individual person becomes liberated for life in the service of God⁸⁹. Describing collaboration of church and the state, SK says: ‘In the splendid Palace Church a stately court Chaplain, the declared favorite of the cultivated public, shows himself to a select circle of distinguished, cultivated persons and preachers a moving sermon on the world of Apostle: “God close to the lowly and despised”: And nobody laughs’.⁹⁰

About Bible Societies of that time SK said that these were just like any other business company working with money and ‘distributing the Bible just as worldly away as other enterprises’ do with their wares. According to him ‘the Bible societies have done irreparable harm. Christianity has long been in need of a religious hero who, in fear and trembling before God, had the courage to forbid people to read the Bible’⁹¹. SK did not believe in the preachers of Christianity of his time and always insisted that they were paid-servants of the government. He says that how can he believe a person who swears by ‘all that is sacred that he is a cabinet-maker’ in spite of the fact that he ‘fumbles awkwardly with an axe’ SK says: ‘No, if a man handles an axe like that he cannot possibly be a cabinet-maker, notwithstanding his heated assurances to the contrary’⁹². It is a picture of the style adopted by SK, which looks like criticism of Christianity but has a positive impact. He very often says that he is a poet. Here is an example of his poetic way of expression when he says: ‘the sun is shining brilliantly and beautifully into my room: the window in the next room is open. Every thing is quiet out on the street. It is Sunday afternoon. I distinctly hear a lark warbling in one of the neighboring courtyard, outside the window where the pretty girl lives. Far away in a distant street, I hear a man crying – shrimp for sale - Then I call to my mind

⁸⁸ .KAP p.143

⁸⁹ .KAP p.153

⁹⁰ .DSK p.188

⁹¹ .DSK p.111

⁹² .DSK p.167

my youth and my first love – when I was filled with longing; now I long only for my first longing. What is youth? A dream. What is life? The content of the dream'.⁹³

We have earlier mentioned that it was an era of the last absolute ruler of Denmark Christian VIII and it was also the prime time of Søren Kierkegaard's creativity. Naturally he could not escape from the eyes of the King who had heard a lot about him as an outstanding brain in Copenhagen. SK's Either/ Or had reached the Palace before its author went there. The king was, therefore, eager to meet such a wonderful person. SK had three meetings with the King of Denmark Christian VIII and held discussion on various topics relating to the country and the people. All the time during his conversation with the king he never lost a chance of his humor even at the time of a serious talk. Of course that was his way and when he was humorous and witty his convincing power was still more effective. During his first visit SK said to the King: 'Your majesty's only misfortune is that your wisdom and prudence are too great and the country too small; it is a misfortune to be a genius in a provincial town'. According to SK, the King said many flattering things to him and asked him to visit again. SK replied 'I visit no one your majesty' when the King said that he would send a word to him he answered 'I am a subject, it is for your majesty to command; but in return I shall make one stipulation'⁹⁴. The king asked 'well, and what is it?' he replied 'that I should be given permission to talk with you in private'⁹⁵. He also told the King: 'I have the honor to serve a higher power, for the sake of which I have staked my life'.

After a couple of months, SK again visited the King. The King wished him to talk. 'But it was stimulating to talk with him'. During this visit the talk was centered on political matters and government affairs. 'That day was led the conversation to communism of which he was plainly enough anxious and afraid'⁹⁶. S. K. advised him to let this movement be between the political parties of the country and that the King should stay outside them. S. K. said: 'I talked next of how to fight with the masses: simply remain quite quiet; that the masses were like a woman with whom one never fought directly but

⁹³ EO I p.42

⁹⁴ KR p.74-75

⁹⁵ KR p.75

⁹⁶ KR p.75

indirectly.....⁹⁷ He said that ‘the masses’ were lacking intelligence, so ‘they would always lose in the end’. S. K. further told the King that ‘what the whole age needed was education, and that what became violence in a large country, in Denmark became rudeness’⁹⁸. During this visit S. K. tried several times to depart but the King would not let him do that. He knew that it was impolite for a visitor to do that as one should only wait till the King bows. But every time when he sought the King’s permission to leave, the reply was: ‘yes, yes.....I have plenty of time’. When the third time same thing happened SK said: ‘yes, your majesty will understand that I have enough time. I was afraid your majesty might not have time’⁹⁹. When SK was finally ready to go the King ‘made a movement with his hand’ which meant that the departing visitor should kiss his hand, which was the custom. S. K. says: ‘I behaved as though I did not understand and bowed.’

S. K. met the King third time and that meeting was also quite interesting. In that meeting, which lasted for a considerable time many topics such as government affairs, personal matters and talks on Schelling and Hegel came under discussion. The Queen also participated for a short while. The King said to him that the Queen was very keen to see him. The Queen said that she had read part of ‘Either/Or’ but could not understand it. To which SK replied: ‘your majesty will easily understand that – that is all the worse for me’. So S.K did not even spare the Queen. During this meeting that was S.K’s last meeting with the King, the King began a talk about his government. SK interrupted and told that he wanted to say ‘one or two things’ to the King. That followed the most interesting dialogue between S.K and the King, which is quoted below in SK’s own words:

“Then he walked over to the window and so I followed him. He began to talk about his government. I said that I could naturally tell him one or two things, which perhaps he would not otherwise get to know, for I could tell him what he looked like from the street. ‘But am I to speak, or am I not to speak; for if I am to speak I shall speak quite straight out’. He answered: ‘Go on then’. And so I told him that he allowed himself to be seduced by his personal gifts and that a king should in this respect be like a woman, who

⁹⁷ .KR p.76

⁹⁸ .KR p.77

⁹⁹ .KR p.77

ought to hide her personal talents and simply be the woman of the house – and he simply a king. I have often pondered over what a king should be. In the first place he can perfectly well be ugly; then he ought to be deaf and blind, or at least pretend to be so, for that gets over many difficulties, a tactless or stupid remark which being addressed to a king has a certain importance is best put off by a: ‘I beg your pardon’ – i.e. that the king has not heard it’. Finally the king ought not to say much but have some expression or other which he can use on every occasion, and which is consequently meaningless’. He laughed and said “charming portrait of a king. So I said: ‘Yes, it is true, one thing more: the king must take care to be ill every now and then, so as to arouse sympathy’. Then he broke in, with a peculiar expression which was almost one of joy and delight: ‘Oh that is why you go talking about being ill, you want to make yourself interesting”.¹⁰⁰

As stated earlier after his final break of the engagement with Regina, Kierkegaard left for Germany by train. In this journey his only companion was his love torn heart, which actually made him Socrates of Denmark. He was quite conscious of his too short a life left at his disposal on this planet. During the period of his last fifteen years he remained completely devoted to his ‘given’ task and he did full justice with every moment that he got and with every single breath of his remaining fourteen year of life. During just a period of eight years (1841-48), it is amazing, that seven volumes of his marvelous books were published. These contain a vast range of subjects and cover all the main topics and questions in human minds since the time of the birth of Greek philosophy. He gave a new dimension to Existentialism and is rightly called the father of modern Existentialism. In addition, there are numerous of his other writing, statements, his journal and diary etc. Many books have already been written on Kierkegaard’s different subjects of human life and many still have to come. His works will remain everlasting, as he has left a treasure for mankind particularly in the shape of his following books:

1. The Concept of Irony (Om Begrebet Ironi), 29th Sept., 1841.
2. Either/Or (Enten-Eller), 20th Feb., 1843.
3. Philosophical Fragments (Philosophiske Smuler), 13th June 1844.
4. Edifying Discourses, 29th May, 1845.

¹⁰⁰ .KP p.78-79

5. Concluding Unscientific Postscript (Afsluttende Uvidenskabelig Efterskrift), 27th Feb., 1846.
6. Works of Love (Kjerlighedens Gjerninger), 29th Sept., 1847.
7. Christian Discourses (Christelige Taler), 26th April, 1848.
8. The Sickness unto Death (Sygdomen Til Døden), 30th Jul 1849

Our great philosopher Søren Kierkegaard died on November 11, 1855. About himself he has said:

“Thus do I live, convinced that God will place the stamp of Governance on my efforts – as soon as I am dead, not before -----this is all connected with penitence and the magnitude of the plan. I live in this faith and hope to God to die in it”(E/O II p.438).

Iqbal (1877-1938)

DR. MOHAMMAD IQBAL WAS BORN ON NOVEMBER 9TH, 1877 IN SIALKOT, THE FORMER CITY OF UNDIVIDED INDIA, NOW IN PAKISTAN. HIS FAMILY CAME FROM KASHMIR AND HIS FOREFATHERS WERE BRAHMAN WHICH IS AN EXTREMIST HINDU CASTE; MOSTLY THE TEMPLES IN INDIA ARE MANAGED AND CONTROLLED BY THE PEOPLE BELONGING TO THAT CASTE. HOWEVER, IQBAL’S ANCESTORS CONVERTED TO ISLAM AND MIGRATED TO SIALKOT. HIS FATHER SHEIKH NOOR MOHAMMED WAS A SMALL BUSINESSMAN WITH VERY LIMITED RESOURCES. HE WAS A RELIGIOUS PERSON AND A MYSTIC. HE HAD FINE LITERARY TASTE, AND MATHNAVI OF RUMI AND QURAN WERE UNDER HIS CONSTANT STUDY. HIS FATHER’S TEACHINGS AND THE WAY OF LIVING CREATED IN IQBAL KEEN INTEREST IN LEARNING. BY NATURE IQBAL WAS HIGHLY INTELLIGENT. HE WAS FORTUNATE ENOUGH THAT THE POVERTY OF HIS FATHER COULD NOT CREATE HINDRANCE TOWARDS HIS EDUCATION. HIS ELDER BROTHER NOTICED THE EXTRAORDINARY TALENT IN IQBAL AND SUPPORTED HIM TILL HE COMPLETED HIS EDUCATION. THE BROTHER OF IQBAL WAS A WELL-OFF PERSON AND HE HAD HELPED HIS BROTHER MONETARILY – ALSO SENT IQBAL TO EUROPE WHERE HE STAYED FROM 1905 TO 1908 AND COMPLETED HIS BAR-AT-LAW. IQBAL ALSO GOT HIMSELF HIGHLY EDUCATED IN PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE. HE WAS ALSO VERY LUCKY TO HAVE AMONG HIS TEACHERS A NUMBER OF HIGHLY LEARNED PERSONS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING TILL THE END OF HIS EDUCATION CAREER. IN SIALKOT ONE OF HIS TEACHERS WAS SHAMSUL ULEMA MIR

HASAN WHO WAS WELL KNOWN AS A HIGHLY LEARNED PERSON AND WAS AN AUTHORITY ON RELIGION.

IN 1893, WHEN IQBAL WAS ONLY SIXTEEN, HE HAD TO MARRY A GIRL NAMED KARIMBI WHO WAS 19 AT THAT TIME¹⁰¹. THIS MARRIAGE WAS ARRANGED BY THE ELDERS OF HIS FAMILY ACCORDING TO THE OLD TRADITION. AT FIRST, HE REFUSED TO MARRY KARIMBI BUT ULTIMATELY HE HAD TO SURRENDER TO THE WILL OF HIS ELDERS. THE RESPECT OF ELDERS HAS ALWAYS BEEN A MAIN PART OF FAMILY SYSTEM IN MUSLIM SOCIETY, BUT IN THOSE OLD DAYS AND WITH SOME FAMILIES IT AMOUNTED TO THE EXTENT OF RIGIDITY. IN FACT THERE WAS NO MATCH BETWEEN THE YOUNG COUPLE FORCED TO MARRIAGE. IQBAL WAS MENTALLY NOT READY FOR MARRIAGE AT SUCH A YOUNG AGE WHEN HIS EDUCATION WAS STILL NOT COMPLETE. MOREOVER HE BELONGED TO A POOR FAMILY AND WAS LIVING IN A SMALL HOUSE TOGETHER WITH THE WHOLE FAMILY. ON THE OTHER HAND HIS WIFE BELONGED TO A HIGHLY PLACED FAMILY. SHE WAS THE DAUGHTER OF A RICH PERSON AND HER PARENTS' RESIDENCE WAS LIKE A PALACE WHERE SHE WAS BROUGHT UP LIKE A PRINCESS. HER FATHER MR. ATA MOHAMMED WAS ONE OF THE FIRST BADGE OF DOCTORS FROM THE FAMOUS KING EDWARD MEDICAL COLLAGE, LAHORE. DR. ATA MOHAMMED ENTERED THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND VERY SOON BECAME A HIGHLY PLACED OFFICER. IN 1879, HE WAS APPOINTED AS HONORARY SURGEON TO VICEROY OF INDIA AND LATER ON SERVED AS CIVIL SURGEON IN THE PROVINCE OF PUNJAB¹⁰². HE LOVED IQBAL AND IQBAL ALSO HAD GREAT RESPECT FOR HIM. BUT IN SPITE OF TOO MUCH DIFFERENCE IN STATUS OF THE TWO FAMILIES THE MENTAL LEVEL AND THE LIFE PATTERN BETWEEN IQBAL AND HIS WIFE COULD NOT BE COMPROMISED. THEY COULD NOT LIVE TOGETHER EXCEPT FOR SHORT PERIODS AT DIFFERENT TIMES. FOR THE SAKE OF THE WISHES OF HIS MOTHER, IQBAL DID NOT DIVORCE HIS WIFE BUT HE SEPARATED FROM HER AND UNDERTOOK THE RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT HER MONETARILY THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE. HE KEPT UP TO HIS PROMISE DURING ALL OF HIS LIFE AND IN SPITE OF HIS VERY LIMITED INCOME HE CONTINUED SENDING MONEY EVERY MONTH TO HIS SEPARATED WIFE. MR. NAZIR NIAZI A VERY CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF IQBAL SAYS THAT HE SENT THE LAST MONEY ORDER OF

¹⁰¹ ZR p-262

¹⁰² ZR p.263

MONTHLY AMOUNT TO HER PERSONALLY WHEN IQBAL WAS PASSING HIS LAST MOMENTS OF LIFE IN BED.¹⁰³ IQBAL'S EARLY AGE MARRIAGE AND THEN SEPARATION WAS THE BEGINNING OF HIS LONG SUFFERING OF UNEASY LIFE.

IQBAL PASSED HIS INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN SIALKOT IN 1895 AND THEN SHIFTED TO LAHORE WHERE HE GOT ADMISSION IN GOVERNMENT COLLEGE. THE CITY OF LAHORE WAS CENTER OF LITERARY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AT THAT TIME. HERE IQBAL'S TALENT WAS NOURISHED BY A GREAT ENGLISH ORIENTALIST SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, WHOSE EYES FOUND HIS IDEAL PUPIL IN IQBAL. IQBAL WAS TREMENDOUSLY BENEFITED WITH SUCH A LEARNED TEACHER, WHO FULLY REALIZING THE HIDDEN TALENTS OF HIS STUDENT WAS ALL OUT TO HELP HIS SKILLS DEVELOP. DURING HIS STAY IN LAHORE AND WHILE HE WAS STILL A STUDENT, IQBAL BECAME QUITE FAMOUS ON ACCOUNT OF UNIQUE STYLE OF HIS POETRY. PEOPLE STARTED LOVING HIM AND HE WAS WELL ADMIRENED IN ALL THE GROUPS OF SOCIETY PARTICULARLY AMONG LITERARY AND POLITICAL GROUPS. AFTER FINISHING HIS STUDIES AND MASTERING THE LANGUAGES OF ENGLISH, ARABIC AND PERSIAN, IQBAL LEFT FOR EUROPE IN 1905. IQBAL BY NATURE WAS A PERSON WHOSE THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE COULD NEVER BE QUENCHED. IN EUROPE, HE WAS FIRST ADMITTED IN CAMBRIDGE TRINITY COLLEGE WHERE AMONG HIS TEACHERS WERE MACTAGGART AND JAMES WARD.¹⁰⁴ HE HAD ALREADY DONE HIS LAW GRADUATION IN INDIA. HE COMPLETED A PART OF JURISPRUDENCE THAT WAS LEFT UNFINISHED IN EUROPE. HE THEN WENT TO HEIDELBERG IN GERMANY IN JUNE 1907 WHERE HE LEARNT GERMAN IN JUST THREE MONTHS¹⁰⁵ AND CONTINUED FURTHER STUDY IN PHILOSOPHY. THE SAME YEAR HE GOT HIS DOCTORATE DEGREE FROM MUNICH UNIVERSITY ON HIS FAMOUS THESIS 'THE DEVELOPMENT OF METAPHYSICS IN PERSIA'.¹⁰⁶

WHEREVER IQBAL WENT HE LEFT HIS UNDYING MEMORIES. IN ENGLAND, HE STAYED AT DIFFERENT PLACES IN DIFFERENT TIMES. THE LONGEST PERIOD OF HIS STAY WAS IN 1908. DURING THIS YEAR, HE OFFICIATED AS A LECTURER IN PLACE OF HIS TEACHER PROF. THOMAS ARNOLD IN THE UNIVERSITY AT LONDON. ALSO HE DELIVERED LECTURES

¹⁰³ ZR p.263

¹⁰⁴ GW p.37

¹⁰⁵ IAA p.16

¹⁰⁶ GW p.37

ON ISLAMIC TOPICS IN SPRING AND THEN RETURNED TO LAHORE SAME YEAR.¹⁰⁷ AFTER THIS, IQBAL HAD TWO MORE TRIPS TO EUROPE IN CONNECTION WITH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT OF HIS COUNTRY ATTENDING ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHO RULED INDIA AT THAT TIME. DURING HIS MEMORABLE VISITS TO ENGLAND, IQBAL STAYED AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES¹⁰⁸:

IN 1908:

1) 49, ELSHA

2) 17, PORTUGAL PALACE, CAMBRIDGE

IN 1931:

3) 123, ST. JAMES COURT,

IN 1932 4) QUEEN ANNE'S MANSION ST. JAMES PARK

THE MEMORY OF IQBAL'S STAY WAS CELEBRATED BY AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND IN 1978 WHEN A NAME PLATE OF IQBAL WAS FIXED ON THE ENTRANCE OF 17 PORTUGAL PALACE, CAMBRIDGE.

NOW TURNING TO IQBAL'S PERSONAL LIFE AGAIN WITHOUT WHICH OUR KNOWLEDGE FOR IQBAL WILL BE INCOMPLETE. THE BEST PART OF IQBAL'S LIFE AS EXPRESSED BY IQBAL HIMSELF IN HIS VARIOUS WRITINGS WAS HIS STAY IN EUROPE DURING 1905-1908. DURING THIS PERIOD HE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF ASSOCIATION WITH HIGHLY LEARNED PERSONS, INTELLECTUALS AND PHILOSOPHERS OF THE TIME. BESIDES HIS LEARNED TEACHERS HE ENJOYED FRIENDSHIP IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY WITH TWO YOUNG GIRLS. ONE OF THEM WAS ATYA BEGUM WHOM IQBAL MET IN LONDON AND THEN IN GERMANY WHERE SHE WENT FOR HIGHER STUDY IN PHILOSOPHY. THE OTHER ONE WAS MISS EMMA WEGENAST WHO WAS ONE OF THE TEACHERS OF IQBAL AT HEIDELBERG IN GERMANY DURING 1907. BOTH THESE GIRLS WERE YOUNG AND EXTREMELY BEAUTIFUL FULLY GIFTED WITH REMARKABLE INTELLIGENCE AND KNOWLEDGE. THERE IS NO OTHER SOURCE TO JUDGE THE LEVEL OF ATTACHMENT BETWEEN IQBAL WITH EACH ONE OF THE TWO GIRLS EXCEPT THE LETTERS THAT HE WROTE TO THEM LATER ON. WEGENAST KEPT AND SAFEGUARDED IQBAL'S LETTERS AS A VALUABLE AND SACRED TREASURE AND BEFORE HER DEATH IN 1960 SHE HANDED THEM OVER TO PAKISTAN GERMAN FORUM IN GERMANY WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SAFE KEEPING THE

¹⁰⁷ GW p.39

¹⁰⁸ IIP p.98

SAME IN AN ARCHIVES MAKING THEM AVAILABLE TO RESEARCHERS ON IQBAL'S WORKS.¹⁰⁹ UNFORTUNATELY, NOT A SINGLE LETTER COULD BE TRACED IN IQBAL'S BELONGINGS WRITTEN TO HIM BY WEGENAST WHO AS APPEARS FROM IQBAL'S LETTERS WAS, ALWAYS PROMPTLY REPLYING TO HIM. WEGENAST WAS IQBAL'S TEACHER OF GERMAN LANGUAGE. PROF. DR. ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL WRITES; 'THE HAPPY DAYS OF HEIDELBERG WITH ITS CHARMING LADY TEACHER ARE REFLECTED IN IQBAL'S ROMANTIC POEM EVENING ON THE NECKAR. IQBAL WAS ALL FOR GERMAN KNOWLEDGE AND HIS LOVE FOR GERMANY DID NOT FADE TILL THE END OF HIS LIFE'.¹¹⁰ DR. S. A. DURRANI STATES: 'SHE REPRESENTED EVERY CHARM AND LOVEABLE THAT IQBAL HAD SEEN OR CAME IN CONTACT WITH AT GERMANY'.¹¹¹

After leaving Heidelberg Iqbal wrote several letters from Munich to which Wegenast responded promptly. These letters were written in German but Iqbal was never satisfied with expression of his feelings for Wegenast in that language. This fact was stated by him in several letters which he wrote to Wegenast . In his letter dated 16. October 1907¹² sent to her in reply to a card received from Wegenast he regretted his limited knowledge of German and said that German language was a wall between him and Wegenast. Iqbal got a reply to this letter quickly in the shape of a brief letter from Wegenast in which, as indicated from Iqbal's reply in his letter of 23 October 1907,¹³ she stated that she had torn and destroyed a letter, which she had written to Iqbal. Iqbal wrote to her in his letter that her action was cruel and that she was not like that with him while in Heidelberg. He further said in his letter that Wegenast 'had no right to tear off letter which belonged to him and insisted that he would not write to her unless he got that letter from her which she wrote but did not mail instead tore it off. It was cruel on her part', Iqbal added, 'probably the climate of Heidelberg was the cause that made her unloving.' However these were simply a few sweet bitter words as could well be expected from a lover. Their correspondence continued further without break for quite some time. Iqbal returned to London in November, 1907 and they remained in touch with each other as indicated from Iqbal's letter dated

¹⁰⁹ IIE p.105

¹¹⁰ BD p. 128

¹¹¹ IIE p.95

¹² IIE p.109

¹³ IIE p.110

16th November, 1907¹¹². Iqbal's letter of 2nd December, 1907,¹¹³ written from London is also interesting. In this letter he says: 'you just cannot imagine what is inside my soul. I wish I could see you again and talk to you. I do not know what to do. A person who has been once your friend cannot live without you. Please forgive me what I have said – I know you do not like emotions to be expressed in such a way. Please do write to me soon. It does not look nice to ruin a person who has never harmed you'.¹¹⁴

Wegenast sent her two pictures to Iqbal at London in January, 1908, which Iqbal acknowledged in his letter¹¹⁵ dated 20th January, 1908 saying: 'Thousand thanks for your pictures received by me this evening. It is extremely kind of you. Both pictures are really very beautiful and these will always remain in my study room on my desk. But you should not think that these are only on a piece of paper – your picture is in my heart¹¹⁶ and will remain there for ever.....probably it will not be possible that I see you again.....but I do admit that you have become a real power in my life'¹¹⁷. During rest of the time when Iqbal stayed at London several letters were exchanged between him and Wegenast. The last letter¹¹⁸ of Iqbal addressed to her from London is dated 27th June, 1908, in which he informed that it was not possible for him to travel via Germany. He further said that he would leave London on the 3rd of July and that he would be staying at Paris for a couple of days on his way home. Since it was his last letter from London naturally the expression of leaving the country without visiting his dearest friend was extremely sentimental, since he must have got the feelings that he would never be able to see his sweet heart again during his lifetime.

Upon arrival at his hometown, Sialkot (now in Pakistan), Iqbal wrote his first letter to Wegenast and then from his residence at Lahore on 11th January 1908. This letter contains full detail of arrival in his country and enthusiastic reception by a large crowd of young as well as elderly people. On his way home, after landing at Bombay young students gathered at every Station and

¹¹² IIE p.113

¹¹³ IIE p.113-114

¹¹⁴ IIE p.114

¹¹⁵ IIE p.114

¹¹⁶ IIE p.115

¹¹⁷ IIE p.121

¹¹⁸ IIE p.121

were singing his songs. In his letter he informed Wegenast that he was going to start his practice at Lahore as an Advocate and also told her that he would not be able to forget her beautiful country. It is quite a long letter written by Iqbal, but we cannot resist showing our readers the wording of its last paragraph which reads as under:

“please do not forget your friend who always keeps you in his heart and who can never be able to forget you. My stay at Heidelberg seems to me just like a dream and I do want to repeat this dream. Is that possible? You know better.”¹¹⁹ Afterwards correspondence between the two continued for the next 25 years. During this period a gap of 5 years is found which was the result of First World War which broke out in August, 1914 and lasted for 5 years. Total number of Iqbal’s letters, said to be 40, which were given by Wegenast, but at the time of publishing only 27 were available. No one knows what happened to the rest of the letters. Out of 27 letters which could be saved only 10 were in English and 17 were written by Iqbal in German.¹²⁰ The author of the book ‘Iqbal Europe Mein’ (=Iqbal in Europe) did a marvelous job in arranging translation of Iqbal’s letters from German to English and Urdu languages and then protecting them for ever after publishing in the shape of a book “IIE” together with valuable information connected with the subject. We have translated his Urdu text of the letters in English language. Following are the excerpts from two letters of Iqbal in English language contained in the aforesaid book. We hope our readers will find them extremely interesting. And they can even hear the sound of Iqbal’s heart in his words here:

Letter from Lahore,

30th July, 1913:

“I remember the time when I read Goethe’s poems with you, and I hope you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other spiritually speaking”.

The last letter written by Iqbal was on 7th June, 1914¹²¹, after which 1st World War broke out which lasted for five years. When the war ended Iqbal wrote a letter to Wegenast on 10th October, 1919, expressing his concern

¹¹⁹ IIE p.125

¹²⁰ IIE p.107

¹²¹ IIE p.264

over ‘the great ordeal Germany had passed through’ and hoped that ‘the people would make up the losses caused by the war.’ It seems that this letter never reached in the hands of Wegenast apparently due to change in her address and there came a gap of over twelve years when Iqbal managed to get the new address of his dearest friend. Iqbal then sent to her a letter on 15th October 1931 from London, where he had gone to attend a Round Table Conference. Wegenast promptly replied and then he in reply to her letter wrote to her from Buckingham Gate, 20th October 1931:¹²²

“My dear Frl. Wegenast,

It was extremely kind of you to write. I received your letter early in the morning today when I was still in bed. I read it more than once partly because I was so glad to receive it and partly because I wanted to understand it better. I am glad to learn that in spite of the misfortunes that you have had to face you are cheerfully getting on in life. I shall never forget the days at Heidelberg when you taught me Goethe’s Faust and helped me in many ways. These were happy days indeed! I find from your letter that you are not the master of your time. I shall therefore try my best to come to Heidelberg and visit you once more in that old place. I still remember the River Neckar on the bank of which we used to walk together. But nothing is yet certain. I think I shall be able to tell you in short time whether it is possible for me to come to Germany while going to Rome. I have received an invitation from Rome and want to go there before I finally leave for India.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that I have a great longing to meet you and to revive the memory of those happy days which, alas! are gone for ever.

In the meantime please do write to me,

Yours Sincerely

Muhammad Iqbal”

Kierkegaard has clearly described nearly everything about his personal life. Unlike him, Iqbal has not written anything particular about this aspect of his life. Therefore, in order to know something in this regard we have to see what his close ones tell us about him. To be very specific and selective we have referred to Iqbal’s son Justice (Rtd.) Dr. Javid Iqbal’s book “Zinda

¹²² IIE p.269

Rud” (Urdu) and a book “Iqbal ” by Atiya Begum”, as well as Iqbal’s own letters which he wrote to Wegenast and Atiya Begum, besides comments of a few persons who are considered as authority on Iqbal.

We mentioned earlier that there were two girls who came in the life of Iqbal. Besides Emma Wegenast, it was Atiya Begum, who came from a Nawab family. She was daughter of a ruler of one State in India and happened to meet Iqbal during her study tour to England and Germany. She was highly intelligent, well-educated and extremely charming young girl. In England, she got a “special invitation” to meet a very clever man by the name of Mohammed Iqbal at a dinner on 1st April 1907. According to Atiya Begum she found Iqbal, at the dinner table, a scholar of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit – a ready wit and ever alert in taking advantage of one’s weak point, and hurling cynical remarks at his audience¹²³. The dinner was hosted by Miss Beck who was looking after welfare of Indian students. After a few days Iqbal invited Atiya Begum to supper at Frascatis, a fashionable restaurant in London to meet some German scholars with whom he was working¹²⁴. After that she met Iqbal several times at different places either at Cambridge where Prof. Arnold was usually with them. He was the teacher of Iqbal and loved his pupil very much. Some times Prof. Arnold used to take them to picnic and sometimes they dined with him together. Iqbal once visited Atyia at her place with a few German and Arabic books on philosophy in the company of a German Professor and their discussion lasted for full three hours.¹²⁵ After that they continued meeting every now and then to study and promote their mutual knowledge of Philosophy. Atiya Begum narrates interesting stories of their meetings during various gatherings in which Iqbal also participated.¹²⁶ She was very much influenced by him and really benefited from his company in the field of her knowledge. About Iqbal she observed: “ He was a store-house of knowledge”.¹²⁷ Once Iqbal said to Atiya, “If you wish to increase

¹²³ IAB pp.14

¹²⁴ IAB pp.16

¹²⁵ IAB pp.19

¹²⁶ Atiya Begum wrote everything about Iqbal in her book (*Iqbal* by Atiya Begum)which was published many years after Iqbal’s death.

¹²⁷ IAB pp.21

your understanding in any branch of learning, Germany should be your goal".¹²⁸

On the advice of Prof. Arnold, Atiya decided to go to Germany and she left on 19th August 1907 with a group of students. Dr. Fayzee, the brother of Atiya, was also with them. The group arrived Heidelberg at 5pm the next day.¹²⁹ Prominent persons among whom there were Frau Prof. Wegenast, Frau Prof. Senachal and Iqbal welcomed them. Atiya's first impression of Iqbal in the environment of Germany as described by her was 'so unlike to what I had seen him in London, Germany seemed to pervade his being, and he was picking knowledge from the trees that he passed by and the grass he trod upon'.¹³⁰ Atiya has described many interesting events that happened from day to day while she was at Heidelberg in the company of Iqbal and German professors Frau. Senachal and Frau Wegenast. Atiya left Heidelberg after successful completion of her study tour taking with her unforgettable pleasant memories. She returned to London on 1st September, 1907 and then to India later same year. As earlier stated Iqbal was back home in 1908. Iqbal sent many poems to Atiya after her return to India. In fact seldom there was any letter of Iqbal when a poem or some verses were not in it even some of them later on not published. Atiya says: " I had also invited him to Janjira¹³¹ on behalf of Their Highness the Nawab Saheb and Begum Saheba of Janjira. Iqbal however never went there. He regretted to 'forego the pleasure of her company inspite of a strong almost irrepressible desire.....'.¹³² Atiya was naturally angry on this and expressed her feelings as such. There has been exchange of several letters between Iqbal and Atiya Begum. However we are only in possession of some of the letters of Iqbal that he wrote to Atiya and no letter from Atiya Begum is available. In one of his letters dated 17th July, 1909 Iqbal wrote:

"My dear Miss Atiya,

You say I have no regard for your wishes!! This is indeed strange for I always make it a point to study your wishes and to please you in any way I

¹²⁸ IAB pp.22

¹²⁹ IAB pp.25

¹³⁰ IAB pp.27

¹³¹ The native place of Atiya in India.

¹³² IAB pp.39

can. But sometimes, of course, such a thing is beyond my power. The force of my own nature impels me in a different direction”.

The above is a short excerpt from Iqbals’s letter that is spread over 7 pages. According to Mohammed Usman, Iqbal loved Atiya as a person – may be once he wished to marry her but later thought it impossible. He might have thought that Atiya may not be absorbed as a part of his family whose living was so simple and commonly. Moreover Iqbal’s financial condition was unstable. Hence their love ended in tragedy.¹³³ Another Iqbal’s writer Masood-ul-Hassan writes that Iqbal and Atiya had decided to marry each other during 1907-1908. This is why Atiya repeatedly requested and invited Iqbal to come to her home town, Jangira, so that the agreement could be finalized. But Iqbal never went there, so the affair lasted for a short period of time and then ended in December 1911. After that Atiya was married to Faizi Rehimain in 1912.¹³⁴ But the author of Zinda Rud (ZR) says that whatever has been written about love affair between Iqbal and Atiya is all guess work that is devoid of reality.¹³⁵ The author of ‘Iqbal-az-Atiya Begum’ (IAA) Zia-ud-din Ahmad, who knew Iqbal and Atiya Begum very well and had the privilege of meeting both of them several times expressed great respect for their mutual love. In fact, they were friends in real sense. The refusal of Iqbal in coming to Atiya’s home to meet her elders could not end her friendship with Iqbal. Even the marriage of Atiya with Faizi did not interrupt the correspondence between Iqbal and Atiya except that there was a little pause for a negligible period of time. ‘Both were real friends and their friendship ended at the death of Iqbal after 40 years. If ever expressed, Atiya was the only person to whom Iqbal disclosed his inner pain and burning of his soul. There was no other person who could understand his deep feelings except Atiya Begum’.¹³⁶ However their love was in no case an erotic love. The letters of Iqbal written to Atiya Begum as a matter of fact present his own hand written life picture which Atiya published, as they were, in her book (IAB). So far Wegenast is concerned, Iqbal loved her and she loved Iqbal. Their love was real and spiritual love (*kjærlighet*) without passing through the bridge of erotic love (*elskov*). It was first love of Iqbal and, as Kierkegaard

¹³³ ZR pp.290

¹³⁴ ZR pp.290

¹³⁵ ZR pp.291

¹³⁶ IAA pp.7

said no one forgets his first love ever, Iqbal kept his love for Wegenast in his heart. Iqbal took with him his treasure of love to the other world where his love became immortal. Wegenast remained unmarried throughout her life in this world and calmly took the love of Iqbal to her grave. In this way the love of both of them got eternal life.

Prof. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel says: ‘R. A. Nicholson, who has introduced Iqbal’s ideas into Europe, has pointed out in his introduction to the translation of ‘Secret of the Self’ – an article which still belongs to the best ever written on behalf of the poet – that: “Iqbal is a man of his age and a man in advance of his age; he is also a man in disagreement of his age.”¹³⁷ At an occasion of literary conversation on the 23rd of July 1907 Iqbal’s another teacher at Cambridge Prof. Arnold saw a letter of Iqbal in the hands of Atiya. This was a gathering of intellectuals where ‘Iqbal’ also came under discussion. The letter in the hands of Atiya was written to her by Iqbal from Germany in German. Atiya says: ‘when this letter was read out both the fluency of the writer and the literary merit of the work was admired. Prof. Arnold requested me to give this letter to him, saying, “though Iqbal is my pupil, I get instructions from his writings.”’ He further said that I was fortunate in receiving such an important communication from him, and assured me that “this will remain as a cherished piece of German literature in my possession.” It was a delicate situation, and I could not but grant the request of this great man, so handed over to him Iqbal’s letter.¹³⁸ Zia-ud-Burney says that when Iqbal returned from England after participating in Round Table Conference he was invited by Atiaya Begum at Aiwan-i-Riffat in Bomboy. Mr. Zia-ud-Burney was personally present there and among the guests were heads of the States, Diplomats from the Embassies of the Muslim Countries, prominent citizens and highly educated persons. Iqbal was requested to speak and also give some message to the audience. He therefore delivered a short speech in English, at the end of which he recited a verse in Persian:

CHUNON BEZI KE AGAR MARG-I-TUST MARG-I- DAWAM
KHUDA ZE KARDAI KHUD SHARMSAR-TAR GARDAD

¹³⁷ G.W p.43

¹³⁸ IAB p.22

When Iqbal ended his speech, a few persons surrounded Iqbal and requested to give English translation of his Persian verse. Following is the English translation in Iqbal's own words:

Live so beautifully
That if death is the end of all,
God himself may be put to shame
For having ended thy career.¹³⁹

Iqbal brought a revolution through his rich and burning poetry in the political field of his country as well as in philosophical world. He once said about himself, "I am two in one, the outer is practical and business-like and the inner self is the dreamer, philosopher and mystic."¹⁴⁰ He fought for the independence of his country against the powerful British rule and at the same time with all resisting forces including his own countrymen, prominent Muslim politicians and Religionists. He discovered Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a man of his taste who on the request of Iqbal came from London and took the lead of independence movement. Iqbal was his backbone and mind on one hand and a burning flame of eloquence on the other hand warming up the blood of young generation to the extent of boiling point through his extremely touching heroic songs.

Highly literary persons translated Iqbal's philosophical poetry in the shape of several books during his lifetime and afterwards in Europe and many other countries and further translations and research on his works is continuing on a large scale. Iqbal is another Swiss Canal, which links the minds of East and West. He is not new in the Western intellectual world. Besides his 'The Development of Metaphysics in Persia' his philosophical book 'The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam' (RRT) has given new dimensions of thought to modern thinkers. The book also contains one of his lectures 'Is Religion Possible', which was delivered by him in a session of the Aristotelian Society in London in December 1932. Following are the main books written by Iqbal:

1. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia (English) –
Cambridge 1908.

¹³⁹ IAA p.23,24,25

¹⁴⁰ IAB p.16

2. Asrar-i-Khudi (Persian), Lahore 1915.
3. Rumuz-i-Bekhudi (Persian), Lahore 1918.
4. Peyam-i-Mashriq (Persian), Lahore 1923.
5. Bang-i-Dara (Urdu), Lahore 1924
6. Zabur-i-Ajam (Persian), Lahore 1927.
7. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (English), London 1934 & Lahore 1951.
8. Javednama (Persian), Lahore 1932.
9. Pascha Bayad Kard (Persian), Lahore 1936.
10. Musafir (Persian), Lahore 1936.
11. Bal-i-Jibril (Urdu), Lahore 1936
12. Zarb-i-Kalim (Urdu), Lahore 1937
13. Armaghan-I-Hijaz (Persian and Urdu), Lahore 1938 –
Iqbal passed away the same year.

A few hours before his death, H. H. von Veltheim-Ostran came to visit him¹⁴¹. Iqbal, careless of the fact that he was going to leave this world very soon of which he was well aware, discussed German philosophy with him till the time his breath could stand it. Iqbal died after a few hours of entertaining his last guest on 21st April 1938.

IDEOLOGICAL KINSHIP AMONG KIERKEGAARD & IQBAL

Kierkegaard belonged to 19th century but has been discovered in 20th century, whereas Iqbal (born in 19th century) belongs to the 20th century and discovered as such. Kierkegaard of the West and Iqbal of the East, both have given to the world a unique approach towards life, religion, God and the universe. These are the questions arising out in the mind of man from the very time of the awakening of intellectual instinct in him. The two great philosophers, Kierkegaard and Iqbal, have addressed these questions in a way that is quite different in style than that of the most theologians, scholars and philosophers of world fame. The life that Kierkegaard and Iqbal lived was

¹⁴¹ .GW p.59

full of selfless sacrifices and devotion to the cause of divine duty entrusted to them. The religion they followed and preached, though different in name, but the path adopted was the same and the destination they sought was the same. Both believed and advocated that the God is one and only one before whom each individual, on the Day of Judgment will stand ‘alone and all alone by himself’. In this way both of them belong to the 20th century, which is our age. The two are not merely philosophers or as they called themselves poets but each one of them is a complete school of thought for humanity. They are revolutionists in philosophy and both of them are theologians but not in the sense like some of those who preach religion in Churches and Mosques just in order to earn their livelihood and lead a comfortable life. These two men are religious persons in real sense and each one of them, as we see, is too hard in criticizing Priests and Mullahs of his country, as a result of which they had to face terrible opposition of religious groups of their time. They adopted a realistic approach toward religion. Kierkegaard and Iqbal are both doctors of human nature. This is why they are so popular in the modern world that their ideas are being widely circulated through deliberations and writings by intellectuals and researchers. Every now and then new horizon of their thoughts and teaching are explored which appear in the shape of new books in various countries.

The teaching of Kierkegaard and Iqbal on human spirit and selfhood provides a guideline and awareness to researchers of self-recognition. As is the case with the writers of their category, the reader for the first time usually does not get into many aspects hidden in their beautifully well-knit phrases. In the case of Kierkegaard and Iqbal, as a matter of fact, it is sometimes impossible, in reading them for the first time, to sense the exact idea behind their selected words and the reader is just lost in the beauty and rhythm of their poetic style. The romantic period of the lives of both philosophers was very short and that too met with a painful tragic end – similar to a bud that faded before becoming a flower. Kierkegaard and Iqbal remained apart from the girls whom they liked; they actually had sacrificed their personal desires since both of them had a greater task ahead; they did not marry the girls whom they once loved so deeply. Kierkegaard had expressed the whole story of his tragic love but Iqbal being terribly involved in his nation building activities kept every thing, that related to his own self, concealed in his chest; His inner kept on boiling like unexploded volcano throughout his life. No

doubt Iqbal as well as Kierkegaard carried a bleeding heart; the words coming out of their pen are really drops of fresh blood from their heart. Iqbal's words about himself apply fully well to Kierkegaard also, where he says: "Each line of my verse is a drop of my blood (misra-i-man qatra-i-khun-i manast)". Indeed Kierkegaard and Iqbal have startling resemblance in their life and thought.

Both of them are staunch religious persons and reformers. Whatever Kierkegaard has done for Christianity Iqbal has done the same for Islam. Their approach to religion and God is realistic.

In politics they are critics of the present so-called democracy. They were against the rule of the masses but favored the rule of wisdom in which justice should prevail.

Both possessed unshaken power of faith and never cared if the whole world stood against them.

Both faced tragedy in their emotional life, which was the result of their own attitude towards the short temporal life.

Both sacrificed their personal pleasure for the sake of greater cause and for the good of human race. The worldly comfort did not attract them and the wealth to them was nothing more than a source keeping them alive

Both demonstrated man's ego practically as well as theoretically. Both fought on various fronts simultaneously against negative forces prevailing in religion, politics and society.

Both were scared of excessive tendencies towards objectivism and materialism. Their revolutionary approach to existentialism has provided new vision to modern thinkers.

Both have extensively deliberated on misconceived tendency of Man's right of choice and the most important task of life for both was first to 'know thyself'.

The relation between man and God is of utmost importance with both. They believed that God is not living far away from us but He is nearer than our own self.

Iqbal's 'philosophical kinship with Kierkegaard is deep, and who along with Kierkegaard recognized the limits of science and reason in understanding the Self and the apprehension of religious faith'; says Sami S. Hawi of Wisconsin University in his essay "The Aesthetic Self in Kierkegaard".

As said earlier the aesthetic age of both, Iqbal and Kierkegaard was too short and that too ended in tragedy; like a bud that faded before becoming a flower. However, the seed of their thought, sown in the fertile field of wisdom and nurtured by the time, gave birth to a thousand buds, which one by one with every rising sun on the horizon, is turning into full-bloomed flowers and spreading life giving fragrance in the garden of intellect.

DIVINE BEATITUDE: SUPREME ARCHETYPE OF AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

Reza Shah Kazemi

Most of the studies which deal with sacred art only focus on its objective aspect, that is, on its formal manifestations; our intention here is to focus rather on the spiritual dimensions of one of the subjective aspects closely connected with sacred art, that is, the aesthetic experience of the perceiving subject, the beholder of art. By aesthetic experience we mean the existential ramifications of the perception of beauty; the experience of expansiveness, marvel, serenity and in its higher reaches, the feelings of bliss that can be generated in the contemplation of beautiful forms; and we take sacred art in its widest meaning, to encompass not only the formal productions of homo religiousus, but also the handiwork of the Creator: that is, virgin nature, with all the beauties found therein.

Just as terrestrial beauty both reflects and participates in the Divine Archetype of Beauty, so the experience of beauty the aesthetic sensation must derive from an archetype situated on a transcendent plane. But whereas in the case of formal beauty, participation in the archetype is rigorously objective and unconditional, in the case of aesthetic experience, participation in the archetype is critically dependent on the subjective capacity of the individual to make of his experience a spiritual foretaste of heavenly felicity and thereby a ‘remembrance of God’. Beautiful vision on earth should foreshadow the Beatific vision in Heaven, it should heighten one’s resolution to conform to the requirements of this celestial reward; it should, in other words, lead one to God. The experience of beauty, far from being a question of merely aesthetic sensibility, is essentially an invitation to union: union with the Divine Principle, which both projects Beauty and attracts by means of Beauty. One speaks of being entranced, enthralled, enraptured by beauty: these terms clearly indicate the spiritual potential inherent in aesthetic experience, for the individual is not fully himself in the face of a beauty that overwhelms him; indeed, a certain mode of extinction can even be said to have taken place.

Whether or not this spiritual potential will be realized depends on whether the perceiving subject is interiorised or exteriorised by his experience; that is, whether the perception of beautiful form leads one to the formless source of beauty within the heart, to the ‘kingdom of God that is within you’, to God ‘who is closer to man than his jugular vein’; or whether, on the contrary, the experience of beauty gives rise to a fixation on the transient forms as such and thus to a cult of aestheticism, an art for the sake of art. In this case, the experience of beauty becomes a substitute for God, rather than a pathway to Him; it generates a ghaflah, a forgetfulness of God, rather than a dhikr, a remembrance of God; it gives rise to an unstable, false and fleeting plenitude which inflates the ego, rather than to a contemplation of the transcendent essences of beauty in the face of which the hardness of the ego is dissolved, and the limitations and pretensions of the ego are transcended. In the words of Firthjof Schuon:¹⁴²

“... the born contemplative cannot see or hear beauty without perceiving in it something of God. The Divine that is contained in it allows him the more easily to detach himself from the appearances of things. As for the passionnal man, he sees in beauty the world, seduction, the ego, so that it takes him away from the ‘one thing needful’...”

Now all men have an existential need for beauty, for on the one hand man is ‘made in the image of God’ (Khalaqa Allahu ’l-Adama ‘ala suratihi); and on the other, ‘God is Beautiful and He loves Beauty’ (inna Allaha jamilun yuhibbu ’l-jamal). The substance of man’s innermost being is woven of Beauty, and like God, he loves Beauty. Consequently, love of beauty imposes itself upon man as an ontological imperative; it is far from being just a sentimental attraction.

‘Beauty is in the eye of the beholder’. This English saying accords perfectly with a key Platonic principle: the eye must itself be of a luminous nature for it to be able to register light; the truth must be immanent in the intellect for the intellect to be able to recognize truth. It is because beauty is of the essence of man’s spirit that he is able to perceive and love beautiful forms; but it must be added that this capacity to intuit the essence in forms depends not only upon one’s contemplatively, but also on the degree to which the individual’s inherent beauty of soul is actualised: in other words, whether virtue and piety adorn the soul.

¹⁴² *Spiritual Perspectives and Human Facts*. London, Faber and Faber, n. d. p.27.

According to Plato again: 'Beauty is the splendour of the True'. Now what this implies, among other things, is that one cannot come to know the Truth without also coming to know and love Beauty, which is found in all its infinite glory only in the Truth. This same fundamental principle is implied in the hadith qudsi:

I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known, so I created the world.

The fact that God loved to be known implies that man, in proportion to his coming to know God, will ineluctably come to love Him. The Truth, his coming to know God, will ineluctably come to love Him. The Truth, then, reveals the essence of Beauty, but beauty does no necessarily reveal the truth: it can both enlighten and delude, hence the drama of man's perennial quest for a beauty that is imperishable.

If this beauty is not sought in its Divine source, by means of contemplation, in the necessary framework of prayer and virtue, then it will be sought in its manifested forms; and these forms will become divinised, that is, adored, if not worshipped, as idols. To paraphrase Frithjof Schuon: Beauty attached to God is sacrament, cut off from God it becomes an idol.¹⁴³ One might add: the aesthetic sensation attached to God is dhikr, cut off from God it is ghaflah. The beautiful object will then be detached from the Divine source that imparts to it all its meaning, all its liberating power; it will be adored for its own sake, or more specifically, for the sake of the concupiscent gratification of the senses, a gratification which is the vulgar parody of that blissful contemplation of the archetypes that is the authentic fruit of aesthetic experience.

There is then a fundamental ambiguity inherent in aesthetic experience; in order to serve its proper spiritual purpose the experience of beauty must consciously be related to God. And it must be stressed that the ultimate function of this experience is to provide a foretaste of that beatitude which is one with the absolute Reality, a foretaste which is as an invitation to participate in the Divine Presence with all one's being, and not just with one's surface sensibility.

Given the fact that the Divine Reality is at once transcendent and immanent vis a vis all formal beauty, it is incumbent on man to take account of both of these dimensions; one must see all beautiful things in God, and God in all beautiful things. Failure to see all beautiful things in God violates

¹⁴³ *Esoterism as Principle and as Way*, Pates Manor, Perennial Books, 1981, p. 182.

the aspect of transcendence: for it is blind to the fact that all beautiful things are prefigured in the Divine Principle which infinitely transcends the world; and failure to see the Divine Beauty in all beautiful things violates the aspect of immanence, by being blind to the fact that objects are beautiful only by virtue of the Divine Beauty that is rendered present through and by them.

The rest of this paper will attempt to highlight the metaphysical relationship between aesthetic experience and Divine Beatitude, pointing out these two dimensions of transcendence and immanence.

We shall begin by positing three fundamental degrees of Being: the terrestrial, the celestial and the Divine. Notwithstanding the distinctions that can be made within the celestial realms and the Divine Nature, this tripartite distinction is adequate for the purposes of our central thesis here: that aesthetic experience is a reflection of celestial felicity and that this felicity in turn is derived from its archetype, the Beatitude proper to the Absolute.

This assertion can be derived from three main sources: intellectual self-evidence; scriptural exegesis; and the fruits of spiritual realization.

Turning first to self-evidence: even the fact that man is made in the image of God, all the essential truths are inscribed in his innermost spirit; it is then altogether ‘normal’ that the innate knowledge of the beatific nature of the Absolute should shine forth as a self-evident reality for primordial man, or man still attuned to his primordial nature, the fitrah. And this spiritual intuition of ultimate Reality as the Sovereign Good, steeped in its own Beatitude, will comprise an understanding that this beatitude is the supreme archetype of all blessings and modes of happiness on the celestial and terrestrial planes. For the contemplative, every beautiful object on earth proves the Divine archetype of Beauty, and every aesthetic experience testifies to the Divine archetype of Beatitude. Beauty and Beatitude are indistinguishable in the Essence; it is only on the basis of the initial bi-polarization of the One Reality into Subject and Object that one can distinguish the archetype of objective beauty and the archetype of subjective beatitude. As Dr Lings says in this book *Symbol and Archetype*, it is God’s consciousness of His own Infinite Perfection that constitutes the archetype of all marvelling at perfection.¹⁴⁴

This intellectual certitude of the Divine source of all beatitude, of the blissful nature of ultimate Reality, can also be actualised upon contact with

¹⁴⁴ *Symbol and Archetype*, Cambridge, Quinta Essentia, 1991, p.57.

Revelation: that is, as a result of reflection upon and contemplation of scripture. The descriptions of God's nature as intrinsic beatitude, goodness, mercy and compassion - encapsulated in the basmalah - can awaken the dormant knowledge of these realities within the heart of man. The descriptions of Paradise can serve as a means of Platonic remembrance: for Paradise is not only the final resting-place of man, it was also his original home. For this reason, Plato asserts that music on earth can act as a reminder of the heavenly harmonies which man heard prior to this earthly exile. And, according to the Gospel, no man hath ascended up to Heaven but he that came down from Heaven.¹⁴⁵

Of the numerous Qur'anic verses describing the felicity of Paradise, we should like to draw attention to one in particular, from the Surah al-Baqarah.¹⁴⁶

Whenever the dwellers of Paradise are given to eat of the fruits of the Garden they say: this is what we were given to eat before. And they were given the like thereof.

This verse establishes in a most direct manner the relationship between the earthly experience and the celestial archetype of every good. 'Fruit' may be taken here to denote the varieties of beatific experience, so the dwellers of Paradise are asserting here that there is a continuity of essence between the delights offered them in Paradise and all positive, noble and beautiful experiences on earth; every mode of happiness on earth is thus a foretaste of a heavenly fruit.

As between the earthly symbol and the celestial archetype, however, there is both continuity and discontinuity, deriving respectively from immanence and transcendence: there is continuity in respect of essential content and discontinuity in respect of existential degree. The dwellers in Paradise express the aspect of continuity in saying 'this is what we were given before'; whereas the statement immediately following qualifies this affirmation of identity by saying 'they were given the like thereof'. In other words, from the point of view of immanence, the earthly experience of beauty participates in its celestial archetype through essential identity, while from the point of view of transcendence; the lower existential degree of this world renders all earthly experience incommensurable with the infinite plenitude of celestial realities.

¹⁴⁵ St John, III, 13.

¹⁴⁶ Qur'an, II, 25.

Hence on the one hand, the celestial Garden is described in images that are immediately intelligible in terms of our earthly experience, and on the other hand we are told in a hadith that God has prepared for the righteous a Paradise that no eye has seen, no human heart can conceive.

One of the most vivid symbolic illustrations of this two-fold nature of all cosmic realities is to be found in the image of the spider's web. Frithjof Schuon elucidates the meaning of this natural symbol in the following terms:¹⁴⁷

"... the spider's web, formed of warp and weft threads or of radii and concentric circles, represents the Universe under the two-fold relationship of essential identity and existential separation... from the point of view of the radii a given thing is the Principle represented in this scheme by the central point; from the point of view of the concentric circles, a given thing only represents that Principle...."

This same image can be derived from the Muslim community at prayer, the Ka'bah is then the centre of a structure delineated by the innumerable radii and concentric circles constituted by the worshipping believers.

Returning now to the exegesis of scripture, the Qur'an mentions numerous degrees of Paradise, which may be taken as the differentiated radiation of the Beatitude or Ridwan mentioned in a hadith as being that which is 'better' than Paradise, and which is also called 'greater' than Paradise in the Qur'an.¹⁴⁸ Being greater and better than paradisal bliss this Ridwan can only be the archetypal source of this, and all possible blissful experience. It refers to the beatific contentment proper to the Absolute, alone; for only the Absolute is identical with all that is loveable. We shall return to this point below.

In the Surah al-Rahman mention is made of two pairs of Gardens; following Kashani's esoteric commentary, the lower pair consists of the Gardens of the Soul and the Heart, the upper pair being those of the Spirit and the Essence. Consideration of this latter pair will lead to the third part of our discussion, that of spiritual realization. For Kashani writes, in regard to the two fruits symbolising the abodes, the date and the pomegranate:

And the date palm—that which containeth food and enjoyment, the contemplation of the celestial lights and the manifestations of the Divine

¹⁴⁷ *In the Tracks of Buddhism*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1968, p. 27.

¹⁴⁸ Qur'an, IX, 71.

Beauty and Majesty in the abode of the spirit, for in its garden the kernel of the individuality still remaineth ... and the ‘pomegranate’-that which containeth enjoyment and medicinal balm in the abode of totality, in the Garden of the Essence. It is the contemplation of the Essence through pure extinction in which there is no individuality to be fed...¹⁴⁹

This extinction in the Essence is not only a posthumous possibility: the highest saints also taste it in the most sublime moments of contemplation, even in this life. The paradoxical combination of extinction and contemplation is summed up in the title of one of Ibn Arabi’s works: *Kitab al-fana’ fi'l-Mushahadah*, -The book of Extinction in Contemplation. This extinction of individuality through contemplative absorption in the blissful nature of the Essence is indeed a point on which saints from the most diverse religious traditions converge. To the extent that metaphysical realization is total, the mystics affirm, through their concrete experience, and ineffable Reality that not only transcends all formal dogma but also infinitely surpasses the individuality as such. To take just three of the most important mystics in history, Shankara, Ibn ‘Arabi and Meister Eckhart, we find the following strikingly similar characterizations of the supreme reality ‘tested’ and realized in mystical absorption: according to Shankara the Absolute is Sat-Chit- Ananda, Being, Consciousness and Bliss;¹⁵⁰ Ibn ‘Arabi writes: *wujud, wijdan al-Haqq fi'l wajd* - Being is the consciousness of the Real in ecstasy;¹⁵¹ and Eckhart writes that the content of the highest realization is ‘immeasurable power, infinite wisdom and infinite sweetness.’¹⁵²

The Bliss, Beatitude or Ecstasy that all three affirm is not an aspect of the Real: Rather it is absolutely identical with Reality and with Consciousness. The three elements are distinguishable only on the plane of relativity; they are absolutely undifferentiable in the Essence. To say absolute Reality is to say absolute Beatitude and absolute Consciousness.

It is through the immanence of the Divine in the depths of the soul that the mystics are able to realize the beatitude proper to the Absolute. But the aspect of transcendence *is in no wise compromised, for there is no common

¹⁴⁹ Dr Lings’ unpublished translation.

¹⁵⁰Atma-Bodha (Self-Knowledge) Madras, Sri Ramakrishna Math. 1975 p. 217.

¹⁵¹ *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, W. C. Chittick. State University of New York Press, 1989, p. 212.

¹⁵² Meister Eckhart - *Sermons and Treatises*, Tr. M.O'C. Walshe. Dorset, Element Books, 1979, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.

measure between even the most blissful state attainable by the individual, on the one hand, and the realization of the Absolute, on the other. All experience that remains conditioned by the ‘kernel of individuality’ is ipso facto relative; it is for this reason that, in their quest for the pure Absolute, the three mystics cited above methodically reject all blissful experiences that can in any way be qualified as individual. Just as the Absolute is, according to Shankara, Prapancha-upashama - ‘without any trace of the development of manifestation’ - so there can be no trace of the individual condition in the realization of the Absolute. Shankara comments as follows on the transcendent bliss:

It is peace ... liberation. It is indescribable ... for it is totally different from all objects ... it is unborn because it is not produced like anything resulting from empirical perceptions.¹⁵³

In other words, the non-transcendent degree of bliss is something like an ‘object’; it resembles that which results from empirical perception, therefore, it is conditioned by the relationship between a subjective agent and an object distinct from the subject. This object, even if it is internal to the subject, is nonetheless constitutive of a particular experience of the relative subject. It is only through the transcendence of this ontological dualism, as ground of all subjective experience, that one can speak of the realization of that bliss which is proper to the Absolute, a bliss that is absolutely indistinguishable from the Absolute.

Thus, it is not a state of bliss that defines realization; rather, it is the transcendence of all duality, the conscious realization of the supreme identity, which necessarily entails transcendent bliss. Just as it was stated above that the Truth invariably reveals the essence of beauty, but beauty does not necessarily reveal the truth, so now it can be seen that realization invariably entails bliss, while bliss does not necessarily imply realization. To conclude: whether it be grasped as intellectually self-evident, understood as the result of scriptural exegesis or ‘tasted’ to whatever degree in spiritual realization, this Divine Beatitude is the archetype of all beatific experience in Heaven, which in turn is the archetype of blissful contemplation of beauty on earth, including even the primary aesthetic experience.

¹⁵³ *The Mandukyopanisad with Gaudapada’s Karika and Sankara’s Commentary*, Mysore, Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, 1974, III, 47.

For the spiritual man, the experience of formal beauty outside himself enhances and enriches the formless beauty within himself, that is, virtue in an integral sense. Only on the basis of a degree of inward beauty of soul can the experience of outward beauty be spiritually turned to account. For the profane man, on the other hand, the aesthetic experience is at best a temporary relief from the suffocating egotism that is the inescapable result of a life lacking a meaningful relationship with God, and at worst, the aesthetic experience strangles even further the egotistic soul by giving it an illusory plenitude, a sensuous justification of a life without God, an existential proof of ‘wisdom according to the flesh’. Instead of being a foretaste of a beatific Hereafter, the experience of beauty becomes the prop of an irreligious here below, an expropriation of the immanent beauty of God by the self-seeking and self-satisfied soul.

Nonetheless: ‘the more he blasphemes, the more he praises God.’ This elliptical saying of Eckhart can be applied in the present context, for no matter how much the profane man idolises beauty, his idolatry is only possible by virtue of the immanence of the Divine in all beauty; his idolatry thus unconsciously and indirectly ‘praises’ the Divine Beauty. Conscious and direct ‘praise’ on the other hand, is performed by the spiritual man who transforms his experience of beauty into a ‘remembrance of God’; in the measure that this remembrance is operative, the possibility of attachment to the passing forms of beauty recedes, because, in the words of Frithjof Schuon:

“... all the treasures of art and those of nature too are found again, in perfection and infinitely, in the Divine Bliss; a man who is fully conscious of this truth cannot fail to be detached from sensory crystallization as such.”¹⁵⁴

Thus, from one’s experience of beauty on earth, one can derive an existential foretaste of the higher ontological degrees of bliss, for even the most elementary aesthetic experience participates to some extent in its supreme archetype, Divine Beatitude. But this foretaste deriving from the Immanence of the Divine is spiritually valuable only if it be accompanied by an awareness of the Divine Transcendence and by the accomplishment of the moral and spiritual imperatives that flow from man’s total dependence

¹⁵⁴ *Understanding Islam*, London, George Allen & Unwin 1963, p. 135.

upon God: only then will the foretaste be consummated in a Hereafter which is, as the Qur'an tells us,¹⁵⁵ 'better and more lasting'.

Notes and References

¹⁵⁵ Qur'an, LXXXVII, 17

ISLAM AND THE WEST: A CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Part-II

Dr. Durre S. Ahmad

IV

Jung and the 18th Surah

Apart from the observations about the beauty of the Taj Mahal and the “jealously guarded secret of the Islamic Eros”, (Volume 10), the other substantive reference to Islam concerns the figure of Khidr and Jung’s analysis of the 18th Surah of the Qur’ān. In fact, more than half the references to Islam in The Collected Works are repetitions of this motif, its most detailed exposition being in Volume 5, and especially Volume 9, in the section titled ‘On Rebirth’ and the essay ‘A Typical Set of Symbols Illustrating the Process of Transformation’. The entire essay is devoted to the 18th Surah. Similarly, in Volume 18, there is an extensive reference to Khidr in a letter from Jung to Pere Bruno, a priest who had queried Jung on “how to establish the existence of an archetype.” Jung’s response was to give Bruno an illustration through what “I think about the probably historical personage Elijah”.

The letter is a gem of erudition drawing from all the monotheistic traditions to describe the nature of Elias/Elijah whom Jung saw as analogous to John the Baptist, Christ and Khidr. Citing the Leiden Encyclopaedia of Islam, Jung states that Ilyas/Elias (Elijah) and al-Khadir (Khidr) are immortal friends/twins. He refers to the legend of them spending Ramadan at Jerusalem every year and afterwards they take part in the pilgrimage to Mecca without being recognized. He also very clearly cites the claims of many schools of Islamic mysticism regarding their unbroken chain going back not only to Mohammad but to Egypt, the source of all such ancient knowledge, including especially, alchemy. “Ilyas is identified with Enoch and Idris (Hermes Trismegistos). Later Ilyas and al-Khadir are identified with St. George” (p.676)

The 18th Surah was selected by Jung as a prototypical description of a psychological process of transformation that is of such an intense nature that it can be considered a sort of rebirth. Entitled ‘The Cave’, the surah can be divided into three sections. It opens with the Judaeo-Christian legend of the seven sleepers in a cave and their prolonged state of sleep over many hundred years. This story is followed by an account of Moses and his companion (Joshua) and their encounter with an unnamed person. Moses wants to “learn” from this man who reluctantly takes him as a pupil. A series of events occur which are handled by this teacher in a most unusual fashion, baffling Moses. The third section of the surah deals with the character of Dhulquarnein (Alexander) and his fight with the mythical monsters, Gog and Magog.

Jung’s reading of the surah claims that it is a “purely an Islamic legend”, and an “almost perfect” description of the process of transformation of consciousness:

The legend has the following meaning: Anyone who gets into that cave, that is to say into the cave which everyone has in himself, or into the darkness that lies behind consciousness, will find himself involved in an unconsciousness process of transformation ... a connection with his unconscious contents... may result in a momentous change of personality in the positive or negative sense ... (p.136).

MOSES AND KHIDR

Central to Jung’s analysis is the section on Moses and the mysterious teacher. As stated in the Qur’ān:

And Moses said to his servant: “I will not cease from my wanderings until I have reached the place where the two seas meet, even though I journey for eighty years”. But when they had reached the place where the two seas meet, they forgot their fish, and it took its way through a stream to the sea.

And when they had journeyed past this place, Moses said to his servant: “Bring us our breakfast, for we are weary from this journey”.

But the other replied: "See what has befallen me! when we were resting there by the rock, I forgot the fish. Only Satan can have put it out of my mind, and in wondrous fashion it took its way to the sea".

Then Moses said: "That is the place we seek". And they went back the way they had come. And they found one of Our servants, whom we had endowed with Our grace and Our wisdom. Moses said to him" "Shall I follow you, that you may teach me for my guidance some of the wisdom you have learnt?"

But he answered: "You will not bear with me, for how should you bear patiently with things you cannot comprehend?

Moses said: "If Allah wills, you shall find me patient: I shall not in anything disobey you".

He said: "If you are bent on following me, you must ask no question about anything till I myself speak to you concerning it".

The two set forth, but as soon as they embarked, Moses' companion bored a hole in the bottom of the ship.

"A strange thing you have done! exclaimed Moses, "Is it to drown her passengers that you have bored a hole in her?"

"Did I not tell you", he replied, "that your would not bear with me?"

"Pardon my forgetfulness", said Moses, "Do not be angry with me on this account".

They journeyed on until they fell in with a certain youth. Moses' companion slew him, and Moses said: "You have killed an innocent man who has done no harm. Surely you have committed a wicked crime".

"Did I not tell you", he replied, "that you would not bear with me?"

Moses said: "If ever I question you again, abandon me; for then I should deserve it".

They travelled on until they came to a certain city. They asked the people for some food, but the people declined to receive them as

their guests. There they found a well on the point of falling down. The other raised it up, and Moses said; “Had you wished, you could have demanded payment for your labours”.

“Now the time has arrived when we must part”, said the other, “But first I will explain to you those acts of mine which you could not bear with in patience.

‘Know that the ship belong to some poor fishermen. I damaged it because in their rear was a king who was taking every ship by force.

“As for the youth, his parents both are true believers, and we feared lest he should plague them with his wickedness and unbelief. It was our wish that their Lord should grant them another in his place, a son more righteous and more filial.

“As for the wall, it belonged to two orphan boys in the city whose father was an honest man. Beneath it their treasure is buried. Your Lord decreed in His mercy that they should dig out their treasure when they grew to manhood. What I did not done by caprice. That is the meaning of the things you could not bear with in patience

¹⁵⁶
...

The person referred to as “One of our servants, whom We had endowed with Our grace and Our wisdom” is the figure of Khidr, “the Verdant One” who plays a pivotal role in Islamic mysticism. According to Jung, Moses is the man who seeks, a sort of Everyman on the ‘quest’. On this pilgrimage he is accompanied by his “shadow”, the “servant” or “lower” man. Joshua, the son of Nun, is the name for “fish” suggesting the notion of watery depth and darkness, the shadow-world. The critical place is reached “where the two seas meet” which is interpreted as the isthmus of Suez, where the western and eastern seas come close together. For Jung, “it is that place in the middle”, that all-important point between two opposite but equally vital extremes, e.g. conscious and unconscious. Initially, Moses and his companion do not recognize the significance of this middle place, but then the recognition comes from the humble source of nourishment, the fish (Nun) which leaps out to return to its homeland. It represents “the animal ancestor and creator of life separating himself from the conscious man, an event which amounts

¹⁵⁶ Fischer, M.J; “Is Islam the Odd-Civilization Out?” *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Spring 1992.

to “loss of the instinctive psyche” (p.139). In psychological terms this is a symptom of dissociation or fragmentation, when there is an overwhelming one-sidedness of any given conscious attitude. The unconscious then compensates for this by “splitting off”, leading to feelings which diminish one’s sense of “wholeness”, or what the primitive called a “loss of soul”.

Moses and his servant soon notice what happened. The fatigue (“worn out”) that he feels is a common symptom in a process that is typical when, according to Jung, one “fails to recognize a moment of crucial (psychological) importance”. That is, Moses realizes that he had unconsciously found the source of life and then lost it again.

At this stage Jung draws extensively on alchemical commentaries regarding the symbol of the fish and other related terms such as the “philosophers stone”. The unacknowledged link between Islam and alchemy is quite evident when one considers the sources for Jung’s explanations. Foremost among them is Nicolas Flamel, whom Nasr has discussed as an important example of the extent of the influence of Islam on Christian/western alchemy. Based on these alchemical symbols, Jung concludes that Khidr is a symbol of the “self” which he defines elsewhere as “our life’s goal, for it is the completest expression of that fateful combination we call individuality”:

Khidr may well be a symbol of the self. His qualities symbolize him as such; he is said to have been born in a cave i.e. in darkness. He is the “Long-lived One” who continually renews himself, like Elijah. He is analogous to the second Adam he is a counsellor, a Paraclete, “Brother Khidr”. Anyway, Moses looks up to him for instruction. Then follow these incomprehensible deeds which show how ego-consciousness reacts to the superior guidance of the self through the twists and turns of fate. To the initiate who is capable of transformation it is a comforting tale; to the obedient believer, an exhortation not to murmur against Allah’s incomprehensible omnipotence. Khidr symbolizes not only the higher wisdom but also a way of acting Anyone hearing such a mystery tale will recognize himself in the questing Moses and forgetful Joshua (p.141)

The analysis moves on to certain comments which are quite significant.

“A DISGUISED MOHAMMEDAN”

In the preceding review of Jung’s contributions to psychology and alchemy, it was discussed how the psychology of Islam was consistently overlooked. Even though, as Nasr -or a vast number of ‘average’ Muslims- would affirm, the alchemical tradition in Islam continues to flourish till today. In contrast, no comparable claim of similar proportion and scale can be made for Judaism and Christianity. Indeed, it was the absence of just such an alchemical tradition and its subsequent study by Jung, which made it one of his main achievements. These facts were not entirely lost on Jung who, in his discussion of the 18th Surah, discusses a personal experience of this aspect of Islam, including the exceedingly significant archetype of Khidr.

The character of the self as a personality comes out very plainly in the Khidr legend. This feature is most strikingly expressed in the non-Koranic stories about Khidr, of which Vollers gives some telling examples. During my trip through Kenya, the headman of our safari was a Somali who had been brought up in the sufi faith. To him Khidr was in every way a living person, and he assured me that I might at any time meet Khidr, because I was, as he put it, a Mty-ya-kitabu, a Man of the Book’, meaning the Koran. He had gathered from our talks that I knew the Koran better than he did himself (which was, by the way, not saying a great deal). For this reason he regarded me as “islamu”. He told me I might meet Khidr in the street in the shape of a man, or he might appear to me during the night as a pure white light, or - he smilingly picked a blade of grass - The Verdant One might even look like that. He said he himself had once been comforted and helped by Khidr.... This shows that, even in our own day, Khidr still lives on in the religion of the people, as friend, advisor, comforter, and teacher of revealed wisdom.....(p.143).

The preceding passage tells something not only about Jung’s personal exposure to Islam, but also indirectly, about one key difference between Islam and Christianity in the twentieth century. As Jung himself admits, the Somali tribesman’s view of Jung was not exactly of the stereotypical “infidel”

or “unbeliever”, rather it was an insistence on seeing Jung as a Muslim (“islamu”), a person who was familiar with the Koran. Similarly, as Jung states, the frequent experience of Khidr—“psychologically” and/or spiritually—is not an uncommon occurrence in the Muslim psycho-spiritual world. His encounter with the Somali confirms this at the most basic, the ‘popular’ level, insofar as the individual was not a religious scholar but a tribal and a safari headman. Recounting the same episode in his autobiographical writings, Jung stated that the Somali insisted that he was a “disguised Muhammedan”.¹⁵⁷

This episode and Jung’s observations about Khidr and the 18th Surah, clearly indicates a major difference between the psychology of Islam as compared to Judaism and Christianity. It is the difference between historical fact and present reality, between a theoretical explanation and lived experience. The point is not to suggest that the wide-spread alchemical aspect of Islam as lived experience makes it automatically superior. Rather, it is to, firstly juxtapose these perceptions and encounters of Jung regarding the 18th Surah and Islam on the one hand, with the overall substantive place of the subject in The Collected Works. Related to this, secondly, the point is that the information vacuum vis a vis Islam is all the more prominent given its distinctiveness as a lived and hence living tradition, one which Jung had not only theoretically grasped in the 18th Surah but also personally witnessed. It must be reiterated that this is not to imply wilful prejudice. Rather, that these oversights are typical of psychodynamics pertaining to the ‘other’-as-shadow.

TWO PAIRS OF FRIENDS

Returning to the essay and analysis of the transformative nature of the 18th Surah, Jung does an insightful interpretation of certain key motifs and archetypes, as he perceived them in the narrative. However, as he himself acknowledges, his analysis is almost wholly derived from the German scholar Vollers whose commentaries, in turn, are directly derived from sources in Islamic mysticism. According to Jung, the aspect of Khidr-as-Friend is evident in the abrupt introduction of the figure of Dhulqarnein who in Islamic mysticism is equated with Alexander the Great (“The Two horned One”), and also Moses. The Surah continues:

¹⁵⁷ “Unlike Abraham, Moses, or Jesus, the Prophet of Mecca lived his adult life in the glare of history”. (p.34). Desmond Stewart; *Mecca*; Newsweek Books, N.Y. 1980.

They will ask you about Dulqarnein. Say: "I will give you an account of him.

"We made him mighty in the land and gave him means to achieve all things. He journeyed on a certain road until he reached the West and saw the sun setting in a pool of black mud. Hard by he found a certain people.

"'Dhulqarnein', We said, 'you must either punish them or show them kindness.'

He replied: "The wicked" we shall surely punish. Then they shall return to their Lord and be sternly punished by Him. As for those that have faith and do good works, we shall bestow on them a rich reward and deal indulgently with them.

"He then journeyed along another road until he reached the East and saw the sun rising upon a people whom We had utterly exposed to its flaming rays. So he did; and We had full knowledge of all the forces at his command.

"Then he followed yet another route until he came between the Two Mountains and found a people who could barely understand a word. 'Dhulqarnein', they said 'Gog and Magog are ravaging this land. Build us a rampart against them and we will pay you tribute'.

"He replied: "The power which my Lord has given me is better than any tribute. Lend me a force of labourers, and I will raise a rampart between you and them. Come, bring me blocks of iron".

"he dammed up the valley between the Two Mountains, and said: 'Ply your bellows'. And when the iron blocks were red with heat, he said: 'Bring me molten brass to pour on them'.

"Gog and Magog could not scale it, nor could they dig their way through it. He said: 'This is a blessing from my Lord. But when my Lord's promise is fulfilled, He will level it to dust. The promise of my Lord is true".

On that day We will let them come in tumultuous throngs. The Trumpet shall be sounded and We will gather them all together.

On that day Hell shall be laid bare before the unbelievers, who have turned a blind eye to My admonition and a deaf ear to My warning.

Summing up the Quranic narrative in psychological terms, Jung sees the story continuing along its transformative trajectory, that is, descriptive of a process of psychological change incorporating the ‘self’. Accordingly:

Moses has to recount the deeds of the two friends to his people in the manner of an impersonal mystery legend. Psychologically this means that the transformation has to be described or felt as happening to the “other” although it is Moses himself who, in his experience with Khidr stands in Dulqarnein’s place he has to name the latter instead of himself in telling the story.

According to Jung, the substitution “can hardly be accidental” and is in fact a part of a conscious recognition and remedy for the danger that occurs when ego-consciousness comes closer to the ‘self’ and its connection with primordial forces. With the discerning that these forces are within oneself, (the other) there is the danger that consciousness may get carried away, so to speak, and the individual may start believing that, for example, he is endowed with extraordinary powers, is Christ, a visionary etc. This belief is what is termed ego-inflation which is a consequence of seeing no difference between one’s individual ego (conscious) and the ‘self’ whose matrix is essentially collective (unconscious). There is, therefore, the danger of consciousness being overwhelmed through a contact with the ‘self’. As Jung points out, most “primitive” cultures have mechanisms of dealing with this possibility. One can add that within many Sufi practices similar systems/methods are used to take care of such contingencies. To quote Jung:

All the more primitive or older cultures show a fine sense for the “perils of the soul” and for the dangerousness and general unreliability of the gods. That is, they have not yet lost their psychic instinct for the barely perceptible and yet vital processes going on in the background, which can hardly be said of our modern culture.

Jung contrasts the motif of friendship between Khidr and Dhulqarnein with its dark opposite(s) as they appear in Western culture:

To be sure we have before our eyes as a warning just such a pair of friends distorted by inflation - Nietzsche and Zarathustra - but the

warning has not been heeded. And what are we to make of Faust and Mephistopheles? The Faustian hybrid is already the first step toward madness. The fact that the unimpressive beginning of the transformation in Faust is a dog and not an edible fish, and that the transformed figure is the devil and not a wise friend, “endowed with Our grace and Our wisdom” might, I am inclined to think, offer a key to our understanding of the highly enigmatic German soul. (p.146).

The essay continues the analysis of the 18th Surah as a sort of blueprint of psychological change and an enlarging of the field of consciousness. Whether Muslims agree with this interpretation or not, two points are evident. Firstly, as acknowledged by Jung himself, his approach is clearly derived from Islamic mystical texts. Secondly, the essay is ample illustration of Jung's creative genius and a vision which when focused on the mystical heart of Islam perceived therein the inherent psychological principles and truths that lie at the heart of all religions. Yet, as one approaches Jung's concluding remarks, certain comments once again indicate a general conception of Islam in very stereotypical terms (All emphases are mine):

In spite of its apparently disconnected and allusive character, (the 18th Surah) gives an almost perfect picture of a psychic transformation or rebirth which today, with our greater psychological insight, we would recognize as an individuation process. Because of the great age of the legend and the Islamic prophet's primitive cast of mind, the process takes place entirely outside the sphere of consciousness and is projected in the form of a mystery legend of a friend or a pair of friends and the deeds they perform. That is why it is all so allusive and lacking in logical sequence. Nevertheless, the legend expresses the obscure archetype of transformation so admirably that the passionate religious Eros of the Arab finds it completely satisfying. It is for this reason that the figure of Khidr plays such an important part in Islamic mysticism. (147). (Emphasis mine)

One can note here that despite the stereotypes, the observation that what the “passionate religious Eros of the Arab finds completely satisfying”, Jung also found to be a “perfect picture of psychic transformation” with the proviso that today (“with our greater psychological insight”) this

transformation is the goal of Jungian psychology/therapy/analysis - “...the individuation process”. Such parallel statements would not be possible if Jung’s personal religious Eros were not to have found the narrative a “perfect picture”. In short, it must have been in resonance with something in Jung himself, and to that extent “satisfying”.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

To recapitulate: In the context of comparative frequency of reference in The Collected Works, Islam is consistently overshadowed by all the major religions and even the minor ones such as that of the American Indians. A contextual analysis of these references reveals very little substantive psychological insights on Islam.

The single exception in terms of psychological interpretations is Jung’s analysis of the 18th Surah that, in his own words, is “an almost perfect picture of psychological transformation”. The fact that Jung simply restated an essentially mystical reading of this surah in his own language of “analytical psychology” is significant insofar as it illustrates a fundamental harmony between his psychological concepts and those of Islamic mysticism. This is not surprising since the bulk of Jung’s researches into religion and especially alchemy are inextricably related to the mystical aspect of all the religions he considered. The point is thus not so much a lack of understanding or the need for somehow a different method in approaching Islam, but a relative lack of interest in the subject. Different types of data, drawn from art, culture and religious rituals, are fundamental to the Jungian method. Apart from the text of the surah, no other aspect of Islam, in terms of its rituals, beliefs or personalities such as the prophet, are touched upon. As the analysis of the 18th Surah suggests, when interest is focused, powerful psychological insights follow, but since these are not anchored in or connected to other concepts and information as they occur in The Collected Works, any substantial or sophisticated understanding of Islam is not possible. In contrast, such scholarly sophistication is evident throughout The Collected Works regarding the other major religions.

The essay on the 18th Surah and the figure of Khidr while no doubt mostly a positive portrayal of Islam remains an isolated exception. One will discuss subsequently other equally Jungian but different elaborations of the 18th Surah. For the moment, its place in the Jungian opus can be considered

one pole of a spectrum of Jung's intellectual and psychological understanding of Islam. Moving along this spectrum the only other psychologically substantive and positive statement is the paragraph about Jung's response to the Taj Mahal as an epitome of the "jealously guarded Islamic Eros".

The notion of Eros is a major conceptual cornerstone in Jungian psychology. It pertains to the feeling and emotive aspect of behaviour as opposed to logos which pertain to the impersonal and logical side. One can note in passing that any effort to uncover the mystery of powerful emotions which no doubt inform the Islamic fundamentalist venture, would in a sense entail the outlining of what exactly constitutes the "Islamic Eros". Unfortunately, beyond its manifestation in the 18th Surah and in Jung's enthusiastic witnessing of the Taj Mahal, there are no more clues. In terms of any glimpse into the psychology of the Islamic Eros, the information is limited to its almost "perfect picture" as evinced in the 18th Surah, on the one hand, and on the other to a brief comment regarding the Taj Mahal. It would be no exaggeration to say that for someone not familiar with Islam or its culture - these two references would hardly be adequate in understanding what Jung himself saw as a "jealously guarded secret".

Moving on from the two positive and substantial comments towards the other end of the spectrum, midway are the main bulk of references that in effect say nothing, one way or another, regarding Islam. As the content analysis suggests, the overwhelming number of references in The Collected Works to Islam and all related categories, are essentially non-sequiteurs. They are primarily either block/passing ones ("Yahweh, Brahma, Allah") or then foot notes citing Arabic alchemical writers. The subsuming of a distinct and powerful Islamic alchemical tradition into an entirely western one along with the tendency to either ignore Islam or dissolve it within the general label of the 'Arabs' or monotheism, suggests a particular stance which is not so much one of prejudice as it is of a self-convinced paternalism. It regards Islam as a sort of primitive and largely incoherent appendage to Judaism and Christianity, and from this perspective - considerable widespread in the West - Islam remains an essentially hodgepodge version of the preceding monotheisms. This attitude is part of the same mindset that sees Islam as being spread by the sword, lacking analytic refinement and intellectual substance ("no mind to it"), and thus reliant on brutality to force its view on others ("rigidity and fanaticism"). For example, throughout The Collected

Works there is no mention as to how “Islamic fatalism” is actually manifested psychologically in text and ritual in the light of the observation that “Islamic fatalism is not suited to the European.”

Finally, between the two positive references to Islam and the vast majority of non-informative, non-substantial statements on the subject, there is the other end of the spectrum consisting of statements that most Muslims would consider derogatory. Thus, for example, more than once Muhammad is compared to Nero, Hitler and Anti-Christ. He was a person whose sense of “chronology leaves much to be desired”, having a “primitive cast of mind”.

ODD MAN OUT

The Odd-Civilization-Out status of Islam¹⁵⁸ as religion and culture is partly related to the ‘odd-man out’ status of Muhammad vis a vis western ideas about religion and personality. Compared with founders of other religions, the life of Muhammad is an exceedingly well-documented one that was lived in what has been called “in the glare of history”.¹⁵⁹ In fact, it is the established details of his life that suggest a distinct portrait setting him apart from the usual conception of a prophet. For example, compared to Jesus, Buddha and Moses, the life of Muhammad was replete with a wide range of experiences, events (and emotions) that unfolded either parallel to or in direct relation to his particular religious mission. These range from his involvement in managing business and financial affairs to direct participation in what can be considered as much social and political battles as they were conflicts and confrontation over theological issues. (Note that the theological issues concerned both ‘paganism’ and the Semitic religions). Simultaneously, and equally well known were his predispositions for perfume, and, of course, women (and family).

The prominent differences between the personalities around which a religion is structured can be considered paradigmatic to the religion itself,

¹⁵⁸ As perceived by Peage in *Abnormal Psychology*.

¹⁵⁹ **As the punch line states:** If you yearn to spring out of iron cage secularism - but don't want to land in the lap of the aytollahs, cultists, or fundamentalists - subscribe today!

For a detailed analysis of the return to religion in U.S. academe see Chaudhry and Ahmed “The Cultural Politics of Paranoia: First World/Third World”. 1992. op.cit.

V. Jung, *Postmodernity and Islam*

leading to different social, psychological and spiritual emphases which constitute the profile of a religion and evoke a certain psychology in its adherents. One explanation then for Jung's lack of substance regarding Islam could be related to this consistently negative portrayal regarding the prophet of Islam and his "primitive cast of mind". This negativity, it must be stressed, is a consequence not so much of prejudice but ignorance due to the tendency to regard Islam as an incoherent re-hash of Judaism and Christianity, and Mohammad as an epileptic¹⁶⁰ marauder, hence the comparisons to Nero and Hitler. Whereas, in fact, it is possible to suggest that the clues to the "jealously guarded Islamic Eros" may be first found in Mohammad's life and subsequently his teaching. However, since neither of these is considered as being significantly different -especially from Judaism and Christianity -the Islamic Eros, which Jung himself perceived as "passionate" - remains a secret, shadowy mystery.

The lack of knowledge regarding fundamental facts of the life of Mohammad and the psychological relationship of Muslims with that life is self-reflexively related to the virtual void regarding psychological insights about Islam and is reinforced by other erroneous assumptions. Whereas Jung's specific vision was perhaps influenced by his colonial/imperial context, some of these assumptions are evident even today in the western imagination.

'Specialist' knowledge, notwithstanding, the western intellectual's attitude towards Islam can be gauged from a recent textual analysis on the subject of the return to religion in western academe. Part of this process can be discerned in a series of advertising texts promoting an academy journal on religion in various 'highbrow' publications such as The New York Review of Books. Over the last five years, the ongoing series of prominent ads have published the names of more than 50 personalities whom the editors consider as having contributed to "religious, literary and philosophical riches". Their names range from Moses, Jesus, Buddha and St. Francis to even Tolstoy, Graham Greene and Flannery O'Connor. Yet, the name of

¹⁶⁰ C. G. Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol 10, pp 136-139.

Muhammad, or any writer/philosopher, Muslim or otherwise, known for scholarship on Islam does not appear even once.¹⁶¹

Partly linked to the stereotypes of Muhammad is the other popular and erroneous assumption about Islam being synonymous with ‘Arabs’. As has been discussed, this merging is especially evident in Jung’s alchemical studies. As a religion, Islam is overshadowed by ‘Arabs’, leaving the reader either with established racial stereotypes, or at best no wiser about either Arabs or their religion. A cursory survey of the countries that have had Islam as a major religion over the last century would show that it covers a vast and varied network of cultures many of them far removed from the Middle East. Such a view would be akin to calling Jews and Christians ‘Europeans’, or more precisely, ‘Middle Easterners’. In either case, the example would exclude societies such as South America and Africa/Asia that have large Christian populations. The point is that in keeping with the dominant paradigms and ethos of his age, Jung’s understanding of Islam shows little evidence of depth, discernment and detail.

A final example of the Jungian blind spot is related to the mandala. One of Jung’s most widely acclaimed ‘discoveries’ concerned the archetypal significance of the configuration of the square and the circle appearing almost universally in sacred art and architecture. Jung wrote extensively on the mandala and its psycho-symbolic significance in almost every religion. He showed how the image of the circling of the square (and vice versa) was closely related to the archetype of the ‘self’ as a symbol of wholeness. The Collected Works contain numerous images of mandalas from different religions including many drawn by his patients and Jung himself. According to him, in a condition of extreme psychological stress, some people spontaneously produce the mandala form as a symbolic expression of unity and wholeness as a counter balance to the inner experience of fragmentation. Here again one can see some of the bases on which Jung concluded that psychological health is inextricably linked with spiritual concerns.

Given the significant place of the mandala in Jungian theory, remarkably no mention is made of what is not only a massive mandala but also possibly the only human (and thus living) mandala on earth. This is the Ka’bah in

¹⁶¹ As quoted by Norman O. Brown: “The Apocalypse of Islam” in *Facing Apocalypse*; Andrews, Bosnak and Goodwin (eds). Dallas. Spring Publications 1987.

Mecca and the ritual of the pilgrimage performed by millions of Muslims during the Haj and in fact throughout the year. The central ritual of the circumambulation of the sacred cube, makes it a supremely mandala motif and that too in life and motion, not just static architecture or art. Yet, this most significant Islamic rite and rich symbolism remained unnoticed. Mecca does not appear at all in The Collected Works and the Ka'bah is mentioned once in passing, in the context of alchemy and the 'philosopher stone'. (Volume 14, p.398).

V

Jung, Postmodernity and Islam

It is ironic that whereas Jung's conceptual approach to psychology and religion makes him a cornerstone of the postmodern movement, his attitude to Islam reflects a distinctly modern mindset. Despite the considerable skilful analysis of the 18th Surah, Jung's modernist mentality is revealed by his comments on the Qur'an. For example, in the essay on the 18th Surah and the abrupt transition from Moses to Dhulqarnain, he states:

We see here another instance of the lack of coherence which is not uncommon in the Koran.....Apart from the unheard-of anachronism, Mohammad's chronology in general leaves much to be desired....¹⁶²

Subsequently, he refers to the "apparently disconnected and allusive character" of the surah that he partly relates to "the Islamic prophet's primitive cast of mind".

The difference between modernism and postmodernism is essentially a difference of a "cast of mind". The nature of this difference was in fact solidly put forth by Jung himself. In so far as this specific debate was barely emerging at that time, the terminology is of course different. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that Jung almost single-handedly established the postmodern vision of human behaviour in psychology. In contrast to Freud's relatively neat compartmentalization of psychic life into id, ego and superego, dominated by western notions of science, ego-rationality and will power, Jung never gave a specific aetiology of neurosis other than its being a "one-

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

sidedness in the presence of many". This one-sidedness especially as it was manifested in the European psyche, he termed as "monotheism of consciousness". The choice of "monotheism" instead of the contemporary "monist" or "monolithic" was not entirely unrelated to the Judaico-Christian ethos. Indeed it was deliberate insofar as he was of the view that there were certain elements of dogma in the Jewish-Christian vision which were at the root of European psychology and which were responsible for its lopsided and, to that extent, mentally unbalanced individual and collective condition. His forays into alchemy and the Hindu, Taoist, Confucian and African religions can be considered firstly an attempt to juxtapose alternative visions of the role of religion in psychological life. Secondly, by cross-relating this material with certain strains within Christianity and Judaism, he attempted to establish the possibility of a less rigid and psychologically healthier approach to religion in the West. An approach, he always insisted, which was not in fact incompatible with the fundamental of Christianity. In short, he argued for a more pluralistic and diverse attitude towards not only what is psychologically normal and abnormal, but also religious. However, as is evident from The Collected Works, in his effort to throw out what he saw as the stagnant (bath) waters of Judaico-Christian monotheism, Jung perhaps unwittingly, threw out the baby of Islam.

THE 18TH SURAH RECONSIDERED

Jung's essentially modern mindset which regarded the Qur'an as largely "incoherent" is in resonance with the ethos of his age. It can be summed up in the words of Carlyle, who according to the philosopher-psychologist Norman O. Brown, "perfectly articulated the response of every honest Englishman" to the Qur'an:

I must say, it is a toilsome reading as I ever undertook. A wearisome, confused jumble, crude, incondite endless iteration, long-windedness, entanglement, most crude, incondite - unsupportable stupidity, in short! Nothing but a sense of duty could carry any European through the Koran ... with every allowance, one feels it is difficult to see how any mortal ever could consider this

Koran as a Book written in heaven, too good for the Earth; as a well-written book, or indeed as a book at all.¹⁶³

Brown's essay "The Apocalypse of Islam"¹⁶⁴ is also an analysis of the 18th Surah. It remains rooted in Jungian concepts especially of mythology, folklore, and archetypes, but arrives at different psychological conclusions. At the outset, Brown identifies those features of the Surah which "the bewildered Western mind discerns and fastens onto", namely the three mysterious episodes: (1) The sleepers in the cave. (2) Mose's journey and encounter with Khidr (3) Dhulqarnain's appearance and erecting the Wall against Gog and Magog.

Like Jung, Brown also identifies certain elements of the Surah as being connected to Judaeo-Christian-Hellenic motifs, especially the episodes of the Sleepers and Dhulqarnain. (Alexander). Similarly both Brown and Jung choose to focus on the episode of Moses and Khidr as the most bafflingly elliptical of the three episodes and the centrepiece of the Surah. This is the section in which, as Brown says: The new Moses, having become a seeker, submits to spiritual direction by a mysterious master who bewilders Moses through a series of Zen-like absurd actions....

Whereas Jung chose to interpret this encounter between Moses and Khidr as a symbolic quest towards individual transformation, Brown tends to regard it as also illustrative of the psychological relationship between Islam and the Judaeo-Christian traditions. Thus, whereas both authors rely on similar source materials, unlike Jung, Brown focuses on the Judaeo-Christian connections only to lead one to the point of divergence. Whereas Jung simply piled up the facts indicating the synonymous nature of Elijah and Khidr, Brown regards the relevant passages as a purposive attempt to "mobilize, without naming, the powerful contrast latent in Jewish tradition, between Moses and Elijah":

Elijah the most popular figure in the legendary world of post-Biblical Judaism.... Elijah the omnipresent Comforter-Spirit present at every Jewish circumcision ceremony and every Jewish Passover; Elijah who knows the secret of heaven and is claimed as the direct

¹⁶³ Nasr, S. H. *Ideals and Realities of Islam*. Boston 1972. pp. 24-48.

¹⁶⁴ Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing the Word*, N.Y. Methuen. 1982.

source of revelation by Jewish mystics including Cabalists. The Koran sends Moses to Elijah's school - "It was taught in Elijah's school", Jewish mystics say. (p.148)

Brown goes on to suggest that the Qur'anic episode about Moses and Khidr/Elijah is in fact the archetypal essence of an ancient folk-tale derived from Talmudic wisdom. At the same time, by a "creative confusion" of certain key figures such as of Moses and Alexander, the Qur'a'n also "breaks with Judaic ethno-centrism and re-projects the prophetic tradition of a new trans-cultural, universal, world-historical plane." (p.148).

What interests Brown, (and Jung) however, is not so much the theological aspect of the Moses/Khidr episode, but its archetypal essence as distilled in a folktale. As Brown points out, conventional western commentators who are quite sure that there is nothing new in the Qur'a'n, assume without hesitation that the folktale is to be taken literally and all that is going on in the passage is the transmission of conventional Aggadic-Talmudic piety.

For Brown, however, the episode is prototypical of a particularly prominent dimension of Islamic psychology, namely, a simultaneous perception of two levels of existence, the material and the spiritual, and the need to distinguish between them. In this process, the central issue becomes that of interpretation:

The Koran makes evident the folktale form and thereby alerts the intelligence to the problem of interpretation. Folktales, like dreams are not to be interpreted literally and the content of the folktale - the episode of the ship, the youth and the wall - tells us in the most literal, even crude way, three times reiterated, that there is a distinction between "what actually happened", events as seen by the eye of historical materialism, and "what is really going on", events sub specie aeternitatis, as seen by the inward, the clairvoyant eye, the second sight. The form and the content of the folktale oblige us, as they have obliged all subsequent Islamic culture, to make the distinction between literal meaning and something beyond - in Islamic terminology between *Êxhir* and *Bâqîn* ... between external-visible-patent and internal-invisible-latent; between materialist and spiritual meaning (p.150).

The distinction between levels of interpretation and meaning is of course fundamental to both Freudian and Jungian psychology, in the former's view of dreams and behaviour having a manifest and latent content, and the latter's notions of the symbolic and the literal. Among post-Jungians, James Hillman has perhaps articulated best these different levels of interpretation, highlighting the necessity for an archetypal/symbolic reading of history via interpretations which "see through" behaviour, events, emotions into their symbolic meanings.

Remaining within interpretive framework which is in consonance with both Jungian and Islamic psychology, Brown's postmodern/Jungian vision sees the Qur'aan in quite a different manner from Jung. Whereas for Jung it was "a product of Mohammad's primitive cast of mind ... incoherent"; Brown sees it as a quintessentially postmodern text. In this connection, Brown cites the existing and dominant mindset that even the most scholarly of Westerners bring to the Qur'aan. Similar in spirit to Jung for example, was R. A. Nicholson, translator of many Sufi classics, who remarked that:

Muhammed with his excitable temperament does not shine as raconteur ... most of the stories in the Koran are narrated in a rather clumsy and incoherent fashion full of vague, cryptic allusions and dim references and digressions...(p.149)

Brown's rejoinder to this type of analytical approach is to examine the 18th Surah from within the various debates in Islamic theodicy, suggesting a very different conception of and psychological relationship to history. For example, Jung interpreted the closing passages of the surah which are descriptions of an apocalypse, as symbolic of the culmination of the inner process of 'individuation' and the subjective experience of the end of the world; that is, when consciousness is obliterated and "sinks into" the unconscious. The apocalypse then is as much an inner psychological event as it is an outer and material possibility. The point here is that while Jung's insight into the psychological dimensions of the surah may be considerably accurate, he was unable to see it as a leitmotif of the Qur'aan itself and by implication, in the Muslim individual and collective psyche. As Brown points out:

Surah XVIII is a resume, an epitome of the whole Koran. The Koran is not like the Bible, historical, running from genesis to

Apocalypse. The Koran is altogether apocalyptic. The Koran backs off from the linear organization of time, revelation, and history which became the backbone of orthodox Christianity and remains the backbone of western culture after the death of God. Islam is wholly apocalyptic its eschatology is not teleology... only the moment is real. There is no necessary connection between cause and effect. Time does not accumulate... the only continuity is the utterly inscrutable will of God, who creates every atomic point anew at every moment...(p.154).

The apocalyptic sense of history in which cause and effect are subsumed into a perpetual ever-present cycle of creation-recreation, is further reinforced since it is part of a consciousness that is distinctly non-linear. The rejection of linearity involves a rejection of narrative ... something which has irritated and bewildered western minds from Carlyle to Jung as they grappled to impose a sense of meaning through modern notions of ‘order’ onto the Qu’*n*. Brown makes the startling but crucial comments on the Qu’*n*:

... there is a mysterious regression to a more primitive stratum, archetypal, folkloristic ... Historical material is fragmented into its archetypal constituents and then subjected to displacement and condensation, as in dreams, It is a rebirth of images, as in the Book of revelation, or Finnegans Wake. The apocalyptic style is totum simul, simultaneous totality, the whole in every part. Hodgson on the Koran: “almost every element which goes to make up its message is somehow present in any given passage”. Simultaneous totality, as in Finnegans Wake, or more generally in what Umberto Eco called “the poetics of the Open Work” ... “We can see it as an infinite contained within finiteness. The work therefore has infinite aspects, because each of them, and any moment of it, contains the totality of the work”. Eco is trying to characterize a revolution in the aesthetic sensibility of the West: we are the first generation in the West able to read the Quran, if we are able to read Finnegans Wake... The affinity between this most recalcitrant of sacred texts and this most avant-garde of literary experiments is a sign of our times. Joyce was fully aware of the connection...(p.157).

Brown presents some fascinating factual and literary-historical material regarding the close connections between the literary harbinger of

postmodernism-the stream-of-consciousness style embodied in western culture in the writings of James Joyce -and the stylistic structure of the Qur'an. The main point he is making, however, is not so much literary as psychological. That is, that "western historicism, with its well-honed methods of source criticism ... is only too delighted to lose itself in tracing the Koran to its sources, with the usual nihilistic result: the Koran is reduced to meaningless confusion". This type of historicism that attributes meaning only to the original sources seems to be at the heart of the Judaeo-Christian attitude that continues to regard Islam as a twisted, received and thus bogus version of the original(s). Brown quotes many Jewish and Christian authorities and their assessment of the 18th Surah and the Qur'an:

... in Surah XVIII meaning has been "mutilated almost beyond recognition" and "mechanically combined in a most artificial and clumsy manner". Schwarzbaum refers to Muhammad as "making a brave show with borrowed trappings". The notion that Muhammad was a charlatan, who stole from the treasury of Western civilization and passed off his plagiarisms on his unsophisticated Bedouin audience as the voice of God, is still very much alive at the back of Western minds...(p.159)

To sum up Brown's analysis then, the Qur'an, like Finnegans Wake, centres on a destruction of language. (In strictly historical terms of course, the Qur'anic vision precedes the Joycean. Also, the psychological impact of the two would be varied, given the (assumed) themes and intention of their sources). While this is not the place to discuss what has been the impact of the de-construction of language and meaning in the West, Nasr has nicely described the psychological impact of the Qur'an on Muslim consciousness:

Many people, especially non-Muslims, who read the Quran for the first time are struck by what appears as a kind of incoherence from the human point of view... The text of the Quran reveals human language crushed by the power of the Divine Word. It is as if human language were scattered into a thousand fragments... The Quran displays human language with all the weakness inherent in its becoming suddenly the recipient of the Divine Word and displaying

its frailty before a power which is infinitely greater than man can imagine.¹⁶⁵

Brown's analysis of the 18th Surah and his ideas regarding the postmodern bent of Qur'anic Islamic consciousness present an interesting contrast to Jung's understanding of Islam in general and the 18th Surah in particular. Both essays can be considered as appreciations of certain psychological dimensions of Islam, but with significant differences, which can be summed up as differences between modern and postmodern consciousness. Thus, it is not so much a prejudice against Islam as such which made Jung unwittingly relegate it to the least of his priorities in the study of religions, but the dominant modern Weltanschauung of his age and its quest for meaning in certain preconceived notions of 'order'. Despite flashes of brilliant insight as in the 18th Surah, when it came to Islam as a religion, he remained very much within the modern mode.

Ironically then, Sam Huntington's "West versus the rest" can be rephrased in terms of a clash between modernism and postmodernism. The psychological similarities between postmodern consciousness and that of traditional societies have been examined by disciplines other than psychology. Walter Ong's distinction between "oral" and "literate" cultures draws similar conclusions regarding perceptions and interpretations of concepts such as 'order' and 'coherence'.¹⁶⁶ Ong's distinction draws from and reiterates research in psycho-linguistics about the differences between for example, the type of consciousness engendered by print as opposed to television. New media technologies, especially in the West, are creating a 'secondary orality', that is, a consciousness which is closer to the oral rather than the literate in terms of the former's ability to cope better with ambiguity, paradox and diversity, in sum, postmodernity. (One can note in passing that

¹⁶⁵ Gilligan, Carol; *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge. Harvard U. Press. 1982.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, "When God was a Woman". *Time*. (May 6, 1991). For a comprehensive review of "goddess worship" and feminism, see Charlene Spretnak: *States of Grace: The Recovery of Meaning in the Postmodern Age*. San Francisco. Harpers 1991. Also Kraemer, R.S; *Her Share of Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews and Christians in the Greco-Roman World*. Oxford 1993. Pantel, P.S; *A History of Women in the West*. Vol.1. From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints. Harvard. 1993.

Muhammad is known as the ‘unlettered prophet’ whereas the Bible is the product of literacy).

Cross -Crescent. “Irreconcilability”.

THE ‘OTHER’ WOMAN?

One of the most striking features of postmodernism is the recognition of a “different voice” belonging to women.¹⁶⁷ If there is one, singularly overriding theme in The Collected Works, it is the highlighting of the feminine aspect of the psyche. Jung’s contribution to the women’s movement is definitive in his insistence on an inherently feminine matrix to consciousness. His battle with Freud can be seen as a de-throning of the Patriarch or at least an insistence on sharing power with the Great Mother. Thus, according to Jung, in both Judaism and Christianity, the concept of Sophia as the ancient Hellenic companion to Yahweh/Zeus had been obliterated, leaving the currently hyper-masculine ethos in these religions and the psychological culture of their adherents. His reclaiming of the feminine in these religions through analytical psychology is a major contribution whose transformative impact is still in unfolding.

In this connection, Jung had nothing to say about the feminine in Islam and one can only assume that this silence was based on a combination of factors mentioned earlier. Namely, of seeing Islam as a poorly constructed vision rather than a re-visioning of this and other important elements in Judaism and Christianity, and therefore not particularly worthy of much attention vis a vis a theme as significant as the presence of the feminine. To the extent that Islam is indeed part of the monotheisms, the question arises if a similar claim can be made regarding its “lost” feminine aspect of Sophia, or some other concepts suggesting a feminine Presence? Jung has absolutely nothing to say on the subject, except for twice alluding to the “passion” which characterizes the “Islamic Eros”. Eros is the feminine aspect of psychological and spiritual life which is as vital as logos. To the extent that Jung saw it as “passionate” suggests a strong presence of the feminine in Islam, one that was, in Jung’s words, simultaneously a “jealously guarded secret”. Part of this guarding it seems, is through the veil of a specific type of

¹⁶⁷ Murata, Sachiko; *The Tao of Islam: A Source Book on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought*. State University of N.Y. Press (SUNY) 1993.

vocabulary/consciousness not unlike the postmodern. Approaching the Islamic universe from within such a framework would reveal a very different perspective on what the western mind sees as a secretive and ‘alien creed’.

While Brown also seems to be unaware of the deep-rooted presence of the feminine aspect to Islam, his summing up of the Islamic imagination implies such a possibility inasmuch as he recognizes in Islam the most pronounced attempt to return to the “eternal pagan substrata of all religions”. In contrast, while being undoubtedly aware of the points of entry of pagan elements in western spiritual and intellectual history, Jung consistently failed to connect these facts with the philosophical substance of Islam. (See discussion on Volume II).

The enormous volume of information regarding the centrality of the theme/image of the Great Mother in all religions is by now indisputable fact and forms part of many postmodern constructions of paganism in the feminist return to religion in the West.¹⁶⁸ There is, therefore, every reason to think that Islam, whether in its similarities to the Judaeo-Christian religions or in its distinctive aspects, should have a similar, possibly exceedingly powerful presence, of this archetype of the Divine Feminine.¹⁶⁹ If this is so, and there is ample reason to see it as such, then it is possible to see Islam as a psychologically postmodern religion par excellence.

CONCLUSION

In psychology, as in life, the ‘other’ is never totally alien since it inevitably re-presents a part of one’s own suppressed, forgotten or ignored side(s). Among Huntington’s ‘the rest’ Islam is the only religion which has had a long and at times active relationship with the West. The level of knowledge of Islam and the perception of this relationship as illustrated through The Collected Works clearly indicates that among ‘the rest’, Islam is the other in western consciousness.

As stated at the outset, the perception of ‘otherness’ is, in fact, not a pathology but necessary and to that extent even desirable. What is pathological is the denial/suppression of the other, and a refusal to enlarge

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

one's field of knowledge regarding oneself. It is the refusal to know and learn about the other in relationship with oneself, which draws people and societies into a spiral of violence and which is experienced psychologically as either fear or arrogance. In sum: Paranoia.

The psychodynamics of paranoia between Islam and the West remains to be explored. This monograph has mainly attempted to establish through a rational and empirical framework that Islam is the principal 'other' in the psychological and religious consciousness of the Western intellectual as exemplified by *The Collected Works*. Given the substance of the materials, it is self-evident that the Islamic 'other' in Jung's writings and thus also in this monograph, has yet to be described in detail. Having identified the 'other' in the context of a historical relationship, the next step would be to explore those elements in Islam that evoke such strong reactions. One framework for research could be a comparative examination of the relationship between masculine and feminine elements within Islam and the West. While one has alluded to such possibilities, a detailed study of these psycho-dynamics remains to be done.

IQBAL: A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST¹⁷⁰

Dr. S. A. Durrani

In speaking on the above theme, one cannot do better than to start by quoting one of Iqbal's own couplets:

“The dervish imbued with the spirit of God is neither of the East nor of the West

My home is neither Delhi, nor Isfahan nor yet Samarkand.”

B&I-Jibrâl (Gabriel's Wing), p. 357*

One is also put in mind of Iqbal's inscription on the frontispiece of his book of Persian poetry entitled Payâm-i-Mashriq (Message of the East, 1923), namely:

.....(To God belong the East and the West). And this was the book which he subtitles: 'In reply to the Diwan of the German poet, Goethe'. It is worth mentioning here that Goethe's West-oestlicher Diwan (The Western-Eastern Divan) had itself been inscribed in its author's own handwriting in the Arabic script. The translation is as follows "Eastern Diwan by a Western Author". So the discourse came a full circle!

It is with such thoughts that the famous German writer and Nobel prize-winner (1946) Herman Hesse (1877-1962), who was a contemporary of Iqbal's (1877-1938), wrote thus of him:

“ Iqbal belongs to three domains of the spirit or intellect, the sources of his tremendous work: the worlds of India, of Islam, and of Western thought.” There are, to my knowledge, few writers or poets, whether in the East or in the West, who have been as much at home in the philosophies of both these vast domains, or who have written with such eloquence in Urdu, Persian and English. (He also had full command of Arabic and Panjabi, and also knew German.)

¹⁷⁰ All the pages quoted in this essay refer to Iqbal's *Kulliyât-i-Urdu* (Collected Works in Urdu) and the *Kulliyât-i-Farsi* (Collected Works in Persian), both published by Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1990. The translations are by the present author, except where indicated otherwise.

Iqbal had shown early signs of this duality of interest. In his application for admission to the University of Cambridge as a research student in the field of philosophy, he wrote to the Senior Tutor, Trinity College, Cambridge on 29th September 1905: “ My knowledge of Arabic and Persian and my acquaintance with European philosophy (the study of which I began 12 years ago) suggest to me that I might make a contribution to the knowledge in the West, of some branch of Muhammadan philosophy” Perhaps I might add parenthetically that such studies were probably greatly influenced by his erstwhile mentor, Professor Thomas Arnold - the great Orientalist, who was a good role-model for the young Iqbal, and who had arrived at Iqbal’s alma mater, Government College, Lahore, in February 1898 as the Professor of Philosophy. Iqbal’s BA dissertation, submitted to the University of Cambridge in around March 1907 -on the basis of which he subsequently gained his Ph. D. degree from the University of Munich in November 1907 - entitled “The Development of Metaphysics in Persia”, was a perfect expression of Iqbal’s duality of approach. For in this dissertation, starting from a description of Persian dualism as displayed by Zoroaster, Mani and Mazdak, Iqbal critically examines the interaction of Persian metaphysical thought with the Greek system of philosophy expounded by Aristotle and Plato. He then goes on to discuss the resulting amalgam as displayed by Neo-Platonic Aristotelians of Persia, as he calls them, and then on to rationalism, materialism, and finally Islamic Sufism.

But I do not wish to lay undue emphasis on Iqbal’s output or originality as a philosopher: to me more important is his standing as a visionary or a ‘prophet’. As one of his contemporaries, the Persian language Indian poet, many years his senior, Ghul«dir Gir«mâ (1854-1927) - who was the Court Poet of Hyderabad Deccan and the Niz«m’s poetry teacher - wrote:

(In the eyes of those who can fathom his meanings, Iqbal

Has wrought a kind of prophethood, and yet one may not call him a Prophet.)

Here, may I draw a parallel or an analogy? A prophet may repeat or reiterate a received message - not necessarily original to him - but with passion. The Prophet of Islam did this, and many other biblical prophets, too. It is worth remarking here that the Bible is a book of grace and compassion, not a dry, philosophical discourse. Similarly, the Koran, while

emphasizing the importance for ‘those who can see’ (ulu ’l-abÄ«r) of pondering the orbits of the sun, the moon and the stars, does not append mathematical equations of planetary motion: for that is not its primary purpose. But the same token, what Iqbal wrote was poetry, with rare passion and eloquence and lyricism; he did not aim to present a consistent philosophy which would conform to the style and standards of a philosophical magazine. And what he wrote in the Introduction to his afore mentioned dissertation, namely: “.... Yet the inquirer who approaches the extant literature of Persia expecting to find any comprehensive systems of thought, like those of Kapila or Kant, will have to turn back disappointed, though deeply impressed by the wonderful intellectual subtlety displayed therein ... (and) the Persian people’s love of metaphysical speculation.” - perhaps applies equally to Iqbal himself. But so far as passion is concerned, Iqbal says emphatically:

“ If Truth does not contain Passion, it is merely a statement of facts
It becomes Poetry, when it is suffused with the heart’s Passion.”

(Payâ‘m-i-Mashriq) p. 262.

I am afraid I have been carried away in my somewhat passionate advocacy of Iqbal’s message, for his message aroused, and continues to arouse today, many people and nations throughout the world. Let me, therefore, hasten to return to my main theme.

Iqbal’s Urdu and Persian poetry is full of references to the teachings and doctrines of both Eastern (Islamic, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Christian) and Western philosophers and famous figures: statesmen, poets, writers, men of action. For instance, in Payâ‘m-i-Mashriq (Message of the East) alone one finds poems and verses about illustrious figures of the West, such as Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Hegel, Bergson, Comte, Lock, Tolstoy, Karl Marx, Lenin, Kaiser Wilhelm, Mussolini, Goethe, Byron, Browning, Petofi, Einstein And in his Javâd Nâmeh (The Chronicles of Eternity) one comes across Eastern immortals, such as Gautama Buddha, Zarathustra, Jesus, Muâmmad, Bhartarâ Harâ, Àallâj, Pharaoh, Jamâl-ud-Dân-Afghânnâ, Jak - ud-Dân Rämâ, Ghâlib, Syed ‘Alâ Hamadkânnâ, Ghanâ Kashmârâ, Qurtul-‘Ain ñâhira, Nâdir Shâh, AÁmad Shâh Abddâ, the Dervish of Sudan, Tâpê Sulqân the Martyr, Ibn-S‘aud, etc., etc. In what other poet - whether Oriental or

Occidental - can one find such all-embracing and ecumenical wealth of dramatis personae?

On the face of it, it may appear that Iqbal is hostile to the West. But what he is hostile to is the West's imperialism and exploitation of the weak and the poor. For example, Iqbal says:

“ Europe’s hordes, with flame and fire
Desolate the world entire,
O architect of sacred realms,
To rebuild the world arise!
Out of leaden sleep
Out of slumber deep
Arisel!
Out of slumber deep,
Arisel!”

Zabér-i-‘Ajam (Persian Psalms), p.396

(A. J. Arberry’s translation)

And again:

“ Don’t entertain the illusion that Europe will sympathize with you:
The eagle’s heart does not melt for the bird that is clutched in its
claws!”

Zabér-i-‘Ajam, p.417.

Another thing that Iqbal is up in arms against is the materialism and permissiveness or immorality prevalent in the West, e.g. in speaking of the overlords of the East - the whites of Europe, Bé-i-Jibrál, p. 434) he thunders:

“This knowledge, this wisdom, this statesmanship, this governance
They suck blood, and teach the tenets of equality!
Unemployment and promiscuity and inebriation and destitution
Are these not victories enough for the civilization of the West?”
(From: Lenin in the presence of God.) Bé-i-Jibrál, p. 435.

And then

“ Is this the zenith of your civilization?

Man without work, and woman without a child.”

Zarb-i-Kalâm (The Rod of Moses), p.605.

“These Western houris, a mirage of the eyes and the heart

The paradise of the West is nothing but ephemeral vision.”

Bâl-i-Jibrâl, p. 371.

But Iqbal is very even-handed. He is full of praise for the dynamism, creativity, and the intellectual incisiveness of the Western nations. And while extolling the oriental values of spirituality, sincerity of heart, respect for high traditions, he also chastises the East for its blind obsequiousness to old ways of thought, received doctrines, slavish mentality, lack of self-respect, and a bedazzled view of all things Western. For example, he says

“The Sufi’s circle is bereft of the fire of longing

What is left is but the stale tales of miracle-making.

On the Day of Judgment even God will feel sorry

For the blank pages that the book of the Mullah and the Sufi will display.”

Bâl-i-Jibrâl, p. 393.

“The forest of learning and invention is devoid of lion-hearted men

What remains is but the slaves of the Sufi and the Mullah, O Saqi!

Who has stolen the sharp sword of creative passion?

The learned hold an empty scabbard in their hand, O Saqi!”

Bâl-i-Jibrâl, p. 351.

“ I have observed the Leader of the Faithful:

His Character hath no fire, his speech no sense.”

Bâl-i-Jibrâl, p.382.

And

“ Where there once were schools for lions and emperors

Those shrines are now the haunts of foxes alone.”

Bâl-i-Jibrâl, p.400.

Finally, Iqbal sums it all up:

“ Reality has been lost in trivialities

This nation has lost itself in mere folklore.”

Bâl-i-Jibrâl, p.451.

Iqbal also advises the East to learn the good things of the West -not simply shun everything that it has to offer: for that would be bigotry and paranoia. In the words of the old adage “pick what is clean and reject what is unclean”. This attitude shows Iqbal’s open-mindedness and moderation.

For instance, he declares:

“ Open to all are the wine-houses of the West

It is no sin to drink deep at the wells of new learning.”

Zarb-i-Kalâm, p.691.

He also very perceptively observed that:

“The strength of the West comes not from the dulcimer or the lyre

Nor does it spring from the cavortings of veil-less beauties.

Its solidity does not stem from godlessness

Nor does its ascendancy result from the Latin script.

The strength of the West stems from science and technology:

This is the fire that lights its lamp so brightly.

Javâd-Nameh, (Chronicles of Eternity) p. 648.

It is true, of course, that as one scans Iqbal’s poetical works, one finds that there is much more of a strident criticism than praise of the West. Thus one reads:

“ Humanity wept bitterly from the excesses of the West

Life received much turmoil from (the workings of) the West..”

Pas Cheh B yad Kard ai Aqw m-i-Sharq ?
(So What Should be Done, O Nations of the East ?)

Thus, what he had said as early as 1907 (writing in Cambridge) near to the beginning of his poetic career, addressing the West, namely

“ Your civilization will commit suicide by using its own dagger
A nest that is built on a slender bough will always be impermanent.”
B ng-i-Dr  (The Caravan Bell), p. 167.

He reiterated towards the end of his life (1936):

“ Europe is in the throes of death from its own sword
For it launched the rule of godlessness on this earth.
The problems of mankind stem, verily, from it:
Humanity has sustained deep wounds thereby.
It regards man as nought but water and clay;
It assumes that the caravan of life has no destination.”

Pas Cheh B yad Kard, p. 713.

In the same vein he reports:

“ I have been informed by the powers that rule the land and the sea:
The West lies in the path of a flood that is ineluctable.”

B l-i-Jibr l, p. 395.

And Iqbal is equally vociferous in cautioning the Orient against adopting the facile and harmful aspects of the Occidental life rather than grasping its sturdier and more difficult qualities. For example:

“The slave of the West, in order to show himself off
Adopts from the Westerners music and dance.
Being indolent, he takes up that which is easy;
His nature only absorbs that which is painless.”

Jav d-Nameh, p. 648.

Which is as true, if not truer, today as it was in Iqbal’s time. And he advises the East:

“ Preoccupied with the beauty of others, not like a mirror be
Of the image of others, eye and heart wash free.”

Payâkam-i-Mashriq, p. 311.

(Paraphrased by Peter Avery)

“ Do not court the favours of the glassblowers of the West
Make thy wine jars and goblets from thine own Indian clay.”

Bâd-i-Jibrâl, p.477

For:

“The tavern of the East still holds in its vaults
That wine which sets alight men’s consciousness.”

Zarb-i-Kalâm, p. 625

But what Iqbal is really stressing is his belief that the East and the West have each their different and intrinsic strengths - and that it is best to strive to adopt the strengths and eschew the weaknesses. Thus he points out:

“ For the Westerners, intellect is the maker of life
For the Easterners, love is the secret of the cosmos.
Intellect recognizes the truth through love
Love consolidates its works by intellect.
Rise, and draw the blueprint of a new world
Go, and make an amalgam of love and intellect.”

Javâd-Nameh, p. 538

He is not partisan; he sees some good in each system when he says:

“ I speak only that which I consider to be the truth
I am neither the idiot of the mosque nor the progeny of civilization.”

Bâd-i-Jibrâl, p. 357

“ Shun not the East nor fear the West
Nature decrees that you turn each night into a bright morn.”

Zarb-i-Kalâm, p. 621

And there are weaknesses in each, too:

“The East is in ruins, and the West, in even greater ruin
The whole world is dead and without the urge to seek and search.”

Zabér-i-‘Ajam, p. 376

“The knowledge of the West, the metaphysic of the East
All a house of idols - and to run round the idols leads one nowhere.”

Iqbal, at the same time, is quite aware of the fact that he links the two worlds, and he thus stands as a bridge between the East and the West - like a Colossus astride the gulf that separates the two historically, spiritually and philosophically. He is an ambassador of unity: a joiner rather than a divider, for he declares:

“ I have spoken two words according to the temper of my times:
I have enclosed two seas within a pair of vessels.
I am a stream that originates from two seas
My split is a parting and, withal, a union, too.”

Javâd-Naemeh, p. 669

It is in this context that one is inspired to hear Iqbal's immortal declaration regarding the twin sources of his genius, as noted by Hermann Hesse:

“ My intellect was enhanced by the philosophy teachers of the West;
My heart was enkindled by the company of men of vision.”

Payâm-i-Mashriq, p. 296

And, finally, how fitting that the “ Knower of the secret” of the East should send a salutation, a homage, to that immortal savant of the West, Goethe, whose mortal remains rest in Weimar:

“ O zephyr! take our salutation to the garden of Weimar
For the soil of that land lighted up the eyes of those who could perceive.”

Payâm-i-Mashriq, p. 300.

PERFECT MAN IN THE EYES OF RUMI AND MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Prof. Dr. Erkan Turkmen

Rumi is M. Iqbal's great master whom he calls "Pâr-i Rämâ (The master from Anatolia); and he names himself as "Murâd-i- Hindâ (The Indian disciple)". In his Asr̄r-o-Rumëz Iqbal claims, "The saint Rumi has changed my earth into an elixir and out of my dust has produced many splendours". It means that there is a great impact of Rumi on Iqbal's spiritual teachings. When we study Rumi and Iqbal side by side, we find two bodies in one shirt. There are more than 250 poets in Turkey that follow the great master Rumi but Iqbal's interpretations are the most up-to-date. It is Rumi's Masnevi that seems to influence Iqbal the most. Great Persian poet Mulla Jâmâ says this about Rumi's Masnevi. "The Masnevi of the spiritual master (Rumi) is the Koran in Persian." This statement is very true. Thus many teachings of Iqbal depend on the Koran, directly or indirectly. The major theme of the Koran is 'A Perfect Man' or 'Merd-i Mu'min' and Muhammed (s.w) is the prototype for it. Muhammed (s.w) devoted his life for the betterment of human beings regardless of race or national discrimination; and killed his ego or selfhood for the love of God to set a unique example of character. Masnevi aims at this character. So do teachings of Iqbal. Rumi guides a man gradually from the lowest stage to the highest where he is finally submerged in the ocean of divine attributes. It is at this stage that a man becomes perfect, and understands the will of God. Here God loves the man and the man is pleased with God. Captivity of time, worldly worries and fate disappear. As Iqbal says:

"Raise your self-being to the stage where God, before writing your fate may ask you tell me my beloved what is your will?"

To reach this spiritual stage of a perfect man one need to go through these steps:

1. Freedom from the worldly greed:

a) Set yourself free:

"O my son! Be free and break away from your worldly ties.

For how long will silver and gold keep deceiving your eyes?

If you want to pour a sea into your single jar.

It shall hold the need of day, not to be carried far” (M.I/19-20)

b) The wakefulness of this world is actually a deep sleep:

“He who is awake (in this world) is actually more asleep

His wakefulness is worse than his normal peaceful sleep

When our souls aren’t awake to God’s wonderful Presence

We are awake yet in prison, without an active essence.

(M.I/419-420)

Iqbal adds:

Find the secret of your life by drowning in your inner self

If you are heedless to me, let it be so at least think of yourself”

The real awakening is to discover your inner being which is the gift of God. His holy spirit as God says in the Koran,

“I breathed into him of My spirit” (XV/29) is the “Amⁿnah” (Trust) which man accepted from God, as the Koran says, “We indeed offered the Trust to the Heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to undertake it being afraid thereof. But man undertook it. He was indeed unjust and foolish”. “Unjust and foolish” because man carries God’s spirit with him and yet ignores it (33/72).

The soul and the body are not from each other concealed,

But to many an ear and eye this fact is not revealed”

Body is made out of clay (minerals); and earth attracts it. Because it is the part of earth; and the spirit of God in man is drawn towards God as Rumi reminds:

If anything from its origin may ever fall away

It seeks a chance to find it in a better way”

Rumi explains this fact by the following parable:

One day Majnun decided to visit his beloved Leyli and for this he rode on a camel's back. Soon Majnun lost himself by thinking of Leyli. He-camel had a beloved too in the village from where the journey started. When the camel found that his master was asleep he came back to his beloved. This happened two or three times. Majnun gave up and said, "Alright my dear camel! you go to your beloved I go to mine; and he walked on foot" In this story body is camel and the spirit is Majnun. There is a struggle between body and soul. They want to return to their origins. Dust to dust and spirit to Spirit. A worldly man is in love with his physical body.

He is like an embryo:-

Mercy of God wants to bring him out

Yet he runs back to his mother's womb

With fear and doubt

For he is afraid to give up his beloved station

And thinks that he will never reach the real salvation

(M III/3964-3966)

A perfect man tends more and more towards God. He lives in this world but his soul is with God.

"He has a concealed attraction towards the sky (spiritual location); he is made of clay yet he is free from it"

This world of physical charms fails to cheat a perfect man:

As soon as man turns his attention to God the satanic powers begin to stop him. More worldly charms try to hamper his progress. Rumi and Iqbal warn man not to fall in such traps:

"Don't be satisfied with the colours and smells of this world for there are many other gardens and nests"

"If you pass beyond these shapes and deceptive forms,

Then you begin to see rose gardens after rose gardens.

(M III/578)

It is not wise to fall in love with traffic signs when you still have to go further.

Perfect man uses his divine knowledge to avoid temporary lures.

e) In order to attain hawkish flight one has to kill these four birds in him as Rumi suggests:

Cut these four birds, heads to gain your immortal bread

The duck is your greed and your ego is the crow

The cock is lust, and the peacock is your show

(My /42-44)

While Iqbal says:

“O nightengale begin to sing so that because of your songs a heart of hawk may be born in the bosom of a pigeon”

When hawkish spirit is born among the young

They see their abodes in the skies

Your nest is not on the domes of royal palaces

You are a hawk go and live on the high rocks

Hakim San'â also says the same thing:

“Let's uproot partridge – like life from within us

And change it with an active life of a falcon”

III- Action and divine food:

He who eats husk and barley deserves to be slaughtered

He who consumes light of God becomes the Koran himself.

(M/V 2478)

No one knows this secret that a believer (or lover of God) seems to be a reader although he is the Koran himself.

IV:- Love and action:

When love of God is filled in the heart of a man his selfhood melts away in the crucible of divine love. He has no fear of death, time or worldly worries as God says in the Koran” on the friends of God there is no fear, nor shall they grieve” (X/62)

Rumi verifies:

“Although in our life there are many a snare,
Since you are with us then why should we care?”

(MI/387)

“Love is a flame and when it begins to blaze,
It burns everything but the Beloved worthy of praise”

(MV/1789)

and Iqbal says:

“With the plectrum of love is born the music of life,
Love is heat of life and light of life”

Due to love this partial intellect surrenders to the universal intellect:
“Pass beyond this intellect for this light,
Is not the goal but a lamp for sight”?

A true lover of God cannot sit idle for the whole universe is in action due to divine love and God’s manifestation.

“Like the mill stone this universe
Day and night turns up and cries restlessly
Since it has no peace because of love of God
My heart! Seek no rest like a wandering star”

Iqbal adds:

“Real life is hidden in searching
The essence of life is concealed under desires”
When the lover fails to possess any love-fire

He is like a bird without wings and desire.

(M1/31)

Perfect man is like roses. There are white, red, pink roses but the smell is the same. Earth is full of filth and manure but rose-branches suck up only what is needed for the beautiful smell. This world is like the manure and a perfect man takes only what is required for his Beloved (God) by reaching maturity:

As long as you are raw you are only a heap of clay

When you are baked you become an un-rusted sword”

“For a lower man the stage of a perfect man is too high

So cut a long story short and say to him Goodbye”

IQBAL STUDIES:

GUEST WRITERS



1. IQBAL: A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

Dr. S. A. Durrani

* * *

2. PERFECT MAN IN THE EYES OF RUMI AND MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Prof. Dr. Erkan Turkmen

* * *

INFORMATION AND COMMENTS



IQBAL’S RELEVANCE TO THE 21ST CENTURY

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

* * *

THE WORLD CONGRESS ON
SADR AL-DIN SHIRAZI (MULLA SADRA)

Ibrahim Kalin

* * *

IQBAL AND GOETHE
A PROJECT COMMEMORATING
250TH ANNIVERSARY OF GOETHE
Muhammad Suheyl Umar
* * *

CONFERENCE IN HONOR OF
TITUS BURCKHARDT
Muhammad Suheyl Umar
* * *

TITUS BURCKHARDT
(IBRAHIM 'IZZ AL-DIN (1908-1984)

AN OUTLINE OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Muhammad Suheyl Umar
* * *

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

SUMMARY -ACTIVITY REPORT – 1997-1999

IQBAL'S RELEVANCE TO THE 21ST CENTURY

M. S. Umar

An International Conference on Dr. Mohammad Iqbal was held on 6-7 September 1999 under the auspices of the Islamic Cultural Center that is an affiliate of the Ministry of Arts and Cultural. Iqbal Scholars from Pakistan, India, Russia, France, UK and Egypt read papers on various aspects of the philosophy of Iqbal within the theme of the seminar: Iqbal's relevance to the 21st Century. The seminar was inaugurated by the President of the Republic of Mauritius, Mr. Vassam Uteem and was attended by a number of cabinet Ministers, Scholars and Mauritian public (mostly Muslim).

The ambassador of Pakistan hosted a dinner at the residence on the evening of 8th September 1999 for all the participants of the seminar. The dinner was hosted at the request of the Islamic Cultural Center. The Minister of Arts and Culture, Hon. Tsang Fan Hin Tsang Mang Kin, Minister of Public Utilities, Dr. Hon. Ahmad Rashid Beebejaun, Mr. Mohammad Vayid, Chairman of the Islamic Cultural Center, a number of Mauritian intellectuals, journalists, Members of the Diplomatic Corps and prominent Pakistanis attended the dinner.

The President of the Republic of Mauritius, Mr. Vassam Uteem also hosted a Reception for the participants in the evening of 7th September, 1999. A souvenir magazine was published by the organizers, to which the ambassador contributed a message.

The scholars from Pakistan very effectively projected Allama Muhammad Iqbal as the national poet of Pakistan while scholars from other countries, projected the international aspects of the message of Iqbal.

The Muslim population of Mauritius see in Iqbal, as a beacon for their ideological inspiration as a separate community in this Hindu dominated country. We shall continue our efforts to project and propagate the message of the poet of the East, Allama Iqbal in Mauritius.

“The aim of this conference is to give to Mauritians the possibility to understand the place which Iqbal holds in the pantheon of poets and international philosophers,” declares Ahmad Ramtally, Director of the

Islamic Cultural Center (ICC), the organizer of the Conference. The aim is also to popularize the poetry of Iqbal and to create an interest for his poetry in Mauritius.

A pamphlet circulated by the Islamic Cultural Center indicates that the poet has lived from 1877 to 1938. “ He was born during the decade which was the most productive in the history of the Indian sub-continent. He has grown up with the expansion of the British power and has seen the decline of the Muslim world”, indicates this document.

Several other similar activities were organized: publication of a souvenir magazine, sale-exhibition of books on Iqbal in different languages.

Among the foreign participants, the presence of David Mathews of University of London, Great Britain, Saeed Akhtar Durrani of University of Birmingham, Great Britain, Yahyah Michot of University of Oxford, Great Britain, Sheila McDonough of University of Concordia, Canada; Ludmilla Vassileva of University of Moscow, Russia, Feroze Dehlvi and Syed Neaz Ahmad of University of New Delhi, India, Ariff Chowdary of Polygon Art Foundation, Pakistan, Hafizi El-Arab of the University of Al Azhar, Egypt, Jaganath Azad, of University of Kashmir, Sri Nagar ; Hashim Mehdi, Honorary Consul of Mauritius in Saudi Arabia is noted.

The Conference was held in three languages –English, French and Urdu.

At the opening of the international conference on the poet Mohammad Iqbal, at the auditorium of MGI, President Mr. Uteem said in his inauguration speech: “Iqbal has almost fallen into oblivion in Mauritius”. “It is regrettable”, he said, “that 40 years after that young Mauritians have tried to propagate the works of this great poet, this world famous literary figure is still unknown in Mauritius”. “Except”, he added, “of some lover of the Urdu language who continue to study the works of this great personality of Urdu and Persian literature.” Uteem said that this international conference, organized by the Islamic Cultural Center, would help the people to know better the poetry of Iqbal. The latter continues, he added, to be a source of inspiration for the successive generations throughout the world.

The President has quoted the work of Moontaz Emrith, Mauritian author on the Muslims of Mauritius, which refer to the activities of the National

Urdu Institute for the promotion of Urdu language and also of the creation of an Iqbal Circle for the propagation of the work of the poet.

Mr. Uteem thinks that Iqbal is a giant of the poetry “stayed for too long at the periphery of our interest... I hope that this international conference will do him justice,” he added.

The minister of Education, Kadress Pillay, has, on his part, explained that for Iqbal all was poetry. He has quoted politics, economy, literature, among others, before adding: The list grows longer more we go into the depth of his poetry”. The poet was, according to him, a genius with multiple facets that have contributed enormously to the awakening of Asia after years of colonization.

Previously, the President of Islamic Cultural Centre, Mohammad Vayid, has spoken of the life and the works of Iqbal whereas the Director Ahmad Ratally, in favour of a study on the relevance of Iqbal to the 21st Century. He said the poetry of Iqbal conveys to the world a message of hope, struggle and of the human dignity.

The conference continued, the same morning, with the intervention of Yahyah Michot, of Oxford University on the theme “Mohammad Iqbal: what Muslims thought for the 21st Century?”.

In the afternoon, Sheila Mc Donough of University of Concordia, Canada and Saeed Durrani, President of the Iqbal Academy, Great Britain, intervened. (The paper that Dr Durrani presented is included in this issue of Iqbal Review; see the section on “Guest Scholar Iqbal Studies”).

The Conference continued the next day, Tuesday, with the interventions of David Matthews of University of London, Ludmilla Vassilieva of the Sciences Academy Russia; Jagganath Azad of University of Kashmir, India; Ariff Chowdary, President of the Polygon Art Foundation; Hefizi El Arab of University of Al-Azhar, Egypt, and of Syed Neaz Ahmad of University of New Delhi, India.

The Conference ended in the afternoon.

Mr. Ahmad Ramtally
Director

Islamic Culture Centre,
Ministry of Arts and Culture,
51- Labourdonnais Street, Port-Louis,
Mauritius.

Tel: 212-9596 Fax 211-2212- E-mail: morislam@bow.intent.mu
High Commission for Pakistan
Anglo Mauritius House
Port-Louis,
Mauritius.

THE WORLD CONGRESS ON SADR AL-DIN SHIRAZI (MULLA SADRA)

Ibrahim Kalin

The World Congress on Mulla Sadra was held May 22-27, 1999 in Tehran, Iran. Sponsored by the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Congress drew more than three hundred local and international speakers who presented papers on various aspects of the philosophy of ʻAadr al-Dân Shâr̄zâ (d. 1640), commonly known as Mulla Sadra. The scope of the Congress, however, was not confined to the philosophy of Mulla Sadra, as papers with other points of interest and focus were also presented. The Congress can be described as consisting of three concentric circles: the first, focusing exclusively on Sadrean studies; the second, ranging from Islamic philosophy to Sufism and kalkm; and the third, extending to subjects as diverse as Muslims in China and Western philosophy. In addition to Islamic thought, there was also a separate section on Western philosophy, primarily focusing on analytic philosophy, in which many Western scholars and philosophers participated.

The Congress began with the reading of the message of Ayatollah Khamanei, the supreme leader of Iran. After the brief welcome speech of the director of the Congress, Ayatollah Muhammad Khamanei, the keynote address was delivered by the Iranian president Muhammad Khatami who talked about the importance of Islamic philosophy in general and Sadra's thought in particular for the future of Islamic world. The President Khatami's inspiring talk was the last speech to conclude the first opening day.

For the remainder of the Congress, each day, four simultaneous sessions were conducted in the Conference Hall of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). The Islamic philosophy section which was the main body of the Congress was divided into four major subdivisions: Transcendent Philosophy of Mulla Sadra, Comparative Philosophy, Islamic Philosophy, and Gnosis and Sufism. In this part of the Congress, the speakers focused on various aspects of the philosophy of Mulla Sadra ranging from his ontology and epistemology to his eschatology and commentaries on some Qur'anic verses. Mulla Sadra who is considered to be one of the most important figures of the post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy was both an original

thinker and a first-rate historian of philosophy. With his notion of the primacy of being (اَلْوَجْدَانِيَّةُ) and his celebrated idea of substantial movement (الْأَرَاقَاتُ الْجَوْهَرِيَّةُ), Sadra continues to draw the attention of scholars and philosophers from fields as diverse as theology and psychology. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the late Fazlur Rahman was the second person to write about Mulla Sadra after Seyyed Hossein Nasr had introduced him for the first time to the English speaking world -- two Muslim thinkers of the century with irreducibly different points of view on various issues from the Qur'an and the hadith to Sadra's philosophy. The papers presented on Sadra's thought thus proved to be a rare opportunity to analyze and discuss Sadra's philosophical ideas as well as to exchange various points of views on the meaning and relevance of Islamic philosophy for many current issues.

There were also a number of comparative studies that analyzed Sadra's thought in relation to some Eastern and Western philosophers. It is to be remarked that the scholars of Islamic and Western philosophy made really interesting comparisons between Sadra's thought and that of Benedict Spinoza, Saint Anselm of Canterbury, Thomas Aquinas, Martin Heidegger, Alfred N. Whitehead, and even Sigmund Freud and Jean Piaget. Not surprisingly, a number of studies were devoted to the comparison of Sadra with such Islamic thinkers as Ibn Sâñ«, Ibn al-'Arabâ, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Bâjjah, and Àamza Fanserà. Since Sadra's philosophical work is a bold attempt to synthesize the earlier schools of Islamic thought, namely mashshâ'â philosophy, the school of ishrâq and the school of Ibn al-'Arabâ, these comparative studies provided a stimulating framework of discussion in which one can witness the continuity of Islamic philosophy. Accordingly, this was a unique opportunity to observe and appreciate the internal dynamics of Islamic thought that, as these comparative studies show, is richer than it is ordinarily thought to be.

Although Mulla Sadra and his philosophy was the main focus of these four sessions, there were other papers that covered various facets of Islamic intellectual tradition. These included a number of exclusive studies on Ibn Sâñ«, Ibn Bâjjah, Bâbâ Afâl, atomism in early kâlâm, and many other subjects. Also to be mentioned are the papers that would fall within the domain of Islamic culture and civilization such as Islamic arts and Muslims in China. Even though this wide range of topics might be criticized as a

divergence from the main agenda of the Congress, it provided the participants with a chance of coming to face with different aspects of Islamic thought and culture that they would not otherwise pay a particular attention to.

The Western philosophy section was divided into three parts: Issues in Western Philosophy, Philosophy of Science, and Logic, Language and Philosophy of Mind. Covering a wide area of Western philosophy as the titles suggest, these sessions were also held simultaneously in different conference rooms. As in the sections on Islamic philosophy, the speakers were composed of score of Western scholars and philosophers from different countries and nationalities of the world. In addition to presenting their work, many Western scholars had also a unique chance of exchanging ideas and points of view with Muslim scholars and scholars of Islamic studies.

Due to the considerable diversity of papers presented, the participants and the listeners were able to choose sessions that addressed their special interests and fields of concentration. In this sense, the name ‘world congress’ seems to be a well-chosen one considering the fact that nearly all the major scholars of Islamic studies were present in the Congress. Another important aspect of the Congress to be mentioned was precisely this, e.g., the ample chance of meeting scholars from different fields. During as well as outside the official program, scholars of diverse interests and nationalities were able to meet on various occasions such as the visit to the city of Shiraz, the hometown of Mulla Sadra. In this visit, the invitees were taken to the world-famous bāgh-i irām, Persapolis (takht-i jamshād), madrasa-yi khan where Sadra taught, and the tombs of Sa‘dā and A‘fū, two of the greatest names of Persian-Islamic literature. Besides seeing the marvels of Islamic art and architecture in Shiraz, the invitees were also given several receptions one of which was in Tehran by Mrs. Mustafawi, the daughter of late Ayatollah Khomayni, whose warm welcome to the participants is to be remembered.

It is an undeniable fact that there is an opposite relationship between quality and quantity. When one goes up, the other goes down. This holds true for the otherwise quite successful Congress. The size of the Congress was seen by some, I think rightly, as too big to allow concentration and focus. And it is true that this congress was the largest conference ever held in the Islamic world on Islamic philosophy. As the participants presented their works with extremely diverse subjects and points of view, it was very hard to

pinpoint a common agenda or even a theme for the sessions held simultaneously. One could say that the disharmony of the papers that was an inevitable result of the huge size of the conference was the only major flaw of the Congress.

By way of conclusion, it would be, I think, a sober way of expressing the common feeling of every participant to say that the organization of the Congress was exceptionally satisfactory given the huge magnitude of the event. Although Dr. Ghulâm Reza A'wânâ, the director of the Anjuman-i-Âikmat wa Falsafa, is to be congratulated for his indefatigable effort and refreshing smile, all of those, both men and women, who managed the organization from translation and hotel arrangements to transportation and food deserve a warm welcome for their competence and dedication with which they handled this memorable conference.

NB: We were informed by the organization committee that the proceedings of the World Congress of Mulla Sadra will be published in the near future. This will certainly be an important contribution to the study of both Mulla Sadra and Islamic philosophy as these volumes reach the scholars throughout the world. Lastly, there is a quarterly journal, Kheradnameh-e Sadra, published by Sadra Islamic Philosophy Research Institute (SIPRIn) which was also responsible for the organization of the Congress. The journal is published in Persian with English summaries, and open to scholars working in the field of Islamic philosophy. For further information on the journal, the following address may be contacted:

World Congress on Mulla Sadra

12, Modjtama-e-Imam Khomeini

Bozorgrahe Resalat,

P.O. Box 15875-6919

Tehran-Iran.

IQBAL AND GOETHE

A PROJECT COMMEMORATING
250TH ANNIVERSARY OF GOETHE
Muhammad Suheyl Umar

The Germans are proud to have a great personality who is rightly considered as the embodiment of their national identity and collective aspirations. On the threshold of the new century, the Germans are paying homage to their most esteemed writer Goethe (1749-1832), who is universally acknowledged to be one of the giants of world literature and recently the German Government has announced the current year, 1999, the Goethe Year, marking the 250th anniversary of his birth.

Goethe was a prolific writer and he is widely known as a critic, journalist, painter, theatre manager, statesman, educationist and natural philosopher but for the Islamic world his fame largely rests on his creative appreciation of the intellectual and religious traditions of Islam. Among the European savants, Goethe is the only writer who has expressed the most balanced and sympathetic views about Islamic culture and civilization, combined with the endless resources of his imaginative powers.

This unique aspect of Goethe's thought attracted Allama Iqbal and he paid remarkable tribute to the poetic excellence of the German poet. Iqbal's admiration for Goethe's multi-faceted genius reached its apex in the form of his Payam-i-Mashriq (1923) as a response to Goethe's West-Eastern Divan that was also inspired by the lyricism of Hafiz Shirazi.

Iqbal became acquainted with Goethe in his early age and this intellectual relationship lasted up to the end of his life. Iqbal's writings, both in prose and poetry, are replete with his complementary remarks about Goethe's deep understanding of Islamic traditions.

On the occasion of Goethe's 250th birth anniversary and with the reference of Iqbal's poetic coincidences with him, the Iqbal Academy Pakistan has launched a grand project entitled Iqbal and Goethe that is primarily meant to focus on fostering the literary and cultural relations between Pakistan and Germany. This scholarly undertaking is, undoubtedly,

the first of its kind and we are striving to present it to the public within the stipulated time.

This project comprises two big volumes (containing about 1500 pages), one in English and the other in Urdu (with special sections in German and Persian). We have endeavoured to present the most authentic material, based on the original sources, throwing almost new light on the life-long intellectual relationship between Iqbal and Goethe. With the preface of Prof. Annemarie Schimmel, a renowned Iqbal scholar of Germany, the whole project has been accomplished under the editorship of M. Ikram Chaghatai, who is recently decorated by the Austrian President for his original researches relating to the German-speaking countries.

IQBAL AND GOETHE SALIENT FEATURES

- 1)- The project entitled "Iqbal and Goethe" comprises two volumes, one in English and the other in Urdu.
- 2)- The English volume contains four parts:
 - i). Collection of the articles, published so far in the different journals and books of the Subcontinent, relating to the poetical and literary connections between Iqbal and Goethe. The world-renowned scholars of the Subcontinent and abroad write most of the articles.
 - ii)- Deals with the early and almost little-known studies about Goethe in the Subcontinent, especially those which are concerned with Goethe's interest in the Orient.
 - iii). Includes some important reviews on Iqbal's "Message of the East" and its German rendering by Prof. A. Schimmel (1963), mostly published in European scholarly journals such as "Oriens" (Leiden), "Orientalistische Literaturzeitung" (Leipzig), "Der Islam" (Berlin) etc.; and the German and English translations of those Iqbal's Persian and Urdu poems and scattered verses which show the deep influence of Goethe on Iqbal.
 - iv). Brings to light the unpublished, probably unknown, documents from the private papers of Iqbal in which he has

referred Goethe and provided information about the “Oriental Movement” in the German literature; also encloses the most comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography of the sources, mostly German, about Goethe’s “West-Eastern Divan” and his interest in the literary and intellectual life of the Orient; at the end a selection of pictures, from Goethe’s childhood up to his death, has been given.

3)- Like the English volume, the companion volume in Urdu is also divided in the fours parts, namely:

i)- Collection of 22 articles on Iqbal and Goethe which are published in the various Urdu journals and books, written by the eminent Iqbalists and distinguished scholars of the Subcontinent. An attempt has been made to incorporate all the material, published so far in Urdu on this subject. e.g. Iqbal and Goethe.

ii)- Includes the articles on the life and works of Goethe, along with a few translations of his poems, published in the leading Urdu journals from 1921 up to the present day. For the first time, this most significant scattered material, presently housed in the different libraries and archival institutions of the country, has been put together. Having a cursory look at these studies, it would be convenient to evaluate the varied approaches of Urdu critics and scholars to the life and the poetical and dramatic works of Goethe.

iii). Contains selective contemporary reviews of Iqbal’s “Payam-i-Mashriq” (Message of the East”, 1923) – a response to Goethe’s “West-Ostliche Divan”, by Iqbal’s closest friends and a few informative detailed studies of this Persian book of Iqbal by some reputed scholars of the country.

iv). Includes a few articles in Persian on Iqbal and Goethe and the latter’s “Divan”.

4)- Except a few Europeans, all the contributors of these two English and Urdu volumes belong to this Subcontinent and their studies will clearly show the level of their critical appreciation and scholarly acumen relating to Goethe’s literary achievements.

- 5)- Both English and Urdu volumes have separate detailed introductions in which some new aspects of Goethe's influence on Iqbal's mind and poetical works will be highlighted.
- 6)- Goethe passed away in 1832 and afterwards several centennial and bicentennial conferences with reference to his birth (1749) and death have been held internationally and on these occasions an enormous bulk of material about Goethe came into light. Unfortunately, the scholars of the Subcontinent did not participate in these international gatherings and they even paid no attention to publish anything on these events. The editor of this work intends to present the aforementioned two volumes up to the middle of the next year (1999) that is the 250th birth anniversary of Goethe. So, this will be the first attempt to pay homage to Goethe from the scholars and intellectuals of the Subcontinent.
- 7)- The material, presented in these volumes, has been taken from the reliable sources of the German, English, Persian and Urdu languages and, thus, the whole project will be useful for the general readers and the specialists of the Occident and the Orient.
- 8)- Both volumes have approximately one thousand pages, along with a number of photographs and the reproductions of the rare hand-written material.
- 9)- An effort has been made to make this project more comprehensive both for the German and the local readers. Therefore some of its sections particularly the 3rd and 4th parts of the English volume are based on the most authentic German sources that are not easily available in the Subcontinent.
- 10)- This undertaking is, no doubt, the first of its kind and it aims at promoting the cultural and intellectual relationship between the people of Germany and the Subcontinent through the two prominent literary figures – Iqbal and Goethe – who are universally acknowledged to be the giants of world literature.
-

IQBAL AND GOETHE

(In two volumes)

Vol. I (Urdu):

Part-1

- 1)- Foreword.
- 2)- Dr. Mumtaz Hassan: Goethe in the Eyes of Iqbal.
- 3)- Ibid.: Importance of Goethe for Iqbal's readers.
- 4)- Dr. Hatim Rampuri: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 5)- Sh. Habibullah: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 6)- M. Hayat Khan Siyal: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 7)- Khumar, B.A.: Goethe and Iqbal.
- 8)- Jagan Nath Azad: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 9)- Maqbool Hussain Hashmi: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 10)- Dr. Haamdi Kashmiri: Iblis---as seen by Iqbal and Goethe.
- 11)- Ghulam Nabi Khayal: Iqbal, Hafiz and Goethe.
- 12)- Prof. S. Vahiduddin: Philosophy of Goethe and Iqbal.
- 13)- Ibid: Iqbal, Goethe and Nietzsche.
- 14)- Wazirzadah M. Ashraf Khan: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 15)- Abdul Malik Arvi: Iqbal and Goethe
- 16)- M. Siddique Shibli: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 17)- Syed Iftikhar Hussain Shah: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 18)- Dr. Iftikhar Ahmad Siddique: Iqbal and Goethe.

- 19)- Dr. Syed Muhammd Akram: Ghalib—a counterpart of Goethe (Iqbal)
- 20)- Ibid.: Iqbal and Goethe (Persian)
- 21)- Ibid.: Iqbal- with reference to Hafiz and Goethe.
- 22)- Nazir Niazi: A few remarks (Iqbal and Goethe).

PART 2

- 1)- Goethe – Poet of the Garden of Weimar. (1921)
- 2)- Mumtaz Hasan: Goethe – Eastern Poet of Germany (1955)
- 3)- Ibid.: Introduction to Arthur F. J. Remy's book “The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany” (Urdu translation).
- 4)- Dr. Syed Abid Hussain: Faust (Introduction, 1931)
- 5)- Ibid.: Introduction to Goethe’s “Wilhelm Meister” (Urdu translation).
- 6)- Dr. Reyazul Hasan: Sorrows of the young Werther (Introduction, 1933).
- 7)- Ibid.: Introduction to Remy's book (op. cit.) (Urdu translation), 1973.
- 8)- Muhmud Barelv: Goethe and Faust (1932)
- 9)- Mansoor Ahmad: Goethe in Italy (1929).
- 10)- Nasim Rizwani: Goethe--Man and Poet (1933).
- 11)- Hanif Hashmi: Faust (1929)
- 12)- M. Hadi Hussain: Sorrows of the young Werther. (Introduction, 1922).
- 13)- Fazl Hameed: Faust (Introduction, 1964).
- 14)- Three Poems of Goethe (1935)
- 15)- Poems of Goethe (1935).

- 16)- West-Eastern Divan (Selections, 1929)
- 17)- Faiz Ahmad Faiz: Goethe's Message (1936)
- 18)- Sher Jang: Goethe (1953)
- 19)- Abbas Darwish: Influence of Hafiz on Goethe (1941)
- 20)- Haji Luq Luq: Ghalib and Goethe.
- 21)- Abdul Baqi Khan: Faust (Urdu translation, 1961).
- 22)- God, Spirit, and Goethe.

PART 3

- 1)- Payam-i-Mashriq. Reviewed by Ch. Muhammad Hussain (1923).
- 2)- Payam-i-Mashriq. Reviewed by Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (1923).
- 3)- Payam-i-Mashriq. Reviewed by M. Aslam Jirajpuri (1923).
- 4)- Payam-i-Mashriq. Reviewed by Ghulam Rasul Mehr (1923).
- 5)- Payam-i-Mashriq. Reviewed by R.A. Nicholson. Translated by Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah (1932).
- 6)- Dr. Farman Fatehpuri: Payam-i-Mashriq – A Study.
- 7)- Dr. Abdul Shakoor Ahsan: Payam-i-Mashriq (1977).
- 8)- Dr. Syed Muhammad Akram: Payam-i-Mashriq.
- 9)- Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen: Payam-i-Mashriq.
- 10)- Ibid.: Universal Popularity of Payam-i-Mashriq (1993).
- 11)- Syed Sulaiman Nadvi: 'Islamica' Leipzig and Iqbal (1925)
- 12)- Dr. Abdullah Chaghatai: Payam-i-Mashriq (1977).

PART 4

(Persian Articles)

- 1)- Perface “Payām-i-Mashriq” Translated by Dr. Muhammad Riaz
- 2)- West östlicher Divan by Dr. Shujū al-Dān Shafa.
- 3)- “Iqbal and Goethe” by Dr. Sayyed Muhammad Akram Shah
- 4)- Ibid. “Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal”.

Vol. II (English)

PART 1

- 1)- Foreword.
- 2)- Prof. Annemarie Schimmel: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 3)- Dr. Mumtaz Hasan: Iqbal’s Tribute to Goethe.
- 4)- Ibid.: Goethe and the East.
- 5)- T.C. Rastogi: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 6)- Bashir Ahmad Dar: Iqbal and Goethe.
- 7)- Parveen Shaukat Ali: Goethe.
- 8)- Syed Abdul Vahid: Iqbal and Goethe (1967).
- 9)- Ibid.: Iqbal and Goethe (1971).
- 10)- Jan Slomp: The triangle: Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal.
- 11)- S. Vahiduddin: Goethe, Hafiz and Iqbal.
- 12)- Dr. Reyazul Hasan: Goethe and Iqbal.

PART 2

- 1)- Abdullah Yusuf Ali: Goethe’s Orientalism (1906)
- 2)- Dr. J.J. Modi: Goethe’s Parsi – Nameh (1914-15)
- 3)- Ibid.: Hafiz and Goethe (1922)

4)- Syed Vahiduddin: The Mystic Dimensions of Goethe's Thought.

PART 3

- 1)- R.A. Nicholson's Review on "Payam-i-Mashriq". (1925)
- 2)- Preface of "Payam-i-Mashriq" (English and German Translations)
- 3)- English and German translations from Iqbal's Urdu and Persian Poetry relating to Goethe.
- 4)- Reviews on German translation of Payam-i-Mashriq (A. Schimmel 1963), by J. Fuck, Jan Rypka and C.J. Burgel.

PART 4

- 1)- Goethe in Iqbal's Writings (Original Documents and Photographs)
- 2)- Goethe: West-Ostliche Divan (Bibliographical Survey)
- 3)- Goethe and the Orient (Bibliography)
- 4)- Goethe's Life and Works (Chronological List)
- 5)- Goethe in Pictures (Selection)

CONFERENCE IN HONOR OF TITUS BURCKHARDT

M. S. Umar

A Major international conference was held May 5-9, 1999 under the auspices of Morocco, the country that Burckhardt had visited since his youth and about which he wrote three important books in addition to many reports and articles. Scholars from both Morocco and abroad participated in the four-day gathering that was punctuated by numerous traditional cultural events including traditional music and poetry. Entitled ‘Sagesse et splendour des arts isianiques: Hommage à Titus Ibrâhîm Burckhardt’, the conference was held at the Ben Youssef Museum in the heart of the old city in a beautiful traditional Moroccan house and next to the Ben Youssef Mosque, the oldest in Marrakesh, and the Ben Youssef madrasah which is considered to be one of the finest examples of maghribâ architecture.

In conformity with the interests of Burckhardt that included both metaphysics (along with cosmology) and traditional and sacred art, speakers were invited to deal with either or both of these subjects. The very rich four-day affair included papers by well-known traditionalist authors, traditional Moroccan and Algerian authorities and Western and Eastern academic writers interested in the traditional perspective and Guénon, Schuon, and Burckhardt who were among its greatest expositors. The titles of papers concerned more directly with tradition in its various aspects and Burckhardt himself are as follows:

Martin Lings,

“The Quranic Arts of Calligraphy and Illumination

Jean-Louis Michon,

“Titus Burckhardt and the Sense of Beauty

Seyyed Hossein Nasr,

“The Spiritual Significance of Islamic Art”

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

“The Importance of Titus Burckhardt’s Works”

Kamil Khan Mumtaz	‘Living Tradition in the Art of Architecture’
Mahmud Etol Kilic	‘Influence of the School of WaÁdat al-wuj�d in Seljuq Art’
James Morris,	‘The Challenge of the Future’
Eric Geoffrey,	‘Sh�dhil� Masters Concerning sam�‘
Pierre Lorry,	‘Movement and Dance in Islamic Mysticism’
Jean-Pierre Laurent,	‘Tradition and Sacred Art in the West at the beginning of the 20 th century’
Philippe Faure	‘Christian and Islamic Arts in the Works of Titus Burckhardt’
Stefano Bianca,	‘Titus Burckhardt: Personal Recollections’
Victor Palleja de Bustinza,	‘Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: Man of Wisdom’

There were also a number of papers delivered by local Moroccan authorities on the subject of the city of Marrakesh and its traditions and also expositions of Islamic doctrines pertaining to wisdom and art by North African traditional authorities. The latter category included:

Abdelillah Benarafa,	‘Poetry Between Art and Knowledge’
Abdalbaki Meftah,	‘Wisdom and Its Relation to Art in Ibn ‘Arabi’

The papers of the conference which were delivered in Arabic, French, and in one case English, are to be published in a volume by al-Mawsimiyyat al-Marrakushiyah, a major cultural organization in Morocco under the direction of Sidi Jaafar Kansoussi and inspired by the living presence of the spirit of the great saints of the city of Marrakesh.

There is no doubt that the conference honoring Burckhardt, one of the greatest masters of the traditionalist school, is among the most important held in recent years in the field of traditional studies. Burckhardt's long years of devotion to the study of Morocco and his role in saving the traditional crafts and helping to protect the city of Fez from various Suicidal programs for its so-called 'development' are of course deeply appreciated by at least traditional Moroccans if not by the modernists. But the conference also revealed a wider interest in his metaphysical, cosmological and artistic works and furthermore in tradition in general as repeated reference to the masters of the traditional perspective such as Guénon, Coomaraswamy, and Schuon made evident. Many of the local scholars referred to tradition as defined by Guénon and this included some who are associated with various North African Sufi orders. The publication of the papers of the conference should therefore be of special interest not only to those concerned with the works of Burckhardt, but also to all who are attracted to the perennial truths of tradition and the dissemination of traditional teachings today.

Sophia (The Journal of Traditional Studies) has devoted its Vol. 5 Number 2 to Burckhardt in which some of the papers delivered in this conference have been published in English translation.

The Frithjof Schuon Study Circle was recently formed with the purpose of discussing the writing of Schuon, particularly with reference to the question of how to strike the true balance between a universalist perspective and a serious commitment to one traditional religion and one spiritual path. Contact Charles Upton /28 Marine Dr./ San Rafael, CA 94901-22511/tel. 415 457 3065.

Syed Jafar Kansusi
Anara Avenue No. 10, House: 203
Marrakush
Morroco
A. Azmat Hassan

Ambassador
Embassy of Pakistan
76, Rue Ibn Ouaraine, Souissi
Rabbat
Morroco

TITUS BURCKHARDT (IBR  H  M  IZZ AL-D  N)

(1908-1984)
An Outline of his Life and Works

M. S. Umar

Titus Burckhardt (Ibr  h  m  izz al-D  n) a German Swiss, was born in Florence in 1908 and died in Lausanne in 1984. He devoted all his life to the study and exposition of the different aspects of Wisdom and Tradition.

In the age of modern science and technocracy, Titus Burckhardt was one of the most remarkable of the exponents of universal truth, in the realm of metaphysics as well as in the realm of cosmology and of traditional art. In a world of existentialism, psychoanalysis, and sociology, he was a major voice of the philosophia perennis, that ‘wisdom uncreate’ that is expressed in Platonism, Vedanta, Sufism, Taoism, and other authentic esoteric or sapiential teachings. In literary and philosophic terms, he was an eminent member of the ‘traditionalist school’ of twentieth -century authors.

Titus Burckhardt (Ibr  h  m  izz ud D  n) was the son of the Swiss sculptor, Carl Burckhardt, and a member of a patrician family of Basle. Although he first followed in his father’s footsteps as a sculptor and illustrator, he was since his childhood always strongly attracted to oriental art. This led him to a theoretical study of eastern doctrines and to repeated sojourns in the Islamic countries. After some years of studying the history of art and oriental languages, he left Western academic circles to embrace Islam both intellectually and ‘existentially’. He was not a Western scholar of Islam in the usual sense but a person of exceptional intellectual and spiritual gifts who went to the Islamic world as a young man to master the Islamic disciplines from within at the feet of masters of both the exoteric and esoteric sciences. He was providentially chosen to express the truths of the Islamic tradition, and in fact tradition in its universal sense, to the modern world and in a language comprehensible to contemporary man. His writings in fact represent one of the major formulations and statements of traditional Islam in the modern world.

The great forerunner-cum-originator of the traditionalist school, to which Titus Burckhardt (Ibrâhîm ‘Izz al-Dân) belonged, was Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wâ‘id Ya‘ây (Rene Guénon (1886-1951). Guénon (Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wâ‘id Ya‘ây) traced the origin of what he called the modern deviation to the ending of the Middle Ages and the arrival of the Renaissance, that cataclysmic inrush of secularisation, when nominalism vanquished realism, individualism (or humanism) replaced universalism, and empiricism banished scholasticism. An important part of Guénon’s work was therefore his critique of the modern world from an implacably ‘Platonic’ or metaphysical point of view. This was fully expounded in his two masterly volumes *The Crisis of the Modern World* and *The Reign of Quantity*. The positive side of Guénon’s work was his exposition of the immutable principles of universal metaphysics and traditional orthodoxy. His main source was the doctrine of ‘nonduality’ (advaita), and his chief work in this respect is *Man and his Becoming According to the Vedanta*. However, he also turned readily to other traditional sources, since he considered all traditional forms to be various expressions of the one supra-formal Truth. A final aspect of Guénon’s work was his brilliant exposition of the intellectual content of traditional symbols, from whichever religion they might come. See in this connection his *Symboles fondamentaux de la Science Sacrée*.

An illustrious scholar deeply influenced by Guénon (Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wâ‘id Ya‘ây) was Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) who, while being distinguished and gifted in his own right, had the merit, relatively late in life, of making the acquaintance of, and being thoroughly convinced by, the traditional point of view as it had been expounded, so fully and so precisely, in Guénon’s books.

It is important to note that Guénon’s writings, decisively important though they were, were purely ‘theoretical’ in character, and made no pretence of dealing with the question of realisation. In other words, they were generally concerned with intellectuality (or doctrine) and not directly with spirituality (or method).

The sun rose for the traditionalist school with the appearance of the work of Shaykh ȳs Nér al-Dân A‘mad al-‘Alawâ (Frithjof Schuon 1907-1998). Thirty years ago, an English Thomist wrote of him: “His work has the

intrinsic authority of a contemplative intelligence.”¹⁷¹ More recently, a senior American academic declared: “In depth and breadth, he is] a paragon of our time. I know of no living thinker who begins to rival him.”¹⁷² T. S. Eliot’s perception was similar. Regarding Schuon’s first book, he wrote in 1953: “I have met with no more impressive work in the comparative study of Oriental and Occidental religion.”

Schuon’s work began to appear during the latter part of Guénon’s life. Until his dying day, Guénon (Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wā‘id Ya‘yā) used to refer to him (for example in the pages of *Etudes Traditionnelles*) as ‘notre éminent collaborateur’. Schuon (Shaykh Ḥasan Nār al-Dān A‘mad al-‘Alawā) continued, in even more notable fashion, the perspicacious and irrefutable critique of the modern world, and reached unsurpassable heights in his exposition of the essential truth-illuminating and saving-that lies at the heart of every revealed form. Schuon called this supra-formal truth the *religio perennis*. This term, which does not imply a rejection of the similar terms *philosophia perennis* and *sophia perennis*, nevertheless contains a hint of an additional dimension which is unfailingly present in Schuon’s writings. This is that intellectual understanding entails a spiritual responsibility, that intelligence requires to be complemented by sincerity and faith, and that ‘seeing’ (in height) implies ‘believing’ (in depth). In other words the greater our perception of essential and saving truth, our obligation towards an effort of inward or spiritual realisation.

Schuon’s work began with a comprehensive general study title of which serves to set the scene: *The Transcendent Unity of Religions*. His further works include: *Language of the Self*, *In the Tracks of Buddhism*, *Understanding Islam*, *Castes and Races*, *Logic and Transcendence* and, more recently, a wide-ranging compendium of philosophic and spiritual enlightenment entitled *Esoterism as Principle and as Way*.¹⁷³ Schuon’s writings on traditional art, along with the works of A.K. Coomaraswamy and Titus Burckhardt, are the most precious and profound expositions of the traditional theories of art available.

¹⁷¹ Bernard Kelly, in *Dominican Studies* (London), V01. 7, 1954.

¹⁷² **Emeritus Professor Huston Smith, 1974.**

¹⁷³ For details see S. H. Nasr (ed.), *The Essential Writings of Frithjof Schuon*, Amity House, New York, 1986; Also see S. H. Nasr (ed.) *Sophia, In Memory: Frithjof Schuon*, The Foundation for Traditional Studies, VA, USA, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1998.

Much has been written about the Providential necessity of Schuon's writings as a sequel to those of Coomaraswamy and Guénon (Shaykh 'Abd al-Wā'īd Ya'āy). One can point out three main aspects of that need. Firstly it was important that the work of these great pioneers, and that of Guénon (Shaykh 'Abd al-Wā'īd Ya'āy) in particular, should have a living prolongation of younger writers who would keep it in the foreground of the minds of serious readers by continual quotations and references and developments. By far the most outstanding of these heirs and perpetuators was Frithjof Schuon (Shaykh Ḳās Nēr al-Dān AĀmad al-'Alawā). Titus Burckhardt is the next who must also be mentioned in this context.

Secondly, the work of a pioneer is almost bound to be fraught with simplifications and generalisations, and Schuon (Shaykh Ḳās Nēr al-Dān AĀmad al-'Alawā), who never simplified and who, on the contrary, continually made us aware of the extreme complexity of things, was providentially just the follower on that was needed to fill in the inevitable gaps, to tie up loose threads left hanging, and, by admitting and explaining unmentioned exceptions, to justify valid generalisations.

Thirdly, and most importantly, there was a certain order of development that had to be followed. We could say in general that the main theme of both Guénon (Shaykh 'Abd al-Wā'īd Ya'āy) and Schuon is esoterism. On this basis, the major part of Guénon's writing could be summed up as 'esoterism as principle with a view to the way'. But it remained for Schuon to write Esoterism as Principle and as Way, the title of which does justice to his qualification to write about what follows initiation as well as about what precedes it. In this respect the writings of the elder man can be seen as a preparation for those of his successor. Unlike Schuon (Shaykh Ḳās Nēr al-Dān AĀmad al-'Alawā), it was never his function to be a spiritual Master. It was once remarked that in Guénon's writings, unlike those of Schuon, one has the impression that the author has eliminated himself. This is an exaggeration, which should be modified. Guénon (Shaykh 'Abd al-Wā'īd Ya'āy) had a luminous presence, and that light unquestionably manifests itself from time to time throughout his works. For those who knew him, certain passages recall the remarkable brightness of his eyes. But the writings of Schuon are vibrant throughout with the presence of their author as well as being, at the same time, totally objective. Or rather, let us say that we are made conscious of a mysterious identity, in him, between subjectivity and

objectivity. It is thus almost as if the reader in search of wisdom were able to have recourse to the sage himself who is there in the background as a light-giving personification of what his pen has set down.

We can now return to Titus Burckhardt. He was Frithjof Schuon's junior by one year, and they spent their early schooldays together in Basle around the time of the First World War. This was the beginning of an intimate friendship deeply harmonious intellectual and spiritual relationship that was to last a lifetime.

Burckhardt's chief metaphysical exposition, beautifully complementing the work of Schuon, is *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*.¹⁷⁴ This is an intellectual masterpiece that analyses comprehensively with precision the nature of esoterism as such. It begins by making clear, by a series of lucid and economical definitions, what esoterism is and what it is not, goes on to examine the doctrinal foundations of Islamic esoterism or Sufism, and ends with an inspired description of 'spiritual alchemy', or the contemplative path that leads to realisation. This work clearly established Burckhardt as the leading exponent, after Schuon, of intellectual doctrine and method. This book is an introduction to a study of the doctrines of Sufism, not from the viewpoint of pure scholarship, but with the purpose of contributing to the efforts of those who seek to understand those universal truths of which every sacred doctrine is an expression. In Part One Titus Burckhardt defines the nature of Sufism and discusses it in relation to Christian mysticism (as exemplified by the Greek Fathers of the early Christian Church), and Hinduism. Part Two consists of an examination of doctrinal foundations of Sufism, while in Part Three the author deals with spiritual realisation. This section commences with a dissertation on the three elements of 'operative' Sufism, and includes perceptive commentaries on rites, meditation and contemplation.

Readers previously unacquainted with the subject will find that Sufism embraces doctrine, initiation and spiritual method. Titus Burckhardt attempts

¹⁷⁴*Introduction aux Doctrines ésotériques de l'Islam*, Paris, Dervy- Livres, 1969. *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine* (translated from the French by D. M. Matheson), Lahore, Ashraf, 1959; Wellingborough, England, Thorsons, 1976; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999. Attention is drawn to the bibliography in which details of all the original publications and translations are given.

to show the intellectual perspective of Sufism by making use of Sufism's own way of expressing things, but where necessary there are included whatever explanations that may be needed for understanding.

Burckhardt devoted a large portion of his writings to traditional cosmology, which he saw in a sense as the 'handmaid of metaphysics'. He formally presented the principles at stake in a masterly and concise article 'The Cosmological Perspective', first French in 1948 and now constituting the first chapter in the collection of his articles posthumously published under the title *Mirror of the Intellect*.¹⁷⁵ Much later-in a series of articles published in both French and German in 1964-he covered the cosmological ground very fully indeed, and also made many detailed references to the main branches of modern science. These articles, under the title 'Traditional Cosmology and Modern Science' now form the second chapter in the aforementioned book *Mirror of the Intellect*. They were also included in *Sword of Gnosis* (an anthology of articles from the English journal *Studies in Comparative Religion*) edited by Jacob Needleman in 1974, and reprinted in 1986. Indeed Burckhardt's principal work in the field of cosmology was his full-length book *Alchemy: Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul*,¹⁷⁶ a brilliant presentation of alchemy as the expression of a spiritual psychology and as an intellectual and symbolic support for contemplation and realisation.

Not unconnected with his interest in cosmology, Burckhardt had a particular affinity with traditional art and craftsmanship and was skilled in the evaluation of traditional architecture, iconography, and other arts and crafts. In particular, he dwelt on how they had been-and could be-turned to account spiritually, both as meaningful activities which by virtue of their inherent symbolism harbour a doctrinal message, and above all as supports for spiritual realisation and means of grace. *Ars sine scientia nihil*. Here of course it is a case of *scientia sacra* and *ars sacra*, these being the two sides of the same coin. This is the realm of the craft initiations of the various traditional civilisations, and specifically of such things, in the Middle Ages, as operative masonry and alchemy.

¹⁷⁵ *Mirror of the Intellect: Essays on Traditional Science and Sacred Art* (translated by William Stoddart), Cambridge, England, Quinta Essentia, 1987.

¹⁷⁶ *Alchemy: Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul* (translated from the German by William Stoddart), London, Stuart and Watkins, 1967; Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1972.

Burckhardt's contribution to the discipline of Art calls for a few remarks. First of all the question of Islamic art. It was a category not accepted until a few decades ago. The reason was that the western scholars judged all the other civilisations from the point of view of their own civilisation. Until the end of the middle ages all European art was Christian art. With the gradual weakening of Christianity and the rise of secularism the national borders began to emerge as the designing features of the art. We had Italian art, French art of the 18th century, the German art of the romantic period, American art of the 20th century, so on and so forth. So they looked at other things and other civilisations, including the Islamic civilisation, in a similar way. There is a whole subject, a discipline, of the study of art, which is distinct from making of art. The study of art is a 19th century German invention. It was born of the 19th century German philosophical thought, which still carries with it its origin, and the ideas, which brought it about. This way of looking at the art of the Islamic world tried to belittle as much as possible the Islamic character of Islamic art and usually attention was paid to regions. All the major collections and museums of the West had collections on Persian Art (it being the most famous and easily available), Mughal art, Andalusian art etc. The category of Islamic art did not exist. Once in a while some one would write a book on Muhammadan Art. Even that was rare. The Idea that there should be a study of Islamic art and that it is really a distinct category of art was initiated with in the West, more than any one else, by Titus Burckhardt (Ibrâhîm 'Izz al-Dân) to whom we all owe the greatest debt in the understanding of Islamic Art. It was primarily through his works and practical efforts that, for the first time, Islamic Art was presented qua Islamic Art. Objections were raised that the regional titles were not emphasised i.e. Persian Art, Moroccan Art, and Indian Art. It is true that regional arts exist but all of these are integrated into a larger worldview, which is that of the Islamic Art. All of the art produced in the Islamic world from the rise of Islam to the time when about 150 years ago, the Western Civilisation began to make its encroachments, was Islamic art that was informed by the Islamic worldview and derived its distinctive features from the Islamic civilisation.

Burckhardt's main work in the field of art was his *Sacred Art in East and West*,¹⁷⁷ which contains many wonderful chapters on the metaphysics and

¹⁷⁷ *Sacred Art in East and West* (translated from the French by Lord Northbourne), Bedfont, Middlesex, England, Perennial Books, 1967.

aesthetics of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam, and ends with a useful and practical insight into the contemporary situation entitled ‘The Decadence and Renewal of Christian Art’.

Burckhardt's last major work was also related to Art and more specifically to a masterly study of Islamic Art. We mean to mention his widely acclaimed and impressive monograph *Art of Islam*.¹⁷⁸ Here the intellectual principles and the spiritual role of artistic creativity in its Islamic forms are richly and generously displayed before us.

During the fifties and sixties Burckhardt was the artistic director of the Urs Graf Publishing House of Lausanne and Olten. His main activity during these years was the production and publication of a whole series of facsimiles of exquisite illuminated medieval manuscripts, especially early Celtic manuscripts of the Gospels, such as the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow (from Trinity College, Dublin) and the Book of Lindisfarne (from the British Library, London). This was pioneer work of the highest quality and a publishing achievement that immediately received wide acclaim both from experts and the wider public.

It was during these years with the Urs Graf Publishing House that Burckhardt presided over an interesting series of publications with the general title of *Steitten des Geistes* ('Homesteads of the Spirit').¹⁷⁹ These were historical-cum-spiritual studies of certain manifestations of sacred civilisation, and covered such themes as Mount Athos, Celtic Ireland, Sinai, Constantinople, and other places. Burckhardt himself contributed the books *Siena, City of the Virgin*,¹⁸⁰ *Chartres and the Genesis of the Gothic Cathedral*,¹⁸¹ and *Fez, City of Islam*.¹⁸² *Siena* is an enlightening account of the

¹⁷⁸ *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning* (translated from the French by Peter Hobson), London, Islamic Festival Trust Ltd, 1976.

¹⁷⁹ See bibliography in which details of all the original publications and translations are given.

¹⁸⁰ *Siena, City of the Virgin* (translated from the German by Margaret Brown), Oxford University Press, 1960.

¹⁸¹ *Chartres and the Genesis of the Gothic Cathedral* (translated by Peter Hobson), Golgonooza Press, 1995.

¹⁸² *Fez, City of Islam* (translated from the German by William Stoddart), Cambridge, England, Islamic Texts Society, 1997.

rise and fall of a Christian city which, architecturally speaking, remains to this day something of a Gothic jewel. Most interesting of all, however is the story of its saints. Burckhardt devotes many of his pages to St. Catherine of Siena (who never hesitated to rebuke the Pope of her day, when she felt that it was necessary) and to St. Bernardino of Siena (who was one of the greatest Catholic practitioners-and teachers-of the saving power of the invocation of the Holy Name). Chartres is the story of the religious ‘idealism’ (in the best sense of the word) which lay behind the conception and practical realisation of the medieval Cathedrals-the still extant monuments to an age of faith. In Chartres, Burckhardt expounds the intellectual and spiritual contents of the different architectural styles-not merely distinguishing between the Gothic and the Romanesque, but even between the different varieties of the Romanesque. It is a dazzling example of what is meant by intellectual discrimination.

One of Burckhardt’s several masterpieces is undoubtedly his *Fez, City of Islam*. As a young man, in the 1930’s, he spent a few years in Morocco, where he established intimate friendships with several remarkable representatives of the as yet intact spiritual heritage of the Maghrib. For Titus Burckhardt’s relationship with Morocco was a beautiful and longstanding love story, which began in the 1930’s and which was faithfully continued and renewed by frequent visits later. This was obviously a formative period in Burckhardt’s life, and much of his subsequent message and style originates in these early years. Already, at the time concerned, he had committed much of his experience to writing (not immediately published), and it was only in the late 1950’s that these writings and these experiences ripened into a definitive and masterly book. In *Fez, City of Islam*, Burckhardt relates the history of a people and its religion-a history that was often violent, often heroic, and sometimes holy. Throughout it all runs the thread of Islamic piety and civilisation. These Burckhardt expounds with a sure and enlightening hand, relating many of the teachings, parables, and miracles of the saints of many centuries, and demonstrating not only the arts and crafts of Islamic civilisation, but also its ‘Aristotelian’ sciences and its administrative skills. There is indeed much to be learnt about the governance of men and societies from Burckhardt’s penetrating presentation of the principles behind dynastic and tribal vicissitudes-with their failures and their successes.

His relationship to Maghrib and more specifically to the city of Fez has many aspects that have been described elsewhere. To give you a glimpse of his activity I quote from an account of Burckhardt's activity recorded by one of his close associates J. L. Michon.¹⁸³

“I should be attempting the impossible if I were to try to cover several years of activity on the part of a man whose speed of work and concentration were astounding. I shall therefore limit myself to two aspects to which Titus Burckhardt never ceased to devote much time, so convinced was he of their usefulness and value: his educational activities, as both writer and speaker, and his field work, as investigator and organiser. In each of these roles, Titus Burckhardt excelled.”

“To illustrate the above, let me offer the outline of a talk given by Titus Burckhardt in April of 1973 to some prominent citizens of Fez who had just formed an Association to conserve the Medina. This was entitled, “Fez, a Human City”. He began with a perceptive and intuitive vision of the basis of Moslem “civilisation”, which gives the Islamic city, and Islamic town planning, its special value: “This way of life, of which Fez is the crystallisation, answers to the needs of the whole man, who is at once body, soul and spirit, having physical needs, an affective life of the soul and an intelligence which surpasses both these planes...” The explanations which then followed, and which flowed naturally from this premise, amounted to a complete lecture on the city and on the importance of water (Fez is built on a watercourse, with tributaries and underground springs) as a necessary element of material life, aesthetic pleasure and ritual purity; the inward-looking architecture, so well suited not only to the city’s climate and social needs but also to a particularly spiritual perspective; the streets and passage-ways which are “dramatic” in feeling, “now narrow now wide, with many twists and turns like the passage-ways that guard the entrance to private houses. Wisdom and prudence have always counselled Fez against giving her heart away too easily”; and, finally, the city’s crafts, which are uniquely able to meet physical requirements, delight the soul and allow a spiritual dimensions to shine through them. “It is in the nature of art to rejoice the soul, but

¹⁸³ “Titus Burckhardt in Fez 1972-1977”, *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Titus Burckhardt Memorial Issue, Vol. 16, Nos. 1, 2, 1984, pp 57-61.

not all art possesses a spiritual dimension. In the case of Moroccan art, this dimensions is manifested directly by its intellectual transparency and by the fact that this geometrically and rhythmically harmonious art is addressed not to a particular kind of intelligence, stamped with passionate tendencies to a greater or lesser degree, but rather to intelligence itself, in its universal aspect”.

Close in spirit to Fez is another of Burckhardt’s mature works, namely Moorish Culture in Spain.¹⁸⁴ As always, this is a book of truth and beauty, of science and art, of piety and traditional culture. But in this book, perhaps more than in all others, it is a question of the romance, chivalry, and poetry of pre-modern life.

Before making a few remarks about Titus Burckhardt’s relationship with Morocco mention must be made of his posthumous collection of writings Mirror of the Intellect¹⁸⁵ that is composed mainly of articles which were originally published in a variety of French and German periodicals, and had not previously appeared together in book form. One exception is the article entitled ‘The Seven Liberal Arts and the West Door of Chartres Cathedral’, which has been extracted from the book Chatres und die Geburt der Kathedrale. A full English translation of this book has been published also.¹⁸⁶

During his early years in Morocco, Burckhardt immersed himself in the Arabic language and assimilated the classics of Sufism in their original form. In later years, he was to share these treasures with a wider public through his translations of Ibn ‘Arabâ¹⁸⁷ and Al-Jâlâ.¹⁸⁸

Burckhardt’s significance in making Ibn ‘Arabâ known to the Western world cannot be over emphasised. One recalls his La Sagesse des prophètes (The Wisdom of the Prophets)¹⁸⁹, Von Sufitum written also in French as

¹⁸⁴ *Moorish Culture in Spain* (translated from the German by Alisa Jaffa), London, Allen and Unwin, 1972; New York, McGraw-Hill, 1972; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1999.

¹⁸⁵ See note 5.

¹⁸⁶ *Chartres and the Genesis of the Gothic Cathedral* (translated by Peter Hobson), Golgonooza Press, 1995.

¹⁸⁷ *La Sagesse des Prophètes (Fuâ€‰ al-Âikam)*, Albin, Michel, Paris, 1955.

¹⁸⁸ *De l’Homme Universel (Al-Insââ al-Kâmil)*, Derain, Lyons, 1953.

¹⁸⁹ *The Wisdom of the Prophets* (partial translation of ‘Fuâ€‰ al-Âikam’ by Ibn ‘Arabâ), Sherbourne, Beshara, 1975; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.

Introduction aux doctrines esoteriques de l'Islam (An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine),¹⁹⁰ Cle spirituel de l'astrologie musulmane (Mystical Astrology according to ibn 'Arabi)¹⁹¹ and De l'homme universel (Universal Man)¹⁹² with its incomparable introduction. How essential were these writings in the sense of expounding the essence of the teachings of Ibn 'Arabâ and his school in a metaphysical language of great power and clarity, formulated first by Guénon, perfected in an amazing way by Schuon and applied in an ingenious manner to the teachings of al-Shaykh al-Akbar by Burckhardt.

Reading these works one realises fully the significance of Burckhardt's achievement. He had succeeded in reaching the heart of Akbarian metaphysics and making it known in contemporary language without divorcing it from the barakah of Sufism or the rest of that tradition. His translations and commentaries, which are at once traditional and full of living wisdom and light, differ markedly from those pedantic and dry translations by some claiming to adhere to the traditionalist school. Some of these would reduce the whole of Sufism to Ibn 'Arabâ alone, and Ibn 'Arabâ himself to a cerebral presentation of theoretical metaphysics far removed from the living presence that emanates from his teachings and which can be seen both in the writings of Burckhardt and the traditional masters of his school.

Dr. S. H. Nasr remembers Burckhardt at the tomb of al-Shaykh al-Akbar in the following memoir.¹⁹³

"To have beheld Burckhardt there, (at the tomb of al-Shaykh al-Akbar) lost in the contemplation of that Truth which lies at the heart of all traditional metaphysics and of course of Sufism itself; to have witnessed his humility before the Divine presence and transparency before the Truth which manifests Itself in a mysterious fashion in certain loci determined by sacred geography and usually identified with tombs or

¹⁹⁰ *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine* (translated from the French by D. M. Matheson), Lahore, Ashraf, 1959; Wellingborough, England, Thorsons, 1976; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.

¹⁹¹ **Mystical Astrology, according to Ibn 'Arabi** (translated from the French by Bulent Rauf), Sherbourne, England, Beshara, 1977.

¹⁹² **Universal Man** (partial translation of 'Al-Insân al-Kâmil') by 'Abd al-Karâm al-Jâlâ), Sherbourne, Beshara, 1983.

¹⁹³ "With Titus Burckhardt at the Tomb of Ibn 'Arabâ", *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Titus Burckhardt Memorial Issue, Vol. 16, Nos. 1, 2, 1984, pp17-20.

maqâms of great saints - to have done this was fully to realise the incredible chasm which separates theoretical understanding of wisdom or al-Áikmah from its realisation. In contrast to many who write of Ibn ‘Arabâ and claim strict traditional orthodoxy without, however, having realised the truth of Sufism, Burckhardt lived the truth of which he wrote. The exceptional light of intelligence which emanated from him pierced to the heart of the texts that he studied and illuminated their meaning in a manner which is possible only for a person in whom the truth has descended from the place of the mind to the centre of the heart and become fully realised. At the tomb of Ibn ‘Arabâ, Burckhardt manifested the qualities of a saintly man possessing a penetrating intelligence of extraordinary lucidity, combined with virtue and a luminous soul transmuted by the presence of that Truth whose doctrinal aspects he studied with such depth and understanding.”

One of his most important works of translation was of the spiritual letters of the renowned eighteenth-century Moroccan Shaikh Mulay al-‘Arabâ ad-Darqdâwâ. These letters constitute a spiritual classic and are a precious document of practical spiritual counsel.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ *Letters of a Sufi Master (Rasâ'il)*, Perennial Books, Bedfont, England, 1969. Reprinted Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TITUS BURCKHARDT

BOOKS IN GERMAN

Land am Rande der Zeit, Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1941.

1. *Schweizer Volkskunst/Art Populaire Suisse*, Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1941.
2. *Tessin (Das Volkserbe der Schweiz, Band 1)*, Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1943.
3. *Vom Sufitum—Einführung in die Mystik des Islams*, Munich, Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag, 1953.
4. *Vom Wesen heiliger Kunst in den Weltreligionen*, Zürich, Origo-Verlag, 1958.
5. *Siena, Stadt der Jungfrau*, Olten (Switzerland) and Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Germany), Urs Graf Verlag, 1958.
6. *Tessin (Das Volkserbe der Schweiz, Band 1)*, Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1959, [Greatly enlarged edition.]
7. *Alchemie, Sinn- und Weltbild*, Olten and Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Walter-Verlag, 1960.
8. *Fes, Stadt des Islam*, Olten and Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Urs Graf Verlag, 1960.

-
9. *Chartres und die Geburt der Kathedrale*, Lausanne, Urs Graf Verlag, 1962.
 10. *Von wunderbaren Büchern*, Olten and Freiburg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1963.
 11. *Lachen und Weinen*, Olten and Freiburg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1964.
 12. *Die Jagd*, Olten and Fribourg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1964.
 13. *Der wilde Westen*, Olten and Freiburg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1966.
 14. *Die maurische Kultur in Spanien*, Munich, Callwey, 1970.
 15. *Marokko, Westlicher Orient: ein Reiseführer*, Olten and Freiburg, Walter-Verlag, 1972.
 16. *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* (collected articles), in preparation.
 17. *Scipio und Hannibal. Kampf um das Mittelmeer* by Friedrich Donauer. Cover design and six illustrations by Titus Burckhardt. Olten and Freiburg, Walter-Verlag, 1939.
 18. *Wallis (Das Volkserbe der Schweiz, Band 2)* by Charles Ferdinand Ramuz. Translated and edited by Titus Burckhardt. Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1956.
 19. *Zeus und Eros: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen des Bildhauers Carl Burckhardt (1878-1923)* edited by Titus Burckhardt. Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1956.
 20. *Das Ewige im Vergänglichen* by Frithjof Schuon. Translation from the French by Titus Burckhardt of *Regards sur les Mondes anciens*. Weilheim, Oberbayern, Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag, 1970.
 21. *Athos, der Berg des Schweigens* by Philip Sherrard. Translation from the English by Titus Burckhardt of *Athos, the Mountain of Silence*. Lausanne and Fribourg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1959.

ARTICLES IN GERMAN

1. Foreword to *Der Sinn der Ikonen* by Leonid Ouspensky and Wladimir Lossky, Olten (Switzerland) and Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Germany), Urs Graf Verlag, 1952.
2. 'Die Symbolik des Spiegels in der islamischen Mystik', *Symbolon*, 1960.
3. 'Symbolik des Islams', *Kairos* (Salzburg), 1961.
4. 'Von der Heiligkeit des Wassers', *CIBA-Blätter* (Hauszeitschrift der CIBA Aktiengesellschaft, Basel) Sondernummer: 'Wasser'. Vol. 18, No. 174, July-August 1961.
5. 'Die Lehre vom Symbol in den Grossen Ueberlieferungen des Ostens und des Westens', *Symbolon*, 1962.
6. 'Cosmologia Perennis', *Kairos* (Salzburg), No. 1, 1964.
7. 'Letter to the Editor,' *Kairos* (Salzburg), No. 2, 1964.
8. 'Moderne Psychologie und überlieferte Weisheit', *Kairos* (Salzburg), Nos. 3 & 4, 1964.
9. 'Weil Dante Recht hat', *Antaios* (Stuttgart), May 1965.
10. 'Abstrakte Kunst im alten Fes', *Du* (Zürich), March 1972.
11. 'Die überlieferten Handwerke in Marokko: ihr Wesen und ihr Schicksal', *Zeitschrift für Ganzheitsforschung* (Vienna), No. 2, 1974.

-
- 12. 'Betrachtungen zur Alchemie' (translated from the French by Margreth Pietsch), in *Initiative 42: Wissende, Verschmiegene, Eingeweihte* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Herder, 1981).
 - 13. 'Die heilige Maske' (translated from the French), in *Initiative 48: Die Macht der Masken* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Herder, 1982).
- (All of the above-listed articles are in the original German of the author, except for the two translations indicated.)

BOOKS IN FRENCH

- 1. *Clef spirituelle de l'Astrologie musulmane*, Paris, Les Editions Traditionnelles, 1950; Milan, Archè, 1964.
- 2. *Du Soufisme*, Lyons, Derain, 1951.
- 3. *Principes et Méthodes de l'Art sacré*, Lyons, Derain, 1958.
- 4. *Introduction aux Doctrines ésotériques de l'Islam*, Paris, Dervy- Livres, 1969.
- 5. *Alchimie* (translated from the English edition by Madame J. P. Gervy), Basle, Fondation Keimer, 1974; Milan, Archè, 1979.
- 6. *Symboles: Recueil d'essais*, Milan, Archè, 1980; Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1980.
- 7. *Science moderne et Sagesse traditionnelle*, Milan, Archè, 1985; Paris, Dervy- Livres, 1985.
- 8. *L'Art de l'Islam*, Sindbad, Paris, 1985.
- 9. *Fès, Ville de l'Islam* (translated from the German by Armand Jacoubovitch), in preparation.

(All of the above-listed books are in the original French of the author, except for the two translations indicated.)

ARTICLES IN FRENCH

- 1. 'Du Barzakh', *Etudes Traditionnelles* (Paris), December 1937.
- 2. 'De la Thora, de l'Evangile, et du Coran', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, August-September, 1938.
- 3. 'Le Prototype Unique', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, August-September 1938.
- 4. 'Folklore et Art ornemental', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, August-September-October, 1939.
- 5. 'Une Clef spirituelle de l'Astrologie musulmane', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, June 1947, July-August 1947, December 1947, January-February 1948.
- 6. 'Généralités sur l'Art musulmane', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, March 1947.
- 7. 'Principes et Méthodes de l'Art traditionnel', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, January-February 1947.
- 8. 'Nature de la Perspective cosmologique', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, July-August, 1948.
- 9. 'Considérations sur l'Alchimie (i)', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, October- November 1948, April-May, 1949.
- 10. 'Nature sait surmonter Nature', '*Etudes Traditionnelles*, January-February, 1950.

-
11. 'Le Temple, Corps de l'Homme Divin', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, June 1951.
 12. 'Extraits du Commentaire des Noms Divins par l'Imām Ghazlā' (Translation and notes by Titus Burckhardt), *Etudes Traditionnelles*, October-November 1952, December 1954.
 13. "je suis la Porte", *Etudes Traditionnelles*, June 1953, July-August 1953.
 14. 'La Genèse du Temple hindou', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, October-November, 1953, December 1953.
 15. 'Les Fondements de l'Art chrétien', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, April-May 1954.
 16. 'Les Fondements de l'Art musulman', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, June 1954.
 17. 'Le symbolisme du jeu des échecs', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, October-November, 1954.
 18. 'Le Paysage dans l'Art extrême-oriental', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, April-May, 1955.
 19. 'Commentaire succinct de la Table d'Emeraude', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, November-December 1960.
 20. 'Considérations sur l'Alchimie (ii)', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, November-December 1961.
 21. "Chevaucher le Tigre", *Etudes Traditionnelles*, July-October 1962.
 22. 'Le Masque Sacré', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, November-December 1963.
 23. 'Cosmologie et Science moderne', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, May-June, 1964, July-October, 1964, January-February 1965, March-April 1965, May-August 1965.
 24. 'La Prière d'Ibn Mashâh', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, January-February 1967.
 25. 'Mise all point en ce qui concerne l'édition française du livre *Alchemie: Sinn-und Weltbild*', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, January-February 1967.
 26. 'Le Vide dans l'Art Islamique', *Hermés*, 1970.
 27. 'Caractères perennes de l'art arabe', *Journal of World History*, 1972.
 28. 'Fès, une ville humaine' (causerie faite le 21 avril 1973 dans le palais du Pacha devant les membres de l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Fès), *Etudes Traditionnelles*, July-September 1984.
 29. 'Note sur le Prophète Mohammed', in *Formes et Substance dans les Religions* by Frithjof Schuon, pp. 86-87 (Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1975).
 30. 'Préface à Islam, Perspectives et Réalités' by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Paris, Buchet-Chastel, 1975).
 31. 'Les Sciences traditionnelles à Fès', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, October-December 1977.
 32. 'Le Retour d'Ulysse', *Etudes Traditionnelles*, January-March 1979.
 33. 'Fès et l'Art de l'Islam', in *Actes du Séminaire expérimental d'Animation Culturelle*, 7 mars-28 avril 1978, Fonds international pour la Promotion de la Culture, UNESCO, *Conferences*, volume I, pp. 109- 119, 1980.
 34. 'La Danse du Soleil', *Connaissance des Religions* (Nancy, France), 19 8 5.

De l'Homme Universel (Traduction partielle de ‘*Al-Inṣān al-Kāmil*’ de ‘Abd al-Karām al-Jälā). With an introduction by the translator. Lyons, Derain, 1953; Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1975.

1. La Sagesse des Prophétés (Traduction partielle des ‘Fuḍūḥ al-Āikam’ de Ibn ‘Arabā). With an Introduction by the translator. Paris, Albin Michel, 1955 and 1974.
2. Lettres d'un Maître Soufi (Traduction partielle des ‘Ras«il’ de Moulay al-‘Arabā ad-Darqāwā). With an Introduction by the translator. Milan, Archè, 1978; Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1978.

BOOKS IN ENGLISH

1. An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine (translated from the French by D. M. Matheson), Lahore, Ashraf, 1959; Wellingborough, England, Thorsons, 1976; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.
2. Siena, City of the Virgin (translated from the German by Margaret Brown), Oxford University Press, 1960.
3. Famous Illuminated Manuscripts (partial translation of Von wunderbaren Büchern), Olten and Lausanne, Urs Graf Verlag, 1964.
4. Sacred Art in East and West (translated from the French by Lord Northbourne), Bedfont, Middlesex, England, Perennial Books, 1967.
5. Alchemy: Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul (translated from the German by William Stoddart), London, Stuart and Watkins, 1967; Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1972.
6. Moorish Culture in Spain (translated from the German by Alisa Jaffa), London, Allen and Unwin, 1972; New York, McGraw-Hill, 1972; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1999.
7. Art of Islam: Language and Meaning (translated from the French by Peter Hobson), London, Islamic Festival Trust Ltd, 1976.
8. Mystical Astrology, according to Ibn ‘Arabi (translated from the French by Bulent Rauf), Sherbourne, England, Beshara, 1977.
9. Fez, City of Islam (translated from the German by William Stoddart), Cambridge, England, Islamic Texts Society, 1997.
10. Mirror of the Intellect: Essays on Traditional Science and Sacred Art (translated by William Stoddart), Cambridge, England, Quinta Essentia, 1987.
11. Chartres and the Genesis of the Gothic Cathedral (translated by Peter Hobson), Golgonzo Press, 1995.

ARTICLES IN ENGLISH

1. ‘Principles and Methods of Traditional Art’, in Art and Thought (Coomaraswamy Festschrift), London, Luzac, 1947.
2. ‘The Spirit of Islamic Art’, Islamic Quarterly (London), December 1954.

-
- 3. Foreword to *The Meaning of Icons* by Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky (translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer), Boston, The Boston Book and Art Shop, 1956; Crestwood, New York, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1983.
 - 4. 'Insight into Alchemy', *Tomorrow*, Winter, 1964; Studies in Comparative Religion, Summer-Autumn 1979.
 - 5. 'Cosmology and Modern Science', *Tomorrow*, Summer 1964, Autumn 1964, Winter 1965. Also included in *Sword of Gnosis* (edited by Jacob Needleman), Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1974.
 - 6. 'Because Dante is Right', *Tomorrow*, Summer 1966.
 - 7. 'Perennial Values in Islamic Art', *Al-Abhath*, March 1967; Studies in Comparative Religion, Summer 1967; in *God and Man in Contemporary Islamic Thought*, Beirut, Centennial, 1972; in *Sword of Gnosis* (edited by Jacob Needleman), Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1974.
 - 8. 'Islamic Surveys: Four Works by Seyyed Hossein Nasr', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter 1968.
 - 9. 'The Symbolism of Chess', Studies in Comparative Religion, Spring 1969.
 - 10. 'Teilhard de Chardin (I), Studies in Comparative Religion, Spring 1969.
 - 11. 'The Seven Liberal Arts and the West Door of Chartres Cathedral', Studies in Comparative Religion, Summer 1969; also Winter-Spring 1985.
 - 12. 'The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Paradise of Vaikuntha', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter 1970.
 - 13. 'The Void in Islamic Art', Studies in Comparative Religion, Spring 1970; also Winter-Spring 1985.
 - 14. Note on the Prophet Mohammed, in *Dimensions of Islam* by Frithjof Schuon, pp. 69-70 (London, Allen and Unwin, 1970).
 - 15. 'Arab or Islamic Art?', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter 1971; also in *Sword of Gnosis* (edited by Jacob Needleman), Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1974.
 - 16. 'Abstract Art in Ancient Fez', *Du* (Zürich), March 1972.
 - 17. Foreword to *Geometric Concepts in Islamic Art* by Issam El-Said and Ayse Parman, London, Islamic Festival Trust Ltd, 1976.
 - 18. 'Introduction to Islamic Art' in *The Arts of Islam*, catalogue to the special exhibition in the Hayward Gallery, London, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976.
 - 19. 'The Prayer of Ibn Mashish', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter-Spring 1978; *Islamic Quarterly*, September 1978.
 - 20. 'The Return of Ulysses', *Parabola*, November 1978.
 - 21. 'Concerning the "Barzakh" ', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter-Spring 1979.
 - 22. 'Fez', in *The Islamic City*, UNESCO, Paris, 1980, pp. 166-176.
 - 23. Preface to R. W. J. Austin's translation of Ibn 'Arabâ's *The Bezels of Wisdom* (*FuÄçÄ al-Äikam*), London, S.P.C.K., 1980; Ramsey, New Jersey, The Paulist Press, 1980; Suhail Academy, Lahore, 1985.
 - 24. 'The Sacred Mask', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter-Spring 1980.

-
- 25. 'Teilhard de Chardin (II)', in *The Destruction of the Christian Tradition* by Rama Coomaraswamy, pp. 211-212. Bedfont, Middlesex, England, Perennial Books, 1981.
 - 26. 'The Role of Fine Arts in Muslim Education', in *Philosophy, Literature and Fine Arts* (edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), Sevenoaks, Kent, England, Islamic Education Series, 1982.
 - 27. 'Traditional Science', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1985.
 - 28. Two short extracts from *Schweizer Volkskunst, Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1985.
 - 29. 'The Spirituality of Islamic Art', in *The Encyclopaedia of World Spirituality*, vol. 20 (edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.
 - 30. 'The Universality of Sacred Art', in *The Unanimous Tradition* (edited by Ranjit Fernando), The Institute of Traditional Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1992.

TRANSLATIONS FROM ARABIC INTO FRENCH AND THEN INTO ENGLISH

- 1. *Letters of a Sufi Master* (partial translation of the 'Ras̄q'iūl of Mulay al-'Arabā ad-Darq̄wā), Bedfont, Middlesex, Perennial Books, 1973; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.
- 2. *The Wisdom of the Prophets* (partial translation of 'FuĀčĀ al-Āikam' by Ibn 'Arabā), Sherbourne, Beshara, 1975; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.
- 3. *Universal Man* (partial translation of 'Al-Insān al-Kāmil' by 'Abd al-Karām al-Jālā), Sherbourne, Beshara, 1983.

BOOKS IN ITALIAN

- 1. *L'Alchimia* (translated from the German by Angela Terzani Staude), Turin, Boringhieri, 1961; (translated from the French by Ferdinando Bruno), Milan, Guanda, 1981.
- 2. *Scienza moderna e Saggezza tradizionale*, translated from the German by Angela Terzani Staude), Turin, Borla, 1968.
- 3. *Siena, Città della Vergine* (translated from the German by Gisella Burgisser), Milan, Archè, 1978.
- 4. *L'Arte sacra in Oriente e Occidente* (translated from the French by Elena Bono), Milan, Rusconi, 1976.
- 5. *Introduzione alle Dottrine esoteriche dell'Islam* (translated from the French by Barbara Turco), Rome, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1979.
- 6. *Simboli* (translated from the French by Elisabetta Bonfanti Mutti), Parma, All'insegna del Veltro, 1983.
- 7. *Chiave spirituale dell'Astrologia musulmana* (translated from the French), Genoa, Basilisco, 1985.

ARTICLES IN ITALIAN

'Una Chiave spirituale dell'Astrologia secondo Muhyiddin ibn 'Arabi', *Rivista di Studii Iniziatici*, Naples, August-October 1947.

Nota sul Profeta Mohamed in *Forma e Sostanza nelle Religioni* di Frithjof Schuon (Roma, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1984).

TRANSLATIONS FROM ARABIC INTO FRENCH AND THEN INTO ITALIAN

1. *L'Uomo Universale* (translated from the French by Giorgio Jannaccone), Rome, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1981.
2. *La Sapienza dei Profeti* (translated from the French by Giorgio Jannaccone), Rome, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1987.
3. *Lettere d'un Maestro Sufi* (translated from the French by Giorgio Jannaccone), Milan, La Queste, 1987.

BOOKS IN SPANISH

1. *Alquimia* (translated by Ana María de la Fuente), Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1971.
2. *La Civilización Hispano-Arabe* (translated by Rosa Kulme Brabanc), Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1977.
3. *Esoterismo Islámico* (translated by Jesús García Varela), Madrid, Taurus Ediciones, 1980.
4. *Sabiduría Tradicional y Gencia Moderna* (translated by Jordí Quingles and Alejandro Corniero), Madrid, Taurus Ediciones, 1980.
5. *Símbolos* (translated by Francesc Gutiérrez), Mallorca, José J. de Olañeta, 1982.
6. *Principios y Métodos del Arte sagrado*, Buenos Aires, 1984.

ARTICLES IN SPANISH

Nota sobre el Profeta Mohámed en *Forma e Sustancia en las Religiones* por Frithjof Schuon, capítulo sobre Mohámed (Madrid, Taurus Ediciones, 1981).

'El Simbolismo del Ajedrez', *Cieloy Tierra* (Barcelona), No. I, 1982.

'El Arte sagrado', *Cieloy Tierra* (Barcelona), No. 6, 1983/1984.

BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO URDU

1. *Islāmā Fan*, Urdu translation of Art of Islam, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, in preparation.
2. *Ta'limat i Ta'āwwuf k» Ta'«ruf*, Urdu translation of *Introduction to the Sufi Doctrine*, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, in preparation.
3. *Ruq'at i Darq«wâ*, Urdu translation of Letters of a Sufi Master, Lahore, in preparation.

ARTICLES TRANSLATED INTO URDU

1. 'Kawniyat awr Jadâd Nafsiyat', Part V of 'Cosmology and Modern Science', translated from English by MuÁammad Suheyl 'Umar, in *Riwâyat*, Vol. I, Maktabah Riwâyat, Lahore, 1983, pp. 387-422.

Titus Burckhardt (Ibr h m ‘Izz al-D n) has now left this plane of ephemerality for the empyrean of the Spirit, but his works, which are the fruit of realised knowledge, continue in a unique fashion to illuminate the path of those seriously interested in Sufism in general and in the teachings of Ibn ‘Arab  in particular. They are in fact among the most significant formulations of the essence of the teachings of traditional Islam in the modern world. May God shower His choicest blessing upon him.

Ra imahu All h wa rai ya ‘anhу.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

-
2. Review of *Introduction to the Sufi Doctrine*, in *Riw yat*, Vol. II, Maktabah Riw yat, Lahore, 1985, pp. 381-385.
 3. Review of *Wisdom of the Prophets*, in *Riw yat*, Vol. II, Maktabah Riw yat, Lahore, 1985, pp. 396-7.
 4. Review of *Letters of a Sufi Master*, in *Riw yat*, Vol. II, Maktabah Riw yat, Lahore, 1985, pp. 398-400.

BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO PERSIAN

Hunar dar Isl m, Translated by A mad yr m, Tehran.

Hunar i Muqaddas dar Sharq o Gharb, Translated by A mad yr m, Tehran.

ARTICLES TRANSLATED INTO PERSIAN

1. ‘Perennial Values in Islamic Art’, translated from the French into Persian by S. H. Na r, as “Arzish h  i Jav d n i Hunar i D n ”, in *Mu da t dar Hunar i D n , S zm n i Jashn Hunar i Sh rz*, Takht Jamsh d, 1349.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TITUS BURCKHARDT

BOOKS IN GERMAN

- Land am Rande der Zeit, Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1941.
1. Schweizer Volkskunst/Art Populaire Suisse, Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1941.
 2. Tessin (Das Volkserbe der Schweiz, Band 1), Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1943.
 3. Vom Sufitum—Einführung in die Mystik des Islams, Munich, Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag, 1953.
 4. Vom Wessen heiliger Kunst in den Weltreligionen, Zürich, Origo-Verlag, 1958.
 5. Siena, Stadt der Jungfrau, Olten (Switzerland) and Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Germany), Urs Graf Verlag, 1958.
 6. Tessin (Das Volkserbe der Schweiz, Band 1), Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1959, [Greatly enlarged edition.]
 7. Alchemie, Sinn- und Weltbild, Olten and Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Walter-Verlag, 1960.
 8. Fes, Stadt des Islam, Olten and Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Urs Graf Verlag, 1960.
 9. Chartres und die Geburt der Kathedrale, Lausanne, Urs Graf Verlag, 1962.
 10. Von wunderbaren Büchern, Olten and Freiburg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1963.
 11. Lachen und Weinen, Olten and Freiburg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1964.
 12. Die Jagd, Olten and Fribourg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1964.
 13. Der wilde Westen, Olten and Freiburg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1966.
 14. Die maurische Kultur in Spanien, Munich, Callwey, 1970.
 15. Marokko, Westlicher Orient: ein Reiseführer, Olten and Freiburg, Walter-Verlag, 1972.
 16. Wissenschaft und Weisheit (collected articles), in preparation.
 17. Scipio und Hannibal.. Kampf um das Mittelmeer by Friedrich Donauer. Cover design and six illustrations by Titus Burckhardt. Olten and Freiburg, Walter-Verlag, 1939.

18. Wallis (Das Volkserbe der Schweiz, Band 2) by Charles Ferdinand Ramuz. Translated and edited by Titus Burckhardt. Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1956.
19. Zeus und Eros: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen des Bildhauers Carl Burckhardt (1878-1923) edited by Titus Burckhardt. Basel, Urs Graf Verlag, 1956.
20. Das Ewige im Vergänglichen by Frithjof Schuon. Translation from the French by Titus Burckhardt of *Regards sur les Mondes anciens*. Weilheim, Oberbayern, Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag, 1970.
21. Athos, der Berg des Schweigens by Philip Sherrard. Translation from the English by Titus Burckhardt of *Athos, the Mountain of Silence*. Lausanne and Frieberg, Urs Graf Verlag, 1959.

ARTICLES IN GERMAN

1. Foreword to *Der Sinn der Ikonen* by Leonid Ouspensky and Wladimir Lossky, Olten (Switzerland) and Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Germany), Urs Graf Verlag, 1952.
2. 'Die Symbolik des Spiegels in der islamischen Mystik', *Symbolon*, 1960.
3. 'Symbolik des Islams', *Kairos* (Salzburg), 1961.
4. 'Von der Heiligkeit des Wassers', *CIBA-Blätter* (Hauszeitschrift der CIBA Aktiengesellschaft, Basel) Sondernummer: Wasser'. Vol. 18, No. 174, July-August 1961.
5. 'Die Lehre vom Symbol in den Grossen Ueberlieferungen des Ostens und des Westens', *Symbolon*, 1962.
6. 'Cosmologia Perennis', *Kairos* (Salzburg), No. 1, 1964.
7. 'Letter to the Editor,' *Kairos* (Salzburg), No. 2, 1964.
8. 'Moderne Psychologie und überlieferte Weisheit', *Kairos* (Salzburg), Nos. 3 & 4, 1964.
9. 'Weil Dante Recht hat', *Antaios* (Stuttgart), May 1965.
10. 'Abstrakte Kunst im alten Fes', *Du* (Zürich), March 1972.
11. 'Die überlieferten Handwerke in Marokko: ihr Wesen und ihr Schicksal', *Zeitschrift für Ganzheitsforschung* (Vienna), No. 2, 1974.
12. 'Betrachtungen zur Alchemie' (translated from the French by Margreth Pietsch), in *Initiative 42: Wissende, Verschmiegene, Eingeweihte* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Herder, 1981).
13. 'Die heilige Maske' (translated from the French), in *Initiative 48: Die Macht der Masken* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Herder, 1982).

(All of the above-listed articles are in the original German of the author, except for the two translations indicated.)

BOOKS IN FRENCH

1. Clef spirituelle de l' Astrologie musulmane, Paris, Les Editions Traditionnelles, 1950; Milan, Archè, 1964.
2. Du Soufisme, Lyons, Derain, 1951.
3. Principes et Méthodes de l'Art sacré, Lyons, Derain, 1958.
4. Introduction aux Doctrines ésotériques de l'Islam, Paris, Dervy- Livres, 1969.
5. Alchimie (translated from the English edition by Madame J. P. Gervy), Basle, Fondation Keimer, 1974; Milan, Archè, 1979.
6. Symboles: Recueil d'essais, Milan, Archè, 1980; Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1980.
7. Science moderne et Sagesse traditionnelle, Milan, Archè, 1985; Paris, Dervy- Livres, 1985.
8. L'Art de l'Islam, Sindbad, Paris, 1985.
9. Fès, Ville de l'Islam (translated from the German by ArmandJacoubovitch), in preparation.

(All of the above-listed books are in the original French of the author, except for the two translations indicated.)

ARTICLES IN FRENCH

1. 'Du Barzakh', Etudes Traditionnelles (Paris), December 1937.
2. 'De la Thora, de l'Evangile, et du Coran', Etudes Traditionnelles, August-September, 1938.
3. 'Le Prototype Unique', Etudes Traditionnelles, August-September 1938.
4. 'Folklore et Art ornemental', Etudes Traditionnelles, August-September-October, 1939.
5. 'Une Clef spirituelle de l'Astrologie musulmane', Etudes Traditionnelles, June 1947, July-August 1947, December 1947, January-February 1948.
6. 'Généralités sur l'Art musulmane', Etudes Traditionnelles, March 1947.
7. 'Principes et Méthodes de l'Art traditionnel', Etudes Traditionnelles, January-February 1947.
8. 'Nature de la Perspective cosmologique', Etudes Traditionnelles, July-August, 1948.
9. 'Considérations sur l'Alchimie (i)', Etudes Traditionnelles, October-November 1948, April-May, 1949.

10. 'Nature sait surmonter Nature', 'Etudes Traditionnelles', January-February, 1950.
11. 'Le Temple, Corps de l'Homme Divin', Etudes Traditionnelles, June 1951.
12. 'Extraits du Commentaire des Noms Divins par l'Imām Ghazālā' (Translation and notes by Titus Burckhardt), Etudes Traditionnelles, October-November 1952, December 1954.
13. "je suis la Porte", Etudes Traditionnelles, June 1953, July-August 1953.
14. 'La Genèse du Temple hindou', Etudes Traditionnelles, October-November, 1953, December 1953.
15. 'Les Fondements de l'Art chrétien', Etudes Traditionnelles, April-May 1954.
16. 'Les Fondements de l'Art musulman', Etudes Traditionnelles, June 1954.
17. 'Le symbolisme du jeu des échecs', Etudes Traditionnelles, October-November, 1954.
18. 'Le Paysage dans l'Art extrême-oriental', Etudes Traditionnelles, April-May, 1955.
19. 'Commentaire succinct de la Table d'Emeraude', Etudes Traditionnelles, November-December 1960.
20. 'Considérations sur l'Alchimie (ii)', Etudes Traditionnelles, November-December 1961.
21. "Chevaucher le Tigre", Etudes Traditionnelles, July-October 1962.
22. 'Le Masque Sacré', Etudes Traditionnelles, November-December 1963.
23. 'Cosmologie et Science moderne', Etudes Traditionnelles, May-June, 1964, July-October, 1964, January-February 1965, March-April 1965, May-August 1965.
24. 'La Prière d'Ibn Mashāsh', Etudes Traditionnelles, January-February 1967.
25. 'Mise all point en ce qui concerne l'édition française du livre Alchemie: Sinn-und Weltbild', Etudes Traditionnelles, January-February 1967.
26. 'Le Vide dans l'Art Islamique', Hermés, 1970.
27. 'Caractères perennes de l'art arabe', Journal of World History, 1972.
28. 'Fès, une ville humaine' (causerie faite le 21 avril 1973 dans le palais du Pacha devant les membres de l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Fès), Etudes Traditionnelles, July-September 1984.
29. 'Note sur le Prophète Mohammed', in Formes et Substance dans les Religions by Frithjof Schuon, pp. 86-87 (Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1975).

30. Prèface à Islam, Perspectives et Rèalités by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Paris, Buchet-Chastel, 1975).
31. 'Les Sciences traditionnelles à Fès', Etudes Traditionnelles, October-December 1977.
32. 'Le Retour d'Ulysse', Etudes Traditionnelles, January-March 1979.
33. 'Fès et l'Art de l'Islam', in Actes du Séminaire expérimental d'Animation Culturelle, 7 mars-28 avril 1978, Fonds international pour la Promotion de la Culture, UNESCO, Conferences, volume I, pp. 109- 119, 1980.
34. 'La Danse du Soleil', Connaissance des Religions (Nancy, France), 19 8 5.

TRANSLATIONS FROM ARABIC INTO FRENCH

De l'Homme Universel (Traduction partielle de 'Al-Ins n al-K mil' de 'Abd al-Kar m al-J l ). With an introduction by the translator. Lyons, Derain, 1953; Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1975.

1. La Sagesse des Proph tes (Traduction partielle des 'Fu e  al- ikam' de Ibn 'Arab ). With an Introduction by the translator. Paris, Albin Michel, 1955 and 1974.
2. Lettres d'un Maitre Soufi (Traduction partielle des 'Ras il' de Moulay al-'Arab  ad-Darq w ). With an Introduction by the translator. Milan, Arch , 1978; Paris, Dervy-Livres, 1978.

BOOKS IN ENGLISH

1. An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine (translated from the French by D. M. Matheson), Lahore, Ashraf, 1959; Wellingborough, England, Thorsons, 1976; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.
2. Siena, City of the Virgin (translated from the German by Margaret Brown), Oxford University Press, 1960.
3. Famous Illuminated Manuscripts (partial translation of Von wunderbaren B chern), Olten and Lausanne, Urs Graf Verlag, 1964.
4. Sacred Art in East and West (translated from the French by Lord Northbourne), Bedfont, Middlesex, England, Perennial Books, 1967.
5. Alchemy: Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul (translated from the German by William Stoddart), London, Stuart and Watkins, 1967; Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1972.
6. Moorish Culture in Spain (translated from the German by Alisa Jaffa), London, Allen and Unwin, 1972; New York, McGraw-Hill, 1972; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1999.

7. Art of Islam: Language and Meaning (translated from the French by Peter Hobson), London, Islamic Festival Trust Ltd, 1976.
8. Mystical Astrology, according to Ibn 'Arabi (translated from the French by Bulent Rauf), Sherbourne, England, Beshara, 1977.
9. Fez, City of Islam (translated from the German by William Stoddart), Cambridge, England, Islamic Texts Society, 1997.
10. Mirror of the Intellect: Essays on Traditional Science and Sacred Art (translated by William Stoddart), Cambridge, England, Quinta Essentia, 1987.
11. Chartres and the Genesis of the Gothic Cathedral (translated by Peter Hobson), Golgonozza Press, 1995.

ARTICLES IN ENGLISH

1. 'Principles and Methods of Traditional Art', in Art and Thought (Coomaraswamy Festschrift), London, Luzac, 1947.
2. 'The Spirit of Islamic Art', Islamic Quarterly (London), December 1954.
3. Foreword to The Meaning of Icons by Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky (translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer), Boston, The Boston Book and Art Shop, 1956; Crestwood, New York, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1983.
4. 'Insight into Alchemy', Tomorrow, Winter, 1964; Studies in Comparative Religion, Summer-Autumn 1979.
5. 'Cosmology and Modern Science', Tomorrow, Summer 1964, Autumn 1964, Winter 1965. Also included in Sword of Gnosis (edited by Jacob Needleman), Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1974.
6. 'Because Dante is Right', Tomorrow, Summer 1966.
7. 'Perennial Values in Islamic Art', Al-Abhath, March 1967; Studies in Comparative Religion, Summer 1967; in God and Man in Contemporary Islamic Thought, Beirut, Centennial, 1972; in Sword of Gnosis (edited by Jacob Needleman), Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1974.
8. 'Islamic Surveys: Four Works by Seyyed Hossein Nasr', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter 1968.
9. 'The Symbolism of Chess', Studies in Comparative Religion, Spring 1969.
10. 'Teilhard de Chardin (I)', Studies in Comparative Religion, Spring 1969.
11. 'The Seven Liberal Arts and the West Door of Chartres Cathedral', Studies in Comparative Religion, Summer 1969; also Winter-Spring 1985.
12. 'The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Paradise of Vaikuntha', Studies in Comparative Religion, Winter 1970.

13. 'The Void in Islamic Art', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Spring 1970; also Winter-Spring 1985.
14. Note on the Prophet Mohammed, in *Dimensions of Islam* by Frithjof Schuon, pp. 69-70 (London, Allen and Unwin, 1970).
15. 'Arab or Islamic Art?', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter 1971; also in *Sword of Gnosis* (edited by Jacob Needleman), Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1974.
16. 'Abstract Art in Ancient Fez', *Du (Zürich)*, March 1972.
17. Foreword to *Geometric Concepts in Islamic Art* by Issam El-Said and Ayse Parman, London, Islamic Festival Trust Ltd, 1976.
18. 'Introduction to Islamic Art' in *The Arts of Islam*, catalogue to the special exhibition in the Hayward Gallery, London, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976.
19. 'The Prayer of Ibn Mashish', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1978; *Islamic Quarterly*, September 1978.
20. 'The Return of Ulysses', *Parabola*, November 1978.
21. 'Concerning the "Barzakh"', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1979.
22. 'Fez', in *The Islamic City*, UNESCO, Paris, 1980, pp. 166-176.
23. Preface to R. W. J. Austin's translation of Ibn 'Arabâ's *The Bezels of Wisdom* (*FuÄeÄ al-Äikam*), London, S.P.C.K., 1980; Ramsey, New Jersey, The Paulist Press, 1980; Suhail Academy, Lahore, 1985.
24. 'The Sacred Mask', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1980.
25. 'Teilhard de Chardin (II)', in *The Destruction of the Christian Tradition* by Rama Coomaraswamy, pp. 211-212. Bedfont, Middlesex, England, Perennial Books, 1981.
26. 'The Role of Fine Arts in Muslim Education', in *Philosophy, Literature and Fine Arts* (edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), Sevenoaks, Kent, England, Islamic Education Series, 1982.
27. 'Traditional Science', *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1985.
28. Two short extracts from *Schweizer Volkskunst*, *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Winter-Spring 1985.
29. 'The Spirituality of Islamic Art', in *The Encyclopaedia of World Spirituality*, vol. 20 (edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.

30. ‘The Universality of Sacred Art’, in *The Unanimous Tradition* (edited by Ranjit Fernando), The Institute of Traditional Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1992.

TRANSLATIONS FROM ARABIC INTO FRENCH AND THEN INTO ENGLISH

1. Letters of a Sufi Master (partial translation of the ‘Rasūl’ of Mulay al-‘Arabā ad-Darqāwā), Bedfont, Middlesex, Perennial Books, 1973; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.
2. The Wisdom of the Prophets (partial translation of ‘Fuḍūl al-Āikam’ by Ibn ‘Arabā), Sherbourne, Beshara, 1975; Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, 1985, 1999.
3. Universal Man (partial translation of ‘Al-Insān al-Kāmil’ by ‘Abd al-Karām al-Jālā), Sherbourne, Beshara, 1983.

BOOKS IN ITALIAN

1. L’Alchimia (translated from the German by Angela Terzani Staude), Turin, Boringhieri, 1961; (translated from the French by Ferdinando Bruno), Milan, Guanda, 1981.
2. Scienza moderna e Saggezza tradizionale, translated from the German by Angela Terzani Staude), Turin, Borla, 1968.
3. Siena, Città della Vergine (translated from the German by Gisella Burgisser), Milan, Archè, 1978.
4. L’Arte sacra in Oriente e Occidente (translated from the French by Elena Bono), Milan, Rusconi, 1976.
5. Introduzione alle Dottrine esoteriche dell’Islam (translated from the French by Barbara Turco), Rome, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1979.
6. Simboli (translated from the French by Elisabetta Bonfanti Mutti), Parma, All’Insegna del Veltro, 1983.
7. Chiave spirituale dell’Astrologia musulmana (translated from the French), Genoa, Basilisco, 1985.

ARTICLES IN ITALIAN

‘Una Chiave spirituale dell’Astrologia secondo Muhyiddin ibn ‘Arabi’, Rivista di Studii Iniziatici, Naples, August-October 1947.

Nota sul Profeta Mohamed in Forma e Sostanza nelle Religioni di Frithjof Schuon (Roma, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1984).

TRANSLATIONS FROM ARABIC INTO FRENCH AND THEN INTO ITALIAN

1. L'Uomo Universale (translated from the French by Giorgio Jannaccone), Rome, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1981.
2. La Sapienza dei Profeti (translated from the French by Giorgio Jannaccone), Rome, Edizioni Mediterranee, 1987.
3. Lettere d'un Maestro Sufi (translated from the French by Giorgio Jannaccone), Milan, La Queste, 1987.

BOOKS IN SPANISH

1. Alquimia (translated by Ana María de la Fuente), Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1971.
2. La Civilización Hispano-Arabe (translated by Rosa Kulme Braban), Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1977.
3. Esoterismo Islámico (translated by Jesús García Varela), Madrid, Taurus Ediciones, 1980.
4. Sabiduría Tradicional y Gencia Moderna (translated by Jordí Quingles and Alejandro Corniero), Madrid, Taurus Ediciones, 1980.
5. Símbolos (translated by Francesc Gutiérrez), Mallorca, José J. de Olañeta, 1982.
6. Principios y Métodos del Arte sagrado, Buenos Aires, 1984.

ARTICLES IN SPANISH

Nota sobre el Profeta Mohámed en Forma e Sustancia en las Religiones por Frithjof Schuon, capítulo sobre Mohámed (Madrid, Taurus Ediciones, 1981). 'El Simbolismo del Ajedrez', Cielo y Tierra (Barcelona), No. I, 1982. 'El Arte sagrado', Cielo y Tierra (Barcelona), No. 6, 1983/1984.

BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO URDU

1. Islāmī Fan, Urdu translation of Art of Islam, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, in preparation.
2. Ta‘limat i Ta‘awwuf kā Ta‘ruf, Urdu translation of Introduction to the Sufi Doctrine, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, in preparation.
3. Ruq‘at i Darqawâ, Urdu translation of Letters of a Sufi Master, Lahore, in preparation.

ARTICLES TRANSLATED INTO URDU

1. 'Kawniyat awr Jadâd Nafsiyat', Part V of 'Cosmology and Modern Science', translated from English by Mu‘ammad Suheyl ‘Umar, in Riwâyat, Vol. I, Maktabah Riwâyat, Lahore, 1983, pp. 387-422.
2. Review of Introduction to the Sufi Doctrine, in Riwâyat, Vol. II, Maktabah Riwâyat, Lahore, 1985, pp. 381-385.

3. Review of Wisdom of the Prophets, in *Riwāyat*, Vol. II, Maktabah *Riwāyat*, Lahore, 1985, pp. 396-7.
4. Review of Letters of a Sufi Master, in *Riwāyat*, Vol. II, Maktabah *Riwāyat*, Lahore, 1985, pp. 398-400.

BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO PERSIAN

Hunar dar Islām, Translated by Aḥmad ḥarīrī, Tehran.

Hunar i Muqaddas dar Sharq o Gharb, Translated by Aḥmad ḥarīrī, Tehran.

ARTICLES TRANSLATED INTO PERSIAN

1. ‘Perennial Values in Islamic Art’, translated from the French into Persian by S. H. Nāṣir, as “Arzish hā i Javādān i Hunar i Dānā”, in *Muqādat dar Hunar i Dānā, Sazmān i Jashn Hunar i Shāhīz*, Takht Jamshād, Tehran, 1349.

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN: SUMMARY ACTIVITY REPORT – 1997-1999

PREAMBLE

The ‘Activity Report’ that follows is not exhaustive. It is, nevertheless, true to its minute details. We have neither exaggerated nor inflated the report since, in matters of performance evaluation, understatement and honest narrative is preferable to apparently impressive accounts of performance that, as a matter of fact, are made up of incorrect information.

It is, however, a matter of satisfaction that, in hindsight, we find our performance, even in its brief, to be such in which we all can take pride; the Director and the members of the Governing Body.

Money that Matters

Institutions need financial resources to maintain themselves and to carry out activities in accordance with their charter of duties. Either they generate their own resources or these are provided to them by the enabling bodies/supporting agencies. The Iqbal Academy Ordinance clearly states that “The funds of the Academy shall comprise of grants from the Central Government and the Provincial Governments....”.

All this is so evident and almost a platitude that to talk about “Money that Matters” and to report on it looks like an anomaly. But this anomaly is called for by an other. In financial terms the last two years had been difficult and we had to struggle very hard to overcome the series of crises that assailed the Academy. In the detailed Report Document we have reproduced some of the details of our ordeal. Salient points about securing the financial situation of the Academy are summarised below:

- THE IQBAL AWARD FUNDS (Rs. 2, 19, 000) SALVAGED
- RESTORATION OF CONFISCATED AMOUNT OF RS. 7, 56, 300 ACCOMPLISHED
- APPROVAL OBTAINED FOR 33, 80, 000 AS RECURRENT BUDGET 1999-2000 BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

- ADDITIONAL AMOUNT OF RS 3, 83, 000 OBTAINED TO COVER THE DEFICIT IN THE RECURRENT BUDGET 1998-99.
- APPROVAL OF SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT GRANT OF RS. ONE MILLION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.
- RESTORATION OF ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT BUDGET (Rs. 2,50, 000) FROM THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT.
- APPROVAL OF DEVELOPMENT GRANT OF RS. 1.5 MILLION FOR THE IQBAL ACADEMY LIBRARY BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.
- ENHANCED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM INFIAQ FOUNDATION

FUNDS IN THE OFFING

- SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT GRANT FOR THE IQBAL ACADEMY LIBRARY BY THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT. (App. 1.5 MILLION)
- ADDITIONAL BUDGET FOR PAYMENT OF PENDING UTILITY CHARGES TO THE AUTHORITY FOR AIWAN-E-IQBAL. (RS. 30, 54, 545)

Website Development First detailed and in-depth Website of Iqbal was designed, developed and hosted.

- Comprises of six distinct but internally linked sections that cover all the essential aspects of Iqbal's life and thought.
- The second phase of addition of contents, languages, sound, and interactive query module is in progress.

FILM ON IQBAL

- Project of a serial/film on Iqbal undertaken in collaboration with the Iranian Cultural Centre
- Researched, supervised and developed in the Academy in its entirety.
- The first phase i.e. of the script material was completed with the help of a committee of three scholars.
- Second phase of collaboration in progress.

Iqbal Award

- Presidential Iqbal Award (National) distributed for 1985-87 and 88-90.

- Awarded to six scholars on 9th November 1997 for the best books on Iqbal in Urdu, English and Punjabi.
- National Presidential Awards for 1991-1993 have been finalised.
- Awards for 1994-1996 are in process.
- Presidential Iqbal Award International (1947-81).
Awarded to Dr. A. Schimmel on her English Book Gabriel's Wing. The award has the cash prize of US\$ 5000 along with a Gold Medal.
- International Iqbal Awards for 1982 onwards are in process.

Publications

Books

1997-1999 witnessed the publication of 26 titles:

- Thirteen Titles in Urdu
- Seven Titles in English
- One Title in Arabic
- Three Titles in Persian
- One Title in Cyrillic
- One Title in Punjabi
- ▶ 5 New Books Forthcoming
- ▶ 6 Reprints of Books Forthcoming
- ▶ 5 Books in Process (Editing /Preparation)
- ▶ One Hundred and Fourteen manuscripts dealt in the period

Some Published: few Rejected: A large number in Process

Journals

1997-1999 witnessed the publication of 8 Journals:

- Three in Urdu
- Five in English

- 6 Journals in Process (Printing/Editing /Preparation)
- 122 Articles Received & Evaluated (Iqbal Review)
- 58 Articles Received & Evaluated (Iqbaliyat)

Iqbal for Children

- Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Urdu)—Simplified Annotations
A special edition of the Kulliyat i Iqbal (Urdu) was planned that was specially geared for the use of children and less qualified readers that contains text and simplified, brief annotations.
- Reading Material for Children
Listing and Survey of the existing Iqbal material for children was completed. Iqbal scholars analysed the material. Selections/ proposals prepared.

PROJECTS, PLANS & IDEAS

1. Projects in Progress

1. 1 In House Projects

1.1.1 Research and Compilation

Title	Editor	Language	Pages	Supervision	
Kalam I Iqbal (Urdu) — Glosses and exegetical notes	Ahmad Javid	Urdu	2300 in mss.	M. S. Umar	Con the Jibr atta

Iqbal for Children	—	—	—	—	Prel Sur
Iqbaliyat i Ma‘arif (Selection and compilation of articles on Iqbal from the files of Ma‘arif 1900-1988)	M. S. Umar	Urdu	7 vols	—	Con

1.1.2 Translation

Title	Translator	Language	Pages	Supervision	Re
The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam	Dr. Wahid Ishrat	Urdu	200	M. S. Umar	Completed Review.
Iqbal Studies — Schimmel	Asghar Niazi	English to Urdu	250	M. S. Umar	75% comp draft
Zinda Rud — Notes	Asghar Niazi	Urdu to English	180	M. S. Umar	Completed

1.1.3 Annotation/Index/Editing

Title	Author/Editor	Language	Pg s	Subject
Qirtas i Iqbal	M. Munawwar/Anwar Javid	Urdu	317	Simplified interpretation Iqbal's ideas.
Kalam i Iqbal	Yasmin /Anwar Javid	Urdu	30	Index

(Urdu) - Misra' war Ishariyah			0	
Iqbal on Human Perfection	M. Munawwar/M. S. Umar	English	30	Key concepts of Iqbal
Tashil Zaboor	I A Khan/Wahid Ishrat	Urdu	25	Simplification, translation.

1.1.4 Audio Projects

Title	Supervision	Language	Remarks
Kulliyat I Iqbal Audio	M. S. Umar	Urdu	Masters prepared on Digital Reproduction, hosting on the conversion into CDs in progress.

1.1.5 Iqbal Archives Project

Title	Supervision	Language	Subject	Remarks
Photograph Archives	M. S. Umar	English	Preservation, cataloguing, detailed referencing and annotation. Scanning and conversion into Database.	80% work completed. Details prepared in financial year.
Archives of Letters	M. S. Umar/ M. Ikram	English/ Urdu	Collection, preservation, cataloguing, referencing and annotation. Scanning and	75% work completed. collections, preservation,

	Chaghatai		conversion Database.	into scanning and be prepared financial year.
Archives of Manuscripts	M. S. Umar/ M. Ikram Chaghatai	English/ Urdu	Collection, preservation, cataloguing, referencing and annotation. Scanning and conversion into Database.	90% work completed. preservation, scanning and be prepared financial year.
Archives of Articles & Documents	M. S. Umar/ M. Ikram Chaghatai	English/ Urdu	Collection, preservation, cataloguing and referencing. Scanning and conversion into Database.	50% work of completed. M collections, cl preservation and Database prepared in the financial year.
Audio Archives	M. S. Umar/ Irshad ul-Mujib	English/ Urdu/ Persian	Collection, preservation, cataloguing. Scanning and conversion into Database. Hosting on the Web.	Collection 75% More cataloguing to be prepared financial year.
Video Archives	M. S. Umar/ Irshad ul-Mujib		Collection, preservation, cataloguing. Scanning and conversion into Database. Hosting on the Web.	Collection More cataloguing to be prepared financial year.

1.1.6 Library Development Projects

Title	Supervision	Subject	Remarks

Library Automation	M.S. Umar	True multilingual Library data base	Planning and fund process. To be taken financial year.
Improvement of holdings and services	M.S. Umar		Funds obtained. To be taken in the next financial year.

1.1.7 Multimedia Projects

Title	Supervision	Subject	Remarks
Data base of Iqbal Scholars	M.S. Umar	Window based database for record and retrieval	First phase of design successfully completed. In progress. Category assignment in progress.
Website	M.S. Umar		See separate entry
Film on Iqbal	M.S. Umar		See separate entry
Works of Iqbal (Pilot project)	M.S. Umar	Search and query on Iqbal's Reconstruction	Pilot project completed.

1.2 Projects by Associated Scholars

1.2 .1 Research and Compilation

Title	Author/Editor	Language	Subject	Remarks
Bibliography of Iqbal Studies 1947-1997	Dr. Rafi' ud Din Hashimi	Urdu	Annotated bibliography of works on Iqbal in all languages	First draft completed through the end of 1997.

(Kitabiyat-i-Iqbal)			languages from 1947-1999	additional arrivals. The cell is looking for additional arrivals. The cell is looking for additional arrivals.
Kulliyat i Baqiyat i Iqbal	Dr. Sabir Kalurwi	Urdu	Collection, analysis and compilation of all the material of Baqiyat.	90% work done
Schimmel's Collection (Iqbal Studies) II volumes.	M. Ikram Chagahtai	Urdu/ English	Collection, editing and compilation of the articles of Schimmel on Iqbal and the Islamic Civilisation.	Prepared over to the
Iqbal and Goethe	M. Ikram Chagahtai	Urdu/ English / Persian / German	Collection, editing and compilation of articles on Iqbal and Goethe.	Prepared over to the % work of complete Finances sought after

1. 2. 2 Annotation/Index/Editing

Title	Author/Editor	Language	Subject	Remarks
Editing and annotating the Iqbal Nama	Dr. Tehsin Firaqi	Urdu	Collation/ comparison and editing of the text of the letters and providing notes and annotations.	Finished collation/comparison first draft with letters, went through typography and text of the first

				work of annotation volume reached
The Development of Metaphysics in Persia	M. Iqbal/ Saeed Sheikh	English	Editing of the text and providing notes and annotations.	Text prepared over; annotation draft.

1. 2. 3 Archiving Projects

Title	Editor	Language	Subject	
Iqbal Archives Scanned from: Collection of the Iqbal Academy Library. Collection of the Urdu Science Board Library. Rif'at Sultaana Collection in the Punjab Public Library. Collection of the Iqbal Museum. Collection of the National Museum Karachi. Collection of the National Archives Islamabad. Collection of the Iqbal Manzil, Sialkot.	M Ikram Chaghatali	Urdu/ English / Persian / German .	Scanning, selection and collection from various places; classification and cataloguing in the next stage.	Colle mer Ist scanc requ was for Arc Clas cata nex year

1. 2. 4 Multimedia Projects

Title	Supervisor	Language	Subject	Re

Website— II phase	M. S. Umar	—	Addition of contents, languages, sound, and interactive query module to the Website of the Academy.	Preliminary made, preparation completed
-------------------	------------	---	---	---

1. 3 Projects in Collaboration
 1. 3. 1 Collaboration with other Organisations and Institutions

Title	Collaborators	Language	Subject	Re
Works of Iqbal- Pilot project	IAP/ Two groups of 4 students from BCCI Foundation for the Advancement of Science and Technology	English	Interactive Database-Pilot project based on various works of Iqbal	Pilot project successfully this give guidelines for the larg
Asian Renaissance Project: Iqbal and the Asian Renaissance KL	IAP/ IKD Institute Kajian Dasar (Institute for Policy Research) Malaysia.	English/ Malay	Grand International Conference	Very success arranged.
Poems from Iqbal by Victor Kiernan	IAP/ Oxford University Press	English	Collaboration for publication programme	Forthcomi

Joint venture for publishing books/manuscripts	IAP/ Fazlee Sons	--	Collaboration for publication programme	In progress
Joint venture for publishing books/manuscripts	IAP/ Nuqush Press	--	Collaboration for publication programme	In progress
Sale Promotion	IAP/ Sound Vision, Chicago, USA		Promotion of Academy's productions for the America and Europe	Collaboration and transaction successful
Website-Phase I	IAP/ Golden Jubilee Cell, Islamabad		Collaborated with the Academy for the Iqbal Website project of the Academy.	Wesite completed with the sole support of the Academy
Collaboration for projects: Film/Books/Journal	IAP/ Iranian Culture Centre		Collaboration with the Academy for the film project	Three books assisted by the project and are in progress
Titus Burkhardt and the Islamic Arts	IAP/ Al-Mawsamiyat al-Murrakushiyah	Arabic /French	International Conference	Successful 1999.
Mulla Sadra Congress	IAP/ Iranian Academy of Philosophy	English/Persian	International Conference on Sadr al-Din Shirazi	Successful 1999.
Asian Renaissance Project: Jamal al-Din Afghani	IAP/ IKD		International Conference on Jamal al-Din Afghani	Planned for 2000

Asian Renaissance Project: R. N. Tagore	IAP/ IKD		International Conference on R. N. Tagore	Planned for
International Bilal Conference	IAP/ International Bilal Forum	English	International Conference on Sayyidina Bilal	Planned for
Turkish Iqbaliyat and Exchange	IAP/ Science and Art Foundation Istanbul	English/ Turkish	Collaboration for Iqbal studies in Turkish	Initial stage

1. 3. 2 Individual Collaboration

Title	Collaborators	Language	Subject	Role
Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Urdu)—Financial assistance	IAP/Shafiq Naz	Urdu	Simplified Annotations for Children	See separate
Iqbal aur Qur'an-- Financial assistance	IAP/Ghulam Mustafa Khan	Urdu	Academic research Publication	Publisher
Gabriel's Wing	IAP/Shafiq Naz	English	Revised reprint of the book	Collaborator joint publisher
Call of the Marching Bell (Bang i Dara)	IAP/ M A K Khalil (Canada)	English	English translation of Bang i Dara	Full financial and assistance
Safar Nama I Iqbal	Hamza Farooqi	Urdu		Partial support

				assistance
Iqbal Baluchistan	aur In‘am Kawsar	al-Haq Urdu		Partial support assistance

2. Project Planning

Along with actively monitoring the ongoing projects, considerable efforts were diverted towards planning for the future projects. Shift in the focus of attention of the Academy. 28 Monumental and ambitious projects chalked out.

3. Ideas

35 plans at the initial stage of conception. Not yet received attention for active planning. Considerable time has been spent delineating the ideas that give them the underpinning.

Outreach Activities

OUT REACH IS A PLETHORA OF ACTIVITIES INCORPORATING MANY STRATEGIES AND EMPLOYING VARIOUS LEVELS AND MODES OF ACTION. DURING THESE YEARS, ITS MULTIFACETED MANIFESTATION HAS TAKEN THE FORMS THAT WE DESCRIBE HEREUNDER.

- 11 International Conferences, Seminars or Celebrations Arranged
- 7 National Conferences, Seminars or Celebrations Arranged
- PROJECTION ABROAD

Projection of Iqbal's thought was accomplished through various means in China Indonesia Canada Tajikistan Europe Egypt Al-Azhar Belgium Malaysia Turkmenistan Bangladesh Hungary Karghigistan

- 20 International and 16 National Exhibitions of the following were arranged during the years 1997 - 99:

Academy's books

Academy's Journals

Iqbal's Memorabilia and personal effects

Iqbal's Translations into National and International Languages

Iqbal's Manuscripts and first editions of his works

Iqbal's Letters

Iqbal's Photographs

Paintings and Illustrations on Iqbal Themes

Audio and Videos on Iqbal

- RESEARCH GUIDANCE

► Visiting Scholars: Three international scholars associated themselves with the Academy

► Research Guidance Services: 47 persons benefited from the Research Guidance Services

► 483 persons benefited from the general academic guidance.

- QUERIES

More than 5000 queries were entertained analysed and responses sent.

- Academic Assistance /Donation of Books, Journals, Audio and Video productions, Photographs and Other Material

Scholars from various parts of the world were entertained and assisted in their research on Iqbal. Books on Iqbaliyat and other material donated to 211 scholars and 9 institutions in Pakistan and 66 scholars and institutions abroad. Photocopies of required material was also provided to a large number of scholars.

- Affiliations

► Iqbal Academy Canada

► Iqbal Society Tajikistan

- Financial Assistance

During this period lack of resources did not allow us to provide financial assistance to individual scholars, institutions or affiliated bodies.

- Memberships
 - 13 Life Memberships during 1997-99.
 - 18 Annual Memberships during 1997-99.

- Visitors

INDIVIDUALS /DELEGATIONS

Hundreds of visitors/guests from Pakistan and from various other countries were received, attended and assisted by the Academy.

LIBRARY SERVICES

Library services -- an important aspect of out reach activity. Following is the resume.

- CURRENT AWARENESS SERVICES:
- RESEARCH/COMPILATION PROJECTS
- READER'S INFORMATION SERVICE:
- LIBRARY AUTOMATION
- BIBLIOGRAPHIES/INDEXES PREPARED:
- ASSISTANCE TO VISITING SCHOLARS/RESEARCHERS:
- CATERING OF SOURCE MATERIAL/INFORMATION TO NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS/INDIVIDUALS:
- CORRESPONDENCE:
- TECHNICAL SERVICES:
- CLIPPING SERVICE:
- COLLECTION OF ARTICLES (SELECTED SUBJECTS) FROM PERIODICALS:
- CIRCULATION SERVICES:
- ACQUISITIONS:
- EXCHANGE PROGRAM:
- INTER LIBRARY LOAN:
- MISCELLANEOUS

SALES

Vigorous sales policy adopted; Increased efforts to boost up sales of Books, Journals, Cassettes etc. Total Sales proceeds for 1997-99 (Rs. 928267) highest in the last two decades.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

- DIA published two books and one booklet on Iqbal studies in Urdu, Persian and English,
- Presented 18 Articles, Translations, Speeches
- Edited 16 Works
- Provided Research Guidance
- Developed and hosted the Iqbal Website
- Attended five International Conferences abroad and presented papers: Turkey, Canada, Malaysia, Belgium and Morocco.
- Represented the Academy on various forums, official and literary meetings
- Planned for future projects
- Edited Iqbal Review, Iqbaliyat
- Explored avenues and plans for donations and government funds and generated resources
- Routine duties performed: Office/ file work, management and accounts, reading, going through fresh arrivals, clippings from Periodicals, project monitoring, entertaining guests and visitors

COMPUTER REVAMP

- Latest Networking System installed
- New and sophisticated software installed
- In-house technical support for projects is fully available

Activities of the Admin. & Accts. Section

- AUDITS
- BUDGET ESTIMATES & BUDGET APPROPRIATION
- ACR's
- SERVICE BOOKS
- RESTRUCTURING; DOWNSIZING
- PENSIONS GIVEN, HOUSEING

- ROUTINE DUTIES OF DRAWING, DISBURSING,
INTERACTION WITH THE MINISTRY,
- CORRESPONDENCE, LOOKING AFTER DAY TO DAY
AFFAIRS ETC.
- EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
- GOVERNING BODY
- PERIODICAL ACTIVITIES

Rules for Self-Financing of Books

Rules for Collaboration

Rules for Affiliation

PROBLEMS & DELAY

- Allama Iqbal's Old Residence
- Office Interiors
- Aiwan i Iqbal
- Lack of Space
- Iqbal Awards

ANNOUNCEMENT

On the start of the new millennium serial nos. of Iqbal Review have been interchanged with those of Iqbaliyat. However, volume number would remain the same.

The October 1999 issue of Iqbal Review i.e. Volume 40 No. 3 has been combined with No. 4.

The volume 40 will now consist of three issues only

The readers are requested to note the change

MUHAMMAD SUHEYL UMAR

Editor