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SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN AND ALLAMA IQBAL IN SRI LANKA

M. M. M. MAHROOF

The Muslims of Sri Lanka have been established in Sri Lanka upwards of a millennium and are since an important community in the Island.^[1] The Muslims are, for Census-purposes at least, divided into Quasi-ethnic segments. The great majority of the Muslims of Sri Lanka are the descendants of the Arab settlers.^[2] The Malays, some 40,000 in number, are the descendants of the exiles and soldiers whom the Dutch brought in from Indonesia or the Dutch East Indies, as they were called in the eighteenth century, as well as of the soldiers recruited by the British from Malaya.^[3] There are several sub-communities among the Muslims. They include the Memons, Sunni Muslims from Sind and Gujrat and the Bohra Shi'ah Muslims from roughly the same area; they number only a few thousand.^[4] The other branch of the Shi'ah the Khojas, are very small in number. There is also a minor sub-community of Faqirs, a group of 'holy mendicants'.^[5]

Sri Lanka underwent colonial occupation under the Portuguese (1505-1656), the Dutch (1656-1796) and the British (1796-1948).^[6] The Portuguese and the Dutch occupations proved traumatic to the Muslims for both of these Powers were committed to the imposition of economic and religious constraints on the Muslims. In order to foreshadow the religious thrust, for the Portuguese were fervent Roman Catholics and the Dutch were rigid Calvinists, the Muslims adopted a low profile, a defensive stance. This resulted in the creation of a 'ghetto-like environment', advance to join state schools, and dissociation from national affairs.^[7]

This defensive status quo continued even under the British dispensation, when there was an open economic policy.^[8]

However, the later economic developments in Sri Lanka, the emergence of English language as communicating and social force, were not without their obvious impact and made the Western modes of education essential. The leaders of the Muslim community, headed by Mohamed Cassim Siddi Lebbe

(lawyer; educationist, editor, literate) were seeking a mode of introducing education to Muslims. One form it took was the establishment of 'Special Mohammedan School'. In his Report for 1886, the Director of Public Instructions stated the nature and practice of these schools.

The experiment in the matter of education of the Mohammedans which I inaugurated, paid its dividends and the Kandy Government school has been fairly successful. An Arabic teacher was appointed to that school in January 1st 1885. The children of Mohammedan parents learn their Qur'an before the regular school begins. They then have an hour's Arabic teaching for secular Arabic during school hours while for the rest of the school session they learn the ordinary subjects in Sinhala and Tamil. A very fair number of Moorish pupils also now attend the school under the friendly inducement of this compromise with their own system of teaching. Before this few came to school.^[9]

While this was, according to the Muslim leaders, a step in the right direction, the anxiety of the ordinary Muslim was not so easily assuaged.

The ordinary Muslim correlated English and Western type of education by accepting Western values, especially Christian values. Although the Muslims of Sri Lanka were not the targeted population for the Christian missionaries, their stance was nevertheless forbidding to the lay Muslim mind. The Anglicans were the Established Church and had the requisite perquisites, including the superintendence of the schools. But over-confidence and inevitability of their success was common to all Christian missions and filled the ordinary Muslim with disquiet. Even as late as in the year 1909, the official journal of the Roman Catholic Church in Ceylon could write,

Nothing can check her (i.e. Roman Catholic Church's) progress because she is endowed with a divine vitality and a supernatural power... because she is the true religion and the truth will always win.^[10]

The Muslims of Ceylon had two solutions to fall back on. One was the revival of the madrasahs, the centres of traditional learning. The other was the 'Islamisation of higher secular learning'. Both schools of thought had

their exclusive supporters. the former being favoured by the conservatives and the other by the younger more open-minded Muslims.

The 19th century saw the revitalisation of the madrasah system in India and the madrasah at Lucknow was one of the first to be instituted. Later institutionalized madrasahs were established at Vellore, Madras, Kayalpattina, Porto Nuova and at many other places in India.

Muslim students of Ceylon studied at many of these institutions. When madrasahs were officially set up in Ceylon, many of the teachers in Indian madrasahs took up positions as principals and staff members of Ceylon madrasahs.^[11] Solai Zavia in Galle on the southern sea-board of Sri Lanka, was one of the earliest Madrasahs to be set up in Ceylon.^[12] The Madrasah ul Bari was established at Welligama close to Galle) in 1884 and the Madrasah ul-Ibrahimiyya at Galle in 1882.^[13]

The educated middle class and the intelligentsia (both were not mutually congruent groups) however, were convinced that madrasah education was not a complete answer. When learning was increasing among the other communities, Muslims had to make room for it, without being swamped with Western values. The educational efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan seemed to be an effective solution. The realisation of Sir Syed's dream in 1877, when Lord Lytton formally inaugurated the Aligarh College, filled the hearts of the Muslim intelligentsia in Colombo with hope and delight.

Sir Syed, appeared to the Muslim intelligentsia in Ceylon in different lights. He was, for instance, the descendant of Mogul functionaries and was able to adapt himself to the demands of the British bureaucracy but without tainting himself as an 'assimilare'. While at home in matters English*, he dressed traditionally and practiced Islamic way of life. There was no posing and no 'passing off'. He could be 'honoured by the British with titles and dignities and yet he was critical of them. He was treated as an equal by the British; he was not a fawning member of a subject race. Above all, he wanted to bring the Muslims into the mainstream of Indian life but without their losing their own identity. His Aligarh achievement was seen in that light.

But the ground realities in Ceylon, nevertheless were different. There could not be a sense of Mogul supremacy or its benign government. There were no Muslim principalities, big or otherwise. There was no traditional Muslim bureaucracy. There was not even a broad base of Muslim landowners. There was, of course, no demand for establishment of higher secular education for Muslims in Ceylon, elementary education itself being so difficult to pursue by Muslims (There was, however, traditional education, vigorous and active but opposed to English and secular studies). The Ceylonese middle-class was, largely, composed of traders and rentiers who were heirs of affluent traders. The Ceylonese intellectuals saw Sir Syed in a Ceylon setting. A Muslim man of letters and a committed Muslim activist in the opening years of this century, wrote, (Sir Syed) was recognized as their national leader by the Indian Mohammedans of the modern school, famous in history as the founder of the Aligarh College, about to be converted into a Mohammedan University. Sir Syed had done so much for the education and amelioration of the lot of the Muslims of India.^[14]

As education began to gradually perk up, from the beginning of the century the charismatic aura of Sir Syed as an educational reformer began to ascend. In 1906, for instance, the average attendance of Muslim pupils in Government English and Vernacular schools was 47,506.^[15]

The classification of English schools into elementary and secondary was first made in the Education Code of 1908 Regulation no 29 and 30 which dealt with this issue. Reg 29(1) made that bifurcation, and stated that in each school the work of the five lower classes should follow either Schedule A or Schedule B. Reg.29(2) stated that elementary schools were those which worked out Schedule A or B along with Drawing and Vernacular Literature. Secondary English schools were those which worked according to Schedule C of the Education Code and prepared pupils for any of the following examinations; Cambridge Junior and Senior Local Examination; the examination in Arts and Science of London University; the First in Arts Examination of any Indian University.^[16]

The apparent Anglicizing of studies created two further issues. One was the possible erosion of Islamic values in a world of Anglicisation. The other was the creation of Islam-oriented schools. In both these instances, the exemplar

of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan rose instantly in the minds of the Muslim intelligentsia in Ceylon. In a speech delivered at the Ceylon Muslim Association on February 1919 T.B. Jayah, educationist and later Cabinet Minister, expressed cogently the anxieties felt by the educated among the Muslims. After deploring the ineffective role of the Muslims in the national sphere on account of lack of education, he said.

...I welcome with feelings of genuine pleasure the moves made by my countrymen, my Muslim brothers, to start in right earnest a college in Colombo. We have talked much about it but as yet we have accomplished nothing. Of course, there are difficulties in the way. It is only craven hearts that will quail before them. The great example of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the father of English education, should inspire us to action. He set his hand to the plough and soon the Aligarh College was an accomplished fact. The question is who is going to be 'Sir Syed Ahmad Khan' of Ceylon and earn the lasting gratitude of the whole community.^[17]

Subsequently, Zahira college came up in Colombo and Jayah himself was able in 1942 to establish four of its branches. The establishment of a new constitutional structure (the Donoughmore Constitution) in Ceylon in 1931, gave the Muslims some persuasive power and they were able to prevail upon the Minister of Education to provide Government Muslim schools in many parts of Ceylon.^[18] Thus the vision of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came to be realised at the level of secondary schools in Ceylon. Hence the 'Islamisation' of education was, to some extent, realised at the secondary school level. Allama Iqbal and the Revivification of Islamic Culture in Sri Lanka.

The influence of Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal has been less specific. Allama Iqbal's influence on the Muslims of Ceylon is an interesting one, for they have no immediate access to his works in Persian and Urdu. Muslims of Sri Lanka generally have Tamil as their home language. Since Tamil is the oldest and the most intricate of the Dravidian tongue, it is difficult to pick up the accidents and syntax structures of Persian or Urdu which are basically Aryan languages^[19]. The perso-Arabic script is unknown to practically all Muslims (except perhaps the Memmons, the Bohras and the Khojas). Equally, while all Muslims can read the Holy Quran, Arabic without diacritical marks is known to limited number of Muslims of Ceylon. However. Muslims of

Ceylon. like all Muslims, have a wide stock of Arabo-Persian words, mainly of religious import but this does not help, of course, to read Iqbal's works. Yet the influence of Allama Iqbal is very much there, despite these seemingly insurmountable obstacles.^[20]

Hence, Allama Iqbal's works have been disseminated through English works and translations in Tamil, mainly from south India. About 3% of the population of Ceylon know English to some extent and in the case of the Muslims, the percentage is a little more. The English works are chiefly translations of his poetry and his Reconstruction and excerpts of these works in English books are of a general nature. The influence of Iqbal comes from these sources through percolation. Some Islamic history formed part of the Islam syllabus of the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination up to the 1960,^[21] which helped a little. But it was the rationale of the situation that encouraged the appreciation of Iqbal's works.

The translations of Iqbal's poetry into Tamil was done in Madras, mainly as a poetical exercise.-These were done by Urdu speaking (but thoroughly competent in Tamil) Muslims Some times it was done through English translations only. In these cases, the result was mainly adaptation. But the message of Iqbal came through adequately.^[22]

Yet the rationale of the situation was imperative. During the thirties and a little later, there was a cultural revival among the people of Ceylon. Since Ceylon is a small country there was predominant anxiety that Western values might sway the people. An appropriate Oriental cultural symbol was thus needed. A great many sinhalese felt drawn by the achievements of Rabindranath Tagore, as- poet, educationist and, a man of letters. In particular, his University Shansi Niketan Viswa Bharathi was well known in art circles and many sinhalese learnt there, while others took oriental Hidusthani music at Bhaktkande. (When the Art College called Heywood after the name of the house in which it was set up) was established in Colombo, its leanings were Tagorean. Likewise, the Tamils were entranced by the inspirational poetry of Subramaniya Bharathy, generally considered to be the greatest poet of the Tamil language in the first half of this century.

To the non Persian-Urdu world, which can comprehend neither the background of reference nor the literary wit, Iqbal's poetry furnishes three dynamic elements. First, it emphasizes the notion of total obedience to Allah and advocates the view that Muslims have a great destiny and a noble role to play in the world. It is a bulwark against any personal obstacles or defeats. Secondly, Iqbal's poetry glorifies the human spirit and portrays the world where a fine human sensitivity and enjoyment, within the limits set by Allah, could be pursued; indeed, should be cultivated. Thirdly, it exhorts each Muslim to develop his potentialities, subject to Allah's will (and without crass self-seeking). To these elements, are added the overtones of the rightful role of women. The rich as trustees of their riches for the needy and the sense of Islamic brotherhood. To the non-native reader who is used to the Bengalic poetry of Tagore celebrating idyllic, innocent simplicity of the past or some Urdu and Hindi poets nostalgically praising the splendours of the Mughal past. Iqbal's poetry, on the contrary, came as a breath of fresh air, ennobling the spirit and the inner self i.e. (khudi).

Iqbal's poetry, even though diluted in translations and adaptations, affected the Muslims of Sri Lanka in four ways. First, it made them look at Islamic history not as a series of episodes from a hoary past but as a book of living history, from which precedents and encouragement could be &mil. For the English educated, used to the gloomy, subterranean views of Margolouth, Muir and even Ignaz Goldziher, Iqbal's conception of Islamic history was one of dazzling light and shining deeds. Secondly, Muslims of Sri Lanka began to look upon the heritage of the Islamic world as their own to adapt and to use. Some of the affluent began to take an interest in carpets (though, carpets are uncongenial in a hot, humid environment which is Sri Lanka's), calligraphy, fine tooled leather. Even some houses built in Islamic architecture as seen, in the plates of E.W. Lane's. *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1840 came up in some parts of Ceylon. Also, the Muslims came to know with a delightful surprise, that some of their daily food was Islamic in origin, such as halwa.^[23]

Thirdly, Iqbal opened the eyes of the Muslims of Sri Lanka to worlds other than the political, which, as a minority of eight per cent of the population they could not ever conceive to dominate or encompass. These worlds included the cultural and the literary ones. Many Muslim magazines (both in

the English and Tamil languages enthusiastically took up the cultural challenge that Iqbal offered. They treated their readers to history, biography, and to other social affairs of the Islamic world, close at hand and the world over. At least, one magazine published a comparative study of Iqbal and Tamil poets.^[24] There were other worlds, as well. Islamic law in Ceylon had to be classified and codified and parts of it were compiled in the 1930s.^[25]

But the greatest thrust of Iqbal's influence on the Muslims of Sri Lanka was in his advocacy of a commitment to Islamic culture through education. In this he coalesced with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. If Iqbal's concept was less nitty-gritty compared to Sir Syed, it was more flexible and up-lifting. It was a continuing education in idealistic surroundings, with doors which opened to the entirety of Islamic culture, with cross-fertilisation among young men, teachers, scholars and ordinary men. Particularly in the world of Muslim minorities, it had a great appeal and hence a great effect.

Among the Muslim intellectuals of Sri Lanka, who were attracted to the vision of Iqbal, was the late Dr. A.M.A. Azeez a former sometime member of the Ceylon Civil Service and subsequently Principal of Zahira College, Colombo (the premier Muslim educational institution in Ceylon), educationist and Senator. In 1947 Dr. Azeez had stressed, in a speech the importance of Urdu for Muslims of Sri Lanka as a vehicle to boost religion and culture.^[26] When he became Principal of Zahira he lost no time in establishing an Iqbal Society. He had already named a Zahira College auditorium as Iqbal Hall. One of the purposes of the Iqbal Society was to invite distinguished visitors to speak on religio-cultural topics and later to bring these out as publications. Sometimes these publications reproduced lectures delivered elsewhere. For instance, the lecture delivered on Iqbal day at Lahore on 21st April 1952 by the then Finance Minister of Pakistan, Hon. Chaudhri Mohammed ali, was published in a Tamil translation entitled Iqbal Kaatiya Vail (How Iqbal Showed the Way?) by Al-Haj S.M. Kamaldeen.^[27] In his Tamil, *Ilankaiyil Islam* (Islam in Sri Lanka) a collection of essays Azeez wrote a final essay. *Iqbal Atru Padai*. (A Valediction for Iqbal) in which he encapsulated his views.^[28]

Dr. Azeez's vision of Iqbal's conceptualization was a personal one. He was of the view that Iqbal had a lotto offer to the restructuring of Islamic

thought in the Asian region. However, Azeez added some modifications of his own. He believed that Urdu should have pride of place in the intellectual environment of the Muslims. He realized, of course, that the ground situation in Ceylon determined otherwise. A Muslim student had to study familiar Shillala or Tamil and also be familiar with the other; English, he had to know for general communication. Religious duties ensured that he be familiar with at least reading ability of religious texts in Aabic Azeez also advocated the adoption of Arabic-Tamil (Tamil written in Arabic script) and widespread familiarity of Muslim tamil literature, based on Islamic themes written in chaste Tamil.

While his advocacy of the former fell short of fulfillment the second was successful.^[29]

Allama Iqbal appealed to other Muslims in a different light. As I have written elsewhere,

It is an interesting fact that prominent Muslims in Sri Lanka have been influenced by the views of Allama Iqbal. Dr. T. B. Jayah was one, Mr. A.M.A. Azeez was another. Mr. Akbar too felt the influence of Iqbal. He cited him often as, for instance, when he wrote,

“My readers should read the undying memorable words of Iqbal regarding the psychological effect of prayer and how the inflexible timing of the Islamic prayer is meant to save man from the mechanical effect of sleep and worldly business occupations”.^[30]

It is thus permissible to say that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Allama Iqbal were important influences in the intellectual history of the Muslims of Sri Lanka.

^[1] Sri Lanka was known till 1972 as Ceylon. In this article the terms, ‘Sri Lanka’, ‘Ceylon and Island’ are used synonymously according to the context. The population of Sri Lanka according to the last Census (1981) was 14,850,001 of which the Moors were 1,056,972 in number; the Malays

numbered 43,378. Statistical Pocket Book of Sri Lanka, Colombo, Department of Census and Statistics 1982, p. 12. The indigenous languages of Sri Lanka are Sinhala and Tamil.

^[2] Details in M.M.M. Mahroof & M. Azeez (compilers), *An Ethnological Survey of the Muslims of Sri Lanka* Colombo, Sir Razik Fareed Foundation, 1986.

^[3] M.M.M. Mahroof, "The Malays of Sri Lanka" in *Asian Affairs* (London, Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs) vol.xxi Pt I. (February 1990) pp. 55 seq; "Sri Lankan Malay Community; A Minority within a Minority", in *Al-Nanda*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, vol.10, nos. 3&4, July/Dec. 1990, pp. 29 seq.

^[4] Ethnological Survey. op cit, Chapter, I.

^[5] M.M.M. Mahroof, "The Faqirs of Ceylon" in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, India, vol. xli No.2, April 1967, pp.99 seq.

^[6] S.G. Perera SJ, *A History of Ceylon for Schools*, Pt I. Portuguese and Dutch Periods, and Pt. ii, British Period, (Colombo, ANCL, 1948), passim.

^[7] M.M.M. Mahroof, "Muslim Education in Ceylon 1780-1880", in *Islamic Culture* vol. xlvi No.2, April 1972, pp. 119 seq "Islamic Education in Ceylon, (Sri Lanka) 1881-1091", in *IC*, vol. xlvi No.4, October 1973, p. 301 seq. "Muslims in Sri Lanka; The Long Road to Accomodation" in *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs (JIMMA)*, London/Jeddah, vol. 11, No. I. Spring, 1990, pp.88 seq.

^[8] Ibid. Also S.H.M. Jameel, *Kalvi Chintanaikal*, (in Tamil) (Thoughts on Education), Saintha maruthu, Sri Lanka, 1990, pp. 98-106.

^[9] Administration Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1M6, Colombo, Government Printer, PT II. Education among the Muslims; para. 20 For a life of Siddi Lebbe see *Marumalarchi Thanthai* (in Tamil) (The Founder of Renaissance) A. Iqbal, Nawalpitiya, Sri Lanka, 1971.

^[10] *The Ceylon Catholic Messenger*, Colombo, 10th September, 1909.

^[11] Ethnological Survey, op.cit, Chapter IX.

^[12] The Solai Zavia has since been incorporated by an Act of the Parliament as 'Makkiya Arabic College Galle Mcorporation Act, (Act No.52. of 1988).

^[13] Madrasat ul-Bari, celebrated its centenary in 1884 with an issue of a commemorative stamp by the Government of Sri Lanka. This is, to say the least, an overstatement. How far could Sir Syed be regarded at home in matters English i.e. intellectual issues that concern us here, is a point that has been debated in current scholarship. Though the

established opinion still holds ground, there is, however, an increasing awareness on this issue of Sir Syed's actual acquaintance with and command of the philosophic and intellectual 'matters' that were English or, to be more precise, western. See Dr. Zafar Hasan Sir Syed aur Hali Ka Tasawwur-i-Fitrat, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lhr. 1989, for a penetrating critique of the issue. (Editor).

^[14] I. L. M. Abdul Aziz, *The Muslim Guardian* (Colombo, vol.6 No.1, January 1908, Editorial. See also, M.M.M. Mahroof, I.L.M. Abdul Aziz, Colombo, 1981, passim.

^[15] M.M.M. Mahroof, "An Educational and Sociological Perspective of the Muslims of Sri Lanka, 1902-1914", in *IC* vol.lxi No 2, April 1987, pp. 99.

^[16] *Ibid*, p. 96 and references cited therein.

^[17] M.M.M. Mahroof, Dr. T. B. Jayah, Colombo, 1980, p.5.

^[18] Commissioners on Constitutional Reform., Report of 1928. Donoughmore Commission, Cmd. 3131, London. Also see. Sir Ivor Jennings & H.W. Tambiah, *The Dominion of Ceylon; the Development of its Laws and Constitution*, London, 1952, pp. 36-48; Sir Razik Fareed, "The Executive Committee of Education from the Inside" in *Education in Ceylon - A Centenary Volume*. Colombo, 1969, Pt II, p. 605.

^[19] For instance, Pulavar Soma Elavarasu, Hakana Varalaru, *History of Grammar in Tamil*, Chidambaram, South India. 1968, gives a description of classical Tamil grammars, 32 in number, from about BC. 3000 to the last century (the present century's Tamil grammars are innumerable) and gives a list of 33 classical grammar which have disappeared.

^[20] A large number of Muslims in Sri Lanka have, 'Iqbal' as one of their names. The median age group of these 'name sakes' would be in the 40-50 years.

^[21] The present day text book on Islam for Grade 10, a massive tome of some 506 pages, has a section on Islamic history. A familiarity with Iqbal is implicit in the University courses of Islamic Culture.

^[22] Modern studies on Iqbal such as Dr. Mazharuddin Siddiqi, *Concept of Muslim Culture in Iqbal*, Islamabad, 1983; Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore; Dr. S. A. Rehman, *Iqbal and Socialism*, Karachi, used to be available in some select bookshops in Sri Lanka.

^[23] The Sri Lankan Negombo halwa, is Maghreb in origin. R. Raven-Hart, *Ceylon-History in Stone*, Colombo, 1973, p. 203.

^[24] The Muslim weekly in Tamil, Islamiya Tharakai prominent in the early 1940s and early 1950s, published a series of articles by H.M.P. Mohideen on the poetry of Iqbal.

^[25] Muslim Marriage and Divorce Ordinance (chapter 115 of the Legislative Enactments of Ceylon, Colombo, 1956; M.M.M. Mahroof, “The Enactment of Muslim Marriage and Divorce Legislation in Sri Lanka; The Law in Context” in JIMMA, vol.8, No.1, January 1987, pp. 161 seq]: “Islamic Law in Sri Lanka; the Formal and Informal Aspects” in Islamic Studies, Islamabad, (IS) vol.20 No.1, Spring, 1990, pp. 77 seq. For the earlier background see M.M.M. Mahroof, “Impact of European Christian Rule on the Muslims of Sri Lanka - A Socio-Historical Analysis” in IS, vol.29 No.4, Winter, 1990, pp. 353 seq.

^[26] A.M. Nahiya, *Azzez um Tamilum in Tamil (Azzez and Tamil)*. Nintavur, Sri Lanka. 1991, p. 14. Nahiya gives details of Dr. Azeez’s works in Tamil. Also see Al-haj S.M. Kamaldeen. *Dr. A.M.A. Azeez-Commemorative Essays*, (in Tamil), Colombo. ^[27] Nahiya, p.98.

^[28] Hankiyil /slain, Colombo, 1961. In his about twelve published works and innumerable speeches and articles, Dr. Azeez frequently referred to Iqbal.

^[29] In some of his conceptualizations, Dr. Azeez came to a realization of Islamic anthropology and Islamic sociology. cf. M.M.M. Mahroof. *Review of Dr. Akbar S Ahmad’s. Towards Islamic Anthropolog Definition, Dogma and Directions in Muslim Education Quarterly*, Cambridge. UK. vol.5. No 3. Spring 1988, p.

^[30] M.M.M. Mahroof, *Justice M.T. Akbar*, Colombo. 1981. p. 22. Akbar was an educationist and sometime Senior Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. The articles referred to appeared in his column in *Star of Islam*, a Muslim weekly in English.

CONTOURS OF AMBIVALENCE: IQBAL AND IBN ‘ARABI: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Part I

MUHAMMAD SUHEYL UMAR

In 1933 Iqbal visited Spain. The Faculty of philosophy and letters in Moncloa invited him to deliver a lecture on “The intellectual world of Islam and Spain” under the chairmanship of Mr. Asin Palacios who, I believe, needs no introduction for the present audience^[1] Mr. Palacios, in his introductory speech, pointed out that Iqbal, in some respects, resembled Ibn ‘Arabi.^[1] This compliment came from some body who had spent a life time in the study of Ibn ‘Arabi and his predecessors.^[2] While giving the obvious margin of courtesy and formal speech this statement is still significant since it points towards a profound relationship between Ibn ‘Arabi and Iqbal whose existence is felt by all scholars of Iqbal studies, though not with equal clarity always, but which has seldom been studied in its true perspective.^[3]

Alongwith Rumi Ibn ‘Arabi was the only other mystico-intellectual figure towards which Iqbal was always attracted but to which his responses varied with the passage of time.

Among the Muslim spiritual authorities, few are so famous in the West as Muhyi al Din Muhammad Ibn ‘Ali Ibn al ‘Arabi (A.H.5011-6.38/A.D.1165-1240). Numerous studies and translations of his works have appeared in the Western languages^[4] over the past century for the western academia Ibn ‘Arabi is more or less, a well known figure.^[5] Iqbal’s case however has been different. Though translated,^[6] apart from more than a dozen languages, in English, French and partially in Spanish, he is relatively less known to the western scholars, not to speak of the general readers in the West. Much less known are his responses to Ibn Arabi and his teachings which shifted to varying philosophic positions and expressed themselves in the form of an ambivalent relationship. In what follows, we would make an attempt to study

these shifting responses and to discern the possible influences that Ibn ‘Arabi may have had on Iqbal and his poetic works.

Ibn Arabi defies classification. Even with in the folds of Islamic mysticism or Sufism he stands over and above all the great figures. During, the last seven hundred years no one else has exercised more deeper and more pervasive an influence on the intellectual life of the Islamic community. His immense significance and far reaching influence in Islamic history makes him like a pole star whether one chooses to go towards him or against him. The direction is determined by his towering personality. A comparative study, in the conventional sense would. Therefore, be hardly possible since it requires both the figures to belong to the same domain or to have common denominators providing keys for a veritable comparative study. Such a situation does not exist in the case of Ibn ‘Arabi and Iqbal. Thus we have consciously refrained from the an undertaking.

Iqbal nevertheless, like every other subsequent thinker, had to make his response to the teachings of the Andalusian sage that had dominated over almost every walk of Muslim intellectual life.

His first encounter with the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabi. Though quite indirect, was in the sessions of discussion and study that were held in his father’s house to understand the works of AL Shaikh al-Akhar, the greatest master.

His own description of this first encounter in his childhood and early youth is as follows:

“I have no misgivings about AI-Shaikh al-Akbar Ibn ‘Arabi rather, I cherish a love for him. My father had a profound attachment to Fusus al-Hikam and Al-Futuhat al Makkiyyah. Since the age of four my ears were acquainted with the name and teachings of Ibn ‘Arabi. For years at end both the books mentioned above were studied in our home. I had but little understanding of these doctrines in my childhood days but I, nevertheless, regularly attended these study circles. Later, when I studied Arabic, I tried to read myself. As I grew in experience and knowledge my understanding and interest also increased”^[7]

“We would come back to this point later on.

Records of Iqbal's life are silent as regards his self study of Ibn 'Arabi's works after the period mentioned above nor do we find any evidence that he had the chance to study the works of Ibn 'Arabi under the guidance of an orthodox master or with the help of traditional commentaries which are indispensable for an understanding of such works of gnostic and esoteric natures.^[8]

Ibn 'Arabi surfaces again in Iqbal's writings in 1900 when he published a resum of 'Abd al-Karim Jili's Al-Insan al-Kamil under the title "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by Abdul Karim al Jilani" in Indian Antiquary Bombay.^[9] It is an attempt to present the doctrines of Al-Hi in the form of western philosophic positions, perhaps to bring these closer to the modern readers. Ibn 'Arabi is mentioned thrice in the article and it is evident from the context that Iqbal recognized his status as a thinker of the highest calibre.

In his somewhat 'dated' and partially disowned work The Development of Metaphysics in Persia^[10] he again mentioned Ibn 'Arabi, presenting his teachings as "an all-embracing exposition of the principle of Unit" and as someone "whose profound teaching stands in strange contrast with the dry-as-dust Islam of his countrymen". From the point of view of the present study two observations seem pertinent. Firstly, Iqbal, while in the tracks of historical relationships of his subject, has not taken into consideration an important factor that played a vital role in the spread of metaphysical thought in the Persian speaking world. Ibn 'Arabi's foremost disciple and step son Sadr ud-Din Qunaw was a Persian. It is through him that several important "lines of influences" of Ibn 'Arabi's doctrines in the East can be traced. Himself a master of Sufism and an authority on various religious sciences, especially hadith, Sadr ud-Din not only commented on the works of Al-Shaikh al-Akhar but wrote many of his own.^[11] He was also instrumental in influencing many important figures like Rumi. Qutb ud-Din Shirazi, Tusi, 'Iraqi, down to Nablusi. Kashani. Qaysiri, Afandi, Jili, Jami and Shabistari.^[12] He also played an especially important role by systematizing Ibn 'Arabi's teachings and placing emphasis upon those dimensions of his thought which would easily be reconciled with the philosophic approach,^[13] thus establishing a deep rooted tradition of interpretation of Ibn 'Arabi's doctrines for successive generations. It was the same tradition which proved seminal in the

efforts at synthesis made b) the later sages in Persia to whom Iqbal refers in his work but does not seem to have taken into account to this all important aspect of the intellectual activities of Muslims in the Eastern part of the Islamic world. This fact is not all together unconnected with a complete absence of the works of Ibn 'Arabi and his followers in the bibliography which Iqbal cited in the beginning of his dissertation.^[14] This is the second point that we wish to emphasize. Moreover this fact leads us towards a plausible explanation of the apparent hostility and the ambivalent attitude which Iqbal maintained in respect of Ibn Arabi and his doctrines in the subsequent years. We would presently consider it in the following part of our study.

Around 1910-11 Iqbal had started composing his first Persian mathnawi, namely *Asrar-i-Khudi*.^[15] Apart from immediate circumstances^[16] that inspired its writing there were more profound reasons which lead him to express his views on the decadent state of the Muslim Ummah and to analyze the causes of its state of decline.^[17] It was precisely in the identification of these causes where Iqbal's differences with the teachings of supposedly Akbarian origin surfaced for the first time. Central to his intellectual concerns, in this period was the problem of the decline of Muslims and the waning of their worldly glory: its historical causes and their possible remedies. This is indeed the main theme of his mathnawi around which he built his Itinerary edifice.^[18]

Iqbal wrote a preamble to the mathnawi for its first edition^[19] which was intended to clarify certain notions that underpinned the work and that might have been difficult for his readers to grasp fully or else which needed an introduction for the uninitiated audience. The readers would observe that, in the preamble as well as in the mathnawi the self or ego is defined in shifting terms. At places he defines its ontological status and tries to 'situate' the soul and its modalities in the hierarchy of states of existence. From an other angle it is defined as a moral agent or a regulating force for human actions and behaviour.^[20] Some statements are suggestive of a character for the self which comes 'cry near to the definition of senses communis i.e. the central inward faculty that unifies the data received by the external sense faculties. It is defined as the principle of Individuation as well. It may be reminded that these were Iqbal's early years and he had not reached the maturity of thought

and clarity of vision that characterized his later thinking. A resume of the preamble is given, in translation, in the following paragraphs.

“This unity, found intuitively, or the radiant center of consciousness which illuminates all human ideas, emotions and desires; this mysterious entity which unifies the dispersed and unlimited modalities of human nature; this ego (ana) or self (khudi) or I-am-ness (mayn) which manifests itself through its action but remains hidden as regards its reality; which creates all experience but which transcends observation; what is it.’ Is it an eternal reality or else life has manifested itself temporarily, in order to accomplish its immediate practical objectives, in the form of this illusion of imagination? Individuals as well as collectivities have to answer this all important question in order to determine the course of their ethical behaviour. Sages and learned men of every nation have taken positions on these issues. Eastern people have largely ascribed to the view that human ego (individuality) is an illusion created by imagination, where as the practical bent of the western peoples has lead them to results that were in accordance with their nature.

Hindu thought regards the state and circumstances of human ego as a result of its previous actions which operate as a Karmic Law. It has also accepted all its philosophic corollaries i.e. since the ego is determined by action. The only way to escape its consequence is to renounce all action. This was very deleterious from the point of view of individual and collective life. Shiri Krishana criticized the prevalent meaning of renunciation and introduced his people to the fact that renunciation cannot be absolute and the only meaningful interpretation of this notion is that one should not be inwardly attached to action and its results. The charismatic logic of Shankara again eclipsed the interpretation that Shiri Krishana and Rama Nuja tried to advocate.

Islam was a movement emphasizing action. This movement regarded the (human) self as a created entity that may attain eternity through action. Hindus and Muslims have a strange similarity in their intellectual history. The point of view which Shankara adopted in his interpretation of Gita was the same which Ibn ‘Arabi used in his exegesis of the Quran and which had a profound influence on the Muslim mind. The depth and breadth of Knowledge of Al-Shaikh-i-Akhar and his towering personality made pantheism (wahdat al-wujud), which he championed so vigorously, an

inseparable part of the Islamic imagination. By the 14th century all the Persian poets came under a complete sway of Ibn 'Arabi.

Hindu sages addressed the mind in their expositions on Oneness of Being. Iranian poets selected a more dangerous course of action in their interpretation. They appealed to the 'heart' with the result that the idea reached the masses and nearly all the Islamic peoples became victims of inactivity and passivity.

Among the peoples of the world. Western peoples are characterized by the tendency towards (outward) action and. for this reason. Their ideas and literatures are the best guide for the Easterners to fathom the mysteries of life.

The (external) sense faculties are meant for receiving data from the material world. but there is an other faculty in the human beings which may be termed as faculty of 'events'. Life depends on observation of events unfolding around us and acting in accordance with their correct purport. This is something which is not usually done. English philosophy is especially rich in this regard and the East may review its own philosophic traditions in its light.

This is a brief outline of the history of the problem which forms the subject of this poem. I have tried to present it by giving it a color of imagination and liberating it from the complications of philosophic reasoning. The preamble is not meant as an exegesis of the mathnawi. It is rather a guideline for those who are not aware of the difficulties of this hard-to-understand reality.

The word self (khudi) is not used in its prevalent meaning 'pride'. It only denotes consciousness of the soul or determination of the self".^[21]

This was the starting point of a controversial debate that reverberated for many years and in various circles.^[22] Many critiques, both sympathetic and disparaging, were written that tried to defend the conventional position. Iqbal issued many rejoinders^[23] and clarified his position. His letters, that he wrote in the same period i.e. 15-18, often alluded to the debate.^[24] We shall presently consider the points of difference raised in all these writings. Before

that. a word about the justification of this apparent digression. from our theme. Ibn ‘Arabi and Iqbal. may not come amiss.

As could be surmised from a preliminary reading of the material mentioned above, almost every point raised by Iqbal directly or indirectly relates to Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrines or the influence they had on the intellectual tendencies of the subsequent generations of Muslims. So an analysis of the criticism made by Iqbal brings us directly to heart of the problem.

As mentioned earlier. Iqbal had a profound concern for the Muslim Ummah and its state of decline haunted him throughout his life. This theme is present as a constant back drop in all his prose and poetic ‘works. So is the case of the period that we are considering at present. The causes that Iqbal identified in the mathnawi, its preamble and the debate literature for the decline of the Islamic community and the objections to the ideas of Ibn ‘Arabi’ could be summarized as follows: we have left out those points which do not have a direct bearing on our theme.

1) The doctrine of pantheism (Wahdat al-Wujud) teaches that human individuality is an illusion. Belief in the illusive nature of human self leads to passivity and collective inertia.^[25]

2) Ibn ‘Arabi’s, interpretation of the Quran is similar to Shankara’s interpretation of the Gita.^[26]

3) Pantheism influenced the Persian poets and through the medium of their literature it reached the masses turning them into a passive collectivity.^[27] Hafiz is the foremost example of this kind of poetry.

4) Poets influenced by the doctrines of Ibn ‘Arabi have installed the state of intoxication (Sukr) as their literary ideal. They try to induce in themselves as well as in others this state where as the ideal state of the muslim is the wakefulness of the heart.^[28]

5) The doctrine of Five Divine Presences is un-Islamic.^[29]

6) God is not immanent/dwelling (saryan) in the world. He is the creator and the universe is sustained by his Lordship. His being does not have a substantial continuity with the world.^[30]

7) Philosophizing of the Sufis; thereby bringing into the fold of Sufism issues that are not mystical but philosophical.^[31]

8) Ibn 'Arabi believes that the spirits of the perfect men (Saints and prophets) are eternal (Qadim).^[32]

9) Ibn Taimiyyah, Ibn Jawzi, Zamakhshari, Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi. Sultan Aurangzeb, Shah Wali Ullah and Shah Isma'il have opposed pantheism and its exponents. I follow in their footsteps.^[33]

10)) "Persian Sufis (followers of Ibn 'Arabi) ignore the Islamic Law."^[34]

11) "Knower and Known are one": "Outward Knowledge and inward knowledge diverge". These doctrines had very harmful practical consequences for Islamic sciences, literature and culture. It is the basis of all monasticism (Ralthaniyah).^[35]

12) Gnosis or inward Knowledge is something that was transmitted secretly to some companions by the Prophet. This is a false belief since it undermines the Prophetic message.^[36]

13) Followers of pantheism (Waltdat al-Wujud) are spiritually affiliated with the hatini sect.^[37]

14. Ouranic Hermemematics of Ibn 'Arabi, to my mind, is largely incorrect, though it may be found acceptable by standards of logic and transmitted knowledge (manqul)^[38]

15) Sufis have been mistaken in identifying Unity (Tawlid) with pantheism (Wahdat al-Wujud). The former is a religious term and the latter pertains to philosophy. The term opposite to Tawhid is Shirk and not multiplicity (Kathrah) as imagined by the Sufis. Multiplicity is the opposite of Waluhat. Those who proved the doctrine of Wahdat al-Wujud or pantheism^[39] (so it is termed in contemporary Western philosophy) were regarded upholders of Unity (Tawhid) whereas the issue they proved had nothing to do with religion. It was a view about the reality of the Universe. Islamic teachings are clear: there is only one entity that is worthy of worship. The mutiplicity that we observe in the world all belongs to the created order though in reality and in essence it may be one, from the philosophic or theological point of view.

Since the Sufis equated these two issues. they worked out for an other way to prove the unity (of God): a way that would have nothing to do with the laws of reason and perception. The state of intoxication came to their help here. I don't deny the existence of such a state. I merely object that it does not-serve the purpose for which it is induced.

If multiplicity has an objective reality, this pantheistic state which enwraps its subject. is only an illusion and has no significance from a religious or philosophic point of view. On the other hand. if this state of pantheism is merely a station of the soul and it does not correspond to an objective reality. rational proofs advanced in its defense, as done by Ibn 'Arabi and others are of no consequence.

According to the Qur'anic teachings the entified existence/being (al-wujud al-Khariji) does not have the relation of identification with the Divinity; their relationship is of the creator and the creation. From the point of view of collective and individual human life the in-rush of such states is harmful".^[40]

16) "As far as I know, Fusus contains nothing but heresy (Ilhad) and deviation (Zandaqah)".^[41]

17) "No doubt, the very phenomenon of Sufism is a foreign thing implanted on the body of Islam and nurtured by the Persians".^[42]

18) There is a selflessness which comes about by the extinction of the human self in the Divine Self. This extinction is in the Divine Self and not in the divine commands.^[43]

19) "Pharorah was not damned; he was a pious man".^[44]

20) "Saints are higher in rank than the prophets".^[45]

Before taking into consideration the variety of objections mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs we would like to make a few observations.^[46]

The point that should always be remembered in the context of Iqbal and Sufism a context which primarily concerns as here is that Iqbal's criticism of Sufism, and of Ibn 'Arabi as well, remains with in the bossom of Sufism of which he himself was a great champion. Ample evidence can be adduced

from his poetry and prose writings. For the period that we are analyzing at present, it is enough to note that, even during the days of the heated debater of Asrar-i-Khudi, he paid glowing tributes to Sufism and even to Ibn ‘Arabi.^[47] He could also assert. “I claim that the philosophy of the Asrar is a direct development out of the experience and speculation of old Muslim Sufis and thinkers”.^[48] Thus one would search in vain to find a general condemnation of Sufism in the works of Iqbal. This is a point which is generally accepted by the majority of the learned among the Iqbal scholars.^[49]

In these objections there is hardly any direct philosophic critique of Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrine. The real brunt of Iqbal’s criticism is against the practical repercussions that, supposedly, were a result of Ibn ‘Arabi’s influence. The case of two exceptions that we have mentioned at Nos.16 and 17 would be explained shortly.^[50]

The criticism made by Iqbal and much more of it has been successfully defended by the Sufis themselves. We can not, obviously, go into the details of this body of literature in the length of this paper. We would only attempt to examine the position of Ibn ‘Arabi vis-a-vis this criticism and try to discern if it effects him in any respect. To determine the final position of Ibn ‘Arabi on various issues, we would refer back to his magnum opus, al-Futuhāt al-Makkiyah since it provides us with his final and detailed views.^[51] Moreover, we have its authentic text as well. We would, nevertheless, refer to other works also that are relevant to our discussion.

Next point that we intend to consider is of special importance since it takes us to the core of the problem. Iqbal has identified Wandat al-Wujud (Transcendent Oneness of Being) with pantheism throughout these writings as we have shown earlier^[52] and his objections are directed, perhaps rightly, against this philosophic system. Writing to a friend in 1925, he commented on his own mental make up. This comment provides us a clue to understand as to why did he identify Wandat al-Wujud, which is a metaphysical doctrine, to pantheism which is a philosophic system arising in the West in post renaissance period.

His statement runs as follows:

“I have spent most of my life in the study of western philosophy and this thinking style (i.e. of the western philosophy) has become a second nature to me. Consiously or unconsciously I study the realities of Islam from this very point of view. I have often experienced that, during conversation, I cannot express myself successfully in Urdu”.^[53]

First generation orientalist and, in fast decreasing numbers, some of the later scholars confused pantheism with Wandat al-Wujud. “They mistake metaphysical doctrines of Ibn ‘Arabi for philosophy and do not take into consideration the fact that the way of gnosis is not separate from grace and sanctity”.^[54] The pantheistic accusations against the Sufis and especially against Ibn ‘Arabi are doubly false. Firstly, as we have said earlier, because,

“pantheism is a philosophic system and that even of a recent origin, whereas Ibn ‘Arabi and others like him never claimed to follow or create any system whatsoever; and, secondly, because pantheism implies a substantial continuity between God and the Universe,^[55] whereas the Shaikh would be the first to claim God’s absolute transcendance over every category, including that of substance”.^[56]

There is a basic difference between the essential identification of the manifested order with its ontological Principle and their substantial identity and continuity. This is overlooked by their critics. The latter concept is metaphysically absurd and contradicts everything that Ibn ‘Arabi has said regarding the Divine Essence.

The terms “pantheism”^[57] and “existential monism”, though somewhat less distasteful, are still very inappropriate as a description of the doctrine of Wandat al-Wujud.^[58]

Iqbal was using these works almost exclusively during all these years and the confusion seems to have crept in through these works.^[59] His training in the western modes of thinking, pointed out by himself, may also have contributed to it.

There was an other factor that made it difficult for any body in a similar situation to form an exact idea of Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrines. The original works as well as the traditional commentaries were very hard to come by. Pir Mehr

‘Ali Shah, the foremost exponent of Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrines around the turn of the century, has been reported to have found, after great difficulty, a copy of Futuhat with a leather merchant of Lahore, the only one that was available in Lahore.^[60] There is no evidence that Iqbal had the chance to study the original works of Ibn ‘Arabi, in all these years.

As. could be surmised from the foregoing facts, given the circumstances of Iqbal’s milieu, it is quite understandable as to why did Iqbal criticize Ibn ‘Arabi in a certain phase of his life? He sincerely believed these ideas, as he understood them, to be harmful for his community. It is a different matter that these doctrines did not represent the true positions of Ibn ‘Arabi.

To be Continued

^[4] Paper presented at IQBAL CONFERENCE, Cordoba, Spain, November, 1991.

^[1] “Sir Muhammad Iqbal succeeded, like Ibn ‘Arabi, in emptying into the tormented moulds of his poesy and rhyme, his philosophic doctrines under the suggestive title of Asrar-i-Khudi, a pretty poem.” “Life in Madrid”, B.A. Dar, Letters and Writings of Iqbal, I.A.P., KHI, 1969, p.79. See also S.A. Vahid, Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, Ashraf, LHR, 1964, p.350; A. Chughtai, Iqbal Ki Suhbat Main, LHR.,977, pp.282-289; . B.D. Metcalf, “Reflections on Iqbals Mosque”, Iqbal Centenary Papers, Vol-II, University of the Punjab, 1977, Dr. Mahmud-ur-Rehman, “Allama Iqbal Masjid-i-Qurtuba Main” (Urdu), in Fikr-o-Nazar, Vol.28-29, Nos. 4,1-2, 1991, p.501; Dr. M. Riaz, “Andalus and Allama Iqbal” (Urdu) in Fikr-o-Nazar, op.cit., p.459.

^[2] A selective list of his works in given in the following lines. This does not include his important translations of some of the basic texts of the Shadhaliyyah order which has inherited the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabi more than any other Sufi brotherhood, though with some modifications in the later year.

Asin Palacios, M., El Islam Cristianizado, Madrid, 1931; Vidas de Santones Andaluces, Madrid, 1933; Islam and the Divine Comedy, London, 1961; “El

mistico murciano Abenarabi”, Boletin de Ca Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), I, 87:96-173 (1925); 11, 87:512-611; 111,87:582-637(1926) IV,, 92:654-751(1928); “La Psicologia Segun Mohidin Abenarabi”, Actes du XIV Congress Inter. des Orient. Alger, 1905, Vol 111, Paris, 1907; “Mohidin” in Homenage a Menendez Y Pelayo, Madrid, 1899, 11, 217-256; “La Psicologia, del extasis en dos grandes misticos musulmanes: Algazel Y Mohidin Abenarabi”, in Cultura Espanola, Madrid, 1906, pp. 209-235; La Espiiritualidad de Algazel y see Sentido cristiano, (Madrid.Granada, 1934-194 I); Abenmassura y see eswela, (Madrid, 1914) which reveals the basic cosmological ideas of Ibn Masarraah that might have influenced some of the formulations of Ibn ‘Arabi. Also translated into English Leiden: Brill, 1978; Vidasde Santones Andaluces, Madrid, 1933; Mahasin al-Majalis, edited and translated into French, Paris, 1933; ‘Islam Christianise, Cf. James Morris “Ibn al-’Arabi and his Interpreters” Journal of the American Oriental Society, 106 (1986) and 107 (1987).

^[3] There are some exceptions to it. e.g. Maykash Akbar Abadi, Naqd-i-Iqbal, Delhi, 1982; S.H.M. Anwar, “Shaikh-i-Akbar aur Iqbal” in Ali Garh Magazine, 1959, p.146: IH. Siddiqi, “Fikr-i-Iqbal par Ibn ‘Arabi Kay Asarat Ka Jaiza’ in Tehqiqat-i-Islami, Vol.6 No.3, 1987, p.58, Dr S. Abdullah, Shaikh-i-Akbar aur Iqbal, Lahore, 1979, M. I. Bhatti, “The Nature of Iqbal’s Criticism of Ibn ‘Arabi in Journal of Research (Humanities) University of the Punjab, LHR. January and July, 1977, pp. 117-127. Also in Dr. Rafi’ud-Din Hashmi (ed.) Iqbal Shanasi our Journal of Research, (Urdu), Bazm-i-Iqbal, LHR, 1989, pp 261. AI-i-Ahmed Surur (ed.) Iqbal aur Tasawwuf, Iqbal Institute, Siri Nagar, 1980 (This collection of papers contains some fine studies on the subject); see also Yusuf H. Khan, Iqbal aur Hafiz, Delhi, 1976, which clarifies a very important aspect of Ibn ‘Arabi’s influence on Persian poetry and Iqbal’s criticism of Hafiz.

^[4] For details of Ibn ‘Arabi’s works and their translations in various languages see bibliography.

^[5] This revival of interest in Ibn ‘Arabi’s teachings in the recent years is not without significance. To quote a renowned scholar of Islamic Studies, “In fact it is not a Fakhr ud-Din Razi that overwhelms a modern Westerner, but a Muhiuddin Ibn ‘Arabi”. Cf. Muhammad Hamidullah, Muhammad Rasulullah, Karachi, 1979, pp.170. On an other and more subtle level Ibn

‘Arabi gains importance for the West as his teachings indicate the way out of the blind alley of Western philosophic thinking towards the forgotten realms of mundus imaginalis and other modes of thinking. For details see William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, State University of New York Press, 1989.

[6] For a detailed record of works on Iqbal’s life and thought as well as his translations into various eastern and western languages see Rafi’ud- Din Hashmi, *Kitabiat-i-Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy, 1977. A revised and updated edition is forthcoming from the Iqbal Academy. A select bibliography is given at the end of this article as well. In the Spanish speaking world only a translation of *The Reconstruction* exists uptill now. See, *La Reconstruction del Pensamiento Religioso en el Islam*, tran. Jose Esteban Calderon, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, LHR., R., 1989.

[7] See his letter to Shah Suleman Phulwarwi, dated 24th February 1916, in B.A. Dar, *Anwar-e-Iqbal* (Urdu), Iqbal Academy, 1977, p. 177.

[8] This was the reason, perhaps, that in 1916, during the debate on *Asrar-i-Khudi*, when he tried to prepare ‘a work on sufism and used *Kitab-al-Tawwasin*, he could not decipher the text in Arabic and had to rely on its Persian translation. See Sabir Kalurwi, *Tarikh-i-Tasawwuf*, Lahore, 1985, p. 72.

[9] For the complete text of his article see Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore, 3rd. ed., 1977, p.69. The same text has been reproduced, with some errors, in other collections; see S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1964. p. 3.

[10] See M. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, dissertation, first presented to the Cambridge University, in March 1907 for his B.A. Degree and later on, with some modifications and additions, submitted for his Ph.D. to the University of Munich. He was awarded a degree on it on 4th Nov. 1907. The dissertation was first published by Luzac & Co, London, in 1908. No subsequent edition appeared during Iqbal’s life time as . he had lost all interest in it by 1917. See, Muhyidin Qadri Zoor, *Shad Iqbal*, Hyder Abad, India, 1942, p.45; *Makatib Iqbal banam Khan Niaz-ud-Din*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1986, p.50; B.A. Dar, *Anwar i Iqbal*, I.A.P.. Lahore, 1977,

p.201 where he discouraged a would be translator of the aforementioned work by indicating the obsolescent nature of the work. In retrospect, the work seems to echo the ideas of the early orientalists and limited in many respects. However, Iqbal, in the early years of this century, was unique in that he introduced some of the Persian sages to the English readers for the first time and, contrary to the opinions of many orientalists, tried to discover the Islamic roots of Sufism, a task. that was to be accomplished by latter scholars with success. The reference is made here to the edition of *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, published by Bazm-e-Iqbal, in 1954, reprinted, 1964, pp.X,116,132.

^[11] See al-Fukuk on the margin of Kashani's *Manazil al-Sa'irin* (Tehran 1315/1897-8); Miftah al-Ghayb on the margin of al-Fanari's *Misbah al-Ins* (Tehran 1323/1905); al-Nafahat al-ilahiyyah (Tehran, 1316/1898-9); al Nusus, on Kashani op. cit.; Ijaz al-bayan fi tafsir umm al-Qu'ran (Hyder Abad - Deccan, 1368/1949) also published as *al-Tafsir al-Sufi li-l-Quran* ed. by A.A. 'Ata' (Cairo, 1389/1969). Corbin and Nasr have also discussed Qunawi and his influence; see Corbin. *Creative Imagination in the Sufism*. of Ibn Arabi, Princeton University Press, 1977, Notes and Appendices; Nasr, *Se As!*, introduction; see also W.C. Chittick, "The Chapter Headings of *Fusus*". *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*. 2(1984): 41-94; "The Five Divine Presences: From al Qunawi to Qaysari". *The Muslim World* 72 (1982): 107-128; "Ibn ul 'Arabi and his School" *Islamic Spirituality; Manifestations*. Ed. S.H. Nasr (vol.20) New York; Cross Road, pp.55; "The Last Will and Testament of Ibn 'Arabi's Foremost Disciple and Some Notes on its Author". *Sophia Perennis* 4/1(1978):43-58; "Mysticism vs. Philosophy in Earlier Islamic History" *Religious Studies* 17(1981):87-104; "Sadr al-Din Qunawi on the Oneness of Being". *International Philosophical Quarterly* 21(1981): 171-184. A complete bibliography is attached to Chittick's *Faith and Practice of Islam*, Albany, 1992. A preliminary survey of the list of Qunawi's works is given in "The last will" op. cit., p. 47; see also A. Schimmels *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1975, p. 264; "Ibn 'Arabi", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (new ed.) Vol.111, p. 710: S. Ruspuli, *La Clef du monde supra sensible*, Cf. Chittick, op. cit., p.55; H.Z. Ulken, *La Pensee de l'Islam*, Istanbul, 1953, p. 264; N. Neklik, *Sadreddin Konevi nin felsefesinde Allah-Kainat ve Insan*, (Turkish) Istanbul, 1967.

^[12] See S.H. Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, Suhail Academy, Lahore, 1988, pp.118-120 where Ibn ‘Arabi’s influence on successive generations, through Qunawi, is discussed. For a detailed study of Qunawi and his works see Chittick, *op. cit.*

^[13] See W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, State University of New York Press, 1989, pp.xvi-xviii where this question is discussed with great insight. Also see “Ibn ‘Arabi and his school” in *Islamic Spirituality*, *op.cit.pp.55.*

^[14] Iqbal, M. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, *op. cit.* p. xii.

^[15] In a letter dated 7th July 1911 he wrote to ‘Atiya Begum, “Father has asked me to write a Masnawi, (sic-mathnawi) in Persian after Bu ‘Ali Qalandar’s and in spite of the difficulty of the task, I have undertaken to do so.” see *Letters to ‘Atiya p.73*; B.A. Dar, *Letters of Iqbal*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1978, p.36.

^[16] By immediate circumstances we, mean the desire of his father mentioned in the previous note. For a print history of the work see Rafi’ud-Din Hashmi. *Tasaiuf-i-Iqbal Ka Tahqiqi aur Tawdihi Mutali’ah*, I.A.P., Lahore, 1982, p.77

^[17] His ideas transpire from his correspondence which he maintained during these years. See B.A. Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, *op.cit.* p.176; *Letters addressed to Akbar Ilah Abadi in Sh. ‘Ata Ullah, ed. Iqbal Namah*, vol.11, Ashraf, Lahore, 1981, pp.34-77; *Sahifa*, special issue on Iqbal, Lahore 1973, p.168. In his own words, “‘Religion without power is merely a philosophy’. This is an extremely pertinent observation and in fact, this was the very cause which made me write the mathnawi (i.e. *Asrar-i-Khudi*). I have spent ten years of my life to come to grips with this problem.” *Letter to Akbar Ilahabadi dated 18th Oct. 1915*, *Iqbal Namah*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p.45. Among the primary concerns which involved Iqbal during this period the following could be pinpointed: his stay in Europe and the comparative study of the two cultures, fall of the Caliphate, overall decadence of the Islamic civilization and the mental agony which ensued from his reflection on the existing predicament of the Muslims at that time.

[18] See M. Iqbal, *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal Persian*, (collected Persian works published in a critical edition by Iqbal Academy Pakistan) Lahore, 1990, p.23. From the point of view of our present study those parts are of special importance that deal either with a description of the ontological status of the self Khudi or those which enumerate the causes that strengthen it or render it powerless; Cf. pp. 32-51.

[19] This preamble was expunged from all the subsequent editions along with some verses that had proved controversial. For details see Hashmi, op.cit: p.81-95. For the text of the deleted preamble see S.A. Vahid Mu'ini, *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, Ashraf, Lahore, 1963, p.153; T.H. Taj., *Madamin-i-Iqbal*, Hyder Abad, Deccan, 1985, p.48.

[20] Iqbal has himself acknowledged it in his letters; See 'Ataullah Iqbal Namah, op. cit., Vol. II p. 235; Sahifa, No. 65, 1973, p. 173. Also see Schimmel; "Reading Mawllana's Fihi ma Fi Again" in *Essays on Science*, ed. Hakim Saeed, Karachi.; *Gabriel's Wing*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan,

[21] See note 19. This preamble was also translated into Russian by Nattal I. Prigarina. See "Muhammad Iqbal; The prosaic foreward to *The Secrets of the Self*, Literary Indii, 1988. Also See, Prigarina, "Iqbal Articles", translation from Urdu into Russian with introduction, in M. Stepanyanz, ed. *Filosofskie ci.spech,v Sufuzma,m*,1989.

[22] For details of this debate see Haq Nawaz, *Iqbal aur Lazzat-i-Paykar*, I.A.P., 1984, where all the relevant documents of the debate are collected in chronological order. See also, Hashmi, op.cit, p.84 and M.A. Qureshi, "Ma'raka-i-Asrar-i-Khudi", in *Iqbal*, Oct., 1953-April 1954

[23] See Mu'ini, op.cit. pp.153, 160, 171, 172; Dar, op.cit. p. 268. See also his unfinished document on Sufism (announced many times in his letters) published posthumously by Sabir Kalurvi. (ed.) *Tarikh-i-Tasawuaf*, Lahore, 1985. The work contains many errors but, nevertheless, it provides useful insights into Iqbal's mind. Moreover it brings to light the fact that original sources of Sufism, especially of Ibn 'Arabi and his school were very hard to come by in Iqbal's days and he had to rely on secondary, often misleading, sources or the works of the first-generation orientalis. This was the prime reason for which he abandoned his project and didn't return to it again. It

was not peculiar to the works of Ibn ‘Arabi alone. The works of Ibn Taymiyyah as well as the works on Hadith literature were also not easily available. Iqbal complained of this difficulty in his letters also (cf. To Aslam Jiraj puri, May 1919, in ‘Ataullah, Iqbal Namah Vol. 1, Ashraf, Lahore, 1946 p. 54; Makatib-i-Iqbal banam Niaz ud-Din Khan, I.A.P. LHR, 1986, p. 22).

^[24] See Sabir Kalurvi, *Isharia-i-Makatib i Iqbal*, I.A.P. Lahore, 1984 where many indexes are provided to trace out relevant references in various collections of Iqbal’s letters. A select bibliography of letters related to the subject of our study would be presented in the bibliography.

^[25] See Mu’ini, *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1963, p. 154.

^[26] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

^[27] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

^[28] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

^[29] *Ibid.*, p.162: Also Kalurvi, S. (ed.) *Tarikh-i-Tasawwuf*, op. cit., p. 57.

^[30] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

^[31] *Ibid.*, p, 164.

^[32] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

^[33] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

^[34] See Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, I.A.P. Lahore, 1977, p. 122.

^[35] See Dar. *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, I.A.P. Lahore, 197 p. 269.

^[36] *Ibid.*, p. p. 272.

^[37] *Ibid.*, p. 276

^[38] See Hashmi, *Khutut-i-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1976, p. 117.

[39] This is no arbitrary choice of word on our part since Iqbal has used it himself to describe Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrine. (and of ‘Iraqi as well.) See, Dar, Letters of Iqbal, I.A.P. Lahore, 1978, p. 146 See also Hashmi, Khutut-i-Iqbal, op. cit., p 144, 118; ‘Ataullah, Iqbal Namah, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 47.

[40] Hashmi, Khutut-i-Iqbal, op. cit., p. 118-119.

[41] ‘Ataullah, S. Iqbal Namah, op. cit., Vol. I. p. 44.

[42] Ibid., Vol. I. p. 78.

[43] Ibid., Vol II. p. 60.

[44] See Kalurvi, Tarikh-i-Tasawwuf, op. cit. p.

[45] Ibid.,p. 94

[46] See note 22.

[47] See B.A. Dar, Letters of Iqbal, op. cit., p. 146-7, (Ibn ‘Arabi and Sufism); Mu’ini, op. cit., p. 155 (Ibn ‘Arabi), p 161 (Sufism), p. 164 (Sufism); B.A. Dar, Anwar-i-Iqbal op. cit., p. 268 (Sufism); Hashmi, Khutut-i-Iqbal, op. cit., p. 117 (Ibn ‘Arabi); Sadir Kalurvi, Tarikh-i-Tasawwuf, op. cit., p. 31 (Sufism); ‘Ataullah, Iqbal Namah, op. cit., p. 53-54 (Sufism); Niazi, Maktubat-i-Iqbal, I.A.P. Karachi, 1957, p. 10 (Sufism); Sahifa, op. cit., p. 165 (Sufism) p. 182 (Sufism). The list could be expanded considerably. Adding references from his poetic works would prove our point and furnish further evidence. This is being left out at the moment.

[48] B.A. Dar, Letters of Iqbal, op. cit., p: 147.

[49] See Bibliography.

[50] For the real words of his statement see ‘Ataullah, Iqbal Namah op. cit., Vol 1, pp. 44, 78.

[51] AI-Futuhah al-Makkiyyah The Meccan Openings” Cairo, 1911. repr. Beirut: Dar Sadir, n.d.; Ed. O. Yahya, Cairo: Al Hay’at al-Misriyyat al-’amma li’I kitab, 1972.

Completed towards the end of his life, this work is a vast encyclopedia of the Islamic Sciences, within the context of tawhid, consisting of 560 chapters. References are made to both the Bulaq and O.Yahya's critical editions by distinguishing the latter with a 'Y', before the reference. See also Nasr, op. cit., p. 98; Al-Sha'rani, Kitabal-Yawaqit, Cairo, 1305; chap. 308 of Futuhat itself and Chittick, opt cit. which is perhaps the first work in English based on a direct translation from Futuhat. We are greatly indebted to this remarkable work of scholarship for our present study. The translations that appear in the article are also mostly taken from Chittick.

In western languages, only a partial translation by M. Valsan exists in French. More recently, studies and translations made by M. Chodkiewicz are a valuable addition to the existing corpus of Akbarian studies, see bibliography. In Urdu a partial and faulty translation was done lately.

^[52] See note 39.

^[53] See 'Ataullah, Iqbal Namah, op. cit., p.47

^[54] See Nasr, S.H. Three Muslim Sages, op. cit. p.105.

^[55] Which would only mean that the sum total of all existent things in the universe is God.

^[56] "The medieval philosophers were unanimous in placing God, or Pure Being, above substance. How, then, could the Sufis, who consider the Divine Essence (dhat) to transcend even Being, believe in God having a substance which he shares with the Universe?" Cf. Nasr, Three, Muslim Sages, op.cit. p. 164. See also Burckhardt, An Introduction to the Sufi Doctrine, chap.3; A.K.

Coomaraswamy," pantheism, Indian and Neo-platonic." Journal of Indian History, (6:249-252, 1937). The arguments of the author apply to Sufism as well.

^[57] This is how Nicholson and several other scholars term *wandat al-wujud*.

^[58] For details see Nasr, op.cit p.105-107.

^[59] See Kalurvi, *Taiikh-i-Tasawwuf*, op. cit., pp. 92, 93.

^[60] See Faiz Ahmed, Mehr-i-Munir, Lahore, (1376 H.) p.105 and 130. See also note 23. Pir Mehr 'Ali Shah is the same personality to whom Iqbal addressed his queries about Ibn 'Arabi in 1933. See 'Ataullah, op.cit. Vol.I., p.443. A few centuries earlier, situation was no better for Ibn Taimiyyah who, due to a lack of authentic reports and reliable texts, coupled with his brilliant but somewhat fanatical mind, in all sincerity denounced Ibn 'Arabi on various points. As could be seen from a comparison of Ibn Taimiyyah's attacks with Futuhat, Ibn Taimiyyah was not well informed about the works and doctrines of Ibn 'Arabi. For example compare Ibn 'Arabi's position on questions of Ittihad and Hulul with the ideas attributed to him by Ibn Taimiyyah in his Fatawa, al-Riyad, 1382 h. See also M. M. al-Ghurab, al-Radd 'ala Ibn Taimiyyah, Damascus 1981, p.10.7.

REASON AND FAITH IN THE NATURAL THEOLOGY OF IQBAL

Part 2

AZIZAN BAHARUDDIN

God and Nature

(Continued from the previous Issue)

Iqbal did not subscribe to the mechanistic view of the world, space and time.^[1] In this context, it can be seen from the Reconstruction that he found support for his ideas from such thinkers as William James and Whitehead.^[2] According to the mechanistic view there is present in experience, an external world which exists in its own right, independently of its appearance to the mind of the individual observer. This conception leads to a materialistic position.^[3] He knew that the scientific view of nature as pure materiality was associated with the Newtonian view of space as an absolute void in which all things are situated.

Iqbal was of the opinion that if physics constituted a really coherent knowledge of perceptibly known objects, then the traditional theory of matter must be rejected because it reduced the evidence of the senses, on which alone the physicist and experimenter must rely, to a mere impression of the observer's mind.^[4] He added further that, between nature and the observer of nature, the theory then created a gulf which had to be bridged by the hypothesis of an imperceptible something occupying space like a thing and causing sensation by some kind of impact. Quoting Whitehead, he concluded that the theory reduced one half of nature to a dream and the other half to a mere conjecture'. So physics had found it necessary to criticise its own totally materialistic foundations.^[5] Thus although he did not deny the existence of matter, he did deny its substantiality and in this he found support in the relativity theory which broke down not only the objectivity of nature but the view of substance as simple location in space.^[6] For him nature was not a static fact situated in a dynamic void, but a structure of events possessing the character of a continuous creative flow which thought

cuts up into isolated immobilities out of whose relations arise the concepts of space with time.”^[7] It is a process of becoming.’ Nature is seen more as an event or series of events than as a thing or things; i.e. “the universe which seems to us to be a collection of things is not a solid stuff occupying a void. It is not a thing but an act.”^[8]

Although matter exists, it is not that which is “elementally incapable of evolving the synthesis we call life and mind and needing a transcendental Deity to impregnate it with the sentient and mental”.^[9] Iqbal defined matter as “a colony of egos of a low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order, when their association and interaction reach a certain degree of coordination.”^[10]

Iqbal believed therefore that an analysis of conscious experience throws light on the nature of matter, space and time. The point is that just as he wanted to show the continuity between the physical and the spiritual under the common heading of experience, so too via the preceding ideas he wanted to show the continuity between matter and consciousness; And an important texture of consciousness is its mutability. Iqbal again found support in Bergson who had said:

I pass from state to state. I am warm or cold, I am merry or sad, work or I do nothing, I look at what is around me or I think of something else. Sensations feelings and volitions, I change, without ceasing.

The ‘I’ is synonymous with consciousness. From Nature to God - Proofs of the existence of God Like Leibniz and McTaggart, Iqbal believed that Reality is spiritual and consists of only selves or monads or egos.^[11]

The monads range from the completely active to the almost inert. No created monad is completely inactive and none is completely active, but those at the lowest end of the scale would be mere matter, If they were any thing. God is the only completely active monad. Iqbal believed that there are degrees of consciousness:

“Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence. is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of ego-hood. Throughout the

entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man.”^[12]

For Iqbal the universe is made up of ego-unities which are living, fluid and dynamic. They are in constant flux. They exist in a kind of tension with their environment, due to their mutual invasion of each other. Therefore the universe is growing and is not an already completed product which left the hands of its maker ages ago,^[13] and is “now lying stretched out in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing, and consequently is nothing.”^[14]

The question then arises as to whether it is possible to conceive the universe as not needing a deity. Iqbal’s answer was a definite ‘no’ because “the movement of life as an organic growth involves a progressive synthesis of its various stages. Without this synthesis it will cease to be an organic growth.”^[15] In other words it is determined by ends and the presence of ends meant that it must be permeated by a higher consciousness which is the ultimate self or Divine Ego. Whilst criticizing the traditional arguments for the existence of God (such as the cosmological, teleological and ontological arguments) Iqbal provided his own working proof, based on his organic philosophy of nature.

He started with what he understood to be the new physics’ view which sees objective reality as being not wholly independent of the act of knowing. The knower is intimately related to the object known, and the act of knowing is a constitutive element in the objective reality.^[16]

Finding support in the theory of relativity, Iqbal concluded that the object known is relative to the observing self; its size and shape change as the observer’s position and speed change. But “whatever the position and speed of the observer, what ever his frame of reference, something must always remain which confronts him as his other”.^[17] An other words if, in accordance with the principle of relativity, the object confronting the subject is really relative, then there must be some Self to whom it ceases to exist as one confronting other.

The Self must be non-spatial, non-temporal Absolute, to whom what is external to us ceases to exist as external. Without such an assumption,

objective reality cannot be relative to the spatial and temporal Self. To the absolute Self then, the universes is not a Reality confronting Him as His 'other'.^[18]

Iqbal should not be seen to be in favour of pure and simple pantheism. On the contrary, he was at pains to point to the Absoluteness of God. He did this by referring to the Quranic verse 24:35 where God is referred to as light. The Quranic text is as follows:-

“God is the Light of the heavens and of the the earth. His Light is like a niche in which is a lamp. The lamp encased in a glass - the glass, as it were a star”.

The description of God as Light in the revealed literature of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Iqbal thought, must be interpreted differently. The teaching of modern physics is that the velocity of light cannot be exceeded and is the same for all observers whatever their own system of movement. Thus in the world of change, light is the nearest approach to the Absolute.

“The metaphor of light as applied to God must in view of modern knowledge be taken to suggest the Absoluteness of God, not his Omnipresence which easily lends itself to pantheistic interpretation.”^[19]

It follows from such an analysis that the universe does not confront the Absolute Self in the same way as it confronts the human self.^[20] It is a fleeting moment in the life of God. “It is a structure of events, a systematic mode of behaviour and as such organic to the Ultimate Self. Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self. In the picturesque phrase of the Quran, “it is the habit of Allah.”^[21]

He regards the Ultimate reality as an Ego from which alone egos proceed. These egos as events and acts make nature.^[22] In other words, the creative energy of the Ultimate

Ego, in whom deed and thought are identical, functions as egos. He said:

The world, in all its details, from the mechanical movement of what we call the atoms of matter to the free movement of thought in the human ego, is the self-revelation of the great “I am.”^[23]

Finite mind makes the mistake of regarding Nature as confronting ‘other’ existing per se, which the mind knows but does not make. We are therefore apt to regard the act of creation as a specific past event and the universe appears as a manufactured article as in the theological argument which he criticized. If it were like an artifact it would have no organic relation to the life of its Maker, and the Maker would be nothing more than a mere spectator. He pointed out that this had been traditionally, the problem of theology i.e. “all the meaningless theological controversies about the ideas of creation arise from this narrow vision of the finite mind”. Thus regarded the universe is only a mere accident in the life of God and might not have been created.^[24]

The real question which we should address is:-”Does the universe confront God as His “other” with space intervening between Him and it”? His answer was a definite no. The universe cannot be regarded as an independent reality standing in opposition to Him.^[25] This will reduce God to two separate entities confronting each other, whereas space and matter are only interpretations that thought puts on “the free creative energy of God.”^[26]

In this connection Iqbal related the story of how a Sufi was once confronted with the common sense view of God by one of his disciples. The disciple said that there was a moment of time when God existed and nothing else existed beside Him. The Sufi’s comment was very pointed - “It is just the same now as it was then,” he said.^[27]

Iqbal did not accept the view that the world of matter is a ‘stuff’ coeternal with God, operated upon by God from a distance. “it is in its real nature, one continuous act which thought breaks up into a plurality of mutually exclusive things.”^[28] He quoted Eddington, whose ideas in his book Space, Time and Gravitation he saw as supportive to his own contentions. Eddington wrote;

The only way in which the mind can achieve its objects is by picking one particular quality as the permanent substance of the perceptual world, partitioning a perceptual time and space for it to be permanent in, and as a necessary consequence the laws of gravity, mechanics and geometry have to be obeyed.^[29] Eddington also added that perhaps it is the mind’s search for permanence that has created the world of physics.^[30]

Iqbal asserted that the universe is finite because it is a passing phase of God's extensively infinite consciousness and boundless because the creative power of God is intensively infinite. In asserting this he found support from Einstein's view that the universe is finite but boundless. From the Qur'anic verse "and verily towards God is thy limit" he concluded that the universe is likely to increase.^[31] Here, Iqbal is indicating by an apt reference to the Quran that it had a possible application in this context.

A. Bausani^[32] also adds that, by implication, what Iqbal wanted to say was that "since nature is organically related to the creative Self, it can grow and is consequently infinite in the sense that none of its limits is final - nature is organically finite only towards the innermost essence of God."^[33] Iqbal himself said:-

Reality is beyond time and space,

Do not say anymore that the universe is without a limit.

Its limit is internal, not external,

There are no distinctions of low and high more or less in its internal aspect.^[34]

This supports my earlier contention, i.e. that, in the main, Iqbal was trying to explain scriptural concepts in a scientific vocabulary.

Pantheism

In the earlier period of his thought, roughly extending from 1901 to about 1908, Iqbal's works did have a pantheistic tinge.^[35] Iqbal soon outgrew his pantheism, however. In his later thought, the relation of the finite to the Infinite Ego is one in which "the true infinite does not exclude the finite", but rather "embraces the finite without effacing its finitude and ... justifies its being."^[36] It can also be quite clearly seen that Iqbal did not intend that the infinite be regarded as merely the totality of all finites.^[37] In other words his theology is not pantheistic (in the sense that the world is identical with God). On the contrary, as we have seen, Iqbal tried hard to impress upon his readers God's Absoluteness and Individuality. That is why he constantly refers to God as the Ultimate Self and the Ultimate Ego. We have also seen

how he has interpreted the Quranic verse that refers to God as Light in a similar manner.

If a label has to be put on Iqbal's theological position, perhaps 'panentheism' would be the best. Panentheism is the doctrine that the world is not identical with God, nor separate from God, but in God who, in His Divine nature, transcends it.^[38] In this context he is in league with such western theologians as Charles Hartshorne who, in his dedication to those thinkers, who were able to see, in spite of ridicule, that the eternity or worshipful perfection of God does not imply his changelessness in all respects" included Iqbal.^[39]

Ours! position can justifiably be said to be close to panentheism because, according to him, although God is an Individual, He is not totally other than the universe itself. He is, at the same time, more than the sum of egos which compose that universe.^[40] As Iqbal explained it:

The Infinity of the Ultimate Ego consists in the infinite inner possibilities of His creative activity of which, the universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. God's infinity is intensive. It involves an infinite series, but is not of that series.^[41]

Although the Ultimate Ego holds the finite egos in His own Being, He does not obliterate their existence. From this the Ultimate Reality must be regarded as of the same nature as the self (i.e. as an individual). However, this Self does not lie apart from the universe, as if separated by a space lying between Him and the finite egos. The Ultimate Self is not transcendent as understood by the anthropomorphic theists because He is also immanent, and He comprehends and encompasses the whole universe. However His immanence is not in the traditional pantheistic sense as He is a personal and not impersonal Reality. He is therefore both immanent and transcendent, yet neither one nor the other alone.^[42] Despite this, however, Iqbal in the last analysis was more inclined to emphasise the transcendence of God than his immanence.

Traditionally the doctrine of pure immanence* is called wahdat al-wujud. In rejecting this doctrine (i.e. in stressing transcendence) Iqbal was influenced by another famous Sufi, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi^[43] (d. 1625) who wrote:-

He is beyond all modes of relations, all externalizations and internalization, beyond all projection and introjections, beyond all realisable and explicable, beyond all mystic intuition and experience; beyond all conceivable and imaginable. He is the Holy One, is beyond the Beyond, again beyond the Beyond.^[44]

Iqbal's panentheistic position seems to find support in an earlier mystic of the Naqshabandi order, Khwaja Mir Dard of Dehli (1720 - 1784) who, from the same metaphor of God as Light, concluded that God is both Absolute and Omnipresent; i.e. both Transcendent and Immanent.^[45]

Iqbal was also aware that to say that God undergoes changes might mean that we are imparting imperfection to Him because of the maxim that if something undergoes change it is imperfect. Iqbal argued against this charge asserting that:

(i) Change in the sense of a movement from an imperfect to a relatively perfect state or vice versa is obviously inapplicable to His life.^[46]

(ii) to conceive the Ultimate Ego as changeless is to conceive Him as utter inaction, a motiveless stagnant neutrality, an absolute nothing.

(iii) The Ultimate Ego instead exists in pure duration wherein change ceases to be a succession of varying attitudes and reveals its true character as continuous creation "untouched by weariness" and "unseizable by slumber or sleep."^[47]

Therefore to the creative Self change cannot mean imperfection. His perfection does not mean a mechanistically conceived immobility as Aristotle might have led the earlier Muslim philosophers to think; it consists instead of "the vast basis of His creative activity and the Infinite scope of His creative vision."^[48] Whereas the "not yet" of man can mean success or failure, the "not yet" of God means "unfailing realisation of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughout the entire process."^[49]

Therefore, if man chooses to do wrong deeds God will not be lessened' in any way. The loss will entirely be man's as we shall see in another section He

would have only served in slowing down, if not preventing his own progress towards God who had created him out of love.

God's Infinity and Creativity

Iqbal did not conceive of God as infinite in the sense of spatial infinity. "In matters of spiritual valuation, mere immensity counts for nothing" he says.^[50] Moreover, as he tried to show through scientific evidence, space and time infinities are not absolute.

God is not seen as a mere contriver who works on something that is already in existence.^[51] According to Schimmel, Iqbal really believed that God created the universe out of Himself. "Creation with Iqbal is the unfolding of the inner possibilities of the Ultimate Ego and is therefore, besides being a single act through which our world and serial time have come once into existence, a continuing act" - "everyday He is in a new phase (Shan) says the [Quran 5:29]".^[52] Next we shall see how Iqbal tackled the issues of freewill, determinism and destiny in relation to the problem of Good and Evil.

Freewill, Determination, Destiny and the problem of Good and Evil

According to Bergson, it is in terms of the profound self (which is intimately identical with pure *duree*) that the quest for freedom can start. He rejected mechanistic determinism which implies that all our conscious states are literal and perfect translations of the spatial movements that occur in our body or in the nervous system.^[53] Indeed "the very concept of prediction and causality when taken from the realm of physics are meaningless when applied to consciousness."^[54] Instead "in real time, in the life of consciousness, there is a perfect continuity and our self is at every moment, as it were, in a state of being born, absorbing its past and creating its future, it has a history, no doubt, it even is, its history, stored in memory, but it cannot go through the same state again."^[55]

Working on the same principles, Iqbal regarded destiny (or *takdir*, a term which has been so much misunderstood in Islam to mean predestination) as time seen or understood prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. "It is time freed from causal sequence, time as felt and not as thought and calculated."^[56] To Iqbal, "the destiny of a thing is not an unrelenting fate

working from without like a taskmaster; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realisable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature and serially actualise themselves without any feeling of external compulsion". That is "if time is real and not a mere repetition of homogenous moments which make conscious experience a delusion, then every moment in the life of Reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable."^[57]

Thus, to exist in real time is not to be hound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation.^[58] Iqbal regarded all creative activity as free activity. creation is opposed to repetition which is characteristic of mechanical action. This is why he considers it impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism. He considered science as seeking to establish uniformities of experience i.e. the laws of mechanical repetition. In actual fact however, life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indeterminism, and thus falls outside the domain of necessity. Hence science cannot comprehend life. "What we call things are events in the continuity of Nature which thought spatialises and thus regards as mutually isolated for purposes of action. "The universes which seems to us to be a collection of things is not a solid stuff occupying a void. It is not a thing but an act."^[59]

Purpose and Teleology

Unlike Bergson Iqbal believed that thought has a deeper movement. While thought appears to break Reality up into static fragments, its real function is to synthesize the elements of experience by employing categories, suitable to the various levels which experience presents.^[60] He saw Bergson as ignoring the point that the unity of consciousness has also a 'forward' looking aspect. and this is where the notion of purpose comes in, i.e. purpose cannot be understood except in reference to the future. He stressed that "purpose colours not only our present state of consciousness, but also reveals its future direction". They do this by "influencing the states that are yet to be". Accordingly, "Reality is not a blind vital impulse wholly unlimited by ideals - its nature is through and through teleological"^[61]

Iqbal's teleology did not mean the working out of a plan of a predetermined end or goal. This would reduce the universe to a mere temporal reproduction of a pre-existing eternal scheme or structure in which individual events have

already found their proper places, and are just waiting for their respective turns to enter into the temporal sweep of history.^[62]

Such a view says Iqbal is only a kind of veiled materialism in which fate or destiny takes the place of rigid determinism, leaving no scope for human or even divine freedom. "To live means to shape and change ends and purposes and to be governed by them. He explains further:-

"The world process or the movement of the universe, is certainly devoid of purpose if by purpose we mean a foreseen end, a far-off destination towards which the whole creation moves. To endow the world process with purpose in this sense is, to rob it of its originality and its creative character. Its ends are to come and not necessarily premeditated... It is a line in the drawing - an actualization of open possibilities."^[63]

For Iqbal nothing is more alien to the Quranic outlook than the idea that the universe is the temporal working out of a preconceived plan.

God's Omniscience

Iqbal is aware that the emergence of egos endowed with the power of spontaneous and hence unforeseeable action may be understood as a limitation on the freedom of the inclusive Ego. But this limitation is-not externally imposed, he says. It is born out of His own creative freedom whereby He has chosen finite egos to be participators of His life, power and freedom.^[64]

How then, can God's omnipotence be reconciled with the limitation that is imposed if the emergent egos are also given freedom? Iqbal tried to get around this problem by first stating that omnipotence need not be conceived only as a blind capricious power without limits. Then he referred to the Quranic conception of Nature as a cosmos (meaning an order, as opposed to chaos) of mutually related forces. It views Divine omnipotence as intimately related to Divine wisdom, and finds the infinite power of God revealed, not in the arbitrary and the capricious but in the recurrent, the regular, the orderly. The Quran also conceives God as "holding all Goodness in His hands."^[65]

Indirectly, therefore, what Iqbal is saying can be taken to mean that God is 'limited' in a way, but only by those qualities that are inherently. His to begin with for example goodness, orderliness, beauty etc. Another way of saying this would be that 'it is not that He is limited, rather, that He is just the way He is!'

This brings to mind not only the Sufi dictum as expressed by F. Schuon^[66] but also by the Buddhist mystical view that what we are observing through our study and observation of Nature is only His "suchness".^[67] In this sense Iqbal does not seem to run away from the mainstream of what Capra describes as Eastern and Islamic mysticism.

Therefore, when God gives man freedom it means that man is free to choose good or evil. If he chooses good he will be moving closer to God, if he chooses evil he will only be delaying his own progress towards him Good and Evil.

Iqbal was aware that when we say that God is good, or the rationally directed Divine will is good, a very serious problem arises, that of universal suffering and wrong doing. Here he connected the problem with Darwin's theory of evolution.^[68] He saw that the course of evolution, as revealed by modern science, involved an almost universal suffering. As with the English poet Milton, Iqbal asked the question of how we can reconcile the goodness and the omnipotence of God with the immense volume of evil in His creation.^[69]

Iqbal's answer to this dilemma shows that he does not claim to be comprehensive in his theology. He sees himself as only providing tentative new insights to some theological problems. He saw theology as an ongoing endeavour, ever dependent on or closely linked to the state of man's scientific knowledge. For him the issue raised is also one that lies in between optimism and pessimism. The Quran, he says, "believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces. This is neither optimism nor pessimism - it is meliorism which recognises a growing universe and is animated by the hope O man's eventual victory over evil."^[70]

The purpose of the legend of the Fall (the Adam and Eve story) is to indicate man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite for the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience.^[71]

The Fall does not mean moral depravity; it is man's transition from simple consciousness, to the first flash of self-consciousness. Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice: and that was why Adam's first act of transgression was forgiven.^[72] To Iqbal, "Goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal and arises out of a willing cooperation of free egos". A being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus a condition of goodness.^[73] In creating man and giving him the freedom to choose good and evil, God takes a great risk - but the fact that He did take that risk shows His immense faith in man.^[74]

The story of Adam for Iqbal also relates to man's desire for knowledge. Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit was wicked because being 'hasty' by nature. Adam yielded to Satan's persuasions to seek a short cut to knowledge: for the tree in ancient symbolism also means occult knowledge.^[75] Adam's subsequent placement into a painful physical environment was not meant to be a punishment; it was to defeat Satan's design by trying to keep man ignorant of the joy of perpetual growth and expansion. The experience of a finite ego to whom several possibilities are open expands only by the method of trial and error; which Iqbal describes as a kind of intellectual evil which is an indispensable factor in the building up of experience. The acceptance of selfhood as a form of life involves the acceptance of all the imperfections that flow from the finitude of self-hood.^[76]

Evolution

According to Iqbal, everything organic or inorganic can be traced back to a common source of creation - the self whose existence is also known as Wujud al-Basit (Wujud meaning that He exists, al-Basit meaning the 'Expander').^[77] The common source of creation who had no beginning,^[78] in order to manifest Himself, created the non-self, as a mirror and to provide the self with an immense scope for struggle, which is the necessary basis of all evolution.^[79]

The different levels of existence signify different stages in the development of egohood. The urge of self-manifestation and self-development is present in everything and is expressed in every living being - from a unicellular organism to a man's highly developed personality. He says:-

“Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire spectrum of being, runs the gradually rising note of egohood which reaches its perfection in man. This is why the Quran declares the Ultimate ego to be nearer to man than his own neck vein.”^[80]

Nevertheless,- man has yet to reach his fullest development, which is the ‘seal’ of perfection.^[81]

Iqbal does not consider the idea of evolution foreign to Islam. From verses such as Q 56:60-62 which say:- “And we are not to be frustrated by changing your forms and creating you (again) in forms that Ye know not. And ye certainly know already the first form of creation”,^[82] Muslim thinkers were led to think of the idea of evolution. For example al-Jahiz (d. 861) was the first Muslim thinker to hint at the changes caused by migration and the environment generally. Later the association known as the “Brethren of Purity” and Ibn Miskawaih (936-1030) developed the idea of evolution further. The latter included man in the theory for the first time.^[83]

There is no doubt that Iqbal himself felt quite confident that biological evolution is quite “consistent with the spirit of the Quran.”^[84] He lauded Rumi^[85] for regarding the question of immortality as one of biological evolution and not merely a problem to be decided by metaphysical arguments alone.^[86]

He criticized the Darwinian concept of evolution, however, for the meaninglessness it attaches to the phenomenon of biological death; which in turn he saw as bringing with it the feeling of despair. He contrasted this with the optimistic view of evolution which Rumi for example expressed through his poetry. For Rumi death is but an other transition to another form for man, just as he had been through transitions from mineral to vegetable to animal to man before it.^[87] In other words, death is just a phase before the next higher stage in the whole evolutionary process.^[88]

For Iqbal, evolution is a physical as well as a spiritual fact. The cause of evolution is the creative activity of the consciousness of the universe (God). Evolution as the 'method' of creation is always gradual. From moment to moment, consciousness is continually breaking through its own resistance and outgrowing itself, creating anew the universe, advancing gradually towards its goal and the destination.^[89]

To make a passage for itself towards its goal, consciousness either avoids obstacles or faces and overcomes them. This creative 'march' of consciousness finally resulted in the evolution of matter from stage to stage like the transition of the plant to animal. Stretched over millions of years, the evolutionary process in these states resulted in innumerable species.^[90]

However Iqbal, like Bergson, did not accept that evolution proceeds along a mechanistic line (i.e. that it is the chance result of the play of mechanical forces). He quoted J. S. Haldane: for example, to support his anti-mechanistic views. For Iqbal life is a unique phenomenon and the concept of mechanism is inadequate for its analysis.^[91]

Iqbal also drew ideas from the biologist Hans Driesch who thought that living things, in all the purposive processes of growth and adaptation to environment, whether their adaptation was secured by the formation of fresh or the modification of old habits, possess a career unthinkable in the case of a machine.^[92] He also quoted Wildon Carr's argument that the intellect cannot be the result of the mechanical process of evolution.^[93]

Finally Iqbal's ideas on evolution were also very much in line with Bergson's ideas on evolution. Bergson wanted to prove that the evolutionary process, in particular the evolution of inorganic matter was actually the work of mind; and that the theory of evolution is to be incorporated into an essentially spiritualist picture of the world, according to which matter is intelligible with in the framework of a creative divine spirit.^[94]

The 'method' of evolution at the human (or moralistic) level Iqbal's ideas concerning the theme of evolution in its connection with morals form an important part of his theology, especially where it pertains to the socially-uplifting side of his Sufi ideas, which were expressed in his poetry more than in the Reconstruction. This section can also be what I regard as a psycho-

biological interpretation of what Iqbal thought the ideal religious weltanschauung for man ought to be.

Iqbal affirmed that two very important qualities of self-consciousness (whether as the universal self-consciousness or as it is expressed in human beings) were beauty and love. The human self-consciousness loves the universal consciousness and vice-versa.^[95] It is on account of their seeking one another that a perpetual process of creation occurs.^[96]

And it is the 'loving' or 'seeking' which goes on at both ends of consciousness (man's and God's) that is the cause of history and the process of evolution which leads ultimately to the perfection of the universe or the perfection of man who is the essence of the universe.^[97] Man shows his love for the Divine Self by worshipping It, adoring Its qualities and acting in Its service; i.e. by expressing Its qualities in his own actions. The Divine Self is actual Beauty, but the human self-consciousness is potential Beauty that has yet to be actualized or revealed as a result of the creative process.^[98]

Beauty itself includes all the lovable, and admirable qualities like goodness, truth etc. Which are always expressed in the service of love. These qualities are also present in man to the extent that he will evolve and display them in his own self-consciousness.^[99] How does the self evolve? - by adoration (worship and prayer) and by action; i.e. by identifying itself in theory and in practice more and more with the qualities of Beauty.^[100]

Action, therefore, is the instrument that the self utilizes as a means for the satisfaction of its urge for Beauty. Knowledge is acquired by the self for the sake of action. All action is actually aimed at removing resistance in the part of the self's urge for Beauty.^[101] Love therefore has implications for action. To Iqbal, the search for Beauty is the sole urge of human consciousness. Therefore it has a bearing on human behaviour and psychology. And indeed he tried to cover this field in his theology in the sense that he discussed modern psychology in the light of his religious beliefs and vice versa. Then from what he saw to be the psychological implications of his ideas, he endeavoured to show how they would bear on political, philosophical and ethical thought in general.

Iqbal started with the premise that it is only the Divine self and its attributes that can really satisfy a man's urge for Beauty. Consequently when a man is loving, and seeking by action and service an ideal in the universe and its qualities, he is expressing his urge for Beauty in the right way. But if and when he is ignorant of the real desire of his self, he is not doing so. His urge for Beauty then finds expression in some other idea to which he mistakenly attributes all the qualities of Beauty. The reason for this is that we constantly have urges in our nature, the most powerful one (i.e. urge for Beauty) we cannot hold back even for a single moment. In such a case a substitute ideal becomes chosen by man for his ideal which then dominates all his activities. This 'substitute' ideal normally appears to possess some qualities of the Real which is the reason why he is lured to it in the first place.^[102]

However, his love for the wrong ideal will not last long; sooner or later the urge of his true self, his inner values of Beauty, will begin to operate and the man will discover the elements or qualities of Beauty that his temporary ideal has been lacking. When this happens, he will be disappointed and disillusioned. He will then turn to another ideal hoping for a better satisfaction of his urge for Beauty and so the process continues, but each time the mistakes learnt in a previous experience will be avoided in the new one. The process of trial and error continues as long as he does not hit upon the Right ideal.^[103]

To be Continued

^[1] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1968. p. 33.

^[2] Ibid. p. 208.

^[3] Ibid. This is also comparable to what Bergson believed. To Bergson "... real time has the characteristic of memory... its nature is psychological... to the extent that we may speak of a time-bound universe, the evolution of the universe displays mind-like properties". L. Kolakowski, op. cit. p.3

^[4] Ibid. footnote 1 p 209

^[5] I.L.H. Enver. *Metaphysics of Iqbal*, Aligarh, Ph.D. 1944, p. 60. in R. Hasan, 1968, op. cit. 1968 p. 183.

^[6] M. Iqbal. op. cit. 1968, p. 34.

^[7] K. A. Hamid, "Iqbal's philosophy of the human ego", *The Visrabhati Quarterly*, New Series vol. IX, 1944 Part 1. Fe.b. - April, p. 301.

^[8] M. Iqbal. op. cit. 1968, p. 34.

^[9] *Ibid.* p. 106.

^[10] *Ibid.*

^[11] H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, 1911, p. 1 in R. Hasan 1968, op. cit. p. 186.

^[12] R. Hasan, 1968, *ibid.* p. 107.

^[13] M. Iqbal, op. cit. p. 71-72.

^[14] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

^[15] *Ibid.*

^[16] *Ibid.* p.55.

^[17] R. Hasan, op. cit., 1968, p. 198.

^[18] M. Iqbal, "The new rose garden of mystery" p. 5-6 in *Zubur-i-Ajam* (Persian Psalms) p. 212 quoted by R. Hasan, op. cit. 1968, p. 198.

^[19] S.A. Vahid (ed.) *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore. 1964 p. 111.

^[20] *Ibid.*

^[21] J. Khatoon, *The place of God, Man and the Universe in Iqbal's Philosophic System*, Karachi, 1963, p. 35.

^[22] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1968 p. 56.

^[23] *Ibid.* p. 71.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid p. 91.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid. p. 92.

[29] Ibid.

[30] S. A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, Lahore. 1964, p. 64.

[31] M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction* op. cit. 1930, p. 68 and A. Bausani, "The concept of time in the religious philosophy of M Iqbal" in *Die Welt de Islam*, III, 1954. p. 162, Leiden.

[32] A. Bausani, 1954, Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] M. Iqbal, *Gulshan-e-Raz-i-Jadid* (New rose garden), trans. B.A. Dar, p.23 in R. Hasan op. cit. 1968, p.206.

[35] Ibid.

[36] M. M. Sharif, *About Iqbal and his Thought*, Lahore, 1964, p. 11.

[37] Iqbal, op. cit. p. 29.

[38] R. Whittenmore, "Iqbal's pantheism", *Review of Metaphysics*, vol.9, 1956 op. cit. 1968, p. 210.

[39] C. Hartshorne, *A natural theology for our time*, La Salle. Illinois, 1979, p. vii.

[40] See note 179.

[41] M. Iqbal, op. cit., 1930. p. 90.

[42] I.H. Enver, *Aligarh*, Ph.D. 1944, p. 86.

^[43] R. Hasan, op. cit. 1968, p. 213.

^[44] Ibid.

^[45] A. Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, a study into the religious ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Leiden, 1963, p. 100.

^[46] Iqbal, op. cit., p. 81.

^[47] M. Iqbal, 1930.

^[48] M. Iqbal, 1930.

^[49] Ibid.

^[50] Ibid. p. 64.

^[51] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1930, p. 90.

^[52] A. Schimmel, op. cit., 1963, p. 99.

^[53] L. Kolakowski, *Bergson*, Oxford, 1985, p. 19.

^[54] Ibid.

^[55] Ibid. p. 21.

^[56] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1930, p. 65.

^[57] Ibid. p. 67.

^[58] Ibid.

^[59] Ibid. p. 72-73.

^[60] Ibid.

^[61] Ibid.

^[62] Ibid.

^[63] Ibid. p. 75.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid. p. 112.

[66] F. Schuon, “Dilemmas of theological speculation with special reference to Muslim scholasticism”, *Islamic Quarterly*, 17 (1974) pp. 36-63.

[67] See F. Capra, *The Tao of Physics*, 1987, p. 37.

[68] M. Iqbal, *op. cit.* p. 11 I.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid. p. 113.

[71] Ibid. p. 117-118.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid. p. 119

[76] Ibid. p. 119-122.

[77] S.A. Vahid, *Iqbal - his Life and Thought*, London, 1954, p. 42.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] M. Iqbal, *op. cit.* p. 99.

[81] J. Khatoon, “Iqbal’s perfect man” in M.S. Sheikh ed. *Studies in Iqbal’s Thought and Art*, Lahore, 1971, p. 127.

[82] Quran trans. A.Y. Ali *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran*, London, 1976, p. 803.

[83] M. Iqbal, *op. cit.* 1930. p. 167.

^[84] Ibid.

^[85] J. Rumi (d. 1273), the famous Persian Sufi-Poet whom Iqbal regarded as his mentor. He related how in a dream Rumi encouraged him in his work.

^[86] Ibid. 133.

^[87] Rumi, excerpt from *The Mathnawi*, translated most probably by Iqbal himself. Quoted in *The Reconstruction*, 1930. p. 168.

^[88] *Reconstruction*, 1930, p. 169.

^[89] M. Rafiuddin in M.S. Sheikh's *Studies in Iqbal's Thought and Art*, Lahore, 1971, pp. 81-83.

^[90] Ibid.

^[91] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1968, pp. 43-44.

^[92] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1968, pp. 43-44.

^[93] M. Iqbal, op. cit. 1968, pp. 44-45

^[94] H. Bergson, in L. Kolakowski, *Bergson*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 3-4.

^[95] M. Rafiuddin, "Iqbal's idea of the self", in M.S. Sheikh (ed.) *Studies in Iqbal's Thought and Art*, Lahore, 1971, pp. 75-105.

^[96] Ibid.

^[97] *Zabur-i-Ajam* (Persian Psalms) and *Bang-i-Dara* (The Call of the Bell) in M. Rafiuddin, *Ibid*, p. 88.

^[98] Ibid.

^[99] Ibid.

^[100] *Amurghan-i-Hijaz* (The Gift from Hijaz) p. 167 in M. Rafiuddin.

^[101] Ibid.

^[102] Ibid. pp. 80-90.

[103] Ibid.