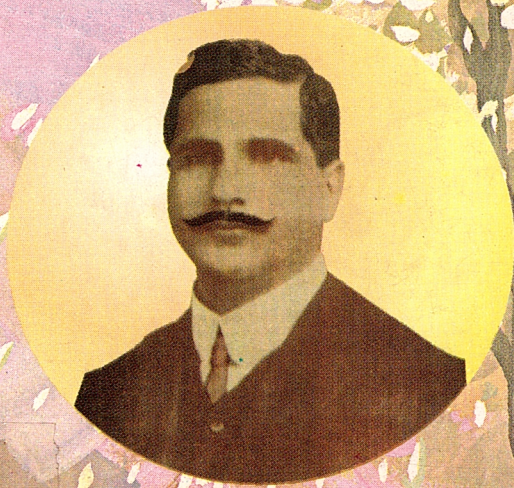


IQBAL

Religio -Philosophical Ideas
(Essays & Studies)



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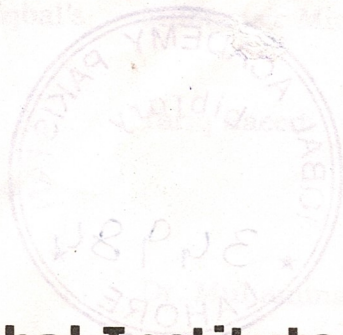
B.A. NAHVI

**IQBAL'S
RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHICAL
IDEAS**

(Essays and Studies)

Compiled by

Bashir Ahmad Nahvi



Iqbal Institute
University of Kashmir

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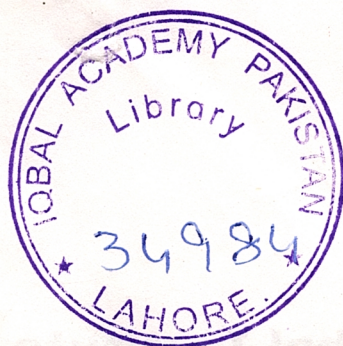
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INTRODUCTION

Allama Iqbal is unique among the contemporary Muslim thinkers in utilizing theology, philosophy, mysticism and poetry of the East along with that of the sets- and the potent emotional appeal and the sweet style of psuedo-urdu poetry to understand and explain the destiny of the man and then to relate that vision to his social life and polity. It is Iqbal's capability to traverse the expanse, which separates philosophy from socio-cultural concern, that has made him a philosopher and cultural and social; hero.

The ideas on ideal society were surely, logical conclusions of Iqbal's progressive outlook on settling problems of a human being and a society. He believed in the creative power of a man, recognized the necessity of prevailing of community interests over individual ones, protest against social inequality and suppression. Iqbal gave his own interpretation of main moral principles of an ideal society. Though Iqbal's conception of ideal society was religious, it also had brightly expressed social and political character, being, as well as his conception of Khudi, the synthesis of utopic ideas of common Muslims on social justice.

The concept of ideal society and the ideal polity, Iqbal discovers it in the early history of Islam. It was in the Muslim community that Muslims had reached the pinnacle of their spiritual and worldly power, the full realization of human

destiny. It was that vision of the past that guided his prescription for the future.

*Magar who ilm key moti kitabain apne abaa ki
Jo dekhe un ko Europe me to dil hota hey see para
Tujhe aabaa se apne koyee nisbat ho nahi sakti
Ke who kirdar tu guftar tu sabit who sayaraa*

Iqbal was fully convinced that man was able to realize the full potential of his destiny only in the context of the revival of Islam, in an order wherein the perfection of the soul would be reflected in the excellence of social relations. While he idealized early Islamic history, Iqbal also incorporated modern values and percepts into that ideal.

*Ta khilafat ki bina dunyaa mey ho phir ustumar
La Kaheen se dhoond kar aslaaf ka qalb o jigar*

Iqbal's principle aim in reformation and rationalization of the Islamic faith was to recreate the ideal Muslim society- the perfect order in which man would attain his highest ideals. This was a task, which began with the perfection of man best exemplified in the example of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) himself and culminated in the creation of the ideal social order, hence for Iqbal the revival of faith at the individual level was intellectually tied to the creation of perfect Islamic world.

The different colors and shapes of Iqbal's art and the thought have been explained in this collection

of English essays written by reputed scholars on Iqbal Studies and experts in Comparative Studies. I have tried my level best to collect such essays and studies which are rare in the market and invaluable in their content and style. These articles are from the writers who have achieved name in the sub-continent. My heart felt thanks are due to the writers of the books and Journals where from the rich material was collected and for printers and publishers who allowed us to publish the articles merely to popularize and commonise Iqbaliyat. The first collection of essays entitled "Iqbal's Multiformality" has been widely appreciated and we are hopeful that the second collection would also be appreciated in the academic circles.

Bashir Ahmad Nahvi
23-07-2003

Iqbal's Guidelines For Regeneration Of Muslim Millat To Confront Contemporary Western Hegemony.

Dr. Sayyid A. Pirzada

The paper is an attempt to understand the present economic and political decline of the Muslim world, and how the Muslim can be lifted from this lowest state. It will begin with a short description of Iqbal's conception of millat, especially its constituents and scope. Later present sectarian aspect of the Muslim society, and the degree of danger it poses to the larger interests of international Islam will be discussed. It will follow a brief resume of the Muslim past in the present century, tracing the origin of various political problems facing the Muslim world. Those political and economical problems include scientific and technological advancement, acquiring of sophisticated nuclear technology for strengthening defence economy, and elimination of the vestiges of colonialism. In the end, the Western attitude towards the Muslim world will be analysed.

The cardinal point of Allama Iqbal's political philosophy is millat fraternity of believers. The bonds of the fraternity are above race, colour, region, proximity and matter. Its core is Islam, Ka'bah and the person of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The bonds of millat do not segregate the believers to a corner of mosque, aloof from all the decencies created by Allah. Rather they value a complete social order encompassing both spiritual

and temporal life.¹ In act individual's individuality shines in the multiplicity of *millat*. In the larger sense, it gives birth to a collective ego founded on the revealed world of Allah.

The sphere of *millat* in temporal affairs is well defined. It is not based on a utopia of Plato, or that of Marx-utopian communism and utopian socialism,² but on the person of Prophet (PBUH) who lived amongst the believers, and the practice that he left will continue until the doomsday.³ the Islamic social system is valued by equality, independence and exploitation free economics. The essence of Tawhid is equality, solidarity and freedom. The state thus founded on this bedrock "is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space time forces, (and) an aspiration to realize them in a definite human organization".⁴ the institution of prophethood and finality of the Prophet of Islam (PBHU)⁵ is the leverage of the entire socio-legal system of Islam, as also ordained in the Qur'an. "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed my favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion".⁶ According to Iqbal, it was a great divine retaining the symbolic honour and image of the Prophet (PBUH) for all time and all epochs.⁷ the *millat* thus raised on these parameters will attain immortality. Similarly the doors of *ummats* were also closed as a corollary of this divine revelation.

The Islamic *millat*'s constituents are inseparable, and above sectarian attachments. The idea of nationalism founded on common ties of

religion, race, colour, language, geography, history, customs, traditions and above all unique economic and political interests and a will to uphold it, are alien to Islam. Islam has no room for such compartmentalisation which could explode and wreck the entire, humanely created edifice. Islam therefore, is neither "Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizons of its members".⁸ This viewpoint has been amply explained by the Allama in his poetry.

He says that our allegiance with China, India, Rome, Syria, Afghanistan and Turkey is insignificant and it must be noted that all Muslims are like Birds in a garden.⁹ It is with this yardstick that Allah has drawn a divider amongst the ummat of the loves of prophet of Islam and those who are in the other camp.¹⁰ Allah is not only Creator and an object of worship, but also the law-giver. In Islam nobody is considered immune from the injunctions laid down in Qur'an.¹¹ Qur'an-based polity therefore, has no room for an absolute ruler, over and above the limits prescribed by Allah.¹² Those bearing the torch of the love of Prophet symbolize a bud on a beautiful branch, and turning into fruit and foliage for the weal of humanity.¹³ In the nutshell, Islamic millat is required to possess a real collective ego to live, move and have its being as a single individual. The development of such a consciousness depends on the preservation of the history and traditions of the millat. Iqbal outlined the crux of the political system of Islam in a letter

to his teacher R.A.Nicholson. He says, "The Kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth".¹⁴

Iqbal's perception of millat could not be translated into political reality, and after the first World War, the infighting of Muslims, fertilized by Western intrigues through their agents matured into the dismemberment of Ottomans Empire. It gave room to the Jewish state of Israel in Palestine usurping the first Qibla of the Muslim world. After the second World War, Kashmir was added to the agony of the millat. Frayricidal war in Lebanon, obstructing the formation of government in Algeria by the Islamic Salvation Front committed to Islam despite a clear victory in the 1991 polls, consistent interference in Iran's internal affairs by protecting the oppressive rule of the Shah were later added to the above role of Muslim sufferings at the hands of the West. Most recent machinations of the American led West to Brand Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Sudan and Pakistan (under observation for some time) as terrorist states, besides an all out campaign against the fundamentalist Muslims upholding their Islamic beliefs, represent the duplicity of the Western democracy and republicanism by jeopardizing the legitimate rights of the Muslim world.

The anti-Islam political stance of the West is also extended to the economic, scientific and technological spheres. The most important of them is the acquiring of nuclear technology for

development and defence purposes. The worst target of this discrimination is from amongst the Muslim world and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq. Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (hanged to death in a murder case) who did not yield to the "American pressure" to forego nuclear reprocessing plant agreement Pakistan signed to acquire from France was threatened to be made a "horrible example".¹⁵

The Americans have been consistently pressing on successive government in Pakistan to "cap", "roll back" and "zero nuclear facility". The idea behind the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) remains the same to maintain the monopoly of super powers in nuclear arsenal. The CTBT closes the portals of nuclear research on the new entrants, but protects the large nuclear arsenal of the five bigs. In the economic field the recently enacted World Trade Organisation guarantees the monopoly of European manufactures. Slashing tariff of the poor countries in the garb of liberalisation of international trade is the death warrant for their indigenous industries and economies. The European nations blackmail the borrowing countries through debts and compel them to follow their political policies. Contemporary Pakistan and Egypt are its examples. Political blackmailing of the oil producing (entire) Arabs, saying Iraq, to fund American defence presence in the Gulf is yet another exploitation by the leading democracies of the West and America. The question is that which aspect of the democracy values such civilized loot?

The above coercive policies involving protection of the Zionist aggression against Palestinians fighting for their national homeland, lukewarmness (at UN level) towards Indian crimes against Kashmiris fighting for the implementation of the UN promise for the right of self-discrimination, fomenting dissension, strife and war in Lebanon, Iran and Afghanistan, blackmailing the poor countries through tactics like trade liberalization and commanding and controlling the economies of the borrowing nations through international monetary bodies and maintaining hegemony in the sophisticated weaponry, all enjoyed the support of the Western democracies.

Iqbal thoroughly analysed the Western democracy. He severely criticized the Godless and secular nature of the Western democracy. He says in Islam the spiritual and the temporal are not two distinct domains, and the nature of an action, however, secular is its import, is determined by the attitude of mind with which the agent does it. In Islam "it is the same reality which appears as Church looked at from one point of view and State from another. It is not true to say that Church and State are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a single unanalysable reality which is one or the other as your point of view varies".¹⁶ He dubbed the Godless politics of the West as Satan's maid Kanilz-i- ahraman.¹⁷ He viewed the number-oriented-democratic-system to be devoid of any wisdom.¹⁸ "Flee from the method of democracy

because human thinking cannot emerge out the brains of two hundred asses".¹⁹ In Armughan-i-Hijaz, Iqbal comes up with the logic as to why he considers modern democracy and medieval monarchies as synonymous. The sense is entitled Iblis is Kay Mushir- The advisor of Iblis. An advisor responds to the other on the rising tide of democratic feelings among the masses. The letter says:

I Know, but my insight tells me that no danger is likely to me from what is merely a curtain placed upon kingship with democratic robes, as soon as man became a little self-conscious. The business of Kingship does not depend upon the existence of princes and aristocrats. Whether it be the legislative assembly of the nation or the court of a Persian monarchs, the King is he who casts his eye upon the lands of others. Did you not see the democratic system of the West? A glowing bright face with the inside darker than that of a Changiz? ²⁰

A similar accounts of the Allama is available in poem Khizr-i-Rah.

There are edifying dissertations on the Rights

Of Men: impassioned speeches from the Forum

On the scared Duties of citizenship; and
stormy

Debates in the Houses. But all these are no
more

Than so many subterfuges to get hold of the
world's wealth

Just a series of gigantic frauds, worked by
old adepts

At the game, who privately agree among
themselves

To the share of each in the common spoils ²¹

A western scholar Freeland Abbott has come with an interesting logic to reject Iqbal's philosophy about the West and its democracy. He says that Iqbal "Knew the Europe of 1905 to 1908, not a period in which democracy, as we envision it today, had made a great deal of progress"²² And that like democracy, Iqbal's view of the "West was also imperfect". At another place he defends secularism as "an extension of religion".²³ Abbott's comments represent his ignorance about history, philosophy and Islam in toto. He does not follow Urdu and Persian, and not even proper transliteration methodology, but he selects to write on Iqbal's philosophies and passes a sweeping verdict on Iqbal's intellect. As regards secularism Fontana Dictionary of Modern Political Thoughts, ²⁴ as well as Western philosophers like Sabina ²⁵ and Will

Durant²⁶ and many others agree on the definition of secularism as "negation of religion".

Iqbal's view of exploitative culture of the West is also shared by the renowned revolutionary scholar Dr. Ali Shari'ati regards the West to be cherishing an "economy-worshipping-structure" founded on "exploitation". It is based on philosophy of consumerism" and "civilized barbarism" with a principle object of "looting".²⁷ the spiritual mentor of Islamic Iran Ayatullah Khomeni was also the critical of the Western political system. In a message of a pilgrims he said that owing to "apathy and negligence of the Muslim people, the foul claws of imperialism despite our supposed ownership of them. He said the poisonous culture of imperialism is penetrating to the depths of towns and villages throughout the Muslim world. It is "displacing the culture of the Qur'an". Our youth are being enlisted in masses to the service of "foreigners and imperialists"; and they are corrupting them day by day with new tunes and new deceptions.²⁸

CONCLUSION

The overview of the Western society according to Iqbal is its fasad-i-qalb-o-nazar²⁹-i.e double standard or hypocrisy. Murad Hofmann, a German Muslim who served as a senior diplomat has examined this question in an article in Islamic Studies. He says that the permission to raise high cement factories and gas kettles but wrangling for a mosque minaret, American nuclear crime through "Christian" bomb in Nagasaki and

Hiroshima but curbs on Iraq, and Pakistan not to develop "Islamic bomb", calumnious propaganda against the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (PBUH), encouraging and protecting Salman Rushdi, the author of a agonizing book *Satanic Verses*, castigating Professor Annamearie Schimmel who pointed out that "Rushdi had hurt the sentiments of millions of Muslims", disseminating the views of scholars like Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington that "the Muslim world, sooner or later, will either disappear or become fully marginalized, reticulating Islam, Muslim prayers, pilgrimage and fasting and tagging it with the immortality of oil-rich Arabs and dubbing Qur'an as a complete Turkish code of law", or Turkish Bible", all speak of the inner core of the western hypocrisy. ³⁰

To face this unethetical, hypocrite and immoral West, Iqbal come up with a proposal to strengthen ego. In his lectures, the Allama quotes the first philosopher historian of Islam, Ibn Khaldun and the noted theologian of Iraq, Qazi Abu Bakr Baqillani "to accept the most powerful man as Imam in the country where he happened to be powerful". This idea could be the "first dim vision of an international Islam", ³¹ in the contemporary world. Later Iqbal quotes for nationalist poet of Turkey, Zia. The crux of his suggestion is that for creating "a really effective political unity of Islam, all Muslim countries must first become independent and then in their totality they should rang themselves under the Caliph". He

considered it to be the only source of strength because in "the International world the weak find no sympathy; (and) power alone deserves respect".³² In the opinion of Iqbal, the Muslim should turn themselves as "strong and powerful to form a living family of republic" and that is interwoven in a "League of Nations (of Islam)" which "recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its members".³³ With this the ultimate aim of Islam, the "spiritual democracy"³⁴ will be achieved.

Iqbal proposes that Tehran should be the centre of the Muslim world:³⁵

Tehran hogar 'alam-i-mashriq ka janiva
Shayad kura-i-ard ki tarikh badal ja'e

One of the reasons for the decline of Muslim ever since the first World War, has been the Western complexion of the political leadership of the Muslim countries. That secular leadership has been selling the interest of Muslims in turn to skin-deep-beauty of the West coupled with other ancillary sicknesses of the Western culture. The Islamic revolution of Iran is, therefore, focus of the both Muslim world and also the West. There are frequent references to the Khomeni revolution in the Muslim countries. It is because of this reason that the Western society feels frightened from Islamic Iran whose ideological mentor died as a poor man while living in his two room ancestral abode in Qum. The West, therefore, is applying its entire resource to trounce the Islamic Iran. As regards the Muslim, for enlarging the

scope of the revolution, or more precisely exporting the revolution, Iran has to dispel the valid impressions that the objective of Khomeini was to uphold a Shi'ah version of Islam only, and to root out the Sunni Islam. I do not want to start a debate here, but would to a few realities. These include bay'at of fearless Amir ul Mu'minin Ali at the hands of the three caliphs, his association with their government in the capacity of a Mufti, and demonstration of his high love for those Caliphs by naming his son after them as Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Uthman, and finally his affection for Muhammad bin Abu Bakr and his marriage with the widow of Caliph Abu Bakr. These facts have been recorded in *Nahjul Balaghah*.³⁶ I think if this impression is eliminated, the common Muslim from across the world will warmly embrace the idea to make Tehran as the centre of *millat* and universal *Imamat* referred to by Iqbal. Only the character-oriented-leadership imbued with the spirit of Islam can only face the Western hegemony in the Muslim world. I hope Muslim intellectuals will come forward to work on closing the ranks of Shi'ah and Sunni Muslims by developing a consensus like *ijtihad* on the acceptability of at least pious caliphate as a symbol of Islamic polity, to confront the Western hegemonic designs.

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Iqbal On The Reconstruction Of The world Order

Dr. Rafi 'ud-Din Hashmi

The poet philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) lived in the first half of the twentieth century. Now, we stand on the threshold of 21st century. The present day world is a fast-changing world and each moment an entirely new situation arises. This ever-changing scene poses a difficult challenge to the big power of today. They have to make constant changes in their policies and formulate new strategies in order to cope with each new situation.

It was as long back as April 21st 1938 that Iqbal died. His times are past, and his era seems to be over, yet his thoughts, his poetry and his concepts are as fresh as ever. They are quit meaningful with reference to our contemporary world and have full potential of meeting the challenges of our times as well. Iqbal not only possessed an unusually deep insight into the social, economical, political and human problems of his own time, but he also combined with it such a unique philosophical and sagacious appraisals of the future that we can, without any exaggeration, call him the poet of times yet to come.¹

Iqbal had to live under the yolk of colonialism and the British had not only colonised Iqbal's homeland India, but had also subjugated the major parts of Asia and Africa.

The free soul of Iqbal could never reconcile with the western subjugation. His intellect could not be arrested by the shackles of slavery and soar high. Since he had a unique outlook towards life and universe, quite different from the prevalent, he always felt restless in his contemporary surroundings. Naturally, he never felt satisfied with the society he lived in, the prevailing world order and the situation faced by the humanity as a whole.

From the very beginning, we find in Iqbal, a strong desire for a radical change. India was his homeland² and the life of Indians, under the British rule; always made Iqbal worried with a sense of pain.³ what particularly shocked him was the fact that the Indian Muslims were lagging much behind the Hindu majority in respect of education, employment and the amenities of life, in general. On another level, Iqbal belonged to Muslim Ummah, which was in a state of decline. Most of the Muslim lands were under the British, the Russians or the French colonialism. Since Turkey was known as "the sick man of Europe", Iqbal had to watch the painful disintegration of the Ottoman caliphate (1924). The Muslim Ummah suffered not only political subjugation, but also economic backwardness and poverty. More than every thing, there was an overall civilization and moral decadence. The colonial powers had descended on them with all their nationalistic prejudices, selfishness and thus per-

petuated injustice on a global scale to safeguard their vested interests. Their own conflicting interests brought this materialistic group to the First World War (1914-1918), a "catastrophe which destroyed the old world order in almost every respect"⁴ and which resulted an unprecedented bloodshed and destruction. The League of Nations was formed (1920) for averting a similar situation again. Iqbal's insight was keen enough to see through these spurious designs. He could see that the actual role of the League was nothing more than that of an instrument to fulfill the imperialistic desire of the super powers. So, he called the League ' a band of shroud thieves.'⁵ Iqbal saw that inspite of the League's apparent good-will to improve the world order, man continued to moan under the yoke of man; aggression, injustice and plunder continues unabated and ethnic, linguistic and religious chasm increased.

In Iqbal's view the ideology of nationalism adopted by all the imperialist powers of Europe was mainly responsible for this deplorable situation. It was this national aggrandizement, which he thought, gave them an insatiable hunger of expanding their colonial clutches. Iqbal started his career, as a "zealous nationalist"⁶, but during his stay in Europe (1905-1908), he underwent what he called "*Inqilab-i-Azim*" a complete metamorphism. He tells us that the confrontation with the milieu of Europe, made

him firm to Islam,⁷ a way of life based on the unity of God and the unity of mankind. Iqbal believed that 'the idea of modern nationalism created a great deal of misunderstanding of international motives and it has opened up a vast field for diplomatic intrigues and tends to ignore the broad human element in art and literature.'

Many painful events, such as invasion of china by Japan (1931) Italy's aggression against Abyssinia (1935), the unrest in Palestine and the Spanish civil war etc, that followed First World War in Iqbal's time, were also the off-shoots of the same secular nationalism.

Communism gained much popularity as an ideological force of Iqbal's age. The red Revolution dawned in Russia (1917) before Iqbal's eyes and we can feel a note of welcome for the October revolution in some of his poems. 'Khizar-i-Rah' (1921) and several Persian poems contained in 'Payam-i-Mashriq' (1923) may be quoted as an example. In 'Tulu 'I Islam' (1923) he expressed disgust over the lamentable corollary of a civilization based on capitalism.

*Upto now man is a weak prey to Imperialism
What a havoc man is the Hunter of Mankind
in this age!
The glare of the present civilization dazzles
one's sight,*

Yet this craftsmanship is the cutting of false stone.

The Diplomacy of which were proud the wise man of West,

Is but a slaying sword in the bloody hand of greed.

Merely the magical work of thinking cannot make a culture strong and stable,

Especially when it is based on Capitalism!⁸

Iqbal's optimism about the Communist Revolution however was quite short-lived, as he through the inherent evils of Communism. USSR did emerge as a global power but in Afghanistan, she has been beaten back in humiliation. Iqbal could see, even when Communism was at its prime, that deep down, it was carrying the germ of its own destruction. He saw that Communism only added to human miseries and could never alleviate its problem. Iqbal considered the Russian Bolshevism a reaction against the myopic, selfish of European Capitalism. Capitalism and Communism in his mind were both based on extremist tendencies and were nothing more than the two faces of the same coin.⁹ in '*Javaid Namah*'; Iqbal puts the following words in Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's mouth:

Communism and Imperial Kingship are both characterized by a dissatisfaction and impatience with the condition of life:

*Both fail to perceive God, and both work a
gigantic fraud on mankind.*

*For one life means conquest and expansion;
for the other extraction of tributes and fees
under various pretexts:*

*Ant between these two stones, poor Adam is
like glass!*

*One brings ruin with knowledge, and
Science; with Religion and Art*

*While the other snatches life from the body,
and bread from the hand.*

*I see them both floundering in an
exaggerated sense of the importance of
material means.*

*Both have a sleek and shining body, but of
both the heart is black.¹⁰*

On this juncture, Iqbal has started feeling disgusted with the contemporary scene. He dubbed the last collection of his Urdu poem, published just two years before his death as *Zarb-i-Kalim* or as 'proclamation of War against the Contemporary Age.' Earlier, he had chanted in *BAL-i-Jibril*:

*The magic old to life is brought by means of
present Science and thought:*

*The path of life cannot be trodden without
the aid of Moses' Rod.¹¹*

Towards the end of his life, Iqbal's disgust grew very strong.¹² Four months before his death,

in his New Year's Message on Jan. 1, 1938 broadcasted from Lahore Radio Station, he mourned over man's moral decline the degradation of humanity and the havoc wrought upon the world under the grip of the imperialistic oppression everywhere on the earth, in the following words: ¹³

The tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven knows what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man are being trampled under foot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. The so-called statesmen to whom Government and Leadership of men was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to protect and cherish those ideals which go to form a higher humanity, to prevent man's oppression of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of any kind, have in their hunger for dominion and imperial possessions, shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude, simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups after subjugating and establishing their dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their religions, their morals,

of their cultural traditions and their literatures. Then they sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom so that the leech of imperialism might go on sucking their blood with out interruption.

This plight of humanity saddened him quietly. He had a powerful inner personality. He was so full of life. He possessed so strong will and so highly charged qualities of head and heart that he intellectually never surrendered even under the worst of circumstances. No doubt that the natural romantic vein of the poet did make him gloomy sometimes, but his strong will, purity of soul and sincerity of heart always saved him from getting disappointed. He always remained optimistic and hopeful about the future of man and the mankind as a whole. His philosophy of *Khudi* (ego), concept of '*Ishq*' (deep involvement) impart courage to man and make him struggle through with confidence. He reminds man of his status as being the vicegerent of God on earth. In short, he felt anxious about the contemporary world without ever losing hope. He always continued thinking and contemplating and chalking out planes for the future. Betterment of man's lot was always at the center of his thoughts. He constantly thought about the reconstruction of the human world obviously, it was only possible (and so even today) if a new world order evolved on fresh grounds. He wrote to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, one of the leading scholars of his time and his friend on 15th Jan. 1934:

There is a strange struggle going on all – over the world. Democracy is dying out, and dictatorship is replacing it. Material power is being deified in Germany. A new war is being waged against capitalism. Civilization especially in Europe, is on its deathbed. To be brief, the whole world order needs a reshuffling under these conditions, I would like to know to what extent, in your opinion, can Islam help to formulate a reconstruction? Kindly let me know your point of view on this topic.¹⁴

It must be borne in mind that Iqbal has returned from a tour of Europe just one year prior to this script. The impression of what he saw in Europe was quite fresh in his mind.¹⁵ His masterpiece poem, *The Mosque of Cordoba* bears testimony to his unusual experience. 58 years ago, as Iqbal stood in this city of Cordoba, revitalizing his ideals, his great mind flashed back into centuries that had passed, but his clairvoyance was peeping into the future. He was watching what was yet to come in the perspective of what had been. He was experiencing a wakeful dream.

*O Gudalquiver! O thou waters eternally
flowing
On thy bank a dreamer stands and dreams
of an age to be.*

*The coming times though lie hid in the womb
of destiny
To my gaze laid bare and exposed in its
renascent dawn.¹⁶*

Seen in the proper context of the poem, there remains no doubt that this dream was about the re-awakening of the Muslim Ummah, for the sake of welfare of humanity as a whole and about forging a new order for the world. Iqbal found all the three interconnected. After the failure of Communism and Capitalism, the Muslim Ummah, could play a key role in formulating a new world order and rehabilitating the human dignity. Because this Ummah possesses a moral code of life based on divine revelation instead of human conjectures. As a result of a life-long contemplation and philosophical research, Iqbal had concluded that Islam possessed the potential to guide the wandering humanity towards its goal.¹⁷ This acute problem facing him however, was the fact that the Muslim Ummah, in most parts of the world, was not only under the subjugation of colonialism, but also suffered from an overall moral decline.

Although Iqbal left behind no clear-cut outline of any plan for a new world order, yet one is astonished to observe that the changes that have taken place during the second half of the twentieth century in Iran, Afghanistan, central

Asia, Eastern Europe, indeed all over the world, which are still continuing, reflect to a great extent Iqbal's hopes and dreams.

Through his prophetic poetry, Iqbal struggled for the fulfillment of the Muslim destiny, which is the key to human destiny. It was he, who suggested the concept of an independent state in the northwest of the sub-continent, which could serve a centre for Islam in India. In a letter to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Iqbal stated that the solution to the problems of Indian Muslims lay in the implementation of Islamic *Shari'ah*, which could only be done in a free Muslim state.¹⁸ With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on 14th August 1947, one of Iqbal's dreams was fulfilled. His vision however, was not confined to the Indo-Pak subcontinent. In the northwest he pinned his hopes on Afghanistan as well. Just a year after his return from Spain, he had a chance to spend a few days in Afghanistan, where he felt a reawakening. Afghans, to his mind, were a valiant nation who unfortunately lacked discipline and a powerful centre.¹⁹ He considered Afghanistan to be the Balkans of Asia and believed that a strong Afghanistan could be a source of strength of Muslims in India and Central Asia.²⁰

In *Javid Namah* Iqbal says:

*Asia is like a human body, made of water
and clay,*

*And the Afghan nation in that body is like
the heart!*

*If there is in Afghanistan, it means for the
whole Of Asia!*

*But if Afghan prosperous, it would bode well
for the entire continent! ²¹*

To best wishes of Iqbal and in total conformity with his expectations, the Afghans rose against the Russians invasions (Dec.1979) and succeeded through an unprecedented and epoch-making resistance to drive the Russian back across the river Amu. Is it not a fact that the failure of the Communism in Russia, the cessation of the Baltic States from the USSR, the independence of the Eastern Europe, the removal of the Berlin Wall, the Union of Germany and the changes that ensued consequent upon the shameful retreat of Russia from Afghanistan? It is these epoch-making changes which are now forcing upon the United States the urgent need of a new world order. All these are nothing but the offshoots of the Afghan Jihad (Struggle). Afghanistan has successfully crossed the turbulent waters and is reaching the tranquil shores.

Further, Iqbal had been fixing his gaze upon Central Asia. Even after the Communist occupation the people of Samarkand and Bukhara, continued putting resistance against it. Anwar Pasha marched all the way from Turkey to

participate in this struggle for freedom. Iqbal also showed keen interest in it. Consequent upon news (which proved a rumor) that Anwar Pasha had reached Bukhara and the Turkistan had become independent, Iqbal expressed great pleasure.²²

Actually, Iqbal had a deep emotional attachment with the Turks. He considered Turkistan to be the heart of Asia, and expressed the hope that: "If the heart gains independence, the rest of the limbs too will be able to shake of their change gradually".²³ This hope of Iqbal may better be seen with the perspective of present day situation in the Muslim States of Central Asia, where on the streets Iqbal's verses are echoing as slogans and these States are on their way to gain independence from the USSR.

In the Iranian revolution (1979),²⁴ the Afghans resistance (1979-1989) and the reawakening in Central Asia a certain amount of influence exerted by Iqbal's poetry can easily be traced. The same influence is manifesting in itself in the resistance in Kashmir too, where Iqbal's dream is expected to come true. India is trying hard to crush the struggle in Kashmir militarily. It is an external tragedy that almost no lesson are ever learnt from history by individuals as well as the nations.²⁵ India is no match to the military power of Russia based on her nuclear technology and an inexhaustible store of weapons. But even with all that might of arms Russia had to pay very

heavily for its imprudent use of force in Afghanistan.

The withdrawal of colonial rule from Asia and Africa, the independence of the Muslim States in both these continents, the breakdown of Communism in Russia, the failure of the Communistic hegemony in Eastern Europe, the resurgence of the Muslim world all bear out Iqbal's optimism to be far from hollow idealism. In 1923 Iqbal said: "The internal unrest of world's nations is the fore-runner of a great spiritual and cultural revolution".²⁶ Now, half a century after his death, the circumstances have come closer to a world order, Iqbal would have proposed. The Palestinian issue and the stubbornness of Israel on this issue is, however, the major obstacle in the way of translating into reality a new world order, based on true justice. Iqbal was keenly interested in this issue. It is interesting to note that as back as thirties, he observed that the issue is not going to be solved easily and it will take time. However, he hoped that ultimately solution must emerge.²⁷ As seen in his poetry, Iqbal's attitude towards West was generally of vehement criticism with a note of disappointment and it was quite natural. For example, on the Palestinian issue, the West in general, and America in particular, showed unmistakable partiality. In life manner, the West tried to keep the East and particularly the Muslim community from all development through a very unfair political game and colonial subjugation. Iqbal, however also had a reconciliatory mood towards

the West. He believed in the following saying of the Prophet of Islam Muhammad (Peace be upon him): 'Wisdom is the lost property of the believer'. He saw no harm in availing the Western advancement in learning and its technical superiority, without succumbing to its external glamour.²⁸ This attitude shows an extraordinary balance of mind.

But what is the role of the West today? The USA which is considered to be the representative of the world civilization and the so-called sole super power of the contemporary world is bent upon imposing a new world order serving nothing except the American interest on the global level and also the interest of Israel in the Middle East. That is why this New World order has been quite aptly been called the Jew World order. In this perspective, Iqbal is justified to concentrate all his hopes on the East. Actually what he wanted was that the Eastern nation in general, and the Muslim in particular, should come forward to play their role in formulating a new world order.²⁹ This amounts a grave responsibility resting on the shoulders of the Muslim community. Notwithstanding a certain wave of reawakening amongst the Muslims, they have also shown signs of further decadence in certain aspects during the twentieth century. This decadence has been discussed by Iqbal quite frequently and he has tried to suggest plans to overcome this dilemma. He emphasized the need of Ijtihad (exercise of discretion) and a reconstruction of the Islamic Jurisprudence in order to meet the intellectual

challenge of the present day world. He wished an intrinsic change in the Muslim community that could lead it to a self-consciousness and self-reliance.³⁰ The biggest difficulty is that without developing and understanding Islam, Iqbal's concept of a world order cannot be comprehended. The influence of clergy, inherited from the medieval age, the heritage of crusades and the confusions created by some orientalist have been keeping the West from acquiring a true understanding of Islam. To quote Iqbal: "Islam has not been introduced properly as yet"³¹ meaning thereby that the curtain between Muslim and non-Muslim world has to be raised. Iqbal visualizes Islam as a very vast religion. In one of his lectures he says:

The spirit of Islam is so broad that it is practically boundless. With the exception of atheistic ideas alone it has assimilated all the attainable ideas of surrounding peoples, and given them its own peculiar directions of development ³²

To Iqbal's mind a new world order can attain meaning and success only if it is honestly based on truth and justice, away from all ethnic, linguistic or geographical compartmentalization.³³ According to him:

National unity too is not a very durable force. Only one unity is dependable and that

unity is brotherhood of man, which is above race,nationality,colour or language. ³⁴

The glory of man occupies important place in the World order as conceived by Iqbal. He believes that the whole world is the family of God, ³⁵ so man can be maintained on this earth only by honoring mankind.

The question remains how, under the existing circumstances, can it be possible to formulate a world order reflecting the aspiration of Iqbal? Looking around us today we do not feel much encouraged. The very concept of veto for the big powers is itself a partiality. Through this, UNO betrays justice. The fascinating dreams which Iqbal had about a happy and contended life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity cannot possibly be materialized in any so-called New World order, which ignores the aspiration of the bigger world community and enforces itself through nuclear threat, military powers and the superiority of weapons in order to safeguard certain vested interests.

The failure of such a based order is quite obvious. Towards the end of his years, Iqbal has posed a question in one of his statements asking how many centuries would it take for humanity to come out from these ills and to reach apogee of human possibilities. ³⁶ It is for us to furnish the

answer of this question and especially for those who are at the helm of affairs in today's world. We may sum up with a verse from Iqbal that needs much Contemplation in the present day world order.

*The essence of humanity is respect of man.
And thou shalt do well to make careful not
of this important point.*³⁷

This may as well be considered as a motto of the world order Iqbal could have possibly proposed. We may conclude our discussion with Iqbal's own words.

Let us pray that God Almighty may grant humanity to those, who are in places of power and government and teach them to cherish mankind.³⁸

Notes and References

¹In the *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, Iqbal says: "I am the poet of the voice of tomorrow", *The Secrets of the Self* (Trans.R.A.Nicholson), Lahore, 1975, p.4.

² Iqbal ancestors belonged to Kashmir. Originally they were Barahmins of Sapru Clan. Referring to his ancestral home, he says in *Payam-i-Mashriq*:

*May body is a flower from
A flowerbed in Kashmir's paradise.
My heart is from sanctum of Hijaz.
My song is from Shiraz.*

(*A Message from the East*, (Trans. Hadi Hussain) Lahore, 1977, p. 146.)

Iqbal's ancestors migrated from Kashmir in the beginning of the 16th century and settled in Sialkot, now in Pakistan. Iqbal was born and educated here upto intermediate. For details see: Javid Iqbal, *Zinda Rud*: Lahore, 1979. pp.1-16.

³ Iqbal's Urdu poem 'Tasweer-i-Dard' composed in 1904, gives a true picture of his anxiety and worry about his homeland as he says:

*It is rule of assembling thine.
That all be tongue- tied here?
I pine so much for just a chance
To have a work with thee!*

*O thou, unknowing one! think at
Calamities to come:
For thy destruction in the skies
Are consultations on!*

*If you would fail to understand,
Men of sub-continent!
Not even the tales of just of yours
Amongst the Tales shall be!*

*Iqbal Call of the Carvan, (Trans. By S.
Rehmatullah) Lahore, 1977 p.7.)*

⁴Iqbal: *Payam-i-Mashriq* (preface) Lahore,
1973.p.12. ⁵In his Persian poem 'The League of
Nation', Iqbal says:

*All I know about it is that a few thieves of
the shrouds of the dead
Have set up an association for dividing the
World's graves.*

*A Message from the East: (Trans.Hadi Hussain)
Lahore, 1977, p.160.)*

*In a letter to Miss Farquharson,(20.7.1937) Iqbal
writes:*

*"Muslim Asia is now learning to regard [The
League of Nations] as an Anglo-French Institution
invented for the purpose of dividing the territories
of the weaker Muslim Peoples." Speeches,
Statements and writings of Iqbal, (Ed.Latif Ahmad
Sherwani) Lahore 1977, pp. 244-245).*

⁶ Iqbal: *Letter and Writing of Iqbal*, (Ed. B.A. Dar) Karachi, 1967, p.58.

⁷ Iqbal: *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, (Ed. B.A. Dar), Karachi, 1976, p. 176.

⁸ Iqbal: *The Renaissance of Islam*, (Trans. by Abdur Rahman Tariq and Aziz Ahmad Sheikh, Lahore, 1966, pp. 29-30

In the preface to his Persian poem *Payam-i-Mashriq*, Iqbal writes:

“Europe has seen with its own eyes the horrible consequences of its intellectual, moral and economic objectives and has also beard from Signor Nitti (A former prime minister of Italy) the heart rending of the West’s decline.) p. 12).

⁹ Iqbal: *Khutut-i-Iqbal* (Ed. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi), Lahore, 1976, pp. 155-156.

¹⁰ *Iqbal’s Javid Nama*, (Trans. A.Q. Niaz,) Lahore, 1984, p. 102.

¹¹ *Gabrieel’s Wings*, (Trans. Syed Akbar Ali Shah), Lahore, 1984, p. 181.

¹² In his poem “The Man of Present Age”, he says:

*Though man aspires to find the track
Of stars that roam in sky and tread:
Alas! Man has completely failed
To map the world of mind or head.
In intricacies of his thought
He is embroiled; is clear and plain,
So he is not as yet aware
Of what is loss and what and gain.
Man has harnessed rays of the sun.
Much gain from them he has drawn,
But he can not transform the dark
And dismal night of life to dawn.*

(Iqbal: *The Rod Moses*, (Trans. Akbar Ali Shah), Lahore, 1983, p. 40).

¹³ Iqbal: *Speeches*, p.250.

¹⁴ Iqbal: *Iqbal Nama* Vol. I, (Ed. Sheikh Ata- Ullah), Lahore, 1944, p. 181. See also, Iqbal: *Iqbal, Jahan-i-Digar*, (Ed. Muhammad Faridul Haq,) Karachi, 1983, pp.67-71

¹⁵ After attending the Third Round Table Conference at London, Iqbal visited Spain (Jan.1933) and went to Madrid, Toledo, Granada, Cordoba and Seville. While in Spain, he wrote to his son, Javid Iqbal:

Thanks God that I happened to see this one of the best mosque. I wish you also could see it.

(Iqbal: *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, (Ed. M.Rafiq Afzal), Lahore, 1977, p. 165 To the editor of *Inqilab* he wrote, "Do see Cordoba, at least once". (*Ibid*: p. 165. For more details, See: *Letters and Writing of Iqbal*, pp. 77-79.

¹⁶ Iqbal: *The Mosque of Cordoba*, (trans. Muhammad Abdul Haleem) Hyderabad, n.d.

¹⁷ In one of his last poems, he clearly says that: It is Islam, not Communism, which has the real role to play in the future world order. *Armughan -i- Hijaz* included in *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, Lahore, 1973, p.650.)

¹⁸ Iqbal: *Letters of Iqbal* (Ed. B.A. Dar) Lahore, 1977, p.254.

¹⁹ In October 1933, at the invitation of the Afghan King Nadir Shah, Iqbal visited Afghanistan. His book *Musafir* (sub-title: Brief Travel through Afghanistan) was composed after coming back from Afghanistan. For Detail of Iqbal's journey,

see: Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, *Sair-i-Afghanistan*: Hyderabad Deccan. *Musafir* has been translated into English by Maqbool Ilahi (A combined publication under the title: Iqbal's *Pas Cheh Bayad Karad* by Sheikh Hasan Din(and) *Musafir*), Lahore, 1988. Another Translation by Jamil Naqvi, *The Traveller*. Karachi, 1991.

²⁰ Iqbal: *Letters of Iqbal*, p.93.

²¹ Iqbal: *Iqbal's Javid Nama*, p. 281.

²² Saqib Nafees: *Chaudhry Muhammad Hussain aur Allama Iqbal*. An unpublished M.A. dissertation, Punjab University Lahore, 1984, p.65.

²³ *Ibid*: p.65.

²⁴ He hinted at re-awakening in Iran and wished to visit the country. *Iqbal Nama* Vol.II (Ed. Sheikh Ata-Ullah), Lahore, 1952, p.165.

²⁵ In his letter (20.7.1937) to Miss Farquharson Iqbal writes:

“Through wisdom alone comes power; and
When powers abandons the ways of wisdom
and relies upon itself alone, its end is death.”
(*Speeches*, p.244.)

²⁶ *Payam-i-Mashrik*, pp. 11-12.

²⁷ Iqbal believes that Palestine does not belong to the Jews, because they abandoned it of their own free will long before its possession by the Arabs. In a letter of Miss Arabs Farquhason, he writes:

“Zionism as a movement was deliberately related not for the purpose of national home, but mainly for the purpose of giving to British Imperialism on the Mediterranean littoral.” (*Speeches*. P.245.)

Now, the Americans have replaced the British. For further details about Iqbal's viewpoint upon the Palestinian problem, see: Letters to Miss Faarquharson and a statement on the Report Recommending the Partition of Palestine by Iqbal: (*Speeches*, 244-48)

²⁸ In *Javid Namah* Iqbal warns the East not to imitate the West, as it will take away the East from itself. Instead of a blind imitation, Iqbal insists, that the oriental people should make a critical appraisal to the West. To quote him:

*The power of the West does not lie in its
orchestras;*

*Nor does it lie in its dances; nor even in its
daughters going about without veils.*

*It is not due to the magic of faces radiant
like tulips;*

*Nor from the bare legs of the women; nor
from the shaven faces of its males.*

*Its greatness and strength does not lie in
irreligion;*

Nor is its rise due to the Latin script.

*The glory of the West springs from its
knowledge,*

And its mastery of the various techniques.

*Its wisdom does not lie in the cut of its
clothes;*

*Nor is the oriental turban any kind of bar to
the acquirement of the sciences and the
technical skills,*

*Though Smart Young Man! to gain mastery
of science and the technical skills*

What is needed is brain, not the European style of dress.

On this path, the utmost essential is a proper vision;

And this kind of head gear, or that, makes no difference.

If thou blessed with an active and an alert mind, that is all thou needst;

If though have a temperament that can perceive things and gets straight to the point, that is quite enough.

(Iqbal's, *Javid Namah*, pp.282-283.)

²⁹ In his Urdu poem '*Jam 'iat-i-Aqwam-i-Mashriq*', Iqbal says:

if Tehran is made

The Geneva of the East

The fate of Earthly globe

May have some change at least!

³⁰ The East, and especially the Muslim East has opened it eyes after a centuries-long slumber. But the nations of the East should realize that life can bring about no revolution in its surroundings until a revolution takes place in its inner depths and that no new world can take shape externally until it is formed in the minds of men. This ineluctable law, which has been stated by the Qur'an in the simple but eloquent words: "Verily, God does not change a nation until it changes itself" [siii.1] governs both the individuals and the collective spheres of life.

A Message from the East, p.xviii.

³¹ Iqbal: *Iqbal, Jahan-i-Digar*, p.91. In a letter he writes: "the cultural and philosophical side of Islam is ought to be worked". *Letters of Iqbal*, p.117.

³² Iqbal: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*, Lahore, 1986.

³³ Iqbal: *Speeches*, p.25.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.251.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.251.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.261.

³⁷ *Iqbal's Javid Namah*, p.

³⁸ Iqbal: *Speeches* p.251.

Abu Nasr Farabi and Muhammad Iqbal on Ideal Society

S.A. Yuldoshev

Utopic ideas were inherent to humanity during the whole history of its social, cultural and scientific development: they expressed the sense of unsatisfaction of the majority with the existing order, social and political ideas of progressive thinkers, dreams and ideas of progressive people on equality and justice, happy life, free labor, intellectual and virtual perfectness, developed personality, ways and tools of achieving of an ideal society order, embodied the highest results of social progress. Even in ancient times Plato dreamt on building of ideal society. This ideal society should be ruled by selected people, as it is done in oligarchy. But, dislikes to oligarchy, these selected persons should be those really able to govern well. First, on the ground of their natural talents and abilities; secondly, thanks to their beforehand and long-term training. The main principle of this ideal odes was considered justice. Each member of such society is given with special place and special job due to social justice. Each member of such society is given with special place and special job due to social justice. The supremacy of justice unite different and even heterogeneous parts of the state into one body characterized by unity and harmony. This best social system must, according to Plato, be moral one; this morality will enable the state to settle the most important social issues. Such a state must, first of all, provide its own security and defence for

protection against its enormous environment, secondly, it must provide systematic supply to all its members with material goods, then it must promote and protect the spiritual creativity of its members. All it will mean the implementation the idea of the Good, as that governing the world. The source of such ideas was Plato's reflections on social order of Egypt of that time. Plato's ideal society is Ethnic idealization of Egyptian social organization. Plato's ideas on perfect society were continued and developed in medieval Orient. The prominent place is occupied among the thinkers developing Plato's heritage. Nasr Farabi, who, in his turn gave impetus for reflections to the thinkers of modern world, and modern East, particularly.

Social Utopic ideas of medieval Middle East and Asia Minor and, of course, Central Asia influenced the dissemination of utopic ideas all over the world. The great thinker of medieval Orient. Abu Nasr Farabi was the first to establish the science on ideal society as foundation for his social and political ideas.

Farabi gave comprehensive theoretic research on the state based on reason. The main idea of such a state was the idea of happiness of all its members.

The ideas on the ideal society was, surely, the logical conclusions of Muhammad Iqbal's progressive thoughts on settling the problem of "a human being—a society;" he believed in the creative power of a man, recognized the necessity of prevailing of community interests over individual ones, protest

against social inequality and suppression. Iqbal gave his own interpretation of main moral principles of ideal society. Though Iqbal's conception of ideal society was religious, it also had brightly –expressed social and political character, being, as well as his conception of Khudi, the synthesis of utopic ideas of common Muslim on social justice, in appeal to revive early Islamic traditions with ideas of Western democracy.

As N. Prigarine truly noted in her work, "it was his philosophic poem "Ramuz e bekhudi", where the main principles of Iqbal's ideal society were explicated. The main obstacles in the way of human liberation, according to Iqbal, was social inequality, religious and social prejudices, conservative traditions, separating people, seeding entrust and enmity among them. In this connection Iqbal criticized social injustice not only his contemporary society, but inhuman, exploitative civilization of the West. His criticism on social shortcomings of existing realities is undividingly connected with his ideas on ideal social order, promoting all gently creative abilities of a person. The brightest expression of Iqbal's ideas on ideal society are contained in his wonderful poem "Javid- Nama", called by himself his seven song.

M. Iqbal suggested that for the purpose of building the perfect society, a man should attempt to dominate over nature. He considered it a stimuli for development of science, contributing the overcoming of Orient's being behind the West. In his "Javid-Nama" the poet- philosopher emphasized that the

power of the West is in nothing but development of science, that enabled it to dominate the East.

The West is obliged for his powers to knowledge and science.

His lamp was lit by the fire of knowledge only.

Knowledge is not dependent on the form of governance.

Turban on a head is not an obstacle for getting knowledge .¹

The important place in Iqbal's heritage is occupied by the idea on necessity of experience and knowledge for establishing man's superiority on nature and deliberation of his abilities for reconstruction of the world for social benefit. In his "Javid-Nama" M. Iqbal described his journey around celestial planets; the Moon (Falak e Kamar). Mars (Falak e Mirrikh), Venus (Falak e Zuhra), etc.

Iqbal compared his ideal society with a human body ; as human's organs are connected with each other, fulfilling their vital functions, helping and assisting each other, so members of the ideal society must live in close cooperation because, otherwise, it will perish.

Flourishing and progress of ideal society was considered by Iqbal in spiritual perfecting of people. Justice is established by moral and intellectual education of people by reconstructed and renewed Islam.

Human being was the main engine of social progress in Iqbal's ideas. Iqbal believed, that man can win the society of endless competition, civilization lacking its inherent unity because of the conflicts of religious and political values.² Thus, social development was defined by the character of human activity, as a man can (according to Iqbal) change his living conditions.

In one of his letters Iqbal wrote: "The aim of my Persian poems is not the advocating of Islam. In reality, I am eager to find the best social order and in this search one cannot ignore the existing social system aiming the overcoming of all differences based on race, caste and colour of skin".³

In his ryhm "Ahl e Mirrikh" (inhabitants of Mars), he criticized the bourgeois order on the Earth confronting to it the imaginary society of Mars.

Our soul is termanted by bitterness of life,
But they (Marsians- S. A.)spend time happily
M. Iqbal called his nation for establishment of such a society, where all the people will be equal, will love and pay respect to each other. Only having in mind this real equality, not depending on their religious and race status, one can establish ideal society.

Iqbal's views on social life were two-fold. On one hand, he approved socialistic ideas, but at the same time he criticized socialism for its atheistic ideology. Such his ideas were expressed in his "Javid Nama" (Book of Eternity) describing, as well, his

meeting with Jamaluddin Afghani, their conversation on different social and political problems. Iqbal asked Afghani to remember him to Russian peoples, which, to some extent, was releasing in practical life the ideas of Islam, for example, liberation of man, neglecting necessity of church:

There are large and high buildings in Margdin.

The life there is like honey.

He broke the magic of Czar and Palace.

He refused from private property.

He turned over reasons, feelings and customs.

People of the former USSR really believed that they made a miracle that they gained freedom, equality, justice, democracy and national self – determination. Therefore, many progressive thinking people approved the revolution. One of those was Muhammad Iqbal. He appreciated the establishment of equality, democracy and freedom in Russia.

But these ideas were only declared, and could not be put into reality.

Totalitarian political system expressed enmity against any struggle for independence. Turkistan was divided into parts, in this way, new national republics were established.

Isolated from each other brotherly peoples (Usbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kirghizes, Turkmens) found themselves even more dependent than they were before. Turkestan continued playing role of raw material base of the USSR.

During more than seventy years, the Centre proclaiming independence of Uzbekistan, in reality, governed all spheres of social and economic life of the Republic. But this proclamation illusioned the world community.

Totalitarian system deprived our history from its historical roots. But now we are doing our best to gain them, standing of real way of independence. Every member of a society must do work hard for strengthening the independence of his society.

For example, Farabi could not imagine his ideal society without useful labour. Therefore he appealed all strata of a society to work hard to master any socially useful craft. Such view of the thinker was of a high importance for his epoch, when ruling class demonstrated contemptuous attitude towards labor.

Farabi's dreams on social reconstruction are connected with his ideal of peaceful coexistence among nations. To his opinion the whole world will become virtuous, if people will help each other in achieving of happiness".⁴

"Ideal state, by Farabi, is the guarantee for peace and war is considered by it as a crime. Ideal state fights only for the sake of defence and also for the prevention of other states violations".⁵

The most important task of Farabi's ideal state is fulfillment of measures aimed for achieving real happiness of all its citizens such as establishing of justice, enlightenment of people, their moral education, etc. Muhammad Iqbal, as Abu Nasr Farabi, considered a man able to build his own happiness by his own power. Iqbal imagined the future society without capitalists and exploitation,

without rulers, without clerics. It is governed by justice, equality, friendship, love to each other. Iqbal described the city of Margdin where he found himself during his imaginatory celestial travelling.

Inhabitants of Margdin don't
live in luxury and debauch
at the expense of other people's labor

Inhabitants of Margdin have neither gold, nor silver, they live honestly. They don't know what is religions, races and castes.

People are well-shaped, dressed very simply.
The climate there is mild and pleasant.
Nobody suffers from misfortune and evil.
Everybody enjoys all benefits of the world.
They get salt from salty water.
Science and technology serve for beneficial purposes.
And they are not exchanged for gold
They know neither dirhem, nor dollar
Working people have light buildings
A machine does not govern the nature,
They do not have masters to be afraid of
Without enmity a peasant waters his fields
Nobody deprives his yield
There are neither soldiers, nor wars
Nobody drinks people's blood.

It is remarkable, that it is Mars, embodying active, willing and military nature, was chosen by a poet as a possible place for realization of his ideal of a harmonious society, stressing thereby that its achievement is possible only through struggle.

Thus, on one hand, the thinker defending interests of suppressed people, criticized rich people, hated their luxury richness, and on the other hand, he approved role and importance of labor in development of a human community, its social nature

But thinker raised this problem in ethic aspect mainly, his ideas on ideal society free from landlords, exploiters and slaves were of progressive character in colonial conditions of people of Indian subcontinent of that time.

Notes and References

¹Iqbal in. Javid Nama.

²M. Iqbal: Reconstruction of religious Thoughts in Islam, p.85.

³M. I. Prigarina.

⁴Al-Farabi

⁵Al-Farabi

THE EAGLE IN IQBAL'S POETRY

Mustansir Mir

The Eagle in Iqbal's Poetry

Mustansir Mir

INTRODUCTION

The most significant and certainly the best known, image in Iqbal's poetry is that of the eagle. "Live in the world like an eagle, and like an eagle die," says Iqbal (*Javid Namah*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal: Persian* [Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994], 654/182). Understandings of the eagle motif in Iqbal's poetry thus become essential to understand Iqbal's thought and message.

Two points should be made at the outset. First, Iqbal's eagle is a construct. It would be a mistake to analyse Iqbal's descriptions of the eagle with a view to determining how accurate they are from an ornithological standpoint. Second, we shall often be using the word "eagle" for the various names, Iqbal uses for the bird "shahin, 'uqab, baz, shahbaz. Metrical constraint often determine which word will be used in a given place, but otherwise, too, Iqbal seems to be using these words interchangeably (see, for example, "Advice," in *Bal-I-Jabril*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal: Urdu* [Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1994], 448/124, and "The Eagle," *Ibid.*, 495/171; see also *ibid.*, 355). The interchangeable use makes sense because it enables Iqbal to borrow traits from the several members of the same family and produce a composite, but unified, portrait that will serve Iqbal's particular purposes.

The two points can be illustrated by means of the following examples. Iqbal says that the fiercely proud eagle disdains to eat dead prey and only the prey it itself has caught live (*Bal-I-Jabril*, 372/48, *Payam-I-Mashriq*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: Persian, 343/167). One might object that this description fits the hawk but not the eagle. But that would be missing the point. In another place, Iqbal says that the eagle is above making nests (*Bal-I-Jabril*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: urdu, 353/29). This statement, too, is not correct, but it makes good sense in the place where it is made and is in fact defensible in a certain sense (see n. 10 to "The Eagle"). Iqbal uses the eagle to make certain philosophical points, offer observations on aspects of life and exhort, motivate his audience to action. To this end he invests his eagle with certain character traits for which it would be futile to look for exact correspondences in the animal kingdom. The eagle we are dealing with is the Iqbalian eagle, and it is in terms of the qualities, role and function Iqbal assigns to the eagle in various context that we view his description of the bird.

1. Iqbal wants Muslims to stop living a life of indolence and accept the challenges of life. Using the gardens and the deserts as metaphors respectively, for easy and tough life, he tells Muslims to quit the gardens, reminding them that they have the power to fly like "the mountain eagle" (*Bang-I-Dara*, 300/284; see also *Payam-I-*

Mashrik, 237/61, first quatrain (no. 150), *Zarb-I-Kalim*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: Urdu, 691/191, last two lines, and *Zabur-I- 'Ajam*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: Persian, 405/61). The Muslims are, by origin (*asl*), eagles, but their eyes no longer have the piercing look of an eagle (*Bali-I-Jabril*, 407). In a passage in *Pas Chi Bayad Kard?* (in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: Persian, 692/16, last two lines and 694/18, first six lines) Iqbal has this to say on the subject (he is addressing those who advice Muslims to renounce the world):

This world of clay and water is game to the believer.

Are you saying to the falcon, "Let go of your game?"

I have failed to solve this difficult problem:

Why does the eagle shun the skies?

Pity the eagle that does not act like one,

And whose claws never caused hurt to a bird,

An eagle that is nest-bound, abject, crestfallen,

And does not flap its wings in the blue space!

In Iqbal's view, in fact, the Muslims have acquired the way of the vulture (the *kargas*, with which Iqbal often contrasts the *shahin*, signifies, in Iqbal's poetry, no so much greed or rapacity, as it would be in English, but baseness of stock, lowness of ambition, and parasitic attitude), and Iqbal tells them to go back to their roots and

become eagles again (*Pas Chi Bayed Kard?* 809; cf. *Bal-I-Jabril*, 408, where Iqbal, alluding to Muslims, remarks that they have been corrupted by their association with ravens, and *Zabar-I-Ajam*, p.479, ll. 9-10, which is similar). "You are the eagle of Muhammad (pbuh)," says Iqbal, addressing the Muslims, "and angles and houris are your prey" (*Bal-I-Jabril*, p.376, 4th quatrain).

In short piece, "The Philosopher" (*Bal-I-Jabril*, 456) Iqbal Points out the limitation of philosophical thought. For all its achievements, philosophy has not yielded definitive and reliable guidance on issues of fundamental importance to man. The philosopher is like a vulture (in the sense just explained) that flies around in space like an eagle, but unlike the eagle, fails to catch live prey (cf., in a similar context, *Payam-I-Mashrik*, p. 359: The wings of a nightingale are of one kind, those of an eagle of another"; and in a slightly different context, *Javid Namah*, 759, where the truly religion are contrasted with the shallow and unscrupulous pretenders to religiosity).

2. What distinguishes the eagle from the other bird is its sharp vision, its ability to soar into the air and rule the skies, its swift movement, its daring and its love of freedom and action.

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Cultivation of aquiline traits is therefore a requisite for success in life:

*If you are bareheaded, develop high resolve,
For here the crown is only for the eagle's
Head.*

(Bal-I-Jabril, p.338)

Slavery turns an eagle into a bat (*Zarb-I-Kalim*), p.545; also *Payam-I-Mashrik*, p.323, 11. 3-4), and life denying art has a similar effect-certain kinds of poetry, for instance, turns a free man-an eagle into slave-a pheasant (*Asrar-I-Khudi*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: Persian, p.36; cf. *Armaghan-I-Hijaz*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*: Persian, p.915, 1st quatrain). Freedom, on the other hand, would transform a nightingale into an eagle (*Zarb-I-Kalim*, p.516; see also *Armaghan-I Hijaz*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal* Urdu, p.679, 11.5-4), and cf. *Pas Chi Bayad Kard?* P.816, 1.18). In a poem on the Arab poet Abu' l-'Ala al-Ma'Arri. Iqbal makes the vegetarian poet says the following on the gift of roast partridge a friend had sent him (*Bal-I-Jabriel*, pp.448-449):

Alas! A hundred times alas that you did not
became an eagle!

Your eyes failed to catch the hints of
nature.

The judge of fate has since eternity decreed:
"The crime of weakness merits instant
death."

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The last line is also a neat summation of Iqbal's understanding of the workings of history.

3. Iqbal criticizes the teaching institution of the Muslim world. The teachers, for one thing, have failed to provide the vision and drive the Muslim youth need in order to perform their role with distinction in the world: the teachers "are teaching the eaglets how to play with and roll in dust *Bal-I-Jabril*, p. 324; cf. *Javid Namah*, p.790, last couplet and *Zarb-I-Kalim*, p. 540, 11.1-2). Quite naturally, Iqbal sees himself in the role of reminding the eagles –the Muslims –of their roots and their potentialities:

*Those who had been prey for long now have
a new vision,
For I have divulged the ways of the falcon.
(Bal-I-Jabril, p.324; see also Ibid., p.378, 1st
quatrain, Bang-I-Dara, p. 269, 11. 1-2, and
Zabur-I 'Ajam, p.496, 11. 21-22)*

But if Iqbal had divulged to the community of eagles, or Muslims , the ways of the eagle than Iqbal might be expected to regard himself as an eagle and at least in two places he does so (*Bal-I-Jabril*, pp.350, 352).

4. Occasionally it seems that Iqbal has mentioned the eagle in a negative context. In one poem, for example, God addresses the angles, commanding them to rouse the poor and servile nations of the

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world to revolt against their rich and powerful but oppressive overlords, saying:

Heat up the slaves' blood with ardent convictions:

Set the lowly sparrow against the eagle.

(*Bal-I-Jabril*, p. 402; see also *Ibid.*, p.415, and cf. *Armaghan-I-Hijaz*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal*, Urdu, p.652, II. 11-12, and *Armaghan-I-Hijaz*, in *Kulliyat-I-Iqbal: Persian*, p.991, 2nd quatrain)

But this does not necessarily put the eagle in a bad light. Iqbal here uses the sparrow and the eagle as simple metaphor, without necessarily implying any judgment as to their relative worth, just as elsewhere (*Bal-I-Jabril*, p. 418) he speaks of the eagle and the pigeon as different but related manifestation of the all-encompassing current of life. In the poem "Conquest of Nature" (*Payam-I-Mashrik*) Iblis (Satan) asks Adam to choose a life of action over a life of idle peace. Agitation under the net would, he tells Adam, turn even a dove into an eagle (256), and he exhorts Adam to spread the wings of an eagle and spill the blood of pheasants (257). Again, the eagle here does not stand condemned; a life of action, symbolized by the eagle is being referred to, only the speaker happens to be Iblis. The following are to be explained similarly: *Zabur-I-'Ajam*, 521. 11.1-2, *Javid Nama*, p. 659. 11.19-20.

A few remarks about the three poems here translated will be in order, but first a general observation. All three poems are, of course, about the eagle. Iqbal is perhaps the first poet in the Islamic literary tradition might one say, in the world literary tradition? -to make an elaborate and consistent use of the eagle to symbolize character.¹ The very mention of the word "eagle" in connection with Iqbal's poetry conjures up a whole set of distinctive physical, moral and behavioral traits with which Iqbal has endowed his eagle. And as far as literary genre of the *ghazal* is concerned, Iqbal is certainly the first one to employ it to write about a subject-the eagle- in a way that broadens the hitherto narrow channel of the genre, enabling it to accommodate serious philosophical thought and giving it a unity of structure it probably did not have before. The *ghazal* is, by definition, devoted to the theme of love between man and women. Although it had occasionally been used before Iqbal to express quasi-philosophical notions, such use had more to do with mood than with thought. The *ghazal*, that is to say, might reflect a mood, usually sombre and melancholic (another respect in which Iqbal's *ghazal* is different), that passed for philosophical seriousness and fanciful musings that passed for weighty thought. Iqbal effectively redefined, at last for his own purposes, the *ghazal*, using it to treat a variety of serious subjects and his use of the genre to talk about the eagle should be seen in the larger context.

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The first poem, "the eagle," highlights the "ascetic" and freedom-loving nature of the eagle. The eagle shuns the pleasurable but enervating life of the garden, preferring the austere but salubrious environment of the desert. The second poem, "Beyond the Stars" is an exhortation to the eagle to discover new worlds by soaring every higher. Iqbal's addressee here is evidently an eagle that has lost its nest and Iqbal consoles it by saying that there are realms yet to be explored and conquered. The third poem, "An Eagle's Advice to Its Young One," is the most complete portrait of the Iqbalian eagle, and deserves special attention from the readers.

¹ Rumi could, perhaps, be cited as a precursor who had used the symbol of the eagle in a similar, albeit more elevated and profound meaning, for his prophetology. See John Renard, *All the king's Falcons*, Albany, 1994; rept. Suhail Academy, Lahore, 2001. (Editor's Note)

THE EAGLE ¹

*I have turned my back on that world.²
Where sustenance is called grain and water.³
I like the solitude of the wilderness-
I was always a hermit by nature-
No spring breeze, no rose-plucker, no nightingale,
And no illness of the songs of love!⁴
One must avoid the garden-dwellers⁵
Their charms are too seductive!⁶
It is the desert wind that gives effect
To the stroke of the brave youth in combat.⁷
It is not that I am hungry for pigeon and dove-
Renunciation is the mark of an eagle's life-
To swoop, to withdraw, and to swoop again
Is but a pretext to keep up blood heat.
This cast, this west is the pheasants' world,⁸
Mine is the boundlessness of the blue sky!
I am the monk⁹ of the kingdom of birds,
For the eagle is not given to making nests.¹⁰*

BEYOND THE STARS ¹¹

*There are other worlds beyond the stars;
More tests of love are yet to come.¹²
This vast space is not lifeless-
In it there are hundreds of other caravans.
Do not be content with the world of colour and
smell:¹³
There are other gardens, and other nests too.
What is to worry if you have lost one residence?
There are other stations one might sigh and cry for!
You are an eagle; your job is to fly:
You have other skies in front of you.*

*Do not get lost in this maze of day and night,
There is, for you, another space, another time.
Gone are the days when I was an isolate in the
group:* ¹⁴

Many here now are, confidants of mine. ¹⁵

THE EAGLE'S ADVICE TO ITS YOUNGESTERS ¹⁶

*"You that all eagles are, of essence, one:
A handful feathers, they have the heart of a lion.
Be of good nature, and of mature strategy;* ¹⁷
Be daring, dignified, ¹⁸ *and a hunter of a big
game.* ¹⁹

No not mix with partridge, pheasant, and starling ²⁰
Except if you desire to hunt.

*What lovely, fear-stricken group they are
That they wipe their beaks clean with dust!* ²¹
*The falcon that imitates the way of its prey
Becomes the prey of its own prey.*

*Many of the hunting birds that descends to earth
Perishes through mixing with pickers of grain.* ²²
Take care of yourself ²³ *and live in contentment.
Live the life of one brave, strong and rugged.*

*Leave for the quail the soft and delicate body;
Develop a vein tough like the horns of the deer;
And joy that becomes the lot of the world
Is due to hardship, toil, and fullness of breath."* ²⁴
Well did the eagle speak to its own son: ²⁵

"One drop of blood is better than pure wine. ²⁶
*Do not, like deer and sheep, seek out company;
Go into seclusion like your ancestors.* ²⁷
I remember this of the words of the old falcons:

*'Do not make your nests on the branches of tree.'
We do not make nests in gardens or fields,
For we have a paradise in mountains and deserts.
To pick up grains from the ground is an error,
For God has given us the vastness of skies.
One of the noble stock, if he scrapes his feet on the
ground,
Becomes more despicable than a house bird.
For falcons the rock is a carpet
Walking on rocks sharpens the claws.
You are one of the yellow-eyed of the desert, ²⁸
You are noble of nature like the simurgh. ²⁹
You are noble-born, one who, on combat day,
Draws out the pupil of the tiger's eye.
Your flight has the majesty of angles,
In your veins is the blood of the kafuri Falcon. ³⁰
Under the humpbacked, revolving sky
Eat what you catch, be it soft or hard; ³¹
Do not take your food from another hand,
Be good and take the advice of the good. ³²*

NOTES

THE EAGLE:

¹ Source *Bal-I-Jabril*, p. 457.

² *world*: The word used in *Khakdan*, which literally is "rubbish dump." Although this word is also used in the simple sense of "world." The sense probably intended here, pejorative connotations are not entirely absent.

³ *Where ... water*: the word used for "sustenance" is *rizq*. In the Qur'an the word *rizq* is used for ordinary food but also for spiritual and intellectual food. The eagle criticizes the limited definition of *rizq* -in terms of bread and water alone" (cf. the well-known New Testament saying, "Man does not live by bread alone"), and the criticism reflects the Qur'anic view, which Iqbal might consciously be alluding to. In the phrase "grains and water" (idiomatically, "food and water"; original *ab-o-danah*), "grain" is suggestive: grain is used as bait to catch birds under a net. The eagle is thus expressing disdain for birds that fall for cheap *rizq*.

⁴ *No spring. . . love*: That is, the wilderness fortunately has no distractions of garden life. The elements enumerated have double significance. At one level they make up a simple description: the spring breeze blows and the garden is filled with flowers; the flower-plucker comes and robs the garden of its beauty; and the nightingale, pining for the rose, sings its sorrowful songs. At another level they contain allusions to some of the stock-in-trade of Urdu poetry, which Iqbal generally

regarded as decadent and sterile. The phrase *bimari-I-nagmah-I 'ashiqanah* can have three meanings: (1) the illness that characterizes songs of love, (2) the illness songs of love cause in those who listen to them, and (3) the illness that leads one to compose songs of love. While all three meanings may be intended, the last one seems to be the most relevant. "Illness" here stands for a bad, chronic habit, and "songs of love" refer to the hackneyed love poems composed by Urdu poets.

⁵ *the garden-dwellers*: those who live comfortable lives, as in populated cities with nice parks and gardens. The line thus alludes to urban life with its amenities, and contrast with the simple and austere life of the wilderness is intended, the latter being the style of life preferred by the eagle.

⁶ *Their ... seductive!* The implication is that these charms are artificial and not natural.

⁷ *It is... combat*: Note the almost imperceptible transformation of the eagle into-or rather identification of the eagle with-the brave youth.

⁸ *This east ... world*" Iqbal's eagle transcends the limitation of the compass points.

⁹ *monk*: the word in the original is *dervish*, a man who has few needs, is content with what he has and rises above the temptations of the world. "Monk" seems to be closest to the spirit of the word here.

¹⁰ *For ... nests*: this may be interpreted to mean that the eagle does not take any place as its permanent home.

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¹¹ *Bal-I-Jabil*, p. 353.

¹² *More ... come*. The connection with the first line is as follows: there are yet other worlds you will be required to conquer, and your commitment and your devotion-or-love, in Iqbal's terminology-will be put to the test therein.

¹³ the world of colour and smell: The terrestrial world.

¹⁴ *group*: or "assembly" (original: *anjumun*).

¹⁵ *Gone . . . mine*: a personal postscript by Iqbal which does not seem to be integrally related to the rest of the poem. It should be remembered, however, that is a *ghazal*, whose individual couplets do not necessarily have to treat the same theme. But there may well be a connection: the eagle (and Iqbal may be addressing a typical eagle or one representing a group) presumably understands Iqbal's message, which gives Iqbal the assurance that many now share his ideas.

THE EAGLE ADVICE TO ITS YOUNGSTER:

¹⁶ *Payam-I-Mashrik*, pp. 272-273.

¹⁷ *strategy*: I have tried to combine the two principal (and interrelated) meanings of *tadbir*, "counsel, opinion" and "management or handling of affairs. *Pukhtah tadbir*, the complete phrase used in the original, commonly means "mature, wise counsel."

¹⁸ *Dignified*: *Ghayyur*, the word used in the original, means: one who is high-minded and jealousy guards his honour.

¹⁹ *a hunter of big game.*, That is, aim high and do not be content with small achievement. Cf.n. 6 below.

²⁰ *Do not ... starling*: Elsewhere Iqbal says that an eagle associating with weaker or smaller bird will lose his eaglehood, while those other birds will not become eagles. Iqbal in by no means advocating elitism, something he detested and preached against in his prose and poetry both. He simply wishes the eagle to remain an "authentic" eagle. cf. *Zarb-I-Kalim*, pp. 550:5-6, where Iqbal says that an eagle cannot serve a pheasant.

²¹ *That they ... dust!* The above-named birds are content to derive their sustenance for the dusty ground. They have, that is to say, no higher goals in life. Cf. n. 4 above.

²² *pickers of grain*: Ordinary birds, like those mentioned in the beginning of the poem.

²³ *Take care of yourself*: The Persian phrase, *Nigah dar khud ra*, has a moral ring to it, the meaning being: guard your virtues, avoid evil, etc. See the very next line in the text.

²⁴ *fullness of breath*: Indefatigableness. See also *Zarb-I-Kalim*, p. 534: 11. 7-8.

²⁵ *Well did ... son*: it is possible that this sentence, too is part of the advice the eagle is giving. It is more likely, however, that it is an interjection by the poet, dividing the poem into two halves, thus necessitating enclosing each half into quotation marks.

²⁶ *One drop ... wine.*, The blood of bird will keep you fit and strong, but wine will make you effete.

²⁷ *Do not ... ancestors*: Do not cultivate the herd instinct, but learn to withdraw into your own self, *

as did your ancestors, so that you can bring out your potential.

²⁸ the yellow-eyed of the desert: Desert hawks.

²⁹ simurgh: A legendary bird. In Farid al-Din 'Attai's long Sufi allegorical poem, *Mantiq at-Tayr*, a group of birds, wishing to have, like all other species, a king of their own, set out in search of the simurgh, their would-be king. The name thus comes to have connotations of royalty and majesty.

³⁰ kafuri: Iqbal has written this note to the word: "A white hunting bird of the type of the falcon which is found in the mountains and deserts of Turkistan."

³¹ be it soft or hard: Whether it is delicious and palatable or not.

³² Another poem, entitled "Advice" (again by an eagle to its young one), is found in *Bal-I-Jabril*, p. 412. It is short enough to be quoted here in full:

The eagle said to its youngsters:

*May the height of the lofty sky be easy your
Wings!*

Youth means burning in one's own blood:

*It is hard work that turns life's bitter into
sweet.*

*The delight of swooping on the pigeon, my
son,*

*Is perhaps not found in the pigeon's blood
itself."*

MAKHTUMKULI AND IQBAL: TWO POETS AND TWO DREAMS

Tariq Saeedi

Makhtumkuli is the national poet of Turkmenistan and **Iqbal** is the national poet of Pakistan.

Astonishing similarity is found between the ideas and concepts of these two poets who lived in two different places, at least 3000 kilometers away from each other.

Great poets like **Iqbal** and **Makhtumkuli** don't belong to any one nation or any one country. Like sunshine, they belong to all mankind. That, I suppose, is one of the fundamental differences between a great man and a not-so-great man. A great man rises above the geographical boundaries and breaks the barriers of cast and creed. Great men, especially great poets and visionaries, soar above the mundane and manage to get in touch with the eternal truth. Here I remember two couplets; one by **Iqbal** and one by **Makhtumkuli**, which says virtually the same thing, although style of expression is different:

Iqbal says:

**"Be it Attar, or Rumi or Razi or Ghazali
nothing is attainable without tears in the
twilight of dawn"**

He refers to great thinkers, Sufis and philosophers like Firduddin Attar, Jalaluddin Rumi, Fakhruddin Razi and Imam Ghazali. He says that you cannot attain anything unless you make a habit of rising in the hour of dawn when creative twilight is enveloping the earth. You have to cultivate solitude in such hours and only then can you be granted a part of the eternal truth.

Makhtumkuli, in his poem, "This is the Time", says:

"Friends, don't remain asleep at the time of dawn.

This is the time of opening the doors, the time of nearness.

Those who are awake at dawn, find the Benevolence of God.

This is the time when soothing light of truth pours forth"

He also stresses the importance of this powerful parcel of time, the Dawn. He has found the great truth and wants his followers to benefit from his knowledge. He stresses the very same thing that you have to get up in the early hours if you want to reach the truth sublime.

Similarities of these two great poets don't end with these two couplets; they just begin there.

Iqbal was writing with pain when he looked at the plight of Muslims in India under the colonial rule of the British. His pain was made all the more acute by the fact that the Muslims of Indian

subcontinent were slumbering in differences, unaware of their humiliations and subjugation. Having done his doctorate from Germany, he would have spend his life in ease and comfort in any European country. But he elected to return to his homeland to devote his life to awakening the Muslims of Indian subcontinent. He gave them thundering jolts through his powerful poetry and managed to awaken more than ten million people. Not only did he managed to awaken them, he also bestowed on them his dreams. The dreams of an independent country, a country where they will be free to pray according to their wishes, a country where all person will have equal opportunity; above all, a country where yokes of slavery will not be awaiting the generations yet unborn.

It was on 23 March 1940, that representative of Muslims all over India gathered in Lahore and passed a resolution, demanding an independent country for Muslims. Also Iqbal had died two years before this historical event, his spirit was guiding the people and kept them until Pakistan gained independence on 14 August 1947. Pakistan, in true sense, is legacy of Iqbal.

Quaid-e- Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who put concrete efforts to translate the dream of Iqbal into reality was contemporary but in historical sense he could be called spiritual son of Iqbal because at spiritual plane, son is the rightful heir of father.

Makhtumkuli was always restless over the plight of Turkmen people who were splintered into

tribes and did not have a united homeland of their own. In his poem "About Turkmen", he says:

“Tribes are like brothers, like family,
like true friends.
Even destiny doesn't dare antagonize them,
when they are united.

Their unity is the light of God"

Makhtumkuli also said that:

"My best words are dedicated to my people"

He said very clearly:

“Oh, Turkmen, Be one. Teke, Yumet, Sarek, Alili, Arseri, all the tribes who are woven as one into blood relation, unite and create a country for yourself. Lay the foundations of a strong country. You can break the chains of your heart and gain freedom if you are united as one entity.”

It took more than two hundred years to become the dream of Makhtumkuli a reality. Turkmenistan, therefore, is the legacy of Makhtumkuli. President Saparmurat Niyazov, rightly titled Turkmen-bashy, can be called spiritual son of Makhtumkuli although they are separated by more than two hundred years- because he managed to translate the dream of Makhtumkuli into reality.

The similarity does not end there either. It goes on. Both the poets not only dreamed of independent country for Muslims of their areas, they also gave code of conduct, the way how life should be regulated in the countries of their dreams.

Iqbal And The Philosophers Of History

Dr Mohammad Ma'Ruf

The philosophies of history 'take as their theme man himself, as he is revealed in his history and in the cultures which he has developed'¹. We have already discussed philosophers like Windelband, for whom the problem of value was paramount and the history of philosophy was itself a way of philosophizing², James Ward who emphasized the concreteness of history against the concreteness of the natural science³. These philosophies drew upon the evidence of anthropology and psychology. 'Religion itself taken to be one of the manifestation of man's spiritual life, which is of a different order and differently accessible words'⁴. John macquarrie remarks, 'varying degrees of value are assigned to religion by the philosophers of history and culture'⁵. Iqbal may be called a philosopher of history in a real sense in so far as he concentrates on man (ego) ⁶, and has shown keen interest in the history of cultures and nations, especially the Muslim culture vis-à-vis other world cultures⁷. His main interests have been the 'individual', the 'society' and a comparative study of the various world cultures as is obvious from the earliest mathnavis entitled *Asrar-i- Khudi* ⁸ (1913) and *Rumuz-i- Bekhudi* ⁹ (1915). His magnum opus entitled *Javaid-Namah* (1932) presents a beautiful study of the various cultures prevalent in Iqbal's times ¹⁰.

Iqbal and German Philosophers of History

Among the contemporaries of Iqbal we have some important philosophers of history and culture in Germany. Prominent among them are Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) whom Macquarrie describes as the greatest philosopher of history and culture; ¹¹ Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), a very staunch advocate of relativism and historicism in Germany; and Ernest Cassirer (1874-1945) who is known for his philosophy of culture.

W.Dilthey, a senior contemporary of Iqbal, had a particular interest in Kant. He makes a basic distinction between the natural and the human sciences—the former dealing with the external facts, the latter with man's experiences itself, from the inside ¹². Like Iqbal, he claims a priority for the human sciences. He says, 'The human studies have an advantage over all knowledge of nature in that their object is not a phenomena given in sensation,....., but immediate inner reality itself,... ¹³'. Again, like Iqbal he maintains that the reality is comprehended by 'the whole personality'¹⁴, as writes Macquarrie. He believes that psychology has failed to understand the higher activities of the human mind (including his spiritual activities)—a view very much close to that of Iqbal, as said before. Consequently, he proposes 'a wider kind of psychology ¹⁵'. And there appears to be little reason for Iqbal to differ with him on this point.

Again, like Iqbal, Dilthey recognises an intermediate place for the history between the

natural and the human sciences. It serves as a bridge between the two kinds of sciences. For Iqbal also, as said before, there are three sources of knowledge (which he says under the inspiration of the Quran)—viz., Nature, History, and '*Qalb*' (i.e., inner perception). In his case also history occupies an intermediate position, bridging the gulf between the two. Dilthey offers a peculiar position regarding the human and historical studies, namely, the human sciences deal with the particular and individuals, and history which is the product of what he calls "objective mind" unifies "the manifold forms in which the common background subsisting among various individuals"¹⁶ ... According to Iqbal also the historical generalization 'suggests the possibility of a scientific treatment of the life of human societies regarded as organisms'¹⁷. Iqbal will agree with Dilthey that history is a seeking for the soul and that 'The historian "relives" the experience which belonged to others, and this involves understanding in the fullest sense'¹⁸. It makes me 'aware of my individuality'.

Again, religion which is the one of the manifestations of the human spirit for Dilthey is, as Iqbal believed, closely associated with 'the metaphysical consciousness, the awareness of the enigma of life and the quest for a comprehensive solution'¹⁹. Such a solution is offered in the idea of God, says he; though such a transcendent reality is beyond human comprehension. History disclose the relative nature of all metaphysical system and what results is the three world-views: viz., (i) the naturalistic, (ii) that of objective idealism, and (iii)

the idealism of freedom. The naturalistic view held by the materialist and positivists makes reason supreme; the objective idealism held by the world idealists gives primacy to feeling and favour a 'pantheistic' understanding of the world; while the idealism of freedom,²⁰ the third view, 'puts the will in first place, exalts personality, and forms the idea of a personal God' ²¹. Both Delthey and Iqbal will advocate the third world-view, though at the same time assigning truth, may be partial, to all; they affirm 'sovereignty of the mind in face of each one of them,...' ²² . Iqbal's three stage of religious life may be said to correspond, at least roughly, to these three world-views, e.g., naturalistic view goes for what Iqbal calls 'faith', objective idealism with 'Thought', and idealism of freedom with 'Discovery'.

Oswald Spengler, not only a contemporary of Iqbal, but one whose views on the history of cultures has been subjected to criticism by Iqbal, is the author of the classical work entitled *The Decline of West*. In his chapter on "the Spirit of Muslim Culture", Iqbal discusses his two chapters devoted to the problem of Arabian culture. He urges that Spengler's views are 'based on a complete misconception of the nature of Islam as a religious moment and of the cultural activity which is initiated' ²⁴. What he purports to establish is that 'each culture has its own peculiar way of looking at things which is entirely inaccessible to men belonging to a different cultures'²⁵. His main objects, says Iqbal, is that 'this anti-classical SPIRIT of European culture is entirely due to the specific genius of Europe, and not any inspiration she may

have received from the culture of Islam,.....'²⁶ Iqbal clearly appreciates Spengler's view of the spirit of the modern culture, but adds that 'the anticlassical spirit of the modern culture is due to the inspiration which is received from the culture immediately preceding it,... I am afraid Spengler's anxiety to establish this thesis has completely perverted his vision of Islam as a cultural movement'²⁷. He accuses him of ignorance of Islam on the problems of 'time', 'self' as a free centre of experience, etc. as they figure in the religious experience of Islam.²⁸ Again, Spengler' seems to think that Islam amounts to a complete negation of the self'²⁹. There cannot be a greater misconception of the Islamic view of 'self '. Iqbal alludes to Spengler's distinction between two ways of making the world our own, viz., one 'intellectual' and the other which may be called 'vital', and adds that the latter way of appropriating the world is what the Quran calls '*iman*'. To the above charge of 'self-negation' Iqbal replies, 'in the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite Ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite'³⁰. He quotes the Holy Prophet saying that 'religious experience in Islam' 'consists in the "creation of Divine attributes in man"'³¹. In fact Spengler's position is based on a certain misconstruction regarding the Islamic view of 'time', 'destiny', and the nature of the 'self'.

In confirmation of his own position that the Muslim culture has decidedly inspired the modern Western culture Iqbal quotes from another German

scholar of his own time Dr. Robert Briffault, who wrote the *Making of Humanity*. It will suffice to quote here a part of the long quotation used by Iqbal in his lectures"... "The Greeks systematized, generalized and theorized, but the patient way of investigation, the accumulation of positive knowledge, the minute methods of science, detailed and prolonged observation and experimental inquiry were altogether alien to the Greek temperament... What we call science arose in Europe as a result of new spirit of inquiry, of new methods of investigation, of the method of experiment, observation, measurement, of the development of Mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks. That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European world by Arabs"³². He adds that though science was 'the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world', 'Other and manifold influence from the civilization of Islam communicated its first glow to European life'³³. He further adds, 'For although there is not a single aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of Islamic culture is not traceable, nowhere is it so clear and momentous as in ...--natural science and the scientific spirit'³⁴. All this suffices to refute Spengler's position on Muslim culture vis-à-vis Western culture.

Spengler holds that at the root of each culture lies a peculiar world-conception. As said before his view of culture is 'cyclical'; that historical unit is the 'culture' and each culture is self contained. Each culture has a peculiar symbol: e.g., the symbol for the Greek culture was 'proportion', he holds, and for

modern culture it is 'infinity'. He adds that the symbol of infinity leads to world-exploration Copernican astronomy, Western imperialism, and so on.³⁵ Iqbal urges that it was the Muslim Culture which was marked by 'infinity' centuries before the modern culture had its inception. He points out that it was Nasiruddin Tusi (1201-74) who furnished a basis for 'hyperspace movement of our time'.³⁶ the Quran had already laid foundation for the ever-expanding universe as against the static universe of the West. Al-Beruni utilized the idea of 'function' in a modern sense and thereby showed 'the insufficiency of a static view of the universe'.³⁷ Remarking on this Iqbal says 'the function-idea introduced the element of time in our world-picture. It turns the fixed into the variable and sees the universe not as being but as becoming'.³⁸ He adds, 'Spengler thinks that the mathematical idea of function is the symbol of the West of which "no other culture gives even a hint". In view Al-Beruni's generalizing Newton's formula of interpolation from trigonometrical function to any function whatever, Spengler's claim has no foundation in fact. Iqbal remarks that 'Al-Beruni took a definite step forward towards what Spengler describes as chronological number which signifies the mind's passage from being to becoming'.³⁹ In fact, all recent developments in the field of science and mathematics owe much to the Muslim contribution in these fields. All this disproves Spengler's view of independent cultural units having no interrelations like the 'windowless monads' of Liebniz.

Spengler's view of religion stems from his general views on culture in so far as for him religion is one of the manifestation of culture, consequently he holds that religion is relative to the culture to which it belongs and is meaningful only within that culture. His views has been endorsed by Ruth Benedict ⁴⁰ in our own times. Spengler bases his position on his general theory of truth, which is , 'Truths are truths only in relation to a particular mankind.'⁴¹ Spengler's position on religion is acceptable only if we concede that it is one of the product of culture. Iqbal takes a reverse position and holds like T.S. Eliot ⁴² that religion is among those factors and influences which go a long way to fashion and colour a given culture. According to him, Islam is not only a religion, but is in the main a cultural movement—a fact which Spengler has completely ignored. It is religion as well as a complete code of life which colours all the various aspects of culture peculiar to the Muslim mind. Iqbal, as we know, has stressed upon the 'anti-classical' approach of the culture of Islam. He claims that it was the culture movement initiated by the Quran which terminated in the birth of the modern empirical attitude.⁴³ Iqbal thus rejects Spengler's "cultural relativism" in the field of religion.

Earnest Cassirer also treats of religion as one of the elements within a diversified cultural life alongside science, language, myth, etc. again he appears to relegate religion to a means to the goal of freedom and 'self-liberation'. He says, 'Human culture taken as a whole may be described as the process of man's progressive self-liberation.

Language, art, religion, science are various phases on this process'⁴⁴. Thus Cassirer has reduced religion to a mere element and means, while for Iqbal, as seen before, religion is an expression of the whole man rather than any of its aspects. Again where they will part ways: for Cassirer religion does not present a picture of reality; it only contributes to man's cultural life and to the world which his mind constructs. For Iqbal, religion is a means to reach reality, and not only to present it. Nor is religion one of the symbols only; it is one of the genuine human experiences capable of yielding cognition for reality.

Iqbal and Historicism, Historical Idealism

The two cognate movements appeared in the West around the beginning of the present century, namely, historicism and historical idealism. They had their exponents on the continent and in Britain especially. Some names worth mentioning are Benedetto Croce (1866-1953) and Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) in Italy, and Robin George Collingwood (1899-1943) Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889-1975), Wilburn Marshall Urban (1873-1952), and Christopher Dawson (1889- 1970), mostly Britishers. Their fundamental presupposition has been that history is the master-subject to which all other discipline, including religion, should be reduced with a view to having a better understanding. Most of them also gave primacy to man and to his spiritual nature and self-knowledge.

Benedetto Croce, an Italian contemporary of Iqbal, may properly be called an historical spiritualist or idealist, briefly stated, his basic

positions are: philosophy is identified with history, its theme is the spirit of man himself, and its aim 'self-knowledge'. He believes that spirit is the only reality, and denies that there is a nature independent of the spirit. Spirit is conceived as a purely immanent process and nothing is real outside the process of spirit, and we have its highest manifestation in the spiritual life of man ⁴⁵. Iqbal will agree with him so far as the primacy of the spirit is concerned, and also the position of nature vis-à-vis spirit. But he will not go with him when he rejects the idea of transcendent spirit of God; for Iqbal. On the contrary, God is himself the ultimate spiritual principle of the world. As he says actually, 'Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self' ⁴⁶. He expressly says that 'the ultimate character of reality is spiritual. ...⁴⁷ 'According to him, God is the spiritual principle behind all phenomena and its ultimate ground ⁴⁸.

Iqbal will also agree that the world is the process of spirit, an eternal stream of events in which there is nothing fixed or permanent. Action, moment, development, creative becoming are the characteristics of this process. This position makes Croce both a spiritualist and an activist ⁴⁹ - the two epithets which justify and with same force apply to Iqbal also, for he also believed in spirit and in action or incessant struggle and moment. To quote his one verse out of many.

بدریا غلط بامو جیش و راویز

حیات جاودان اندرستیز است

Plunge in the sea and grapple with waves:

Eternal life consists in struggle so;

(Eng. Tr. M.Hadi Hussain, *a Message from the East*)

however, in his account of the spiritual life and its development, Croce does not go beyond moral life of man ⁵¹ like so many other Westerners, and it was perhaps this position which led him to the rejection of transcendent Spirit of God. In fact, like Nietzsche⁵² and other great Western minds Croce too was moored by the ground of empirical and scientific traditions of the West. Consequently his spiritualism failed to rise above the ground and soar into the depths of the heavenly skies. Iqbal, on the contrary, believes in preying, not only planets and heavens, but even the Sublime Beauty, that is God. He Beautifully says in a Persian verse,

در دشتِ جنونِ من جبریلِ زبوں صیدے

یزداں بہ کند آوراے ہمتِ مردانہ

'Where I roam in my mad pursuit
The angel Gabriel is but small game.
Come, O my manly Courage, Cust,
A Lasso upon God Himslef.'

[Eng. Tr. M. Hadi Hussain]

Thus according to Iqbal human development passes beyond all the various stages of development recounted by Croce into the realm of spiritual heights. Moral development for him is only a stage,

though an dispensable stage, towards the final end. As a result of his half-way approach, Croce was led to deny a place to religion among the human activities. Religion for him is an imperfect and inferior kind of knowledge,⁵⁴ which is displaced by philosophy, says Croce. As said before, for Iqbal religion is not any of the departments of the human mind; it is rather an expression of the whole personality.

Next important philosophers of history and culture are Robin Collingwood, Arnold J. Toybee, both British. Both reduce philosophy to history. The task of philosophy, according to Collingwood, is 'a cultural review of the various forms of human experience'⁵⁵ --- a task which Iqbal undertook in the lecture-II of his book ⁵⁶. He treats these various levels of human experience as so 'many maps of same territory, but each map is in a different projection'⁵⁷. Iqbal also recommends the need for an examination of the various levels of human experience, and the main lays stress on a need for examining scientifically and philosophically the peculiar experience called the religious or 'mystic' experience. In his last lecture on "Is Religion Possible?"⁵⁸ Iqbal, however, will not go with him that religion is, like other experiences, a "distortion" of the spirit's knowledge of itself, ⁵⁹ though he will concede that if religion be taken for an inner experience only, then it is equally partial in its attainment of the knowledge of reality. However, for Iqbal, religion is the whole truth, rather than a partial truth ⁶⁰. Collingwood regards religion an important function of the human soul. Iqbal will not

agree with him that even the ultimate religious beliefs and presuppositions are historically conditioned, and therefore they cannot be regarded as true or false. Iqbal's positions on this point, like that of William James (whom he quotes in this connection), is that the states or experiences may be historically or otherwise conditioned, but their value is none the less independent of that ⁶¹. Again, the Collingwood religious beliefs 'simply reflects the historical or cultural climate' of the particular time to which they belong, though he adds that our attitude to them should be one of "unquestioning acceptance"⁶². Iqbal, however, will not concede this cultural relativist position on religion. To him religious truths are ultimate truths, having universal and unconditional import.

Arnold Joseph Toynbee, a renowned British historian and historicist of Iqbal's times, holds like Spengler that each society has its own independent history. In his monumental work, *A Study of history*, he recognizes twenty-six civilizations and undertakes a comparative study of them. Toynbee is usually criticized for his naturalistic approach to history. Thus Collingwood says, '...he regards the life of a society as a natural and not a mental life, something at bottom merely biological...; he regards history as a mere spectacle not experiences into which he must enter...' ⁶³. In fairness to Toynbee, he does not think of the various societies as completely isolated and independent (as done by Spengler); there may be relations of affiliation among some of them. As compared to Spengler, he attaches more importance to religion which is not culture-bound as

he conceded that religion can pass on from one civilization to another, and be strengthened in this process. Thus he suggests that while the moment of civilization is cyclical, that of religion may be continuous⁶⁴. Iqbal, however, though not accepting the cyclical movement of civilization, will certainly be happy over the position Toynbee assigns to religion as against Spengler's cultural relativism. Again he concedes that all great religions have the same essence which consists in 'their recognition of a spiritual Presence higher than man himself in the universe...' ⁶⁵. He concludes that 'the missions of the higher religions are not competitive; they are complimentary' ⁶⁶. Again something where Iqbal would go with him, and in also what follows next. That is, he preaches the need for co-existence among various religions, and for inculcating 'tolerance of the Eastern religions' ⁶⁷.

Christopher Dawson, another contemporary of Iqbal, holds, like Iqbal, that religion is the key to culture. He says, 'Even a religion which is explicitly other-worldly and appear to deny all the values and standards of human society may, nevertheless, exert a dynamic influence on culture and provide the driving forces in movements of special change' ⁶⁸. Unlike Spengler and Toynbee, Dawson believes that religion is profoundly influential in any culture. He alludes to Asian cultures in which religion established a sacred social order which might endure unchanged for centuries. He shows through his analytical study that 'the driving force in Western culture is the spirit of Catholic Christianity' ⁶⁹ despite all its-so called secular appearance. He

believes that the Western culture is becoming more and more secularized and there has emerged a belief in the theory of ' automatically progress' ⁷⁰. But the event of present century have shown that the progress is not so automatic, and that structure of this culture is so fragile that it may easily fall down. This consideration, says Dawson very rightly, should drive us to ' the spiritual roots of our culture'. He warns, .it would be a strange fatality if the great revolution by which Western man had subdued nature to his purpose should end in the loss of his own spiritual freedom, but this might well happen if an increasing technical control of the state over the life and thought of its members should coincide with a qualitative decline in the standards of our culture'⁷¹. Thus religion continues to have a vital functions, both as a ' principle of continuity' and as a 'creative source' ⁷². His views will certainly appeal to one who has pretensions to a deeper study and understanding of Iqbal's thought, for Iqbal would certainly accepts his view on religion vis-à-vis culture.

Iqbal and some thinkers on Theology, History & Culture

In this connection we have thinkers like William Ralph Inge (1860-1954), Friedrich Von Hugel (1852-1925), and Friedrich Heiler (1892-1967), also contemporaries of Iqbal and interested in theology, history and culture.

W.R. Inge was a professor at Cambridge towards the end of Iqbal's stay in the west--- most

probably the period when Iqbal was in 'Germany in connection with his doctoral work (i.e. 1907-8). He later became Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (1911-34). However, there is little possibility that Iqbal came into any direct contact with him during his stay aboard, though he might have known some of his ideas, maybe through reading, though there is a little evidence for that either. However, there are certain fundamental ideas on which Iqbal and Inge agree considerably. Thus for both not 'material progress but the abiding spiritual values of truth, beauty and goodness can provide a stable foundation for our society. These values however, are grounded in transcendent God,...'⁷³ both look for 'a religious and even a mystical interpretation of life, having as its climax the soul's inward ascent to God'⁷⁴. Iqbal's position is rather more elaborate and comprehensive when we suggest, 'Humanity needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and the import in the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis'⁷⁵.

Inge condemns modern rationalism as one-sided, like Iqbal, though both assigning 'reason' its due place. Inge again, like Iqbal, takes reason in a wider sense. Iqbal's treatment of reason, however, is more thorough and comprehensive than any of the Western thinkers, including Inge. For Iqbal, as said before, reason is conceivable at three levels, namely, (i) theoretical reason, (ii) practical reason, and (iii) non-discursive reason which he describes as a deeper movement of thoughts in his lectures. Again like Iqbal, he advocates converging of reasons and

religion towards the selfsame goal. He says like his Muslim contemporary that 'there is in the last resort no essential difference between religion and philosophy:⁷⁶ commenting on his thought John Macquarrie says, 'the mysticism of which he speaks is no emotional subjectivism, but a controlled activity of the whole personality in which reason has its place' ⁷⁷. For Iqbal also, as said before, religion is activity of the whole man, and not a departmental affair. Iqbal rather more concretely believes that there should be an amalgam of reason and faith in a

زیر کی از عشق گرد و حق شناس
 گارِ عشق از زیر کی محکم اساس
 عشق چوں با زیر کی ہمبستر شود
 نقشبندِ عالمِ دیگر شود

true religion which alone can afford a vision of the total and ultimate reality. He says in Javid-Namah⁷⁸,

'Only through love intelligence gets to know God,
 love's labours find firm grounding in intelligence;
 When love is companioned by intelligence,
 It has the power to design another world'.

[A.J.Arberry P. 58]

Inge appreciates neo-Platonism especially, the thought of Plotinus, for realising 'the ideal of combining rational thinking with a religious or mystical apprehension of God'⁷⁹. Inge remarks that Plotinus achieved the almost complete fusion of religion and philosophy. According to Iqbal the said fusion was best brought about by Islam which is not only a religion, but a code of life ('shariah'). Inge's guide was Plotinus, Iqbal's Jalal uddin Rumi and above all the Holy Prophet himself. Both Inge and Iqbal believe in the perennial philosophy. Inge believes that Platonism wedded with christianity can afford real guidance for the modern civilization, Iqbal firmly believes that only Islamic teachings can put modern civilization on the right track and cure its ills. Both will agree that modern civilization needs to be saved from both shallow rationalism and irrationalism; that what is required is a right blend of reason and faith both. As said before, for such blend Inge looks to a fusion of Platonism and Christianity, whereas Iqbal has to look to Islam understood as a '*deen*' (religion) and a '*shariah*' (a code of life). The great German sage Goethe was appreciating this completeness of Islam when he wrote to Eckermann, 'you see that nothing is wanting in this doctrine that will all our systems, we have got no further; and that, generally speaking, no one can get further'⁸⁰.

Friedrich von Hugel, a leading Roman catholic thinker from Austria, preached tolerance among religion. He instead upon 'the recognition, by any one religion, of elements of worth variously present in the other religion, together with the careful

avoidance of all attempts at forced conformity'⁸¹. Iqbal will agree with him for Islam has laid great stress on mutual tolerance and forbade any coercion in religion: the Quran says, 'Let there be no compulsion in religion'⁸². He has appreciated the efforts of non-Muslim saints and reformers like Lord Buddha, Lord Krishna, Bhartari Hari, Guru Nanak, to name a few and has recognized their place in the development and evolution of the world. Again Iqbal will agree that religion is 'the apprehension of the reality of God' ⁸³. Both agree that God is a given 'given or revealed to us in experience' ⁸⁴. To Iqbal religious experience is one of the genuine human experiences having cognitive import; that God reveals himself to man in religious experience ⁸⁵. Iqbal will agree that God is 'an immensely rich and complex reality' ⁸⁶. Our apprehension must always fall short of his actual reality and richness. There is mystery in God and. Like Iqbal, Hugel was also interested in accounting for the presence of evil and suffering in the universe. He attaches much importance to the 'direct mystical apprehension of God' ⁸⁷ though, like Iqbal, he insists on the 'transcendence' of God – both Hugel and Iqbal were 'panentheists' and not pantheists.

In his analysis of the modern Western civilization, Hugel discerns three elements of influences, to be more precise, which go to form its warp and woof—namely, Hellenism, Christianity, and science, Hellenism gives 'thirst for richness and harmony', Christianity 'the revelation of personality and depth', and science 'the apprehension of fact and law' ⁸⁸. He believes that all the three are mingled in

right proportion. Iqbal, however, regrets that science has over-dominated the other two elements with the result that the modern civilization is plagued by 'excessive rationalism' and 'over intellectualism' ⁸⁹. He has traced all ills back to these two sources which have distorted the very skein of the fabric of this civilization. It has led modern man to materialism and atheism and the result is (using Iqbal's own words), '...the modern man has ceased to live soulfully, i.e., from within. In the domain of thought he is living in open conflict with himself; and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with other. He finds himself unable to control his ruthless egoism and his infinite gold-hunger which is gradually killing all higher striving in him and bringing him nothing but life-weariness'⁹⁰. Iqbal's analysis of the modern civilization is more realistic and thorough; it is basically diagnostic and prescriptive in its nature, whereas Hugel's approach was basically descriptive. Again, according to Hugel religion reveals itself in 'Historical forms – in institution such as the Church, and in sensuous media such as rituals, sacraments and the like' ⁹¹. According to Iqbal, on the contrary, 'religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves,...' ⁹² For him religion is a genuine experience of man.

Friedrich Heiler, basically a Roman catholic, 'looks beyond the Christian Church to the spiritual bond which unites all men' ⁹³. Like his predecessors

he also resorts to a historical approach to religion which has produced in him a purely catholic attitude, says John Macquarrie. Iqbal will appreciate the Heiler for one has left the need for going beyond the Christian Church, in the form in which we find it today, and a serious and sincere attempt at transcending would have taken him to Islam which is the purest form of religion and a confirmation of the *Christian* religion in its purer and original form as it was revealed to the Christ. His transcending will not of course mean the abandoning of all religion and going into the realm of secularism and irreligion: that Heiler would never recommend.

Heiler has shown special interest in the study of prayer and surveyed the whole history of prayer from its primitive to more developed forms in advanced religions. 'Prayer', says he, 'is the central phenomenon of religion, the very hearthstone of all piety'⁹⁴. He believes that wherever there is religion, there is prayer, and that any religion can be 'assessed by the prayers in which it expresses itself'.⁹⁵ Iqbal has also shown keen interest in prayer in his lecture entitled "The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer"⁹⁶. However, they differ in their respective approaches to prayer. Heiler holds that the essence of prayer is 'the expression of primitive impulse to a higher, richer, intenser life'⁹⁷. For Iqbal, on the other hand, prayer is by no means "a primitive impulsions" though it is one of the oldest institutions in human history. Heiler prefers 'the personal, dramatic, petitionary type of prayer as over against the more reflective, contemplative type which is associated with certain philosophical and

mystical attitudes'.⁹⁸ According to Iqbal, 'The act of prayer as aiming at knowledge resembles reflection...'⁹⁹ Though he adds that it is by no means mere abstract reflection. It resembles reflection in being 'assimilative', 'but the assimilative process in the case of prayer draws itself closely together and thereby acquires a power unknown to pure thought'¹⁰⁰. What is unique in Iqbal, he regards prayer as 'a normal vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a larger whole of life'¹⁰¹. Iqbal going a step further proclaims that 'all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer'¹⁰². He further adds, 'In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement of the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature'¹⁰³. For Iqbal prayer is not only a cognitive act, but also a vital act, an act which, besides vision, bestows 'power' on the one who prays. On the one hand, it enables the searching ego to affirm 'itself in the very moment of self-negation'¹⁰⁴, says Iqbal; and on the other hand, it helps fulfill 'the aspiration to realize this essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man'¹⁰⁵. Thus for Iqbal prayer has a deep social import also as is obvious from congregational prayers on which Islam has laid so much stress. However, unlike Heiler, for Iqbal prayer is a reflective and meditative as well as a vital and social act which brings about cohesion between man of different races, creeds and colours-an aspect of prayer overlooked by Heiler. What is unique in Iqbal, scientific observation of nature must be

supplemented by prayer, for the former gives 'vision', the latter 'power'; and he adds, 'Vision without power does bring moral elevation but cannot give a lasting culture. Power without vision tends to become destructive and inhuman. Both must combine for the spiritual expansion of humanity'¹⁰⁶.

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9. This *mathnavi* in Persian discussed the principles of social reconstruction and an ideal society.
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Islam in Kashmir- past and present perspectives

Mohibbul Hassan

Islam did not follow the flag in Kashmir; it came to the valley long before the establishment of Muslim rule there in 1339 A.D. According to Kalhana, Vajraditya, the son of the great Lalitaditya (725-53), "sold many men to the mlecchas and introduced into the country practices which befitted the mlecchas."¹ Henceforth the number of Muslims gradually increased, and it appears from the accounts of Morcopolo, the Venetian traveler, that by the end of the thirteenth century, there was a colony of Muslims, in the Valley.²

There were three important land marks in the spread of Islam in Kashmir. The first was the arrival of Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din, commonly known as Bulbul Shah, from Turkistan, and the conversion through his efforts of the reigning Buddhist king Rinchan [1320-23].³ The conversion of the ruler of the land greatly boosted the prestige of Islam and led to the conversion, according to one tradition, of 10,000 men.⁴ After Bulbul Shah came other Sufis, who continued their missionary activities, which were successful because Buddhism had become corrupt, having been diluted with foreign elements. While Hinduism was dominated by sectarianism, arrogance of the Brahmans, and by cast and social, economic and religious inequalities.

The second land mark was the arrival of Sayyid Ali Hamdani first in 1772, and then again in

1779. He is said to have made 37,000 converts to Islam, ⁵ a large number considering the small area and the population of the Valley. ⁵ Ali Hamdani's son, Muhammad Hamdani, and Sultan Sikandar [1389-14] also played an important role in converting non Muslim to Islam, though Sikandar's part in the work of proselytisation has been exaggerated. ⁶ But Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1490-70), whom both history and tradition regards as the greatest king of Kashmir checked the process.⁷ But his policy of religious toleration and his attempt to placate his non-Muslim subjects led to a reaction after his death, which was led by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, who came to the valley in 1481 as an envoy of Sultan Husain Baiqara of Herat to Sultan Hasan Shah of Kashmir (1472-82).⁸ His arrival marks the third landmark in the history of Islam in Kashmir. He believed that Islam faced a grave crisis, having been corrupted by the introduction of non-Islamic practices, and he therefore endeavored to remove them and to restore Islam's pristine purity, an echo of the movement of our own times. But his aggressiveness and fanaticism was disapproved of by Sultan Muhammad Shah, grandson of Zain -ul - Abadin, and his vazir, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi, and he was exiled to Skardu. However, this did not dampen his zeal for his faith, he worked among the Baltis and brought about their conversion to Islam.⁹ He returned to the Valley in 1505 after the defeat and death of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi at the invitation of Musa Raina, a powerful noble, who became his disciple and, on becoming prime minister, gave him his full moral and material support. With the conversion of some of the prominent Chak

nobles, Shams-ud-Din further strengthened his position.¹⁰ After his death his work was carried on by his disciples and by other Sufis and Rishis, who by their life of prayer and fasting, piety and devotion, won many converts. It seems that by the end of the fifteenth century a majority of inhabitants of the Valley had embraced Islam.¹¹

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Islam faced a great crises due to the Shia-Sunni discords, feudal and tribal rivalries and conflicts, leading to chaos in the country. This was taken advantage of by the Emperor Akbar to annex it. One result of the establishment of the Mughal rule in Kashmir was that it brought peace, law and order to the land which had been torn internal dissensions. But otherwise the consequences were disastrous. The Mughal crushed the very soul of the people and all that which loss of freedom implies. It also destroyed kashmiri's culture, preventing its further development. Poets, painters and learnes men, who were the pride of the valley now departed from the Valley because of the liquidation of their patrons, and adorned the courts of the Mughal Emperors, Kashmir lost its individuality and became only one of the *subas* of the Empire.

The years from 1752 to 1819 of Afghan domination, which followed the over throw of Mughal rule, were like a nightmare for the Kashmiri's in which both Hindus and Muslims suffered from the harshness and misgovernment of the Afghan governors. However, with the establishment of Sikh rule began the martyrdom of

the Muslims of the Valley which continued down to 1947. Islam was in serious danger owing to the intolerant practices of the Sikh governors (it is difficult to say how much Maharaja Ranjit Singh was responsible for their actions) who banned the call to public prayers (azan), closed down the Jami Masjid of Srinagar and other mosques, ordered that slaughter of cows a capital punishment. ¹² Although the Sikh rule was short lived, the government which followed was no improvement for the Muslims; it was proverbial from the frying pan to the fire. The Muslims forming 95 percent of population suffered the most, for the Dogra rulers "sucked their very life-blood." ¹³ They had to pay *dharmath* a religious tax, which was used for the repair of old temples and for the welfare of the Hindus. Some of their mosques were taken over by the government; and if a Muslim was even suspected of killing a cow, he was imprisoned in chains for the rest of his life. ¹⁴ There were cases of men being boiled in oil for killing a cow. ¹⁵ The punishment for killing a cow were much more severe in Kashmir than in any other Indian State. In 1920, of the 117 prisoners in Kashmir jails 97 were held for cow slaughter¹⁶

The Kashmiri Muslims were, according to Sir Albion Bannerjee, Foreign and political minister of Maharaja Hari Singh, " like dumb-driven cattle, who had no say in the State's administration, which was conducted mostly by Kashmiri pandits and to a lesser extent by the Punjabis brought from the Punjab and the Dogras of Jammu." ¹⁷ Although the Muslims had taken to western education latter than the Pandits owing to the **opposition** of the Ulama

and the conservative elements in the country, they tried to make up for lost time and opportunity by studying in modern school and colleges and by taking their degrees from the Universities of Aligarh and Punjab. But they found to their dismay that all the avenues of employment were closed to them. In 1924, out of 395 gazetted post only 45 were held by the Muslims. (This was for the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir). ¹⁸

But the disabilities of the Muslim educated class was nothing compared to the sufferings of the peasants, who were mainly Muslims and who formed the bulk of the Valley's population. They were, according to Sir Walter Lawrence, land Revenue settlement Officer in the State, worse off than the cultivators of other Indian States. ¹⁹ They were subjected to all kinds of violence in the collection of taxes. Men and women were stripped naked ²⁰ and their fingers were forced into finger-irons and blood squeezed out of them. ²¹ They had to surrender to the government from one-fourth to three-fourth of their produce and the rest to the revenue officers who were pandits and to the 'men of war,' the Dogra soldiers, so that hardly any thing was left over for them. They had therefore to subsist on roots and water-nuts. Many were forced to migrate to the Punjab in winter to work as coolies. Their cry was:

Batta Batta We are crying for food and the tax—collector is Tah Piyadah Patta Over us.

But the worst oppression to which the peasants were subjected was the *beggar* or forced

labour. They were compelled to leave their fields to carry military supplies on their backs across the snow —clad mountains to Gilgit. It meant death to hundreds and frost —bite for the rest. Those who were returned home were physical and mental wrecks.

Owing to these grievances, in 1877, some Kashmiris (presumably Muslims) presented a memorandum to the British Government demanding the redress of their wrongs. But it had no result, since the memorandum was anonymous, and no one came forward to evidence, the Maharaja was exonerated. But, in 1924, when Lord Reading, the Viceroy, visited Kashmir, the Muslims again presented a memorandum—but now it was signed —demanding (a) employment of Muslims in state service according to their population; (b) proprietary to the peasants; (c) abolition of *beggar*; (d) restoration to the Muslims of the mosques which had been confiscated by the government. The response of the Maharaja to these demands was to exile two of the signatories and confiscate their properties, and to give stern warnings to others.

Meanwhile, a great change were coming over the Muslims in Kashmir. Owing to the spread western ideas of democracy and self —government, they had become politically conscious and were determined to demand their rights. In the middle 'twenties' a few young men fresh from the universities of Aligarh and the Punjab formed a reading Club, the ostensible object of which was what its name implies, but its real object was to discuss ways and means to improve the lot of

Kashmiri Muslims. The members of the Club carried on propaganda in the Valley and they were supported by Muslims of the Punjab, who founded the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference at Lahore. The result of the propaganda was that in 1931 a movement was launched in Kashmir under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, an M.Sc from Aligarh, who had with difficulty secured a teaching job in a state high School on a petty sum of Rs. 60/- a month. The movement was caused by the social, economic, political and religious grievances of the Muslims of the state. However, the agitation was sparked by a rumor that a Hindu constable in Jammu had insulted Quran. In other areas of the Jammu province the movement was started against heavy taxation, exclusion of Muslims from services and their exploitation by the money –lending banias and the jagerdars.

MODERN EDUCATION IN IQBAL'S PERSPECTIVE

Dr. G.R Abdullah

In introducing the quarterly journal "Islam and the Modern age". In 1970, Dr. Abid Hussain, a noted historian of culture, identified the present period of cultural history as "the age of scientific empiricism."¹ or the present purpose, it marks "the Iqbalian age" which synchronized with the ascendancy of Western culture and simultaneous decadence of Islamic civilization. What adds the period with great significance from Cultural point of view is that Islam, for the first time came into contact, and subsequently into conformation, with a type of foreign culture, and that too of unusually expanding type.

How did the people of Islam react to the challenge? The answer lies in the diversity of modes and the divergence of responses on their part during the centuries following immediately. Among these, the three are quite distinct: the mode of total acceptance, of objectivity and appreciation. The first type of response was demonstrated by Turkey, after the abolishment of the Caliphate;² the second by the conservative school of Islamic thought and the third by the Muslim elite, with the vision of effecting harmonization between Islamic teaching and western sciences. For example, Mufti Mohammad Abduhu, a great educational reformer of Egypt, believed, that the *Ulema* should strive with all their might and aim to acquire and spread knowledge of the sciences."³ Like al -Gazzali long long before him,

the Mufti tried to upto date the time-honored Islamic curriculum, especially at al-Azhar the oldest and most renowned seat of learning in entire world of Islam, he founded "a new college, *Darul-ulum*."⁴

If Abduhu advocated the principle of bringing closer the Western and the Islamic traditions, Mohammad Asad, a Christian-turned-Muslim thinker put forth the idea of evolving "a new Islamic theology on the basis of the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*, and at the same time in tune with the exigencies of present life."⁵ Proceeding a step further, Abul Hassan Nadvi, the reputed thinker of present Islam, stood for reconciling what is good and useful and compatible "from the West with the moral and spiritual heritage" of the Muslims.⁶ Nadvi feels, in an over-tone of apprehension, about the people of Islam, scared that "their ultimate absorption into Western pattern of thought and life is a matter of time."⁷

It was in this atmosphere, surdianged with the spirit of competition and conformation that Sir Mohammad Iqbal, later given the title of "the Poet of the East", was born and brought up, and was one of the master-minds who looked to the historical situation as an opportunity of transforming conflicts and confrontation into concord and confluence. By virtue of his philosophical vision, he sincerely felt himself capable of pioneering a new movement of cultural inter-course and inter-dependence "on the progressive line".⁸ what qualified him specially for the great mission was the mastery that he had

gained over the cultural traditions, Eastern as well as western concurrently.

In the field of education, particularly in India, Iqbal observed a state of divergence instead if any sort of convergence between what existed already and what was introduced by the British from the modern.

Broadly, there were three concurrent systems in existence.⁹

- (1) The exclusive Western or modern system as endeavoured by Syed Ahmed Khan towards the fourth quarter of the 19th century.
- (2) The system of uncompromising character based on conventional content as established by Maulana Nanatawi at Deoband, and
- (3) The system at Nadwah college, Shibli Naumani aspired to see as a scheme of readjustment and reconciliation between the modern and the ancestral elements.

Before joining the issue on modern education, Iqbal looked at it in an wider perspective, which necessitated a critical view of Western culture, one of its off-shoots being Education. Taking a critical view of the whole problem he condemned it for its expansionism in the human world, particularly the whole world of Islam. In spite of his unqualified appreciation of the material and scientific advancement brought about by the West, he felt

duty-bound to-subject the uncritical acceptance and wholesale adoption of its ways on the part of the peoples in the East because of their indolence, inaction and inertia. "The poet of the East", therefore, took the Muslim educated class, as a total loss for the community as a whole in so far as the youth had lost their roots in their cultural heritage. As against this, to the degree the west pursued the ideology of vitalism, activism and dynamics, he was all commends for it, mainly virtue its providing him with the cause and the content of his philosophy of Khudi, literally "self-hood" or simply "individuality". Endowed with its own metaphysical dimension Khudi believed in pantheism in general, and immanetism in man, which is an outright contradiction and total refutation of the conventional tenet of transcendentalism of the reality.

With its close relevance to education, the ideal of Khudi constitutes its over-all objective, as an integral part of the poet's Weltanschauung or World-view. In his elucidation of this supreme goal of existence, and therefore, of education, Khudi has been explained in hundred and one ways by Iqbal in his poetry and prose writings in one context or the other. As for its educational significance, the philosopher has disclosed its meeting in his letter to KG Saiyidani dated the 21st of June, 1936, pointing to Zarbi-Kalim, which has "Education" as such as one of the titles, with Khudi a sits focus.¹⁰ in the formulation of this concept of Khudi, the poet has drawn upon Islamic as well as Western sources. While the Quran provide him with the core of his ideology, so far as it presents man as god's chosen

and therefore "the trustee of free personality."¹¹ Iqbal brought the Western philosophers like Bergsons, Nietzsche and Nunn to bear on this issue. On the one hand, his ideas of the Nietzschean Superman Bergsonian creative evolution and Nunn's free individuality, were synthesized with the Islamic monotheism.¹² The Iqbal integrated the modern philosophy and Islamic thought is therefore beyond any dispute, inasmuch as quite freshly has professor Mohammad Mujeeb —endorsed it in his monumental work "The Indian Muslims."¹³

On the examination of *Khudi* as the over —all and ultimate goal of education in Iqbal's perspective, the question that arises now in this connection is related to the content of education the service of this educational objective. On this important question, Iqbal emphasized the teaching of the religion or revelation as its core on the curriculum. He never forgave the omission of God and Godliness from the scheme of the education according to his philosophy. In his observation of the educational purged of God and religion, he asserts:

"If anti —religion, it is more fatal than
any of the bitterest poison,

If in defence of religion, it is an antidote
for every poison."¹⁴

Religion, as looked at by Iqbal, is not to be a subject in educational content, or even the fore —most subject, rather the entire atmosphere must be permeated with religious spirit.

What then should be the place of science on the curriculum? Holding scientific knowledge is equally important from curricular point of view, the poet –philosopher was convinced of the two broad fields of educational content, the religious and the rational, as supplementary to each other, although they follow two divergent approaches to Reality.¹⁵ According to G.A.R. Gib, the noted orientalist, Iqbal not only stands for the synthesis between religious experience and scientific awareness but goes a step ahead in holding that:

“ii. their taking over Western learning and sciences, Muslims are only resuming the heritage of their own civilization.”¹⁶

What then “The poet of the East” tried to arrive at in this respect is for a complete reconciliation between the two traditions so as to evolve into one indivisibility important component of the curriculum.¹⁷

What a wonder that some of the honest critics of the poet fails to comprehend the breadth of his vision, involving religion and science. For example Mohammad Ahmad khan one of the such critics has not been able to understand the meaning of the Iqbal's frequent emphasis on modern science and his simultaneous antagonism is a riddle for him.¹⁸ As against this negative attitude to the philosopher's approach of synthesis, what Dr Syed Abdullah, another writer in this behalf appreciates from Iqbal is this synoptic view, unifying the two broad and

independent fields of human experiences, religion on one side, and "science and philosophy" on the other.¹⁹

The third area on the curriculum of Iqbal's linking, after religion and science consists of art and literature. As estimated and assessed by Syed Abdullah the criterion for a subject for its inclusion in the educational content is the principle of its relevance to life as an unending process of progression on the most vital and active basis. From this angle vitality, utility and activity of a curricular course. This critic of the poet –philosopher observes about aesthetic element of curriculum:

"From this view point, poetry no doubt finds its place as a literary subject on the curriculum, but the position of Music and Painting is doubtful, if not condemnable."²⁰

The last, but not the least, important question that emerges in the study of Iqbal's educational perspective is related to the methodology of teaching to be employed for the service of *Khudi* as the supreme objective of education. Instead of being a pedagogue or practitioner in education, Iqbal had been a philosopher of high caliber, who identifies a few broad principles on the question of educational techniques. So far as his over –emphasis on the philosophy of activism and dynamism is concerned, he was impatient of any sort of educational methodology which encourages or inculcated a life of meditation, contemplation and introspection, which resulted in the lack of vitality of attitude and lethargy of body and mind together.

He aspired to find education as a continuous practice to reach the high levels of *Khudi*. How ambitiously and ardently he looks forward to studentship as a programme of rigorous training for the sake of the supreme goal as put forth in the ideal of *Khudi*. In this couplet, captioned "The Student" he observes:

"May God introduce you to an upheaval.
Simply because your ocean (of life) is bereft of
surging waves. For you, it is impossible to get
rid of books, because you just read books, but
not master these."²¹

In the light of the *Quranic* teachings, Iqbal believed learning must satisfy the twin purpose of the truth and utility.²² instead of one at the cost of other. With him, as explained by Saiyidan, the individual "must struggle in and against the external environment."²³

This principle of methodology based on continuously vital role of man in "his material and cultural environment,"²⁴ lead to the second principle of teaching techniques in the Iqbalian outlook. In order to work for complete harmony between the individual and the social step-up the poet-philosopher felt convinced of indivisibility of purpose as well as process in education. Looked in this perspective, the educational methodology, as subscribed to by Iqbal must be founded on the phenomenon of interaction between the personality and society. so as to fructify in "the gradual growth

in self-possession, in the uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego."²⁵

For the idea of bringing it into full limelight, Iqbal composed two epic sort of poems: *Asrar-i-khudi* and *Romoz-i-biakhudi* and prefaced these while emphasizing the principle of interaction and interdependence, while presenting the two works as complimentary to each other.²⁶

To sum up, Iqbal was a poet-cum-philosopher-cum-pioneer with the mission of unifying the modern and the conventional elements in philosophy and education, and thereby setting the necessary stage for the enactment of human drama of long time to come on this planet, and possibly out-side it.

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20. *Ibid:* P. 331.

21. *Zarab-i-Iqbal:* op.cit., P.47

22. *Magalaat-i-Iqbal:* op.cit., P.333

23. *Iqbal's Educational philosophy: op. cit.*, P.20
24. *Ibid: P. 20.*
25. *Ibid: P.20*
26. *Ibid: P.51.*
27. *Mazaazmin-i-Iqbal: Editor, Tasaduk Hussain Taj, Azim steem Press Hyderabad Deccan, H. 1362. P. 48-55. On these seven pages the author has elaborated Khudi as the goal of the individual in society.*

Concept of Man in Iqbal

Dr. Yusuf Azmi

Human existence has been the concern of philosophers, poets, religious thinkers and mystics from the dawn of civilization. The study of man in the West and in the East reflects apparently the opposite polarities.

The twentieth century, an age of humanism, consciously or unconsciously, with a relative difference in the East and the West, made a radical shift of reference from the divine or ultimate authority to man. Today, largely for all practical purposes, man is the measure of all things. In the modern age, the sense of human autonomy is very deep, without de-linking the relevance of God. In the East, the destination of man largely remains spiritual.

The concept of man cannot be confined to the metaphysical world. The role of trustee is assigned to man on the earth, assigning him a free personality. The concept of accountability gives him a free choice to perceive his own way in shaping his destiny; he does not disappear completely in the ever-moving wheel of creativity.

The basic concern of the Qur'an is man. God created Adam, making him the vicegerent on this earth. There was external loneliness, before the creation of Adam. Man was not thrown into the void or in the vast desert of loneliness. Things

had been created for him. The world is the stage for his performance.

In the light of man's place in the divine scheme, there has been evaluation of man by Islamic thinkers, philosophers, Sufis, theologians and writers. Rumi feels that there is in man "the qualities of highness" (M6.3138-43). Ibn 'Arabi acknowledges the very important position of man and tries to bridge the gap between the creator and creation. In the poetic universe of Ghalib, the image of desire and the motif of journey are the examples of eternal search of a creative man. Similarly man is at the core of Iqbal's writings.

He projects a dynamic concept of man. '*Mard-I-hur*' bears that personality which feels the pulse of life even in death. '*Mard-I-mu' min*', the ideal of Iqbal, is central in the understanding of the nature of man. '*Mard-I-mu' min*' carries out the Divine laws, while organic materials and plants are bound by their limited ways and means.

"Iqbalian man" is placed in the tension between determinism and free will. He is alive in the conflict of evil and virtue. '*Mard-I-mu' min*' is ever changing. In his thoughts and deeds he become the spokesman of the Divine reality. Iqbal in his book, *Reconstruction*, the magnum opus of his religious philosophy, determines the relationship between man, God and the universe.

It is strange to see the degree of difference in the concept of man in the East and the West. It is observed that the man of the East relies on intuition, while the man of the West on rationality; the East is not dynamic while the West is referred to as dynamic; in the East, mysticism permeates life, in the west social norms and ethics assume importance; man in the former is an introvert and in the latter an extrovert; and the difference also lies in terms of materialism and spirituality.

The issue of life and the universe are associated with the consciousness of man. The human consciousness is very crucial in the identification of the universe. Various thinkers viewed man, in terms of their experiences and understanding. In Plato, there was a kind of disillusionment with reference to man. But Descartes felt that the world is not an illusion: "I think, therefore, I am". In Western thought, Dante laid emphasis on the search through man; Kant's focus was on human will; and Goethe pointed out the possibilities and potentialities of man. Man, today, has assumed a great significance. He is not just a subject or object of psycho-social studies. In reality, he is the life of the universe, from Plato's deceptive man, 'Aristotle's man of decision, to the present day thinking, which treats him as the nucleus of the universe.

There were attempts to determine the nature of man in the economic context and historical dialectics. Scientists like Julian Huxley try to locate man in the background of evolution and scientific values. Lamount visualized in terms of materialism while Kierkegaard praised him in the area of Christian existentialism; and Sartre's focus on atheistic emphasis. Unlike them, Iqbal ponders over the concept of man in *Reconstruction*, tracing the genesis of man in the Islamic background. Pointing out the difference between the Biblical and Islamic background.

But there is a radial departure in Iqbal's religious thought which is not in tune with generally accepted religious metaphysics. In the Islamic tradition, too, this is an innovation. While focusing on the creation of Adam, our sensibilities are conditioned to visualize paradise as a distant place beyond the stars, somewhere in the firmament.¹ Iqbal is innovative in his approach, which may not be true from the prevalent religious point of view, but has such an appeal that it cannot be rejected out right. To him, Paradise is not a different place outside the earth. It is, in fact, the attainment of consciousness on the earth itself.²

Man is born of clay, but he is in tension with heroic temperament, witnessing the constant conflict with *aflak* (heaven). In this process, he bridges the gap between his own self and the Abs-

-olute self. He is at the center of creation. In reality, the whole universe is at his disposal: In the vast cosmos, he is not a mere statue. He witnessed a changing phenomenon. Through his experience and communication, he unveils the mystery.

There is a very unique image of man's individuality. The urge for the submission to the Divine is a distinct quality of man. It is important to such an extent that the poet of the East does not want to exchange it with the semblance of magnificence of God.

The poet philosopher, Iqbal got exposure to multiple sources of the values, apparently different. The difference was largely due to the isolation and the xenophobia. He derives his strength for his concept of *self* from the eastern and western sources without surrendering his distinct voice.

In our age, science, which is instrumental in changing our perception through its assertion, brings partial truth, when it closes the doors of perception and other modes of comprehension besides rationalization and analytical methods through arguments. Intuition that does not fall in this line of thinking is equally an important mode of knowledge and perception. Iqbal is very critical of such a myopic vision of science, which ignores this perception completely.

In his *Javid Namah*, the poet says that prophetic as well as mystic consciousnesses are required for the fulfillment of human destiny. Therefore, living links exist between the *Mi 'raj* (Ascent) and *Hijrat* (Migration), where man reaches a new height. The *Mi 'raj* of the Prophet underlines the truth that the sky is within the reach of man. In terms of Eliot's idioms, one can conquer time with time only. Iqbal determines a revolutionary approach with spiritual and metaphysical values for the shaping of human destiny. No spirituality can be meaningful and relevant if it doesn't have root in human history and experience. Iqbal presented Lenin before God through the poetic fancy. In spite of refutation of God by Lenin, he is presented before God with the realization that he played his role in human history. Lenin assumed the importance because he nourished his *ego* (self) and in the view of poet, this act was more meaningful than the passive submission of saints, devoid of actions and lost in prayers as a mechanical process. To Iqbal, spirituality is devoid of meaning if it teaches passivity.

Using the metaphor of God's sovereignty on the earth, which is the famous idiom of Christianity, Iqbal believes that the new generation will be composed of such individuals, who do not adhere to discrimination. The poet's philosophy of action reaches great imaginative heights and fancy, when he says that the paradise

, which come as a gift, is not welcome; the real paradise lies in the blood steam.

Man, with the awareness, agreed to accept the trusteeship of this earth, which was declined by one and all. The relationship of God, man and the universe in this context becomes meaningful. It is not only man in search of God but God is also in search of man. The configuration of the earth is changed by man, who assumes the responsibility of becoming the co-sharer. This concept is not absolutely un-Islamic, in the light of the Qur'an (*Ahsan al-Khaliqin*). Man is given the power of creativity to bring a change in the light of the divine scheme. There is an emphasis on the distinct emergence of man in Iqbal's poetry. Herbert Read, a leading western critic while reviewing the *secret of the Self*, paid a rich tribute to a to the powerful poetic voice of Iqbal, presenting the powerful emergence of man from the East while in his contemporary situation of the West, the English poets left proud of writing about cats and dogs.

"Iqbalian Man" is free from time-space bond. Breaking this bond he reveals his existence. In this journey, love becomes his guide. This love, gathering creative energy, refreshes itself. When love becomes the essence of life, contemporary age and many many ages merge. Man conquers the universe through his ego.

The training of the *self* wipe: out the possibility of destruction, the evil force in man. In fact, '*Mard I mu'Min*', the embodiment of *self* has few aspirations, but the objectives are great. This personality is not condemned to be free, as Sartre feels; he is free to choose; and he is not a helpless creature on the rock in the ocean. The individual *self* ultimately merges with the collective *self*.

Like Eliot, Iqbal pays a rich tribute to Sri Krishna: In the intellectual history of the world, he receives respect forever through his philosophy to mankind. He made is very clear that negation of action does not mean the total negation of it. Iqbal, through his hermeneutics, looked for the dynamism of self-awareness in the Buddhist thought, too. As he disliked the negation of self, therefore, there is no appeal for him in the philosophy of Maya.

Many critics felt that the Nietzsche influenced Iqbal for his concept of perfect man. Iqbal denies it very categorically. In spite of his declaration, some critics trust the text, noticing the influence in varying degrees. The Poet-philosopher making his position clear comments that al-Jili's concept of '*Insan-I-Kamil*' anticipates of ideas of man, of the German thinker.

In the works of Shakespeare, Milton and Eliot, there is an assimilation of Christian consciousness in determining human identity. In

the background of the powerful tradition, Iqbal's Islamic consciousness has been the focal point in his concept of man. However, this concept is not parochial, except in terms of seeking its realization for partial application in the cultural perspective.

Mulk Raj Anand, a prominent Indian novelist, records his feeling: "In fact all through my Philosophical studies, specially into sceptical thoughts of David Hume and Bertrand Russell and Heisenbery, Einstein ... I returned to the *Asrar* to integrate myself". He feels, Iqbal evolved a new idea of man, 'resilient' and 'integral'. Anand considers Iqbal, 'the Prophet of a new concept of man'.

The purpose of religion in Iqbal's thought is human liberation as pointed out by the eminent Indian philosopher, Radhakrishna. Iqbal realizes, "the ultimate nature of reality is spiritual and must be considered as an ego". *Shu'ur* (awareness) is the central factor in his poetry. In the story of man, Iqbal traces the origin of man from the point when he acquired awareness and created the environment for the journey of *self*. Tracing the religious and non-religious endeavors with the images and symbols of Tur, Cross, cave of Hira, Greek thought, Surud-i-Rabbani of Hind, the light of Buddha, and the age of science and technology, there is a realization that reality lies within.

The quantitative and distinct emphasis of the poet on man provides a resemblance with the existentialist. From the existentialist point of view, the structure of personality is based on freedom, identity consciousness, the sense of death anguish and dread. The poetry of Iqbal lends itself to a clear explication about its concern with these problems; there is a commonality and difference, too. Unlike what the existentialist thought about it, death is not anguish in his poetry. The Poet-philosopher says: The cold touch of death remains outside the purview of man; his immortality is the reality. Freedom is the essence of Iqbalian man. The Nietzschean man, the Sartrean man also shows some affinities. The Marxian man is to be viewed in the social context and historical dialectics. The sense of freedom, and existential anguish of the poet can be seen deeply in the "The Wild Tulip". Iqbal creates a new East, through his concepts of man, full of dynamism and the commitment of man to himself is significant and meaningful.

Notes

¹ This could only be true on a popular mass level. Islamic Intellectual Tradition has offered extremely sophisticated interpretation of the profound meaning of these concepts. (Editor's Note).

² This is difficult substantiate from Iqbal's prose and poetic works. The writer has, perhaps, thought of oft-debated remarks that Iqbal made in his *Reconstruction* (see *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, IAP. Lahore, 1989, p.98) that read as follows:

Heaven and hell are states, not localities. Their description in the Qur'an are visual representation of an inner fact, i.e. Character. Hell, in the words of the Qur'an, is 'God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts' – the painful realization of one's failure as a man. Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration.

These words can hardly lend themselves to the interpretation that Dr. Azmi has suggested! (Editor's Note).

Iqbal on Finality of Prophethood

No circle can have more than one centre. The universe, in ontological sense, is one circle. It also cannot have more than one centre. Without one God as the controlling centre there can be no harmony in the universe and similarly in man. Man cannot evolve into perfect unity without his belief in one God because only according to the law and purpose of God can man shape his own behaviour and hence destiny. I feel constrained to quote William Temple who fully supports me on this subject. He says:

Life cannot be fully integrated about the self as centre: it can only be fully integrated when it becomes God-centered. For God is the real centre of the real world. His purpose is its controlling principle; only in him, therefore, can all creatures find a centre which brings them all harmony with one another and with themselves.¹

That is all right. God is one. His purpose is the highest controlling principle. Iqbal is quite in agreement in this respect with several Western theist. But the difference arises when the practical shape of man's harmony with others and with own self becomes the focus of discussion. Is God's purpose tangibly explained in the best manner by any one human being? For Iqbal the reply is yes and he is fully convinced that the last Prophet of God, Muhammad (S.A.A.), is the tangible explanation that God's purpose can be served by following His laws and living according to His principles. God's

men as Prophet, in every age and, according to the Qur'an, in every nationality, preached His message and practised as they preached. In the person of Muhammad (S.A.S.) Prophecy attained perfection and perfection meant the end of the process. Prophecy kept evolving and, according to Iqbal, all prophets were Muhammad (S.A.S.) in the making.² And in a verse he explains this same idea thus:

شعلہ ہائے اوصد ابراہیم سوخت تا چراغِ یک محمد بر فروخت³

[Its flames burnt a hundred Abharams that the lamp of one Muhammad might be lighted.]

Quite obvious. For Iqbal there cannot be two Muhammads. If God is one and also His law is one, then there cannot be different codes of moral behavior for different nations. In Iqbal's words perfection of Prophecy meant the end of prophetic process. Iqbal says: "In Islam Prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its perfection in discovering the need of its own ambition."⁴

Given one perfect code now man can be left free to make his own choice, whether he accepts or rejects what the Qur'an offered and what the Holy Prophet preached and practiced. This, in Iqbal's opinion, was essential for the unification of all human beings. If God be the centre of the universe, then Muhammad (S.A.S.) is to be the centre of the world of man. It is inevitable. There cannot be more than one centre for the world of man too.

This is one of the greatest boons of God to man because this gives one and only one source of perfect and standard morality to be followed and imbibed by all humanity so that they become one brotherhood with common behavior and common outlook on life. Islam, being the last religion, is the spiritual rallying point for humanity. Islam as such has the capacity to stand for a fatherland as well as family in the eyes of a Muslim. Thus humanity may get rid of racial, territorial, and colour prejudices which serves as perpetual prompts towards man-killings and other manifold collective outrages perpetrated by man against man.

More Prophets meant that prophecy had not attained perfection in Muhammad (S.A.S). and as such more prophets could still come, adding more religious communities to those already existent. The Qur'an very clearly and in unequivocal terms declares that the religion (al-Islam) had been perfected:

اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام

دينا - 5

[This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you and have chosen for you as religion al-Islam]

The Qur'an stresses that the books revealed to Moses and Christ contained clear information about the coming of the last Prophet along with his name, but religious leaders distorted the relevant portions.

According to the Qur'an, distortion was done purposely. Had they not done so, the "People of the Book" would have diligently accepted Islam as preached by the last Prophet and there would have been one great religion at last of the great majority of mankind. Iqbal says:

لا نبی بعدی ز احسانِ خداست پرده ناموسِ دینِ مصطفیٰ است
 قوم را سرمایه قوت ازو حفظِ سرِ وحدتِ اوست ازو
 حق تعالی نقش بر دعوی شکست تا ابد اسلام را سیرازه است

*[No Prophet after me is God's grace, And veils
 the modest beauty of the Faith Muhammad
 brought to men. The people's strength All
 rests in this, that still the secret guards Of how
 the Faith's Community is one, Almighty God
 has shattered every shape Carved by
 imposture, and for evermore Stitched up the
 sacred volume of Islam.]*

Similar is the sense conveyed by the following verses:

پس خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کرد بر رسولِ ما رسالت ختم کرد
 رونق از ما محفلِ ایام را او رسل را ختم و ما اقوام را

*[God set the seal of holy law on us, as in our
 Prophet all Apostleship is sealed. The
 concourse of ending days is radiant in our
 lustre; he was Seal to all Apostles, to all
 Peoples we.]*

The verse, "this day have I perfected your religion for you..." was revealed to the Holy Prophet when He performed the Farewell pilgrimage. On that occasion the Prophet addressed his companions whose number, as given by almost all historians of Islam, exceeded one hundred thousand. Here are the opening sentences of that address:

O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord, and He will ask you of your works. ⁸

"O men" is the translation of Ayyuhan-nas, which means mankind, including women. The significance of the opening sentence is that the Prophet did not address his Companions as "O Muslims" or "O Arabs" or "O Companions". He was the last Prophet and for all mankind, for all the time; therefore he could not address his followers as Arabs or Companions, because what he said was for all human beings. He did not limit his message even to the Muslims, although it was clear that a Muslim means one who surrenders to God. As such a Muslim could not be taken for any racial or territorial entity. Yet he called to attention all mankind and very rightly so because He preached the equality of all human beings as one large brotherhood. It was not the life and property of Muslims only that was sacrosanct till the Last Day; it was the life and the

property of all beings belonging to all peoples inhabiting any territory in the world of God. This was the most important lesson to be taught to all men and women to make them behave as human beings and treat other as such because, according to the Qur'an as stated above, all humanity was created through one breath of life. If God was one, His worshippers had to be one. We have got one other golden lesson from the words quoted above: every person is responsible for his deeds and is accountable to God for them. There is no notion of "Original Sin" in Islam. Similarly, the idea of being chosen people can never be accommodated in the framework of Islamic values. As is obvious, Islamic values are not material values. They are spiritual. Therefore the stress is on deeds, works and performance, there being no consideration of race or lineage, colour or language, and material preferences and differences.

Iqbal's age was the age of matter. No amount of knowledge could make the "developed" nations soar higher than matter. Their outlook remained matter-bound and hence earth-rooted. One blood-sucking result of this matter-worship was across nationalism, based, no doubt, on colour, race and geography. This callous outlook brought havoc upon human beings. Iqbal criticised the idea of Western nationalism in the bitterest terms because that idea demolished the very basis of humanism. He had seen European notions' callous attitude even towards one another. They could be friendly towards one another only for self-interest. And the collective attitude of the western peoples towards the Easterns was

horribly cruel, because the latter were not white. After World War I, the victorious Western nations established an international body called the "League of Nations". Iqbal attacked that body vehemently. For him the league of Nations was nothing but assembly where victors of World War I sat for constitutions in respect of the divisions of occupied territories, where ruthless massacre of the inhabitants had taken place and inestimable loss of property had occurred. This is why he said:

من ازیں بیشِ لدا تم کہ کفنِ دزدے چند
 ہر قسمِ قبورِ الجنے ساختہ الدہ

[All I know about it is
 That a few thieves of grave-clothes have set up
 A body for dividing the world's graves.]

European nations had taken the role of ruthless masters towards the subjugated peoples of Asia and Africa reducing them to the deplorable status of "suffering servants". And the tragedy is that the victorious nations could be temperamentally sincere and charitable even to each other. How could they be? Materialism and stark narrow-minded nationalism has eaten into their consciences. They were by nature covetous and suspicious. They tried to maintain a balance of terror inwardly and a show of polite regard to one another outwardly. But for how long can the "inner" be prevented from becoming the "outer"? The result was the destruction of the League of the Nations at the very hands that built it. That is a sad story – sad for those who are well meaning. On the contrary, a criminal who is

brought up in an atmosphere of crime cannot feel sorry over a crime he commits. For him it is just a routine and does not call for any remorse. So was the case of victorious nations with their headquarters at Geneva. Iqbal did not agree with the idea of "nations" being brought together. For him the need was the forum were ordinary as well as extraordinary human individuals from all races and clans gathered to know one another, to feel near to one another's heart. He was convinced that it was the sanctuary of the Ka'bah at the Mecca, it was not the big diplomats of big nations who met one another there with sinister designs against "unfriendly" and even "friendly" nations, where the leaders did not rub shoulders with one another to conspire against weaker segments of mankind, and where they did not sit together to chalk out dishonest political schemes neglecting all agreements and promises. Makkah, in Iqbal's opinion, was the only forum where all cadres of mankind could feel and behave as belonging to one brotherhood. At Makkah it is the worship of one God and the performance of other sacred duties equally binding on all, big or small, clad in one unsewn white cloth covering the body from shoulders to the ankles, with head shaven, and invocations of God's grace and forgiveness on lips which makes them all feel equal and make them all see equally humble. Here they gather with love and for love. Here they come to seek God's forgiveness for what they might have done, knowingly or unknowingly, and also here they pray for better moral life and stronger will to be good and to do good. Iqbal says:

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوتی عام
 پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدتِ آدم
 تفریقِ ملل حکمتِ افروغ کا مقصود
 اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملتِ آدم !
 مکے نے دیا خاکِ جنیوا کو یہ مقام
 جمعیتِ اقوام کہ جمعیتِ آدم ۱۰۹

*[The contemporary era has brought nations
 near to each other,*

But unity of all mankind is not the purpose.

*Western diplomacy aims at disrupting the
 unity of every community,*

*Whereas the sole aim of Islam is the unity of
 all human beings.*

The message of Makkah for Geneva is:

*"Should nations be organised as the whole
 mankind be galvanised into one equality?"*

Thus for Iqbal the revival of Islamic values meant the revival of a feeling and with perfect sincerity, that one individual is spiritually related to all individuals to whatever nation they belong. The respect of man for man has been and is to be the most benign lesson for humanity. This is the core of all teachings revealed to the Prophets of God and the essence of the preachings of al-Islam, in which all divine lessons become perfect and are merged.

Whosoever has read the life of the holy Prophet (S.A.S) knows that his truthfulness and trustworthiness was admitted and borne out by all who had known him, and the fact is that even after Muhammad's (S.A.S) pronouncements that had been raised to Prophecy, the pagan Arabs as well as the idolaters did not dare say: He told a lie. How could they? They had themselves entitled him *al-Amin*

(the truthful and trustworthy). Therefore the most prominent trait of every Muslim must be truthfulness and trustworthiness. This trait includes and encompasses all phases and shades of honesty and integrity. This is the basic of all morals for all human societies which really want to behave as real human. Truthfulness for all and honesty in respect of all, not to a particular family, tribe, nationality or a nation, and similarly not for followers of particular religion. As human beings, all are equal. Hence morality is for all and not for the benefit of all.

One of the most celebrated saying of the Prophet (S.A.S) is:

لا إيمان لمن لا أمانة له، ولا دين لمن لا عهد له¹¹

[He who does not possess integrity has no faith (in God), and he who does not keep promise, no religion (al-Din).]

This shows that for one who believes in God and the Prophethood of Muhammad (S.A.S) trustworthiness is to be the pivot of all his behaviour and performance. One is the condition for the existence of the other.

Now *Amanat*, i.e. truthfulness, trustworthiness, honesty, integrity and straightforwardness, has to govern intentions and actions of all individuals in all capacities and categories. *Amanat* is an extremely comprehensive term.

We generally take Amanat in a very narrow sense, i.e. returning to the owner whatever he deposited with someone. But in reality a believer is a trustee of God in all respects imaginable. All his mental, physical, material and spiritual power are God's trust, hence are to be put to use according to God's commandments. Man's bodily strength and strong material position are not to be misused. Wealth and all sort of belongings do not really belong to man. They are all God's trust. They are to be spent by the trustee on his own self and on others according to the express directions of God contained in the Shari'ah. Amanat has to govern the means of one's earnings as well. No unfair means are admissible. Unrightful ownership, cheating in matter of trade usury, exploitation, stocking of foodgrains, bribery, etc., are strictly prohibited.

No well -to-do person gives anything to anybody who is in need as a benefactor. The needy, according to Quran, have the rights to obtain their necessities from those who are affluent. One's children, wife and other members of the household are also a sort of trust. Their unkeep in the best possible manner is the responsibility of the head of the family. It is not only the material well-being which is aimed at. It relates to behavioral as well as mental upbringing in the best manner possible. The elders of a family will be held responsible if they do not set good personal examples before their youngsters. The elders are accountable to God for the part played by their negligence in respect of wrong actions and thoughts of those who look to them for standards. A teacher is also a trustee who

has to teach and guide his wards, not only in the sphere of prescribed courses, but through his examples to inspire his wards to be dutiful, hardworking, honest, steadfast, well-meaning and seeker of good. Similarly, every administrator, in whatever capacity, is a trustee of God within the limits of his authority. He has to be up and doing. He has to do justice even if he goes against his nearest relatives, if they be the wrongdoers. There is no white justice for the Whites and black justice for the Blacks and coloured justice for coloured, justice is one for all, be they the rulers of the ruled. Justice, charity, education, preservations of life and property is for all, not for a certain privileged class, clan or nationality. Principles of Islam are for all human beings. No race, no colour. If God is one, man also is one.

Then the requirement of Amanat (truthfulness and trustworthiness) is that he who is really a man of integrity has to stand fast on the side of truth and righteousness. He has to promote positive attitude in his society and to defend them with all the strength and influence at his disposal, and whatever he does, he does for the sake of God, to seek his pleasure and not for self, aggrandizement or for some other ulterior motive.

Then for being steadfast on the side of righteousness, a believer imperatively has to be strong, strong in determination, strong in equipment and other things related to welfare. This is why the Holy Prophet has proclaimed:

المؤمن القوى خير و احب الى الله من المؤمن الضعيف¹²

[God prefers the strong believer to the weak and love him more than the latter.]

The Holy Qur'an has also enjoined upon Muslim to be and feel always in a state of readiness for war with as best fighting machinery at their disposal as possible on the side of truth:

و اعدوا لهم ما استطعتم من قوة و من رباط الخيل ترهبون به عدو الله
و عدوكم و آخرين من دونهم لا تعلمونهم الله يعلمهم¹³

[make ready for them all you can of armed force and of horses tethered, that thereby you may dismay (or terrify) the enemy of Allah and your enemy and other beside them whom you know not. Allah knows them.]

It is in the nature of evil that it cannot tolerate good. Between evil and good the strife is perpetual. We find in the Qur'an that when God's Prophet Lot admonished the members of his clan who indulged in unnatural sexual acts, they in reply raised voices against him all those who supported him and said that they be ousted from the settlement for being upholders of purity and chastity. This is how the Qur'an tell us:

و ما كان جواب قومه الا ان قالوا اخرجوهم من قريتكم انهم اناس
يتطهرون¹⁴

[And the answer of his (Lot's) people was only that they said (one to another): Turn them out

of your township. They are folk, forsooth, who keep pure.]

The sin was that lots and his followers kept pure hence had lost their credit with wrongdoers, this is how the unbelievers and all wrongdoers become the enemies of God. They rebel against the commandments of God and act contrary to his law. And this is why they hate and oppose those who follow the law of God.

But believers are ordained to remain within the limits prescribed by God. They are not allowed to transgress Gods Limits:

و من يتعد حدود الله فأولئك هم الظالمون ١٥

[For who transgress Allah's Limits, such are transgressors.]

This is how a believer in God has been directed to keep balance. He has to be vigilant, determined and prepared for an eventuality but is not allowed to loose balance and hence is warned that if he crossed the Limits prescribed by God he will be doing wrong, the implications being the sufferance of punishment of wrongdoers. All this requires the observance of strict discipline. And that discipline is to live according to God's commandments and prohibitions. To inculcate this discipline in one's self is not difficult as it conforms to the real nature of man, which in turn corresponds to general principles of nature at work in the universe. The strength of the universe lies in

discipline which is, in other words, balance and harmony. Similarly, the strength and growth of real humanity needs this.

Iqbal's idea of balance or harmony is no other than that of compulsion accepted by the component parts of an organic whole. Take the example of music: it is only the discordant sound compelled to harmonise; it is to this compulsion that music owes its strength and its magic power. Again what is Taj Mahal, the exquisite poetry in marble, one of the greatest wonders on the world? It is only the building material of different kinds compelled to obey some law without which raw material could never have created such awe in the hearts of the onlookers. What is an army? It is only a horde of individuals compelled to organise themselves and observe discipline, wherein lies its power to conquer and defend. Without a self-imposed discipline and compulsion the army is merely a lawless mob. The whole idea has been beautifully expressed by Iqbal in a number of verses such as the following:

برگِ گل شد چون بآئیں بستہ شد گل ز آئیں بستہ شد گلستانہ شد ا
نغمہ از ضبطِ نوا پیداست ضبطِ چوں رفت از صدا غوغا می
در گلوے ما نفس موجِ هواست
چوں هوا پابندِ نے گردد نواست^{۱۶}

*[“... A rose is born
 When its component petals are conjoined By
 Law; and roses, being likewise bound
 By Law together, fashion a bouquet.
 As sound controlled creates a melody
 So, when control is absent, dissonance
 Result. The breath we draw within our throat
 It but a wave of air which, in the reed
 Being constructed, blow a tuneful note.]*

“The Qur’an claims that the message which the ancient Prophets brought to mankind at different stages of its history was meant to give concrete shape to the general Law, which God wished humanity to follow. In Islam this concreteness of law has assumed a final shape and therefore Iqbal recommended that an individual should surrender himself, of his own sweet will, to this law.”¹⁷ Iqbal stresses this point as follows:

در اطاعت کوش اے غفلت شمار ہی شود از جہد پیدا اختیار
 ناکس از فرمان پزیری کس شود آتش ار باشد ، زطغیاں خس شود¹⁸

*[Endeavour to obey, o headless one!
 Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.
 By obedience the man of no worth is made
 worthy;
 By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.]*

شکوہ منجر سختی آئیں شو از حدود مصطفیٰ بیرون مرو¹⁹

*[Do not complain of the hardness of the Law,
 Do not transgress the statutes of Muhammad.]*

This message is for **all** mankind. According to **Iqbal**, only through the observance of Islamic principles the *homosapiens* can become real and genuine human beings fit to serve as God's vicegerents on earth with attributes of God reflected in their overall behaviour. And this is how he has explained:

کوہِ دریائے قرآن مفتہ ام شرحِ رمزِ صبغة الله گفتہ ام²⁰

*[I have threaded the rubies of the Qur'an river,
And have explained the point contained in the
Quranic verses "The colour of God",]*

This verse relates to God's words as follows:

صبغة الله و من احسن من الله صبغة و نحن له عبيدون²¹

*[(We take our) colour from Allah, and who is
better than Allah at colouring? We are his
worshippers.]*

Man, to become man in the true senses of the word, has to imbibe habits and attributes of God and, unless he understands this reality, he remain a homo-sapiens who, in spite of qualities and elements of man in him, lives on the level of the instincts only, and can, as per his will, surpass the cruelest of animal in cruelty and the meanest of creates in meanness. The man of modern era equipped as he is with the **deadliest devices of destruction** is in much

more need of knowing and respecting human values as ordained by God than his ancestors were.

Here at the end is laid down the New-Year Day message issued by Iqbal through the All- India Radio on 1 January 1938. This message epitomises what Iqbal thoughts of man's development in respect of science and other fields of knowledge without due deference to human values. Similarly, it contains his views on all sorts of "isms" of his day and cruelties perpetrated in their name, the cure being man's respect for man:

"The modern age prides itself on its progress in knowledge and its matchless scientific developments. No doubt the pride is justified. To-day space and time are being annihilated and man is achieving success in unveiling the secrets of nature and harnessing its forces to his own service. But inspite of all those developments, tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven knows what else beside. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and dignity of man are being trampled underfoot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. The so-called statesmen to whom governments and leadership of men was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppressions. The rulers whose duty it was to protect and cherish those ideals which go to form a higher humanity, to prevent man's oppressions of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, have, in

their hunger for dominion and imperial possessions, shed the blood of millions and reduce millions to servitude simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating and establishing the dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their religions, their morals, of their cultural traditions and literatures. Than they sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom, so that the leech of imperialism might go on sucking their blood without interruption.

As I look back on the year that has passed and as I look at the world in the midst of the New Year's rejoicing, it may be Abyssinia or Palestine, Spain or China, the same misery prevails in every corner of man's earthly home and hundreds of thousands of men are being butchered mercilessly. Engines of destruction operated by science are wiping out the great landmarks of man's cultural achievements. The Governments which are not themselves engaged in this drama of fire and flood are sucking the blood of the weaker peoples economically. It is as if the day of doom had come upon earth, in which each man looks after the safety of his own skin and in which no voice of human sympathy and of fellowship is audible.

The world's thinkers are stricken dumb. Is this going to be the end of this progress and evolution of civilization? They ask. That man should destroy one another in mutual hatred and make human habitation impossible on this earth?

Remember man can be maintained on this earth only by honoring mankind, and this world will remain a battleground of ferocious beasts of prey unless and until the educational forces of the whole world are directed to inculcating in man respect for mankind. Do you not see that the people of Spain, though they have the same common bond of one race, one nationality, one language are cutting one another's throats and are destroying their culture and civilization by their own hands owing to a difference in their economic creed? This one event shows clearly that national unity too is not a very durable force. Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as the so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise.

Let us therefore begin the New Year with the prayer that God Almighty may grant humanity to those who are in places of power and government and teach them to cherish mankind.²²

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Iqbal And Sartre On Human Freedom And Creativity

Dr.Latif Hussain Kazmi

Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) a renowned poet-philosopher of the east and Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), a famous existentialist thinker and litterateur of the West, are the two influential thinkers who placed human freedom and creativity at the heart of their value system and dealt with the problem from an existentialist perspective on human life.

Both Jean-Paul Sartre and Muhammad Iqbal occupy a unique place in their respective areas of influence in the modern Western and Eastern philosophical worlds. Sartre is a prominent champion of existential philosophy, while Iqbal's greatness lies in reviving and reconstruction Islamic thoughts. It would be an interesting study to compare and contrast their position regarding freedom, an issue that has acquired new dimensions in the context of the present historic situation in which individual's identity and freedom have been threatened by bureaucracy, technology and an all-embracing collectivism. This study become all the more interesting in view of their contrasting beliefs – Sartre is declared atheistic, and Iqbal is firmly committed to Islamic faith –as one of them rejects God in order to safeguard human freedom, while the other reaffirms his faith in God so that man can exercise his freedom fully. Yet both of them

caliber. Sartre is a great fiction writer of our age and Iqbal is universally acclaimed as one of the greatest poet of Indo- Persian tradition in the 20th century.

The similarities and the dissimilarities in their Philosophical outlook are equally glaring. There are some areas in which both are in agreement and some in which they disagree. Their differences seem prominent due to Sartre's tackling of the Metaphysical notion on an atheistic basis; conversely Iqbal's system of thoughts is rooted in the intensive faith in God, and his approach is a theistic one. The main question is how far does belief or unbelief in God makes a difference in relation to a philosopher's views on freedom. Does it make a fundamental difference or give rise to only secondary and minor differences? Here in the following pages we shall discuss these questions.

Existentialism is a point of departure, insofar as it provides an alternative approach to understanding and living of life and consequently changes one's entire outlook by creating new attitude, values and ideals. The central contention of existential philosophy—in the words of Sartre-- "existence precedes essence"¹ is a revolutionary one and shakes the hitherto dominant essentialist philosophy to its foundation. It provides a new conception of man, and a new outlook by making "human existence" the real frame of reference. For

Sartre human reality or human subjectivity is the foundation of all thoughts and action. He says that man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world and consequently defines himself afterwards.²

Iqbal, whose thoughts is a synthesis of Eastern religious insights into reality and Western intellectualism, has a crucial existential insights to offer. He dwells upon certain important existentialist themes without calling himself an existentialist. However, he is not in full agreement with the exponent of the slogan-Sartre's dictum---"existence precedes essence" and its implications. Nevertheless, he emphasizes the main themes current in contemporary existentialist philosophy such as:

- (a) Man's existence and his personal involvement;
- (b) Anti-intellectualism and anti-personal fictionalization;
- (c) Alienation and authentic existence; and prominent among all
- (d) Freedom and creativity:

These concepts he certainly shares with the continental existentialist thinkers such as Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Marcel, Heidegger and more prominently with Sartre. At present, we shall take up the issue of 'freedom and creativity' and expound briefly some common views put for-

-ward by the existential exponent Sartre and the Muslim philosopher Iqbal. We shall also compare and contrast Sartre's and Iqbal's approaches to such conceptions as well.

II. THE CONCEPTION OF FREEDOM AND CREATIVITY

The conception of freedom in the philosophy of Iqbal and Sartre is interesting from various angles. The *Weltanschauung* of the two is apparently radically opposed; that is, one is a theist while the other is an atheist. Moreover, Sartre's philosophy is the culmination of the anti-intellectualistic tradition of the Western philosophy, particularly representing a revolt against the Platonic-Christian world-outlook, while Iqbal's philosophy is a radical point of departure within the framework of the Eastern thoughts, particularly the Islamic tradition of philosophy. Despite their different historico-religious background, there are many common elements in their thought system on various issues such as man's existence, freedom and creativity, alienation, authenticity, materialism and its various forms etc.

As indicated earlier, existentialism being a philosophy of 'freedom' and 'creativity' is anti-deterministic. The emphasis of the existentialists on personal existence and subjectivity has led to a new stress on man's freedom and responsibility. According to the existentialist thinkers determin-

-ism, whether genetic, social or environmental, does not offer adequate explanation of man's inner potentialities and capabilities. The adequate explanation of man's inner potentialities and creative skill is only because of his freedom. Their viewpoint insists that, first of all, man exist in the world and with his utmost freedom creates himself through each of his actions. He is the maker of himself and "by virtue of his freedom, originally creates himself".³ Man is the project which possesses subjective life. Apart from this projection of self, nothing exists. The existentialists hold that man fulfils his project only due to his freedom. He is responsible for whatever he does and, in this way, the whole responsibility of his action falls on his own shoulders. Man has considered freedom within his own being in case he wills to express it. According to Karl Jasper, the dignity of man is in his freedom:

To see the essence of man in his freedom, however, is to see him in his dignity. All individuals, myself included, are irreplaceable under the same high obligation.⁴

Freedom is a unique quest which lies in working out the demands of one's inner nature and expressing one's genuine or authentic self. Freedom means facing conflicting choices, making decisions and accepting them.

Jean -Paul Sartre alone among all the existentialist thinkers elaborated a systematic and detailed theory of freedom. He approaches the problem the atheistic viewpoint totally denying the existence of God. Man is completely free to do whatever he likes. To him there is no God and hence "everything is permitted" ⁵ Sartre says:

Nothing will be changed if God does not exist;...and we shall have disposed of God as an out-of-date hypothesis which will die away quietly of itself.⁶

In case, God does not exist Sartre point out, there is only one being whose existence comes before its essence and that being is 'man'. Man is indefinable, because to begin with he is nothing:

Freedom is precisely nothingness which is *made-to-be* at the heart of man and which forces human reality to make *itself* instead of to be...for human reality, to be in the choose *oneself*, nothing comes to it either from outside or from within which it can receive or accept...thus, freedom is not a *being*, it is the *being* of man-.i.e. his nothingness of *being*.⁷

Human individuals will not be anything unless and until he will be what he makes of him-

-self. Hence, there is no human nature, because there is no God to have an idea of it:

For indeed existence proceeds essence, one will never be able to explain one's action by reference to a given and specific human nature; in other words, there is no determinism.⁸

"that is the first principle of existentialism".⁹ Moreover, freedom, according to Sartre, is the only ground of all values.

On the contrary, regarding freedom and creativity, Iqbal has referred to various Qur'anic verses in his Urdu and Persian poetry and particularly in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* affirming his faith in Allah. In the fourth lecture in the *Reconstruction* represents three significant themes from the Qur'an reaffirming the Islamic views of man being a Vicegerent (*Khalifah*) of Allah, a chosen entity and a trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.¹⁰ "The perfect Muslim is, for Iqbal, nothing but the realization of the Qur'anic sentences according to which Adam was ordered to be the *Khalifah*, the Vicegerent of God on Earth".¹¹

Iqbal argues that man's freedom and creativity, in the sphere of ethics must be under the direction of the Highest Good and Absolute Freedom i.e God. The greatest of all the obstacles,

says Iqbal, in the upward life of the ego, is Matter or Nature, yet it is not evil, since it enables the latent powers of life to unfold themselves. According to Iqbal, the Ego attains freedom by the removal of all the obstructions in its way. "it is partly free and partly determined ; and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the individual who is the most free, termed ' God' ".¹²

Iqbal point out that it is man's firm faith in *Tawhid* (Unity of God) which makes him believe that this principle is the foundation of every aspect of human life. He says in his *Rumuz i Bekhudi*:

*What is it that infuses one breath hundred hearts?
It is one of the secrets of faith in Tawhid!
Be united and thus make Tawhid visible;
Realize its latent meaning in action!
Faith and wisdom and law all spring from it,
It is the source of strength and power and
stability!
"There is no god but God" is the capital of our life!
Its bond weaves our scattered thoughts together.*¹³

Conversely, Sartre holds that there is no God and man is condemned to freedom:

Everything is permitted (because of the fact that) God does not exist...One will never be able to explain one's action by reference to a given and specific human nature; in other words there is no determinism-man is free, man is freedom.¹⁴

His position is not like that of Iqbal who maintains that man in some spheres of activity is free, and in some other spheres has to follow the Divine Commands. Sartre emphatically asserts in *Being and Nothingness*:

Freedom is not a being; it is *the being* of man- i.e., his nothingness of being. If we start by conceiving of man as plenum, it is absurd to try to find in him afterwards moments or psychic regions in which he would be free... Man cannot be sometimes slave and sometimes free; he is wholly and for ever free or he is not free at all.¹⁵

This is, in fact, the major difference between the approaches of the two thinkers. Sartre's existentialistic outlook is labeled as humanistic because he saves man's freedom at the cost of God. Iqbal's existentialism –if the term may be applied to his approach – is also humanistic despite his firm faith in God, because God in his philosophical *Weltanschauung* does not deprive man of his freedom but rather guarantees it.

However, in spite of some differences, what both the systems have in common is the doctrine of freedom through which human existence can translate its authenticity into actions. For Iqbal, as for Sartre, man is a self-contained center of activity, self-conscious, creative and self-evolving being. Human sense is free in the sense that it is

not determined by anything outside it.¹⁶ Freedom is its own architect and the very laws governing its mode of operation in the world are of its own making. Above all, according to Iqbal, man is architect of his own life and is the sole sovereign in the scheme of creation and the undisputed master of his destiny. In this connection Iqbal says in his *Javid Namah*:

*O lover of Truth! Be conclusively final like a
glittering sword,
Be thy self the destiny of thine own world.*¹⁷

According to Sartre freedom reveals itself in dread that compels man to seek refuge in the inauthenticity of existence. To him overcoming dread leads to authentic existence and that is moral, and flight from it is inauthentic and immoral. In Iqbal's philosophy, when one realizes what is freedom, it seems to be the source of all values. According to him, life of the ego is possible in freedom only:

*'Life is reduced to a dried rivulet when it is
imprisoned within confines;
In freedom, life embraces boundlessness like an
ocean.'*¹⁸

Iqbal maintains that there are only ego-sustaining and ego-dissolving acts.¹⁹ Freedom sustains the ego, while slavery dissolves it into nothingness. Man's first act of disobedience to

God, which caused his expulsion from freedom, according to Iqbal, is an ego-dissolving act that negates all future for human existence. He asserts that when a person gives up his freedom, he falls down from the high pedestal of human existence, into the state in authenticity. Iqbal, in his poem, calls all the acts of the slave devoid of all morality; according to him even his prayer is not authentic, because it negates the freedom of ego, it is not a bold brought up in the spirit of freedom, while slavery distorts characters, degrades human nature and finally lowers man to the level of beasts.²¹ On one hand, God refuses to respond to the prostrations of the slaves, and, on the other, the earth refuses to accept the dead body of the slave:

O the heartless being! Thou hast been a slave in the world;

Because of thy surrender to slavery my heart is burning like hell-fire.

Thy corpse has made my darkness even darker;

Beware of the corpse has torn into shreds my veil of modesty.

*O Israfil, O the creator of the Universe! Pure soul, Beware!*²²

For Iqbal, freedom is the highest religious, social, moral and political value. He gave a philosophical orientation to his attempt to reconstruct the religious ideas according to the historic necessity of his times. Like Sartre, Iqbal

accorded the highest position to the freedom in the hierarchy of values. No doubt, freedom occupies a similar position in the existentialist philosophy in general, but Iqbal's concept of freedom seems far more comprehensive than that of all the existentialist thinkers including even Sartre. Sartre's views are in conflict with those of Iqbal when he (Sartre) proclaims that there is no God and "we are left without excuse"²³ and that "man is condemned to be free."²⁴ Iqbal says that there is God-Who is the Most Free and is the Creator of the heavens and the earth. The human ego attains highest freedom by removing all the material obstacles in its ways, though matter is not bondage, it rather paves the way for attaining freedom. And attaining supreme freedom does not mean that human *self* or Ego has to annihilate itself for the sake of being absorbed in God. Man remains man and does not lose his *Khudi* or ego hood. The Prophet of Islam, the ideal and the most perfect of all the prophets, has to ask his followers to proclaim: "We bear witness that Muhammad (pbuh) is the slave and the messenger of Allah"

It reiterates that man is first of all 'a man' howsoever high a position he may attain. The obedience to Allah ensures the life of human ego and strengthens his *Khudi*, which is life of freedom. For Iqbal, freedom is not a value or mode of human existence. It is the very life of *Khudi* (egohood).

Iqbal points out that the purpose of Prophet Muhammad's mission was to infuse freedom, equality and brotherhood among all man kind. He says in his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudī* (The Mysteries of Selflessness):

*Believers all are brothers in his heart,
Freedom the sum and substance of his Flesh.
Impatient with discriminations all.
His soul was pregnant with Equality.
Therefore his son stands up erect and free
As the tall cypresses, the ancient pledge
In him renewing, Yea, Thou art our Lord.*²⁵

Iqbal seems to be in agreement with Heidegger and Sartre who holds that it is the fact of 'consciousness' which radically distinguishes man from other beings and all other creatures. The issue assumes central importance in the thought system of Iqbal. For Iqbal, the realization of freedom is the core of human consciousness. According to him it is not something static, rigid, given and complete, but it is a dynamic process, and because of freedom it is a self-creative process based on an act of improvisation and rejection of what has been (its bondage). Like Iqbal, both theistic and atheistic versions of the existentialistic philosophy maintain that man is incomplete, indefinable and unpredictable. As Karl Jaspers says:

Nobody can conceive all human potentialities. Man is always capable of doing more and other things than any one excepted. He is incomplete, he cannot be completed, and his future is never sealed. There is no total man, and there never will be one.²⁶ similarly, atheist Sartre asserts that:

[man] is not definable, it is because to begin with he is nothing. He will not be anything until later, and then he will be what he makes of himself.²⁷

For Iqbal, human consciousness is the basic and central subject of the discussion. According to him, it is only this unique faculty of consciousness which makes man radically distinct from other worldly objects, so that he can participate in the creative act of God. Here Iqbal differs from Sartre, according to whom there is no other creator but only human individual. He says that God is the Supreme Creator (*khaliq*) of everything and man with his consciousness and other capabilities participate in the creative act of Allah. Iqbal says:

Man, therefore, in whom egohood has reached its relative perfection, occupies a genuine place in heart of the Divine creative energy and thus possesses a much higher degree of reality than things around him. Of all the creations of God, he alone is capable of 'consciously participating' in the creative life of the Maker.²⁸

According to Iqbal, this universe is a Divine creator but it is not a complete act of creation. In the light of Qur'an, this universe is liable to develop further:

The process of creation is still going on, and man too takes his share in it, in as much as he helps to bring order into at least a portion of the chaos. The Qur'an indicates the possibility of other creators than God.²⁹

He again, puts it more unambiguously in the following verses:

*The universe is still incomplete perhaps,
And the essence of existence is not yet void!*³⁰

It is man, in view of Iqbal, who is destined to complete the process of creation. In a long poem *Saqi Namah*, he writes:

*'Every one of the them waiting for thy conquest,
For the unbridled play of thy thoughts and action.
The object of passage of time is but one;
To reveal to thee the possibilities of thy ego!*³¹

According to Iqbal, man creates his own world and ideals and he likes. If the present or given world does not provide any meaning and importance to human existence, it should be destroyed and reshaped according to the human need and aspirations. In the poem *Zindagi* (Life) he says:

*Burn up this borrowed earth and sky,
An raise a world of your own from the ashes.*³²

Again, in this connection, he emphatically asserts in his *Zarb-i-Kalim*:

*Only he overcomes the revolution of time,
Who creates an eternal life with every breath.*

Iqbal lays great stress on man's creative activity and refers to the Qur'an, which expressly mention creators besides Allah. For instance, one of the following verses of the Qur'an indicates: 'Blessed is God, the best of those who create.'³³

Such a reference to the Qur'an indicates how Iqbal conceives the act of human 'creativity'. One will not find in Sartre or other atheistic existentialist this view of human creativity. And it is in this unique interpretation of human freedom and creativity that Iqbal goes beyond existentialist philosophy and surpasses its conception of freedom.

This comparative study undertaken by us needs further elaboration by comparing and contrasting various philosophers having divergent ontological, political, ethical, social and psychological world-outlooks; and views regarding the nature of human being and his capacity for *freedom and creativity*. We feel that such a study is indispensable in the contemporary situation,

which threatens to deprive human individual of his *freedom* and endeavours to submerge all differences within an all-embracing materialism and technocracy, wrongly called pan-humanism, a modern atheistic version of pantheism. Iqbal revolted against the Sufis' pantheism just as Kierkegaard developed a powerful critique of conventional Christianity; while Sartre's revolt has been against the modern pan-physicalism. Both Sartre and Iqbal revolted with a view to affirm and assert the right of individual beings to freedom, for without freedom human existence become absurd and meaningless.

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Iqbal: His Metaphysical Ideas

Dr. Sheila McDonough

The first page of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam* is an excellent example of Iqbal's provocative style. The question is, he says, what kind of a universe do we live in, what are the unimagined potentialities of human being and what help can we find from the history of human religiousness as a whole to help shed light on these questions? He also says in his introduction that no answer to these questions should be considered final.

Iqbal's perspective is better appropriated if people keep on struggling with these questions. It is not faithful to Iqbal to assume that his answers were final, or to suppose that the people should cease to think for themselves. He thought that human religiousness in general was threatened by the positivism of modern thoughts, and that the defence of any religion needed to be a defence of the possibility of being religious in the context of a sceptical age. But defence in this respect does not mean a blind kind of defensiveness; it rather means an on-going critical approach to whatever new information comes forth. Therefore, although sixty years after his death, new insights from astronomy, linguistics, anthropology, physics, biology, religious sciences, economics computer science and so on have occurred raised many new questions. These developments do not undermine his approach.

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He urged the continual asking of new question. He emphasised the need to continue to seek for a better understanding of the physical universe and of human history, which includes human religious history. He struggled to understand Einstein and Whitehead as well. Of course, as Ibn Khaldun. There is a passion in Iqbal for mankind of knowledge of the external world and history, which will command itself to the human mind collectively, that is information which can be verified. For this reason, he thought, Muslims should be involved in the on-going human enterprise to understand the external universe through disciplined reason. One cannot overstate his passionate conviction that the actual world must be studied and not just imagined or dreamed about.

Yet he also affirmed that all such rational study left human minds gaping and grouping with unanswerable questions. He recognised that human language were inadequate to deal with what a recent writer has called *The Edge of Language*.¹

We can talk about much of what we experience; we can verify and reach consensus about much of what we observe and discover, but beyond a certain point, we reach areas of experience and awareness for which the language of reason cannot help us. On the edge of language, we cannot find words to convey in any

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systematic way information and insight that can be verified.

Iqbal, as a metaphysician, insists that the external world is a continual source of newness. It is therefore impossible for human beings to have final ideas about the nature and structure of the cosmos. New information will always be forthcoming. He proclaims a strong *no* to any fixed ideas about the external universe. On the edges of language, where we cannot find words to talk about something like a black hole, we break into metaphor. Astronomers may not think of themselves as poets, but, of course, with images like the black hole, they are on the edges of language, pushing to think what we are not yet able to think.

Whitehead, one of the greatest mathematicians of this century and one of Iqbal's sources, wrote:²

The history of human thoughts in the past is the painful tale of self-satisfaction with supposed adequacy of knowledge in respect to factors of human existence. We now know that in the past such self-satisfaction was delusion. Accordingly, when we survey ourselves and our colleagues, we have every reason to doubt the adequacy of our knowledge in any particular.

Iqbal agrees with Whitehead that knowledge of the physical universe is always tentative because

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the new breaks in and breaks up fixed ideas. Further, The problem of knowing ourselves is even more complex, because the problem is how can we know what we might become? Here, too, metaphor is the only tool we have in language to point to our sense of what is to happen next. Iqbal was concerned to transform the Indian Muslims' sense of themselves and what they might be. He saw this question also as a matter of what the human species might become. We are always pushing to know more about the external universe and we need to push as hard to discover what is potential in ourselves. "What we might become" is as mysterious a question as "what is a black hole"?

Iqbal's metaphors about the self refers often to the 'world of sense' as opposed to the 'world of soul'. I do not know if anyone has spoken of the soul as a black hole, but to do so might help us grasp Iqbal's awareness of how strange, and unknown to ourselves, we actually are. Another of his metaphors is that we should seek the 'nature of the salamander which feed on flame'.³ this image suggests that the human soul is that which continually changes colour and is eaten up by fire.

It is true that Iqbal's metaphors, like this of the salamander, refers on one level to the specific historical situations of the Indian Muslims at the time the poems were written. In the case of the

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salamander image, the situation was the domination by the European powers of Muslim countries in the period after 1914. Iqbal's poetry on this level was an imperative to throw off this domination and to get rid of the psychology of self-contempt that has developed in the midst of a colonised people. Muslims were asked to imagine themselves free people.

From this perspective, one might argue that since the political situations has changed and Muslims are no longer dominated by imperialist powers that occupy their territory, the metaphors are irrelevant. I want to maintain, however, that on another level, the metaphors refer to the human condition in a way that goes beyond one particular historical context. Other metaphors of Iqbal about the self are as follows: ⁴

*Here my complaint and feel, or do not feel, with
me: He does not come to beg redress, whose
soul walks free!*

*Vast skies and frozen winds and man's one
pinch of dust;*

*What urged you to create-kindness or cruelty?
Is this your bounteous spring, your fair wind's
ministry?*

*I sinned and I went solitary from Paradise,
But angels could not people your world's
vacancy;*

*On my all-venturing nature the naked
wilderness*

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*Pours blessings out, that realm You left to
anarchy.*

*A spirit that craves danger is not lured by
parks*

Where no close ambush holds a lurking enemy.

*The abode of love lies far beyond Your
seraphs' wing:*

None find, but who desire and dare infinitely.

This poem serves to demonstrate some of the metaphors that typically express the metaphysics of Iqbal. The external universe, as we perceive it, is 'vast skies and frozen winds' –empty, cold, uncaring –vaster than we are capable of imagining or conceiving, we have to use metaphors about this because the more our science is telling us about the cosmos, with recent devices like the Hubble telescope, the more the size escapes our capacity to think about it. Also, because of the speed of light, the Hubble telescope can show us events which happened long ago, longer than we can imagine, but cannot show us what is happening now at these great distances. This is the kind of paradox about our capacity to know which would, I think, have appealed to Iqbal.

Yet, the 'pinch of dust' possessed of an 'all-venturing nature' fights back, argues, sins, craves danger, dares infinitely. Our course, we do not all consciously dare infinitely, but the point is that we might, or that we have hidden potentialities

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that we might never have imagined. Such possibilities and challenges are there in any context and any historical period, why should we venture all and why should it be love that craves danger?

All the images of those people whom Iqbal objects to –mullahs, religious experts, Brahmins, capitalists, communists, parliamentarians, pharaohs, Frankish glassblowers, slaves, servile people, Europe, Asia, the vultures of the West –all represent to him alternatives other than those of the hawk in the desert, the image of love seeking danger. Or perhaps it is that the danger follows inexorable from love, because love stirs up the soul to demand response from the seemingly cold and empty vastness of the universe.

The characteristics of those in the list condemned by Iqbal include first of all servility. In terms of what we might call the metaphysics of microcosm of the self, the servile are rejected because they lack the courage to discover the creative depth of their individual selves.

*Man let himself, dull thing, be wooed
By his own kind to servitude.
And cast the dearest pearl he had
Before Jamsheed and Kaikobad;
Till so ingrained his cringings were,
He grew more abject than a cur-
Who ever saw at one dog's frown
Another dog's meek head bow down?²⁵*

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Mullahs, Brahmins and religious experts also are generally condemned for *taqlid*, endless repetition of ideas and practices characterized by blindness to the new. The servile are dull and the religious experts are too. Capitalists, Communists Frankish glass blowers and so forth represent forms of human awareness focused on material well being as the goal of existence. This also makes for dullness, because minds focused narrowly in this way avoid questions of ultimate meaning. In so doing, they fail to discover their essential humanity.

Iqbal's answer to all these human failures is the image of the hawk in the desert. The hawk is a very old symbol in human religious history. One finds it on the flag of Mexico –representing the pre –Columbian people whose great and lost civilizations conceived of the hawk from the sky and the snake from the earth as the mysterious symbols of forces coming from beyond and beneath to balance the human world. In ancient Egypt also the hawk. One symbol of the God Horus, is a link between levels of known and unknown reality, the link that sustains human reality, Iqbal typically wrote the hawk as follows:

*Close veils inflame the loiterer in Love's lane
Your long reluctance fans my passion's flare.
The hawk lives his days in rock and desert,
Tame nest-twig-carrying his proud claws for
swear.*

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*Was it book-lesson, or father's glance, that
taught the son of Abraham what a son
should bear?*

*Bold heart's firm soul, comes pilgrim to my
tomb;*

I taught poor dust to tower hill-high in air.

Trust has no need of me for tiring-maid;

To stain the tulip red in Nature's care.⁶

In the earliest cultural systems, the hawk comes from above, and helps sustain the known world. In Iqbal's language, the hawk represents the spirit in human which demands to transcend the known world –the nest-twig-carrying –and to discover more.

Why must the offspring of Abraham, those who wish to know, to love and to serve God, bear so much? The bloodstained tulip is a characteristic image in Iqbal's verse of the devastated human heart. On one level, the devastation for the Indian Muslims was the loss of their power in the world and their creativity energy.

On another level, however the problem is a universal one for all humans; itself –Nature's care –stains the tulip.

Are we devastated because the speed of light means that we cannot see what is happening now in our universe? Yes, that is one reason why the tulip is stained red; we are finite. Many now

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on our planet are setting up listening devices to ask if there is more life in the universe which can speak to us. I remember taking my children to our local planetarium for a programs on the stars, which begun with the question, is anyone out there? I think, many children on planet now want to know if there is more life out there which can hope to encounter. There is a great hope in our species that we can discover that we are not alone as a sentient, self –conscious life form in this vast universe. But, of course, even if we meet new life, we will still be finite.

If some listener in our planet were to pick up a broadcast from somewhere out in space, that event would change all of us. The salamander image of Iqbal is a potent reminder of how adaptable in fact we are and how we change and keep on changing. This is not to say there no core of identity within each of us as individuals, as representatives of cultural and religious traditions and as member of a species. Identity is linked with memory. But we are much more than computers; when we change, our memories also changes and are re-interpreted; the processes of growth, individually and corporately are processes of continual shifting of priorities and goals. In Iqbal's words:

The characteristic of the ego is spontaneity. No doubt man has a spatial aspect; but this is not the only aspect of man, there are

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other aspects of man, such as evaluation, the unitary character of purposive experience and the pursuit of truth... every act of a free ego creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding... Nor is the activity of intelligence possible without the presence of ends... Life is only a series of acts of attentions and an act of attention is inexplicable without reference to a purpose, conscious or unconscious... Thus ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or subconscious tendencies, form the warp and woof of conscious experience. And the notion of purpose cannot be understood except in reference to the future. The past, no doubt, abides and operates in the present; but this operation of the past in the present is not the whole of consciousness. The element of purpose discloses a kind of forward look in consciousness... To be determined by an end is to be determined by what ought to be... A state of attentive consciousness involves both memory and imaginations operating factors. On the analogy of our conscious experience, therefore, Reality is not a vital impulse wholly un-illuminated by idea. It's nature is through and through teleological.

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The metaphysical position of Iqbal is thus that Reality is teleological, possessed of purpose and direction. Yet this is not one simple purpose, not a divine plan which automatically works itself out. Since individuals keep changing their purposes and since change makes the whole situation different, nothing is automatic about the unfolding of the universe. Purpose is what directs consciousness and action, but purposes also change. New purposes are discovered as the spirit matures. This also is paradoxical; over energy comes from our drive to make the world what we dream it ought to be, but our idea of what ought to be also changes and evolves. If we do not learn and change, the rigidity of minds tends to smash us and others.

Human purpose develop. in Iqbal's opinion, in inter-action with the one God who is best understood by the metaphor of a self-conscious self –the Ultimate Ego. The English expression 'I-Thou' relationship best characterises the insight; the opposite is an 'I-it' relationship in which the human is the person but everything else has the status of object to be manipulated according to the needs and wishes of the human person. To conceive of God as most like a person is to insist that God cannot be the object of human manipulation. Another person is someone who can be heard and responded to, but not controlled. Any effort to dominate another person is a failure to comprehend that between persons

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only free responses are authentic. To try to control another person is to perceive that person as an 'it' and not a "thou".

We have to think of God with the metaphor of a "Thou" because any other kind of metaphor would reduce God to less than ourselves. "thou" has purposes, in somewhat the same way as "I" has purposes. Yet any metaphor for God does no more than point in a particular direction. When the basic question arises as to how the human person could know the purpose of God, the answer is problematic. Iqbal mentions the speed of light. He says that as a metaphor for God, as used in surah of Light, light is better understood as an absolute that is that the speed never changes.⁸ Light gives us a clue to the consistency of the absolute. We came to know that God has purposes, and we have dim perception of what these purposes are. But we delude ourselves if we ever think those purposes are identical with our own, or that we understand them with perfect clarity, Light shows us some thing, but not everything.

Iqbal insists that the metaphor of an Ultimate Ego is the closest his language can come to explaining the Qur'anic teaching about God. In his Words:⁹

The infinite of the Ultimate Ego consists in infinite inner possibilities of his creative

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activity of which the universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive.

Thus the salamander of the human self, capable of unfolding unimaginable possibilities, is a clue to the free possibilities in the Ultimate Ego whose creative possibilities go beyond anything we could conceive. The virtue of this metaphysical position is that it both opens up hitherto unimagined possibilities and closes the door on any ideas about the divine plan as something clear and readily intelligible. The implications for action are obvious; human purposes should be formulated in response to what are dimly perceived as divine purposes. But since purposes require decisions, the shape of the future cannot be known until it has been created. Striving to know and to do the will of God necessarily takes place in context of lack of clear sight. The reason is that the nature of the creative process requires commitment to what has not yet been fully accomplished. Thus the red stain on the tulip. Iqbal says:¹⁰

This is the point where faith in the eventual triumph of goodness emerges as a religious doctrine. 'God is equal to His purpose, but most men know it not,' "[12:2]

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We act knowing only dimly where we are going; we have to trust in the goodness of God as the directive force. Our relation to this goodness is that we both know and do not know what it is life.¹¹ If we did not know at all, we could not even device metaphor to express it; if we knew clearly, we would not need metaphor to point the direction for us. We move without maps, but with dimly perceived direction nevertheless.

Iqbal says that we have to reflect upon prayer at this point in the discussion.¹²

Religion is not satisfied with mere conception; it seeks a more intimate knowledge of and association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is the act of worship or prayer ending in spiritual illumination.

He quotes William James on prayer to indicate that the greatest modern psychologist of religion thinks, as Iqbal does, that the impulse to pray is universal and that it springs from the human consciousness of finitude. Iqbal insists that prayer is a process that can lead to spiritual illuminations and to the human persons discovering direction and purpose is response to the perceived goodness of God. His metaphor for this situation is from Rumi: 'the scent of the musk-gland is a better guide than the footprints

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of the deer'.¹³ since our origins of sight and observation are limited, we need to rely more on the depth of ourselves. The goodness of God is the only reality which can be trusted to direct the choices. We must make in shaping the future for ourselves and for our species. But we follow this direction in the half-blind state characteristic of our finite natures and therefore, we trip over our own feet all the time.

If[a person] studied life as manifested in himself, i.e. his own mind freely choosing, rejecting, reflecting, surveying the past and the present and dynamically imagining the future, he is sure to be convinced of the inadequacy of his mechanical concepts. On the analogy of our conscious experience, then the universe is a free creative movement.¹⁴

Tripping over our feet is a feature of spontaneity. The challenges and possibilities from yesterday will be different again tomorrow. We trip partly because we are usually out of the date in our ideas about the external world and ourselves: we fail grasp the possibilities of the moment. Any kind of religious consciousness which is self-satisfied, which assumes that the divine plan is clear and which says that believers know exactly what they should do, is a deluded consciousness. It is better to trip, fall, and reflect than to move serenely forward convinced that the

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universe is clearly understood. We do not solve problems when we assume in advance that we have all the answers. Metaphors can be very dangerous when taken literally. Metaphors point; they do not provide maps of blueprints.

The Canadian literary critic, Northrop Frye says that the education of imagination is the most important duty we have towards the young of our species. Educated imaginations should be able to learn to digest and appropriate metaphors because Frye says, metaphors tell us more about the realities of life than anything else does. Metaphors are the essence of language; they represent the core of what we try to do for each other when we attempt to speak of the fundamental realities of existence.

Metaphors are paradoxical and again we suspect that perhaps only in paradox are words doing the best they can for us.¹⁵

Frye speaks of the metaphor of the Bible as important because they convey a vision of spiritual life that continues to transform and expand our own. Iqbal says, the Qur'an is a catalyst direction to stirring up human consciousness to awareness of the significance of sign and symbol.¹⁶ These two experts on religious language recognized in very similar ways that scripture is valuable when it functions to liberate the mind from simple positivism to an awareness

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of what Frye calls the double vision. Time and space can be looked at two ways at once; mind can see what can be measured and they can also see beyond and through the measurable.¹⁷

*For double the vision my eyes do see
And a double vision is always with me.*
(William Blake)

Frye's thoughts on religious language have developed from a life long study of Blake's poetry and of the impact of Biblical imagery on the western literary and religious heritage. His conclusions move in direction very similar to those of Iqbal, namely that mental and spiritual health require a balanced kind of double vision.

The spiritual democracy which Iqbal says, is the ultimate aim of Islam,¹⁸ requires leaving space for every individual to mature in his or her own way. The individual with the double vision is seeing for himself or herself; such insight cannot be forced, it can only be elicited by brilliant metaphors. One of the amazing realities of language is that the speech which truly reveals us to each other, can only happen when we are free and spontaneous. Iqbal valued spontaneity as essential for growth in understanding of the self and the universe.¹⁹ His vocations as a poet was to find the metaphors, which could realize the energy of his people and to direct them to the healing of the wounds of the world.

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Every day doth some new work employ him,' says the Qur'an. To exist in the real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial times, but to create from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. In fact all creative activity is free activity.²⁰

One implication of this perspective is that the past can serve as a source of ideas and inspiration, but it should not be allowed to dominate the present. Creativeness requires free and spontaneous use of the cultural goods of the past for the purpose of shaping a better future. Creativeness in the present arises out of a free relationship to the soured of life, which is thou – the Ultimate Ego – alive and good.

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