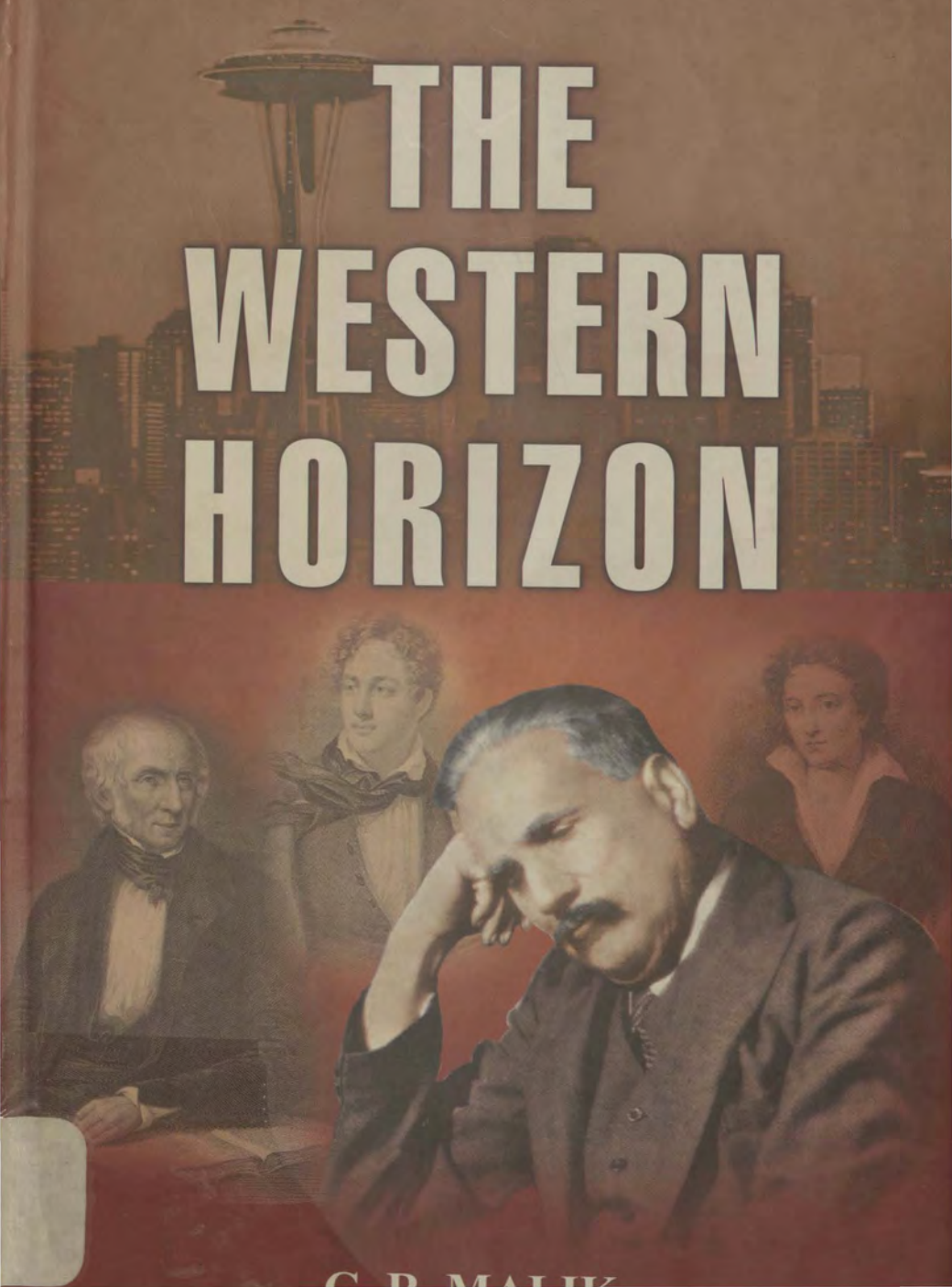
THE WESTERN HORIZON



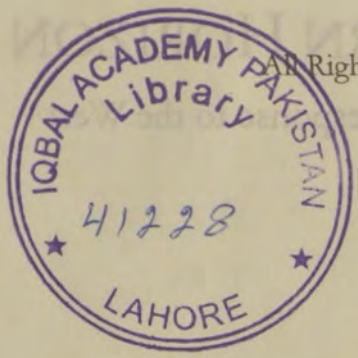
C. P. MALIK

THE WESTERN HORIZON

A Study of Iqbal's Response to the West

G. R. Malik

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN



Publisher:
Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Director, Iqbal Academy Pakistan
6th Floor, Aiwan-i-Iqbal Complex,
Off Egerton Road, Lahore.
Tel:[+ 92-42] 6314510, 9203573
Fax:[+ 92-42] 6314496
Email: director@iap.gov.pk
Website: www.allmaiqbal.com

ISBN: 969-416-382-X

1st Edition	:	2009
Quantity	:	500
Price	:	Rs. 200/-
Printed at	:	Shirkat Press, Lahore.

Sales Office: 116 McLeod Road, Lahore. Ph. 7357214

CONTENTS

EWORD

st Edition)

I

reword to

Resp *y of Iqbal's*

wor important

wro to this, he

Publ y Atlantic

lette m men of

T

been acher, has

exam triculation

he i in 1961,

(Islar Anantnag

colou ith flying

teach em by his

and s of head

activi d literary

writin in essay-

he go raduation

studie -graduate

after on. Soon

Degre ernment

Anant College,

studen bom as a

colleague. After a memorable stint of teaching at Anantnag Degree College, Dr Malik joined the Post-graduate

FOREWORD

(Ist Edition)

I consider it my proud privilege to write this foreword to Dr. Malik's book, *The Western Horizon: A study of Iqbal's Response to the West.* This is the author's second important work on the subject of Iqbal and the West. Prior to this, he wrote *Iqbal and the English Romantics* (published by Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi) which won wide acclaim from men of letters.

The author's career, both as a student and a teacher, has been brilliant throughout. After passing his matriculation examination from the Islamia High School at Arwani in 1961, he studied at Government Degree College Anantnag (Islamabad) for four years and graduated in 1965 with flying colours. During this period he was held in high esteem by his teachers and classmates alike for his great qualities of head and heart. He was the soul of the academic and literary activities at the College and won numerous prizes in essay-writing competitions and debating contests. After graduation he got admitted to the Kashmir University for post-graduate studies and passed his M.A. in English with distinction. Soon after this he served as a lecturer in English at Government Degree College, Poonch and Government Degree College, Anantnag. At Anantnag, where I had watched him bloom as a student, I had the good fortune of working with him as a colleague. After a memorable stint of teaching at Anantnag Degree College, Dr Malik joined the Post-graduate

Department of English of the Kashmir University where he is a Reader at present. As a University teacher, Dr Malik won the prestigious Commonwealth Academic Staff Fellowship for post-doctoral studies at the University of Cambridge, U.K., from 1987 to 1988. I have attended many of his lectures and paper-readings in different symposiums and seminars and have been highly impressed by his complete and thorough scholarship.

The present book is a collection of the author's literary essays besides the introduction, dealing with different aspects of the art and thought of the poet of humanity, Dr Iqbal. Examining the life-denying Christian monasticism of the West and Pantheistic mysticism of the East on one side, and discussing the evils of materialism on the other, the author has rightly defined "Iqbal's Relevance to the Present Age" The essay with this title concludes thus:

> And to redeem his theory, Iqbal produced a poetry which is unparalleled in its beauty, its power, its irresistible appeal, its capacity to ennoble and humanize and, above all, its capacity to move man to glorious action.

This is a conclusion with which even the detractors of Iqbal cannot but agree.

In "Iqbal and Rhetoric", the author writes:

> Iqbal has so consistently been accused of being fond of rhetoric by a section of the so-called progressive critics that this theory would appear to be a bit too bold and raise many eye-brows.

The author has in mind such remarks about Iqbal's poetry as that of Faiz who once called Iqbal's poetry "the poetry of Mochi Darwazah". The author has concentrated on the Western idea of rhetoric and made no mention of the Eastern view of rhetoric. However from his citations from "Tulu-i-Islam" and "Az Khab-i-Giran Khaiz" one has the feeling of what Iqbal's detractors imply and the author's reply to their charge is effective and forceful. One agrees with his conclusion that Iqbal's rhetoric is no rhetoric at all; it is the masterful use of language by a great artist.

The essays in this collection include four comparative studies of Iqbal and some prominent Romantic poets of the nineteenth century. These studies are so fascinating and profound that one wishes the whole book to be translated into Urdu to make it available to a larger readership.

The aurhor's analysis of "Bandaghi Namah", a celebrated Persian poem of Iqbal, is illuminating for bringing to light Iqbal's views on fine arts (music, painting and architecture) as well as on religion. The poet has viewed art and religion as aspects of the same reality and has made the subtle distinction between the art produced by slaves and that which is produced by free men. The art of slaves is devoid of self-revelation and life while that of free men is an exquisite combination of beauty and majesty emanating from love. It is love that distinguishes the religion of free men from that of the slaves who follow a hollow ritual in the name of religion.

The article, "The Image of the West in Iqbal and Azad", is a cogent presentation and critical evaluation of the reaction to Western civilization by two great intellectuals and literary figures of the Indo-Pak sub continent. The essence of this revaluation is that, influenced by the Congress ideology (Nationalism, Socialism and Secularism) imported from the West, Maulana Azad gradually changed his outlook on life and lost his zest and zeal for Islam. He tried in vain to reconcile Islam with Secular nationalism. "The most striking contrast in this regard between Iqbal and Azad is that while Iqbal moved from narrow territorial nationalistic leanings to the Islamic ideal of the unity and brotherhood of mankind, Azad did exactly the reverse." Again he was apologetic to the Darwinian theory of biological evolution, which Iqbal viewed more objectively. Similarly Iqbal looked at materialism as the main evil of modern age, which has corrupted life in all its manifestations, while Azad failed to see the modern malaise in its proper perspective. "On the whole his perception of modern situation lacks the depth and perspicuity which is so characteristic of Iqbal." In this regard I have only to say that nothing other than forceful style and language and great

scholarship was common to Iqbal and Azad. Iqbal progressed from nationalistic tendencies to a belief in universal brotherhood and unity of mankind whereas Azad made his retrograde journey from Pan-Islamism to territorial nationalism. It is because of this unfortunate anticlimax that some critics call Azad a vanquished soldier rather than a victor.

Before concluding this foreword, I must say a word about the translations in this book. The rendering of the Quranic verses and the traditions of the Prophet as well as the translation of Urdu and Persian citations interspersed in this book is very fine. It can be safely said that the author is an asset for the country and his writings will certainly form a valuable part of the cultural heritage of our homeland.

I hope that this highly estimable book will deservedly win laurels in scholarly circles.

Islamabad — G.M.Malik

(Anantnag) — Shorida Kashmiri

11 March 1991 — President, Iqbal Academy

INTRODUCTION

This book is a collection of papers and essays which I wrote on different occasions during the last few years on certain aspects of Iqbal's response to the modern Western thought and literature. I have revised these papers and made some minor modifications here and there. Repetition of some seminal ideas is natural in such a collection of essays written on various occasions. Quite a few such repetitions seemed unavoidable even on revision.

Iqbal's trip to the West at the mature age of 28, when he had not only completed his master's degree in Philosophy but also taught for a while philosophy and English Literature,[1] was a voyage of discovery in more ways than one.

For one thing it was a voyage of self-discovery. A comparison of the poems which Iqbal wrote before 1905 with those he wrote after this year shows that he realized his potential only in Europe. As one compares them, one wonders at times whether the writer is the same person. The pre-1905 ghazals, in particular, are a lame replica of the traditional ghazal as written by poets like Dagh. Here and there one does come across a flash which exhibits originality of sorts but I wonder whether we could perceive such flashes if the later Iqbal were not before us. It is only in the non-ghazal compositions that we see flashes of a genius who was to discover himself in the West.

Equally important was Iqbal's discovery of the West itself and the meaning and relevance of Islam in the present age.

He had studied Western thought and literature before he came to Europe and even before that he had received classical Islamic education in his boyhood. But this second-hand knowledge was mere information; his European sojourn converted it into a revelation ----- an experience. The face of the West stood unveiled before him and in comparison and contrast to it he saw the real meaning of Islam.

مسلماں کو مسلماں کر دیا طوفان مغرب نے

طلاطم ہائے دریا ہی سے ہے گوہر کی سیرابی[2]

The tumult of the West has converted a Muslim into a true Muslim,
As the turbulence of the sea fosters a pearl in an oyster.

The empirically and practically oriented West also enabled Iqbal to see in the right perspective the fatal consequences of the so-called Islamic mysticism dominated by neo-Platonism and Vedant. He moved away from the life-negating doctrine of wahdat al-wujud (Pantheistic monism) of Ibn Arabi and began to view it as a distortion of the gospel of action preached by Islam. In his introduction to the first edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi*[3] (Secrets of the Self), he wrote:

> The philosophically oriented temperament of the Eastern nations tended to view the human ego as an illusion and thought that salvation lay in shaking this noose off one's neck. The pragmatic attitude of the Western nations led them naturally to conclusions which agreed with their temperament.....

Since the people of the West are distinguished by their commitment to action, their thought and literature is an ideal means of guidance for the East to understand the secrets of life. Although the modern philosophy of the West began with the system of Pantheistic monism of the Israelite philosopher of Holland, yet its practical attitude remained unscathed. Pantheism, though fortified with a kind of mathematical logic, could not, therefore, retain its charm for long in the West.

At the same time Iqbal saw with horror the darker side of Western civilization ------ its blind worship of the matter, its ignorance of the demands of the spirit, its deification of reason, and its abandonment of religion. In reaction to

medieval monasticism and the false other-worldliness of Pauline Christianity, the materialistic West was dangerously drifting to the other extreme which was much more detrimental to the harmonious development of man. The resolution of the present crisis, therefore, lay neither in the life-denying mysticism of some Eastern cults nor in the total absorption in matter of the modern West but in avoiding both of these fatal extremes and in effecting a reconciliation of the spirit and the matter:

مشرق سے ہو بیزار نہ مغرب سے حذر کر

فطرت کا اشارہ ہے کہ ہر شب کو سحر کر[4]

Neither turn your back on the East nor fear the West;
Bring forth dawn from every dark night; says Nature.

Iqbal saw this balance and harmony best exemplified in Islam ------ the quintessence and perfection of the revelation God sent down to mankind, through His chosen messengers, from time to time for its spiritual and moral guidance. The prodigious power of the materialistic West was sure to destroy mankind if not controlled by a spiritually purified and morally emancipated man. It is such a man whom Iqbal hailed as the saviour of the future.

This was the angle of vision from which Iqbal surveyed the modern West ------ its thought and its philosophical and literary personages. Some aspects of this survey have been examined in the essays included in this collection.

This book does not, in any way, claim to be all-comprehensive. Nietzsche, Dante and Milton are conspicuous by their absence. About the latter two I do not feel the need of any explanation. Although some Iqbalists have compared them with Iqbal, to my mind, he shares very little with them to justify such comparisons. That Dante employed the technique of *Mirajnamas* in his *Divine Comedy* and was indebted to such works as Abul Aala Muarri's *Al-Ghufran* and Ibn Al-Arabi's *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* and that all this was known to Iqbal too and that his great *Javid Namah*

also uses the technique of *Mirajnamas* with modifications, does not by itself justify the comparison of the two. Similarly the genealogy and character of Iqbal's Iblis can, by no stretch of imagination, be seen to have any resemblance with Milton's Satan. Nietzsche, however, attracted his serious attention and elicited from him great, though not unqualified, admiration. There are also certain superficial similarities between the two which misled E.G. Browne to remark, in his *Literary History of Persia*, that Iqbal's philosophy is an Oriental adaptation of Nietzsche's ideas and the misconception has set many a scholar since Browne on a wrong track. In fact, nothing can be farther from the truth than Browne's observation as Iqbal and Nietzsche are fundamentally and essentially different from each other. This however, is such a grave subject that it calls for a detailed critical study which I hope to do sometime in future, Insha Allah.

The Western Horizon is a revised and substantially enlarged edition of its predecessor, The Bloody Horizon. Considering the fact that many new chapters of seminal importance have been added to the book, it can be justifiably described as practically a new book. The additions include the essays, 'The Humanist Iqbal', 'Shaikh-i-Maktab', 'The Development of a Symbol' and the essay appearing as the appendix to the book and entitled, 'The Western Response to Iqbal'. 'The Humanist Iqbal' is a brief but comprehensive examination of Iqbal's Humanistic dimension which stands clearly distinguished from the Godless Humanism of the post-Renaissance West. 'Shaikh-i-Maktab' presents Iqbal's views on the ultimate aim of education, which is the production of ideal men to man an ideal order. 'The Development of a Symbol' studies the complex process of symbol-formation in poetry with special reference to Iqbal's poem, 'Aftab'. The Appendix, which concludes the book, turns the gaze in the other direction and sees in a nutshell how the modern West has responded to Iqbal. This is evidently a very vast subject and can be approached only in broad outlines in a brief essay.

In its earlier version the book received warm adulatory reviews in several international journals of repute. It is hoped that the readers will find the new edition much more illuminating, entertaining and useful.

My heartfelt thanks are due to Iqbal Academy, Pakistan, which is bringing out a thoroughly revised and enlarged edition of this book. Dr. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, the Director of the Academy and Dr. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi deserve my special gratitude for their considerateness and generosity. May Allah shower his blessings on them.

Srinagar Ghulam Rasool Malik

13 June 2006

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Iqbal was born in 1877 and after getting a master's degree in Philosophy, he taught English Literature and Philosophy for brief stints at the Oriental College Lahore and Islamia College Lahore. From 1902 to 1904 he served as Assistant Professor of English Literature at the Government College Lahore and in 1905 he went for higher studies to England and Germany.

[2] *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*: Urdu (Aligarh: Educational Book House, 1975), p. 267. This standard edition of Iqbal's Urdu poems is the source of all subsequent citations and their translations are by me.

[3] This introduction was dropped from the later editions of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Later it appeared in Faquir Wahid-ud-Din's book. *Rozgar-i-Faqir*, vol. II. form which I am translating two quotations here.

[4] *Kulliyat*: Urdu p. 571.

IQBAL'S RELEVANCE TO THE PRESENT AGE

یہ دور اپنے براہیم کی تلاش میں ہے
صنم کدہ ہے جہاں لا الٰہ الا اللہ

(ضرب کلیم، ص : 15)

This age is searching for its Abraham;
The world is an idol house again (when) there is no deity but Allah.

This morning (2 April 1988) as I was pondering over how to begin this essay, I switched on the radio for the 8 o'clock BBC World News. It was two minutes to eight. A programme was being rounded off and two women were in conversation. One of them asked the other:

What is the difference between having a baby and having a pet monkey or puppy?

It was a leading question and elicited the answer that it expected. I thought this would be a very effective way of opening my discourse. The conversation points to the abysmal depths, if there are any left, (They are now introducing the subjects of homosexuality and lesbianism to the school children; that made the news last night.) to which materialism is hurling the West. Can there be a more callous

unconcern and criminal disregard towards one's duties to human civilization? Iqbal is in point:

وائے بر قومے کہ از بیمِ ثمر
می برد نم را ز اندامِ شجر[1]

Woe unto a people who for fear of fruit
Drains the tree dry of all its moisture.

That, in itself, would perhaps be enough to establish the foresight underlying Iqbal's diagnosis of the malaise of modern civilization. At a time when men like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan felt dazzled by the appearance of Western civilization, Iqbal probed beneath its surface and saw the lurking dangers:

شفق نہیں مغربی افق پر، یہ جوے خوں ہے! یہ جوے خوں ہے[2]

There on the Western horizon, it is not the rosy hue but a stream of blood.

A careful study of modern age revealed to Iqbal that the Post-Renaissance civilization of the West was fatally biased and one-sided. The time when the movement of Revival of Learning passed into the hands of the modern West was one of the most critical junctures of human history. Unfortunately the Christian Church stood in the way of the movement and persecuted many scientists like Bruno and Galileo. This was natural as Pauline Christianity had sanctified many superstitions masquerading as knowledge, like Ptolemy's astronomy, by adopting them as the interpretation of certain Biblical passages. Such superstitions failed to stand the test of the new scientific discoveries which gave rise to the deplorable conflict between Christian religion and science. The result was that the new movement, already biased in favour of materialism because of its origination form ancient Greek science and philosophy, took an unmistakable anti-religious course. Before this, it had thrived under the tutelage of Islam and would have proved a blessing for mankind had it not fallen in the hands of modern Europe as a result of Muslim decay. Thus the child which was born in the lap of a

God-conscious civilization came to be nursed and brought up by a God-less civilization. In the inimitable words of Iqbal:

عصرِ حاضر زادۂ ایّام تست مستیِ او از مے گلفام تست

شارحِ اسرارِ او تو بودۂ اوّلیں معمار او تو بودۂ

تا بہ فرزندی گرفت اُو را فرنگ شاہدے گردید بے ناموس و ننگ[3]

The modern age owes her origin to you;
Your rosy drink gave her excitement and intoxication;
You were the expounder of her inmost secrets
And you were the first of her architects.
Since Europe adopted her as its child
She has become a conquette, immoral and shameless.

Having torn itself asunder from its religious moorings, the Post-Renaissance civilization became predominantly this-worldly. A dangerous bifurcation was made between body and soul which led, very naturally, to the division between religion and state, private and public life. A systematic campaign was launched to banish God and human soul from all branches of knowledge and all manifestations of public life. His existence was tolerated only so far as it did not interfere with the day-to-day life of man. Charles Darwin's biology[4] found a corresponding philosophy of history in Karl Marx's dialectical materialism and an equally conforming system of psychology in Freud which has now been carried to its logical extreme by Pavlov and his fellow-Behaviourists. In absolute harmony with this, Machiavelli produced, in his book, *The Prince*, a shamelessly utilitarian ethics dealing a death blow to all eternal spiritual values and turning morality upside down:

آں فلارنساویِ باطل پرست سرمۂ او دیدۂ مردم شکست

نسخۂ بہرِ شہنشاہاں نوشت در گلِ ما دانۂ پیکار کشت

مملکت را دینِ او معبود ساخت فکرِ او مذموم را محمود ساخت[5]

That Florentine worshipper of falsehood,
Whose antimony blinded the eyes of men,

Wrote a treatise for the emperors
And sowed the seeds of warfare in our clay.
His religion makes nation a God

And his thought renders praiseworthy that which is hateful.

Thus although the journey was begun on Descartes's body-soul dualism soul was slowly and gradually blotted out of existence. As the new civilization advanced, it started turning more and more around the axis of body. This according to Iqbal, is the major crisis of modern civilization:

ترسم ایں عصرے کہ تو زادی دراں
در بدن غرق است و کم داند ز جاں![6]

I fear that the age you are born to
Is steeped in body and knows little of the soul.

دنیا کو ہے پھر معرکۂ روح و بدن پیش
تہذیب نے پھر اپنے درندوں کو ابھارا[7]

Once again the world is faced with the combat of soul and body;
Once again civilization has let loose her beasts.

And it is body which the two dominant socio-political systems of the present age-Capitalism and Socialism-worship and adore. To Iqbal the latter is the natural culmination of the former:

غرق دیدم ہر دو را در آب و گل
ہر دو را تن روشن و تاریک دل![8]

I see them both, steeped in water and clay;
Both are effulgent of body and dark of soul.

It was this secular and materialistic West, in the first flash of its appearance on the scene of history, which subjugated the decadent East. Consistent with the logic of history, it imposed its world-view on the subjugated peoples through media, through education and above all, through the psychological advantage derived from the usual tendency of a

subject race to acquiesce blindly in all that comes from the dominant race. On the mental plane the East fell without much less resistance than it had put up on the political and economic level. Within the span of about a century, Western materialism (which is sometimes euphemistically called humanism) became and continues to be the dominant world-view of the East.

Iqbal saw with anguish that, like other Oriental communities, his beloved *ummah* (the Islamic community) had also accepted materialism as the way of life. Time and again he is reminded of the warnings of the Prophet (S.A.W) concerning this deplorable change:

لكل امة فتنة و فتنة امتى المال[9]

Every community is tried and tested in some way and worldly wealth is the trial of my *Ummah.*

ما الفقر اخشى عليكم و لكن اخشى أن يبسط الدنيا عليكم[10]

I am not afraid of poverty for you but of the danger of your being overwhelmed by avarice of this world.
and again:

يدخل فى قلوبكم الوهن قالوا وما الوهن يا رسول الله قال حب الدنيا و كراهية الموت[11]

'*Wahn* shall enter your hearts', (said the Prophet) and was asked what *wahn* is. He replied, 'it is love of this world and fear of death'.

Iqbal wonders how, in spite of these clear warnings, the *ummah* lost its way:

آنکه بود الله او را ساز و برگ
فتنهٔ او حبِّ مال و ترسِ مرگ[12]

He, for whom Allah was the be-all and end-all
Has faltered in the trial of the love of wealth and fear of death.

How deplorable that all energies are now centered on this life! Instead of subjugating the world and using it as a means of spiritual emancipation, the modern Muslim, under the insidious influence of Western materialism, considers this world as an end in itself. Knowledge, art and socio-political mechanism-all are licking the dust:

علم و فن، دین و سیاست، عقل و دل
زوج زوج اندر طوافِ آب و گل[13]

Knowledge and art, religion and politics, reason and heart
Hosts upon hosts curcum ambulating water and clay.

Thus the demon of materialism holds the whole world-East as well as the West-firmly in the grip of its tentacles. What is the way out of this deadly impasse? Iqbal answers:

> Humanity needs three things today– a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis.[14]

Looked at from this point of view, the universe is not a fortuitous concourse of atoms but a supremely purposeful and planned scheme of creation. As the Quran puts it:

و ما خلقنا السمآء و الارض و ما بینهما باطلا[15]

> And we have not created the heaven and the earth and all that is between them without meaning and purpose.

Its plan and purpose may not be foreordained, as Iqbal believed, but it is ever controlled and directed by the will and wisdom of a Supreme Being who is always bringing new worlds to birth:

کل یوم هو فی شان[16]

> Every day He manifests his glory in a new way.

Now this universe of creation is not meant to assimilate man but to serve as a means for his spiritual development. It is, as it were, a springboard for him to move on to further heights and realize the potentials latent in him. Nor, it should

be borne in mind, is this universe of creation unnecessary or irrelevant as some ascetic sects and monastic orders, pursuing a false ideal of spirituality, have tended to believe for that would make it meaningless in another sense. In his essay on Einstein's Theory of Relativity, Iqbal wrote:

> In the words of the Quran, the universe that confronts us is not باطل It has its uses; and the most important use of it is that the effort to overcome the obstruction offered by it sharpens our insight and prepares us for an insertion into what lies below the surface of phenomena....
>
> A keen insight is needed to see the non-temporal behind the perpetual flux of things. The mystic forgets that reality lives in its own appearances, and that the surest way to reach the core of it lies through its appearances.[17]

Yet these appearances tend to absorb man in and for themselves. He can realize his destiny only by remaining always vigilant and conscious of his essence. His essence is not flesh and blood his body, but the spirit which proceeds from God's directive energy. When the creation of man was accomplished, says God,

و نفخت فیه من روّحی[18]

I breathed into him from My own soul.

Iqbal's concept of the Ego is grounded on the perception of this basic Quranic truth. What we call human self is this soul which God Himself breathed into man and this constitutes his (man's) essence. Body is one of its possible forms. In Iqbal's words it is spirit in the space-time continuum. In this view of the human self there is no place for body-soul dichotomy which shoots off into the bifurcation of religion and state. Man is an organic unity and on this premise, Islam organizes his social and cultural life. In his Address to the Muslim League Session in 1930, Iqbal said:

Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic

to each other... To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time.[19]

It is only by building life on the basis of this essential organic unity that man's smooth evolution can be ensured. His real destiny is to evolve and develop, not in the biological sense, but in the spiritual sense. Evolution means continuous change but mere change and movement will be a disaster unless it is directed properly by a set of principles of permanent and universal validity which supply a broad and highly flexible framework within the bounds of which man can realize his potential with freedom and safety. The limits set by this framework are not meant to restrict man's freedom but to save him from misusing it and thus bringing about his own destruction. In other words, they are meant to channelise human action to ensure that the movement of his evolution is directed upwards to newer heights and not downwards to his doom. That in the absence of such guiding principles man is apt to go astray, is best illustrated, if it needed a fresh illustration, by the way in which the unbridled progress of modern science is dragging mankind to a nuclear catastrophe.

To Iqbal these eternal principles were revealed by God to mankind through His Prophets from time to time, and in their final form through Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Belief in the unity of God, Prophethood and revelation are the only guarantee of man's guidance, and to enable him to cope effectively with a changing and evolving world, Islam grants him the freedom of ijtihad, legislation within the given framework. Through the revolutionary principle of ijtihad, Islam reconciles the categories of permanence and change and guarantees the stability and moral health of a society developing under its supervision.

And since the Muslim *ummah* is now the repository of the universal principles of guidance, the salvation and renovation of mankind rests upon its shoulders. Naturally therefore we see Iqbal continuously preoccupied with the theme of the revival of Muslim *ummah*. His first major publications, *Asrar-i-*

Khudi (Secrets of the Self) and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness)were, in fact, a programme for the rejuvenation of the *ummah*. His later work-poetry, *The Reconstrucion of Religious Thought in Islam*, letters, and occasional speeches and writings– is equally dominated by the theme of Islamic revival. While his prose-writings, particularly *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* lay the intellectual foundations of the projected revolution, his poetry is a clarion call to Muslims to rise and reshape the destiny of mankind. Again and again, in heart-melting tones, the poet calls upon his beloved *ummah*:

پس خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کرد　　بر رسولِؐ ما رسالت ختم کرد

رونق از ما محفلِ ایّام را　　او رسل را ختم و ما اقوام را[20]

God accomplished the Shariah with us
And prophethood closed with our Prophet.
We adorn the comity of nations now,
He was the last Prophet and we are the last *ummah*.

خدائے لم یزل کا دستِ قدرت تو، زباں تو ہے

یقیں پیدا کر اے غافل کہ مغلوبِ گماں تو ہے

مکاں فانی، مکیں آنی، ازل تیرا ابد تیرا

خدا کا آخری پیغام ہے تو، جاوداں تو ہے!

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا، عدالت کا، شجاعت کا

لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا[21]

You are the potent hand of eternal God, His (decisive) tongue;
Create in yourself trust and Conviction, O, you doubt-ridden.
Space and space-bound alike are ephemeral, yours in the beginning and the end;
You are the last message of God, Eternal, Immortal.
Relearn the lesson of truth, of justice, of bravery.
As you are to be entrusted with the leadership of the world again.
And again:

فریاد ز افرنگ و دل آویزیِ افرنگ فریاد ز شیرینی و پرویزیِ افرنگ

عالم ہمہ ویرانہ ز چنگیزیِ افرنگ معمار حرم! باز بہ تعمیر جہاں خیز

از خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں خیز!

از خواب گراں خیز[22]

Oh! the European and his wily temptations,
His Shirin-like ensnaring and Perviz-like perfidy.
The world is become a Wasteland through the Chingiz-like ways of the European.
you architect of the abode of peace, rise and reconstruct the world
Awake, arise and shake off your deep slumber.

Such pronouncements as these are not to be misconstrued as the manifestation of sectarianism on the part of Iqbal. Such a view was expressed by Iqbal's first English translator, Professor R.A. Nicholson, who wrote that Iqbal's message is addressed to Muslims only. Iqbal wrote to him that his message was meant for the whole mankind but to revolutionise the world it was necessary to prepare a community for it and it was his belief that by virtue of the Islamic system of which they were trustees and by virtue of their historical tradition, Muslims were the best qualified to play that role.

This highly significant message was communicated by Iqbal to his age mostly through the medium of poetry. As a poet, his most original contribution, apart from his soul stirring poetry, was that he developed a dynamic aesthetic in consonance with his dynamic philosophy– an aesthetic which questions the very basis of the materialistic aesthetic which, in all its forms, declares pleasure to be the sole end of art. From this it naturally follows that poetry is a jugglery of words designed to impart pleasure. No amount of ponderous philosophising and bandying of an ever-changing jargon can conceal this basic premise of materialistic aesthetic. This view of art was prevalent both in the East and the West when Iqbal started writing poetry. To begin with he wrote about conventional subjects in a conventional style but by 1905, he

had started developing his own aesthetic and critically examining the bases of the decadent aesthetic that every one seemed to accept unquestioningly. His son, Javid Iqbal, quotes him as saying:

> In 1905 when I went to England I had realized that the literature of the East, in spite of its apparent interest and attraction, lacked a zest and passion for life, the spirit which inculcates hope, courage and desire for action.... In 1908 when I returned from England I was convinced that Western literature was in no wise better.[23]

Soon after this we find him launching a frontal attack on the prevailing theory and practice of art by propounding a dynamic aesthetic on one hand and producing a poetry of supreme beauty on the other. In 1916, the period of the publication of his revolutionary poem, *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he wrote an essay entitled, 'Our Prophet's Criticism of Contemporary Arabian Poetry'. An extract from the essay reads:

> Art is subordinate to life, not superior to it. The ultimate end of all human activity is life, glorious, powerful, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to Reality around, on the mastery of which alone Life depends, is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium-eating in Art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power.[24]

In *Asrar* itself distinction is made between poets who make for life and those who militate against it. The latter are compared to sirens in the ocean who allure the mariners to them with their beauty, only to ultimately drown them. It was in this context that he subjected Hafiz, for all his poetic artistry, to a blistering attack. Following Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) who had remarked about Imraul Qais, اشعر الشعراء و قائدهم الى النار the most poetic of the (Arab) poets and their leader to the Hell-fire, Iqbal wrote about Hafiz.

ہوشیار از حافظِ صہبا گسار جامش از زہرِ اجل سرمایہ دار

نغمہ چنگش دلیلِ انحطاط ہاتفِ او جبرئیلِ انحطاط[25]

Beware of Hafiz the drunkard;
His cup contains the poison of death.
The tunes from his harp lead on to decay.
His presiding genius is the Gabriel of decay.

And to redeem his theory, Iqbal produced a poetry which is unparalleled in its beauty, its power, its irresistible appeal, its capacity to ennoble and humanize and, above all, its capacity to move man to glorious action:

بیا بہ مجلسِ اقبال و یک دو ساغر کش

اگرچہ سر نتراشد قلندری داند[26]

Come and quaff a cup or two in the company of Iqbal
He may not shave his head but knows, nonetheless, what qalandari is.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal are mine.

[1] *Jawaid Namah:* p.72.

[2] *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 130.

[3] *Pas Chih Bayed Kard*, p. 43.

[4] Iqbal had an ambivalent attitude towards Darwin whose theory of evolution was accepted then as a proven fact which it is not and cannot be. But since he categorically rejects the moral implications of Darwin's position. I have brought him into my discussion.

[5] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 116.

[6] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 207.

[7] *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, p. 16.

[8] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 65.

[9] *Tirmidhi*

[10] *Bukhari and Muslim.*

[11] *Abu Dawood and Musnad Ahmad.*
[12] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 200.
[13] Ibid., p. 201.
[14] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Delhi: Kitab Publishing House, 1974). p. 179
[15] *The Quran*, Surah Sad, v. 27
[16] Ibid., Surah Rahman, v. 29.
[17] Bashir Ahmad Dar. *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy* (Lahore: Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, 1944). p. 400.
[18] *The Quran*, Surah Sad, v. 72.
[19] Latif Ahmad Sherwani. *Speeches Writings and Statements* of Iqbal: (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977). p. 5
[20] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 102.
[21] *Bang-i-Dara*, pp. 269-270.
[22] *Zaboor-i-Ajam*, p. 80.
[23] Javid Iqbal, *Zindah Rood* (Lahore: Ghulam Ali Publishers. 1979): Vol. II. p. 202.
[24] *Speeches Writings and Statements of Iqbal.* p. 124.
[25] Faqir Wahid-ud-Din, *Rozgar-i-Faqir* (Karachi: Line Art Press. 1964) Vol. II. pp. 164-165.
[26] *Payam-i-Mashriq.* p.176.

IQBAL AND MATERIALISM

چو رومی در حرم دادم اذاں من　　از و آموختم اسرارِ جاں من

به دورِ فتنۂ عصرِ کہن، او　　به دورِ فتنۂ عصرِ رواں، من

(ارمغان حجاز، ص : 56)

Like Rumi I gave the call of adhan in the harem;
From him I learnt the mysteries of the soul
He for the tribulation of the ancient world
And I for the tribulation of the modern age.

In these verses Iqbal sees himself in the role of a Messiah for the modern age as Rumi was for his age. The verses underline once again the oft-repeated assertion of the poet that he is primarily a messenger and his poetry is merely an instrument for his mission. Rumi diagnosed the disease of his age, corrupted by the domination of the Greek philosophy, as the worship of the dry-as-dust reason and comparative neglect of soul and its cultivation. The disease infected even the religious men of his day whose scholasticism consisted of insipid rational discussions and philosophical hair-splitting. This was a clear deviation from the simple Quranic way of propagating the truth. The scholastic endeavours proved, therefore, counter-productive and led to the death of religion even as religious scholarship amazingly multiplied:

پائے استدلالیاں چوبیں بود
پائے چوبیں سخت بے تمکیں بود

Wooden are the feet of the rationalists
And they are very undependable.

Rumi's clarion call was directed at the destruction of this dry and soul-less religiosity and a return to the Quran and the life-example of Muhammad (S.A.W).

Iqbal almost faced an identical situation in his day. He was born to an age steeped in materialism which turned its back on 'soul' and its requirements. Essentially there was nothing new about it. It was a dramatization of the age-old conflict between the opposing forces of truth and untruth:

ستیزہ کار رہا ہے ازل سے تا امروز
چراغِ مصطفویؐ سے شرارِ بو لہبی![1]

The battle has raged from the beginning of time to this day
Between the candle of Mustafa and the spark of Abu Lahb

Materialism had been preached before. The ancient Greek philosophers, Heraclitus (530-470 BC), Leucipus, Democritus (46-360 BC) and Epicurus (341-270 BC) had all believed in materialism of different forms. In Heraclitrus' view nothing existed beyond what was apparent. In a world of flux and change only one thing was constant and that was the law of nature and "this order, the same for all things, no one of Gods or men has made, but it always was, and is, and shall be".[2] Leucipus and Democritus, master and pupil, were the founders of the deterministic, materialistic atomism in which there was no place for the existence of spiritual reality. In reality, said Democritus "there are only the atoms and the void."[3]

Eqicurus revived this mechanistic and materialistic philosophy and built the edifice of his Epicurianism upon this premise. Aristotle (388-322 BC) dislodged God by declaring Him to be the mere primum mobile, now unconcerned about universal affairs, and freed life from all superhuman control. But never in the past had materialism

become a complete way of life and an all-embracing code of conduct as it did after the Renaissance when it shaped the individual and social life in Europe and consequent upon the European domination of the rest of the world, became the dominant ideology of all mankind.

The post-Renaissance era in Europe was the era of secularization when Europe slowly and gradually drifted away from all religious values and other-worldly considerations. Greek science and philosophy and arts were more in tune with the changed outlook and became the staple intellectual food. This world and this life became the sole object of attention and everything was interpreted to suit this world-view. Physical and empirical science took the place of speculative philosophy and religious discourses. In his *New Atlanta*, Bacon summed up the attitude of the Renaissance man to life and universe.

> The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and the secret motions of things and the enlarging of the bounds of the human empire to the effecting of all things possible.[4]

Essentially there was nothing wrong about this empirical and scientific outlook nor was it incompatible with religion. Both the Quran and the Bible speak of the subjugation of all Nature to man's service. What was, however, wrong was the totally secular and materialistic outlook of the scientists themselves. Descartes was sceptical about everything except what could stand the empirical test and, like Newton, looked on the universe as a wholly understandable and explicable machine. "Give me the elements," he declared, "and I will construct the universe."[5] Voltaire revived the Aristotelian conception of God as the watchmaker who has nothing to do with the watch after having made it. Hume doubted even this innocuous conception of God and finally Nietzsche proclaimed Him dead.

All phenomena relating to life and universe were interpreted in material terms. To Darwin man was merely an animal who had evolved like other animals and the belief in his being the crown of creation and the vicegerent of God on

the earth was consequently baseless. Marx interpreted history in purely materialistic terms declaring the economic factor to be the only decisive factor determining the course of history. Freud shattered the belief in revelation and inspiration by bringing to light the unknown psychic zones and subjecting man to uncontrollable instinctive drives and reducing all art and all religion to an attempt at wish fulfillment. Pavlov dealt the last blow by questioning the very existence of consciousness and mind itself and declaring man to be mere body with no trace of the so-called soul or mind in him. Everything, on this view could be explained in terms of the stimulus to and response from the nervous system.

The implications of this materialistic philosophy for human life are quite obvious. It deprives man in one stroke of his essential worth and grandeur. Even the theory of evolution puts a stop to man's onward march and in Iqbal's words "has brought despair and anxiety instead of hope and enthusiasm for life, to the modern world."[6] Existence is absurd and useless and there is no scope for any hope of redemption in a dark, pessimistic world. Bertrand Russell writes:

> That man is the product of causes which had no provision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and beliefs are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms; that no amount of heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling can preserve an individual life beyond the grave, that all the labour of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration of human genius are destined for extinction in the vast death of the solar system and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be burried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins------ all these things are so nearly certain that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand.[7]

Professor C.E.M. Joad vividly sums up the implications of modern materialistic philosophy:

> The implications of such a view for the prospects of humanity are not encouraging. Humanity, in fact, is doomed in advance. There was a time when our planet was not suitable for mankind; it was too hot and moist. A time will come when it will cease to

be suitable; it will be too cold and too dry. When the sun goes out, a catastrophe that is bound to be, mankind will long ago have disappeared. The last inhabitants of the earth will be as destitute, as feeble, and dull-witted as the first. They will have forgotten all the arts and all the sciences. They will huddle wretchedly in caves in the sides of the glaciers that will roll their transparent masses over the half-obliterated ruins of the cities where men now think and love, suffer and hope. The last desperate survivors of mankind will know nothing of our genius, nothing of our civilization. One day the last man callous alike to hate and love, will exhale to the unfriendly sky the last human breath and the globe will go rolling on, bearing with it through the silent fields of space the ashes of humanity, the pictures of Michelangelo, and the remnants of the Greek marbles frozen to its icy surface.[8]

Such a pessimistic view which robs the universe of all its significance, and man, of all his innate worth could not be acceptable to Iqbal. For him the universe that lies before us is neither absurd nor purposeless nor merely material although its purpose cannot be foreknown or predetermined as that would amount to limiting the freedom of the Absolute Ego i.e., God, and future from this point of view is an open possibility. Iqbal rejects the thesis that the universal phenomena are the mere unfolding of a preconceived and predetermined plan as "veiled materialism in which fate or destiny takes the place of rigid determinism,"[9] but he asserts at the same time that the whole process of evolution depends upon the formation and realization of ends. The Quran declares that the world of the objects of sense is not *batil* (absurd) and it cannot be overemphasized that it is in no sense so.

Iqbal as vehemently rejects the materialistic thesis that reality is merely material. In his view the Absolute Reality is essentially spiritual but that in no way invalidates the world of appearances because reality lives and is knowable through appearances. He rejects Ibn al-Arabi's Pantheism and Shankaracharya's Maya doctrine as misrepresentation of reality. While speaking of Einstein's theory of Relativity in the

context of its implications for self and spiritual reality, he forcefully asserts that "the surest way to reach the core of it (reality) lies through its appearances."[10] This is why the Quran again and again invites our attention to the external phenomena which led to the empirical attitude of the dynamic Islamic community in the early stages of Islam and ushered in the age of science in the history of mankind.

Iqbal regards man only next to God. God's vicegerent and representative on the earth, a being who is endowed with freedom and responsibility and in whose service the whole nature has been harnessed. He is the one whom God Himself glorifies when He declares in the Quran:

و نفخت فیه من روحی[11]

I breathed of my own soul into him.

He has been honoured with the inherent knowledge of the objects that lie around him:

و علم آدم الاسمآء کلها[12]

And God taught Adam the names (and nature) of all things.

In Iqbal's view human self is to be distinguished from other objects of creation. Its relation with the Absolute Ego is not the same as that of the other objects of the universe. In his essay on Einstein he wrote:

> Pringle-Pattison deplores that the English language possesses only one word-creation to express the relation of God and the universe on the one hand, and relation of God and the self of man on the other. The Arabic language is, however, more fortunate in this respect. It has two words to express this relation, i.e., *khalq* and *amr*. The former is used by the Quran to indicate the relation of the universe of matter to God, and the latter indicates the relation of human self to the Divine self.[13]

Human self is thus a repository of God's directive energy and has in it a prodigious creative potential. It is not a mere passive recipient of the impressions from without but affects and alters and, in a sense, creates the external reality. The act of knowledge is a constitutive element in the objective reality:

ایں جہاں چیست؟ صنم خانۂ پندارِ من است
جلوۂ او گردِ دیدۂ بیدارِ من است

ہستی و نیستی از دیدن و نا دیدنِ من
چہ زمان و چہ مکاں شوخیِ افکارِ من است[14]

This world is nothing but a temple filled with idols of my imagination's making;
My seeing is the progenitor of its scenes and sights:
If I see it is, if I do not see it is not:
Time and space are the products of my thought.

Being an offshoot of the directive energy of God, human ego is free from the limitations of time and space and capable of immortality. Iqbal rejects the neo-Hegelian view of thinkers like Bosanquet and Bradley that self is a mere predicate of the Absolute. For him it is a dynamic centre of experience and though not elementally immortal, yet capable of achieving immortality. In other words, human ego may not claim immortality as a matter of right but it can win it, and Iqbal in his works returns again and again to the theme of how man can become a suitable candidate for such immortality.

Iqbal's assertion of the rights of the soul does not amount to the denial of the rights of the body. He rejects the body-mind dualism as untenable. He rejects the view held by such ascetic cults as Pauline Christianity and Buddhism that the body is an evil to be sacrificed for spiritual emancipation as vehemently as he rejects the materialistic view that man is mere body and the Cartesian dualism of body and mind leading to the belief in psycho-physical parallelism. Body and mind are not antagonistic; they belong to the same category of being. Iqbal assigned 'body' to the realm which the Quran calls *khalq* (creation) and 'soul' to the realm which the Quran designates as *amr* (command or direction). Both on the Quranic view, are the same as both spring from the same root. To Him belong both *khalq* and *amr*.

الا له الخلق و الامر[15]

The psycho-physical parallelism has worked havoc in the Western life. It has given birth to belly-centred ideologies like Marxism, and utilitarian ethical systems like that of Machiavelli which have reduced all values to a farce. It has bred such pernicious doctrines as the separation of religion and state which has reduced state-craft to claptrap and swindling:

تن و جاں را دو تا گفتن کلام است　　تن و جاں را دو تا دیدن حرام است

بجاں پوشیدہ رمز کائنات است　　بدن حالے ز احوالِ حیات است

عروسِ معنی از صورتِ حنا بست　　نمودِ خویش را پیرایہ ہا بست

بدن را تا فرنگ از جاں جدا دید　　نگاہش ملک و دیں را ہم دو تا دید

کلیسا سبحۂ پطرس شمارد　　کہ او با حاکمی کارے ندارد

بکار حاکمی مکر و فنے بیں　　تن بے جان و جان بے تنے بیں[16]

It is erroneous to consider body and soul separate;
Seeing them as two is unlawful.
The secret of the universe is contained in the soul
And body is one of the many forms of the spirit of life.
The bride of meaning adorns itself with the rouge of form
And assumes numerous shapes.
As the West saw the body as distinct from the soul
Its vision viewed religion and state as different.
The church is engrossed in counting Peter's beads,
And shuns the business of controlling the society.
State craft is reduced to cunning claptrap
Behold body without spirit and spirit without body.

The harmonious personality which springs from the faith in the unity of soul and body is one of the recurrent themes of Iqbal's song;

تنے پیدا کن از مشتِ غبارے　　تنے محکم تر از سنگیں حصارے

درونِ او دلِ درد آشنائے　　چو جوے در کنارِ کوہسارے[17]

Create a body from a handful of dust,
A body stronger than a fortress.
In the midst of this body have a sensitive heart
Pulsating like a rivulet among mountains.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

---

[1] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 223
[2] Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1952). p. 64.
[3] Ibid., p. 64.
[4] Maryam Jameela, *Islam Versus the West* (Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1969). p. 14.
[5] Ibid., p. 16.
[6] *Reconstruction*, p. 121.
[7] *Islam Versus the West*, pp. 22-23.
[8] *Guide to Modern Thought* (London: Faber, 1933), p. 42.
[9] *Reconstruction*, p. 49.
[10] *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy*, p. 400.
[11] The Qur'an, Surah Sad. v. 72.
[12] Ibid., al-Baqarah. v. 31.
[13] *A Study of Iqbal's Philosophy*, pp. 398-99.
[14] *Zaboor-i-Ajam*, p. 17.
[15] The Qur'an, Surah al-Araf, v. 54.
[16] *Zaboor-i-Ajam*, p. 155.
[17] *Payam-i-Mashriq*., p. 29.

IQBAL AND NATIONALISM

Nationalism is one of those concepts which Iqbal subjected to a very severe criticism as it runs counter to the very basis of his philosophy which is humanitarian in character. Barring a brief period during the early days of his career as a poet and thinker, he always considered it a curse for mankind. During that initial period Iqbal was so much actuated by his hatred of the British Imperialism that he could not give a serious consideration to the practical implications of the theory of Nationalism. Besides he had yet to develop his own philosophy of life which he could use as a criterion of judgment between right and wrong. Iqbal's writings of this period include, among other things, three main patriotic poems ------- "Tarana-i-Hindi" (The Indian Anthem), "Hindustani Bachon ka Qaumi Geet" (The National Song of the Indian Children) and "Naya Shiwala" (The New Temple). These poems are innocent expressions of the natural patriotic feeling of an Indian and do not reflect his faith in Nationalism as a philosophy of life. In these three poems Iqbal urges upon his countrymen to forget their differences of caste and creed and work unitedly for the freedom and welfare of India:

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا
ہندی ہیں ہم، وطن ہے ہندوستاں ہمارا[1]

Religion does not preach mutual hatred;
We are all Indians and India is our motherland.
The poet feels proud as he considers the colourful panorama of his country's history:

چشتی نے جس زمیں میں پیغام حق سنایا
نانک نے جس چمن میں وحدت کا گیت گایا
تاتاریوں نے جس کو اپنا وطن بنایا
جس نے حجازیوں سے دشتِ عرب چھڑایا
میرا وطن وہی ہے، میرا وطن وہی ہے[2]

Where Chishti preached the message of truth,
Where Nanak sang the song of unity,
Which the Tatars adopted as their homeland,
Which tempted the Arabs away from their home.
That land is my homeland, That land is my homeland

In "Naya Shiwala", the poet, addressing a Brahmin, declares that the motherland itself is the new temple:

پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے
خاکِ وطن کا مجھ کو ہر ذرّہ دیوتا ہے[3]

Your God is latent in the images of stone
My God is every particle of my motherland's dust.

All these three poems were written before 1905. In 1905 Iqbal went to Europe for higher studies and this proved a turning point in his career in more ways than one. He looked into the heart of Europe and found it diseased. Materialism, Imperialism and Nationalism, he saw, were eating into the vitals of Europe and leading it to a suicidal warfare. The holocaust of 1914-18 had started casting its shadows for those who possessed a discerning eye and, there is no doubt about the fact, that Iqbal was one of them:

دیارِ مغرب کے رہنے والو! خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے!
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زرِ کم عیار ہو گا!
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خودکشی کرے گی
جو شاخِ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا، نا پائیدار ہو گا[4]

O Westerners, God's world is not a shopping-center,
What you hold to be genuine and true will turn out false and counterfeit.
Your culture will stab itself to death;
Unstable is the nest built on a precarious twig.

This was the time when Iqbal began to develop his own philosophy of life by rediscovering the validity of the principles of Islam for his age. Nationalism was diametrically opposed to this philosophy of life and became a target of his attack. Not only was it opposed to the universal outlook of Islam but was also being used by the European Imperialists as a weapon against the Islamic unity in the Muslim world. Iqbal wrote:

> At the very start it had become clear to me from the writings of the European authors that the Imperialist designs of Europe were in great need of this effective weapon-the propagation of the European concept of Nationalism in Muslim countries- to shatter the religiouis unity of Islam to pieces.[5]

Iqbal now critically surveyed his own past and found there something to reverse. Thus for the "Tarana-i-Hindi" he wrote his "Tarana-i-Milli" (The Anthem of the Muslim Ummah):

چین و عرب ہمارا، ہندوستاں ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا[6]

Ours is China and Arabia, and India is ours;
We are Muslims and so the whole world is ours.

And in place of the deification of the dust particles of his homeland, he now called upon Muslims to shatter the idol of nationalism and mingle it with dust:

اے مصطفوی خاک میں اس بت کو ملا دے[7]

After this we find him denouncing Nationalism in every work of his. A survey of all these criticisms reveals that Iqbal rejects nationalism on three main grounds:

I) It makes man earth-bound and closes on him the doors of spiritual evolution. Man is not a mere animal nor is the satisfaction of carnal desires his ultimate destiny. His noble spirit is meant for higher things than merely licking the dust of the earth. He lives for a lofty ideal– the realization of his potential and the evolution of the inner richness of his being. A philosophy which binds man to a particular piece of land acts like a clog on his spiritual progress. In Iqbal's *Javid Namah*, Jamal-ud-Din Afghani sings:

لُردِ مغرب آں سراپا مکر و فن　　اہلِ دیں را داد تعلیمِ وطن

او بہ فکرِ مرکز و تو در نفاق　　بگزر از شام و فلسطین و عراق

تو اگر داری تمیز خوب و زشت　　دل نہ بندی با کلوخ و سنگ و خشت

چیست دیں برخاستن از روئے خاک　　تا ز خود آگاہ گردد جانِ پاک!

حرز خاک تیرہ آید در خروش　　زانکہ از بازاں نیاید کار موش[8]

The European Lord, that embodiment of cunning and claptrap,
Preached Nationalism among religious people.
His thought is centripetal whilst you are wallowing in dissension.
Forget your divisions of Syria, Palestine and Iraq.
Could you tell the ugly from the beautiful
You would never tie yourself with a clod of earth or with brick and mortar.
What is religion but rising above the dust
So that the spirit becomes self-conscious.
A true believer in God cannot be contained
In the limited confines of the four directions.
A free man is never reconciled with the dark dust
As an eagle can never behave like a rat.

II) It is antagonistic to the broader humanitarian ideal which Islam sets before man. It divides mankind on grounds of race, colour, language and nationality– things over which man has no control. It sets up national aggrandisement as the ideal for which one should live. This naturally gives rise to an unhealthy rivalry between various nationalities struggling for superiority. To justify a nation's endeavours for its superiority it gives birth to misleading and inhuman philosophies like Hitler's Fascism which was based on the superiority of the Aryan race to all other races and justified the genocide of the Jews on this ground. The cut-throat competition which Nationalism breeds ultimately leads to an internecine warfare between different nationalities of which the last two World Wars are glaring examples.

Islam, on the other hand, does not regard the distinctions of race, colour, language and nationality as the criterions of honour and superiority. It dismisses them as accidents of birth whose only value is that they serve as convenient symbols to carry on the business of living. Man's place and worth is determined by what he makes of himself through a voluntary exercise of his moral choice. The Quran says:

يا ايها الناس انا خلقنكم من ذكر و انثى و جعلنكم شعوبا و قبائل لتعارفوا ۔ ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقكم[9]

O mankind, we created you from a single pair of male and female and made you into nations and tribes so that you know one another; the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is the one who is the most God-conscious.

And the Prophet (S.A.W) remarked:

لا فضل لعربى على عجمى و لا لعجمى على عربى ولا لا بيض على اسود ولا لا سود على ابيض الا بالتقوى[10]

An Arab has no superiority to a non-Arab nor has the non-Arab any superiority to an Arab. Likewise a white man is in no way superior to a black man nor is the black man superior to the white man except by virtue of God-consciousness.

The Prophet never liked that his name should in any way be linked to a particular place. When the famous poet Ka'b complimented him in an adulatory poem as a sword from among the Indian sword (*saifun min soyufil Hind*), the Prophet remonstrated against this saying that he should be called 'a sword from amongst God's swords (*saifun min soyunfillah*)'. Iqbsl says:

آں مقامش برتر از چرخِ بلند　　نامدش نسبت با قلیمے پسند

گفت سیف من سیوف اللہ گو　　حق پرستی جز براہ حق مپو[11]

He whose station is higher than the skies
Disapproved of being ascribed to a particular place
And said call me a sword of God
You lover of truth, never forsake the path of truth.

Iqbal puts a broader and more significant interpretation on the Prophet's migration (*hijrah*),declaring it to be symbolic of freeing oneself from the narrow bonds of nationality:

عقدۂ قومیت مسلم کشود　　از وطن آقاے ما ہجرت نمود[12]

Our beloved Lord, by migrating from his homeland,
Resolved the mystery of a Muslim's nationality

When Salman, al-Farisi, one of the honoured companions of the Prophet was asked about his parentage, he said, "I am Salman, son of Islam." Iqbal wants Muslims to follow this example:

فارغ از باب و ام و اعمام باش　　ہمچو سلماں زادۂ اسلام باش[13]

Free yourself from the knots that bind you with father, mother and uncles
And be, like Salman, a son of Islam.

Similarly when the famous Muslim general, Tariq, landed on the shores of Andalusia, he ordered all his boats to be burnt down. When his men objected to this asking how they could go back to their homeland, he retorted:

ہر ملک، ملک ماست کہ ملک خدائے ماست[14]

Every country is our homeland as it is God's land.

This humanitarian outlook was unacceptable to the tribe of Quraish (the tribe to which the Prophet belonged) who based their claim of superiority on the supposed nobility of their blood. 'The descendants of Abraham and the key-bearers of the ka'ba', they said, "could not be equated with the slaves of Abyssinia, Anatolia and Persia", Abu Jahl, the arch-enemy of the Islamic movement in the Prophet's day laments thus in *Javid Namah*:

سینهٔ ما از محمدؐ داغ داغ! از دمِ او کعبه را گل شد چراغ!

مذهبِ او قاطعِ ملک و نسب از قریش و منکر از فضلِ عرب!

در نگاهِ او یکے بالا و پست با غلام خویش بر یک خوان نشست

قدرِ احرارِ عرب نه شناخة با کلفتان حبش در ساخة

احمراں با اسوداں آمیختند آبروئے دودمانے ریختند![15]

Our breast is all bruises because of Muhammad:
His breath has extinguished the lamp of Ka'ba.
His religion cuts at the root of race and nationality;
He eats on the came table with his servant.
He devalued the worth of the Arab nobles
And united himself with the ugly-faced Abyssinians.
The red-faced now freely mix with the black
And the honour of a dynasty has crumbled to pieces.

The narrowing of outlook to which Nationalism inevitably leads has an adverse effect on all aspects of human thought and action. In *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal writes:

> The growth of territorial nationalism with its emphasis on what is called national characteristics, has tended rather to kill the broad human element in the art and literature of Europe.[16]

Islam therefore unites mankind on the basis of humanity. 'An association of men' rather than 'an association of nations' is the ideal of Islam. This is the point of Iqbal's short poem in *Zarb-i-Kalim* entitled, "Mecca and Geneva". Geneva, it is to be

borne in mind, was then the headquarters of the League of Nations. The poem reads:

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوئی عام
پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدتِ آدم!
تفریقِ ملل حکمتِ افرنگ کا مقصود
اسلام کا مقصود فقط ملتِ آدم!
مکّے نے دیا خاکِ جنیوا کو یہ پیغام
جمیعتِ اقوام کہ جمعیتِ آدم؟[17]

As the association of nations is common in our age,
It deflects our view from the unity of mankind,
International dissension is the aim of the European diplomacy,
Whereas Islam aims at the unity of mankind.
The message of Mecca to Geneva is this:
A league of nations or 'an association of men?'

It was therefore natural that Iqbal should fiercely react when Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, the leading theologian of Deoband, started preaching Nationalism to the Muslims of India:

عجم ہنوز نداند رموزِ دیں ورنہ
زدیو بند حسین احمد ایں چہ بو العجبی است!
سرود بر سرِ منبر کہ ملت از وطن است
چہ بے خبر ز مقامِ محمدؐ عربی است
بمصطفی برساں خویش را کہ دیں ہمہ اوست
اگر بہ او نرسیدی تمام بو لہبی است![18]

Ajam is still unaware of the essence of religion,
Else how should Husain Ahmad from Deoband, o how!
Preach from the pulpit that geographical bounds form a nation?
How utterly has he failed to understand the position of Muhammad?

'Reach yourself to Mustafa', all religion is this;
If you fail to reach him, your path is the path of Abu Lahab.

This is not to say that Iqbal believed in Pan-Islamism in the sense that all Muslim states of the world should lose their identity to form a single political entity. What he meant is that nationalities should not divide mankind but serve as labels to conduct the affairs of the world. In a statement explaining Sir Fazl Husain's observation in the Council of State regarding Pan-Islamism, issued on 19 September 1933, Iqbal said:

> Sir Fazl Husain is perfectly correct when he says that political Pan-Islamism never existed. It has existed, if at all, only in the imagination of those who invented the phrase or possibly as a diplomatic weapon in the hands of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan of Turkey. Even Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, whose name is closely associated with what is called Pan Islamic movement, never dreamed of the unification of Muslims into a single state. It is significant that in no Islamic language– Arabic, Persian or Turkish– does there exist a phrase corresponding to Pan-Islamism. It is, however, true that Islam as a society or as a practical scheme for the combination of not only races and nations but also of all religions does not recognize the barriers of race and nationality or geographical frontiers. In the sense of this humanitarian ideal Pan-Islamism, if one prefers to use this unnecessarily long phrase to the simple expression, 'Islam', does and will always exist.[19]

It is perhaps relevant to raise, in this context, the question of Iqbal's proposition of the idea of Pakistan. He did it precisely because free India was going to be built on nationalistic lines with all the concomitant evils implicit in it, particularly that of relegating religion to the status of a private morality with no effective role in the collective life of the society. Iqbal wanted a separate homeland for Muslims so that they could freely practise the humanitarian ideals of Islam and work for the betterment of mankind at large. His intention was not to make the Muslims of the subcontinent worshippers of the idol of Nationalism.

III) Nationalism gives rise to a morality which is at once biological and utilitarian. It is biological and Darwinian in the

sense that it believes in the 'survival of the fittest.' A powerful nation, merely because it is powerful, has the right to subjugate or even to annihilate a weak nation. Nationalism has always bred this kind of morality. Aristotle wrote in the *Politics* (Book I) that nature had created the barbarians (the non-Greeks) to serve as slaves and to wage war for the enslavement of such races is, therefore, justified. In their hey-day the Jews also believed that any crime was justified if the victim was a Gentile. Hitler echoes these sentiments in his book, *My Struggle*. 'Germany above all' is the essence of his thought, and Germans have this honour because they belong to the Aryan race– 'the noblest and the most cultured race of the world.' Likewise the British imperialists considered the non-white races as 'the white man's burden.

This morality is utilitarian in the sense that it makes expediency the criterion to judge between right and wrong. That which serves the national interest is good and true and just, and that which harms it is bad and untrue and unjust. Since every nation has its own interest, nationalism ultimately leads to a clash of interests which converts the world into an arena of warfare. Thus if from the point of view of its biological dimension the nationalistic morality believes in 'Might is right', from the point of view of its utilitarian dimension its motto is 'My nation, right or wrong.' Iqbal rightly says:

اقوامِ جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
تسخیر ہے مقصود تجارت تو اسی سے
خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے
کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے
اقوام میں مخلوقِ خدا بٹتی ہے اس سے
قومیّتِ اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے[20]

Nationalism is the cause of rivalry between nations;
Trade becomes a means of subjugating others because of this;

Because of this politics is devoid of all truth
And the weak are robbed because of this:
It divides God's creatures into various nations.
And cuts at the root of Islamic nationality.

Iqbal denounces Machiavelli, the greatest exponent, in modern times, of the utilitarian nationalistic ethics as 'the Devil's own messenger':

آں فلارنساوی باطل پرست سرمۂ او دیدۂ مردم شکست
نسخۂ بہرِ شہنشاہاں نوشت در گلِ ما دانۂ پیکار کشت
بت گری مانندِ آزر پیشہ اش بست نقش تازۂ اندیشہ اش
مملکت را دینِ او معبود ساخت فکرِ او مذموم را محمود ساخت
باطل از تعلیمِ او بالیدہ است حیلہ اندازی فنے گردیدہ است[21]

That Florentine worshipper of falsehood
Whose antimony has blinded the eyes of men.
He wrote a treatise for the emperors
And sowed the seed of warfare in our clay.
Like Azar his profession is idol-making
And his thought has designed a new idol for the age:
His religion declares nation to be the God
His thought adores what is despicable.
Falsehood is burgeoning through his teachings
And cunning is converted into an art.

This thinking frees the state from all obligations other than those dictated by expediency. This leads to the separation of the church and the state which runs counter to the spirit of Islam. Iqbal writes:

The Nationalist theory of state, therefore, is misleading inasmuch as it suggests a dualism (separation of the church and the state) which does not exist in Islam.[22]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 83.
[2] Ibid., p. 87.
[3] Ibid., p. 88.
[4] Ibid., p. 141.
[5] *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 128.
[6] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 83.
[7] Ibid., p. 160.
[8] *Jawaid Namah*, pp. 62-63.
[9] The Qur'an, al-Hujurat, v. 13.
[10] *Zad-ul-Ma'ad.*
[11] *Asrar-oRumooz*, p. 113.
[12] Ibid., p. 114.
[13] Ibid., p.162.
[14] *Piam-i-Mashriq.*, p.129.
[15] *Jawaid Namah.*, pp. 54-55.
[16] *Reconstruction*, p. 141.
[17] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 57.
[18] *Armughan-i-Hijaz*(Urdu) p. 49.
[19] *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 237.
[20] *Bang-i-Dara*, pp. 160-161.
[21] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 116.
[22] *Reconstruction*, p. 156.

THE HUMANIST IQBAL

میرے آباواجداد برہمن تھے۔ انھوں نے اپنی عمریں اس سوچ میں گذار دیں کہ خدا کیا ہے اور میں اس سوچ میں گذار رہا ہوں کہ انسان کیا ہے۔

(زندہ رود، جلد اول، ص 140)

My ancestors were Brahmins who spent their lives in thinking of what God is; I am spending my life in thinking of what man is.

کی حق سے فرشتوں نے اقبال کی غمازی
گستاخ ہے کرتا ہے فطرت کی حنا بندی!
سکھلائی فرشتوں کو آدم کی تڑپ اس نے
آدم کو سکھاتا ہے آدابِ خداوندی!

(بال جبریل ص:71)

Of Iqbal, the angels lodged a complaint with God:
Look at his impudence, he henna-colours nature itself.
Having taught to the angels the restlessness of man,
He now teaches man the ways of God Himself.

To be great is to be multi-dimensional which the narrow-minded and the short-sighted often confuse with being self-contradictory. Iqbal, it seems, was viewing his own person dramatically with the eyes of such men when he called himself "a bundle of contradictions" (*mujmooae azdad*).[1] Humanism is a significant dimension of the multi-faceted personality called Iqbal. That is to say Iqbal is a Humanist also not that he is merely a Humanist and, what is more important, he is a Humanist of a special kind as his Humanism falls into place in a broader vision of life and universe.

Although Humanistic ideas are as old as man himself, yet when we speak of Humanism as a term we generally mean Western Humanism particularly the post-Renaissance Humanism. This is natural because the term originated in the West and the value-system which it symbolises also developed and evolved there. The term is derived from the Latin *humanitas* and was used by Cicero and others to represent the cultural values emanating from liberal education or the study of humanities (*studia humanitatis*)-language, literature, history and moral philosophy as distinguished from natural sciences, mathematics and theology. The term was actually coined in the sixteenth century but scholarly Humanists had been engaged from the ninth century onwards itself with the recovery, study and translation of ancient Greek and Roman texts and the assimilation of their spirit. With the Renaissance, Humanism coloured all aspects of life and thought in the West and became the embodiment as well as the vehicle of the tradition which ensures Europe's intellectual and cultural continuity.

The defining feature of Humanism is its emphasis on a whole-hearted and full acceptance of life and rejection of all brands of escapism. 'Life', in this context means this life on earth between the bounds of birth and death and without any concern of whether or not it continues in any form beyond death. This life, from the Humanist perspective, can be bettered without the aid of revelation or supernatural grace. The ancient Greeks and Romans had lived a good, happy and culturally rich life without seeking guidance from a revealed religion and without any kind of faith in the origin and destiny of man. Active and dynamic life centred on human self-realization here and now was, on this view, preferable to a contemplative and monastic life. This way lay salvation– the Christian Beatitude. Naturally it entailed a new view of religion in which Christian values were sought to be reconciled with or even subordinated to the ancient pagan values. In a way Christianity was made-this worldly as is evidenced by the various movements of Protestant Reformation. Medieval Christianity had considered monastic life as the ideal religious life and denounced or at least discouraged the institution of marriage (symbolising total acceptance of life). St.Jermoe had famously declared that the only purpose of marriage was to procreate virgins for God. Reacting against this, Matteo Palmieri, asserting the secular Humanist values, declared in his *Vita Civile (Civic Life)* that "it is a useful thing to give birth to children: it increases the population and gives citizens to the fatherland".[2]

Humanism also discarded the belief in the original and innate corruption of man and asserted his essential dignity and central position in the scheme of things. With the Renaissance this tendency was strengthened by the new discoveries and inventions which filled man with a hitherto unknown zest and confidence. Gradually what was known as Christian Humanism (claiming as its champions men like Sir Philip Sydney, Spenser and Milton) gave way to an agnostic brand of Humanism more in line with the Graeco-Roman secular tradition than with the medieval Christianity. In

modern times, with the fading of the glamour of scientific materialism and severe setbacks to human overconfidence, the tone of Humanism has softened and its scope narrowed down almost to its original limits (study of humanities). Following Arnold's advocacy of culture, "to know the best that has been thought and known in the world",[3] modern Humanists like F R Leavis, Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More have stressed the need of a humanistic education to safeguard the tradition of Humanism against the onslaught of a dominating and overpowering science and technology.

That is the Western Humanism which was reigning supreme when Iqbal was born and brought up and educated under the Western system of education though, of course, after initial instruction in traditional Eastern value-based education. But do we have an indigenous tradition of Humanism which Iqbal could be seen to have inherited? No, not at least in the Western sense where man is the end of all human endeavour for whether it is Buddhism which sees salvation in the suppression of the desires of the flesh and puts forth escapism as the ideal, or Hinduism which sees life as an illusion or at best a *lila* of the supreme deity, or the various brands of Vedantic, Buddhistic or Muslim mysticism (with some exceptions) which declare God as the end and everything else including man as a means towards that end– all assign a secondary position to man as a being of flesh and blood. The radically revolutionary character of Iqbal's mind and thought can be realized, among other things, by his bewildering shift of emphasis from God to man in this particular sphere. Man, in his scheme, has a central position and all else, including God, is a means to this grand end:

ہے گرمیِ آدم سے ہنگامۂ عالم گرم
سورج بھی تماشائی، تارے بھی تماشائی![4]

The tumult of the world is due to the passion of man:
The sun is only a looker on, the stars are mere spectators.

در دشتِ جنونِ من جبریل زبوں صیدے
یزداں بہ کمند آور اے ہمتِ مردانہ[5]

In the wilderness of my frenzy, Gabriel is a helpless victim:
Thou manly daring, rope in God himself.

In Iqbal's world we do not see man in search of God but, on the contrary, it is God who is searching for man:

ما از خداے گم شدہ ایم او بجستجوست[6]

We are the ones whom God has lost and *He* it is who is looking for us.

Like Milton, Iqbal is not engaged in justifying the ways of God to men but in justifying the ways of man to God:

قصور وار، غریب الدیار ہوں، لیکن
ترا خرابہ فرشتے نہ کر سکے آباد![7]

I am no doubt a guilt-ridden and castaway being:
But even angels could not inhabit this wasteland of yours.

باغِ بہشت سے مجھے حکمِ سفر دیا تھا کیوں؟
کارِ جہاں دراز ہے، اب مرا انتظار کر![8]

Why did you order me out of the garden of Eden?
Now wait as tediously long is the task of running this world.

متاعِ بے بہا ہے درد و سوزِ آرزو مندی
مقامِ بندگی دے کر نہ لوں شانِ خداوندی[9]

Priceless is the wealth of pain and passion of longing.
Never shall I exchange my servantship with the grandeur of Godhead,

This projection of man as the ultimate end for which even God serves as a means is not confined to Iqbal's poetry alone. In *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* too, God is presented as such:

> And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature.[10]

And in the note that he sent to Nicholson about the *Secrets of the Self*, he wrote:

> The greater his [man's] distance from God, the less his individuality. He who comes nearest to God is the completest person. Not that he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary he absorbs God in himself.[11]

Iqbal sees men like al-Hallaj as examples of this absorption of God by man and interprets *ana al-Haq*[12] in this light. In his foreword to *Muraqqa-e-Chughtai*, he calls it the assimilation of the divine attributes by man", an idea which he justifies with reference to the hadith, *takhallaqu be akhlaq Allah* (develop in yourselves the attributes of Allah), a hadith which is not quite authentic though certainly in accord with the spirit of Islam. It is in this context that he hailed Abdul Karim al-Jili's concept of *Insan al-Kamil* and considered it not only the fore runner of Nietzsche's idea of the superman but also superior to it in that it comprehends both the material and the spiritual aspects of man.

Thus Iqbal formulates what I would call the cult of man and, what is most remarkable, he deduces his justification for this cult from Islam. How to explain this shift or what would perhaps appear to some a significant deviation from the conventional Muslim thought? Is it a Western Humanistic frame of mind seeking a sanction for itself from the Islamic sources or is it a bold reinterpretation of Islam to counter the onslaught of the West? Let us seek an answer from Iqbal.

As is befitting, he turns for the support of his views to the Quran and its exegesis by the word and deed of the Prophet (SAW). The Quran is a code of conduct for a full-blooded human life and rejects all kinds of escapism and monasticism. Marriage as a symbol of the full acceptance of the responsibilities of life is enjoined in the most emphatic terms and a substantial portion of the holy book is devoted to the regulations about family and social life. The Prophet declared:

اتزوج النساء فمن رغب عن سنتی فلیس منی[13]

I marry women: whoever turns away from this practice of mine has nothing to do with me.

تزوجوا الوددو الولود[14]

Marry the affectionate and the procreative women.

This is the source of Iqbal's clarion call to man to live a full life and to subjugate the forces of nature.

ہر کہ محسوسات را تسخیر کرد
عالمے از ذرۂ تعمیر کرد[15]

Whoever subjugates the concrete forces of nature
Can create a world out of a mere particle of dust.

اے کہ از ترکِ جہاں گوئی مگو
ترکِ ایں دیر کہن تسخیرِ او[16]

O you who preach renunciation forbear,
True renunciation is the conquest of this old idol-house (the world)

نکل کر خانقاہوں سے ادا کر رسمِ شبیری
کہ فقرِ خانقاہی ہے فقط اندوہ و دلگیری[17]

Come out of the cloister and do the duty of Shabbir (Husain)
As monastic self-denial is mere agony and heart-ache.

In *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he writes:

> Knowledge must begin with the concrete. It is the intellectual capture of and power over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete.[18]

Subjugation of the forces of nature by man and his harmonization of himself with the life of society enables him to fulfil his duties towards human civilization and to enrich and beautify the life on the earth. But engagement with terrestrial life does not bring out the full potential of man and cannot be his final destiny. In Iqbal's view man is not a mere

animal whose venture of life begins and ends in the dust as is the general view of Western Humanism; man is God's own deputy on the earth (*khalifat al-Allah fi al-ardh*). And that is because he carries the Divine spark in him ___ his soul. As God Almighty, according to the Quran, declares:

ونفخت فیه من روحی[19]

I breathed of my own soul into him.

This soul has to be cultivated and developed in this world, on this earth, so that human civilization has a spiritual direction and culminates in a higher and nobler phase in the life Hereafter.

This amounts to a clear rejection of the atheistic Humanism of the West which does not insist on belief in God and does not look beyond the terrestrial life and its enrichment. Iqbal's man is not a mere being of flesh and blood clinging to the dust; he is a God-man or, if you like, a man-God, at once an emperor and a dervish:

اسی میں حفاظت ہے انسانیت کی
کہ ہوں ایک جنیدی و اردشیری![20]

The salvation of mankind lies only in this
That junaidi (sainthood) and Ardsheri (Kingship) are combined into one.

And it is this man whom he hails as the ultimate saviour, the Messiah:

اے سوارِ اشہبِ دوراں بیا — اے فروغِ دیدۂ امکاں بیا
رونقِ ہنگامۂ ایجاد شو — در سوادِ دیدہ ہا آباد شو
شورش اقوام را خاموش کن — نغمۂ خود را بہشتِ گوش کن
خیز و قانونِ اخوّت سازدہ — جامِ صہبائے محبت بازدہ
باز در عالم بیار ایامِ صلح — جنگجویاں را بدہ پیغامِ صلح
نوعِ انساں مزرع و تو حاصلی — کاروانِ زندگی را منزلی[21]

Come on you rider of the steed of Time;
Come on you light of the eyes of Being;
Lend colour to the tumult of the world of Becoming;
Come on and dwell in the pupils of the eyes.
Come on and silence the clash of nations
And let your song be the paradise of ears.
Arise and play on the harp of brotherhood
And refill the cups with the wine of Love.
Bring back to the world the days of peace
And preach the sermon of love to the belligerent.
Mankind is a cornfield and you its harvest
You are the goal of the Caravan of life.

Likewise Iqbal sees the next life as a stage in the evolution of man and not a dead end. One can have an idea of this from the way he presents human personages in the heavens above in his great work, *Javid Namah*. *Javid Namah* incidentally helps us to see the breadth of Iqbal's Humanism as against the narrow scope of the Humanism of Dante.M.L. Mclughlin has spoken of Dante's "embryonic humanism" and believes that *Divina Commedia* derives to a certain extent "from a humanist matrix".[22] Yet Inferno (hell) is integral to Dante's scheme and those whom he shows in hell-fires include Homer, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Avicenna, Averroes, Saladin (Salah-al-Din Ayyubi) and even Virgil, not to speak of the Prophet of Islam and his fourth Caliph, Ali (R.A) whose presentation and description by Dante is an insult to human history. In Iqbal's scheme hell disappears except for passing reference to its having refused to accept traitors like Ja'fer and Sadiq:

جعفر از بنگال و صادق از دکن
ننگِ آدم، ننگِ دیں، ننگِ وطن![23]

Ja'fer from Bengal and Sadiq from Deccan
A shame to mankind, to religion and to homeland.

Apart from this, Iqbal's world consists of heavens alone and all those distinguished sons of mankind who have contributed in any manner to the enrichment of human civilization are shown in different heavens. These include

Vishwa Mitra (Jahan Dost), Buddha, Zoraster, Jesus Christ, Nietzsche, Bartari Hari alongside the Prophet of Islam, Rumi, Tipu Sultan, Afghani, Said Halim Pasha, Hallaj, Ghalib and Mir Syed Ali Hamadani.

Iqbal took exception to Western Humanism on another ground also. About this particular aspect of the subject he expressed his ideas in a note which he sent to Sahibzadah Aftab Ahmad Khan in 1925.[24] Granting that Western Humanism originated from the movement of thought promoted largely by Islam during the Renaissance, Iqbal felt that it took an extremely individualistic turn and failed to strike a balance between the individual and society. And he felt that because of this fatal imbalance it cannot serve as the basis of an international order. This criticism is natural from a poet and thinker who could not see *Khudi* (Self) apart from *Bekhudi* (Selflessness) and chose as an epigraph for his *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness), which is an integral part of his *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self), the famous verse of Rumi:

جہد کن در بے خودی خود را بیاب

زود تر واللہ اعلم بالصّواب

(مولانا روم)

Strive hard in the ways of selflessness to discover and realize your self:
Push on in right earnest and God knows what is meet and best.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal are mine.

[1] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 71.

[2] Quoted by James Hankins in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* ed., Jill Kraye (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 125.

[3] *Culture and Anarchy in Matthew Arnold: Selected Prose* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p. 226.

[4] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 122.
[5] *Payam-i-Mashriq* p. 166.
[6] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 93.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[8] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 229.
[9] *Ibid*, p. 14.
[10] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Delhi: Kitab Publishing House, 1974), p. 147.
[11] R A Nicholson, trans, *Secrets of the Self* (London, 1920; Arnold Heinemann rpt, 1978), p. 17.
[12] It can be translated as: i) I am the True One (God) or (ii) I am the Truth or (iii) 'I' (Ego) is the Truth.
[13] *Bukhari.*
[14] *Abu Daud.*
[15] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 14.
[16] *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, p. 21.
[17] *Armughan-i-Hijaz* (Urdu), p. 38.
[18] *Reconstruction*, p. 131.
[19] The Qur'an, Surah Sad, v. 72.
[20] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 118.
[21] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 46.
[22] *The Cambridge Companion of Renaissance Humanism*, p. 224.
[23] *Jawaid Namah* , p. 142.
[24] See for this *Zindah Rood* by Javid Iqbal (Lahore: Ghulam Ali Publishers, 1979), pp. 194-195. The original note is contained in *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* by Latif Ahmed Sherwani (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977).

IQBAL AND RHETORIC

The point of this paper is that Iqbal neither believed in rhetoric nor practised it in his poetry, I mean rhetoric as it is used in the Western tradition.

Iqbal has so consistently been accused of being fond of rhetoric by a section of the so-called progressive critics that this theory would appear to be a bit too bold and raise many eyebrows. An explanation is therefore called for at the very outset to forestall as many doubts as possible.

The word 'rhetoric' is used with culpable looseness and vagueness both by those who use it as a term of reproof and those who use it as a term of approbation. In 'Rhetoric and Poetic Drama', T.S. Eliot rightly complains that so vaguely is the term used that,

> We begin to suspect that the word is merely a vague term of abuse for any style that is bad, that is so evidently bad or second-rate that we do not recognise the necessity for greater precision in the phrase that we apply to it.[1]

Eliot's short but pithy essay argues that all rhetoric is not bad but in spite of his pertinent note of caution that "it is one of those words which it is the business of criticism to dissect and reassemble",[2] the essay ends where it had begun. Quoting a particular dramatic speech Eliot remarks:

> We may apply the term rhetoric to the dramatic speech which I have instanced, and then we must admit that it covers good as well as bad. Or we may choose to except this type of speech from rhetoric. In that case we must say that rhetoric is any adornment or inflation of speech which is not done for a

particular effect but for a general impressiveness. And in this case, too, we cannot allow the term to cover all bad writing.[3]

The process of dissection and reassembling not having been completed, the vagueness of the term remains and if we discuss a subject where rhetoric is the key term, without in some way defining the term, our discussion is likely to raise more questions than it answers. It is, therefore, safer to start with a tentative definition of rhetoric, a definition that is, as far as possible, in consonance with the classical view of rhetoric– classical, because the modern Deconstructionists would regard anything as rhetoric. (One must thank God if one does not belong to this brand of fads.)

The basic premise of rhetoric is a belief in the dichotomy between idea and language, between things and words, between what the Roman rhetoricians termed as the '*res*' and the '*verba*'. Language on this view, is not the inevitable medium of expression for the idea, it is not the idea itself but, as the first century Roman rhetorician, Quintillion, put it, "it is the dress of thought." If language is the dress of thought ornamentation becomes the ideal. All rhetoric has, therefore, a tendency of evincing an interest in language for the sake of language and indulges in a meretricious play of words in spite of a near-unanimous belief of the rhetoricians in persuasion being the chief aim of rhetoric.

The classical rhetoricians, Isocrates, Gorgias, Quintilian, Cicero and even Aristotle (through his advocacy of the prescriptive view of style), consistently held on to this mechanical view of language and though Aristotle and Cicero, in their defence of rhetoric, do hint at the organic view of style, it does not affect the basic thrust of their argument. Socrates, in Plato's *Dialogues*, 'Gorgias' and 'Phadedrus', takes exception to rhetoric on this ground and advances a more-or-less organic view of language:

> Every discourse must be organised, like a living being, with a body of its own, as it were, so as not to be headless or rootless, but to have a middle and members, composed in fitting relation to each other and to the whole.[4]

The mechanical view of language was later attacked by empiricists on rational and moral grounds and by the Romantics on ontological grounds. Locke characterised rhetoric as a "perfect cheat", and the Romantics Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge and later Croce demolished the basis of an aesthetic based on the dichotomy between conception and execution.

The critics of the mechanical aesthetic implicitly grant that rhetoric may suit non-literary purposes such as those of a lawyer or an orator, and the forensic origins of the word make it very clear, but in creative literature there is no place for it. To admit it into the domain of creative literature would be a contradiction in terms, as the unity of word and idea is 'a', or should we say, 'the' defining characteristic of creative literature.[5]

Iqbal's theoretical pronouncements about language and style prove him, almost indisputably, to be nearer to the Romantic and Crocean aesthetic than to the mechanical aesthetic of the rhetoricians. In his view 'feeling', 'idea' and 'word' are organically related to one another. In *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* he writes:

> In fact it is the nature of feeling to seek expression in thought. It would seem that the two– felling and idea– are the non-temporal and temporal aspects of the same unit of inner experience... Inarticulate feeling seeks to fulfil its destiny in idea which, in its turn, tends to develop out of itself its own visible garment. It is no mere metaphor to say that idea and word simultaneously emerge out of the womb of feeling, though logical understanding cannot take them but in a temporal order and thus create its own difficulty by regarding them as mutually isolated. There is a sense in which the word is also revealed.[6]

In this view of language there is no place for handling words as if they were instruments lying outside of the artist; language is a purposeful and inevitable means of expression. Iqbal wrote in a letter.

> I do not consider language as an idol to be adored but regard it as a purposeful means of expression.[7]

It is in consonance with this conviction of his that Iqbal came out with the following manifesto in his first published poetic composition, *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self):

حسنِ اندازِ بیاں از من مجو خوانسار و اصفہاں از من مجو[8]

Seek not from me beauty of expression,
Seek not from me Khansar and Isfahan.

One may dispute this claim of Iqbal with impressive *prima facie* justification, collecting evidence from his maturest poetical compositions like "Tulu-i-Islam" (The Rise of Islam) and "Az Khab-i-Giran Khiz" (Shake off Your Deep Slumber). Such criticism would, however, be a mixing of critical criteria and hence be extremely misleading. For there are certain occasions when every great poet seems to be making use of rhetorical devices but a subtle critical discrimination would reveal this to be inevitably necessary, so necessary that the subject could not be dealt with in different words. Milton's Satan cannot be drawn by the poet or understood by the reader except in the language that is given to him, and when Shakespeare's Othello waxes eloquent about himself.

Soft you; a word or two before you go.
I have done the state some service and they know it.
No more of that. I pray you in your letters,
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate
Nor set down aught in malice. Then must you speak
Of one that loved not wisely, but too well;
Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,,
Perplexed in the extreme; of one whose hand,
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe, of one whose subdued eyes,
Albeit unused to the melting mood,
Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees
Their medicinable gum. Set you down this:
And say beside that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
I took by the throat the circumcised dog,
And smote him--thus.[9]

Could anything reveal Othello's psychological condition better than this.

In didactic poetry, the poetry of the second voice, poetry which is meant to be heard (and how much poetry is there which is not meant to be heard?), we often notice what apparently seems to be rhetoric. Hear, T.S. Eliot in *The Four Quartets*:

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.[10]

Or in this chorus from The Rock:

The endless cycle of idea and action,
Endless invention, endless experiment,
Brings knowledge of motion but not of stillness;
Knowledge of speech but not of silence;
Knowledge of words, and ignorance of the Word.
All our knowledge brings us nearer to our ignorance,
All our ignorance brings us nearer to death,
But nearness to death no nearer to God.
Where is the life we have lost in living?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?[11]

Or this extract from G.M. Hopkins:

What would the world be once bereft
Of wet and wildness? Let them be left,
O let them be left, wildness and wet;
Long live the weeds and the wildness yet.[12]

To certain art-forms like humour and satire, where the conscious mind plays a greater role, rhetorical devices are integral; they are the raison *d'etre* of these forms.

The trouble with the critics of Iqbal is not confined to the mixing of critical categories alone. They seem to confuse his personal voice, his original tone, with rhetoric, with what Theophrastus, in his three-fold division of rhetoric, would call the 'grand style'. Theophrastus's grand style is essentially artificial and ornamental whereas Iqbal's style, even when it seems to be rhetorical, is essentially integrational. With regard to his tone, his personal voice, we may take note of what he wrote in reply to a query about his language:

> Mine is a composite culture. Its soul is Arabic but its outer garment is composed of elements drawn from Turkey, Tatary, Khansar and Isfahan. The Urdu that I use represents this culture and I cannot leave it. Grandeur, majesty and a certain awe-inspiring quality are its peculiar characteristics.[13]

Here, Iqbal is stating a great psychological truth. How many factors– personal, political, historical, sociological enter into the making of a language that you unconsciously absorb. But having absorbed it, it is this language which your creative imagination will handle if you happen to be a creative artist.

One must also not overlook the purpose that a poet wants his poetry to serve which unconsciously affects his style in a very significant way. When Milton declares the aim of poetry to teach, to please and to move, it is inevitable that his poetry should appear to be rhetorical. So when Iqbal writes his "Tulu-i-Islam" and "Az Khab-i-Giran Khiz", trying to awaken a people in slumber and being acutely conscious of his audience no style would suit his purpose better than this:

خدائے لم یزل کا دستِ قدرت تو، زباں تو ہے
یقیں پیدا کر اے غافل کہ مغلوبِ گماں تو ہے
پرے ہے چرخِ نیلی فام سے منزل مسلماں کی
ستارے جس کی گردِ راہ ہوں، وہ کارواں تو ہے
مکاں فانی، مکیں آنی، ازل تیرا، ابد تیرا،
خدا کا آخری پیغام ہے تو، جاوداں تو ہے!
حنا بندِ عروس لالہ ہے خونِ جگر تیرا
تری نسبت براہیمی ہے معمارِ جہاں تو ہے
تری فطرت امیں ہے ممکناتِ زندگانی کی
جہاں کے جوہرِ مضمر کا گویا امتحاں تو ہے![14]

ناموسِ ازل را تو امینی تو امینی! دارائے جہاں را تو یساری تو یمینی

اے بندۂ خاکی تو زمانی تو زمینی صہبائے یقیں درکش و از دیرِ گماں خیز

از خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں خیز

از خوابِ گراں خیز!

فریاد ز افرنگ و دل آویزی افرنگ فریاد ز شیرینی و پرویزی افرنگ

عالم ہمہ ویرانہ ز چنگیزیِ افرنگ معمارِ حرم! باز بہ تعمیرِ جہاں خیز

از خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں خیز

از خوابِ گراں خیز![15]

But the question is, is it rhetoric? Let those who say 'yes', try to say it in a better way.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal are mine.

[1] *The Sacred Wood* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1920),, p. 78.

[2] Ibid., p. 79.

[3] Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[4] Quoted from 'Phaedrus' by William K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks in *Literary Criticism: A Short History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1957), p. 61.

[5] Ibid., p. 232.

[6] *Reconstruction*, pp. 21-22.

[7] Quoted by Annemarie Schimmel in *Gabriel's Wing: A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal* (Leiden: EJ. Brill, 1963), p. 61.

[8] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 11.

[9] *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Co., 1977), P 1153.

[10] *Four Quartets* (London: Faber, 1944), p. 53.

[11] *Selected Poems* (London: Faber, 1944), p. 107.

[12] *Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics*, Book V (London: Macmillan & Co., 1928), p. 83.

[13] Quoted by Masud Husain Khan in *Iqbal ki Nazari wa Amali Shariyat* (Srinagar: Iqbal Institute, Kashmir University, 1983), p. 66.

[14] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 269.

Translation:

You are the potent hand of Eternal God, His (decisive) tongue;
Create in yourself trust and conviction, O you doubt-ridden.
Far beyond the azure firmament lies the destination of a Muslim;
You are a caravan in whose pathway the stars are particles of dust.
Space and space-bound alike are ephemeral, yours is the beginning and the end;
You are the last word of God, Eternal, Immortal.
Your heart's blood adorns with henna, the bride of tulip;
Your essence proceeds from Abraham and hence you are the architect of the world.
Your nature holds in trust all the possibilities of life
And the world is to realize its potential through you.

(Translation by the author)

[15] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 83.

Translation:

You are the custodian of the honour of Eternity;
You are the Left and the Right of the Master of Universe.
O clay-made man yours is the time, the space;
Drink deep at the fount of faith and conviction and leave the temple of doubt.*
Awake, arise and shake off your deep slumber.
Oh! the European and his wily temptations,
His Shirin-like ensnaring and Perviz-like perfidy;
The world is become a wasteland through the Chingiz-like ways of the European.
You, architect of the abode of peace, rise and remake the world.
Awake, arise and shake off your deep slumber.

(Translation by the author)

- Literally translated, the verse would read: Drink deep the wine of belief and leave the temple of doubt.

GOETHE AND IQBAL

THE PULSATING WISDOM

Poetic inspiration is none too common, but the true sage is rarer than the true poet; and when the two gifts that of wisdom and that of poetic speech, are found in the same man, you have the great poet. It is poets of this kind who belong not merely to their own people, but to the world.

(T.S Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets*)

صبا به گلشنِ ویمر سلامِ ما برساں
که چشمِ نکته وراں خاکِ آں دیار افروخت

(پیام مشرق، ص:155)

O morning breeze, convey our homage and greetings to the garden of Weimar,
The garden whose dust has illumined the eyes of connoisseurs.

In the chapter on Mahomet in his *Noten Und Abhandlungan Zum*,[1] Goethe contrasts the roles of the poet and the prophet. Both of them are inspired and enthused by one God, but whereas the poet trifles with his gift, enjoying it himself and making others enjoy it, the prophet fixes his eye on one single goal and makes people rally round it and produces a revolution. Goethe, it seems, tried to combine in himself these two roles. About half a century after his death, Muhammad Iqbal, the greatest Urdu and Persian poet of modern India, provides us with another example of a poet

trying to effect such a combination. No wonder therefore, that Goethe is the most outstanding among the Western literary figures who influenced Iqbal. There are many others who have, or seem to have, influenced him– Nietzsche, Herder, Heine, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley– to name only the most important ones, but Goethe out of all these, seems to haunt him throughout his career.

Iqbal's fascination with Goethe dates back to the earliest stage of his career as poet. Long before 1905, when he went for higher studies to England and Germany, he was acquainted with Goethe's work. In his poem on Mirza Ghalib, written before 1905, this great nineteenth century Urdu and Persian poet of India, is compared with the sage of Weimar:

آہ! تو اجڑی ہوئی دلی میں آرامیدہ ہے
گلشنِ ویمر میں تیرا ہمنوا خوابیدہ ہے[2]

Ah! your resting place is the devastated Delhi
Whereas your counterpart sleeps in the garden of Weimar.

During his stay in Europe, Iqbal seems to have made a deeper study of Goethe and come closer to him in spirit for henceforth, he appears in his writings as one of his two presiding geniuses, the other being Rumi. Rumi, for him, is "Pir-i-Rumi" (the spiritual guide from Rum) and Goethe is "Pir-i-Maghrib" (the spiritual guide from the West). Among Goethe's writings, Iqbal was influenced most by his lyrics, *Faust* and the *West-Oestlicher Divan*. The *Divan* inspired Iqbal to write a whole book of poems entitled *Payam-i-Mashriq: Dar Jawabi Shair-i-Almanvi*, Goethe (The Message from the East: In Response to the German Poet, Goethe). In the introduction to this book he speaks of the German Oriental Movement with particular reference to Von Hammer's translation of Hafiz and its influence on Goethe and his *Divan*. For an assessment of this influence he quotes the opinion of Heine:

The *West-Oestlicher Divan* bears evidence to the fact that the West, being fed up with its old and enervated spirituality, is seeking life and warmth from the Orient.[3]

The book itself opens with a dedication in which the poet makes a touching comparison between himself and Goethe. Although both of them are occupied with probing the mystery of life and universe, Goethe is a product of an intellectually nourishing atmosphere whereas Iqbal has risen from a dead land:

او چمن زادے، چمن پروردۂ　　من دمیدم از زمینِ مردۂ

او چو بلبل در چمن "فردوس گوش"　　من بصحرا چوں جرس گرمِ خروش

ہر دو داناے ضمیرِ کائنات　　ہر دو پیغامِ حیات اندر ممات[4]

He was born and brought up in a flower-garden
While I spring out of a long-dead land;
Like a bulbul in the garden, he was a paradise to the ear;
I ring in the desert like a caravan bell.
But both of us are seers into the mystery of being
And a message of life in the midst of death.

Payam-i-Mashriq also contains a free translation of Goethe's 'Song of Muhammad', a lyric which the poet had composed for his proposed play on the life of the Prophet but which he did not write later. It also contains an independent poem about Goethe and his *Faust* with a significant note appended to it. The poem is entitled 'Jalal and Goethe' and records a meeting in paradise between the two great heroes of Iqbal–Jalal-ud-Din Rumi and Goethe:

نکتہ دان المنی را در ارم　　صحبتے افتاد با پیر عجم

شاعرے کو ہمچو آں عالی جناب　　نیست پیغمبر و لے دارد کتاب!

خواند بر داناے اسرارِ قدیم　　قصۂ پیمانِ ابلیس و حکیم

گفت رومی اے سخن را جاں نگار　　تو ملک صیداستی و یزداں شکار

فکرِ تو در کنجِ دل خلوت گزید　　ایں جہانِ کہنہ را باز آفرید

سوز و سازِ جاں به پیکر دیدهٔ در صدف تعمیرِ گوہر دیدهٔ
ہر کسے از رمزِ عشق آگاه نیست ہر کسے شایانِ ایں درگاه نیست
"داند آں کو نیک بخت و محرم است
زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است"[5]

In paradise the German seer and connoisseur,
Had a meeting with Ajam's spiritual master,
A poet who too like the master of Ajam
Has a scripture to his credit without being a prophet.
And he read out to the owner of the primordial mysteries
The legend of the contract between the philosopher and the Devil.
Rumi said, 'You portray the inmost soul of poetry
And capture the essence of the angels and God;
Your mind, contemplating in the solitude of your heart,
Has recreated this old and worn out world;
You have seen the soul's ferment in the corporeal frame,
And the formation of pearls in the womb of shells.
Not every one knows the secret of love
Or enters its sacred and lofty shrine;
Only the blessed seers and initiates know
That reason is from the Devil as love belongs to man.

And the note in Urdu prose which the poet has appended to this poem reads:

> By the German seer and connoisseur is meant Goethe, the author of the famous play, *Faust*. In this play, the poet has used the old legend of the contract between the philosopher, Faust, and the Devil to dwell in the possibilities of human evolution. Everything in Goethe's play is so exquisitely accomplished that one can think of nothing better.[6]

Iqbal's diary, *Stray Reflections*, also contains eight entries specifically dealing with Goethe. Considering the brevity of the treatise, this number is quite significant. In fact the diary opens with a reference to Goethe. The very second entry is about how the poet felt when he first studied Goethe:

> Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realized the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own. [7]

At another place he says that Goethe taught him to took into the inside of things.[8]

Yet another entry deals specifically with Faust:

> Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century– nay, the entire experience of the human race. This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful universe out of the chaos of formless matter.[9]

In two other entries, Iqbal makes a brief but very interesting comparison between Goethe and Plato, Goethe and Shakespeare. He writes:

> Nature was not quite decided what to make of Plato– poet or philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in the case of Goethe.[10]

And about Shakespeare and Goethe he says:

> the realistic English-man rethinks the individual-- the idealist German the universal. His *Faust* is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualised.[11]

It is clear from Iqbal's references to Goethe that his praise is meant specially for Goethe the sage, although he is not blind to his merits as a poet. Goethe approximates to his ideal of a great poet who feels the truth upon his pulses and lends life and warmth to it from his heart.[12] With him, as with Iqbal, wisdom becomes poetry. Both of them are conscious of the significance of their wisdom and feel impelled to communicate it to others. A verse from Goethe's unfinished epic Die Geheimnisse reads:

> Why did I seek the path so yearningly
> If I were not to show it to my brothers?[13]

In Ernest Beutler' view this verse can serve as the motto of Goethe's collected works.

In Iqbal, the urge to teach is much more impulsive. He deliberately subordinates hid role as a poet to the control of his role as a prophet and teacher. As he says in the *Zabur-i-'Ajam.*

نغمہ کجا و من کجا ساز سخن بہانہ ایست
سوے قطار می کشم ناقۂ بے زمام را![14]

Poetry for me is not mere singing but a pleasant subterfuge
To drive back the unbridled dromedary into the ranks.

And there is some resemblance in what they teach although that also helps to remark their points of divergence more clearly.

Both are acutely conscious of the hazards of an arid intellectualism and lay great stress on the cultivation of the spirit. Goethe is opposed to logic-chopping and considers the method of pure enquiry as the work of the Devil. Iqbal regards the blind worship of reason as one of those fatal errors of man which always lead him to perdition, and lays stress on the development and the cultivation of love. "The source of reason is the Devil whereas love has for its source the heart of man" which in Rumi's words, is "the seat of God."

Both stand for a full acceptance of life and reject all sorts of ascetic cults and anti-life systems. To Goethe, man's mission is continuous striving erring and falling but always moving ahead. As his *Faust* sits down to translate the first verse of the gospel of St. John, he is dissatisfied with the usual translation, "In the beginning was the word", and changes
"word" to "deed":

The spirit comes to guide me in my need.
I write. 'In the beginning was the deed.'[15]

And remarks later, in the second part of the drama, that "the glory is nought, the deed is all."[16]

Likewise the whole poetry of Iqbal is a gospel of action where rest is death and movement is life, where action is the basis of heaven and hell, and where the world is a mystery unless one unravels it with the fervour of action.

Goethe and Iqbal go so far as to make immortality dependent on action and on this point their ideas are strikingly similar. Goethe wrote in a letter to Eckermann:

> If I remain ceaselessly active to the end of my days, Nature is under an obligation to allot me another form of existence, when the present one is no longer capable of containing my spirit. I do not doubt the continuance of our existence. May it then be that He who is eternally living will not refuse us new forms of activity analogous to those in which we have been tested.[17]

And Iqbal wrote to R.A. Nicholson[18] that personality is a state of tension and that immortality can be achieved by maintaining this state of tension through continuous activity. As he wrote:

> Personal immortality is an aspiration: you can have it if you make an effort to achieve it. It depends on our adopting in this life modes of thought and activity which tend to maintain the state of tension... If our activity is directed towards the maintenance of a state of tension. the shock of death is not likely to affect it.[19]

One of the important facets of the thought of Goethe and Iqbal which reflects their wisdom is the attempt that they make to strike a balance between self and transcendence of self and between the Romantic and classical tendencies. Iqbal not only wrote *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self) but promptly followed it up with *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness) and later published both of these poems as a single work. Goethe's career is the story of an evolution from romantic exuberance, which we see reflected in *The Sorrows of Young Werther.* to a classical discipline of which his later work is a reflection. It is. however, to be remarked that while the mature Goethe emphasizes selflessness, in Iqbal the stress, almost invariably falls on self and self-development. Even where he seems to plead for selflessness, it is in his scheme, only a means to an end, the end being self-realization.

It is apt to mention here Goethe's fascination with the Orient and especially with Islam as that would show that the resemblance between him and Iqbal is not superficial as both may ultimately be shown to be drawing from the same source. Goethe's interest in Orientalism was first stirred when at an early age he tried to translate the Old Testament of the Bible. While studying the Bible he was attracted by the story

of Joseph and, like many great Oriental poets, has related it in a prose poem. Soon after this he read the Quran in German and Latin translations and was impressed so much by it that he decided to write a tragedy with Muhammad as its hero. The tragedy was not written but the fragments of it that have survived show that he had marvelously imbibed the spirit of the holy book. Unmistakable traces of this study are present in his lyrics. One of the talismans seems to be an exact rendering of the Quranic verse,

ولله المشرق و المغرب فاينما تولوا فثم و جه الله ۔[20]

To God belongs the East and the West and wheresoever you turn, God is there.

Goethe's translation reads:
To God belongs the Orient
To God belongs the Occident
Northern lands and southern lands
Rest in quiet of his hands.[21]

Later he studied many Arabic works available in translation and also the travelogues of Marco Polo, Chardon and Abraham Roger. The translation of the *Muallaqat* by Jones impressed him so much that he wanted to translate it into German. This was the time when the world of Persian poetry was opened to him and he fell under the charm of Hafiz and Sadi. The uncommon passion with which Persian poetry seized him found a forceful artistic expression and left a mark not only on German literature but on the whole of the literature of Europe. He arranged the *Divan* in a typically Oriental way, dividing it into various babs (books or chapters) and giving Arabic and Persian names to its various parts, such as, *Mughanni Namah* (the Book of the Singer), *Saqui Namah* (the Book of the Cupbearer), *Ishq Namah* (the Book of Love), *Teymur Namah* (the Book of Tamerlane) and *Hikmat Namah* (the Book of Wisdom). He also wrote several ghazals which follow the Persian ghazal tradition in thier rhyme-scheme, diction and imagery.

A deep study of the Muslim literature confirmed Goethe's opinion that faith was an essential condition of all human endeavour and that without it everything would be sterile. He developed almost a Muslim turn of mind and wrote in the Divan:

> If the meaning of Islam is submission to God, then we all live and die in Islam.[22]

In this submission to a higher will he saw a close resemblance between Islam and the reformed church. This is where Goethe and Iqbal stand together. This constitutes the basis of their mystic vision which determines their outlook on life and letters. A word about their aesthetic will explain this point further.

Belief in intuition and inspiration as the source of poetry and emotion as the principle of integration in art are the main tenets of their aesthetic. Goethe told Eckermann that "no productiveness of the highest kind... is in the power of any one. Man must consider it as a gift from above."[23] Defining the nature of poetry he wrote:

> It will perhaps be urged that, although poetry is held to be an art, it is not mechanical. But I deny that it is an art; nor is it a science. Arts and sciences are attained through reflection; but not so poetry, for this is an inspiration; it was infused into the soul when first it manifested itself. It should, consequently be called neither art nor science, but genius.[24]

In his poetry we see him relying mainly on feeling and passion rather than on reasoning and logic. Iqbal frequently talked of the 'lamah-i-faidhan' (the moment of inspiration), to the recurrence of which he owed all his writings. He told Faquir Wahid-ud-Din:

> When the moment comes it is as though I were a fisherman who has cast his net to catch fish. The fish swarm in large numbers to the net so that the fisherman is perplexed which ones to catch and which ones to leave alone.[25]

When asked whether such condition would last long, Iqbal replied:

> These moments are not very frequent. Once or twice in a year I find myself inspired and when this happens I go on writing verses spontaneously for a long while. What is wonderful is that

when the moment returns after a long interval I find a continuity between the two experiences so that what I had written last time is of a piece with what I compose now.[26]

He also assigned a very important place to emotion which to him is the main driving force in life and without which no work of art can subsist:

رنگ ہو یا خشت و سنگ، چنگ ہو یا حرف و صوت
معجزۂ فن کی ہے خونِ جگر سے نمود![27]

Be it colour, brick and mortar, harp or word and sound
The miracle of art is wrought by the blood of the heart.

More important for the Comparatist is another facet of the aesthetic of Goethe and Iqbal and that is their commitment– explicit or implicit– to the concept of a world literature. Goethe clearly foresaw the genesis of a prospective world literature. He told Eckermann:

National literature is now rather an unmeaning term; the time of world literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten the approach of that epoch.[28]

Very early in his life, he tried to realize his ideas by attempting to write a novel in letters written in different languages German, French, Greek, Latin and Yiddish. Iqbal wrote in Persian avowedly to leave national bounds and be accessible to people other than his own countrymen. Both Goethe and Iqbal exhibit their catholicity in their marvelous capacity to assimilate all kinds of influence. Hafiz, Sadi, Shakespeare, the Greeks and the English Romantics are there both in Goethe and Iqbal. Iqbal adds to this list such literary figures as Rumi, Bedil, Bhartari Hari, Emerson, Tennyson, Browning Nietzsche and Goethe himself, apart from a host of philosophers whom he studied as a student of philosophy.

It is perhaps in this spirit that both Goethe and Iqbal, in their own ways, believe in the reconciliation of the East and the West and stress the fundamental unity of the human spirit. Goethe writes in the *Divan*:

The West, like the East,
Offers the pure things to taste.

Leave thy whims, leave thy rind
Sit down at the great feast:
Even in passing by, thou wouldst not wish
To scorn the dish.
He who knows himself and others
Will realize this too:
The East and the West
Can no longer remain apart.[29]

And Iqbal looks forward to the birth of a new world order based on a combination of the enormous scientific knowledge of the West and the wholesome spiritual values of the East. This thought is communicated in *Javid Namah* through Saeed Halim Pasha:

غربیاں را زیرکی سازِ حیات　　شرقیاں را عشق رازِ کائنات

زیرکی از عشق گردد حق شناس　　کارِ عشق از زیرکی محکم اساس

عشق چوں با زیرکی ہم بر شود　　نقش بندِ عالمِ دیگر شود

خیز و نقشِ عالمِ دیگر بنه　　عشق را با زیرکی آمیزده[30]

For the Westerner life's proper equipment is Reason
While for the East the Secret of being lies in Love.
Reason knows truth through Love
While it strengthens the foundations of Love.
When Love and Reason embrace each other
A new world is born.
Arise and lay the foundations of a new world
By combining Love with Reason.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Quoted in *Gabriel's Wing*, pp.59-60.
[2] *Bang-i-Dara*, p.26.
[3] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p.7.
[4] Ibid, p. 16.
[5] Ibid., pp. 206- 207.

[6] Ibid., p. 206.
[7] Javid Iqbal ed. *Stray Reflections*: A Notebook of Allama Iqbal (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961), p. 2, entry 2.
[8] Ibid., p. 45, entry 36.
[9] Ibid., p. 71, entry 48.
[10] Ibid., p. 128, entry 97.
[11] Ibid., p. 144, entry 112.
[12]

حق اگر سوزے ندارد حکمت است

شعر می گردد چو سوز از دل گرفت

If truth is devoid of fervour, it is philosophy;
If it receives warmth from the heart, it becomes poetry.
(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 106.)

[13] Quoted by Ernest Beutler in Goethe: Unesco Homage on the Occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth (Unesco, 1949), p. 17.
[14] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 132.
[15] *Faust*: Part One, trans. Philip Wayne (Penguin Book, 1949, rpt. 1975), p. 71.
[16] *Faust*: Part Two, trans. Philip Wayne (Penguin Book, 1959), p. 220
[17] Quoted by Dr. S Radhakrishnan in Goethe: Unesco Homage, p. 107.
[18] See Introduction to R.A Nicholson's translation of Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* entitled, *Secrets of the Self* (London, 1920; Arnold Heinemann rpt. 1978), pp. 18-19.
[19] Ibid., p. 20.
[20] The Qur'an, Al-Baqarah, v. no. 115.
[21] Stephan Spender, ed. *Great Writings of Goethe* (New York: The New American Library, 1958), p. 265.
[22] Quoted in Goethe: Unesco Homage, p. 172.
[23] *Great Writings of Goethe*, p. 22.
[24] Ibid, p. 276.
[25] Faqir Wahid-ud-Din, *Rozgar-i-Faqir* (Karachi, Line Art Press, 1964), p.38.
[26] Ibid., p. 38.
[27] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 95.
[28] Goethe: Unesco Homage, p. 8.
[29] Ibid., p. 179.
[30] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 65.

WORDSWORTH AND IQBAL

POETIC THEORY AND PRACTICE

You look round on your mother earth
As if you were her first born birth
And none had lived before you

(Wordsworth, *Expostulation and Reply*)

جمیل تر ہیں گل و لالہ فیض سے اس کے
نگاہِ شاعرِ رنگیں نوا میں ہے جادو!

(بالِ جبریل، ص:13)

The rose and the tulip look still more beautiful when blessed.
By the tuneful poet's eye, the mother of infinite charm

Romanticism in general and the English Romantic movement of the nineteenth century in particular have had a tremendous impact on India's literary renaissance. The achievement of the two greatest literary figures of modern India, Iqbal and Tagore, is a standing testimony to this. Tagore called himself a 'Janamo romantic' (born romantic) and Iqbal's literary career could be looked upon, at least partially, as an extension of the romantic tradition, modified by his temperament, training and situation.

From his early boyhood Iqbal exhibited certain unmistakable romantic leanings. His biographers speak of his

idealism, his restlessness and his dreamy nature. One of the verses of a late poem (written in 1907) is a clear index of his inherent romanticism:

نہ پوچھ اقبال کا ٹھکانا، ابھی وہی کیفیت ہے اس کی
کہیں سر رہگذار بیٹھا ستم کشِ انتظار ہو گا![1]

Ask not of Iqbal's station, his condition is still the same;
Somewhere by wayside, you will find him standing and anxiously waiting.

Later when Iqbal started teaching English Literature in the Government College, Lahore, he took a keen interest in the Romantic poets, particularly Shelley.[2] The poems that he wrote during this period (1901-1904) bear a clear imprint of Romanticism on them. Notable among these are 'Himala' (The Himalayas), 'Abri-Kohsar' (the Cloud on the Mountain), 'Ek Arzoo' (An Aspiration), 'Insan aur Bazm-i-Qudrat' (Man in the company of Nature) 'Chand' (The Moon), 'Ek sham Darya-i-Necker Heidelberg Ke Kanaaray Par' (An Evening on the Bank of Necker in Heidelberg) and 'Tanhai' (Loneliness). Of these 'Chand' has in it obvious echoes of Shelley's short poem, 'To the Moon'. Some other poems are free translations of some of the English romantic lyrics like 'Hamdardi' (Sympathy) from William Cowper, 'Payam-i-Subh' (The Message of the Dawn) from Henery Wordsworth Longfellow, 'Ishq aur Maut' (Love and Death) from Tennyson and two poems, 'Ek Pahar aur Galehri' (The Mountain and the Squirrel) and 'Rukhsat Ay Bazm-i-Jahan' (Farewell O! World) from Emerson.[3] In Iqbal's poetical works there are several references to Byron and a warm tribute is paid to Wordsworth in his diary, *Stray Reflections*. Acknowledging his debt, among others, to Wordsworth, Iqbal writes:

> I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth. The first two led me into the inside of things, the third and fourth taught me how to remain oriental in spirit and expression after having assimilated

foreign ideals and the last saved me from atheism during my student days.[4]

This entry from *Stray Reflections* apart from defining the nature of Iqbal's indebtedness to Wordsworth raises the crucial issue of the cultural difference between the East and the West and any comparative study involving literary figures of the East and the West has to tackle this issue at the very outset. A detailed analysis of this cultural dichotomy is, however, beyond the scope of this short essay, but it is necessary to refer briefly to two important aspects of it.

In the first place, the Western outlook on life and universe is generally more objective and outward-looking than that of the East. The external phenomena and objects of sense perception are things of utmost importance from the Western point of view. It has a natural preference for the real and the tangible as against the ideal and the imaginary. It does not accept beliefs and convictions (with the exception of the doctrine of Trinity, perhaps) on trust but subjects them to searching rational scrutiny. The prodigious scientific advance of the West since the Renaissance is a result of this outer-oriented scientific temper. The outlook of the Orient, on the other hand, has been, broadly speaking, subjective and inward-looking and according to it the world of sense is not as important as the world of spirit.

This cultural difference has had a tremendous influence on the theory and practice of art in the East and the West. This is evident from the fact that the art-forms which evolved in the East are different from those of the West. *Ghazal*, for instance, is the most popular art-form of Persian, Arabic, Urdu and some other Eastern literatures and the main subject-matter of the *ghazal* is the inner world of man, his sensations, feelings and emotions. This is why the various verses of the *ghazal* have no obvious connection with one another, and do not often fit together. Ostensibly it is an amorphous and disjointed from of art but this disjointedness is in keeping with its origination from the depths of human consciousness. Western critics of the *ghazal* like Ralph Russell,

reveal a typical limitation in appreciating the *ghazal* as they tend to lose sight of the socio-cultural background in which this art-form has evolved. The only connecting link in the *ghazal* is psychic life whose moods it seeks to capture. Such experiences belong to a world which transcends the bounds of time and space and where a search for rational harmony and logical unity is useless. The *ghazal*, from this point of view, may be looked at as the first experiment of the stream-of-consciousness technique and historically antecedent to it. Subjectivity characterises also some other art-forms of the East which, considered from the viewpoint of their content, ought to be objective. The most popular *mathnavis* of the East are those which bear a deep imprint of the subjectivity of their authors. Firdousi's *Shahnamah* and Mir Hassan's *Mathnavi Sihr-ul-Bayan* have become favourites in the East precisely because they combine lyrical sweetness (*taghazzul*) with the description of events. The most popular portions of *Shahnamah* are those where Firdousi's own soul finds expression and *Mathnavi Sihr-ul-Bayan* is a description of its author's own dreams and aspirations. As against this, no art-form comparable to the *ghazal* has evolved in the West. The most enduring literary achievements of the West have been in the epic, the drama and the long poem; even its lyrical poetry, which is generally subjective, is characterised by a logical consistency which is not commonly found in the lyrical tradition of the East.

Secondly, and this is more important for a comparative study of Wordsworth and Iqbal, Wordsworth's view of life is largely based on the metaphysical and ethical systems of the Christian tradition whereas Iqbal's view of life is largly rooted in Islamic metaphysics and ethics. The following discourse will elucidate this point further.

II

The difference of cultural background however, cannot conceal from our view the universal element that these two great creative writers share in common. Apparently they are different

from each other but if we look deeper, we find them engaged in tackling similar issues and reaching, in most cases similar, though not identical, conclusions. This is particularly true of their theories of art if not equally true of their creative work.

There is close affinity between Iqbal's idea on poetry and those of Wordsworth. Iqbal's views on poetry can be studied under two heads: (i) What is poetry? and (ii) what is it meant for? The first is concerned with the process or structure of poetry and the second with its function and purpose. With regard to the first, Iqbal believes that the human heart– feelings and emotions– constitutes the essence of poetry. Not only poetry but every branch of art is, in Iqbal's view authentic to the extent to which it is representative of the beatings of the heart, 'Khun-i-Jigar':

رنگ ہو یا خشت و سنگ، چنگ ہو یا حرف و صوت
معجزۂ فن کی ہے خونِ جگر سے نمود!
قطرۂ خونِ جگر، سل کو بناتا ہے دل
خونِ جگر سے صدا سوز و سرور و سرود![5]

Be it colour, brick and mortar, harp or word and sound,
The miracle of art is wrought by the blood of the heart.
A drop of this blood turns a rock into a heart,
It is heart's blood that lends rapture and melody to all art.

About his own poetry he remarks in *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message from the East):

برگِ گل رنگیں ز مضمون من است
مصرعِ من قطرۂ خونِ من است[6]

My singing lends colour to the petals of the rose
My verse is a drop of my own blood.

Iqbal believed that even wisdom and philosophy acquire a creative grandeur and are converted into poetry if their source is a pulsating heart and if, in Keats's words, their truth is

"proved upon our pulses", otherwise they consist of mere axioms and platitudes:

یا مردہ ہے یا نزع کی حالت میں گرفتار
جو فلسفہ لکھا نہ گیا خون جگر سے![7]

A philosophy which is not written in one's own blood
Is either dead or else in the throes of death.

Iqbal's own philosophy has so successfully been moulded into poetry that the two are almost inseparable. His philosophy is not something that he merely knows but something that he has experienced in every fibre of his being. It is an exquisite example of felt-thought where the poet, in Eliot's words, feels his thought and thinks his feeling.

With regard to the function and purpose of poetry, Iqbal wrote in his foreword to *Muraqqa-i-Chughtaee.*

I look upon art as subservient to life and personality.[8]

Amplifying this statement, in his essay, 'Our Prophet's Criticism of Contemporary Arabian Poetry', he wrote:

> Art is subordinate to life not superior to it. The ultimate end of all human activity is life, glorious, powerful, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose (i.e. Life) and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to the Reality around, on the mastery of which alone life depends, is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium-eating in Art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power,[9]

Iqbal resolutely refuses to be called a poet from the standpoint of art for the sake of art. Voicing his complaint against those who dubbed him only a poet, he appeals to his beloved Prophet in *Armughan-j-Hijaz*:

بآں رازے کہ گفتم، پے نبردند — ز شاخِ نخلِ من خر ما نخوردند
من اے میرِ اممؐ تو خواہم — مرا یاراں غزلخوانے شمردند[10]

They fail to find a clue to the secret that I unfold,
And do not eat of the date from my palm tree.
O Lord of the peoples, come to my rescue
They count me among the versifiers.

Art for the sake of art is, in his view, idol-selling and idol-worship and again and again he absolves himself from this dogma. In his prefatory verses to *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self) he says:

شاعری زیں مثنوی مقصود نیست
بت پرستی بت گری مقصود نیست[11]

The end of this *mathnavi* is not mere poetry;
It does not aim at fashioning and selling idols.

Wordsworth's ideas about the nature and function of poetry bear a close resemblance to those of Iqbal. In the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, he tells us that feelings and emotions, in Iqbal's language 'the blood of the heart' (Khun-i-Jigar),[12] constitute the essence of poetry. "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotions recollected in tranquility."[13] The Preface also lays emphasis upon the fact that great poetry is always born out of the harmonization of thought and feeling:

> Poems to which any value can be attached were never produced on any variety of subjects but by a man who. being possessed of more than usual organic sensibility, had also thought long and deeply. For our continued influxes of feeling are modified and directed by our thoughts.[14]

Like Iqbal again, Wordsworth believed that poetry should be related to life. No doubt the immediate purpose of the writing of the Preface was to defend his own poetry against the charge of unpoeticalness but its lasting importance lies in its attempt to bring poetry closer to life by removing it from the realms of fantasy and sheer ornamental word-play, "the gaudiness and the inane phraseology of many modern writers." The poet, says Wordsworth, "is a man speaking to men" and the edifice of poetry should rest upon this all important truth. Poetry is not lifeless artistry, it is not

ornamentation for the sake of ornamentation as was the belief of some of the decadent followers of Dryden and Pope; it is a spontaneous expression of thought and feeling. What Wordsworth was telling the worshippers of an oversophisticated style of poetry is represented in the following words of Iqbal:

حسنِ انداز بیاں از من مجو
خوانسار و اصفہاں از من مجو[15]

Seek not from me mere beauty of expression;
Seek not from me Khansar and Isfahan.

Wordsworth believed that poetry should have a serious moral purpose. In a letter to George Beaumont he wrote that: "every great poet is a teacher: I wish either to be considered a teacher or as nothing", and to Lady Beaumont, "there is scarcely one of my poems which does not aim to divert the attention to some moral sentiment, or to some general principle or law of thought or of our intellectual constitution."[16]

III

When we compare the work of the two poets, we do not find as close an affinity here as in their poetic theories and this is quite natural. Though both of them believed that poetry should be related to life and that it should serve a serious moral purpose, yet since their views of life and moral visions were determined by their different backgrounds, we should not expect a close similarity in their work. A comparison of some aspects of their creative work is, however, interesting and rewarding. Here we come across a chiaroscuro of two great creative artists now coming closer and now parting their ways. The study reveals new aspects of their art and deepens our insight into their work.

The first thing that strikes one, is the presence and recurrence of the first person 'I' in both of them which is a common characteristic of all romantic artists. Iqbal's art and

thought have for their basis his cult of the Ego. In his view even philosophical theories, religious convictions and moral values can acquire the status of creative art if they become a part and parcel of our personality. Even in those poems where he speaks in the third person, his dramatic poems for instance, the purpose is to communicate authentic personal experience, This 'I' is quite recurrent in Wordsworth too, but Iqbal's 'I' has a wider signification for being connected with his philosophy of the Ego. According to this philosophy self-affirmation and the realization of individual potentialities are the ultimate end of human endeavour. Iqbal writes:

> The idea of personality gives us a standard of value: it settles the problem of good and evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality.[17]

Wordsworth's 'I', on the other hand, has not only no such philosophical background behind it, but also in his later poetry he even speaks of self-abnegation. Iqbal rejects this kind of self-abnegation although he believes that some kind of self-control is inevitable for self-realization and the self cannot, therefore, be left absolutely free, God is the only Absolute Ego and the human self needs to be disciplined for the attainment of perfection. Thus both Wordsworth and Iqbal are conscious of selflessness although for Iqbal it is only a means of self-affirmation whereas Wordsworth in his later work, considers it almost an end in itself, which is quite in keeping with the pantheistic outlook of his early phase and the Christian standpoint of his later life. This emphasis on selflessness is indicative of the classical tendencies in Wordsworth and Iqbal.

In their views on nature the two poets partly agree and partly disagree. Both regard the world of nature as a highly significant and meaningful system with which man should establish a purposeful connection. Iqbal believed that man cannot evolve the inner richness of his being unless he establishes a contact with the reality that confronts him.[18] The greatest evil of the

modern industrial and technological civilization is the fact that it has dehumanized mankind. Iqbal says:

ہے دل کے لیے مشینوں کی حکومت
احساسِ مروّت کو کچل دیتے ہیں آلات![19]

The domination of the machine is the death of the heart:
Tools crush the sense of humanity

This is the theme of most of the celebrated poems of Wordsworth like the *Excursion* and *The Prelude*. His ideal men are brought up in the lap of nature and nature is both 'the law and impulse' for them. His shepherds and leech-gatherers are the embodiments of noble human virtues whereas a mechanical civilization deprives man of his basic humanity. This, however, does not mean that Wordsworth and Iqbal are enemies of science. Far from that, both of them have a genuine appreciation of the value of science; what they oppose instinctively is technology, the mechanical civilization. Theirs is not the cult of the noble savage but of rescuing and preserving those human virtues which can be nurtured in the lap of nature alone. The poetry of both of them is replete with vigorous descriptions of such natural scenes as portray nature as a means that can bring about a salutary change in man. In his poem, 'Khidhr-i-Rah', Iqbal asks Khidhr why he prefers woods and deserts to human habitations, and Khidhr replies:

اے رہینِ خانہ تو نے وہ سماں دیکھا نہیں
گونجتی ہے جب فضائے دشت میں بانگِ رحیل!
وہ سکوتِ شامِ صحرا میں غروبِ آفتاب
جس سے روشن تر ہوئی چشمِ جہاں بینِ خلیل![20]

O you, who are tied to your home, have never seen the sight
When the caravan bell tolls in the atmosphere of the desert;
You have never seen the calm sunset of the desert eve
Which lit up the world-seeing eye of God's own friend (Abraham)

And Wordsworth concludes his Intimations Ode as follows:

The clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober colouring from an eye
That hath kept watch over man's mortality;
Another race hath been and other palms are won.[21]

In the concluding section of 'Masjid-i-Qurtubah' (The Mosque of Cordova) Iqbal's description of the sunset scene, with a peasant girl at its centre, reminds us at once of Wordsworth's 'Solitary Reaper':

وادیِ کہسار میں غرقِ شفق ہے سحاب
لعلِ بدخشاں کے ڈھیر چھوڑ گیا آفتاب!
سادہ و پر سوز ہے دختر دہقاں کا گیت
کشتیِ دل کے لیے سیل ہے عہد شباب[22]

The cloud is drowned in the rosy hue of the horizon;
The sun has left back heaps of glittering Badakhshan gems;
Simple and bewitching is the song of the peasant's daughter;
Heart floats like a boat on the raging flood of youth.

Iqbal's poem 'Zouq-o-Shouq' opens with the description of a glorious sunrise:

قلب و نظر کی زندگی، دشت میں صبح کا سماں
چشمۂ آفتاب سے نور کی ندیاں رواں!
حسنِ ازل کی ہے نمود، چاک ہے پردۂ وجود
دل کے لیے ہزار سود، ایک نگاہ کا زیاں![23]

The sunrise in the desert revives the eye and the heart;
Streamlets of light flow from the spring of the sun;
The veil of existence is torn and Primordial Beauty is unmasked;
Now sparing of a glance brings a thousand benefits to the heart.

Similarly Wordsworth says in the *Intimations Ode* that "the sunshine is a glorious birth" and describing a spring scene in the poem, 'To My Sister', he writes:

Love now a universal birth,
From heart to heart is stealing,
From earth to man, from man to earth:
It is the hour of feeling.
One moment now may give us more
Than years of toiling reason.

In Iqbal's *Stray Reflections* there is an entry which reads almost like a paraphrase of the famous Wordsworth passage from 'Tables Turned':

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.[24]

Iqbal's entry reads:

> All the wonderful book-lore in your library is not worth one glorious sunset on the banks of Ravi.[25]

It is amidst such scenes and surroundings of nature that the ideal men of Iqbal and Wordsworth are brought up. But there is a striking difference between their ideal men. Wordsworth's ideal man represents the Christian virtues of love, humility and meekness whereas Iqbal's ideal man represents Islamic values and combines in him both beauty and grandeur. It is, therefore, natural that Wordsworth's nature poetry should concentrate more on the beautiful in nature than on the grand and the sublime. Of course Wordsworth is not unaware of the aspects of power and grandeur in nature but he does not make it the dominant subject of his poetry. There are, no doubt, descriptions of many awesome and fearful natural sights as, for instance, the well known episode of rowing described in *The Prelude*, Book I, when the poet steals a boat and starts rowing and all of a sudden,

> ...from behind that craggy steep till then
> The horizon's bound a huge peak, black and huge upreared its head.[26]

But scenes like these are certainly rare in an otherwise familiar world of beauty and serenity that Wordsworth portrays. In surveying the world of nature his eye, wheresoever it turns, looks for beauty and serenity and the healing touch which Arnold so rightly identified. In his Lucy poem, 'Three Years She Grew', Nature sings:

Myself will to my darling be
Both law and impulse: and with me
The Girl, in rock and plain,
In earth and heaven, in glede and bower,
Shall feel an overseeing power
To kindle or restrain.

'She shall be sportive as the fawn
That wild with glee across the lawn
Or up the mountain springs;
And hers shall be the breathing balm,
And hers the silence and the calm
Of mute insensate things.[27]

Iqbal, on the other hand, combines beauty with grandeur, a grandeur that inclines towards the fierce and the terrible. The symbol that he uses again and again for his ideal man is that of the 'eagle' (Wordsworth's mascot would be a gentle dove), and a meek and humble person is represented by the 'bulbul'. His ideal man combines at once "the cool balmy touch that soothes the burning heart of the tulip as well as the tempest that shakes the bowels of the ocean":

جس سے جگرِ لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبنم!
دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں، وہ طوفان[28]

In looking at the world of nature, therefore, his eye does not rest only on things like the daisy, the daffodils and "the fields of sleep" but also on roaring streams, perpetually voyaging stars, the burning tulip, and the mountain and the desert where beauty and grandeur are mingled together.

Besides this, Iqbal never dissociates himself so totally from the scenes and sights of nature as Wordsworth sometimes does. While Iqbal generally views all that he surveys as an

extension of his own personality, Wordsworth, though sharing this attitude very often, seems at times to plead for a kind of passiveness:

> Nor less I deem that there are powers
> Which of themselves our minds impress
> That we can feed this mind of ours
> In a wise passiveness.[29]

The most blessed moment in his contemplation of nature is a moment of passivity:

> Until the breath of this corporeal frame
> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
> In body and become a living soul.[30]

For Iqbal, on the other hand, the external world offers a challenge to the hidden powers of man and is meant for subjugation by man. He is, therefore, neither a worshipper of nature nor its infatuated lover but considers it a necessary means for the realization of human potential. In his foreword to *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai.* he writes:

> To seek what is scientifically called adjustment with nature is to recognize her mastery over the spirit of man. Power comes from resisting her stimuli and not from exposing ourselves to their action. [31]

Of course, 'nature' is used here in a wide sense and refers to the concrete material world that surrounds man. yet the passage clearly brings out Iqbal's attitude to nature. This idea finds appropriate poetic expression in his 'Muhavarah Ma bain Khuda-o-Insan' (A Dialogue Between God and Man) in *Payam-i-Mashriq*, where man tells God:

تو شب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم سفال آفریدی ایاغ آفریدم
بیابان و کهسار و راغ آفریدی خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم

من آنم که از سنگ آئینه سازم
من آنم که از زهر نوشینه سازم[32]

You created the night and I made the lamp;
You made the clay, I fashioned it into a cup.
You created the woods, the hills and the deserts.
And I, the flowerbeds, the gardens and the orchards.
I convert a stone into a mirror.
I make even poison palatable.

In accordance with the Prophet's saying, "*takhallaqu bi akhlaq al-lah* [33] (inculcate in you the virtues of God), Iqbal believes that man too is a creator and hence he is God's equal:

جہاں او آفرید ایں خوب تر ساخت
مگر با ایزد انباز است آدم[34]

God created the world, man made it better.
Perhaps he is a co-worker with God.

The fact is that Wordsworth looks at nature mostly from a pantheistic point of view, notwithstanding the fact that in his later years he tried to explain away this pantheism in favour of a more orthodox Christian view. The world-soul seems to him to permeate the whole universe:

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.[35]

Iqbal, on the other hand, excluding a very short period in his early phase, never held pantheistic views. Some of his early poems like 'Chand' (The Moon), 'Swami Ram Tirath, Gul-i-Pajmurdah' (The Blighted Flower), 'Boo-i-Gul' (The Fragrance of the Rose), 'Shama' (The Candle) and 'Jugnu' (The Glow- worm) which show traces of pantheism, can easily bear non-pantheistic interpretations as well. A most striking example is this extract from 'Jugnu':

حسنِ ازل کی پیدا ہر چیز میں جھلک ہے
انساں میں وہ سخن ہے، غنچے میں وہ چٹک ہے
یہ چاند آسماں کا شاعر کا دل ہے گویا
واں چاندنی ہے جو کچھ، یاں درد کی کسک ہے

انداز گفتگو نے دھوکے دیے ہیں، ورنہ
نغمہ ہے بوئے بلبل، بو پھول کی چہک ہے
کثرت میں ہو گیا ہے وحدت کا راز مخفی
جگنو میں جو چمک ہے، وہ پھول میں مہک ہے[36]

A glimpse of Primordial Beauty is seen in every object;
In man it is utterance, in the blossom, the capacity to open.
The moon is to the sky what the heart is to the poet,
The moonlight corresponds to the sting of heart's pain.
Our speech-habits lead us astray,

Else the bulbul's song is her fragrance, as fragrance is the song of the flower.
The panorama of diversity conceals the secret of unity
That which shines in the glow-worm, smells in the flower.

It is, however, significant that the nature poetry of Wordsworth had a tremendous influence on Iqbal in the formative days of his life. There are passages in *The Prelude* which have an epiphanic effect on the responsive reader who begins to feel that "our destiny, our being's heart and home is with infinitude."[37] Poems like 'Tintern Abbey' and 'Ode to Duty' so tellingly communicate the sense of a supreme being inhabiting the universe. In 'Ode to Duty' there is a passage which, in spirit, seems to echo a beautiful passage of the Quran in which Abraham commends himself to the care and guidance of God. After his careful study of the natural phenomena Abraham utters a fervent prayer:

O[38] انی وجهت وجهی للذی فطر السموت والارض حنیفا وما انا من المشرکین

I turn my face to One who created the heavens and the earth and I associate no partners with Him.
And Wordsworth writes in 'Ode to Duty':
Stern law-giver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face.
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds

And fragrance on thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong:
And the most ancient heavens, through thee, are fresh and strong.
To humbler functions, awful power!
I call thee: I myself commend
Unto thy guidance from this hour.[39]

It was such poetry of faith which saved Iqbal, as it did Mill, from atheism at a crucial stage of his life. In the following verses from the *Secrets of the Self*, Iqbal is treating the same theme which is the subject matter of 'Ode to Duty'.

لاله پیہم سوختن قانونِ او برجہد اندر رگِ او خونِ او
قطره ہا دریاست از آئینِ وصل ذره ہا صحرا ست از آئینِ وصل
باطن ہر شے ز آئینے قوی تو چرا غافل ز ایں ساماں روی
باز اے آزادِ دستورِ قدیم زینتِ پا کن ہماں زنجیرِ سیم[40]

The law of the tulip is constant burning;
Its blood is aflame in its veins.
Drops of water form an ocean by the law of co-ordination
And grains of sand form a desert.
The inmost being of every thing draws strength from a law;
Why do you neglect this source of power?
O you who are free from the old law,
Adorn your feet with this silver chain.

IV

In spite of important differences, what places Iqbal and Wordsworth, as creative artists, on an equal footing is that their systems of thought are not prior to their poetry; in fact, they are the poetry. They are not preaching certain preconceived doctrines and dogmas but giving us vividly felt and authentic personal experiences. They have reached their thought no though the reasoning intellect but through intuition, through feeling, through the route of the heart. In fact, Wordsworth's distrust of intellect and belief in the efficacy of intuition brings his poetry closer to the spirit and

temper of the East. Both Wordsworth and Iqbal are conscious of the limitations of the intellect although they do not reject it outright. In *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* Iqbal calls intuition 'a higher form of reason' and Wordsworth in a memorable passage of *The Prelude* says:

Yea all the adamantine holds of truth
By reason built or passion, which itself
Is highest reason in a soul sublime.[41]

Both are convinced of the fact that if reason alone were to guide the destiny of man it would lead him astray. Reason is the lamp on the way, says Iqbal, but not the destination:

خرد سے راہرو روشن بصر ہے　　خرد کیا ہے؟ چراغِ رہ گذر ہے
درونِ خانہ ہنگامے ہیں کیا کیا　　چراغِ رہ گذر کو کیا خبر ہے![42]

Reason sharpens the eyesight of the wayfarer.
What is Reason? The lamp on the way.
How can the lamp on the way be aware
Of the storm that rages inside the house?

And Wordsworth calls it the 'meddling intellect':

Sweet is the lore that Nature brings;
Our meddling intellect
Misshapes the beauteous forms of things
We murder to dissect.[43]

Wordsworth's poetry was written against the background of a mechanistic view of life and universe that developed under the influence of Newtonian Physics and Lock's empirical philosophy. This view regarded the universe as a complex but understandable and explicable machine. Even religion was approached from a mechanical point of view where God became a skilful mechanic or engineer. Such a view distrusted the intuitive and instinctive side of human personality and deprived life of its charm and mystery. Wordsworth in spite of his great admiration for Newton, could not accept a wholly rationalistic or mechanical worldview. Likewise Iqbal's poetry presents 'Reason' as an adversary of the

supreme values of 'Love' and 'Intuition'; his heroes are mystics like Rumi and not philosophers like Razi and Avicenna:

بو علی اندر غبارِ ناقه گم
دستِ رومی پردهٔ محمل گرفت[44]

Bu Ali (Avicenna) is lost in the dust raised by Laila's dromedary
While Rumi has firmly seized the curtain of her litter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

---

[1] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 142.

[2] Mian Ata-ur-Rahman on how Iqbal taught English Literature quoted in S.A. Vahid's book, *Glimpses of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, Pakistan, 1974), pp. 89-90.

[3] Iqbal has only named the poets from whom he is translating without mentioning the actual names of the poems which he has translated. Besides this he has subjected the content of these poems to a drastic modification to suit his own world-view. In most cases he has also changed the titles of these poems. A comparison of the original poems with his translation is, therefore, highly illuminating. The original poems are:

'The Nightingale and the Glow-Worm' (Cowper), 'Daybreak' Longfellow), 'Love and Death' (Tennyson) and 'The Mountain and Squirrel' and 'Good Bye' by Emerson.

[4] *Stray Reflections*, entry 36.

[5] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 95.

[6] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 17.

[7] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 42.

[8] *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai*: Paintings by M.A. Rahman Chughtai (Lahore: Ahsan Brothers, 1928), the work is unpaged.

[9] *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 124.

[10] *Arumghan-i-Hijaz*, p. 43.

[11] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 10.

[12] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 211.

[13] English Critical Essays: *Nineteenth Century* (London: OUP, 1916), p.22.

[14] Ibid., p. 5.

[15] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 11.

[16] From Blake to Byron Vol. 5 of *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, ed. Boris Ford (Penguin, 1957), p. 155.
[17] Iqbal quoted by R.A. Nicholson in Introduction to *Secrets of the Self*, p.19.
[18] *Reconstruction*, p.12.
[19] *Bal-i-Jibree*, p. 108.
[20] *Bang-i-Dara*, pp. 257-58.
[21] Wordsworth: *Poetical Works* ed. Thomas Hutchinson; rev, E, De Selincourt (OUP, 1985), p. 462.
[22] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 100.
[23] Ibid., p. 111.
[24] *Poetical Works*, p. 378.
[25] *Stray Reflections*, entry, 100.
[26] *The Prelude*, Book I, pp. 370-80.
[27] *Poetical Works*, p. 148.
[28] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 60.
[29] *Poetical Works*, p.377
[30] Ibid., p.164.
[31] *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai*
[32] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 14.
[33] This saying is attributed to Prophet notwithstanding the fact that its authenticity is not fully established. Its quotation is, however, justified on the ground that it is in keeping with the spirit of the Prophet's teachings.
[34] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p.28.
[35] *Poetical Works*. p. 164.
[36] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 85.
[37] *The Prelude*, Book IV, II. 604-05.
[38] The Qur'an, Surah Anam, v. 79.
[39] *Poetical Works*, p. 386.
[40] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 41.
[41] *The Prelude*, BookV, II. 38-40.
[42] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 85.
[43] *Poetical Works*, p. 377.
[44] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 106.

SHELLEY AND IQBAL

THE THEME OF REVOLUTION

Let this opportunity be conceded to me of acknowledging that I have, what a Scotch philosopher characteristically terms,'a passion for reforming the world.'

(Shelley, Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*)

نغمه کجا و من کجا سازِ سخن بہانہ ایست
سوے قطار می کشم ناقۂ بے زمام را!

(زبور عجم، ص:55)

Poetry for me is not mere singing but a pleasant subterfuge
To draw back the unbridled dromedary into the ranks.

Iqbal taught English literature at the Government College Lahore only for two years (1902-1904), but this brief period of teaching left lasting memories for his students. One of them, Mian Ata-ur-Rahman, recalls the uncommon passion and enthusiasm with which Iqbal taught the English Romantic poetry, and particularly the poetry of Shelley. While teaching *Adonais* he would devote a whole lecture to a single stanza of the poem, analysing it minutely and illustrating its ideas and poetic subtleties with examples from his own poetry and that of the other Poets. Mian Ata-ur-Rahman writes:

> An exposition of Shelley's ideas by such a profound scholar as Iqbal and his quotation of his own verses and those of the other Urdu poets by way of comparison or contrast was nothing but sheer good fortune of the audience. It was a stream aflow. Iqbal's lips shed flowers. How earnestly did we wish that he should go on speaking?[1]

This extraordinary interest in Shelley's work had a profound influence on the thought and art of Iqbal. Although he outgrew this influence later, its impression is unmistakably present in his work and forms an important strand of his total achievement. No wonder his poetry reminded his first English translator, R.A. Nicholson, of the poetry of Shelley.[2]

The most striking affinity between the two poets is their revolutionary fervour and its implications for the theory and practice of their art. The bases of their revolutionary faiths are surprisingly identical. Both of them believe that man is not inherently evil and that he is capable of achieving perfection and on this premise they base their optimistic faith in a coming Golden Age. In her note to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, Mary Shelley writes:

> The prominent feature of Shelley's theory of the destiny of the human species was that evil is not inherent in the system of the creation, but an accident that might be expelled... Shelley believed that mankind had only to will that there should be no evil and there would be none.[3]

This optimistic faith underlies all the poetry of Shelley from *Queen Mab* to Hellas.

In *Queen Mab* which was the first poetic expression of Shelley's revolutionary creed, he writes:

> Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
> Inherits vice and misery, when Force
> And Falsehood hang o'er the cradled babe
> Stifling with rudest grasp all natural good.[4]

But *Queen Mab* predicts a bright future for mankind. God, Heaven and Hell are the three words which the tyrants exploit now but the time is not far off when the inherent

good of man will triumph over evil as "every heart contains perfection's germ."[5]

The Revolt of Islam is a more mature and complex revolutionary poem than *Queen Mab*. Shelley's attitude here is Manichean. Good and evil and the struggle between the two is a perennial feature of human history. The poem opens with one such fierce fight between a snake, representing good, and an eagle, representing evil, and we are told that whenever,

> The snake and the Eagle meet-the world's foundations tremble.[6]

But the poem optimistically looks forward to a golden age of freedom when "the fields and cities of the free" shall be "clothed in light."

Prometheus Unbound shows an acuter consciousness on the part of the poet of the struggle between good and evil. In this play, Prometheus represents human desire to do good and to suffer for it as Jupiter stands for all that is evil– tyranny, obscurantism, denial of love and reason, and other forces of destruction. Prometheus's companions, Ocean's daughters– Panthea, Ione and Asia– are Faith, Hope and Love. In the play, evil is ultimately defeated by itself; Jupiter is overthrown by his own offspring, Demogorgon, but not before he has inflicted a lot of suffering over others, nor before a stiff resistance has been put up against him. Shelley's dramatic poem is not therefore a mere prophecy to say that evil is bound to perish but an invitation to struggle. According to him, evil does breed its own destroyer but active human participation is required to complete the process of its destruction. Man has to intervene in the march of history to ameliorate his lot. Shelley has thus outgrown his belief in the natural amelioration of man's lot under a mechanical process, the belief which he held at the time of writing *Queen Mab*. He has discarded his faith in what he called 'Necessity,' 'the mother of the world,' the universal force which looks after the interests of the universe including the human world. Struggle is necessary, so also is evil for without it there can be

no struggle. This is the burden of Demogorgon's address to Prometheus at the end of the play:

To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy power which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and Joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.[7]

Hellas, Shelley's last lyrical drama dealing with the subject of revolution reflects his painful realization of the existence of the barren wintry ages of human history but never forgets the advent of spring. In the Preface, Shelley writes:

> This is the age of the war of the oppressed against the oppressor, and every one of those ringleaders of the privileged gangs of murderers and swindlers, called sovereigns, look to each other for aid against the common enemy, and suspend their mutual jealousies in the presence of a mightier fear.[8]

But the poem concludes on a happy note. The chorus at the end of the poem sing of the restoration of the world:

The world's great age begins anew,
The Golden years return,
The earth does like a snake renew
Her winter weeds outworn:
Heaven smiles and faiths and empires gleam,
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.[9]

Like Shelley, Iqbal, too, believes in the innate goodness and perfectibility of man. In his view man is a mysterious reservoir of infinite possibilities which, if realized, can open vistas of boundless progress to him. The stars, the worlds above, are frightened by the prospect of human evolution:

عروجِ آدمِ خاکی سے انجم سہمے جاتے ہیں
کہ یہ ٹوٹا ہوا تارا مہِ کامل نہ بن جائے![10]

The rise of the clay-made man frightens the stars who fear
Lest this fallen star acquires the stature of the full moon.

Iqbal confidently looks forward to a golden age when man will be able to realize his full potential and reach the heights destined for him:

فروغِ خاکیاں از نوریاں افزوں شود روزے!
زمیں از کوکبِ تقدیرِ ما گردوں شود روزے![11]

A day will come when the effulgence of the clay-made man shall outshine the angles of light;
And this earth shall become a real heaven by the brilliance of the star of our destiny.

Iqbal believed that the process of such revolution had already begun.

Like Shelley in 'Ode to Liberty', Iqbal traces the development of the idea of revolution. He feels that in the modern world it had started with Luther's movement in Germany and the French Revolution and will be completed with the rejuvenation of the Orient. In 'Masjid-i-Qurtubah' (The Mosque of Cordova), he says:

دیکھ چکا المنی، شورشِ اصلاحِ دیں
جس نے نہ چھوڑے کہیں نقشِ کہن کے نشاں
حرفِ غلط بن گئی عصمتِ پیرِ کنشت
اور ہوئی فکر کی کشتیِ نازک رواں
چشمِ فرانسیس بھی دیکھ چکی انقلاب
جس سے دگرگوں ہوا مغربیوں کا جہاں
ملّتِ رومی نژاد کہنہ پرستی سے پیر
لذّتِ تجدید سے وہ بھی ہوئی پھر جواں

روحِ مسلماں میں ہے آج وہی اضطراب
رازِ خدائی ہے یہ کہہ نہیں سکتی زباں![12]

Germany has experienced the tumult of Reformation
Which obliterated the vestiges of the past
And declared the innocence of the church-father to be an error,
And set afloat the fragile boat of free thinking.
The French eye too has seen the Revolution
Which metamorphosed the Western world.
The Turks, who are hoary with the worship of the past,
Are also relishing the taste of rejuvenation.
The soul of the Muslim is again in ferment;
It is a Divine secret which the tongue cannot unveil.

In Iqbal's view the conflict of good and evil is necessary for the realization of the human potential which remains dormant if no challenge is offered by the forces of evil. Evil is therefore necessary as without it there can be no struggle which is indispensable for human evolution. Shelley's position is not as clear as that of Iqbal with regard to the dialectics of evolution. Evil, in his scheme, is ultimately irrelevant and bound to perish.

The ideal orders conceived by the two poets share certain salient features in common. The most important of these features is 'freedom.' Both Shelley and Iqbal consider tyranny, the rule of one man over the other, as the root cause of all evil. In *Queen Mab*, Shelley writes:

...The man
Of virtuous soul, commands nor obeys.
Power, like a desolating pestilence
Pollutes whatever it touches. [13]

The king, the priest and the capitalist are the chief manifestations of this tyranny and Shelley singles them out for his scathing attacks. Like-wise one of the constant themes of Iqbal's poetry is the distinction that he draws between 'free men' and 'slaves'– terms which Shelley also uses with a slightly different connotation. For Iqbal, the worst enemies of human freedom are

سود خوار و والی و ملا و پیر[14]

The usurer, the ruler, the priest and (the false) spiritual guide.

It is, however, to be borne in mind that their concepts of freedom are different. For Iqbal man is free because he bows before none except God and the nearer he draws to God the freer he becomes. Shelley on the other hand would free man of all bondages including that of God, though we must remember that Iqbal's God is not the God against whom Shelley constantly inveighs but one whom he reveres. As he writes in his Preface to *The Revolt of Islam*:

> The erroneous and degrading idea which men have conceived of the Supreme Being, for instance, is spoken against, but not the Supreme Being itself.[15]

Another common feature of the ideal orders as described by Shelley and Iqbal is the reconciliation in them of reason and imagination, and power and wisdom. Shelley had seen the results of the French Revolution which had been dominated by faith in reason and concluded that reason must be replaced by creative imagination, poetry must ennoble technology. *A Defence Poetry* begins with the distinction between reason and imagination and between the reasoners and men of imagination, i.e., poets, and it goes on to argue that it is the latter who have enriched human civilization. Modern scientific and technological culture is doomed if poetry does not salvage it. In a very significant passage of his *Defence* Shelley writes:

> The cultivation of those sciences which have enlarged the limits of the empire of man over the external world, has, for want of the poetical faculty, proportionately circumscribed those of the internal world; and man, having enslaved the elements, remains himself a slave.[16]

The new order dreamt of by the poet of *The Revolt of Islam* is, therefore, one in which science and poetry work together in harmony:

> And science and her sister poesy
> Shall clothe in light the fields and cities of the free.[17]

In this ideal order wisdom and power are not at variance with each other but work together for the benefit of man. In *The Revolt of Islam* powerful wisdom is represented by a woman nursing a human babe and a basilisk at the same time.

Iqbal describes this reconciliation variously as the unity of reason and love, of head and heart, of beauty and majesty, and of wisdom and power. Reason, ideally speaking, should always be under the governance of heart:

عقل اندر حکمِ دل یزدانی است
چوں ز دل آزاد شد شیطانی است[18]

Reason is divine when controlled by the heart,
If freed from this control, it is devilish.

"Wisdom without power is a mere illusion and power without wisdom is madness and ignorance":

رائے بے قوت ہمہ مکر و فسوں
قوتِ بے رائے جہل است و جنوں[19]

Likewise, beauty without power is a mere enchantment but armed with power it is prophecy":

دلبری بے قاہری جادوگری است
دلبری باقاہری پیغمبری است[20]

Iqbal, like Shelley, saw that modern technological civilization was doomed because of its fatal bias toward reason and its neglect of the demands of the spirit:

عشق ناپید و خرد مے گزدش صورتِ مار،
عقل کو تابعِ فرمانِ نظر کر نہ سکا
ڈھونڈنے والا ستاروں کی گزرگاہوں کا
اپنے افکار کی دنیا میں سفر کر نہ سکا

اپنی حکمت کے خم و پیچ میں الجھا ایسا
آج تک فیصلۂ نفع و ضرر کر نہ سکا!
جس نے سورج کی شعاعوں کو گرفتار کیا
زندگی کی شبِ تاریک سحر کر نہ سکا[21]

'In the absence of Love, Reason bites him (Man) like a viper
As he has failed to subject it to the control of vision;
The ransacker of the orbits of the planets and stars
Has failed to voyage in the realm of his own ideas;
Enchanted in the labyrinths of his own 'wisdom,'
He has failed to decide between benefit and harm;
He has harnessed the rays of the sun to his service
But failed to illumine the dark night of his life.

Thus both Iqbal and Shelley look forward to a world which is governed by love and imagination. Such a world will be essentially different from the world which worships reason. The hero of the new world will be the poet.

This brings us to a consideration of the nature of the social role which Shelley and Iqbal assigned to the poet. As the ideal order aspired to by both is based on love and imagination and on the reconciliation of head and heart, the poets can play the most effective role in ushering it in. Both Shelley and Iqbal are conscious of the fact that no revolution can be brought about unless the ground is prepared for it in the minds and hearts of men and this is the proper province of poetry. In his Preface to *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley writes:

> My purpose has hitherto been simply to familiarize the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence, aware that until the mind can love, and admire, and trust, and hope and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust.[22]

And in *Essay on Christianity*, one of his maturest prose works, he wrote that the revolutions brought about by the early Christian societies faltered because the mind and will of

man had not been prepared for them. "The system of equality which they established necessarily fell to the ground, because it is a system that must result from rather than precede the moral improvement of mankind."[23] Iqbal's preface to *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message from the East) describes this truth in the following words:

> The peoples of the East should realize the truth that life cannot experience a revolution in its outer manifestations unless it is preceded by a revolution in its inner depths and no external world can come into existence unless it first takes shape in the hearts and minds of men. This inexorable law of nature which the Quran in its simple but eloquent words puts as,
>
> ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم
>
> (God does not change a people's lot unless they change their selves)
>
> Covers both the individual and collective aspects of life and in composing my Persian works I have consistently borne this principle in my mind.[24]

This change of heart, which, to both Shelley and Iqbal, is the essential precondition for a social revolution, is most effectively brought about by poetry and hence the poets are the founders of civilizations. As Shelley writes in *A Defence of Poetry*:

> Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration; the mirror of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present; the words which express which they understand not; the trumpets which sing to battle, and feel not what they inspire; the influence which is moved not but moves. Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.[25]

And in 'To A Skylark, 'the bird is significantly compared with a poet:

> Like a poet hidden
> In the light of thought,
> Singing hymns unbidden,
> Till the world is wrought
>
> To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not.[26]

Defining the social role of poetry, Iqbal describes the poet variously as 'God's own pupil',[27] 'the seeing eye',[28] and 'the

pulsating heart of a community.'[29] Like Shelley, he believes that the poet is a prophet and poetry is history-making prophecy:

شعر را مقصود اگر آدم گری است
شاعری هم وارثِ پیغمبری است[30]

If poetry aims at fashioning men
It too is an heir to prophecy.

A more important inquiry for a student of literature is to assess the effect of their revolutionary concerns on the poetry of Shelley and Iqbal. While it has made their poetry passionate, alive and vibrating and acted as a balancing factor against their narcissistic tendencies, the effect has not always been good.

For one thing, the fervent advocacy of a revolutionary cause by a poet, is apt to lead to undue rhetoric, declamation and incantation. Perhaps a little incantation is necessary for a revolutionary poet to induce certain feelings appropriate to the cause which he wants to serve but if a poet loses control over his emotional outpourings, as Shelley often does, he fails to produce great poetry which is always the product of a wholesome intellectual control of emotions and feelings. In Shelley, therefore, we have, instead of the compression of language which lends multiple dimensions to poetry, dilation and empty rhetoric. 'Song to the Men of England' is a good example to illustrate this. In seven stanzas of this poem Shelley repeats the same idea in different ways. He himself expresses the same idea in only eight lines of 'Fragment: To the people of England' and yet one feels the lack of precision. In contrast, Iqbal seems, nearly always, in control of his emotions and on guard against incantation turning on the sense. The subject of the poems, 'Farman-i-Khuda: Farishton Ke Nam' (God's Commandment to the Angels) and 'Khaja-o-Mazdoor' (The Capitalist and the Labourer) for instance is similar to Shelley's 'Song to the Men of England' and 'Fragment: To the People of England,' that is, the

exploitation of the labour by the capitalists but Iqbal, instead of repeating the same idea over and over again, relates the issue to a wider social and historical spectrum, thus imparting a profundity and significance to his poems which is absent from those of Shelley.

Incantation is carried to the extreme in Shelley's long poems where it exacts a heavy price in terms of the sense. In *The Revolt of Islam*, 'the passion for reform' becomes too obtrusive and interferes with the poem's narrative flow and character portraiture. The identity of the speaker, be it Shelley, Laon or Cythna, does not matter as much as what he speaks for or inveighs against and the prolix speeches are often declamatory. All this ultimately leads to the ambiguity which mars the poem.

Secondly, a poet's preoccupation with a revolutionary concern colours his vision and stands in the way of his seeing things as they are. The poet tends to see an object as a convenient image or symbol of his own favourite ideas regardless of whether or not it can bear that burden. This is clear if we compare Shelley's 'To A Skylark' with Wordsworth's 'To the Skylark' and his 'Ode to the West Wind' with Keats's 'To Autumn. 'Wordsworth's bird never becomes unreal but remains "true to the kindred points of heaven and home," whereas Shelley's bird is "a scorner of the ground;" in fact it is not a bird at all. As Shelley addresses it:

Hail to thee, blithe spirit:
Bird thou never wert.

Similarly 'Ode to the West Wind' is more a receptacle of his emotional outpourings and a vehicle of his revolutionary message than an objective description of the autumnal wind. Keats's ode 'To Autumn' is, in contrast, a depersonalized and objective presentation of autumn where the poet's emotion is successfully fused with the object of his contemplation.

Iqbal too sometimes succumbs to the weakness of unduly indulging his emotion as is evidenced by the conclusion of two of his most successful nature poems in Urdu, 'Himalah and Kinar-i-Ravi.' Both the poems proceed magnificently

until they reach their conclusions which blemish them. But without the conclusions the poems are great and these conclusions are easily detachable. In contrast, no emendation can change 'To A Skylark' or 'Ode to the West Wind' as their weakness is integral to them or, shall we say, their weakness is their strength.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Quoted by S.A. Vahid in *Glimpses of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy Pakistan. 1974), p.90.
[2] See R.A. Nicholson, Introduction to *Secrets of the Self*, p. 11.
[3] Thomas Hutchinson, ed., *Shelley: Poetical Works*; new ed. corrected by G.M. Mathews (London, OUP, 1970), p.271.
[4] Ibid., p 776.
[5] Ibid., p.781.
[6] Ibid., p.47.
[7] Ibid., p.268.
[8] Ibid.,p.448.
[9] Ibid., p.447.
[10] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p.10.
[11] *Zaboor-i-Ajam*, p.112.
[12] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, pp.99-100.
[13] *Poetical Works*, p.773.
[14] *Jawaid Namah*, p.190.
[15] *Poetical Works*, p.37.
[16] John Shawcross.ed., *Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism* (London: OUP, 1909), p.152.
[17] *Poetical Works*, p.92.
[18] *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, p.44.
[19] Ibid., p.45.
[20] *Jawaid Namah*, p.123.
[21] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p.69.
[22] *Poetical Works*, p.207.
[23] D.L. Clark, ed. *Shelley's Prose* (Albuquerque N.M.University of New Mexico Press, 1966), p.212.
[24] Introduction to *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p.m.

[25] *Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism*, p.159.
[26] *Poetical Works*, p.602.
[27] *Bang-i-Dara*, p.53.
[28] Ibid., p.61.
[29] *Jawaid Namah*,. p.44.
[30] Ibid, p.44.

BYRON AND IQBAL

REVOLUTIONARIES WITH A DIFFERENCE

Iqbal is the greatest of those literary figures of modern India whose achievement represents a synthesis of the East and the West. With a native gift for literature and philosophy he combined an extraordinary capacity to imbibe foreign influences and to assimilate them to his own system. His genius, training and situation made him a confluence of several streams of influence-ancient Indian thought (he always refers to his Brahmanic origins), the mystic tradition of the East (the subject of his doctoral dissertation was *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*), Western philosophy and literature, and last but not the least Islamic thought. Among the most significant literary influences on Iqbal was that of the German and the English Romantic movements. Among the Germans he was influenced most by Goethe and Nietzsche and to a lesser extent by Herder and Heine, and among the English Romantics Wordsworth, Shelley and Byron had the greatest impact on him. With Wordsworth and Shelley he shares a lot in common, both in subject matter and poetic technique, but with Byron he seems to have very little in common and yet there are several adulatory references to him in his poetry and prose-works. The most glowing tributes are paid to the poet in *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message from the East), the Persian work which Iqbal wrote in response to Goethe's *West- Oestlicher Divan*. The first tribute occurs under

the title, 'A Conference of the Deceased in the Heaven'. Placing Byron among the greatest men of human history like Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, Hegel, Nietzsche, Bergson, Marx, Tolstoy and Einstein, Iqbal writes:

مثالِ لاله و گل شعله از زمیں روید اگر به خاکِ گلستاں تراود از جامش

نه بود در خور طبعش هوائے سردِ فرنگ تپید پیکِ محبت، ز سوزِ پیغامش

خیال او چه پری خانهٔ بنا کرد است شباب غش کند از جلوهٔ لبِ بامش

گذاشت طائرِ معنی نشیمنِ خود را که ساز گار تر افتاد حلقهٔ دامش![1]

Like roses and tulips flames would grow from the earth
If a drop or two be poured out from his cup.
The chilly climate of England was out of tune with his temperament;
Love's messenger burnt and writhed with the passion of his message.

What a fairyland of beauty has his imagination fashioned forth;
Youth falls into rapture at a glimpse of it.
The phoenix of sense voluntarily relinquished its nest
As it found the noose of his snare more suitable.

Later Byron is again mentioned with the poets Rumi, Ghalib and Browning each of whom introduces himself by reciting a couplet through which Iqbal tries to present their essence. Byron is introduced reciting the following couplet:

از منّتِ خضر نتواں کرد سینه داغ
آب از جگر بگیرم و در ساغر افگنم[2]

I will not scar my breast with the obligation of Khidhr
I, therefore, pour my own heart's blood into the cup.

Iqbal's attitude to Byron, as underscored by these two extracts, raises certian very complex questions. The most fundamental of them is why Iqbal– a believer in the boundless evolution of mankind, a singer of the essential

nobility and God-like grandeur of man and an indefatigable optimist– was drawn to Byron who is, or at least appears to be, an incorrigible pessimist, an arrogant misanthrope and a seminihilist? Was he merely swayed by the Byronic legend which swept Europe during his life-time and forced an unwilling England to pay her homage to one of her unruly sons who had fallen a martyr to the cause of freedom or was his assessment based on a sounder premise of subtle literary discriminations? The two quotations of Iqbal cited above supply us with some clues to resolve this paradox.

In a penetratingly symbolical language, Iqbal refers to the uncommon zest and passion which always kept Byron restless and burning and lent a special fervour to his poetry. Be it his tales or dramatic poems, his lyrics or Hebrew Melodies, his satires or epical masterpieces like the *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan*– all of them glow with the fire of passion.

Iqbal shows a rare acumen and a deep understanding of Byron's personality and work when he refers to his incongruity with the cold climate of England. Evidently this climate was out of tune with his fiery temperament. His Giaour, in the poem of the same name expresses Byron's own sentiments when he says:

> The cold in clime are cold in blood,
> Their love can scarce deserve the name;
> But mine was like the lava flood
> That boils in Aetna's breast of flame[3]

With his hot and rebellious temperament he felt more at home outside England– in Greece, Turkey and Spain. Perhaps this was an essential pre-requisite to unlock his creative potential and make him a poet of continental stature and world-wide fame. In his poetry the mosque and the temple, the olive and the cypress and the simoom and the breeze exist side by side. During his sojourn in Turkey and his friendship with Ali Pasha he threw himself heart and soul into the spirit of the Orient and thought of accepting Islam in which he found a warmth and vitality which was lacking in the complex and life-denying Christianity. In 1810 Annabella

Milbanke seriously suspected him of having become a Musalman. Bernard Blackstone, the most perceptive of Byron's modern critics and one who is also equally at home in the Middle-Eastern lore, remarks that Byron "felt out of place, unrooted in England. The pull to the East was irresistible."[4] The marks of this pull are evident from Byron's work which exhibits considerable influence of the Quran, the Muslim mystic tradition and poets like Jami and Firdausi.

To comment on Iqbal's reference to Byron's excessive interest in the theme of love and beauty would amount to labouring the obvious. His implied praise for Byron's imagination is, however difficult to explain unless he is referring to Byron's withdrawal from the world of reality into a world of his own making or to the gorgeous oriental tales which reconstructed an exotic world for the Westerner. In this regard Keats's judgement is sounder. In a letter to George and Georgiana Keats, he wrote:

> You speak of Byron and me– There is this great difference between us. He describes what he sees– I describe what I imagine– Mine is the harder task. You see the immense difference.[5]

In the last verse of the first quotation, Iqbal refers to the predominance of 'sense' in Byron which is his main claim of distinction among the poets of the Romantic age. All his life he was a passionate champion of the eighteenth century intelligence in preference to Romantic extravagance. It was from this point of view that he subjected Wordsworth and Coleridge to an unduly pungent and generally unjust satire in his English *Bards and Scotch Reviewers.*

The verse which Iqbal has given to Byron to introduce himself in the company of the poets distils the very essence of Byron, the man and the poet. *Khidhr* in the Eastern lore is an immortal being credited with possessing the key to the spring whose water bestows everlasting life on the drinker. In Iqbal's verse he symbolises all help from external agencies– natural or supernatural– which Byron characteristically declines depending solely on his inner resources. This is

Byron's essential romanticism which, in spite of himself, relates him to his age. To this he refers again and again both in his poetry and in his letters and journals. *In Childe Harold* (III, XV) he speaks of himself as "a wounded falcon" beating its wings against the bars of a cage of its own making and in one of his journals he refers to his heart as "my heart thrown back upon itself."[6]

This solipsism was the psychological basis of the abnormal behaviour which made Byron a social outcaste. Hazlitt in his strictures against Byron, not otherwise always fair, rightly stresses this loneliness.

> He holds no communion with his kind; but
> stands alone without mate or fellow.[7]

Iqbal's verse, with the plurisignification of true poetry has another dimension also; to pour out one's heart's blood into the cup (which symbolises poetry) is to be sincere to the highest degree. In this sincerity Swinburne saw the main excellence of Byron "the splendid and imperishable excellence which covers all his offences and outweighs all his defects: the excellence of sincerity and strength."[8]

In spite of the justness and perceptiveness of most of these observations of Iqbal about Byron, the fact remains that this is not the whole of Byron. Iqbal has conveniently ignored a significant part of Byron– the part that is unpalatable to him and unsuited to his system. This is, of course, his favourite method. He singled out some aspects of Napoleon and Mussolini for praise while ignoring others which would not merit praise from his standpoint. But whereas the unpalatable aspects are implicitly hinted at in his poems about Napoleon and Mussolini, in his eulogy of Byron, with the exception of a veiled reference to his solipsism, the unsavoury aspect is almost suppressed. Iqbal might have been partly influenced by the Byron-legend which was quite alive when he went to Europe for higher studies but it will be unfair to say that his estimate was primarily based on the popular reputation of the poet. As shown by the examination of his two citations about Byron, it is based on a very perceptive understanding of the

poet. He probed beneath the delusive appearance and saw the real Byron enmeshed in the compulsions of his situation and from this point of view he saw a partial resemblance between himself and Byron. Like Goethe,[9] Carlyle[10] and Chesterton[11] he saw in Byron not merely "a spoiled child of fame and fortune"[12] as Hazlitt described him but the soul of the modern world aspiring for absolute freedom and defying all limitations. He saw that essentially he shared something very fundamental in common with Byron. Both of them were dissatisfied with things as they are and dreamers of an idealized order. The ideal order for which they aspired would ensure individual liberty so that every individual is able to realize his latent possibilities. To both of them man was a reservoir of boundless potential. The whole poetry of Iqbal is an adoration of man who in his hierarchy is only next to God. As he sings:

در دشتِ جنونِ من جبریل زبوں صیدے
یزداں بہ کمند آور اے ہمت مردانہ[13]

In the wilderness of my frenzy Gabriel is a helpless victim,
Thou manly daring, rope in God himself

Byron, in spite of his apparent pessimism, believed in the essential grandeur and invincibility of human mind. In *Cain* his Lucifer remarks:

Quench the mind, if the mind will be itself
And centre of surrounding things---- 'tis made
To sway.[14]

Lucifer resembles, in part, Iqbal's Iblis (the Devil) who is an embodiment of egoism and defies the Omnipotent to assert his selfhood. Iqbal's Iblis fits in with his philosophy of the ego and has his genealogy in Muslim mystic tradition where he is revered rather than cursed. Bernard Blackstone in his *Byron: A Survey* argues that Byron, through Ali Pasha, had become acquainted with the Muslim Sufi tradition and the cult of the dervishes and in *Cain* he apotheosizes man in the same way in which Abd al-Karim al-Jili does in *Al Insan al-*

Kamil. If this conclusion is accepted, and there is no reason why it should not be accepted, Byron and Iqbal would seem to

draw from the same sources of inspiration. Iqbal was one of the first Muslim thinkers of twentieth century to draw attention to al-jili's concept of the 'perfect man' as the precursor of the modern ideas of 'power-man' and 'superman' and himself gave it fascinating expression in many a passage of his poetry. To quote an example"

ہے گرمیِ آدم سے ہنگامۂ عالم گرم
سورج بھی تماشائی، تارے بھی تماشائی![15]

The tumult of the world is due to the passion of man;
The sun is only a looker- on, the stars are mere spectators.

Like Nietzsche, both Byron and Iqbal believed that history was a record of the achievements of gifted individuals. The exceptional individual affects the fate of a nation by his sheer dynamism and power. This is a theme that always fascinated both Byron and Iqbal. In *Don Juan* Byron pays rich tributes to Rousseau, Voltaire, Gibbon and Napoleon. The list of Iqbal's idols covers the whole known history of mankind and includes prophets, philosophers, warriors and scientists alike. Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) and his distinguished companions, including his grandson Hussain, are personalities which recur in Iqbal's poetry as significant historical symbols. In addition to these the saint-poet Rumi is present throughout as Iqbal's presiding genius. Tributes are also paid to Hegal, Marx, Goethe, Nietzsche, Bergson, Tolstoy, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Browning, Bedil, Ghalib, Aurangzeb, Tipu, Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and many other illustrious sons of human history. Iqbal believes that every human being is capable of extraordinary achievements provided he discovers the possibilities of his self. Human salvation lies in this self-discovery and self-development of the individual and Iqbal looks forward optimistically to a time when this will be achieved.

Byron's faith was not so sunny and the pessimistic note in his poetry cannot be simply wished away but Iqbal based his assessment of Byron on the perception that his pessimism was not life-denying but more in the nature of a desperate protest. He saw that the man who harnessed his life and art in a relentless struggle against all kinds of tyranny and all forms of philistinism and laid down his life in the cause of Greek independence could not, at heart, be a pessimist.

Byron's tragedy lay in the fact that he stagnated in the stage of negation and did not make any positive forward movement. What he had in common with Iqbal was his revolt against the established order but unlike Iqbal he had nothing positive to offer or no Golden age of human perfectibility to look forward to. His revolt is mere destruction and not a prelude to construction. His 'self' knows no selflessness and his exuberance no control. His freedom is in the ultimate analysis licentiousness and anarchy and his vision nihilistic. This is where Iqbal parts his ways with Byron. In him dissatisfaction with things as they are has not led to disgust and misanthrophy but to a passion to reawaken man to the consciousness of his glorious destiny. His obsession with *khudi* (self-hood or ego) has not blinded him to the need for selflessness. (He followed up his *Secrets of the Self* with *Mysteries of Selflessness*) and as a thinker and poet he has tried to chalk out a path of salvation through reconciliation between the principles of permanence and change. Evolution in his view does not destroy the past and raise its fabric upon its ruins but carries the past with it to convert it into the present and the future. This kind of vision was denied to Byron and this difference has a far-reaching impact on the theory and practice of art of the two poets.

Thus though both of them seem to lend countenance to the Romantic notion of art as self-expression, essentially their views are different. Byron's definition of poetry as "the lava of the imagination, whose eruption prevents an earthquake"[16] conceives of a poet as a valcano and poetry-writing as a process of sublimation or letting the steam off. It is neither

Wordsworth's "emotions recollected in tranquility"[17] nor Iqbal's:

نقش سوے نقش گر می آورد
از ضمیرِ او خبر می آورد[18]

The work of art leads to the artist's self
And supplies a clue to his heart.

Again both of them stress the need of the intellectual control over emotions and this is indicative of the classical tendency in both of them but whereas in Iqbal it leads to a poetic medium characterised by intellectual solidity and clarity of design without harming its profundity and suggestiveness, in Byron it has led to a superficiality which no amount of defence can absolve him of.

Sometimes the two poets seem to be saying the same thing but a subtler examination reveals an essential difference. Referring to the origin of art Iqbal says in *Zarb-i-Kalim*:

آیا کہاں سے نالۂ نے میں سرورِ مے
اصل اس کی نے نواز کا دل ہے کہ چوبِ نے؟[19]

What is the source of ecstasy in the tune of the flute
Is it the wood of the flute or the heart of the flute-player?

This seems to be an Urdu version of the following extract from Byron's *Childe Harold* (IV, CXII):

Where are the forms that the sculpter's soul hath seized?
In him alone. Can Nature show so fair?[20]

Iqbal's short but great poem, *Ahram-i-Misr* (The pyramids of Egypt) seems to be a further elaboration of this. The poem reads:

اس دشتِ جگر تاب کی خاموش فضا میں
فطرت نے فقط ریت کے ٹیلے کیے تعمیر!
اہرام کی عظمت سے نگونسار ہیں افلاک

کس ہاتھ نے کھینچی ابدیت کی یہ تصویر؟
فطرت کی غلامی سے کر آزاد ہنر کو
صیاد ہیں مردانِ ہنر مند کہ نخچیر![21]

In the deep silence of this heart-burning desert
Nature built only dunes of sand.
The heavens bow in reverence to the grandeur of the pyramids;
Which hand has drawn this picture of immortality?
Free thy heart from the bondage of nature;
The artists hunt and are not hunted.

A closer scrutiny, however, reveals that there is a fundamental difference between the views of the two poets. Byron does not present man as the arch-rival of Nature and a Creator in his own right who most often surpasses nature in his artistry while this is the main thrust of Iqbal. This, in fact, is one of the most recurrent themes of his poetry and has been beautifully summed up in the following verse:

جہاں او آفرید، ایں خوب تر ساخت
مگر با ایزد انباز است آدم[22]

God created the world, man beautified it;
Perhaps he is worker with God.

Or Iqbal's celebration of the grandeur of man in his poetry recalls to mind Byron's apotheosis of man in *Cain*. A famous verse of Iqbal condenses the whole drama and could well serve as its motto. The verse reads:

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے، بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے![23]

Exalt thy ego to the extent that every decree of fate
Is issued by God in consultation with man.

But the way in which this sentiment is expressed by the two poets brings out the difference of thier outlook. Byron's *Cain* is all complaint and all despair against why his will is not

his fate whereas Iqbal's man looks forward optimistically to the station of grandeur (Maqam-i-kibriya) where he can will his fate.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 200.
[2] Ibid., p. 212.
[3] *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (London: OUP, 1914), p. 255.
[4] *Byron: A Survey* (London: Longman, 1975), p. 132.
[5] Andrew Rutherford, *Byron: The Critical Heritage* (Delhi & London: Vikas Publications, 1970) , p. 265.
[6] R.H. Prothero, ed. *Byron's Letters and Journals* (London: OUP 1898-1904), Vol. V, p. 446.
[7] *Byron: The Critical Heritage*, p. 268.
[8] Ibid., p. 373.
[9] Goethe regarded him as a great and distinguished poet, admired his *Manfred*, *Cain* and *Don Juan* and created his Euphorion (in *Faust* Part II) after him. He saw in him the spirit of the modern age in revolt against all restrictions.
[10] Carlyle called him "the noblest spirit in Europe" and classed him with the power-men "whose beau-ideal of mankind was some transcript of Milton's Devil." These men hurled defiance towards fate as it seemed to enthral their free virtue.
(*The Critical Heritage*, pp. 286-88).
[11] Chesterton called him "an unconscious optimist" whose exuberance demanded for his adversary "a dragon as big as the world."
(*The Critical Heritage*, p. 485).
[12] *The Critical Heritage*, p. 275.
[13] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 166.
[14] *Poetical Works*, p. 515.
[15] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 122.
[16] *Letters and Journals*, IV, p. 405.
[17] *English Critical Essays: Nineteenth Century* (London: OUP, 1916), p. 22.

[18] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 193.
[19] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 114.
[20] Ibid, p.116.
[21] Ibid., pp. 116-7.
[22] *Bang-i-Dara*, p: 194
[23] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 55.

SHAIKH-I-MAKTAB

IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF AN IDEAL TEACHER

افلم يسيروا فى الارض فتكون لهم قلوب يعقلون بها او اذان يسمعون بها فانها لا تعمى الابصار ولكن تعمى القلوب التى فى الصدور O (الحج:46)

Do they not travel through the earth so they could have hearts and minds wherewith to think and feel and ears wherewith to hear: for truly it is not the eyes that turn blind; it is the hearts in the breasts that turn blind.

When Iqbal recommended his teacher, Mir Hasan, for the conferment of the award of 'Shams al-Ulama' (an award next only to knighthood in British India) to the then British Government, he was told that the award was conferred only on those scholars who were writers of distinction and that the list of Mir Hasan's writings be proffered. In response, Iqbal said that he (Iqbal) himself had been authored by Mir Hasan. The plea was accepted and the title awarded. This incident is significant of Iqbal's idea of the status and role of a teacher who occurs again and again in his poetry as an important character, generally referred to as 'Shaikh-i Maktab'.

Iqbal himself was associated with the teaching profession and pedagogical issues for a considerable period of time. Early in his career he had prepared a book in Urdu on

Economics, entitled *Ilmul-Iqtisad*, to be taught in the schools. Later he taught English literature and philosophy for brief stints of time at the Government College, Lahore and the Islamia College, Lahore. During his stay in England, he taught Arabic for a brief period at the University of London. All the while he had been intensely thinking of the larger issues connected with the business of education, epistemology, mind, self and self-development. Having developed his philosophy of life, he undertook a critical review of modern education which constitutes an important strand of the whole corpus of his writing, particularly poetry.

Iqbal's philosophy of life can be summed up as 'the cult of man'. It is man of whom he constantly thought and sang and it is man whom his poetry celebrates and deifies. In a letter he once wrote:

> My ancestors were Brahmins who spent their lives in thinking of what God is and I am spending my life in thinking of what man is![1]

Man, in his view, is an organic unity of spirit and body, body governed by spirit. Education is the process of making and fashioning such a man. But to his great dismay he found modern education and modern educators lacking from this point of view:

مدرسہ عقل کو آزاد تو کرتا ہے مگر
چھوڑ جاتا ہے خیالات کو بے ربط و نظام![2]

The school, no doubt, does free the reason but
It divests human thoughts of order and harmony.

وہ علم نہیں، زہر ہے احرار کے حق میں
جس علم کا حاصل ہے جہاں میں دو کفِ جو![3]

That knowledge is not true knowledge but venom for free men whose end in the world is but two handfuls of barley.

شکایت ہے مجھے یا رب! خداوندانِ مکتب سے
سبق شاہیں بچوں کو دے رہے ہیں خاکبازی کا![4]

This is my grouse, O Lord!, against the Masters of schools:
'They teach young ones of eagles to wallow in the dust'.

ترا نومیدی از طفلاں روا نیست چہ پروا گر دماغِ شاں رسا نیست

بگو اے شیخِ مکتب گر بدانی کہ دل در سینۂ شاں ہست یا نیست؟[5]

Never be dismayed with these young children;
It matters little if their minds do not soar high:
Tell me, 0 teacher, if you know the truth,
Do they or do they not have hearts in their breasts?

Iqbal saw with anguish that the civilization which had come to dominate the modern world cared very little about human soul and its growth and development. Education which could have served this purpose has also become a convenient tool in the hands of the materialistic civilization and has now acquired a predominantly economic (professional, vocational) orientation. He pleaded for a balance and reconciliation of the material and the spiritual which is attainable only when the spirit directs matter, the soul controls the body. In *Zarb-i Kalim*, the section relating to education (Talim-o Tarbiat) opens with an epigraph consisting of three verses. The first of these represents Spinoza, the second one represents Plato and the third represents Iqbal himself. This is Spinoza:

نظر حیات پہ رکھتا ہے مرد دانشمند

حیات کیا ہے؟ حضور و سرور و نور و وجود![6]

The wise man's gaze is fixed on life
Life which is Omnipresence, rapture, light, existence,

That is to say, the universe of existence is all that matters; it is Life, 'Substance' and the 'natura naturata' (which religions designate as God) and this should be the main object of our attention. Plato pleads otherwise:

نگاہ موت پہ رکھتا ہے مردِ دانشمند

حیات ہے شبِ تاریک میں شرر کی نمود[7]

The wise man's eye is ever centred on death;
Life is but the flash of a spark in the dark night.

That is, Life and existence is unreal; all that we see is a play of shadows. 'Forms' and 'Ideas' alone are real and in this world they elude us.

Broadly speaking, Spinoza represents a pantheistic realism which borders on materialism whereas Plato, in Iqbal's words, one of the ancient stock of sheep (az girohe gosfandane qadeem)[8] represents an idealism which is life-negating. Iqbal counters both with,

حیات و موت نہیں التفات کے لائق
فقط خودی ہے خودی کی نگاہ کا مقصود[9]

Life and death do hardly deserve our attention
The sole object of Self should be the Self itself.

Life and death are necessary stages in the development of the Ego, the self whose essence, in Iqbal's view, is spiritual. Spirit or soul transcends life and death; it is immortal like the source from which it flows - the Eternity, God. What Iqbal implies is that the ultimate aim of education, of the pursuit of knowledge, should be the cultivation and development of this soul which in turn uses body and all its energies meaningfully in the path of endless human evolution. This is what he finds lacking everywhere and hence his lament;

اٹھا میں مدرسہ و خانقاہ سے غمناک
نہ زندگی، نہ محبت، نہ معرفت، نہ نگاہ![10]

I returned with a heavy heart from the school and the convent,
Where there is neither life, nor love, nor gnosis, nor vision.

جلوتیانِ مدرسہ کور نگاہ و مردہ ذوق[11]

Seminaries that seem to buzz with life are perverse in vision and base in taste.

It is not the dance of the body (raqs-i tan) which can rescue man and his civilization but the dance of the soul

(raqs-i jan) because when the soul learns to dance, the universe experiences a revolution:

رقصِ تن در گردش آرد خاک را
رقصِ جاں برہم زند افلاک را![12]

The dance of the body sets whirling the dust only;
The dance of the soul turns heavens upside down.

This should characterize the ambience in which education is imparted, the methodology of teaching and, above all, the character of the teacher. Unlike Tagore, Iqbal never strived to implement his ideas on education. Had he done so it would have been more or less on the lines of what Tagore tried to realize through Shantiniketan. Both Tagore and Iqbal felt that modern systems of education have voluntarily chosen to set blinkers upon their vision and deny to the learners access to the benign and wholesome influences of nature which nourish human heart and soul. As Wordsworth put it:

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.[13]

Like Tagore and Wordsworth, Iqbal had a keen realization of this truth which receives exquisite expression in many a verse of his:

فطرت کے مقاصد کی کرتا ہے نگہبانی
یا بندۂ صحرائی یا مردِ کہستانی!

اے شیخ بہت اچھی مکتب کی فضا لیکن
بنتی ہے بیاباں میں فاروقی و سلمانی![14]

Nature's noble aims are fulfilled
Either by the sons of the desert or by.mountain-dwellers.
Quite pleasing, O teacher, is the atmospere of the school,
But Farooqui and Salmani are nourished only in the wilderness.

مدرسے نے تری آنکھوں سے چھپایا جن کو
خلوتِ کوہ و بیاباں میں وہ اسرار ہیں فاش![15]

The mysteries which were shut to your eyes by the school
Are unveiled in the solitude of the mountain and the desert.

Cast in the lap of materialistic civilization, modern man has to devise ways and means to ensure the life and growth of the spirit. Iqbal feared that education and knowledge which in essence is Gabriel-like– revealing, illuminating, inspiring, nourishing - was becoming Iblis-like (devilish) - irresponsible, destructive, beastly– in the hands of modern civilization. It has to be rescued through *ishq* (love) which is soul in action so that it is converted from, pharoasophy (hikmat-i Firawani) to Kalimosophy (hikmat-i Kalimi).[16] In this process of restoration, the teacher's role is most pivotal. Of course, the ambience in which education is imparted and the methodology through which it is imparted are very crucial but their efficacy and fruitfulness depends upon the teacher who makes use of them. Iqbal attached the utmost importance to the role of the individual in human affairs. The course of history, he believed, was ultimately determined by the heroic action of extraordinary individuals. In the process of education too, the teacher was all-important and hence Iqbal characterizes him as the architect of the soul:

شیخِ مکتب ہے اک عمارت گر
جس کی صنعت ہے روحِ انسانی[17]

The teacher in the school is the builder of an edifice
And the edifice that he builds is the soul of man.

His advice to the teacher, therefore, is:

تب و تابے کہ باشد جاودانہ سمندِ زندگی را تازیانہ
بہ فرزنداں بیا موز ایں تب و تاب کتاب و مکتب افسون و فسانہ![18]

An ever-pulsating zeal and zest,
That acts as a spur to the steed of life,
Impart this zeal to the scions of the race;
The book, the wisdom is a fantasy, an illusion.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal and others are mine.

[1] Quoted by Javid Iqbal in *Zindah Rud* (Vol.I): Hayat-i Iqbal Ka *Tashkeeli Dawr* (Lahore: Ghulam Ali Publishers, 1979), p.140.
[2] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p.81.
[3] Ibid., P.629.
[4] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p.32.
[5] *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, p.100.
[6] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p.68.
[7] Ibid., p.68.
[8] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p.32.
[9] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p.68.
[10] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p.338.
[11] Ibid., p. 112.
[12] *Jawaid Namah*, p.208.
[13] 'Tables Turned' in Wordsworth: *Poetical Works* ed. Thomas Hutchinson; rev. ed. E. De Selincourt (OUP, 1985), p.377.
[14] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, pp.178-9.
Umar al-Farooq and Salman al-Farsi were two of the greatest heroes of early Islam; the former was also the Second Caliph of the Prophet.
[15] Ibid., p.545.
[16] 'Hikmat-i Fir'awani' and 'Hikmat-i Kalim'i are two important terms used by Iqbal in *Mathnavi Pas Cheh Bayed Kard* to denote two distinctive uses of knowledge. If it is used for the nourishment of the human soul and the consequent betterment of mankind, it is (Hikmat-i-Kalimi). If, on the other hand, it serves to nourish human body only, converts man into a mere material being and proves destructive in the end, it is Hikmat-i Firawani'.
[17] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 164.
[18] *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, p. 98.

BANDAGHI NAMAH

Bandaghi Namah is one of the most significant poems of Iqbal in that it sets forth in a comprehensive manner his views on art and religion, both in their dynamic and decadent forms. Iqbal was himself conscious of its significance and referred to it as a poetic presentation of his views on art in his foreword to *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai*.

The poem is divided into four sections. The first section consists of introduction, the second section deals with the fine arts of the Slaves and is subdivided into two sections: one devoted to a discourse on music and the other to painting. The third section deals with religion, and the fourth and the last section again returns to the fine arts; this time the subject is the architecture of the Free men. In effect, therefore the poem consists not of four but of five sections.

The way the religious theme has been inextricably sandwiched between discourses on arts is significant of how Iqbal viewed art and religion as aspects of the same reality. This is different from Professor Northrop Frye's idea of religion and art springing from the same source but the two views are not far removed from each other to be regarded as contraries. For Iqbal, art and religion are both related to life and their worth is to be measured in proportion to their life-yielding capacity while for Northrop Frye, the essential subject-matter of the two is the same.

The poem is entitled 'Bandaghi Namah', the Book of Servitude or Slavery and an understanding of Iqbal's idea of

slavery is crucial for an appreciation of the full import of the poem. Iqbal uses the word 'bandaghi' in this poem and in most other contexts, as a synonym of decadence. It is a state of mind denoting the loss of a sense of personality or self-hood in an individual or community. This state of mind leads to what the language of Prophecy has described as *sual* (begging) which Iqbal criticized so severely in his explanatory note about his philosophy of Ego sent to R.A. Nicholson. In that note Iqbal extends the meaning of begging to a state of dependence and mental servitude:

> The son of a rich man who inherits his father's wealth is an asker (beggar); so is everyone who thinks the thoughts of others.[1]

This kind of decadence and mental servitude can be avoided if we take care of our 'self' and safeguard our soul. Iqbal painfully realized that the modern world was soul-less:

ترسم ایں عصرے کہ تو زادی دراں
در بدن غرق است و کم داند ز جاں![2]

I fear that the age you are born to
Is steeped in body and cares little for the soul.

In the introductory section of the 'Bandaghi Namah' this complaint is voiced in heart-rending words by the moon to the Lord of the heavens and the earth:

ایں جہاں از نورِ جاں آگاہ نیست
ایں جہاں شایانِ مہر و ماہ نیست[3]

This word is unaware of the light emanating from the soul;
This world does not deserve the sun and the moon.

This is followed by a description of how slavish mentality corrupts both the individual and the community. It brings about the perversion of taste in the individual, narrows his vision and reconciles him to decadence:

کور ذوق و نیش را دانستہ نوش مردۂ بے مرگ و نعشِ خود بدوش
آبروے زندگی در باختہ چوں خراں باکاہ و جو در ساختہ[4]

Corrupt of taste he takes evil for good;
Dead before death and carrying his corpse on his shoulders.
He has bartered away the honour of life
And is content like asses with hay and barley.

This finds a more eloquent expression in Iqbals' Urdu poetry:

تھا جو نا خوب، بتدریج وہی 'خوب' ہوا
کہ غلامی میں بدل جاتا ہے قوموں کا ضمیر[5]

What was unfair has gradually turned fair
As slavery perverts the conscience of communities.

In the community slavery sows the seeds of dissension. As the centre breaks, the units fall apart and everyone is pitted against everyone else. The introductory part of 'Bandaghi Namah' closes with a soul-consuming description of the horrors of a life of slavery. Better than a moment of slavery is to live for ages together in a place more horrible than hell.

The second section is entitled 'Fine arts of the Slaves'. When we join section four with it which describes the architecture of the Free men, we have a short but comprehensive account of Iqbal's ideas on fine arts. It is significant that Iqbal talks of music and painting as the arts of the slaves whereas architecture is discussed as an illustration of the art of Free men. This is because Iqbal believed that music and painting of Free men were yet to be produced. In his foreword to *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai* he wrote:

> It is my belief that, with the single exception of Architecture, the art of Islam (music, painting and poetry) is yet to be born the art, that is to say, which aims at the human assimilation of Divine attributes.[6]

Needless to add that Iqbal uses the term 'Free men' as synonymous with true Muslims.

The fine arts of the Slaves are, in Iqbal's view, anti-life and breed an attitude of resignation and escapism. They impair the enthusiasm of defying the obstacles and conquering the forces that hamper the free development of an individual:

ناتوان و زار می سازد ترا
از جہاں بے زار می سازد ترا[7]

It renders you powerless and decrepit
And alienates you from the affairs of the world.

Grief and pessimism and a feeling of ennui are both born from the womb of decadent art:

سوزِ دل از دل برد غم می دہد
زہر اندر ساغرِ جم می دہد[8]

It robs the heart of its enthusiasm and fills it with grief
It passes on poison in the cup of Jamshid.

In the first edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal had illustrated this idea with the concrete example of Hafiz whose artistry he always adored but whose attitude to life was unacceptable to him:

ہوشیار از حافظِ صہبا گسار جامش از زہرِ اجل سرمایہ دار
نغمۂ چنگش دلیلِ انحطاط ہاتفِ او جبرئیلِ انحطاط[9]

Beware of Hafiz the drunkard,
His cup contains the poison of death;
The tunes from his harp lead to decay;
His presiding genius is the Gabriel of decadence.

Such an attack is in keeping with Iqbal's messianic fervour for the revival and restoration of mankind. On this view mere formal beauty of art is of no importance unless its content is life-giving. The art of the slaves is mere form-worship, and for the worshippers of the form, artists like Hafiz would always remain objects of unqualified admiration. In Iqbal's view such form-worship is clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power.[10] In dynamic art meaning and content determine the form:

معنیِ او نقش بندِ صورت است[11]

Although it is only through form that we reach the meaning yet it is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. If it over-shadows the meaning, it is self-defeating. This is the point of Rumi's verses quoted by Iqbal:

"معنی آں باشد کہ بستاند ترا بے نیاز از نقش گرداند ترا
معنی آں نبود کہ کور و کر کند مرد را بر نقش عاشق تر کند"[12]

Meaning is that which engrosses you wholly
And makes you independent of the form;
Meaning is not that which makes you blind and deaf
And infatuates you with mere form.

Evidently this theory of art runs counter to all those views of art where form is assigned an all-important place, Iqbal would dismiss form-worshippers like Wilde as prophets of decadence. Wild remarked:

> Form is everything. It is the secret of life. Start with the worship of the form and there is no secret in art that will not be revealed to you.[13]

Iqbal would have rejected outright such formulations of the modern formalists, like Clive Bell, as the following:

> The representative element in a work of art may or may not be harmful; always it is irrelevant.[14]

Iqbal's discourse on painting provides him with an occasion to talk about the subject-matter of art. Art is not imitation in the sense that it reproduces all that it receives from without. It is recreation in which the artist's self plays a crucial role. Art is self-revelation. Slavish imitation of nature is the worship of *afil*, the ephemeral, the evanescent, the mortal. The clear implication is that human self which proceeds from the command of God is alone immortal and the art emanating from this self partakes of the Divine attribute of immortality and is creative in the true sense of the term. Consequently the criterion for evaluation in art is not the taste of the vulgar masses (zouq-i-jamhoor) but the quality of self-revelation present in a work of art. This standard of value is elaborated in the last section of the poem, 'Architecture of the Free men':

نقش سوے نقش گر می آورد
از ضمیرِ او خبر می آورد[15]

The artefact leads to the artist's self
And supplies a clue to his heart.

An artist, in Iqbal's view, is not concerned with what 'is' but with 'what ought to be', and this 'ought to be' lies within him and not outside of him:

حسن را از خود برون جستن خطاست
آنچه می بائست پیشِ ما کجاست؟[16]

It is wrong to look for 'beauty' outside one's self:
What ought to be cannot lie out there.

In his foreword to *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai*, Iqbal wrote:

> The modern age seeks inspiration from Nature. But Nature simply 'is' and her function is mainly to obstruct our search for 'ought' which the artist must discover within the depths of his own being.[17]

An artist, therefore, significantly changes and modifies his meterial, 'he adds to nature', as Iqbal would put it:

آں ہنر مندے کہ بر فطرت فزود راز خود را بر نگاہ ما کشود[18]

The artist who adds to nature
Unveils before us the secret of his being.

Like the ideal man in Iqbal's 'Muhavarah Ma Bain Khuda-o-Insan' (A Dialogue between God and Man) he brings new things to birth and thus attains to the status of a creator in his own right:

جہاں او آفرید، ایں خوب تر ساخت
مگر با ایزد انباز است آدم[19]

The assimilative force which helps man to creatively interfere with his material is, in Iqbal's language, 'love' (ishq). In an ideal artist "love reveals itself as unity of Beauty and Power"[20] and it is this exquisite combination of Beauty and Majesty that he discovers to be the hallmark of the architecture of Free men, like the Mosque of Cordova and the Taj. In his poem, The Mosque of Cordova, the mosque is addressed thus:

تیرا جلال و جمال، مرد خدا کی دلیل
وہ بھی جلیل و جمیل، تو بھی جلیل و جمیل[21]

Your beauty and majesty indicate the greatness of the Godman:
Both you and he are beautiful as well as majestic.

In 'Bandaghi Namah' the 'Taj' is presented as a symbol of this beauty and majesty and Iqbal concludes that unless the two go together great art cannot be produced:

دلبری بے قاہری جادوگری است دلبری باقاہری پیغمبری است
ہر دو را در کارہا آمیخت عشق! عالمے در عالمے انگیخت عشق![22]

Beauty without power is mere incantation;
Beauty with power is Prophecy.
Love combines both in its manifestations
And creates a world out of a world.

It is the force of love that distinguishes the religion of the Free men from that of the Slaves. A religion unenlivened by the power of love is a hollow ritual:

عقل و دل و نگاہ کا مرشدِ اوّلیں ہے عشق
عشق نہ ہو تو شرع و دیں بتکدۂ تصورات![23]

Love is the prime guide of reason and heart and vision;
Religion and the law (of *shariah*) are an idol-house of concepts without 'love'.

This is Iqbal in 'Zauq-o-Shauq', and in 'Bandaghi Namah':

در غلامی عشق و مذہب را فراق
انگبین زندگانی بد مذاق[24]

In servitude love is dissociated from religion
And the honey of life is embittered.

Love, in the religious context, means the imprinting of *Tauhid* (a vivid feeling of the oneness of God) on one's heart. Equipped with this invincible force, one can overcome all kinds of obstacles and refashion the world according to one's

ideals. This is true life, a life where the soul lives and is in command of the body; this is living with God:

آنکه حی لا یموت آمد حق است　　زیستن باحق حیات مطلق است

هر که بے حق زیست جز مردار نیست　　گرچه کس در ماتم او زار نیست[25]

God alone is the living without death
And one who lives with God has life, absolute;
And one who lives without God is dead
Although no one weeps and wails for him.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Introduction to *Secrets of the Self*, pp. 21-22.
[2] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 207.
[3] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 180.
[4] Ibid., p. 180.
[5] *Zarb-i-Kalim*, p. 16.
[6] *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai*, the work is unpaged.
[7] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 183.
[8] Ibid., p. 184.
[9] *Rozgar-i-Faqir*, vol. II, pp. 164-165.
[10] *Speeches, Writings and Statements*, p. 124.
[11] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p.181.
[12] Ibid., p. 184.
[13] *Literary Criticism: A short History*, p. 488.
[14] Ibid., p. 490.
[15] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 186.
[16] Ibid., p. 187.
[17] The work is unpaged.
[18] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 188.
[19] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 194.
[20] Foreword to *Murrqqa-i-Chughtai*.
[21] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 388.
[22] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 123.
[23] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 112.
[24] *Zaboor-i-'Ajam*, p. 190.
[25] Ibid, p. 191.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SYMBOL

A STUDY OF IQBAL'S POEM, 'AFTAB'

Since the word symbol occurs in the title of this presentation, I would like to preface it with an extremely brief account, in general terms, about the use of symbols in poetry. Of course, this is one of the weightiest ever subjects and can by no means be dismissed in a brief prefatory note. These remarks are, therefore, added only to introduce the present discourse.

Broadly speaking, symbols may be divided into three categories:

a)The Collective or Cultural symbols: The Collective symbols have a universal character in that they have acquired a more or less common signification amongst the generality of human beings: Two examples of such symbols are the sunrise and the sunset which are considered to be symbolical of birth and death among almost all human groups and cultures. A cultural symbol, on the other hand, is peculiar to a certain culture. The Cross, for instance, is peculiar to Christianity, Trishul to the Hindus and the Crescent to the Muslims.

b)Personal symbols: Sometimes a poet (generally a great poet) evolves a personal symbolism whose understanding and interpretation demands a good deal of effort from the reader. Three good examples of the use of such symbolism are those of Blake,Yeats and the Kashmiri poet, Rahman Rahi.

Examples of striking symbols evolved by these poets are the lamb and the rose (Blake), the swan and the gyre (Yeats) and the dove and the gnawing worm (Rahi). Such symbols may occur originally as ordinary images but after their first appearance they gather layers, about them through recurrent use until they develop into real symbols.

c)Symbols which have associations attached to them among men in general or among certain cultural groups and which the poet exploits for his peculiar purposes. The 'shepherd', for instance, is a symbol of affection, guidance and benign patronage in many cultures. The snake is a loathsome symbol in some cultures while in others it symbolises sanctity and nobility. In the use of such symbols the poet significantly modifies or adds to the symbolic import of such recurrent symbols so that they emerge ultimately as the personal symbols of the 'poet. Blake's treatment of the symbol, 'Shepherd' and Shelley's use of the symbol of 'snake' are good illustrations of this process. 'Shepherd'is now a personal symbol of Blake as is 'snake' 'that of Shelley.

In creative art it is the last two categories of symbols which alone merit the epithet of the symbol proper. It is such a symbol which coleridge defined as the presentation of something eternal through and in the temporal. Such a symbol is so thick, multi-layered, multi-dimensional and largely inscrutable that it is hard to reduce it to a one-to-one correspondence with something. As Carl Jaspers points out in *Truth and Symbol*, such a symbol is not explained by the other; what can be interpreted finally and precisely ceases to be a symbol. A symbol is not passed over by being understood but deepened by being meditated upon.

Iqbal makes use of symbols of all the three categories but achieves signal success in the use of the symbols of the second and the third categories. The tulip (lalah), the glow-worm (jugnoo) and the stream (naddi) are examples of the second category of symbols in Iqbal's Poetry whereas the eagle (shaheen), the star and the candle (shama) are examples of the third category.

Iqbal's poem, 'Aftab' is an exquisite illustration of the use of a symbol of the third category. He takes it up as an image and then subjects it to a creative transformation, an artistic process in which it gathers layers around it by recurrent use in different contexts and develops into a symbol. In this lies the whole significance of the poem 'Aftab' otherwise it, most certainly, is not one of the greatest poems of Iqbal.

The images which have had the greatest fascination for Iqbal include the images of light and amongst them he is most preoccupied with the image of the sun. In his early poetry it appears as a simple image borrowed from the world of nature and assimilated to different poetic contexts but with his growth as a thinker and creative artist, it gathers new dimensions around it, incorporates new strands and becomes more and more complex until it emerges as a great symbol. In 'Aftab', the symbol seems to have arrived and from this point of view it is one of the significant poems of Iqbal.

As a sub-title to the poem, Iqbal adds significantly Tarjumah *Gayatri* (a translation of *Gayatri*). In fact, it is not a translation but representation of a symbol under the inspiration of *Gayatri*. *Gayatri* acts as a key to unlock a whole complex of ideas, feelings and sensations that had become inseparably linked in the mind of Iqbal with the image of the sun. Traces of his absorption with the sun at the mental as well as the emotional level are interspersed throughout his writings. In an early poem, 'Aftab-i-Subh', he wants to emulate the sun's universal bountifulness and craves for a light of which the sunlight is merely a symbol:

آرزو نورِ حقیقت کی ہمارے دل میں ہے![1]

We harbour in our hearts a yearning for the light of truth.

Later this early fascination with the rising sun found a sublime expression in the opening of 'Zouq-o-Shouq':

قلب و نظر کی زندگی دشت میں صبح کا سماں
چشمۂ آفتاب سے نور کی ندیاں رواں!

حسنِ ازل کی ہے نمود، چاک ہے پردۂ وجود
دل کے لیے ہزار سود ایک نگاہ کا زیاں![2]

The sun-rise in the desert revives the Eye and the Heart.
Streamlets of light flow from the spring of the sun.
The veil of existence is torn and primordial Beauty is unmasked.
Now sparing a glance brings a thousand benefits to the heart.

And again in the poem-sequence entitled 'Mihrab Gul Afghan Ke Afkar' in *Zarb-i- Kalim*:

خورشید! سرا پردۂ مشرق سے نکل کر
پہنا مرے کہسار کو ملبوسِ حنائی![3]

O Sun, come out of the royal curtains in the East
And clothe my mountains with garments of henna.

Like the sun-rise, the sun-set is also fascinating for him. In '*Bazm-i Anjum*' the setting sun decorates the evening with garlands of tulips:

سورج نے جاتے جاتے شامِ سیہ قبا کو
طشتِ افق سے لیکر لالے کے پھول مارے[4]

As the sun went down it decorated the black robed evening
With tulip blossoms from the horizon's platter.

In 'Masjid-i Qurtuba' the image occurs again in a more impressive manner and finally in 'Khidhr-i Rah' and *Javid Namah* the mystic dimensions of the sunset are brought to light:

وہ سکوتِ شامِ صحرا میں غروبِ آفتاب
جس سے روشن تر ہوئی چشمِ جہاں بینِ خلیل[5]

The sun -set in the calm of the desert evening
Which lit up the world-seeing eye of God's friend (Abraham).

کوہ و دریا و غروبِ آفتاب
من خدا را دیدم آنجا بے حجاب[6]

The mountain, the lake and the sun-set
I saw God unmasked there.

In Mathnavi *Pas Cheh Bayed Kard*, a whole poem is addressed to the Sun which in part seems to be the persian version of the poem which is now under our consideration. More of this later.

In 1905 Iqbal was travelling to Europe by sea for higher studies, While at sea, he wrote in a letter:

> It is the morning of 12 September. I have got up early..... The sun seems to rise from the spring of water and the ocean looks like our river Ravi. For a sensitive heart sunrise is like the recitation of the scripture.
>
> ... Those who have adopted sun-worship as their religion stand, in my wiew, excused.[7]

Here I feel almost impelled to quote a passage from *The Life of John Buncle*:

> The sun was rising as we mounted the horses, and struck me so powerfully with the surpassing splendor and majesty of its appearance, so cheered me by the gladsome influences, and intimate refreshment of its all enlivening beams, that 1 was contriving as I rid, on an apology for the first adorers of the solar orb, and imagined that they intended nothing more than the worship of the transcendant majesty of the invisible Creator, under the symbol of his most excellent and nearly resembling Creature... a visible glorious presence of Jehovah Elohim... This is some excuse for the first worshippers of the solar orb.[8]

The famous painter, Turner's last words are said to have been "The Sun is God".[9]

When Iqbal wrote the letter from the sea, he must have been conceiving the subject of his doctoral research for which he was travelling to Europe. The subject, as we know now, was to be *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia.* In the first chapter of this dissertation Iqbal traces the development of the Magian belief in the dualism of Light and Darkness in ancient Persia. Zoroaster systematised this religious thinking and accorded primacy to Light. Mani (Manes or Manichaeus) built his dualistic philosophy on the light-darkness antithesis.

This mode of thinking was so predominant in ancient Iran that even an avowedly atheistic thinker, Mazdak (one of the first pioneers of communist thought), had to erect the metaphysical side of his system on the distinction between *Shidh* (light) and *Tar* (darkness). Against this background when the medieval Muslim sufis read the Quranic verse,

اللہ نور السموت و الارض [10]

Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth.

They must have seen in it the continuation. of a centuries-old religious truth.

All this reveals that Iqbal's creative mind must have remained obsessed with the idea of light and its most prominent manifestation for man, the sun. It is a poet of this mental make-up who is brooding in *'Aftab'* on one of the oldest hymns addressed to the sun as a symbol of the ultimate Reality. Before we proceed ahead, let us look at the text of the hymn common to all the four holy *Vedas*. According to Gian Chand Jain, the text of the hymn reads as follows:

Om, bhur bhuvah sivah
Tatsavitru vareniam
Bhargo devasya dhimahi
Dhiyo yonah parchodayat.[11]

Gian Chand's urdu translation of the prayer is:

اوم، زمین، خلا اور عرش کے مالک، سب سے ارفع منبع انوار۔ الوہی انوار کے جمگھٹ۔ ہم تیرا دھیان کرتے ہیں (یا ہمیں فہم دے) تو ہماری فہم کو تحریک اور ولولہ دے[12]

Gian Chand Jain points out that the hymn is in the pre-Sanskrit language, the Vedic-Sanskrit, and therefore not easy to translate, W.J.Wilkins in his book, *The Hindu Mythology*, quotes the text of *Gayatri* in the following words:

Let us meditate on that excellent glory
of the divine Vivifier. May he enlighten
(or stimulate) our understandings.[13]

And this is how the hymn has been translated by sir William Jones:

> Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun (opposed to the visible luminary), the godhead who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress.[14]

Iqbal's poem was written in 1902 and appeared first in *Makhzan* with a detailed note by the Poet confirming that Gayatri acted only as a stimulus to express something that was already ripe in his mind. In what follows 1 sum up the main contents of Iqbal's note:

1.This prayer common to all the four Vedas is an expression of the impressions cast in human mind by the awe-inspiring phenomena of Nature.

2.Although the hymn has been translated into several European languages, the syntactical complicacies of Sanskrit have defied the attempts of the translators (including., Sir William Jones) to appropriately capture the spirit and content of the original.

3.In the original Sanskrit the key-word used is 'Savitra'. Since it was difficult to find its equivalent in Urdu, 1 have used word 'Aftab' which represents that supra-sensible sun from which our sun acquires its light

4.The majority of our sufis believe in

اللہ نور السموت و الارض ۔

Read against this background, 'Aftab' is less the description of the physical sun, much less a translation of Gayatri, than the expression of a symbol for celestial light which has shaped itself in the poet's creative mind through a process of incubation spread over many long years.

اے آفتاب! روح و روانِ جہاں ہے تو
شیرازہ بندِ دفترِ کون و مکاں ہے تو
باعث ہے تو وجود و عدم کی نمود کا

ہے سبز تیرے دم سے چمن ہست و بود کا
قائم یہ عنصروں کا تماشا تجھی سے ہے
ہر شے میں زندگی کا تقاضا تجھی سے ہے
ہر شے کو تیری جلوہ گری سے ثبات ہے
تیرا یہ سوز و ساز سراپا حیات ہے
وہ آفتاب! جس سے زمانے میں نور ہے
دل ہے، خرد ہے، روحِ رواں ہے، شعور ہے
اے آفتاب! ہم کو ضیائے شعور دے
چشمِ خرد کو اپنی تجلّی سے نور دے
ہے محفل وجود کا ساماں طراز تو
یزدانِ ساکنانِ نشیب و فراز تو
تیرا کمالِ ہستی ہر جاندار میں
تیری نمود سلسلۂ کوہسار میں
ہر چیز کی حیات کا پروردگار تو
زائیدگانِ نور کا ہے تاجدار تو
نہ ابتدا کوئی، نہ کوئی انتہا تری
آزادِ قیدِ اوّل و آخر ضیا تری

O Sun' you are the soul and the spirit of the world,
The organizer, the binder of the book of the world.
The appearance of existence and non existence is due to you
As well as the 'is' and 'is not' of the garden:
You are the cause of the collocation of elements
And that of the animate world's urge to live.
Your resplendence upholds every object;
Your passion, your harmony is the basis of life.
The sun whose light illuminates Time
Is heart, mind, spirit, consciousness.

O Sun! lend us the light of awareness;
Enlighten a little the eye of Reason.
You provide for the whole congregation of existence;
You are God to denizens of the below and the above.
Your perfection speaks in every living thing;
You shine forth in every mountain range;
You nourish the life of every object;
You are the prince of the creatures of light.
You are without a beginning; without an end:
Your light is not limited by the categories of the 'first' and the' last'.

The symbolic signification of the sun is also the burden of Iqbal's poem, 'Khitab be Mehr-i Alamtab' (To the World-illuming Sun) in *Mathnavi Pas Cheh Bayed Kard*:

از تو این سوز و سرور اندر وجود　　از تو هر پوشیده را ذوقِ نمود
می رود روشن تر از دستِ کلیم　　زورقِ زرّینِ تو در جوے سیم
تیره خاکم را سراپا نور کن　　در تجلّی ہاے خود مستور کن[15]

Yours is the passion, the harmony in the existence;
The hidden longs for appearance because of you.
More effulgent than the hand of the Kalim is the movement
Of your golden canoe in the silvery stream.
Convert my dark dust into illumination all over
And enfold and wrap my being in your light abounding.

In both of these poems we meet not with the physical but the symbolical sun and if the first title of 'Aftab', as Gian Chand Jain tells us, was 'Aftab-i Haqiqat' (the Sun of Reality), it was certainly most appropriate.

As I said at the outset, 'Aftab' is not a great poem but it assumes significance as it helps us understand one of the ways in which symbols develop in great poetry. It is not the only way but surely the most usual one. What happens is that in the creative mind of the poet, around an image, ideas, feelings, sensations and other images, connected in some way with the pivotal image, start gathering and developing into a single complex. The pivotal image loses its thinness, its unidimensionality and becomes a complicated and multi-

layered complex; a symbol is born and waits for a poetic context to find expression. Such a symbol with Iqbal is the sun and 'Aftab' (Tarjumah *Gayatri*) provided him with the first context in which it found an appropriate expression.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal are mine.

[1] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 49.
[2] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 111.
[3] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 175.
[4] *Bang-i-Dara*, p.173.
[5] Ibid., P. 258.
[6] *Jawaid Nama*, p. 161.
[7] Javid Iqbal, *Zindah Rud* (Lahore: Ghulam Ali Publishers, 1979), PP. 108-109.
[8] Quoted by John Beer in *Coleridge: The Visionary* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959), P. 45.
[9] Quoted by Elaine Jordan in *Alfred Tennyson* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1988), P.94.
[10] The Qur'an, AI-Nur, V. 35.
[11] Gian Chand Jain, *Ibtidai Kalam-i Iqbal: Be Tartib-i Mah-o Sal* (Hyderabad: Urdu Research Centre, 1988), P.174.
[12] Ibid., P. 176. Translation: Om! Lord of the earth, the heavens and the space; the sublimest source of all lights--the concentration of all celestia11ights. We meditate on you: Stimulate our understandings.
[13] *The Hindu Mythology: Vedic and Puranic* (1882; Rupa,1975), P.30.
[14] *Works of Sir* William *Jones*: in *Six volumes* (London,1799), Vol. VI, P.417.
[15] *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*, P. 10.

THE IMAGE OF THE WEST IN IQBAL AND AZAD

خیرہ نہ کر سکا مجھے جلوۂ دانشِ فرنگ
سرمہ ہے میری آنکھ کا خاکِ مدینۂ و نجف

(بال جبریل، ص:40)

The glitter of the Western philosophy failed to dazzle me
As the antimony of my eyes is the dust of Madinah and Najaf.

طائر زیرِ دام کے نالے تو سن چکے ہو تم
یہ بھی سنو کہ نالۂ طائرِ بام اور ہے

(بانگ درا، ص:114)

You have heard the notes of the bird in the mesh,
Know this too, that the free warbling of the bird on the roof-top is different.

The era in which Iqbal and Azad were born and brought up was the era of Western domination of the East. The two were born within a decade of each other towards the close of the nineteenth century, a period when the Western imperialist powers were busy in subjugating the main countries of Asia and Africa. India had finally fallen after the grand resistance of 1857. The post-1857 period was a period

of an all-round British onslaught to Westernize the mind and culture of India. Education was seen as the most effective instrument of securing this end, and after the adoption of Macaulay's educational policy, the British set out to produce a new generation of Indians who would be Indians in body but Britishers in mind and soul. This was the kind of education that Iqbal was to receive as a school and college student and later as an advanced research scholar in Germany and England, although in his case, it seems to have been effectively counterbalanced by the traditional elementary instruction that he received at the *maktabs* especially from Maulana Syed Mir Hasan. Azad was not at all exposed to Western education at any stage of his life. Born in Makkah (where he spent the first ten years of his life), and brought up in a highly conservative religious atmosphere in Calcutta, he did not receive any formal school education. It is only when he stepped into public life as an ebullient journalist in the beginning of the twentieth century that he felt the need of Western knowledge and taught himself a good deal of it.

By the time Iqbal and Azad reached their age of maturity the mental enslavement of India was almost complete. As in other Oriental lands, Western world-view and Western values were unquestioningly accepted here. Intellectuals willingly surrendered to all that emanated from the West and apologists like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, his great services to the Indian Muslims notwithstanding, preached Westernism with a clear conscience and courage of conviction. In his presidential address to the annual convention of Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind in 1921, Maulana Azad characterized the movement led by reformers like Sir Syed as 'Islah-i-Afrangi' (West-oriented Reform Movement). As profound thinkers consciously committed to Islam, both Azad and Iqbal reacted to the new situation.

Azad began his career as a conscious Islamic missionary preaching Islamic revival and declaring Islam to be the only way of salvation in this world and the Hereafter. In *Tazkirah* he sees himself as a *mujaddid* (reviver) in the tradition of

Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyyah, Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Wali-ul-Lah. He declares his sole aspiration to serve Islam as his distant forefathers had done:

بڑی سے بڑی آرزو جس کو اپنے دل میں رکھ سکتا ہوں یہی ہے کہ زندگی کی آخریں گھڑیوں تک اپنے اسلاف کرام کے طریقِ صدق و حق پر مستقیم رہنے کی توفیق پاؤں اور ساری زندگی اسی راہ کی کوچہ گردی میں بسر کر دوں۔[1]

The greatest desire that I cherish in my heart is to follow the path of righteousness like my forefathers upto the last breath of my life and spend every moment of life in the lanes and bylanes of this path.

Again and again, in soul-stirring language, he calls for a revolution based on the Quran and the Sunnah. To realize his ideal he founded an organisation, Hizb-ul-Lah,in 1913 and after some times sent round his deputies to secure *baiah* (consent) from people in favour of his leadership. In a lecture delivered in 1914 at Calcutta he openly invited Muslims to Jihad:

میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس مومن پر جو اللہ اور اس کے رسولؐ اور اس کی کتاب پر ایمان رکھتا ہے، فرض ہے کہ آج جہاد فی سبیل اللہ کے لیے اٹھ کھڑا ہو۔[2]

I declare that it is the bounden duty of everyone who believes in God, His Prophet and His book to stand up and join the struggle launched in the way of Allah.

In *Tazkirah* there are passages where one has the feeling that one is reading a prose-version of some verses of Iqbal, a prose-version couched in as powerful and moving a language as that of Iqbal's poetry itself. On many an occasion Azad says that at critical moments in the history of Islam it is only men of extraordinary heroic virtue and courage who performed the onerous task of revitalizing the *ummah* while innumerable scholars of high calibre, who are always there, merely looked on. One such passage reads:

مقصود اصلی اس تذکرے سے یہ تھا کہ دعوت کا مقام دوسرا ہے اور عزیمتِ دعوت کا دوسرا۔ ضرور نہیں کہ ہر رہرو کی یہاں تک رسائی ہو۔ عبدِ ظہور دعوت میں ہزاروں اصحاب علم و کمال موجود ہوتے ہیں مگر دروازے کا کھولنے والا صرف امجد العصر ہوتا ہے۔[3]

This account was meant to show that there is a great difference between *dawah* (inviting people to the path of Islam) and *azimat-i-dawah* (to stick determinedly to the cause of *dawah* and to bear all tribulations for it). Every wayfarer does not necessarily reach this destination. In any age of *dawah* there are thousands of men of learning and scholarship but the door of revival would remain closed unless the reviver of the day opened it.

Now apart from reflecting Azad's own view of the role he envisaged for himself, this passage recalls to mind at once such verses of Iqbal as the following:

صحبتِ پیرِ روم سے مجھ پہ ہوا یہ راز فاش
لاکھ حکیم سر بہ جیب، ایک کلیم سر بکف![4]

My (spiritual) association with the pir of Rum has unveiled this secret to me:
Thousands of thinkers brooding with bowed heads on one hand and a single (crusader like) *Kalim-ul-Lah* on the other,

At another place Azad writes:

بڑوں بڑوں کا عذر یہ ہوتا ہے کہ وقت ساتھ نہیں دیتا اور سروسامان اور اسبابِ کار فراہم نہیں۔ لیکن وقت کا عازم و فاتح اٹھتا ہے اور کہتا ہے کہ اگر وقت ساتھ نہیں دیتا تو میں اس کو ساتھ لوں گا۔[5]

Even the great men excuse themselves by complaining that times are unfavourable and that equipment and paraphernalia are deficient but the determined conqueror of the age proclaims that if time is unfavourable, I will force it to fall in line.

This passage continues in the same vein for quite some length, recalling in each line one or the other verse of Iqbal on the subject, such as,

کہتا ہے زمانے سے یہ درویشِ جواں مرد
جاتا ہے جدھر بندۂ حق تو بھی ادھر جا!
میں کشتی و ملاح کا محتاج نہ ہوں گا
چڑھتا ہوا دریا ہے اگر تو تو اتر جا
مہر و مہ و انجم کا محاسب ہے قلندر!
ایّام کا مرکب نہیں، راکب ہے قلندر![6]

This dervish of heroic power tells the time:
Follow the direction of the truth-loving man.
I do not depend on the boat or the boatman,
If you are a river in spate, consent to subside.
A *qalandar* calls to account the sun, the moon and the stars;
He is not time's vehicle but the rider holding its bridle.

or

حدیثِ بے خبراں ہے تو با زمانہ بساز!
زمانہ با تو نہ سازد، تو با زمانہ ستیز![7]

The ignorant say fall in line with time
No, if time refuses to follow you, fight it out.

Azad continued to perform the role of a fervent missionary of Islam until he joined the Indian National Congress in 1922. In spite of being the main political adversary of the British imperialism in India, the Indian National Congress was ideologically as well as organizationally a Western political party. Nationalism, Democracy, Secularism and socialism– concepts that originated and developed in the modern materialistic West– were the main planks of the Congress policy. Its organizational structure was also modelled on Western political parties. As an important leader of the Congress and as its president for several years, Maulana Azad could not keep himself immune from the influence of the Congress ideology imported from the West. Gradually a subtle change

occured in his outlook on life and its problems. His commitment to Islam did not altogether vanish but it grew feebler and feebler until, in effect, it lost all its vitality. The Quran presents iman (faith) not as a static commodity which you have or do not have but as a dynamic state subject to the process of growth and decay. In 'Surah al-Anfal', for instance, Allah 'subhanahu wa taala' says:

انما المومنون الذين اذا ذكر الله و جلت قلوبهم و اذا تليت عليهم ايته زادتهم ايمانا و على ربهم يتوكلون O [8]

Those indeed are the believers who feel a tremor in thier hearts when they hear God mentioned; and when God's (holy) verses are read out to them it increases their faith; and they put all their trust in their Lord.

Again in 'Surah al-Taubah', the Quran says:

و اذا ما انزلت سورة فمنهم من يقول ايكم زادته هذه ايمانا فاما الذين امنو فزادتهم ايمانا و هم يستبشرون O [9]

Whenever a surah is revealed some of them ask, 'whose faith has it increased?" It has increased the faith of those who believe and they do rejoice.

One can see the Quranic view of faith convincingly illustrated in the ups and downs of the stormy life of Maulana Azad. As a missionary of Islam Azad rightly rejected secular and territorial nationalism as opposed to Islam's organic view of life and its belief in the unity and brotherhood of mankind. In an address delivered in 1914 he described territorial nationalism as the greatest evil proceeding from Godlessness and inveighed against those who were afraid to own Pan-Islamism:

مسلمان پان اسلام ازم کے نام پر استغفار پڑھ رہے ہیں۔ لیکن میں کہتا ہوں اے کاش! آج مسلمانوں میں پان اسلام ازم کا وجود ہوتا وہ پان اسلام ازم ... روز اول سے جس کی ہم کو دعوت دی گئی ہے۔

و اعتصموا بحبل الله جميعا ولا تفرقوا [10]

ایک دین الہی کی رسی سب مل کر پکڑو اور آپس میں متفرق نہ ہو۔

The Muslims disavow their belief in Pan-Islamism but I say, 'Would that Pan-Islamism existed among Muslims-the Pan-Islamism which we were called upon to practise from the day of our inception:

And hold fast the rope of the Divine religion and be not divided;

In his presidential address to Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind in 1921, he forcefully asserts that the only way of salvation for mankind is to follow the final and perfect version of God's message i.e. Islam and exhorts the Muslims to fulfil their mission as 'khairul-ummah'. An extract from the address reads:

اسلام کے نظمِ شریعت میں دین و دنیا کی تقسیم نہیں ہے۔ اسلام نے شریعتِ الہی کو نوعِ انسانی کی تمام سعادت و ہدایت کا کفیل و سرچشمہ قرار دیا ہے اور مسلمانوں کی سیاسی، علمی، اخلاقی، قومی و مدنی زندگی کی بنیاد صرف ایک ہی حقیقتِ جامعہ پر ہے یعنی شریعتِ اسلامیہ اور کتاب و سنت پر۔[11]

In the structure of Islamic *shariah* there is no place for any bifurcation between the religious and secular aspects of life. Islam declares the Divine law (*shariah*) to be the source and foundation of guidance and glory for mankind. The only truth that unites the political, intellectual, moral, national and cultural life of Muslims is the Islamic *shariah* based on the book of Allah and the life-example of the Prophet.

In sharp contrast to this in his address to the Ramgarh Congress Session of 1940, he vainly tried to reconcile Islam with its negation– secular and territorial nationalism[12], and in October 1947, in his address to the Muslims of Delhi, commitment to secular nationalism is declared to be the 'sirat-i-mustaquim'[13] (the straight path). Can one help quoting here Iqbal– the 'Brahman zadae ramz-ashnae Rum-o-Tabriz'[14] about Hussain Ahmad Madani:

عجم ہنوز نداند رموزِ دیں ورنہ
ز دیو بند حسین احمد ایں چہ بوالعجبی است!
سرود بر سرِ منبر کہ ملت از وطن است
چہ بے خبر ز مقام محمدِ عربی است
بمصطفی برساں خویش را کہ دیں ہمہ اوست
اگر بہ او نرسیدی تمام بو لہبی است[15]

Ajam is still unable to know the mystries of religion,
Else how should Husain Ahmad from Deoband, o how!
Proclaim from the pulpit that territory is the basis of nationhood:
How ignorant is he of the station of Muhammad of Arabia!
Reach yourself to Muhammad all religion is this;
If you fail to reach him, your way is the way of Abu Lahb.

Iqbal's premises with regard to nationalism are the same as those of early Azad. The difference is that whereas Iqbal accepted the logical consequences of his ideological position Azad, in practice, did not do so. Iqbal's address to the Muslim League Session of 1930 is essentially of the same tenor as Maulana Azad's address to Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind in 1921. In that address, Iqbal said, among other things, that,

> Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconciliable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the Universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other.[16]

But unlike Azad, Iqbal accepted the practical implications of this view. The most striking contrast in this regard between Iqbal and Azad is that while Iqbal moved from narrow territorial nationalistic leanings to the Islamic ideal of the unity and brotherhood of mankind, Azad did exactly the reverse.

The later Azad's servile and apologetic attitude to the West is also clear from his morbid obsession with the theory of biological evolution. *Alaq*, for instance, is unjustifiably translated as a leech. Azad is so obsessed with the idea that he imposes it even where there is no place or need for it.[17] In his

explanatory notes about human embryo at the end of *Surah al-Muminoon*, Azad, rightly observes that in this case science had to change its views but the Quranic truths remained unscathed. He criticizes exegetes like Tantavi, Hasan Pasha Mahmud, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Sheikh Muhammad Abduhu and others for trying to force the Quran to conform to an embryology which later scientific discoveries had to disprove but fails to realize that this is exactly what he is doing vis-a-vis the theory of biological evolution. In his notes to *Surah al-Muminoon* he repeats the word 'ape' needlessly after every two or three sentences in order to safeguard the sanctity of Charles Darwin.[18] Iqbal too adopts an ambivalent attitude towards evolution. *In The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Ibn Maskvwaih's views about evolution are approvingly referred to and Rumi's idea of spiritual evolution is sought to be interpreted in biological terms. But Iqbal does not commit himself so unswervingly to the theory of evolution as Azad does nor does he force the Quranic verses to fall in line with Darwin. Besides he is acutely aware of its pernicious effects on modern man's psychology. As he writes

> The theory of evolution, however, has brought despair and anxiety instead of hope and enthusiasm for life, to modern world.[19]

On the other hand, Azad not only fails to see this aspect of evolution but looks at it optimistically in *Ghubar-i-Khatir*.[20]

The most crucial divergence of outlook between Iqbal and Azad emerges in their diagnosis of the malaise of the modern West which, because of the present domination of the Western civilization, is the malaise of the modern age as a whole. Gifted with the vision and wisdom of a true believer Iqbal sees materialism as the main evil of modern age– an evil which has corrupted life in all its manifestations:

علم و فن، دین و سیاست، عقل و دل
زوج زوج اندر طوافِ آب و گل![21]

> Knowledge and art, religion and politics and reason and heart-
> Hosts upon hosts circumambulating water and clay.

Viewing from this angle, Iqbal rightly sees the two dominant socio-political systems of the present age– Capitalism and Socialism– as springing from the same root of materialism and pursuing the same goal:

غرق دیدم ہر دو را در آب و گل
ہر دو را تن روشن و تاریک دل![22]

I see both of them steeped in water and clay;
Both are effulgent of body and dark of soul.

On the other hand, Azad failed to see the fundamental malaise of modern age in its proper perspective. Thus even though he criticizes both Capitalism and Socialism as un-Islamic, he is misled by their superficial antagonism and considers the latter to be nearer to Islam.[23] On the whole, his perception and analysis of modern situation lack the depth and perspicuity which is so characteristic of Iqbal. No wonder then that Girami sang:

در دیدۂ معنی نگہاں حضرتِ اقبال
پیغمبری کرد و پیمبر نہ تواں گفت

Those gifted with eyes which discern meaning know that Iqbal
Though not a prophet, did yet fulfil the mission of prophecy.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal are mine.

[1] Abul Kalam Azad, *Tazkirah*, ed. Malik Ram (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1968), p. 30 The translations of the citations from Azad are by the author.

[2] Abul Kalam Azad, *Khutbat-i-Azad*, ed. Malik Ram (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1974), p. 35.

[3] *Tazkirah*, p. 263.

[4] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 39.

[5] *Tazkirah*, p. 272.

[6] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 41.
[7] *Bal-i-Jibreel*, p. 16.
[8] Al-Anfal, v. 2.
[9] Al-Taubah, v. 124.
[10] *Khutbat*, p. 26.
[11] Ibid., p. 110.
[12] Ibid., pp. 297-98.
[13] Ibid., p. 337.
[14]

مرا بنگر کہ در ہندوستاں دیگر نمے بینی
برہمن زادۂ رمز آشنائے روم و تبریز است

(زبور عجم، 119)

Observe me well for you may never meet in India again

A Brahman's son, aware, connoisseur like, of the mystery of Rum and Tabriz.

[15] *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, p. 49.
[16] *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 5.
[17] See, for instance, *Tarjumanal-Quran* (Karachi: Maktabah Said, undated), vol.I pp. 88-89, 104 and 114.
[18] *Tarjumanal-Quran* (Karachi: Maktabah Said, undated), vol. II, pp. 540-44.
[19] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. p. 121.
[20] *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, ed. Malik Ram (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademic, 1967), pp. 114-15. The relevant extract reads.

انسان کے حیوانی وجود نے مرتبۂ انسانیت میں پہنچ کر نشوو ارتقا کی تمام پچھلی منزلیں بہت پیچھے چھوڑ دی ہیں اور بلندی کے ایک ایسے ارفع مقام پر پہنچ گیا ہے جو اسے کرۂ ارضی کی تمام مخلوقات سے الگ اور ممتاز کر دیتا ہے ... اب وہ اس بلندی سے پھر نیچے کی طرف نہیں دیکھ سکتا۔

By stepping into manhood from the state of animality, man has surpassed all the previous stages of his evolution and reached a pinnacle of glory which sets him apart from all other species of creation on the earth and where from he can never look back.

[21] *Jawaid Namah*, p. 201.
[22] Ibid., p. 65.
[23] See in this connection *Khutbat*, pp. 246-47 and *Tarjumanal-Quran*, II, pp. 136-37.

THE WESTERN RESPONSE TO IQBAL

AN OVERVIEW

This paper, as its title reveals, does not propose to be a detailed and thoroughly documented survey of the work of Iqbal's Western critics. Such a survey, to be comprehensive, would require the length of a fairly extensive book. This paper is an attempt towards defining the over-all attitude of the West to Iqbal– an attitude which seems to have been determined more by unconscious motives than by a conscious and objective assessment of Iqbal's achievement as a thinker and poet. Edward Said has aptly distilled the essence of this unconscious motivation under the rubric of Orientalism– the undeclared manifesto of the West *vis-a-vis* the East. The West has always been moved by its desire of "dominating, restructuring and having authority over the East" through hegemonistic strategies ranging from subtle and not so subtle literary devices to blatant political and economic manoeuvring.[1]

Anyone who has carefully studied the response of the Western critics to Iqbal will find in it another illustration of Said's thesis. In an exceptionally good essay on Iqbal's religious thought entitled 'Iqbal's Panentheism', Robert Whittemore writes:

> His (Iqbal's) philosophical poetry is regarded by many Muslim scholars as a worthy postscript to the *Diwan* and *Mathnavi* of Jalaluddin Rumi. In his Pakistani homeland, and throughout the world of Islam, he is accorded a respect verging at times on reverence. And yet you will seek in vain through the pages of most modern European and American philosophy for a

mention of his name. He is unknown even to the compilers of philosophical dictionaries and encyclopedias[2].

Whittemore ascribes this to the fact that Western philosophy, throughout its history, from Thales to Wittgenstein, has been parochial in attitude. What he terms as parochialism is an important ingredient of the complex phenomenon called Orientalism. Among the Western critics and translators of Iqbal only Annemarie Schimmel and Alessandro Bausani exhibit that objectivity which is a *sine qua non* for any research or scholarship worth the name and it is significant that one of them is a German and the other an Italian. Arberry and Nicholson are both authentic scholars of Arabic and Persian, yet in their translations of Iqbal one comes across astonishing howlers. This is the text of one of Iqbal's quatrains from 'Lala-e-Tur' in *Payam-i-Mashriq* and its translation by A. J. Arberry in *The Tulip of Sinai*:

دریں گلشن پریشاں مثلِ بویم

نمی دانم چه می خواہم، چه جویم

بر آید آرزو یا بر نیاید

شہیدِ سوز و ساز آرزویم

A spent scent in the garden I suspire,
I know not what I seek, what I require,
But be my passion satisfied, or no,
Yet here I burn, a martyr to desire[3].

The most potent poetic expression in the quatrain is the poet's comparison of himself to a fragrance scattered through the garden. The word *parishan* used in the original carries the sense of spreading, dissemination, being wafted through the air and not, as Arberry renders it, of being spent, consumed and exhausted. Here is another instance of mistranslation from *Secrets of the Self*, Nicholson's translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*:

در دماغش نادمیده لاله ہا

ناشنیده نغمه ہا ہم ناله ہا

Ere tulips blossomed -.in his brain
There was heard no note of joy or grief.[4]

The verse forms part of a discourse where Iqbal is speaking of an ideal poet who is himself an inexhaustible source of beauty and ought to be translated as,

In his mind exist tulips yet unbloomed.
And unheard melodies of joy and pain.

As is obvious, the import of the verse is destroyed in Nicholson's translation. Such mistakes are, however, venial in that one can take exception to them only on literary and linguistic grounds but there are instances of mistranslation which have wider implications and point to the existence of motives– conscious or unconscious. Take, for illustration, this example from Nicholson's *Secrets of the Self.* Iqbal's verse,

از رموزِ زندگی آگاه شو

ظالم و جاہل ز غیر اللہ شو

is translated as,

Gain knowledge of life's mysteries!
Be a tyrant! Ignore all except God!

This is not a translation but a travesty of the original which actually means this:

Gain access to the... mysteries of life:
Be cruel and impervious to all,other than Allah[5].

It is surprising how Nicholson conveniently drops the connecting *wav* (*wav al-atf*) in the phrase *Zalim-u-jahil* and loads the second hemistich of the verse with a meaning which it cannot bear by any stretch of language or imagination.

Quite in consonance with .this line of approach Edward Brown in his *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times* set afloat the idea that Iqbal's thought was an Oriental adaptation of Nietzsche's philosophy. . Since then this opinion has been repeated by most of the Western critics including Nicholson, Arberry and Montgomery Watt. While Arberry was generous enough to grant that Iqbal's idea of the higher selfhood was

partly borrowed from the Islamic mystical concept of the perfect Man, others traced the idea solely to Nietzsche. This was quite logically connected with the supposed Fascist and anti-democratic predilection of Iqbal.

This is a classic instance of a half-truth built on the foundations of a half-truth if not an instance of falsehood based on falsehood. There is no doubt that some statements of Iqbal, if read out of the context of his whole thought, do scandalizingly smack of Nietzsche as well as of a Fascist and anti democratic tendency. In *Asrar-i-Khudi*, for instance, he says:

با توانائی صداقت توأم است

گر خود آگاہی ہمیں جامِ جم است[6]

Truth is the twin of power:
If you are self-knowing then this is the all-revealing cup of Jamshid.

Similarly in a short poem of *Zarb-i-Kalim* entitled 'Jalal-o-Jamal' (Sublimity and Beauty) he says:

مری نظر میں ہے جمال و زیبائی

کہ سربسجدہ ہیں قوت کے سامنے افلاک![7]

To me this alone is beauty and charm.
That heavens bow in reverence to power.

In *Stray Reflections*, he is much more explicit on the subject. Here are two typical quotations:

Power is more divine than truth. God is power. Be ye, then, like your father who is in heaven[8].

Power toucheth falsehood and lo it is transformed into truth[9].

At times his deification of power tantamounts to a flagrant moral outrage. In a paper written in 1909, he says:

Power, energy, force, strength, yes, physical strength is the law of life. A strong man may rob others when he has got nothing

in his pocket, but a feeble person, he must die the death of a mean thing in the world's awful scene of continual warfare[10].

About Democracy. too his attitude has not been uncritical. In *Zarb-i-Kalim* he quotes Stendhal with his approbation:

جمہوریت اک طرزِ حکومت ہے کہ جس میں

بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تولا نہیں کرتے[11]

Democracy is a form of Government in which
Slaves are only counted and not weighed.

And in *Payam-i-Mashriq*, he issues a call:

گریز از طرزِ جمہوری، غلامِ پختہ کارے شو

کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکرِ انسانے نمی آید[12]

Flee from the democratic system and submit to a mellow person.
As the brains of two hundred asses cannot make the mind of a man.

But does all this establish the thesis that his thought was an Oriental version of the philosophy of Nietzsche? His ideal man, unlike Nietzsche's superman is essentially a spiritual person and not a merely biological and immoral being. As Annemarie Schimmel writes:

> unquestionably the accentuation of *Khudi*, of Self, is very significant of Iqbal's work. Yet I wonder if he himself would have agreed if he be called a humanist as some writers had done. His evaluation of man is not of man *qua* man, but of man in relation to God, and Iqbal's anthropology, the whole concept of *khudi*, of development of self is understandable only in the larger context of his theology. What he aims at is not man as the measure of all things but as a being that grows the more perfect the closer his connection with God is, it is man neither as an atheistic superman who replaces a God 'who has died', nor as the perfect Man in the sense that he is but a visible aspect of God with whom he is essentially one– but man as realizing the wonderful paradox of freedom in servantship [13]

About Iqbal's views on Democracy, it is to be borne in mind that he was not opposed to the spirit of Democracy itself as Nietzsche was but to the particular form that it had taken in the modern West. Iqbal found in it serious drawbacks which eroded it from within. For one thing it had a scant respect for man as a person, as a unique individual and treated him as a mere political entity, a citizen. For another, he saw that it was a mere extension of the economic opportunity and, in effect, led to the establishment of an aristocracy. For these. vital defects it did not lead to the development of a social system in which an individual could freely realize his potentialities. Nor could it extend the principle of democracy to those lands which the imperialist (and yet democratic) powers of Europe had subjugated for economic ends. He, therefore, exclaimed with rage and amazement:

تو نے کیا دیکھا نہیں مغرب کا جمہوری نظام؟

چہرہ روشن، اندروں چنگیز سے تاریک تر![14]

Hav'nt you seen the Democratic system of the West
With a shining exterior and an interior blacker than Chingiz.

This naturally bred in Iqbal a vacillating attitude towards Democracy. On the one hand he asserted that Islamic polity, which in his view was an ideal system, was democratic in character because in it supremacy vests with God and, except for the interpretation of the law, no one can exercise authority over the other. It also ensures absolute equality of all men and has no place in it for any sort of aristocracy. Such a system naturally leads to an unfettered unfoldment of individuality which is the only defining characteristic of a wholesome and ever-evolving society. *In the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* he wrote:

> The republican form of Government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam[15].

On the other hand in an interview in 1931, he told the Bombay Chronicle:.

...I am neither at heart a believer in Democracy.

I tolerate Democracy because there is no other substitute[16]

What all this signifies is that Iqbal is not opposed to the spirit, to the principle of Democracy as such but would like to see modern democracy free from the defects that it had developed in a Godless materialistic atmosphere. This is a clear rejection of the Nietzschean standpoint. As Iqbal himself wrote:

> Nietzsche... abhors the rule of the herd and, hopeless of the plebian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of supermen. But is the plebian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebian material, Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then, the Democracy of early IsIam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?[17]

Iqbal's eulogization, of Mussolini or his verses about Napoleon have often been misconstrued as a manifestation of a Fascist attitude. In fact, it is his admiration for one particular aspect in the personality of these men– their vitalism and strength of character– and not a. blanket adoration of these men. Like the German poet Heine, Iqbal praised even a despot if he expressed the fierce vigour of an untrammeled life-force.

Some Western critics also exhibit a 'more intelligent than thou' attitude towards Iqbal. A typical example is that of Wilfred Cantwell Smith. Smith's general mocking tone against Islam is also carried over to Iqbal:

> ...Iqbal is so contradictory and unsystematic that it is difficult to assess him. He is the Sufi that attacked Sufism, and perhaps the liberal who attacked liberalism. The historical consequence of his impact seems on the whole to have served to weaken

liberalism among Indian Muslims and to help replace it with an illiberal nationalistic' and apologist dogmatism[18]

Smith's assessment of Iqbal's impact has great weight in it although it cannot be accepted in its totality because Iqbal's influence has not strengthened illiberalism only but encouraged radically liberal thinking among the Muslim intelligentsia also. His observation that Iqbal is. unsystematic and contradictory is, however, untenable. Could Smith comprehend the system of Iqbal's thought most of the contradictions would have been resolved. Iqbal was committed to a liberalism which has very little in common with the materialistic and unbridled liberalism known to Smith and his (Iqbal's) sufism (spiritual purification) was not anti-life and escapist. Hence Smith's delusion about a liberal attacking liberalism and a sufi attacking sufism. Worse still is Smith's claim that Iqbal was confused about socialism. Iqbal's standpoint on socialism was quite explicit but the fact remains that a mere materialist like Smith cannot appreciate it. A belly-centred world view for which the material alone is real and the mental develops out of it cannot understand the mystique of the spirit. Iqbal saw both the capitalist economy and its socialist version as springing from the womb of materialism:

غرق دیدم ہر دو را در آب و گل

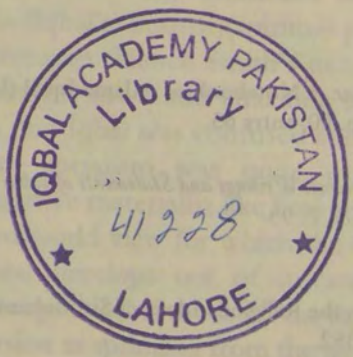
ہر دو را تن روشن و تاریک دل![19]

I see both of them steeped in water and clay;
Both glittering in body and dark in soul

NOTES AND REFERENCES

All translations of citations from Iqbal are mine.

[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 3.
[2] *Selections from Iqbal Review* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1983), p. 257.
[3] *Ibid.* p 454.
[4] *Secrets of the Self* (New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1978), P.61.
[5] *Ibid.*; P. 81.
[6] *Asrar-o-Rumooz*, p. 50.
[7] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p. 123.
[8] Javid Iqbal ed. *Stray Reflections*: A Notebook of Allama Iqbal (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, (1961), p. 90, entry 63.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 92, entry 65.
[10] Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches. Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977), P. 95.
[11] *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, p.148.
[12] *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 135.
[13] *Gabriel's Wing*. A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (Leiden :E. J. Brill, 1963), p. 382.
[14] *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, Urdu. p. 650.
[15] *Reconstruction* (Delhi: Kitab Publishing House, 1974), p.157.
[16] B. A Dar ed. *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan (1967), p. 59.
[17] Quoted by Nicholson in the Introduction to *Secrets of the Self*, P.24.
[18] *Islam in Modern History* (Mentor Books: New American Library, 1957), p.69.
In *Modern Islam in India* Smith elaborates his view further, distinguishing between what he terms the 'Reactionary Iqbal' and the 'Progressive Iqbal'. In its essentials, however, his thesis remains the same as propounded succinctly in *Islam in Modern History*.
[19] *Jawaid Namah*, p.165.


IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN
Library
41228
LAHORE