

# *THE POET OF THE EAST*



*A. ANWAR BEG*

# THE POET OF THE EAST

---

LIFE AND WORK OF DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL,  
THE POET-PHILOSOPHER, WITH A CRITICAL  
SURVEY OF HIS PHILOSOPHY, POETICAL  
WORKS AND TEACHINGS

*by*  
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LAHORE

WITH A FOREWORD BY  
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IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN



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## PREFACE

ON April 21, 1938, passed away one of the most illustrious personalities of the Orient that had lightened the darkness of India—Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who occupied an eminent place among the thinkers of the contemporary world and was perhaps the greatest poet of his time.

His death cast a gloom all over the Muslim world. We wanted him to stay as Islam was passing through a critical stage in the Nineteenth century and the crisis continued down to the first Great War. We were losing hold over circumstances and were running short of men :

“Men who for truth and honour’s sake

Stand fast and suffer long.”

Islam lost in him a great son while Muslim India is all the poorer for his death.

During the last three decades, we have seen the world being hurriedly whirled through an endless series of changes that have produced a new orientation in world thought. The pace of change in Islamic lands has not been slow.

The present generation has seen the passing of so many kings, the tottering of so many states, as systems of government are failing one after another. Indifference towards religion and the high attributes of man, the social chaos, the acute struggle for domination appear to be a constant menace to humanity, its culture and civilization. The world seems to have lost its balance. Is stability possible in the circumstances? What is going to be the result of the forces now in operation? These are the questions that we face to-day, and the fundamental inquiries that have been agitating the human mind since the dawn of human history are no less puzzling. What is the *raison d’etre* of man? The object of life and an ideal society? The life and work of the Poet of the East answer these and other allied questions, and an attempt to



write the biography of such a great man is a step in that direction.

Success in doing so depends upon the faithful presentation of the poet's life to posterity. It is easy to imagine the poet as he is revealed in his poetry, but Iqbal was a great and elusive personality. It is because I desire to preserve the life-story of one of the great contemporary figures from the ruthlessness of time that I endeavour to incorporate in this volume all the facts I have gathered from his personal friends, admirers, faithful servants and from the poet's own sayings. I have been particularly cautious against the inclusion of anything unwarranted and, as such, have avoided all kinds of irrelevant and disgressive matter.

The story of Iqbal's life is inspiring, yet the study of his philosophy and poetic thought is all the more absorbing and has a great educative value. The poet himself once remarked, "While writing the events of my life, it would be of little use to mention as to when or where I graduated. The study of the great mental conflict that I had to pass through and the consequent growth of thought is more important." I have closely followed these words and hence given ample attention and space to Iqbal's poetical works, philosophy, general teachings and personality.

For the facts of the poet's life, I have consulted several books, literary magazines and newspapers. The information received from some of the poet's close observers has been of immense value and their response has been liberal.

I desire to convey my thanks to Mr. Joffre Fernandez for his assistance and I have also to acknowledge the valuable advice given to me by Mr. John C. Roome, formerly, of *The Englishman*, Calcutta and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore.

LAHORE,  
July, 1939.

A. ANWAR BEG

## PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

**A**MONG the contemporary thinkers of the world Iqbal occupies an important position both as a poet and a philosopher. One of the main characteristics of his poetry is the resonant note of optimism which imparts to his works a distinctive value in Eastern literature. Post-war literature in the East has rapidly passed through a period of transition and it is not difficult to see that change in the outlook of the Eastern peoples is slowly exhibiting a general desire for reconstruction embracing practically all the domains of life. In the progress of Iqbal's thought, one sees a big stride towards the goal, even though philosophy does not believe in the finality of thought. Iqbal was, however, on safer ground as he undertook to interpret the Holy Quran as the reliable basis for the exposition of universal thought like the great Rumi, whose *Mathnawi* proved such a fiery source of inspiration to the former.

The Oriental writers in the past two hundred years failed to produce creative thought as they did not realise the importance of keeping pace with the times, with the inevitable result that the people at large were not able to give further impetus to social growth or maintain even the existing tenor of life. Iqbal, who appeared in Muslim society at a critical juncture, was primarily the product of his age, education and Islamic culture, and his strenuous efforts to stabilise his thought in the fields of religion and philosophy made him one of the few exponents of the secrets of life. The Muslim world is particularly indebted to him for his valuable interpretation of the spirit of Islam, especially to his optimistic outlook on life based on his hotly pursued doctrine of the Self.

His optimism in life and his passionate regard for the development of the Self can easily explain all what he taught and sang. His *Mathnawi*, *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, which practically incorporates the two sides of the same medal is based on the conception of the Self and its development as



the best possible way to the salvation of humanity. The *Mathnawi* leads to the logical conclusion of the Will to Survive as the poet did not believe that ultimate survival is inherent in every man. On the other hand, according to his notion, every man is only a candidate for it. The poet's discussion of the doctrine of the Self is as far-reaching as it is deep. In his thought one finds philosophy and religion sometimes meeting and sometimes parting. He explained the intricacies of religion as well as philosophy in his fiery songs on which mostly depends his abiding popularity.

According to Iqbal, the Self is the spark of life. Paradise and Hell are only two different stages in life where the Self passes through progressive or deteriorative phases in the development of its native potentialities; such a view, however, is equally applicable to the present life. To him, a life worth living takes its origin in one's own Self and in order to live a life in the right direction, a man should take a progressive road leading to the ultimate salvation of the Self. Iqbal would ask you: Are you alive? Do you propose to continue to live? If so, you will have to be kicking against odds; and again, are you prepared to face danger? For, life without danger only leads to inertia which is only another name for the shadow of death—and classically that means sin. Such are the important questions that demand your answers, if you glance through the *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, which is essentially "The Book of the Self."

To visualise Iqbal's optimistic outlook on life, one may pursue him still further in his *Piyan-i-Mashriq* which is one of the landmarks in Oriental literature. The book, though written in response to the German poet, Goethe, does not formally represent a response to Goethe's poems in his *Western Diwan*. Still Iqbal's *Piyan* is the expression of good will to the West and represents all that is great and glorious in Eastern thought and suggests many angles of vision to modern thinkers as to how things should be looked at. As for the value of its thought, the *Piyan* is the shrine of Iqbal's warm breath and virile verse which, their many aspects closely approaching the margin of German thought, preach the Will to Power and the Struggle for Existence. The familiar Teutonic idea of the Superman shines forth in its pages explaining away many social truths.

The *Pivām* may be safely looked upon as Iqbal's *tour de force*, for a wide range of social and political views of Europe is brought under criticism by the poet which might be considered as highly valuable today. The most appealing feature of the book is the refreshing aspect of his philosophical view which give comparatively new impetus to the progress of Eastern thought and, as such, his philosophy imparts a special significance and meaning to his works.

Publication of the second edition of this work had been long overdue before the partition of India, but the unforeseen circumstances and general conditions created by the partition delayed the event unavoidably. The work was originally meant to supply a cultural need as well as to meet a social demand.

The new edition, which should be read in the context of the poet's lifetime, has been carefully revised and is offered with the hope that it will usefully serve and strengthen the cause of Eastern literature, thought and culture still further.

The revised edition has seen many changes. A few chapters have been added to the first edition in order to make it more comprehensive and up-to-date.

For kindly aid I am deeply indebted to Rashida Banu and Fatima Wazir. From the late Hakim-ul-Mulk Abdul Karim Noorpuri, have come inspiration and guidance. Generous assistance in various ways has been extended to me by Messrs. Stanley R. Lewis, Mervyn H. Longman, Amir Akbar and Hakim Ahmad.

Muslim Town,

LAHORE,

October, 1960,

A. ANWAR BEG



The first part of the book is a history of the art of printing, from its origin in the East to its introduction into Europe. It is a very interesting and useful work, and one which every student of the art should read. The second part is a history of the art of book-binding, from its origin in the East to its introduction into Europe. It is also a very interesting and useful work, and one which every student of the art should read.

The third part of the book is a history of the art of book-illustration, from its origin in the East to its introduction into Europe. It is also a very interesting and useful work, and one which every student of the art should read. The fourth part is a history of the art of book-keeping, from its origin in the East to its introduction into Europe. It is also a very interesting and useful work, and one which every student of the art should read.

*“ —Thy image on her wing  
Before my fancy's eye shall memory bring.”*

The fifth part of the book is a history of the art of book-pressing, from its origin in the East to its introduction into Europe. It is also a very interesting and useful work, and one which every student of the art should read. The sixth part is a history of the art of book-stitching, from its origin in the East to its introduction into Europe. It is also a very interesting and useful work, and one which every student of the art should read.

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## FOREWORD

By DR. R. A. NICHOLSON, M.A., D.LITT.

WHEN Mr. A. Anwar Beg asked me to contribute a foreword to his forthcoming volume on the life and work of Iqbal, I felt that in view of my engagements it would be impossible for me to write anything new on the subject at present; but in order not to disappoint him entirely, I suggested that perhaps the following brief appreciation of the poet might serve the purpose well enough. Few are likely to have seen it before, as originally it formed part of an article on *Payam-i-Mashriq* published in a German Oriental Journal fifteen years ago.\*

Amongst Indian Muslim poets of to-day Iqbal stands on a hill by himself. In him there are two voices of power. One speaks in Urdu and appeals to Indian patriotism, though Iqbal is not a nationalist in politics; the other, which uses the beautiful and melodious language of Persia, sings to a Muslim audience—and it is indeed a new and inspiring song, a fiery incantation scattering ashes and sparks and bidding fair to be “the trumpet of a prophecy.”

Born in the Punjab, Iqbal completed his education in England and Germany. East and West met; it would be too much to say that they were united. No one, however gifted, can hope to partake on equal terms and in full measure of two civilizations which have sprung from different roots. While Iqbal has been profoundly influenced by Western culture, his spirit remains essentially Oriental. He knows Goethe, Byron and Shelley; he is as familiar with *Also sprach Zarathustra* and *L'evolution creatrice* as he is with the *Quran* and the *Mathnawi*. But with the Humanistic foundations of European culture he appears to be less intimately acquainted, and we feel that his criticism, though never superficial, is sometimes lacking in breadth.

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\**Islamica*, vol. I, pp. 122—124.



He regards reality as a process of becoming, not as an eternal state. The *templa serena* of the Absolute find no place in his scheme of things : all is in flux. His universe is an association of individuals, headed by the most unique Individual, *i.e.*, God. Their life consists in the formation and cultivation of personality. The perfect man "not only absorbs the world of matter by mastering it ; he absorbs God himself into his Ego by assimilating Divine attributes." Hence the essence of life is Love which in its highest form is "the creation of desires and ideals, and the endeavour to realise them." Desires are good or bad according as they strengthen or weaken personality, and all values must be determined by this standard.

The affinities with Nietzsche and Bergson need not be emphasised. It is less clear, however, why Iqbal identifies ideal society with Muhammad's conception of Islam, or why membership of that society should be a privilege reserved for Muslims. Here the religious enthusiast seems to have knocked out the philosopher—a result which is logically wrong but poetically right. Iqbal, the poet, has a proper contempt for intellectualism. He contrasts Ibn Sina with Jalal-ud-Din Rumi :—

"This one plunged deep and to the Pearl attained ;  
The other floating like a weed remained.  
Truth, flameless, is Philosophy, which turns  
To Poesy when from the heart it burns."

CAMBRIDGE,

R. A. NICHOLSON

April 29, 1939.

## INTRODUCTION

BY JOHN C. ROOME

MR. Abdullah Anwar Beg has the inestimable advantage of not only having had unusual opportunities in Lahore of closely studying the life and works of Iqbal but also of having an intimate knowledge of the conditions which coloured Iqbal's thoughts. Mr. Anwar Beg is one of those for whom Iqbal may be said to have used his waking moments for rebuilding the structure of Muslim society. Mr. Anwar Beg's generation of Muslims in India knows the circumstances which led Iqbal to devote his life to the task of galvanising Muslim society. How far Iqbal succeeded in his mission may be seen, to some extent, from what Mr. Anwar Beg has to say of Iqbal's place among the poets of the East. Muslims of a generation or two ago in India would have, at least, counted Iqbal among the heretics, if they did not condemn him outright as an infidel. They did not spare the greatest Muslim of modern times, Sir Syed Ahmed, when he held up before them the advantages of Western education, and with a band of earnest workers launched his movement of modernisation among his co-religionists. Mr. Anwar Beg has mentioned the Muslim poet, Hali, as one whose works influenced Iqbal's thoughts. Hali was one of the workers in the Muslim cause in India who rallied to support Sir Syed Ahmed's movement of modernisation. Hali was the first Muslim poet in India to rebel against the conventions of Urdu poetry, which then worshipped form to such an extent that the substance of poetry practically counted for nothing. Hali made Urdu poetry the mirror of Time and the vehicle of the aspirations of the people of India, especially the Muslims.

In this sense, Iqbal carried the torch which Hali had carried before him to lighten the path of Muslims in India. Naturally, Iqbal had the advantage of nearly half a century of the working of the leaven of modernisation in Muslim society. His world was more extensive than



the world in which Hali lived. Hali may be said to have known of the world outside his own by hearsay. Iqbal knew it by intimate experience.

Mr. Anwar Beg has attempted to show how the thought of the West and its social and religious values affected Iqbal. There will be considerable difference of opinion in regard to the measure of the influence which Iqbal's excursions into the realm of Western philosophy exerted over his work as a poet of the East. There is evidence in abundance in his works that he did not cast aside as worthless the knowledge he had gained as a student in Europe.

There is a silent struggle clearly visible in all that he wrote to assimilate the thought of the West, and it is only when he seeks to make modern thought run parallel to the traditional thought of Islam that there is any conflict in the mind of the poet. Old loyalties then assert themselves, and we find Iqbal raising aloft the banner of Islam against some phases of modern thought.

We find him reminding the world of Islam that change is the keynote of life and that to remain static is to court spiritual death. Yet he is unwilling to admit the possibility of change in the interpretation of the doctrines of Islam. He is an iconoclast in demolishing schools of thought in Islam which have followed too slavishly schools of thought in ancient Greece or the mysticism of ancient Iran, and he subscribes to the early teachings of Islam in letter and spirit. To many superficial observers, Iqbal's exhortation to live dangerously, which, we may take it, applies as much to spiritual life as to the work-a-day life, coupled with his endorsement of the doctrine of the safety of old moorings, may seem contradictory, but there is no such contradiction in reality. Iqbal did not believe that the essential doctrines of Islam were opposed to progress. Indeed, he believed them to be dynamic in force when rightly understood, and he had the early history of Islam to support his point of view.

In Iqbal's works we see the reactions of the mingling of the currents of thought of the East and the West. For the first time, we see in them the results of a conscious effort on the part of a serious Eastern thinker to analyse the two systems and also to synthesize them.

There are phases of Western life which repel Iqbal, but there are also phases of life in the East which cause him agony of mind. Because



the poet's mind mirrored these apparently irreconcilable aspects of life and their interplay, Iqbal's poems have a value which few works of modern Eastern poets possess. Mr. Anwar Beg lays stress upon Iqbal's reactions to Western thought as a Muslim, and by reason of his intimate knowledge of Muslim history and religious tradition, Mr. Anwar Beg reveals recesses in the poet's mind which otherwise would be inaccessible to the ordinary observer.

What invests Iqbal's work as a poet with interest for those outside the Muslim fold is its teeming catholicity. This one may expect from a poet whose mind was steeped in Islamic lore with its strident note of the brotherhood of man, but in Iqbal's case his vehement repudiation of the Western doctrine of nationalism was not the outcome of blind obedience to the principle of brotherhood in Islam.

Early in his life, Iqbal sounded a resonant note of patriotism in his poems, as the West understands it, both as a Muslim and an Indian, but later on one finds him in revolt against the Western conception of nationalism. The process of transition from pride in the greatness of India, whose ramparts of the Himalayas the heavens stoop to kiss, as Iqbal said, to a realisation of the solidarity of the human race appears to have been gradual, but it was complete, and as Iqbal attributed it to the influence of Islam's doctrine of the brotherhood of man, his exploration of the mainsprings of patriotism and nationalism strengthened his faith in Islam as a force for the regeneration of the world.

Iqbal's poems, reflecting as they do his intellectual experiences, are unsurpassed by poems which came before them in the East. Iqbal himself, as Mr. Anwar Beg tells us, acknowledged the works of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi as his source of inspiration, but few poets in the East embarked upon their intellectual adventure on so wide an expanse as Iqbal. In the West, the poet Goethe and the philosopher Nietzsche seem to have covered such vast spaces in the realm of thought as did Iqbal, but few other poets in the East had these domains of thought accessible to them. In Iqbal's poems we see the poet questioning thinkers from Aristotle to those of his day, Bergson and McTaggart, and pronouncing judgment on the teachings of Karl Marx. We have the mystics of the East pass in review before us with the mystics of Islam, and the poet performing the functions both of marshal and judge.

Whether we agree with, or differ from, him we are constrained to admire his candour.

How the story of the poet's adventures in thought will influence life in the East, and especially in Muslim lands, who can say? There are, however, indications that the thoughts of his co-religionists in India are beginning to acquire the orientation he desired to give them. We find Muslims in India to-day less prone to take their misfortunes as due to an inexorable fate than they were before Iqbal reminded them of the dire consequences of their apathy in regard to their future.

Muslims in India are now testing the possibilities of a scheme for consolidating their position in India territorially which Iqbal advocated and which has now gained a considerable number of supporters among Muslims. The last vestiges of prejudice against Western education have disappeared among the Muslims in India as a result largely of Iqbal's efforts to place the cause of education in its true perspective before his people. By revealing anew the secrets of the rise of Islam to power in the past, Iqbal has broadened the vision of Muslims generally, not only in India, but also in other parts of the world. It was to make his message of the regeneration of Muslims known beyond the confines of India that Iqbal chose Irani as the vehicle of his thoughts, employing Urdu only when he sought to address directly Indians, and Indian Muslims particularly. For the same reason he adopted the classical style in Irani and eschewed both the abstruseness of the mystics and the striving after effect of the modernists.

Iqbal achieved his object. Few poets in the East in modern times have had such a large audience as had Iqbal. It is difficult to say how far Iqbal's message of the brotherhood of Muslims has inspired the Arab movement of to-day for unity, but that Iqbal's message has penetrated the deserts of Arabia and reverberated in Yunnan and Morocco, there can be no doubt. The participation recently of representatives of Indian Muslims in the Palestine Conference in London, with the consent of the Arabs, clearly proves this. There is new life pulsating in the world of Islam.

If Iqbal had a message for Muslims as Muslims, he was by no means parochial. He had also a message for humanity and, in giving it wing, he has produced a synthesis of Eastern and Western thought which is





*Iqbal*





unique. Mr. Anwar Beg has pointed out the currents of thought which have influenced Iqbal's philosophy, and, whether we agree or not with Mr. Anwar Beg's conclusions, this is a feature of his monograph which will make it of great value to those who desire to get a clear conception of Iqbal's outlook on life.

Not all that Iqbal wrote is available to those in the West. Some of his works have been translated into English and German, but in order to enter into his thoughts, and particularly to visualise the interplay of the East and the West in the warp and woof of his mind, it is necessary to read his works, preferably in their chronological order. It is then that one sees what distinguishes this poet of the East, who was no stranger to the West, from other poets. There is a revelation of the timbre of the inner voice of Iqbal in the last verses he wrote before meeting Death with a smile on his face.

Iqbal saw the pervading chaos of to-day, but his was no threnody of despair even when his thoughts were tinged with melancholy when surveying the crumbling minarets of Islam. Iqbal did not believe in the omnipotency of false gods. He tells the Brahman—and this throws a flood on what may be called the three-phase mind of the poet—that the trouble with him is that the gods in his Pantheon have grown old. Here he was addressing the Brahman as a Brahman, and declaring his faith in the power of man to mould his destiny.

How far the stream of Iqbal's thought was influenced by the current of Hindu thought, as it was by the currents of Islamic and Western thoughts, is difficult to say, but the fearlessness with which he plunged into unfathomable depths and the consistency with which he upheld the dictates of reason seem to suggest that the force of generations of Hindu thought which formed the warp of his mind, even if covered with Islamic thought, was not extinct.

However, for Iqbal, even if the world was chaotic, chaos was not the norm of life, uncontrollable and inexorable, and man remained the master of his fate. Mr. Anwar Beg has dealt with Iqbal's doctrine of Self, and, in doing so, he has shown how Iqbal arrived at the conclusions he did after closely assimilating what Muslim thinkers have said on the subject, and, above all, what the Holy Quran warrants a Muslim to say.



While there is evidence in the profusion of allusions in Iqbal's poems, which Mr. Anwar Beg has taken great pains to elucidate, of the vast store-house of knowledge from which he drew his material to mould his thought, it is noticeable that the Holy Quran is for Iqbal the touchstone of principles governing life, and one is often taken by surprise by the manner in which the poet uses verses in the sacred book to illustrate some abstruse philosophical issue. Only those who are qualified by a close study of the Quran can say how far Iqbal maintained inviolate the spirit of the teachings of the Quran, but there can be no question that he has widened the horizon of Islamic thought and revealed unsuspected resiliency in it to the pressure of the changes through which the world is passing to-day. Iqbal has demolished once for all the bizarre structure which the hair-splitting interpreters of the teachings of Islam and the involved system of thought of some of the Sufis erected for Islam. He has attempted to restore to Islam the grandeur of its simplicity. Time alone will show if he has succeeded, but the irresistible appeal of the cry from his heart for directness in the interpretation of the teachings of Islam is already producing changes in Muslim outlook which promise to rationalise life in Islamic countries.

For those in India who, like the present writer, knew Iqbal, it is gratifying to find evidence in Mr. Anwar Beg's monograph of the intensity of the desire to perpetuate the memory of the poet, who, as he preached, lived dangerously and shunned the shadow to gain the substance of life. The way in which Iqbal lived his life of sacrifice at the altar of his ideals, spurning much that the world covets, in order to devote himself single-mindedly to the fulfilment of his mission, is itself a source of inspiration to those who knew him.

In his biography of the poet, Mr. Anwar Beg has conveyed some impression of the way in which Iqbal prepared himself for the task he had set himself and how he spent his days unceasingly in search of the solution of the riddle of life. The multitude did not understand his other-worldliness which had neither the asceticism nor the demonstrativeness usually associated with it in India. His detachment from the common stream of life was a puzzle to many of those around him, but still he was no hermit and by no means an armchair critic of life. Unlike many poets before him, he received the homage of king and peasant to



his genius in his lifetime, and his fellow-citizens in Lahore could not have given a more convincing proof of the esteem in which he was held by them than by selecting for Iqbal's last resting place a site by the steps of the great mosque of the city, which is a symbol of Muslim aspirations in India.

LAHORE,  
July 17, 1939.

JOHN C. ROOME

سرود رفته باز آید کہ ناید  
 نسیم از حجاز آید کہ ناید  
 سرآمد روزگار این فقیرے  
 دگر دانائے راز آید کہ ناید

—اقبال

The melody that has gone may, or may not, come ;  
 A breeze from the Hedjaz may, or may not, come.  
 This is the end of the days of this Faqir—  
 Another Wise One may, or may not, come !

—Iqbal

**THE POET OF THE EAST**





بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

## THE POET OF THE EAST

### A GREAT LEADER

**T**HE ocean of time is as often rough and turbulent as it is calm and tranquil. Sailors have sometimes to seek their way under cover of darkness. It is cloudy and stormy, many a time—but it is hardly conceivable and possible that things should remain so. The lonesome vessels are guided by the timely appearance of stars. Similarly, the nations of the world have to pass through dark periods of life and find it hard to keep on the right path and it is not unoften that they lose it. This is just like the dark hours in the life of an individual. In such circumstances, one is not left to himself for long, nor is a nation in its moments of darkness. God Almighty sends forth on the scene men of deep vision and extraordinary personality—scintillating souls like stars:

“To light them on their dim and perilous way.”

The late Dr. Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, the philosopher-poet of the East and one of the most distinguished thinkers of the Twentieth century, appeared like a fiery star on the horizon of the East, foretelling the approach of the rosy dawn now spreading over Asia. He came to guide the benighted nations of the Orient on life's rough way at the right time and his advent has proved that the darkest hour is just before the dawn.

The world knows through the books of ancient history, literature and thought that the Brahmans, the religious priests of India, pass their old age in the picturesque valleys of the Himalayas. Some people have imagined them to be sitting in deep meditation on the Himalayan peaks covered with snow. Apart from the legendary aspect of the Pandit's life as a recluse in the mountains, it is not a fable that the ancient men of learning in India have mostly been Pandits and their contribution to the abstract thought and folklore of India is in no way mean.

As a philosopher, Iqbal favourably compares with the calm thinkers of the Himalayas and as a poet he has a Kashmiri's proverbial aesthetic sense. Iqbal's intellect had the hereditary brilliance of a Pandit—*میری کف خاک برہمن زاد*—but, the marvellous development of his mind, breadth of vision and purity of thought were the characteristics of a world-conquering Muslim, who was at the same time a philosopher in the line of Farabi, Avicenna and Ghazzali, and a poet in the rank of Saadi and Hafiz. Islam, its literature and thought made him what he was and in the personality of an individual, Iqbal, the world has seen the amazing possibilities of the human soul in powers of expression and growth. Indeed, he was a great artist besides being a first-rate thinker, and his poetry is nothing but the flowering of the enlightenment that was Iqbal.

عمر ہا در کعبہ و بتخانہ می نالد حیات  
تاز بزم عشق یک دانائے راز آید برون

#### A KASHMIR FAMILY

IQBAL was born in Sialkot on the 22nd of February, 1873 (*Zilhijja* 24, 1289 A.H.). Sialkot is an industrial city in the Punjab near the Chenab about thirty miles below the Himalayas. The city is said to have been originally founded by Raja Salbahan, an historical figure of which authenticated history affords little description. The city is an important station on the trade route between Kashmir and the Punjab and has pleasant climate all the year round.

His father, Sheikh Nur Muhammad, was a man of a mystic trend of thought and was descended from an ancient Kashmir family, a branch of which is still extant in Kashmir. Early in the Eighteenth century, one of Iqbal's ancestors embraced Islam through devotion to a holy man, for whom the family entertains feelings of reverence up to this day. The ancestral heritage of Iqbal consisted of a keen intellect and strong religious sense. Of his own ancestry the poet speaks :

میر و مرزا بہ سیاست دل و دین باختہ اند  
جز برہمن پسرے مجرم اسرار کجاست

Mir and Mirza have lost their heart and religion in politics.  
Except the Brahman boy, who is conversant with the secrets of life ?



مرا بنگر کہ در ہندوستان دیگر نمے بینی  
برہمن زادہٗ رمز آشنائے روم و تبریز است

See me, for you will not see again in India,  
A Brahman boy intimate with the signs of Rum and Tabriz (Jalal and Shams).

Sheikh Nur Muhammad had six children : two sons, Ata Muhammad and Muhammad Iqbal, and four daughters. He was a pious Muslim, and led a simple life; earned an honest living and strictly followed the dictates of the Shariat.

Once upon a time, a Fakir visited Iqbal's house and insistently demanded alms. The young man lost his temper and almost beat him and as a consequence the 'product of beggary' fell on the ground. When his father saw all this, he felt aggrieved and tears rushed to his eyes as he said :

"When the folks of the Holy Prophet shall gather on the day of Resurrection—the fighters for the name of God, those who learn the Quran by heart, the martyrs, the lovers, the pious and the sinful shall all be in one place and the Holy Prophet shall inquire from me:—

حق جوآنے مسلمے با تو سپرد  
کو نصیبے از دیستانم زبرد  
از تو این یک کار آسان ہم نہ شد  
یعنی آن انبار گل آدم نہ شد

God put in thy charge a Muslim youth,  
Who has derived no benefit from thy school;  
Thou couldst not even perform so easy a task—  
That heap of dust could not be turned into a man !

What shall be my answer, then ? and himself said :—

اند کے اندیش و یاد آر اے پسر  
اجتماع امت خیرالشر  
باز این ریش سفید من نگر  
لوزہ امید و بیم من نگر  
بر پدر این جور نازبا مکن  
پیش مولا بندہ را رسوا مکن

Think a little and remember, O son !  
The gathering of the Prophet's people  
And then look at my white beard :  
Notice my humility in hope and fear,  
Suffer not such a hideous cruelty to thy father,  
Do not disgrace the servant before his master !

The incident speaks of his father's piety, respect for the Prophet and fear of God.

On the occasion of Iqbal's birth, his father saw in an auspicious dream that a beautiful dove was soaring into the heavens and dropped into his lap. Sheikh Nur Muhammad maintained that it was a happy omen and considered that his son would rise to be a great man and would devote himself to the service of Islam. So he gave up his post in a Government office and opened a milliner's shop so that he could earn his livelihood by hard work. He believed that he could not attain this object where he was, as he was exposed to the temptation of bribes. Equally pious was his mother, a lady of great virtues whom Iqbal held in great esteem. She determined to purchase nothing beyond what her husband's small salary would allow. The consideration throughout was that the child should not be provided with food obtained unlawfully lest anything should pollute the child's mind. It may well be imagined that the precautions taken by the noble parents should have gone a long way to guide the child to such great heights as he attained.

While naming their child, the parents of Iqbal could hardly imagine that their son would become famous one day. The name may not matter in certain cases, but it certainly did matter in the case of Iqbal. The very word 'Iqbal' suggests greatness and has a peculiar halo of majesty which Iqbal enjoyed throughout his life. He adorned the name he bore.

#### CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION

ACCORDING as is the custom in Muslim countries, Iqbal was first sent to a Maktab, and some time after entered a Primary School. He passed his Primary School examination and secured a scholarship. This was the first feather in his cap and he gained yet another when he obtained a scholarship in the Middle School examination. He was only ten or twelve years old when one day he arrived at school late. The teacher asked him, "Why are you late, my boy?" The young Iqbal replied, "Iqbal (Glory) often comes late." The teacher was struck by his retort in view of the tender age of the boy. As a boy, Iqbal enjoyed robust health and looked as if he would grow up to be a wrestler one day. He was intelligent indeed, but he paid little heed to his books. His fellow-students were often surprised to see him



top the list. He passed the Matriculation examination creditably and fortune again favoured him with a scholarship. Thus he was enabled to continue his higher studies in college.

Iqbal joined the Scotch Mission College at Sialkot as a "fresher". It was here that he made the acquaintance of the well known Maulana Mir Hasan, who was a profound Arabic scholar of his time, which afterwards ripened into deep mutual regard between the master and his pupil. The influence of Maulana Mir Hasan was responsible for Iqbal's later devotion to, and ardent appreciation of, Islamic culture and literature. The Maulana did all he could for the development of his pupil's mind and provided a really congenial atmosphere for self-expression. Iqbal was attracted by the Maulana's erudition and great talents. The benefits of such scholarly company to Iqbal were manifold. He secured a serious introduction to Persian literature of which he made ample use as a poet. The pupil refers to his esteemed teacher in *Ilitja-i-Musafir* :—

وہ شمع بارگہ خاندان مرتضوی  
 رہیگا مثل حرم جس کا آستان مجھ کو  
 نفس سے جس کے کلی میری آرزو کی کھولی  
 بنایا جس کی مروت نے نکتہ داں مجھ کو

That candle of the audience-chamber of the House of Murtaza (Ali),  
 Whose threshold shall ever be like the Kaaba to me,—  
 Through whose breath, the bud of my wish has blossomed ;  
 And whose generosity has made me a wise one.

When Iqbal was a student, there used to be held a symposium on a small scale at Sialkot. Soon the folks came to know that the young man had a taste for poetry. He was, therefore, occasionally asked to recite his verses. This was perhaps the beginning of his poetical practice. Those were the days when Urdu was not much in vogue in the Punjab, yet in every city and town a taste for poetry was in its primary stage of evolution.

At this time, nobody knew that young Iqbal, who had a small beginning, would one day reach the heights of fame which were not even dreamed of by any Indian before, and hardly could anybody imagine that this boy of solitary habits had such wonderful intellectual gifts and emotional exuberance.



## A COLLEGE STUDENT AT LAHORE

IQBAL came to Lahore to join the Government College for his B.A. having passed his F.A. examination from the Scotch Mission College, Sialkot. He had a natural taste for philosophy and took it as one of his subjects of study. He worked hard as an under-graduate and passed his B.A. examination in 1897 with distinction, being awarded two gold medals and a scholarship for efficiency in English and Arabic.

In those days, the well known Mr. (afterward Sir) Thomas W. Arnold, who had been working in the Aligarh College, joined the staff of the Government College as a Professor. He was an Arabic scholar and the author of a widely read book, *Preaching of Islam*. Muslims had great regard for him on account of his interest in Islamic lore. He was renowned for his vast study in philosophy and this was responsible for Iqbal's attachment to him. Arnold appreciated his pupil's peculiar mental aptitude and sharp intelligence as a student of philosophy. Referring to Iqbal's philosophic trend of mind and taste for research, he once remarked that he really made his master wiser. In such favourable circumstances, Iqbal took his M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1899 and was awarded a medal for distinction. The relation between Iqbal and Arnold soon developed into close friendship.

In his early days at the Government College, a Maulvi Sahib, whose learning and personality had made a great impression upon Iqbal's mind, made a statement which was untrue. This unhappy incident disturbed the peace of Iqbal's mind and the disturbance continued for three or four days. He could not understand how it could be possible that a gentleman of such high attainments could indulge in a misstatement. As a result, Iqbal could not concentrate his attention on the lecture he was attending as he was rather uneasy. After many days, Mr. Arnold asked Iqbal the reason for his uneasiness: "You seem to be absent-minded; why don't you attend to the lecture?" Iqbal stated the whole incident. "You will come across many such things," remarked Arnold.

Sir Thomas Arnold was a man of unusual ability. He wielded a forceful pen and was well acquainted with modern methods of literary research. He resolved to train Iqbal and to form his taste after his own. While he was a Professor at Aligarh, he exercised enormous influence on Shibli, and his help in the latter's development of literary taste was considerable.

The literary friendship between Arnold and Iqbal deeply affected the future career of the latter and when Arnold went to England, Iqbal soon followed him. The relation between the two was all the more strengthened and lasted till the death of Arnold. It was a real pleasure to Arnold that his efforts had borne fruit and his pupil was the cause of his fame in the literary world.

Iqbal bitterly felt the loss of Arnold's companionship, when the latter left India. He says in *Najā-i-Firaq* :—

درہ میرے دل کا خورشید آشنا ہونے کو تھا  
 آنہ ٹوٹا ہوا عالم نما ہونے کو تھا  
 نخل میری آرزوؤں کا ہرا ہونے کو تھا  
 آہ! کیا جانے کوئی میں کیا سے کیا ہونے کو تھا  
 ابر رحمت دامن از گلزار من بر چید و رفت  
 اندکے بر غنچہ ہائے آرزو بارید و رفت

The mote of my heart was about to gain acquaintance with the sun :

The broken mirror was about to become a world-reflector.

The plant of my wishes was to come to life ;

Ah, none knows what I was about to become !

The cloud of mercy pulled up its skirt from the garden and passed away ;

It rained for a short time on the buds of my wish and passed away.

In his early days Iqbal was brought up in a religious atmosphere and his school and college education strengthened his religious feelings. A variety of sentiments which is found in his poetry consists of the fundamental qualities of beauty, love and mysticism. His mystic taste combined with his fine aesthetic sense gave rise to a type of poetry of rare beauty and his study of philosophy was a considerable aid to the development of his thought.

During the last decade of the Nineteenth century, the foundation of a symposium (*Musha'ara*) was laid in Bazar-i-Hakiman, inside Bhati Gate, Lahore. The symposium used to be held at the house of Hakim Amin-ud-Din, who was a Barrister-at-Law. Hakim Shuja-ud-Din was the President of the institution; Mirza Arshad Gorgani of Delhi and Mir Nazir Husain Nazim of Lucknow were active members of the institution. They recited their verses to the audience. Their disciples and admirers also took part in the proceedings. The number of visitors was often fairly large. The *musha'ara* was a great attraction for the



local students, who also took part in it and passionately vied with one another in sharing the applause and acclamation. Amongst the youth was Iqbal who was destined to be famous later on, as his verses attracted the notice of the public. In this very Majlis-i-Musha'ara and in these very days, Mirza Arshad Gorgani's far-sightedness marked the great future in the budding poet's verse :

موتی سمجھ کے شان کریمی نے چن لئے  
قطرے جو تھے مرے عرق انفعال کے

His Grace picked them up for pearls so shining and bright—  
The drops resulting from my perspiration for shame.

The late Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan writes :—

“In the midst of a huge admiring audience, Iqbal could be seen standing on a dais, reciting verses in sweet tunes which exacted applause and occasioned an indescribable enthusiasm. I was a witness of this scene several times when, amidst a tempest of acclamation, Iqbal was carried away almost fainting through an effort to meet a greedy demand of this cultural audience.”

Opposite to the house, where the symposiums were held, was the small house of Hakim Shahbaz-ud-Din who was devoted to Islamic brotherhood and love and was accustomed to entertaining his friends and guests. His amiable personality had turned his residence into a club-house and the citizens of Lahore who had a refined taste used to assemble there. That lovable figure, the Hakim, his entertainment and the sparkling conversation of the members of the Majlis attracted those who were interested in national movements to this house. The beauty of Iqbal's verse impressed the Hakim and his friends, who admitted him to their circle. After a short time, Iqbal became a member of their Society, Shorish-i-Mahshar (there was a Magazine of the same name too). His early poems were read there and he was profusely complimented. Thus, his poetic genius found ample opportunity to unfold itself and when his poetry reached a fair standard of perfection, he was asked to write a poem for the anniversary of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. Most of the poems that he recited afterwards on the platform of the Anjuman were recited there previously before his friends.

These friends used to meet at the house of Maulvi Ahmad Din, Advocate, as well. There they indulged in semi-political discussions in



those days of international disturbances. A war was then going on between Greece and Turkey, and Bulgaria was also involved. The discussions of these people of blessed memory would several times rouse a mild sense of militarism in the participants. The friends used to range themselves on the sides of Greece and Turkey and often argument reached fever heat. To-day almost all of them have passed away and their *Shorish-i-Mahshar* has been silenced for ever awaiting another *Shorish*.

"Leaving aside," writes the late Sir Abdul Qadir in his foreword to *Bang-i-Dara*, "the early days of Iqbal's poetical practice, the period of his Urdu poetry begins some time before the 20th century (1896, when he was a B.A. student). I saw him for the first time in a symposium at Lahore, probably two or three years before 1901. He was drawn to this meeting by some of his friends, who compelled him to recite a lyrical poem. The people of Lahore were not acquainted with Iqbal up to that time. It was a short lyric; the words were very simple and the metre was not so inconvenient. It was a frolicsome poem in an unaffected style and was very much appreciated by the audience. Later on, he occasionally attended the symposium to recite his poems. The people then came to know of him as a promising poet, but his fame was at first confined to the local collegians and to such men only who were connected with educational affairs. In the meantime, a literary society was founded. Its members included some well known men and there grew a demand for subjects both of poetry and prose. Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal at one of its meetings recited his poem *Koh-i-Himala* (Ode to the Himalayas) which reflected the poet's love for his country. It opens:

اے ہمالہ! اے فصیل کشور ہندوستان  
چو تھے تیری پیشانی کو جھک کر آسمان

O Himalayas! Ye, ramparts of the Indian realm!  
The Heavens stoop to kiss your forehead bright.

"It is an invocation to the lofty mountains and is an index of modern thought. The poem is full of English ideology and Persian phrases. It smacked of patriotism and was in tune with the time and the taste of the people. The people liked it and requests to publish it were received from various quarters, but the Sheikh (Iqbal) did not part with it, the excuse being that it required revision and the poem could not be published. Shortly after, I decided to bring out the literary Magazine,

*Makhzan* to serve the cause of Urdu literature and in the meantime I had developed friendly relations with Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal. I somehow elicited a promise from him to write verses in the modern style for my Magazine. *Koh-i-Himala* was published in the first number of the first volume of the *Makhzan* in April, 1901. This was the beginning of Iqbal's Urdu poetry gaining publicity. The practice continued as far as 1905, when he left India for England. The publication of his verses was originally confined to the *Makhzan*, but as his fame spread, various Magazines and Journals requested him for verses and numerous Associations and Societies asked the Poet to recite verses at their annual meetings. Sheikh Sahib was now a Professor at the Government College, Lahore, free from a student's cares and passed his days and nights in literary pursuit and society while his mind was fresh and full of vigour. Under the influence of the Muse he brought forth countless verses in a single sitting. His friends and students, who happened to be near him, used to sit close to him with pen and paper; they took down his verses, while Sheikh Sahib was in poetic ecstasy. I never saw him with pen and paper purposing to think out verses. With him it was more like a flowing river or a fountain of words and while writing poetry, he always appeared in a peculiar poetic mood. He sang his verses in a melodious voice, almost entranced, and the people around him could not escape his influence.

"Iqbal had a keen memory and recited his verses in the form of a continuous poem. He never took the trouble to write them down. I have had the occasion of many a poet's company and the opportunity to see some of them compose and recite verses, but, such a peculiarity I have found in no one. A rather strange fact about him is that he, with all his poetic-mindedness, cannot compose verses in response to a request, unless he is under the influence of the Muse. He usually refuses to comply with such requests either from individuals or from societies. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was, perhaps, the only fortunate Association whose proceedings were graced by the presence of Iqbal for several years."

*Nala-i-Yatim* (The Cry of the Orphan) was the first poem that Iqbal pathetically read out to the audience at the anniversary of the Lahore Anjuman in 1899. The poem is full of pathos and comparing the Muslims to a child bereft of parents, implores the soul of the Holy



Prophet to look after them. The next year he read out "An Orphan's Address to the Crescent," which was equally appreciated. On another occasion, Iqbal read a poem entitled, *Abr-i-Guharbar* incorporating the following beautiful verses :—

ہوں وہ مضمون کہ مشکل ہے سمجھنا میرا  
کوئی مائل ہو سمجھنے پہ تو آساں ہوں میں  
رند کہتا ہے ولی مجھ کو ولی رند مجھے  
سن کے ان دونوں کی تقریر کو حیران ہوں میں  
زاہد تنگ نظر نے مجھے کافر جانا  
اور کافر یہ سمجھتا ہے مسلمان ہوں میں  
کوئی کہتا ہے کہ اقبال ہے صوفی مشرب  
کوئی سمجھتا ہے کہ شیدائے حسیناں ہوں میں  
ہوں عیاں سب پہ مگر پھر بھی اتنی باتیں  
کیا غضب آئے نگاہوں سے جو پنہاں ہوں میں

In the primary stage of his career he did not sing his verses. The mode of his delivery was simple and it had its own beauty. But later, on some of his friends' insistence, Iqbal was requested to sing his verses. He had a melodious voice which was fairly audible for large gatherings as quiet prevailed all around while nothing but Iqbal's voice could be heard. It was now difficult for him to read his verses as the people insisted on his singing them. Formerly, it was only some personal friends who appreciated and understood his poetry, but the new attraction drew the public to the meetings of the Anjuman and whenever Iqbal was announced to recite a poem, thousands of people flocked to the meetings and listened to him entranced.

The annual meetings of the Anjuman were attended by visitors from all over India. The citizens of Lahore, the students of local colleges, lecturers, orators and poets all had equal interest in the proceedings of the Anjuman. The occasion was, however, used for collecting funds for the Anjuman. As Iqbal sang his verses the people contributed to the charitable funds in hundreds and thousands.

When Iqbal was in his youth, Nawab Mirza Khan Dagh was the most famous poet of the day. He was the Ustad of the Nizam of Hyderabad and this was one of the causes of his wide-spread fame all over India. Young poets from all corners of the country naturally desired to



enter the circle of Dagh's disciples. The people who resided in far-flung places and could not approach the poet personally used to send to the poet of Delhi their poems for correction by post, and in this way a relation was created which satisfied the traditional institution of *Islah* (correction). The poet, having corrected the poems, would send them back by post. Hundreds of budding poets, in this way, had connected themselves with the master. It was a stupendous task and Dagh had to engage an efficient staff for its disposal. Iqbal also wrote a letter to the Poet Dagh and sent a poem for correction and criticism. In this way, Iqbal established a relation with the unique artist of his time who from the point of lyrical poetry was the foremost poet of his day.

It is true that Iqbal's early poetry had none of those characteristics which afterwards proved to be the main cause of his reputation. As Dagh was a distinguished and experienced poet, he at once recognised that the student from a far-off district in the Punjab was not an ordinary lyricist. It was forthwith communicated to Iqbal that his verses hardly required any correction. Thus the practice of sending poems on the part of Iqbal to Delhi did not last long.

Dagh is a celebrated name in the realm of Urdu poetry. Iqbal realised the importance of this relation of short duration throughout his life as he himself became a poet of distinction even in the lifetime of Dagh, who was reasonably proud of the fact that even Iqbal belonged to the circle of his disciples. Dagh, many a time, told Sheikh Abdul Qadir when he met him in the Deccan that he had the proud privilege of correcting some of the early poems of Iqbal and admired his poetic skill. Iqbal was no less proud of this relation :

نسیم و تشنہ ہی اقبال کیچھہ اس پر نہیں نازاں  
میرجے بھی فخر ہے شاگردی داغ سخندان کا

As a member of the Government College hostel, he had all the advantages of the social atmosphere, and had the reputation of being a fashionable student. He was a lively young man at the College—a charming personality and a successful conversationalist. Being a poet, he had a pleasant sense of humour and the students liked his company. A host of his college friends, later on, rose to be well known figures in various walks of life.

Nawab Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan was acquiring education contempo-

raniously with Iqbal at Lahore, but they were hardly acquainted with each other. On the latter's return from England, when he was practising as a Barrister-at-Law in the Lahore Chief (now High) Court and had his office in Anarkali, the Nawab and the Sheikh came to know each other intimately.

Iqbal was educated in the Victorian age, when the conflict between the Oriental and the Occidental civilisations had grown fairly keen. The former was giving way and the dazzling new light was entering the Eastern houses with far-reaching results on culture. The people of India were being awakened to the strife of the day by the new forces of time and the spirit of change was brooding all over the land. Freedom of ideas and a wave of modernism had its reaction on Indian thought and life.

The new age had made India politically conscious and a cry for national representation in Government affairs was gaining strength day by day. Iqbal, being a student of history and a keen observer of current affairs, could not remain unaffected. The events around him, when he was a student, had a great effect on his future vision and thought, which can so easily be discerned in his poetry blossoming with a lingering perfume and abiding beauty.

### A PROFESSOR

AFTER passing his M.A. examination, Iqbal was appointed a Lecturer in history and philosophy in the Oriental College, Lahore. Some time later, his services were transferred to the Government College as an Assistant Professor of English and Philosophy. The College authorities and high educational officers had a very good opinion of his knowledge and ability. His position facilitated his literary pursuits. He held discussions with students at his house even after college hours. As a student, he was a diligent and active youth with a sense of responsibility and when he occupied the chair of a Professor, he proved himself a kind, unconventional and affable teacher. During this time he wrote a book on political economy, entitled *Ilm-ul-Iqtisad*.

While a Professor, Iqbal was known all over the Punjab as a poet and a man of unusual ability with a background of Moghul culture. Almost all the notable figures in the literary world recognised his high learning and ability. Shibli, Hali and Akbar were among the admirers of



the poet. He carried on correspondence with almost all of them. He was influenced by their verses and in turn influenced their minds. As his letters show, Shibli had a high opinion of Iqbal, and on some occasions remarked, "When the chairs of Azad and Hali fall vacant, the people will search for Iqbal." Apart from his letters, Akbar has appreciated Iqbal's skill in verse also. Similarly, the latter paid high tributes to them.

When he was a Professor at the Oriental College, he occupied a suite of rooms inside Bhati Gate, Lahore, opposite to the house of Maulvi Hakim Din, who was then the Principal of Islamia College. Iqbal and Maulvi Sahib were friends and usually paid visits to each other. Ali Bakhsh, the faithful servant of Iqbal, was in those days newly employed as a servant in the house of Maulvi Sahib. It was here that he met his illustrious master, Iqbal. He was then only fourteen years old, just a rustic boy.

As a professor, Iqbal led a simple life. His meals used to be of a light nature and that too, only once a day. At night time he would have a cup of salted tea and often made his way to the College without any food, whatsoever. He devoted most of his time to the study of his books, wrote little, but read much. His books lay scattered on a table in his sleeping apartment and whenever his servant would think of putting them in order, he would say, "Leave them as they are, I may need them still!"

The Kangra earthquake wrought great havoc all over the Punjab; Lahore also felt very violent shocks. Several houses in the city collapsed and the people found themselves in great panic. Poor Ali Bakhsh was in a state of bewilderment, running from room to room. In the meantime, Iqbal was lying in bed reading. As his attention was drawn towards the restless servant, he raised his head and said, "Ali Bakhsh! Don't run about: Take your stand on the staircase!" and then continued reading peacefully.

While lying in bed, Iqbal was usually found in deep meditation with pencil and paper. A wave of poetic mood would pass across his face. The peculiar conditions of the country and the political sentiments of the people influenced Iqbal's poetic genius to make him think of his native land. As a result, besides his description of natural scenery, he gave expression to his patriotic spirit in many of his beautiful poems, such



as *Nia-Shiwala*, *Trana-i-Hindi* (National Anthem), *Hindustani Bachchon ka Git*. In March, 1904, he recited his well known poem, *Taswir-i-Dard* at a meeting of the Lahore Anjuman. The poem is written in the national spirit and the ideas of Hindu-Muslim unity are incorporated therein. It is a beautiful poem and belongs to an important period in the history of Iqbal's poetry. He wrote his *Tarana-i-Hindi* towards the end of 1904. At this stage he was bidding fair to become a social reformer.

### HIGHER STUDY IN EUROPE

IQBAL was extremely fond of books and a voracious reader. He passed his days and nights in study, but his intention to find out truth by higher studies did not leave him content. Through the liberal help of his brother he was able to proceed to England for advanced study in philosophy and to qualify himself for the Law. It was due to his thirst for knowledge that he undertook a voyage of thousands of miles, away from his native land, friends and family, and stayed away for three long years.

In September, 1905, Iqbal left India for Europe and on his way prayed at the shrine of Hazrat Mahbub-i-Ilahi (Nizam-ud-Din Aulia of Delhi) :—

چلی ہے لے کے وطن کے نگار خانہ سے  
شراب علم کی لذت کشاں کشاں مجھہ کو  
دلوں کو چاک کرے مثل شانہ جس کا اثر  
توری جناب سے ایسی ملے فغاں مجھہ کو

From the picture-gallery of my beloved country,  
The flavour of the wine of knowledge is taking me away.  
That which pricks the hearts like a fork—  
Grant me such a plaint from thy threshold !

For the first few months, he stayed with his friends in London at 19, Adolphus Road, Finsbury, N. They were a happy lot of friends, most of whom were students. All of them were strangers in a strange land. In those days, there prevailed a great misunderstanding about Islam in England, as the Pan-Islamic movement was looked upon by the English statesmen as a danger to Europe and, particularly, to British interests in the Near East. There was a Society in London called Anjuman-i-Islam. Hafiz Mahmud Shairani was its Secretary. The Anjuman aimed at facilitating all the social amenities in a foreign land. It was

now desired by some young men to change the name of the Society into Pan-Islamic Society, but some members were not in favour of the new name as it had a political significance while the Society had no such aims and objects. Mr. (later Sir) Abdullah Suhrawardy insisted on the word "Pan-Islamic," but Mr. Arnold and Mr. Amir Ali were against the proposal and suggested that it should be "Islamic Society" to avoid any misconception about the activities of the Society in England. The discussion had not yet come to a close when the Secretary of the Society approached Iqbal and solicited his opinion about the name of the Society. The Secretary was himself a Pan-Islamist. "Are you going to support me, Iqbal?" enquired the Secretary and the reply was in the affirmative. Ultimately, the members agreed that the Society should be named the "Pan-Islamic Society." The Society had for its aims and objects the defence of Islam and other allied matters.

Iqbal did not like to appear in public and seldom desired to create an occasion for a public speech. His Indian friends of Adolphus Road, however, asked him to deliver a lecture under the auspices of the Pan-Islamic Society. The lecture was arranged at Caxton Hall, the subject being, "Certain Aspects of Islam". The hall was packed, Iqbal spoke *extempore*. It was a spirited speech that held the audience spell-bound. After the lecture, the lecturer was asked several questions.

The next day his speech was reported verbatim in all the morning papers, such as the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Standard*, *The Times*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Mail*. This was the first of a series of Iqbal's lectures in England. He delivered in all six lectures on Islamic subjects.

Iqbal as a student was very popular in social circles in England. He was welcomed everywhere and was liked by all who sat around him whether they belonged to the East or the West. He was a tireless conversationalist and his talks were very interesting. There were some forty members in the hostel where Iqbal stayed in London. They were French, German and English and all of them liked him. When Iqbal entered the dining-hall, all of them greeted him jovially.

The peculiar character of English society made him very free. He knew his way in London and possessed a very amusing and entertaining personality. He recited his verses to his friends in a silvery voice and



occasionally indulged in showing his skill as a fortune-teller by means of cards. Perhaps he had a scanty knowledge of *Raml*, his friends maintaining that it was a mere trick.

Iqbal remained for three years in Cambridge pursuing his researches. He attended a course of lectures by McTaggart (the Philosopher-Saint) as an advanced student of Trinity College. The University of Cambridge conferred on him a very high Degree in Philosophy. His valuable thesis on Persian mysticism (*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 1908) which he presented to the University of Munich, in Germany, obtained for him the Degree of Ph.D. His thesis has been published by a London publisher in the form of a book. It is a scholarly work, reviewed by eminent men of letters in well known English Journals and is appreciated all over Europe. The book has been translated into Urdu under the title of *Falsafa-i-Ajam*. On his return from Germany, he passed his Law examination at Lincoln's Inn and joined the London School of Economics and Political Science with a view to studying sociology and politics, and there he had the privilege of enjoying the society of learned scholars, scientists, politicians and statesmen of repute.

Iqbal left his impression on some of the great European minds. His life in England brought him in close contact with many prominent figures in England. The names of Arnold and McTaggart have already been mentioned. A Professor of high calibre in Cambridge once remarked that Iqbal was the most acute student of philosophy he had ever met. Dr. Nicholson is a well known Orientalist who had a personal acquaintance with Iqbal, whose conversation at the first meeting was so charming that the learned Professor felt a strong desire to meet this talented Indian again. Luck brought them together once more and the admiration felt for the brilliant young man resulted in Dr. Nicholson's translating (years after Iqbal's return to India) his Persian poem, *Asrar-i-Khudi* into English. It is not often that Indians capture the fancy of eminent men of letters in Europe.

Iqbal had a very busy time in England, yet he delivered six public lectures on Islam on various occasions. These lectures were appreciated in all quarters. As his name now came to be associated with religious research, he had the opportunity to work for three months in the London University as an Arabic Professor in the place of Professor Arnold.



At the age of thirty-two, Iqbal returned to India, laden with high degrees, well acquainted with several European languages, besides Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Through sheer hard work and ability he had earned a name for himself. The high esteem that Iqbal enjoys to-day all over India and Europe has been the lot of a very few Indians. He landed at Bombay and passing through Delhi and Ambala where he stopped to see his friends, he reached Lahore on Monday evening, July 27, 1908. His friends and the *elite* of Lahore had gathered at the railway station to welcome him. He was publicly entertained by his friends and admirers with feelings of pride and joy for the reputation he had earned at home and abroad.

The three years (1905-1908) that Iqbal spent in Europe form the second period of his poetical career. Although he had comparatively little time for poetry and the number of his poems written there is in any case small, yet they reflect a deep colour of experience and observation abroad. During this time he had to encounter two great changes in his ideas. One day, Iqbal resolved to give up writing poetry forever, solemnly affirming that he would not compose a line and that the time he spent in spinning out verses, should be spent in more useful work. The late Sir Abdul Qadir assured him that his poetry was of no small significance and could not be dispensed with. On the other hand, it was replete with a directive force which could beneficially be used for the uplift of the fallen nations. It was, therefore, not in the fitness of things to put into disuse such a useful gift of God. Iqbal was hardly convinced of the argument. In the meantime, it was agreed upon that the last decision should rest with Arnold, who agreed with Sir Abdul Qadir and held that it was not in the interest of Iqbal and his country to give up poetry. This was one kind of change. The other which took its origin in an amateurish attempt and which had a great end was that Iqbal adopted Persian as the medium of his expression instead of Urdu. His inclination towards Persian must have had many reasons.

His diligent study in the domain of Persian mysticism required him to go through numerous Persian books. This fact must have gone a long way to bring about a change in his linguistic taste. As the Poet had to undertake a deep study of philosophy and

had to express his reactions, he soon discovered that in contradistinction to Persian, Urdu had a very scanty stock of words. He could easily make use of Persian phraseology which had already been coined and polished through centuries by the efforts of the great Persian masters. On the other hand, it was another trial to express himself in Urdu with the easy grace of a versatile artist. Thus, his inclination towards Persian was only a natural consequence of his Persian study. Ostensibly, a very insignificant event which led to the beginning of his Persian poetry was that he was once invited by a friend and requested to recite some Persian lines and was asked whether he ever composed verses in Persian. He had to confess that he had never attempted except a line or two. It was a peculiar occasion. The request moved his heart to the extent that on coming back from his friend's house, although late at night, he at once set down to composing Persian verses. Next morning, when he met Sheikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir he had two Persian poems in the finished form which he recited to him. By composing these lyrics he came to know his capacity in Persian composition, which previously he had never had the chance to test. On his return from England, although he occasionally attempted verses in Urdu, the stream of his poetic thought had been turned to Persian. This is the third period of his poetical career which began after 1908. During this period, he produced several poems in Urdu, but the real task that occupied the attention of the Poet was his Persian poem, *Asrar-i-Khudi*, which was followed by *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi*. These two poems represent the same theme in continuity, although some critics hold a different opinion. The poet was occupied for a long time in thinking out the framework. The book made the name of Iqbal well known in foreign lands.

The European system of education and environment of Iqbal changed his angle of vision. He now visualised a strong contrast between the two continents, Asia and Europe; Asia was another name for Inertia. The Eastern nations indulged in revelry and were very light-minded. The causes were not far to seek without reference to the wine-dispenser and the poet,—the companions of happy days and the comrades of ease and leisure. Europe, on the other hand, was a scene of activity and the Western nations believed in self-help and forward movement.

Born and brought up in the traditions of the East, the mind of Iqbal



found a favourable opportunity for growth in European society. His studies in philosophy and social experience in the West brought to light the secrets of life, Divine Vicegerency (خلافت الہیہ), consequences of material civilization and the value of freedom. Iqbal had also come to realise the short-sightedness of his compatriots and the narrow vision of nationalism. Islamic Shariat, the Islamic principles of faith, along with the ideas of Muslim brotherhood, equality and the unity of God attracted his attention, consequently.

India was passing through strange circumstances in 1907 and the political struggle came to represent a new meaning for politicians. Iqbal sent his verses from England to the students of Aligarh in 1907 and enunciated his views. He therein drew the attention of the youth of Islam towards Islamic unity, the will to live and an ardent heart :—

آتی ہے کوہ سے صدا راز حیات ہے سکون  
کہتا تھا مور ناتواں لطف خرام اور ہے  
بادہ ہے نیم رس ابھی شوق ہے نارسا ابھی  
رہنے دو خم کے سر پہ تم خشت کیسیا ابھی

The voice came from the mountain : "The secret of life is Inertia !"  
The weak ant said : "The pleasure of movement is surely different."  
The wine is yet half-brewed and the desire is immature yet ;  
Let the brick of Ecclesia still cover the head of the cask !

The inspiring poem which Iqbal sent to his old friend, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, opens a new chapter in the history of Iqbal's verse. The poet seems to have been deeply impressed by the sad state of the Muslim World and draws attention towards the revival of Islam :—

اٹھ کہ ظلمت ہوئی پیدا افق خاور پر  
بزم میں شعلہ نوائی سے اجالا کر دیں  
رخت جاں بتکدہ چیں سے اٹھا لیں اپنا  
سب کو محر رخ سعدی و سلیمی کر دیں  
دیکھہ یثرب میں ہوا ناقہ لیلی بیکار  
قیس کو آرزوئے نو سے شناسا کر دیں

Arise, darkness has prevailed over the Eastern horizon.  
Let's light up the Assembly by our fiery voice at once !  
Let's depart with the necessities of Soul from the Pagoda of China.  
And make everybody enamoured of the faces of Su'da and Suleima!



Mark, the dromedary of Leila has become effete in Yathrab ;  
Let's acquaint Qais with a new desire once again !

Thus he became the messenger of a new dawn for the Eastern nations, especially, the Muslim World.

### IQBAL AS A LAWYER

ON his return to India from England in 1908, Iqbal joined the Lahore Bar. We have seen how he had become a star of the poetic gatherings at Lahore before he proceeded to England. As a lawyer, he had now greater chances to become a public leader.

"Though the profession of law was uncongenial to his aesthetic temperament, he had reluctantly to devote himself to it to earn his living. This period of his career is interesting to those who value his invigorating influence on Indian life more highly than his cautious advances in the realm of law. During precious intervals between his professional work, he wrote some thrilling poems which awakened the people from the torpor of centuries and breathed into them something of his own faith and hope. He thus became both the herald and the exponent of a new age. Past history and the events of our own time teach us that to slay men has ever been easier than to mould their thoughts anew, and that the true grandeur of character alone can defy this withering influence of an age of corruption. But the fertility of his mind and the magic of his Muse has enabled Iqbal to dispel the thick fog of apathy and to create yearnings by penetrating the innermost recesses of the natural heart," writes Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan in *A Voice from the East*.

At the outset, he occupied a bungalow on Chatterji Road and shortly after occupied a flat in Anarkali close to the present Bombay Cloth House and stayed there till he shifted his lodging to McLeod Road in 1922. He employed Munshi Tahir-ud-Din as his clerk for legal work in the first year of his practice, 1908, and the Munshi Sahib served his master throughout his legal career.

The fame of Iqbal as a poet had already spread far and wide. It was of some use to him in his legal career, but he was not after amassing money and often felt disturbed by his clientele. He was a poet primarily, and after that a lawyer. He took very light meals, usually once a day, and kept awake for the greater part of the night passing his time in

prayer. While reading the Holy Book, he was often seen with tears trickling down his cheeks that dropped on the book. As a lawyer, he was an upright and honest man and would not accept a case in which he was sure that he could be of no help to his client, or, when the case was bound to fail.

The Poet did not take keen interest in the legal profession, but, whenever he diverted his attention to it, he used to get a fairly large number of cases. Once he was invited in the well known Dumrao Raj case by the famous Calcutta lawyer, the late Mr. C. R. Das, to give his opinion about the correct reading of a disputed word as an expert before the court. Iqbal proceeded to Patna and received one thousand rupees per day as his fee and a hundred rupees daily allowance for his clerk. Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy and many other lawyers were there. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was counsel on the other side. Iqbal was requested to stay there for about a month or two and study the case as it suited his convenience. He might go to Lahore or Calcutta as he wished and come back again when his presence was required before the court. Mr. Das came to welcome Iqbal, but did not turn up the next day. The latter told him that he was thinking of leaving for Lahore, as he was fully prepared to give his opinion and could no longer stay there. Mr. Das explained to him that it was a State case and by his mere stay he could earn a thousand rupees a day, and if he liked he could stay for even two months. Iqbal, appeared before the court the next day where Mr. Das and other lawyers were conducting the case. He drafted his opinion and presented it to the court. The arrangement for his fees was made and the Doctor took the next train to Lahore. On his way back, he paid a visit to Maulana Akbar of Allahabad who had retired from service.

He used to deliver discourses to the students of various colleges at his office in Anarkali. A large number of local collegians gathered there to hear the Doctor speak on various literary and philosophical topics. The society of the great teacher was of great benefit to the numerous students who later on shone in various spheres of life.

While in England, Iqbal had set forth the plan of his future poetry in his poem, *To Abdul Qadir*. The poem, if viewed carefully, presents a dim picture of what he wrote afterwards. Herein he foreshadows his longer poems of the future, e.g., *Shikwah*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, *Sham'-o-*



*Sha'ir, Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam*. The poet's study in the libraries of Europe and extensive travelling on the Continent had convinced him that materialism could not bring real happiness to the world and that the real growth and development of the human race could in no case be made wholly to depend on it.

With his return from England starts the third period of his poetical career. At the very beginning he stretched out his hands in prayer to God that the efforts of the Muslims might bear fruit: "Rekindle the dead embers in the hearts of the Muslims, banish their despair, give them a new desire, warmth of life and constant passion for demand!"

He no more believed in nationalism:

ہاگ ہے گرد وطن سے سر داماں تیرا  
تو وہ یوسف ہے کہ ہر مصر ہے کنعاں تیرا

Thy skirt is free from the dust of *locale* :

Thou art a Joseph and every Egypt is thy Canaan.

He now aimed at the unity of the Islamic people to give a lead to the world :

یہ نکتہ سرگذشت ملت بیضا سے ہے پیدا  
کہ اقوام زمین ایشیا کا پاسیان تو ہے  
سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا عدالت کا شجاعت کا  
لیا جائیگا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا

The history of the Islamic People proves the hidden truth—

Thou art the guardian of the nations of Asia so vast.

Learn again the lesson of Truth, Justice and Chivalry!

Thou wilt be required perforce to guide the world.

He condemns the distinction of colour and race :

جو کرے گا امتیاز رنگ و خون مٹ جائیگا  
ترک خرگاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا کہر

Whosoever shall resort to the distinction of colour and blood shall perish,  
Even though he be a Turk residing in a majestic camp, or, a high-pedigreed Arab.

In 1910, the world forces opened a bloody chapter in the history of the Muslim World. The Balkan and Tripoli wars were inflicting a mortal wound on Islam. The candle of the Caliphate at Istanbul was flickering and the prestige of Islam was in danger. Our poet was shocked

at the high-handedness of some of the Western Powers. He wrote touching verses and read them to large gatherings

On the 6th of October, 1911, he recited his historic poem, *The Blood Offering of The Martyrs*—خون شہدا کی نذر in the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. It was a pathetic subject and it moved the hearts of the audience. The audience listened to the poet with tearful eyes as they were horrified to see the Islamic countries in danger. As a poet is naturally very sensitive, Iqbal felt the unexpected Islamic calamity more than anyone else. He now regarded the native land as an idol and believed that the individual was destined in the long run to merge in the universal nation. So he sang *Tarana-i-Milli* instead of *Tarana-i-Hindi* as follows:—

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستان ہمارا  
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

China and Arabia are ours : India is ours as well ;  
We are Muslims, the whole world is our native land.

He considered geographical nationalism as highly detrimental to the cause of Islam.

Later on, he brought forth his longer poems, *Shikwah*, *Sham'-o-Sha'ir*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, (1912,) *Khizr-i-Rah* (1922) and *Tulu'-i-Islam* (1923.)

#### PUBLICATION OF ASRAR-O-RUMUZ

BEFORE leaving for Europe, Iqbal's national poems had become very popular. In England his verse acquired Islamic colour. On his return to India, he paid less attention to poetry for some time. On the eve of the Tripoli war, he read a short poem which marked the beginning of his longer poems. *Shikwah* and *Sham'-o-Sha'ir* were written for the annual meetings of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. *Jawab-i-Shikwah* was recited at a public meeting during the Balkan wars. Afterwards, the poet turned his attention to Persian.

Besides studies at the Universities of Cambridge and London, Iqbal had the golden opportunity of visiting the great libraries of Europe. As he had undertaken an extensive study in the domain of Persian mysticism in order to write an original thesis which he presented to the University of Munich for his Doctorate, he developed a peculiar taste for persian poetry. Iqbal, strange to say, had never attempted Persian



poetry before he paid a visit to Europe till he was one day questioned by a friend as to whether he ever attempted Persian poetry. He was a great admirer and lover of Rumi and his mystic *Mathnawi*. Rumi had a profound influence on Iqbal and is to him what Vergil was to Dante. Besides, Iqbal was not free from the influence of other masters of Persian poetry such as Sanai, Saadi and Hafiz, at least so far as the form of their verse and diction were concerned.

On his return to India, Iqbal devoted most of his time to the production of a highly philosophical poem known as *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) which was first published in Lahore in 1915. Another equally long poem, *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* is said to be its complement. The basis of both these poems is the development of the Self in two different circles, individual and social. *Asrar-i-Khudi* has been translated by Dr. R. A. Nicholson, of Cambridge.

According to *Asrar-i-Khudi*, the Self is the basis of the Universe, and the constancy of individual life depends upon the strength of the Self as the life of the Self depends on desire. Love is an all-pervading influence that strengthens the Self and asking, on the other hand, weakens the Self. When the Self is strengthened through love, the universal forces come under its dominion. According to the poet most of the subject races invent the doctrine of the negation of the Self to weaken the character of their rulers. Platonic teachings had an adverse effect on Islamic literature and mysticism, and as such the poet sounds a note of warning against their baneful influence. It was the "sheep's doctrine" that Plato followed, so he said. The poet describes the three stages in the development of the Self being Obedience, Self-control and Divine Vicegerency.

In the story of the Sheikh and the Brahman followed by a conversation between the Ganges and the Himalayas, the poet explains the truth that the continuation of social life depends on firm attachment to the characteristic traditions of the community. The *raison d'être* of a Muslim is to exalt the Word of Allah and Jihad (war against untruth) is in no case lawful, if earth-hunger is the underlying cause.

The metre and form of the poem are those of Rumi's *Mathnawi*, but it is based on a different structure of thought which the poet has almost developed into a system of philosophy. Iqbal believes in the

basic existence of the Self and lays emphasis on its expression and protection. In the words of Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, which occur in the preface to his book, *A Voice From the East*, "As a Muslim poet, his belief in the illimitable sources of human nature is such that he gives the tidings of boundless development of the individual. The human soul, being an atom of energy, is according to his philosophy capable of widest expansion, provided it loyally submits to a moral discipline which he expounds in his Persian poems.

"His poems have profoundly stirred the soul of the people in India. The entire nation had lapsed into deep slumber and there seemed little left to labour on behalf of moral progress. For several decades a contempt for religion was in the circles of highest culture an almost essential index of the liberal mind. It is not easy to explain how the soul of the nation had decayed under the influence of self-seeking petty-mindedness.

"The poet awakened lofty feelings, aroused pride in the motherland and set the people dreaming about the greatness of their destiny. The youth of the country realised that pettiness was the grave of all greatness. They, like the poet, determined not to adapt themselves to the world but to mould the world in accordance with their own will."

S. Umrao Singh, a gentleman of deep culture and a fervent admirer of Iqbal writes in his foreword to *A Voice from the East* :—

"Iqbal through his powerful expression draws the attention of the world to those constructive principles which underlie religion, Islam in this case particularly.

"While reading one of these poems with the poet, I have been struck with the wealth and terseness of constructive ideas which escape one in a cursory reading due to the association of the words with their old significance. He is enriching the content of idea in the words which his potential genius has appropriately selected for their phonetic harmony, in a manner which reveals the truly creative nature of his work. The future ages will read more sense into these words and expressions as we find in other languages which have not remained stationary, and the future generations will understand him better than we do now. In this consists the value of his work as a man who has ploughed up the soil of race ideas in their language, adding further significance to words as we



find in the works of F. W. Bain who has enriched the content of word and phrase in the English language by adding to them the significance of classic India which they hitherto lacked. With the same grace and absence of awkwardness Iqbal has been handling the Persian and Urdu tongues.

"Often at the house of my friend, Zulfiqar, have I seen Iqbal enveloped in that blue haze which has become the accompaniment of the genial and magnetic atmosphere thrilling with subtle poetic vibrations which require no stretch of imagination to feel. Converse at such times has ceased through the touch of that spirit which precedes his song. The puer and sparkling ambrosia of the gods flows and is demanded again and again and one feels a wish to share it with other kindred spirits."

A widely known scholar, Mr. Herbert Reed, while making a critical observation on Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi*, says :—

"But subject to these elucidations this idea of Whiteman's is a critical ideal of workability, of direct use. Apply it here and now, I can think of only one living poet who in any way sustains the test and almost necessarily he is not of our race and creed, I mean Muhammad Iqbal, whose poem *Asrar-i-Khudi*, "The Secrets of the Self," has recently been translated from the original Persian by Dr. Reynold Nicholson and published by Macmillan. Whilst our native poetasters were rhyming to their intimate coteries about cats and corncrakes and other homely or unusual variations of a Keatsian theme, there was written and published in Lahore this poem, which we are told, has taken by storm the younger generation of Indian Muslims. "Iqbal," writes one of them, "has come amongst us as a Messiah and has stirred the dead with life. And what catch-penny nostrum, you will ask, has thus appealed to the covetous hearts of the market-place, you will then be told, as I tell you now, that no nostrum, neither of the Jingo nor of the Salvationist, has wrought this wonder, but a poem that crystallises in its beauty the most essential phases of modern philosophy, making a unity of faith out of a multiplicity of ideas, a universal inspiration out of the esoteric logic of the schools.

"Although the poem is addressed to the Muslim people but its underlying truths are eternal verities and can be applied to the uplift of all

those societies whose form remains when the soul is dead, when the spirit has finished.

"This dynamic philosophy of Iqbal inculcates the vital principle of developing the latent forces inherent in man, in order that a radiant and commanding personality may find manifestation, the travail of humanity being a necessary preliminary.

"In this youthful new world of his own creation, he will build his chosen realm of natural and rational rights; his great deeds will be commensurate with his great thoughts. But for this mighty soul also, there is a period of rigorous discipline in order to attain to larger life and higher development. It must not be forgotten that this careful preparation is absolutely essential in order that his gradual purification may illumine his entire nature."

According to Iqbal, "The Self is divine and unlike what the science of the West reduces it to be no better than a mechanism and a prey to circumstances. Islam has made man the lord of creation." The poet's philosophy mainly concerns itself with the education of the Ego.

Iqbal was very anxious to see a radical change in the present state of the Muslim World. He succeeded to a great extent in creating a new social outlook and affected the currents of thought in the fast-changing world of to-day. He viewed with confidence the possibility of a world-wide theocratic State (with Kaaba as its centre) in which all Muslims, no longer divided by the barriers of country and race, would be one. Nationalism and Imperialism had no fascination for him and he came to the succour of the fallen nations of the East just in time

### THE KING'S KNIGHT

IN 1901, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's death, Iqbal wrote a pathetic poem which was very widely appreciated in the official and non-official quarters. Some time later, on the occasion of the Punjab Governor's visit to a meeting of the Lahore Anjuman, he recited an admirable piece of poetry in praise of the distinguished guest's high learning. During the Great War he composed a poem which was published in the official journal, "*Haq*" and was again very profusely admired in all circles, but, the Government came to know of Iqbal's achievements as a poet when his Persian publications, *Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Baikkudi* had won high esteem in the eyes of European



scholars and the Press. These two poems were translated in several European languages.

Sir Edward Maclagan, a former Governor of the Punjab, was a keen student of philosophy and a patron of art and learning. He was greatly impressed by the high intellect and philosophy of Iqbal. Consequently, the Government appreciated the poet's genius by conferring a Knighthood upon him in 1922. His friends maintain that a Knight was never created on more real merits than in the case of Iqbal. The honour was conferred upon a poet who never entertained any desire to win a title for he always preached the gospel of freedom. As a result the vernacular press was highly vocal in pungent criticism. The following few lines are typical :—

لو مدرسہ علم ہوا قصر حکومت  
افسوس کہ علامہ سے سر ہو گئے اقبال  
پہلے تو سر ملت بیضا کے تھے وہ تاج  
اب اور سینو تاج کے سر ہو گئے اقبال  
کہتا تھا یہ کل ٹھنڈی سڑک پر کوئی گستاخ  
سرکار کی دھلیز ہم سر ہو گئے اقبال

Lo, the seat of Learning has become the Government House;

Alas, Iqbal has risen to Knight-hood from an Allamah.

He was, formerly, the crown of the Muslim people ;

Hark, another news ! Iqbal has become a Knight of the Crown.

Some impertinent fellow said yesterday on the Mall :

"Iqbal bowed his head low at the threshold of Sarkar."

But the grand fete which was held at the Mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir in honour of the poet was representative of all classes of the people and the *elite* of Lahore as it was attended by dignitaries and men of letters from all over the Punjab. The Punjab Governor, numerous Englishmen and ladies were invited to the party.

It was a glorious gathering which bore ample testimony to the fact that the poet was held in high esteem and regard by his countrymen ; there you could see him shine as a diamond of the finest cut. The Doctor delivered an interesting speech on the occasion and through this speech the people were for the first time introduced to his famous work, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, on which the poet was working in response to the famous German poet, Goethe.

## MORE LITERARY PRODUCTION

THE publication of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* established Iqbal's reputation as the Poet of the East. The *Mathnawi*, as it deals with the secrets of the Self, exponent of his realistic philosophy, set the people of India athinking and had a very healthy effect on Indian society. In 1922, the poet published the *Piyam-i-Mashriq* wherein his poetic genius found full expression in his many beautiful poems. The *Piyam* was written when he had fairly developed his poetic art and drunk thought, deep of the Western fountains. His studies in the realm of European coupled with his vast Oriental learning, perfected his mind and enabled him to think on new lines.

The *Piyam-i-Mashriq* was completed in response to the Western Diwan of the German poet, Goethe, who was a great admirer of Hafiz and Saadi. Besides him, a large number of German poets, who came after him, had a great fascination for Persian poetic thought, which came to be known as the Oriental movement. Iqbal's object in writing the *Piyam* was to present moral, religious and national truths that have their relation with the inner development of individuals and nations. Goethe's *Diwan* was written when Germany was passing through a state of national deterioration, and it is no exaggeration to say that he successfully guided his nation through the "mortal passage". The present state of the East bears a close resemblance to the conditions prevalent in Germany a hundred years ago. Iqbal did not fail to see that Europe in the post-war period was striving for the creation of a new world, a dim picture of which may be observed in the writings of Einstein and Bergson. Throughout the *Piyam*, the poet is conscious of the fundamental truth referred to in the Holy Quran as—

ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم

Iqbal views the disintegration of the Islamic World with great concern and indefatigably preaches the doctrines of the Survival of the Fittest and Struggle for Life. In *Zindagi-o-Amal* he says :—

موج زخود رفته تیز خرامید و گفت هستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم

A wild wave rolled fast and pertly said,

"I am, if I move: If I don't, I am not!"



The first part of the *Piyam* includes quatrains presenting some of his philosophical interpretations of the intricate problems of human life, such as eternity, manifestations of God, desire and its effects on the world, love and reason and their influence on man, life and materialism. A number of other poems, such as *Life, the World of Action, Wisdom and Poetry*, are dealt with in the second part. There are a few pages devoted to charming lyrics. Under the caption of *Naqsh-i Farang*, there are a few short poems on the great men of Europe, such as Schopenhauer, Tolstoy, Carl Marx, Nietzsche, Einstein, Hegel, Goethe, Bergson and Lenin. *Khurda* brings *Piyam-i-Mashriq* to a close.

After the publication of the *Piyam*, the poet recited his two beautiful poems, *Khizr-i-Rah* in 1922 and *Tulu'-i-Islam* in 1923. *Bang-i-Dara*, a collection of Urdu poems was published in 1924 and contains the poet's verse up to date. For some years later, Iqbal was known to be a poet only of the Persian language, which he had chosen to speak with felicity to the Islamic nations.

The *Piyam* was followed by the publication of another Persian work of equal importance, *Zabur-i-Ajam*, which aims at the creation of a new spirit in the youth. The book aroused great interest and materially added to the poet's fame. We are told that Iqbal looked upon *Zabur* as a masterpiece of his poetical perfection; *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, however, is regarded by the reading public as a work of great merit.

### TRIBUTES TO THE POET

SINCE the publication of *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, the fame of Iqbal spread far and wide and his poetry was equally popular outside India. In May, 1924, during Amanullah's regime, Iqbal's verses were recited before a representative gathering at Kabul in connection with the prize distribution of school students. Among those present were the King himself, foreign ambassadors, notable citizens, the Education Minister and other high officials. The students sang the poet's popular song, *مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا*—and the melody deeply impressed the audience. *Tarana-i-Hindi* is the Indian national anthem; *Tarana-i-Milli*, however, is widely sung in many Muslim countries as the Islamic anthem.

Agha Shair Qizalbash, a popular poet of Delhi, who had been in the service of many Indian princes as a court poet, happened to be in the

Grand Hotel at Calcutta in 1926 where he met a member of an American travellers' party. During the conversation, the American traveller asked him, "Who are you and what is your occupation?" The Agha replied, "I am the companion of a Maharaja and am a well known poet." The traveller said, "May I know if you are Iqbal?" The Agha writes: "I was surprised to hear that, and had to bow before the vast popularity and great personality of Iqbal."

Besides the visitors from India, men of letters from Germany, England, America, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Turkestan, Afghanistan and other countries often came to see our world-famous, but of retired habits, poet.

The inspired poetry of Iqbal was so popular at home that his life-sketch was published in English and Urdu in his lifetime and his poetry was reviewed by men of high intellect and calibre. His lifegiving poems have drawn forth *Kasidas* in his praise. Maulana Ghulam Qadir Girami, who was one of the few illustrious Persian poets of our age, appreciated Iqbal's verse and personality, and the following couplet is indeed a unique tribute to him and is justified too:

در دیده معنی نگه‌هاں حضرت اقبال  
پیغمبرئی کرد و پیغمبر نتوان گفت

In the eyes of those who look to reality so deep, the poet Iqbal  
Played the role of a prophet, but cannot be called a prophet.

The importance of Iqbal in the penetrating eyes of Girami may well be visualised from the following verse as well:—

درس ماضی از کتاب حال گیر ساغر از خم خانه اقبال گیر  
از نوایش بزم یورپ در خروشن حکمت امریکه او را سفته گوش

Take the lesson of the Past from the book of the Present;  
Take a cup from the romantic tavern of Iqbal!  
His voice has created a tumult in European society;  
The wisdom of America pays its homage to him.

#### MEMBER OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AS a matter of political creed, Sir Iqbal was always with those who fought for the freedom of the country, but he had few occasions to enter the arena of active politics. So he says:



یہ عقدہ ہائے سیاست تجھے مبارک ہوں  
کہ فیض عشق سے ناخن مرا ہے سینہ خراش

May you be blessed with these problems of politics ;

Due to the beneficence of Love, my nails are tearing my breast !

Knowing well that the poet was given to a peaceful life and never took part in active politics, his friends and admirers requested him at one time to stand as a candidate for the membership of the Legislative Council and contest the election. Most of the citizens of Lahore are well aware of the numerous public meetings that were held in favour of Iqbal in 1926.

Iqbal entered the Council as a representative of the Muslim community. He often asked questions about the general progress and life conditions of Muslims, but as he held the cause of his country dear to his heart ; particularly as he had a natural love and sympathy for the poorer classes, peasants and labourers, he never sided with the feudal group to reduce their land tax or income-tax. He, however, won many members of the House to his side by his powerful and reasoned speeches.

It is possible to conceive even to-day that there is a section of people in the country which, in order to embarrass the Government, creates dissensions among the people, causes disorder in the country and flings mud on religious leaders. Iqbal moved in the House that a recommendation should be made to the Governor-in-Council that a regulation should be enforced to prevent the mischievous and insulting attacks on religious leaders. Iqbal also proposed the exclusion of the sword from the ambit of the Indian Arms Act. To remove the curse of drink, he put forth a resolution that prohibition should be the ultimate object of the policy of "dry scheme" and its period should not go beyond fourteen years. Nili Bar, a vast tract of thousands of acres, was sold by the Government and the major portion of the area was purchased by the capitalists. Iqbal, in this connection, proposed that half of the area should be reserved for the peasants who have to undergo manual labour to do the farming. The object was to improve the lot of the working class.

Whenever an epidemic breaks out in the cities, official and non-official arrangements are made and every kind of medical aid is provided for the patients, but such arrangements are seldom made for the rural

area. In the circumstances, Iqbal suggested to the benefit of the villagers that a committee should be formed of official and non-official members, who should consider the report for the progress of rural health.

On February 28, 1932, the Revenue Member presented the Provincial Budget before the Council. Iqbal, while criticising it, disclosed the secret irregularities of the revenue system and discussing the reduction of tax remarked :—

“The irregularity consists in holding the view in connection with the land tax that all land is the property of the Government. Such a claim for the general property was never made in ancient times, nor was such a demand put forth in the times of the Moghul kings. This is one of the historical aspects of the question which has been admitted by the Committee of Enquiry in relation to taxes. The fact is that the Government in this country has never made such a demand. We are told that the Moghuls had presented such a claim, but the inhabitants of the Punjab were the owners of the land when the race of Babur had not even stepped into the hall of history. The only conclusion, therefore, is that kings constantly come and go and only the nation survives :—

سکندر رفت و شمشیر و علم رفت  
خراج شهر و گنج کان و یم رفت  
اسم را از شهبان پاینده تر دان  
نمی بینی که ایران ماند و جم رفت

“And if such a view was ever held, it is not lawful in the Twentieth century. At the present time every piece of land, small or big, is subject to land tax. A person might be the owner of two *kanals* or two hundred *kanals*; however, he has to pay the tax. On the other hand, the principle of capacity to pay has to be borne in mind for the imposition of income-tax. It is only a scale of degrees; some people are not to be charged income-tax. My opinion is that the Council should reconsider the reduction of taxes in the light of this principle.”

In 1928, the theory of Government property formed a topic of discussion, and Iqbal in this connection said :

“The first European writer who discussed this theory was Perron. In 1887 he discarded the theory after a complete research and examination. In 1830 Bragger made a research about law and



custom. The writer gives a detailed account of the laws of Manu, Islamic *Shariat* and the customary restrictions in the various parts of India, such as Bengal, Malwa and the Punjab. His conclusion is that in no period of Indian history the Government has claimed the land as its property."

Iqbal's speech for the remission or reduction of rent, distinction between income-tax and land tax and the exception of land from the Government property was indeed very powerful and a long one. This speech was addressed to the Revenue Member, the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain. The Revenue Member, however, laid emphasis on two points in his arguments: first, money is badly wanted for the progress of the province; secondly, the Government does not know the science of alchemy, as he put it humourously. To these arguments Iqbal gave a crushing reply saying: "In my opinion the Government need not learn the science of alchemy so long as the labouring peasants of the country, whose perspiration turns the earth into gold, are in its possession." The Revenue Member in response rose to say: "The same old revenue system shall continue or it shall have to be dropped as there is no third choice." Explaining still further, Iqbal added:

"If the Honourable Member admits the injustice of the present revenue system, some measures may be adopted for the removal of such injustice." And as for the remedy, the speaker suggested that a person, who had not more than ten *kanals* of land with a limited produce, should be excused the payment of tax. When the Revenue Member expressed his fear that the resolution would cause the death of the infant Revenue Bill and the Members of the Council would only be guilty of infanticide, Iqbal observed: "Nowadays, as the people are indulging in birth control, to kill such a child, which would most probably grow up to be a mischievous boy, is a common thing. In my opinion the demand that the tax up to ten *kanals* should be excused is not in any case unreasonable."

In connection with the remission of tax for the person who possessed two and a half acres, the Revenue Member said, "It is surely a sin without relish," and Iqbal forthwith replied: "If you commit this sin without relish, you would at least prove that in any case you have a regard for justice."

## MADRAS LECTURES

IN the last days of December, 1928, Iqbal was invited to Madras to deliver a series of lectures. He stayed there for three days and delivered six lectures on Islam. Some of them were repeated at Hyderabad and Aligarh. Various associations presented addresses of welcome to the great poet. His photographs appeared in almost all the vernacular and English newspapers of Madras, Bangalore and Mysore. Several Press representatives and scholars of religion and philosophy discussed with him religion, philosophy and politics. In Madras, besides the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, addresses of welcome were presented to him by the Brahman scholars of South India. On January 9, 1929, when Iqbal arrived at the Bangalore railway station, thousands of people had assembled there to pay homage to the great scholar. He was presented an address of welcome on behalf of the Muslim Library and the meeting was presided over by Amin-ul-Mulk Diwan Mirza Ismail, Chief Minister of Mysore. The students and the educated classes had arranged another meeting which was presided over by Dr. Sobarayan, Director of Education Department, Mysore. The poet had received an invitation from the Maharaja of Mysore at Bangalore and as such stayed at Government House. The University of Mysore arranged for a lecture to be delivered by him, and the next day the Mysore Muslims presented an address to him at the Town Hall. A professor of philosophy of the Mysore University, who was a non-Muslim, remarked in the course of his speech: "The Muslims may claim Dr. Iqbal a million times as their own, but he belongs to us all. He is not the exclusive property of any religion or class."

After paying a visit to Mysore, Bangalore, Sirangapatam and other places, Iqbal reached Hyderabad on January 14, where a group of young Muslim students sang the Islamic anthem of the poet. Among the crowd at the railway station were all the members of the Osmania University. Here the poet was informed that he was the guest of the Nizam's Government. On the 18th of January, in the morning, the poet met His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Various newspapers of Hyderabad, Mysore and Madras published valuable articles on the literary achievements of the poet and the Mysore paper, *Al-Kalam*, published a special "Iqbal Number."



## AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

IN 1930, Dr. Iqbal was elected President of the All-India Muslim League and, some time after, President of the Muslim Conference. The addresses that he delivered at the Muslim League and the Conference meetings are in many ways historic, particularly the one delivered at Allahabad in 1930. In the meantime the British statesmen were meeting the Indian political leaders at the Round Table Conference in London with a view to scanning the possibilities of the new constitutional reforms. Iqbal was also invited as a delegate to the second session of the Round Table Conference. He, therefore, sailed for London in 1931. On his way, he visited Cairo and Rome, and attended the Islamic Conference in Palestine. On his return from the Conference, he went to Spain to visit the historical scenes of Islamic achievements in the past.

At the Round Table Conference, Iqbal co-operated in political discussions with His Highness the Agha Khan and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In fact, Iqbal was the soul of the Trio, and the Communal Award took its form mainly due to their efforts. The question of separate electorates loomed large in the discussions throughout. The late Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi and others had almost yielded to the Indian Congress and it was mainly on account of Iqbal's constant insistence on safeguarding Muslim rights that separate electorates were incorporated in the Communal Award.

The valuable advice that Iqbal gave to the British statesmen, Mr. Gandhi and his friends at the Round Table Conference will always be remembered with gratitude by Muslims. Iqbal's work at the Conference will ever adorn the pages of Indian history because of his grasp of the intricate problems of the various races in India, their civilisation and culture.

## VISIT TO KABUL

THE family of the late King Nadir Shah of Kabul (*Shah-i-Shahid*) was greatly interested in the work of Dr. Iqbal during his lifetime. Kabul has not only been a fervent admirer of Iqbal's poetry but also his advice on domestic affairs was always keenly sought. Most of the members of the Afghan royal family are equally conversant with Persian and Urdu, which is one of the reasons for their appreciation of Urdu literature and familiarity with the people of India.

Iqbal was deeply distressed at the political chaos that followed the Amanullah regime. When General Nadir Khan returned from Paris and was passing through Lahore, Iqbal went to see him at the railway station and gave him his blessings. General Nadir Khan succeeded in eliminating the riotous element in Afghanistan and brought back peace to the land of the stubborn and hardy people and himself became the head of the State. After he was free from domestic worries, he cherished a desire to invite Iqbal to Kabul to meet him as a friend. So he wrote to the poet intimating his desire to see him. To avoid any misconception, a suggestion was made to His Late Majesty to create an occasion for such a meeting. The Kabul Government, as such, invited in 1933 a deputation of three learned scholars of India to advise the Government on educational affairs, relating to reform in the Kabul University. The Indian deputation included Iqbal, the late Sir Ross Masood and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. Mr. Ghulam Rasul, Barrister-at-law of Lahore, accompanied Iqbal and so did Professor Hadi Hasan of Aligarh as a private secretary of Sir Ross Masood. Ali Bakhsh, the poet's servant, also accompanied his master. Iqbal bought a valuable copy of the Holy Quran as a present for the Shah and a cover of green velvet was ordered for it.

Iqbal left for Kabul with Sir Ross Masood and Syed Sulaiman followed them. They passed the night at Jalalabad, started for Kabul the next morning and reached their destination in the evening. Ahmad Shah Khan, the Afghan Minister, met the deputation at a distance of about eight miles from Kabul to welcome them on behalf of the Afghan Government. They were taken to the Dar-ul-Aman University. Nadir Shah had sent an intimation to the poet Iqbal that he was his personal guest. The next day, an interview with King Nadir Shah was arranged. The Shah met Iqbal alone and later Sir Ross Masood was also received by the late ruler.

At a private meeting, Iqbal presented his copy of the Holy Quran to the Shah and with tears in his eyes remarked, "I present the Holy Book to you, the word of God, the pages of which are laden with bright signs, the secrets of the cosmos—this is all that I possess ; I am a faqir."

The deputation stayed at Dar-ul-Aman for about eight or ten days and during this time visitors came in large numbers to see Iqbal, the poet and those who were with him.



On his return from Kabul, Iqbal paid a visit to Ghazni and Kandhar and it was in these historic cities that he wrote his poems incorporated in *Musafir*. The poet reached Lahore *via* Chaman and Quetta but unfortunately only a few days after his arrival at Lahore, the newspapers announced the woeful death of King Nadir Shah :

اے خوشا حرفے کہ گوید آشنا با آشنا

### LATER PUBLICATIONS

IN 1928-29, Iqbal delivered a series of lectures on the "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" at Madras. These lectures have been published in the form of a book (Oxford University Press). "In this book, the author attempts to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge. So he says that the present movement is quite favourable for such an undertaking. Classical physics has learned to criticise its own foundations. As a result of this criticism, the kind of materialism which it originally necessitated is rapidly disappearing, and the day is not far off when religion and science may discover hitherto unsuspected mutual harmonies."

After *Zabur-i-Ajam*, Iqbal published another Persian work, *Javid Nama*, which is a long serial poem. In this poem, the poet explains his philosophy while taking a trip to the heavens in the company of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi. The style and technique of the book bear close resemblance to that of Dante, the great author of the *Divine Comedy*.

By the process of time Iqbal once again became more inclined towards Urdu and published *Bal-i-Jibril*, a collection of his Urdu poems that came to the hands of the Urdu-knowing public many years after the publication of *Bang-i-Dara* which contained the poet's Urdu poems up to 1922. *Bal-i-Jibril* was followed by *Zarb-i-Kalim* which is described as a declaration of war against the present age and was published for the first time in 1936. In his later years, the poet produced two Persian poems, *Musafir* and *Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ai Aqam-i-Sharg*; the latter is a Persian *Mathnawi* and includes *Musafir*.

As the poet was closely concerned with the social and political affairs of Islam, he wrote two highly instructive articles on "Islam and Qadianism" and "Islam and Ahmadism," with a reply to certain

questions raised by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru which were published in the form of pamphlets in 1936.

During his last days, he had prepared a collection of Urdu and Persian poems under the name of *Armughan-i-Hedjaz*, the publication of which was contemplated in the near future, but as the end of the poet had drawn near, the work could not see the light of day in his lifetime, but only after his death.

#### ILL-HEALTH

IN 1923-24, Iqbal suffered from an attack of kidney trouble. He was then residing in his bungalow situated on McLeod Road. A certain medical practitioner advised Iqbal to accompany him to England for expert medical treatment. Iqbal had almost decided to go to Europe taking his nephew, Mukhtar Ahmad, with him when the late Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan paid a visit to him one day. As Sir Zulfiqar learned that Iqbal proposed to leave for Europe, he asked him to wait till he had consulted Khawaja Hasan Nizami and, consequently, wrote a letter to him. The Khawaja consulted Hakim Nabina and requested Iqbal to give the Hakim a chance to treat him before leaving for Europe. At Delhi he was to undergo treatment for eight days by the Hakim and was cured till the disease reappeared about five or six months before his death. The Hakim was again requested to send the medicine, which was used and as a result the trouble vanished.

The disease that proved fatal took its origin in 1934, on the occasion of 'Id when Iqbal partook of some food and, as a result, his vocal organs were affected. The poet had to go to Delhi. Some of the physicians there were in favour of electric treatment, and in that case Iqbal would have had to go to Bhopal. In 1935 the Nawab of Bhopal was pleased to bestow a life pension of Rs. 500 per month on Sir Muhammad Iqbal in recognition of his services to Persian and Urdu literature. His Highness was prepared to defray the expenses of Iqbal's visit to Vienna for medical treatment, but, Iqbal declined the Nawab's generosity.

During his visit, Iqbal stayed with the late Sir Ross Masood at Riaz Manzil in Bhopal. Again, as Sir Ross Masood's residence was under repair, the poet stayed in the Shish Mahal. Sir Ross Masood used to visit the poet frequently. Most of Iqbal's poems adorning the pages of *Zarb-i-Kalim* were composed at Riaz Manzil and Shish Mahal.



During his last days, the poet often expressed a desire to go out for a walk in the garden adjoining his bungalow, but he only walked to its gate and returned. In reality, he was not strong enough to move about.

The Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood of Lahore in order to pay their homage of love and affection to one, who during the last thirty years of his life had consistently and constantly interpreted the deep religious, cultural and political spirit of the East in his poetical and philosophical writings, undertook to organise "Iqbal Day" on the 9th of January, 1938. Glowing tributes were paid to the poet on this occasion by prominent men both in the East and the West. Among such messages of congratulations received by the Brotherhood, the following are noteworthy :

"I am glad to hear that your Brotherhood has decided to hold 'Iqbal Day' on the 9th of January, 1938. I desire to associate myself with the tributes that will be paid to the genius of this great poet. I have always been a great admirer of Iqbal's poetry. It is something very different from the ordinary Urdu poetry to which we are accustomed. Not only as a literary artist but as a thinker he has achieved a position which will be permanent in our literature."—*Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.*

"Personally I am proud of that great Islamic poet and philosopher and have ever availed of his kind society. The whole Afghan nation, whom I represent and serve here, also recognise Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal as a great Islamic Faqir and philosopher."—*The Royal Afghan Consul-General in India.*

"I am delighted to hear that there is to be a celebration in honour of Sir Muhammad Iqbal on January 9. He is famous as a poet, as a philosopher, and as an interpreter of Islam far beyond the confines of his own country. Only recently, the Oxford University Press published a book of his philosophic and religious essays which attracted widespread and admiring attention. It is a tragedy that he should have been crippled by ill-health during the last few years. But I was glad to find at a short interview which I had with him a week or two ago that his mind was as alert, as penetrating, and as illuminating as ever. May he recover his full health and strength!"—*Lord Lothian.*

ز شعر حضرت اقبال می توان دریافت  
که درس فلسفه می داد و عاشقی ورزید

### HIS CHILDREN AND WILL

IQBAL was married for the first time in his youth to the daughter of a Civil Surgeon of Gujrat. The lady bore him two children, a son (Aftab Iqbal) and a daughter. Mr. Aftab Iqbal is an M.A. of the London University, and during his stay in London, he had also qualified himself for the Bar.

In 1916-17, Iqbal married another lady, a sister of Khawaja Abdul Ghani. She was very generous and kind-hearted as she loved the poor and gave them charity as much as she could. On McLeod Road there lived some families of the so-called "untouchables" who had embraced Islam recently. She used to give lessons to their girls in the Holy Quran.

Iqbal's family moved to Javid Manzil on the 19th of May, 1935, and Lady Iqbal died on the 23rd of May. She left behind two children, a son, Javid Iqbal and a daughter, Munira Banu.

In 1919-20, Iqbal married once again. His third wife was the sister of Dr. Ghulam Muhammad of Ludhiana, but she died soon after her marriage. She was devoted to the poet who felt the shock of her death very much. He often shed tears while mentioning her name and said that he had no one to serve him. Obviously, he was in need of someone to look after him.

Iqbal has left a will which chiefly concerns his two children, Javid Iqbal and Munira Banu. Therein Ch. Muhammad Husain, Sh. Ijaz Ahmad, Munshi Tahir-ud-Din and Khawaja Abdul Ghani were appointed guardians of the children. Iqbal, besides domestic instructions, described in the will his own view and attitude towards religion which is quite interesting. So he writes:—

"I follow the path of early Muslims. I don't believe in *Taqlid*. Of course, I follow Imam-i-Azam, Abu Hanifa in action, and all this I have adopted after my personal research in Islamic. If you come across a Muslim in the true sense of the word, try to follow in his footsteps and—

گر نیابی صحبت سرود خیر  
از اب وجد آنچه می دارم بگیر



## PASSING OF IQBAL.

DR. IQBAL was afflicted, during different periods of his life, with a disease of the kidneys and gout. It was his habit for years to have one meal a day. His evening meal either consisted of a little *dalia* with a small quantity of milk or some other light refreshment. Often he would eat nothing and in winter at about nine at night, he would have Kashmir tea with salt.

Many years before his death, Iqbal had an acute attack of renal colic which lasted for many days. He consulted Khawaja Hasan Nizami, and as a result Hakim Abdul Wahab Ansari *alias* Nabina Hakim was engaged to treat Iqbal. After this, whenever any trouble arose, letters were sent to the Hakim Sahib and medicines were received from him.

Some time after, the disease reappeared and in the end proved fatal. Apparently there seemed to be no trouble, but as the vocal organs had been affected, the Doctor lost his voice. This loss of voice may be attributed to the fact that on the occasion of 'Id in 1934, he was served with a dish of vermicelli. According to the Doctor, the real cause was exposure to cold during the prayer in the Badshahi Mosque. In the beginning the diagnosis was dubious. Some of the medical advisers were of the opinion that there was something wrong with a vein connected with the heart and it required a surgical operation, and some thought that electric treatment was necessary. Consequently, Iqbal went to Bhopal twice and stayed there for about a month on each occasion. Hakim Nabina's treatment was continued all along. As a result, Iqbal's condition improved but the disease did not wholly disappear. So once again he decided to go to Europe for a surgical operation.

Iqbal was not accustomed to go out much. He seldom attended dinner parties. He usually expressed his inability due to indisposition, the main reason being that he was against going to dinners, where wine was served as a matter of course. So long as his vocal chords were not afflicted, he used to go to the High Court to argue his cases. He probably went out of his house for the last time when His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur came to Lahore. The Nawab had invited Iqbal for his advice about the establishment of a *Dar-ul-Ifta*. It was probably three or four months before his death.

In 1935, Javid's mother died. Iqbal had two young children to look after. Those who happened to know his inner feelings knew that with all his wonderful patience and control, his heart was deeply affected by this blow which hastened his untimely end. In October, 1935, he had come to believe that his time in this world was short. So, he one day sat aloof with a pen in his hand to write his will. Having completed the document he sent it to the Registrar's office and, after that, whatever addition was considered essential was drafted separately and preserved.

The disease was gradually getting worse and his general strength was on the ebb. But his usual conversation never showed signs of fatigue. He often talked as he did in the past. In literary and political discussions with the poet, one could not believe that he was seriously ill and his end was so near.

Some two months before his death, he had an attack of asthma. It was so acute that at one time he fell from his bed. This was the first time that the seriousness of his illness was realised. The incident deeply affected the circle of his friends and was really a cause of anxiety to them. He had periodic relapses which differed in degrees of seriousness. Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, Principal of the Tibbiya College in Lahore, undertook to treat Iqbal, and there was some improvement in his health.

Hakim Nabina Sahib was in those days in Hyderabad. A detailed account of the poet's illness was sent to him and he accordingly sent the necessary medicines. Many expert physicians like Dr. Muhammad Yusuf, Dr. Captain Ilahi Bakhsh and Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan occasionally visited Iqbal. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf was from the very beginning of the opinion that the disease was an incurable one and he stated that, according to his experience, such patients would at the most live for seven or eight months. The only help that they could offer their patient was in regard to his diet.

This diagnosis was purposely kept secret from Iqbal. The news of his illness was not published in the Press, because it was essential not to cause him distress and also that people might not come in large numbers to enquire about his health. He was requested to remain quietly in bed. The physicians were of the opinion that he was not only to refrain from conversation, but also to avoid meditation, a restriction which his mind



found hard to comply with.

Iqbal's admirers and friends have a good cause to remember the physicians and Hakims who treated him. Some of them were in constant attendance for long hours. Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi visited the patient daily. He regularly attended upon him from evening to midnight. He was so diligent in his attention to the Doctor that he proved himself not merely a medical adviser but also a close and affectionate friend of his patient.

In the last years of his life, Iqbal had cataract and could not read as was his wont. Physicians were of the opinion that a surgical operation was necessary, but as his illness became serious day by day, the operation could not be undertaken. His eyesight had become very weak, so much so that he could not recognise his friends who came to see him, unless they stepped very close to him or until he was told their name.

In the beginning of March, 1938, his face and feet showed signs of inflammation due to the fact that his kidneys were affected. As to his heart, the medical experts were agreed that it had expanded.

Iqbal was very sensitive and he could not bear the least pain. Strange to say, however, during his last illness, he was very patient and almost docile. His various statements, when now considered, make one feel that he had been fully convinced of approaching death. He had no faith in the medical treatment and he kept this fact a secret from those who felt anxious about him. Many a time when the physicians examined him, he remarked: "I need hardly be given any satisfaction. You can ask my friends and my attendants whether they are satisfied or not. If they have cause to be satisfied, I have every satisfaction."

One day the Doctor was found in a state of great distress, weeping bitterly. When the mood had passed, he was asked the reason. In response thereto, he recited the following verse:

تہنیت گوئید مستان را کہ سنگ محتسب  
بر دل ما آمد و این آفت از مینا گذشت

Convey my greetings to the intoxicated as the stone of the *Muhtasib*  
Came upon my heart and this calamity passed over the phial.

On the 7th of March, Ghulam Rasul Mihr and Abdul Majid Salik paid a visit to the Doctor. He was told that he would soon recover and

would be able to move about. The Doctor smiled and said, "I do not fear death ; I shall cheerfully welcome it," and recited the following couplet :

نشان مرد مومن با تو گویم  
چو مرگ آید تبسم بر لب اوست

I would tell you the sign of a true Believer ;  
When death comes, there is a smile on his lips.

His malady worsened till he could not even rise from his bed. But his mind was perfectly sound to the last moment. His God-given gifts were made manifest in every sentence he uttered. In those days he dictated an article on Islam and Nationalism being a criticism of a statement which Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani had issued.

Only some four days before his death, Ghulam Rasul Mihr paid a visit to him. A scholar of repute was busily discussing philosophy with the Doctor who stated the essence of Darwin and Nietzsche's philosophy in a few sentences. It was a matter of great surpris to the scholar. The poet answered difficult questions of philosophy unhesitatingly and his method was simply perfect.

On the evening of April 19, when Mihr Sahib again presented himself before Iqbal, the poet's health was not satisfactory. But his general appearance was bright as usual and a light natural smile played on his lips. No movement of his showed any cause for serious concern, nor could it be guessed from his face or the trend of his conversation that the time of his death was so near.

Iqbal's physicians had predicted many months before that the disease would prove fatal and had warned against exerting himself too much. He usually occupied a chair or kept to his bed. His body was weak, but his face was bright and his mind always functioned normally.

On April 20, at about five in the evening, an old German friend of Iqbal, Baron von Veltheim, a literary scholar and a politician, paid a visit to him. He discussed current politics and on making an enquiry about his health, the Doctor told the Baron : "I am not afraid of death ; I am a Muslim and shall welcome death with a smiling face !"

A few days before the Doctor's death, a trace of blood had been visible in his phlegm. His physicians opined that the vein leading to the



heart had been punctured. However, the matter was kept secret. On the evening of the 20th of April, his physicians found that his condition had become worse and that he had only a few hours to live. At this time Col. Amir Chand was summoned for further consultation. He prescribed a medicine which was administered at about 11 o'clock at night.

Iqbal did not like allopathic medicines. He often said that they were not of agreeable taste. Perhaps the medicines prescribed by allopaths were very unpalatable, for no sooner had he taken them than his condition worsened and the Doctor remarked, "I do not want to live any more!" But he was told: "Master! if not for yourself, it is essential for the sake of others that you live."

Since his temperature had risen due to summer heat, his bed used to be moved to the drawing-room from his sleeping apartment. On the evening of April 20, he said that he was feeling restless. So his bed was taken out below the verandah. He again remarked that he found it unbearably hot and, consequently, the bed was taken to the courtyard. He remained there till 12 o'clock and when the night became a little cooler, his bed was again brought to the drawing-room as he wished. Some of his friends stayed with Iqbal till past midnight. Seeing that his condition was apparently a little better and he was feeling sleepy, they all retired. Mr. Shafi, Dr. Abdul Qayyum, Ali Bakhsh and Rahman, his two servants, remained with him; Raja Hasan Akhtar was also present.

At about 3 a.m., Iqbal woke up and complained of a swelling on his left leg. Soon after, he developed symptoms of nausea, but he remained calm. In fact, up to the very end his mind was fairly alert. Mr. Shafi was sent to the Hakim's house. The Hakim Sahib was probably sleeping in an upper storey of his house. Mr. Shafi called out to him, but his voice fell short. He returned, and Raja Hasan Akhtar was asked to call upon the Hakim. It was nearly 5 o'clock in the morning. The Raja remarked that since the Hakim had gone home at about one o'clock, it would be better to wait for a little while longer. However, the Raja instantly prepared to go to the Hakim. At this time Iqbal recited the following quatrain to Raja Sahib, probably composed three or four months earlier:—

سرود رفته باز آید کہ ناید      نسیمے از حجاز آید کہ ناید  
سر آمد روزگار این فقیرے      دگر دانائے راز آید کہ ناید

The departed melody may or may not come ;  
The breeze from the Hedjaz may or may not come.  
The days of this Faqir have come to an end,  
Another Wise One may or may not come !

After the Raja had left, the Doctor wished his bed to be moved to his sleeping-apartment. This occurred at about 5 o'clock in the morning. At this time Iqbal had only Ali Bakhsh by his side.

Ali Bakhsh states that Iqbal, as his strength was failing, stretched out his legs, turned his eyes upwards as he called for him and placed his hand on his heart and said, "Allah ! Here I feel pain." Simultaneously, his head began to droop. Ali Bakhsh instantaneously placed his left hand on Iqbal's heart ; by this time Iqbal had breathed his last. His face was turned towards the Qibla. Ali Bakhsh, Mr. Shafi and Dr. Abdul Qayyum, who were in deep consultation in the courtyard, came and saw—and remarked : "Recite *Kalima-i-Shahadat* ; the Doctor is at rest, at last !"

On the morning of April 21, the sun was about to rise ; it was about 5-15 a.m. when this bright "sun of human life had set !"

کل من علیہا فان و یبقی وجہ ربک ذوالجلال و الاکرام ۵

The bungalow of the late Doctor was erected in the name of his son, Javid Iqbal. The Doctor occupied only three rooms and he regularly deposited in the bank in advance in the name of Javid Rs. 50 for these three rooms on the 21st of every month.

In death Iqbal's face was calm and peaceful, and a faint smile played on his lips. It seemed as if he had gone to sleep peacefully with his face towards the Qibla. Perhaps this was the explanation of his verse :

نشان مرد مومن با تو بویم  
چو مرگ آید تبسم بر لب اوست

I would tell you the sign of a true Believer,  
When death comes, there is a smile on his lips.

### FUNERAL AND AFTER

IMMEDIATELY after the passing of Iqbal, telegrams were sent to the



Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Hakim Nabina Sahib, His Majesty King Zahir Shah, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, the Afghan Minister of War and the Afghan Consul-General. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, had gone to Calcutta to attend a meeting of the Muslim League and was on his way back to the Punjab when he was telegraphically informed of Iqbal's death. A condolence telegram was received from His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur at about twelve o'clock the same day. His Highness also sent Professor Karamatullah of the Chiefs College as his representative to attend the funeral. A telegram mourning the death of Iqbal was received from Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan from Lucknow.

The news of the Doctor's death was broadcast from the Lahore Radio Station. The High Court, District Courts, colleges, schools, Government offices and shops were closed as a mark of respect for the late Doctor. People began to assemble at his residence and kept pouring in throughout the day.

Now the question presented itself to the friends of Iqbal as to where he was to be buried. After a great deal of discussion, it was decided that some place adjoining the Badshahi Mosque would be appropriate. Khan Saadat Ali Khan, Dr. Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Mian Nizam-ud-Din, Mian Amir-ud-Din, Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mihr and M. Abdul Majid Salik visited the Shahi Mosque to choose a site for interment. It was decided that the plot to the left of the steps leading to the Badshahi Mosque in Huzuri Bagh was suitable.

A deputation consisting of Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Mian Amir-ud-Din, Khan Saadat Ali Khan and Maulana Ghulam Murshid immediately left to wait on the Governor of the Punjab. His Excellency very kindly made arrangements for the immediate sanction of the Archaeological Department which was essential. The deputation returned with the sanction at about twelve o'clock.

At about four o'clock in the evening, a representative of His Excellency the Governor, his Aide-de-Camp, the Chief Secretary, the Commissioner, Lahore Division and other officials arrived at Javid Manzil. From amongst the Ministers, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Major Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Mian Abdul Haye were not in Lahore at the time of

the poet's death. Sir Chhotu Ram, Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Raja Narindra Nath and Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureishi were, however, present. Besides, the High Court Judges, Government officials, lawyers, journalists, students of colleges and schools and people of all classes attended the funeral.

At the head of the procession was the green Muslim flag with the crescent and star and the mourners reciting the *Kalima*, the procession passed along Mayo Road and Railway Road, and ultimately reached the Islamia College ground. There it was decided that the funeral prayers should be said in the Badshahi Mosque, so that it could be possible for other Muslims of the city to join the procession. Moving along Circular Road, the procession passed through Chowk Wazir Khan and Kashmiri Bazar. According to a modest estimate, the people who attended the mass prayers must have been no less than seventy thousand. The prayers ended at about eight o'clock in the evening, and at about ten o'clock the remains of the late Doctor were laid to rest in the south-western corner of Huzuri Bagh under the shade of a minaret of the Alamgir Mosque. <sup>°</sup> انا لله وانا اليه راجعون—His beloved memory shall ever be cherished in the heart of the Muslim world and his writings shall ever be looked upon as a repository of humanistic thought. May God grant him eternal rest !

صبا بر استخوانش گل دماناد

Wreaths were laid on the grave on behalf of the Nawab of Bhopal, the Punjab Governor and the Agent, N.-W. Railway. Condolence telegrams were received from their Majesties, King Zahir Shah and Riza Shah Pehlvi and also from their Highnesses, the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Bhopal, the Afghan Consul-General at Delhi and the German Consul-General.

His loss was felt all over the world. India was plunged into mourning. Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Arabia and Egypt heard the news of his death with regret, and tributes were paid to his memory in London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna.

The following are some of the touching tributes paid to the memory of the late poet :—

“I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of every one when I



say that in him the country has lost one of its greatest men."

—*Mr. Salcem, Advocate-General, Punjab.*

"Sir Muhammad Iqbal's poetical genius was of a high order. His poems in Urdu and Persian will continue to be a source of delight for all time. His philosophy had attracted international attention even while he was at Cambridge."—*Jagan Nath Aggarwal, President, Lahore High*

*Court Bar Association.*

"It was a great shock to all of us to hear this morning the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and, in the absence of the Chief Justice, I wish to associate this Court with all the good things which have already been said about him. It is now some years since, owing to failing health, he ceased to practise as a Barrister, but at one time he was a well known and welcome figure in the Courts. Urbane in speech, courteous in manner and ready of wit, he was generally popular, while, as we all know, his reputation as a poet was far spread and even international.

"His warmth of heart and his humanity which he succeeded so well in instilling into the beautiful language of his poems gave him a universality of appeal which surmounted the barriers of race, community and religion.

"With his political ideals, we have nothing to do, as the Court keeps itself aloof from such activities. But the Punjab to-day mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live throughout the ages and a great man, and the Court joins with you in offering its deepest sympathy to his relatives for their sad loss, and it may be some consolation to them to feel and know that he is mourned not only by them but by a much wider circle of persons scattered over the globe."—*Hon'ble Sir James Addison, Officiating Chief Justice, Lahore High Court.*

"The death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal has given me a shock. One of the greatest poets of the modern world has passed away. He infused a new spirit into Urdu and Persian poetry. He was one of the few who could combine a collection of words in an impressive manner with sublime ideas, calculated to raise humanity to a higher status. In his works, poetry and philosophy are riveted together. Their inter-dependence could be noticed even by a reader and could stimulate in him both poetical imagination and philosophical thought. India has been justly proud of him and mourns his loss."—*Raja Narindra Nath,*

"Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's most sad and sudden death has given me a terrible shock. In him, the East has lost one of the greatest Oriental poets, India one of her greatest sons, the Muslim world one of its greatest religious and political thinkers, and the world at large one of its most eminent and soundest philosophers. He shall always be remembered as one of the most intellectual men of the world.

"The greatest legacy he has left, is his sublime poetry, which shall always chide us when we fall short of our ideal, and guide us as a leading star to the right direction when we go astray and will inspire us to the right action when duty calls. Let us store, nay, treasure, his poetry, his unique and original blending of the highest and the best wisdom of the East and the West, culled from a thousand highways and by-ways of the literature and philosophy of the ancient and the modern world. Alas! Our loss is irreparable, as the deceased is unquestionably irreplaceable. His death, no doubt, will be mourned deeply and widely and he shall be remembered for all time to come. But perhaps the best way to immortalise his memory would be to raise a permanent memorial in his name."—*Sir Shihab-ud-Din Chaudhari, Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly.*

"It has given me a great shock to learn of the sad demise of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He was a personal friend of mine for whom I had great regard and his death is a personal loss to me. The High Court Bar paid a well deserved tribute to his memory by a reference before a Division Bench of the Lahore High Court. I have no doubt that his loss will be felt as a great blow, not only by Muslims, but by all communities. His achievements in poetry were of a high order. While his politics and other activities might be forgotten, he will enjoy a permanent place in the chamber of fame so far as his poetry and philosophy are concerned." —*Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang.*

"The death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal creates a void in our literature that, like a mortal wound, will take a very long time to heal. India, whose place to-day in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss a poet whose poetry had such universal value."—*Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.*

"The passing away of Sir Muhammad Iqbal means the disappearance of one of the brightest stars from the literary firmament of India,



Besides being a front-rank poet and literateur, Sir Muhammad Iqbal was a unique personality. The loss we have suffered through his sad demise will be felt all over the country.

"Latterly he held political views with which many of us could not find ourselves in agreement, but never did anybody question the sincerity of his views.

"In this hour of silence all controversy is hushed and we bow our hearts in reverence for one of the great sons of India. His memory will ever remain enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen through such songs as *Sare Jahan se Achha Hindustan Hamara*."—*Subhas Chandra Bose*.

"I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He was a remarkable poet of world-wide fame and his work will live for ever. His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indian that ever lived.

"He was President of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab till a very recent time when his unforeseen illness compelled him to resign, but he was the staunchest and the most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League.

"To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go, he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment."—*Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League*.

"I have been deeply shocked to hear the news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, whom I met only two months ago in Lahore. One of the greatest living poets of the world, he was a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry and for the last thirty years I have admired him as a poet and a thinker of the first magnitude. India loses in him a great poet and a man of rare culture. My deepest sympathies are with his family."—*Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*.

"I have learnt with deep sorrow of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death. Only a short while ago, I had the privilege of having a long discussion with him as he lay on his sick bed and his keen intelligence and love of Indian freedom impressed me deeply. By his death India loses a bright and scintillating star, but his great poems will keep his memory

fresh in the minds of coming generations and inspire them."

—*Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.*

"Though the earth may enshrine the precious dust of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's body, his imperishable genius will shine through the ages in undimmed beauty and splendour. My profound homage to his memory!"

—*Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.*

"How sad to think that Iqbal is no more! Modern India could not produce a greater Urdu Poet. His Persian poetry too has a place of its own in modern Persian literature. It is the loss of the East, not of India alone. Personally I have lost an old friend."

—*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.*

"Heard the news of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death with deepest sorrow. One of the greatest figures of history of recent times has passed away and I have lost one of my dearest personal friends."

—*Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari.*

"Sir Muhammad Iqbal's loss is irreparable and no Indian can fill the void which his death has created. He died in the fullness of years and honours and retained the bloom of his magnificent intellectual gifts and clear judgment to the last. As a poet of Indian nationalism, a patriot and politician, his position in the history of his country is assured. His work on the Round Table Conferences in 1931-32 will be duly assessed by future historians, but to those who were associated with him in political and literary activities and had opportunities of exchanging views with him, he seemed to be a Titan working among pigmies."

"A man of superb intellect, with an essentially sane and sensible outlook, Sir Muhammad Iqbal occupied a unique position by the simplicity and directness of his personality and the unity of his programme. In India his loss will be keenly felt, as she needed men of that type in the solution of infinitely complicated problems. His championship of the claims of Muslims was always tempered by his fervent nationalism, and Indians of all shades of opinion will mourn his loss with something akin to personal bereavement."—*Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.*

"Please convey to members of the family of Sir Muhammad Iqbal my condolences."—*M. K. Gandhi.*



"Deeply grieved at the sudden and deplorable demise of your leader, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. I herewith beg to express on behalf of the German Government and nation the profoundest sympathy and regret. The highly cultural work of your great German scholar and degree-holder will always be kept in the highest esteem and memory."

—*The German Consul-General.*

"India to-day mourns the loss of a great poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, and Lahore one of its most famous citizens. Sir Muhammad Iqbal occupied a niche of his own in the temple of literature. His philosophy of life not only exerted a great influence in moulding the thoughts of his countrymen in India, and particularly of Muslims, but it also revealed the East to the Western world. Few Eastern writers and poets in recent times have had such an appreciative following among discriminating men of letters in the West as Sir Muhammad Iqbal. In Germany especially, where he spent some time before he became a Doctor of Philosophy, his works translated into German revealed the interplay of Eastern and Western thought. If Germany was not Sir Muhammad Iqbal's spiritual home, it is yet impossible to study the warp and woof of his philosophy without being forcibly impressed by the great influence which German thought exerted upon his mind. His works attracted great attention in the West because they contained the philosophic convictions of one steeped in the Eastern tradition after a close study of European civilisation in Europe itself. Iqbal exerted a great influence over Eastern thought because his outlook was almost pugnaciously Oriental and remained unaffected by his excursions into the realm of Western thought.

"With the exception of a series of lectures in English he delivered in Madras, Iqbal did not employ English or German as the vehicle of his thoughts. What has been a baffling puzzle to his admirers is the abandonment by him suddenly of Urdu and the employment of Irani instead as the medium of communication of his system of philosophy. After winning instant recognition of the magic of his poetic expression in Urdu, Iqbal abandoned Urdu and produced work after work in Irani. He reverted to Urdu later, but then he was dogged by ill-health, which seriously interfered with his work and which has now silenced the voice that stirred the East to its depths. His poems in Urdu are vibrant with

the spirit of nationalism and patriotism. and many of them bear the impress of immortality. It is true the dominant note in many of these poems of patriotism is Islamic in tone, but it is not for that reason out of harmony with secular patriotism. It is in his poems in Irani, however, that one finds an exposition of Iqbal's philosophy.

"It was unfortunate for India and the world of letters generally that conditions in India did not permit Sir Muhammad Iqbal to devote himself exclusively to a literary life and that in the last few years of his life his health broke down, but it was characteristic of the poet of high endeavour and courage to 'welcome death with a smile.' As a member of the Punjab Legislative Council or of the Round Table Conference, or as a political leader of Muslims, Sir Muhammad Iqbal faithfully did his duty but it was as a poet that he transfigured the East of song and legend. It is as a poet that he will be remembered so long as a word of Urdu or Irani is spoken in the world."—*The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 22, 1938.

"As a distinguished poet and philosopher, the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal is assured of a high place in Muslim literature and thought. A master of Urdu and Persian, he wrote with fluency and distinction. His earlier poems reveal a spirit of revolt, expressive of the discontent which settled on the Muslim world following the overthrow of Mughal rule in India. Iqbal was always deeply critical of the so-called materialism of the West. In *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, perhaps his best-known work, he deplores the materialism of Europe and voices the spiritual message of the East. Yet, despite his aversion to Western thought and ways of life, Iqbal, both in idea and expression, often betrayed inspiration from the West. As a philosopher, he has been compared to Bergson; he certainly shared Bergson's dislike of discursive reasoning and, like Bergson, his views were guided by nature and experience. 'With me,' he once wrote, 'these beliefs are matters of living experience and not of philosophical reasoning.' Iqbal's expression was often abstruse and many have seen in this a similarity with Browning. But his great inspiration was undoubtedly Goethe, and *Piyam-i-Mashriq* bears eloquent evidence of this influence. Though profoundly pan-Islamic in *motif*, Iqbal's poetry has a universal appeal; like Goethe, his strength lies not as a teacher or thinker but as a prophet of humanity. There is practical wisdom in his works and a calm optimism.



... "It was characteristic of this poet-philosopher, who preached a philosophy of action, to translate his thoughts into deeds. In later years, Sir Muhammad Iqbal took a prominent part in Muslim politics, was a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and also attended the Round Table Conference. His name was linked with the well known Pakistan scheme. But he soon tired of politics and the end of his life found him again a poet more serene and mellow, but eloquent as of yore."

—*The Times of India*, April 22, 1938.

"This is the ideal of Islam which he preached all along life. But if he is inspired by Islam it should never for a moment be thought that he wanted to confine his message to a small section of the world's population. The world to-day is in the grip of serious troubles that might deal a death-blow to civilization. Poverty, inequality of wealth, love of money, and lack of principles are some of the symptoms of that deep-seated disease which is eating into the vitals of humanity to-day. Various remedies have been prescribed. - Iqbal prescribes the remedy of Islam and reinterprets it in a way so as to suit the patient. The duty of Muslims is, therefore, twofold. On the one hand, to cure their own defects by Islam, and on the other to preach to the world the efficacy of this sovereign remedy for curing its ills. How can Muslims speak to the world of the benefit of the remedy if they themselves suffer? That is why Iqbal wants them first to be a good specimen of humanity and cultivate habit and mode of thought which will make them leaders of the world once more. That can be attained through Islam only. In prescribing the remedy for the rehabilitation of Muslim peoples, he attains a height seldom achieved by any modern thinker of Islam."—*The Musalman*, April 22, 1938.

"The glowing tributes that have been paid to the memory of Sir Muhammad Iqbal by distinguished men and women belonging to all communities and all schools of thought are a unique testimony at once to the transcendental value of his poetry and the universality of its appeal. It has, indeed, seldom been the lot of a man of letters in India in recent times to receive such high appreciation from so many and such diverse quarters either during his lifetime or immediately after his death. Dr. Tagore, himself one of the greatest poets that our age has known, speaks of him as a man whose 'death has created a void in our literature that like a mortal wound would take

a very long time to heal,' and adds that 'India, whose place to-day in the world is too narrow, can ill-afford to miss a poet whose poetry had such universal value'. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, undoubtedly the most gifted of India's daughters, and herself a poet of no mean order, says with characteristic felicity, that 'though the earth may enshrine the precious dust of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's body, his imperishable genius will shine through the ages in undimmed beauty and splendour.' Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, distinguished alike as a scholar and a statesman, speaks of him as 'one of the greatest poets of the world at the present time' and 'a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry,' whom he has 'for the last thirty years admired as a poet and thinker of the first magnitude.'

"Leaders of political organisations and parties, which at other times contest for supremacy, are equally profuse in their admiration of the high intellectual attainments and the splendid services of this illustrious son of India who, by his sublime and soul-stirring poetry, contributed in no small measure both to India's national awakening and to raising her in the estimation of the world. The President of the Congress says that 'the passing away of Sir Muhammad Iqbal means the disappearance of one of the brightest stars from the literary firmament,' and Pandit Jawaharlal describes him as 'a bright and scintillating star,' while Mr. Jinnah calls him 'a remarkable poet of world-wide fame whose work will live for ever.' Similarly Raja Narendranath and Sir Gokal Chand Narang speak of him in just as eulogistic terms as Sir Nazimuddin, the Bengal Home Minister, whose point of view in so many matters is radically different from theirs. Nor is the official world less appreciative of the great gifts and the distinguished services of the renowned poet. The Governor says in a message of condolence to the poet's son that Sir Muhammad's death is not only a great loss to the Punjab, but has deprived India of one of its best known literary figures.' In the same key Sir James Addison, the acting Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. 'The Punjab to-day,' he said, when the sad event was officially brought to his notice by the Advocate-General and Lala Jagan Nath Aggarwal, President of the High Court Bar Association, 'mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live through the ages, and a great man.'



"What is the cause of this unanimous feeling, the inner significance of this universal tribute? How comes it that at a time when political antagonism and communal feelings are more active than at any previous period in our recent history, the death of a man who, during the closing years of his life, played no small part in communal politics and was actually accused of giving up to a party what was meant for his country and for mankind, is mourned with equal sincerity by persons who are ordinarily arrayed in different and even hostile political camps? It is not due to the fact that man is very much more than a politician, and that literature and philosophy are immeasurably higher and more abiding interests of man than politics? Politics, in their very nature, like religion in its ordinary narrow sense, while they hold together some men and women, divide them from all others. The superiority of literature and philosophy lies in this, that they unite where other things divide. Politics tell you that a man may be an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, an Italian, an American, an Indian or a citizen of some other nation, and within that nation itself he may be a Conservative or Socialist, a Republican or Democrat, a Congressman or non-Congressman. Similarly, Religion tells you that you are a Christian or non-Christian, a Hindu, a Muslim or a Sikh or a member of some other religious fraternity. It is the essential function of literature, which has been defined as criticism of life, and of philosophy, which has been defined as analysis of experience, to lift man above these divisions and tell him that whether he is an Englishman, a Frenchman, an American or an Indian on the one hand or whether he is a Conservative or a Socialist, a Democrat or Republican, a Congressman, a Muslim Leaguer or Hindu Sabhaite on the other, he is a man for all that; in that he is essentially and above everything else a man.

"This is the reason why literature and philosophy are the greatest unifying forces in the world, and why in mourning the death of a great poet and philosopher men and women are for the moment lifted above themselves, why for the moment they forget almost entirely their political and religious affiliations and find themselves bound to each other by their common humanity. It is the glory of Iqbal, as of all true poets and philosophers, that his best works are essentially human and touch those deep chords in man's mind and heart which no

religious or political differences can ever reach. Those are the works that people naturally and pre-eminently remember when they stand in the presence of death. At such moments they see the departed teacher's life and character as a whole, instead of in fragments, and as has been so well said, gather up in his personality thus transfigured by the descending shades all the best hopes and aspirations of their own best hours. On such occasions the individual forgets all that is narrow or sectarian in himself or in his surroundings and becomes momentarily one with the universal. How happy it would be for the world if the fleeting experience of these rare moments could by some hitherto undiscovered process be made a permanent element in the mental and moral composition of the average man or woman . . . . how much better worth living in it would be for so many of us who find life almost in the present conditions of fratricidal and apparently interminable strife !"—*The Tribune*, April 23, 1938.

"By Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death India loses one of its greatest men of letters, a poet and philosopher. Sir Muhammad Iqbal had been ill for some time but the suddenness of his death comes as a great shock. Three months ago a day was set apart in many Indian towns specially to honour his services to modern Indian thought. In Lahore where he lived, the speakers included Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Gokul Chand Narahng, Begum Shah Nawaz and other notables. One of them called him the national poet of Islam, and Muslim India has indeed long thought of him as one of its greatest personalities, but his work, like a true artist's, appealed to men and women of any community or nation who were capable of appreciating a poet's thoughts and images, and the lovely words in which he clothed them. His poetry he wrote both in Urdu and Persian and the Persian poems in particular familiarized other Islamic countries with his message. Translations were made into English and other European languages and Sir Muhammad found in his lifetime the renown that came to many of the world's great poet's only after their death. A wellknown Muslim scholar at the Lahore meeting linked Iqbal's name with Ghalib's and Hali's as the three foremost names of Urdu poetry since 1857. 'Ghalib pointed out the new inner revolution that had taken place with the downfall of the old political order. Hali reviewed the past and pointed



to future lines of action. It was Iqbal's glory to give a searching criticism of the false standards of the present. Iqbal condemned apathy, timidity and obscurantism, and put activity, courage and practical achievement in the forefront of his message.' 'Iqbal,' an earlier commentator said, 'dreams of a world ruled by religion, not by politics. His philosophy owes much to Nietzsche and Bergson, and his poetry often reminds us of Shelley, yet he thinks and feels as a Muslim and just for that reason his influence may be great.' Great, it was great, and in the revival of Muslim activity in many spheres of public life his words were a stimulating, challenging force whose vitality Muslim leaders all over India constantly acknowledge. Essentially a poet of Islamic Renaissance, Iqbal was also an interpreter of modern Western thought, and his clear, intellectual writing has strengthened the masculine qualities of Urdu poetry.

"In the formative constitutional period of the twenties and early thirties, Sir Muhammad Iqbal took a leading part in Indian politics attending the Round Table Conference, and presiding at Muslim conferences in this country. He gave the Muslims good leadership and shrewd advice. In the loss of a man of such versatility, such capacity for making memorable verse and giving utterance to inspiring searching thought, much more than the Muslim community has suffered India and the world of letters are the poorer for his death, the richer for what he has written."—*The Statesman*, April 23, 1938.

"After a protracted illness the poet and philosopher of the Punjab, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, breathed his last on Thursday morning. Glowing tributes have been paid to his memory by friends and foes alike. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has been praised for his gift of versification also as a politician. But it is as a philosopher that his work will be remembered and appreciated in years to come. In his lifetime Sir Muhammad was often misunderstood as a communalist, especially during the concluding years of his life. But even his communalism was founded in Internationalism. He believed in the unity of man through Islam. Pan-Islamism was not a political creed with him: it was rather the unification of mankind on a spiritual basis. There was no divorce between religion and politics with Sir Muhammad Iqbal. His religion was all-comprehensive. As a Sufi he believed in the truth of all

religions, but Islam, he thought, represented a synthesis of all that was best in all religions. He started as a politician and a patriot, but love of country, he thought, was not enough to satisfy his soul's hunger for service and sacrifice. That explains his intense religious enthusiasm and pan-Islamic ideals. Sir Muhammad has been misunderstood, but not even his enemies can accuse him of petty selfishness. He was a great man in the real sense of the term and his death has rightly been mourned by people of all classes and shades of opinion."

—*The Daily Herald*, April 25, 1938.

"As far as Muslims were concerned it can be claimed that Iqbal was the strongest living factor between Muslims of divergent views and opinions, for Iqbal was common to them all. The late Maulana Muhammad Ali who, for a considerable time belonged to a different political clan, used to publicly acknowledge that he had learned the true nature of Islam through Iqbal. Meetings of Muslims of different political views have begun and ended with quotations from Iqbal. One need not emphasise this point, for it speaks for itself that Muhammad Iqbal was the most prominent and towering personality among the Muslims who ever looked to him for inspiration and it is for this reason that we mourn his death to-day as if ever his services were needed for the good of his community and country, it is at this hour.

"In politics the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal contributed a realistic vision of Indian Unity and Liberty. As a poet and philosopher he believed that only social revolution and reconstruction on a gigantic scale could solve India's political and economic programme. We have in mind his illuminating presidential address at the All-India session of the Muslim League in 1930 which was a thought-provoking address, in the course of which he said: 'At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of a standard different and even opposed to the standards of Islam. I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power



of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally who believes that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny."—*The Star of India*.

## AS THEY REMEMBER HIM

IQBAL was the foremost thinker of the Muslim world of his time and was the greatest poet of the century. His poetry has a special message, which is designed to guide the nations in adversity to splendour and glory. He led a simple life, the life of a *dervish*. In contradistinction to other political thinkers, he had a wakeful and free conscience. Lying and misrepresentation were the most nefarious sins in his eyes. He never deceived any individual or nation for political ends. He never sold his personal opinion, whether wrong or right, at any price. From the very beginning, he loved a life of solitude and meditation. His door was open to all and he treated all alike.

He was a free man and lived freely. His verses are full of *ma'rifat* as he believed in faith and good deeds. He was a liberal thinker and his love for Islam had nothing in it which could be termed fanaticism. His philosophy is based upon the protection and development of the Self. Consequently, to him, this life was a part of another life to which deeds opened the way.

It is true he had to take part in politics during the latter part of his life, but he was not meant for that. His personality was far above hypocrisy and conspiracy, which are regarded by many as compulsory factors to gain success in political life. It was perhaps at a political gathering that he delivered a speech concerning the decay of Muslim art and literature. Towards the end of his speech, he emphasised the great necessity of setting up a library for the protection of Islamic culture and literature.

In a way, Iqbal was a poet and philosopher who gave a touch of modernism to Islam. According to his views Islam is a universal religion that covers all the possibilities of human faith and the invincible soul. The universal Islam that he wanted to establish was not a narrow circle of conservatism ; it was rather a strong republic of great minds.

Iqbal considered himself a citizen of the world and, as such, he regarded the whole world as his native land. It is quite apparent that a

small country like Kashmir with a small population of poor people does not occupy a very enviable position in the world. However, the Doctor had a sincere love for the land of his forefathers and felt great concern for the poor people of the "Paradise on the Earth."

Most of his early poems that were published in the literary magazines were about Kashmir and the people of Kashmir. On his return from England he worked as Secretary of the Kashmir Anjuman. On behalf of the Kashmiris of the Punjab, Sir Muhammad Iqbal read an address of welcome in Persian to Nawab Sir Saleemullah Khan, of Dacca, when the latter paid a visit to Amritsar to attend a meeting of the Educational Conference.

Iqbal met the late Maharaja of Kashmir on one or two occasions as the Maharaja invited him as a guest. In Kashmir, the poet could not remain unimpressed by all what he saw there. A visit to the Nashat Bagh gave him the spiritual solitude to sing :—

شرابے کتابے ربابے نگارے

Some wine, a book, a lute and a beloved.

A walk in the Nashat Bagh made him think of the unhappy lot of the people of Kashmir :

کشیری کہ یا بندگی خو گرفته بتے می تراشد ز سنگ مزارے  
ضمیرش تہی از خیال بلندے خودی ناشناے ز خود شرمسارے  
بریشم قبا خواجہ از محنت او نصیب تنش جامہ تار تارے  
نہ در دیدہ او فروغ نگاہے نہ در سینہ او دل بقرارے  
ازاں مے فشان قطرہ بر کشیری کہ خاکسترش آفریند شرارے

The Kashmiri, who is accustomed to slavery,

Carves an idol from the tombstone serene,

His woeful mind is altogether devoid of high thought—

Ignorant of his Self and ashamed of himself.

His master wears a robe of silk through his labour ;

And his body is destined to patches and shreds.

There is neither the light of sight in his eyes,

Nor is there a restless heart in his breast !

O, sprinkle a drop of the revivifying wine on the Kashmiri,

So that his ashes may give birth to an ember !

Ghani was a famous poet in the time of Shah Jehan, the Moghul Emperor. The poet's greatness was recognised throughout India and Iran. He did not attend the court of the Emperor, even when he was



summoned. As a rule, whenever he was inside his house, he used to close the door and whenever he went out, he left the door open. Somebody asked him the reason for this, the poet said : "I myself am a valuable thing ; I am not at home, what is there to guard ?" Iqbal describes the poet's approach in the following beautiful lines :—

غنی آن سخن گوئے بلبل صغیر نواسنج کشمیر مینو نظیر  
 چو اندر سرا بود در بسته داشت چو رفت از سرا تخته را وا گذاشت  
 بکرے گفتش اے شاعرے دل رے عجب دارد از کار تو هر کسے  
 به پاسخ چه خوش گفت مرد فقیر فقیر و به اقلیم معنی امیر  
 زمن آنچه دیدند یاراں رواست دریں خانه جز من متاعے کجاست  
 غنی تا نشیند به کاشانه اش متاع گرانے است در خانه اش  
 چون آن محفل افروز در خانه نیست  
 نہی تر ازیں هیچ کاشانه نیست

Ghani—the poet with the voice of a nightingale,  
 The bard of Kashmir, the "Paradise on Earth,"  
 When he was inside his house, he would close the door,  
 And when he went out, he left the door open.  
 Someone said to him : "O heart-winning poet !  
 Everybody wonders at your code of action strange."  
 And what a reply gave the poor man,  
 Poor man—a rich man as a matter of truth !  
 "What my friends have seen of me is just and right ;  
 Where is a valuable thing other than myself herein ?  
 As long as Ghani the poet sits in his abode,  
 He is a highly valuable thing therein.  
 And when he ceases to illuminate the Assembly as such,  
 There is no abode more empty than his."

Iqbal produced another poem during his visit to Kashmir which is vividly descriptive :—

رخت به کاشمر کشا کوه وتل و دمن نگر  
 سبزه جہاں جہاں به بیس لاله چمن چمن نگر  
 باد بہار موج موج مرغ بہار فوج فوج  
 صلصل و سار زوج زوج بر سر نارون نگر  
 تا نہ فتد بہ زینتش چشم سپہر فتنہ باز  
 بستہ بہ چہرہ زمین برقع نستر نگر  
 لالہ ز خاک بردمید موج بہ آب جو تید  
 خاک شرر شرر بہ بیس آب شکن شکن نگر

زخمه به تار ساز زن باده به ساتگیں بریز  
 قافلہ بہار را انجمن انجمن نگر  
 دخترکے برہمنے لالہ رخے سمن برے  
 چشم بروئے او کشا باز بہ خویشتن نگر

Unpack in Kashmir and watch the mountains and meadows;  
 Look at the plentiful grass and the gardens of poppies,  
 The gentle gusts of the spring breeze and flocks of birds;  
 Watch the ring-dove and the starling in pairs on the pomegranate tree.  
 Lest the evil eye of the sky should fall upon its beauty—  
 Look at the veil of narcissus covering the face of the Earth!  
 The poppy sprang from the earth and the wave rolled in the stream;  
 Look at the dust—glowing with embers, and look at the water in ripples.  
 Use the plectrum on the instrument and pour wine into the goblet;  
 Watch the caravan of Spring—proceeding in a galaxy!  
 A young Brahman girl, tulip-faced, fragrant as jasmine—  
 Open thy eyes towards her and then look upon thyself!

One day a *dervish* paid a visit to Iqbal. The conversation that took place there is interesting in so far as it reveals the inner depths of Iqbal's mind. "Pious man! pray for me," said Iqbal to the *dervish*. "Do you want riches?" asked the latter. "No," said Iqbal, "I am not greedy for that, I am a *dervish* and God looks to my humble needs." "Do you desire honour and rank in the world, then?" "No, that even I have. I do not aspire to a high rank." "Do you then wish to meet God?" enquired the *dervish*. Now a peculiar brightness appeared in the eyes of the poet and he remarked: "To meet God, *dervish*? How can I meet Him; I am a simple man and He is God. The only relation that I have with Him is that of worship. Meeting, what does that mean? If I come to know that God is coming to see me, I'll run away covering a distance of miles, for the simple reason that if the river meets the drop, the latter will vanish. I want to preserve my entity as a drop and do not want to efface myself. While at the same time maintaining my position as a drop, I want to create in myself the properties of a river!"

The *dervish* then moved his head complacently and said, "Wah, Iqbal Baba! I have found you according to what I have heard of you. You know the *mashrab* so well yourself. You hardly need the prayer of a *dervish*."



When the great philosopher sat reclining against a pillow on his bed and surveyed the heights of philosophy and verse, the whole-world seemed to condescend before the flights of his thought. His 'humble house' was the *rendezvous* of great scholars and men of power, but he never felt the necessity of indulging in lavish entertainment. Often, when he met eminent ambassadors of Europe and scholars of the West, he only wore a cotton vest and a *tehband*. His meals and clothes were unusually simple. These worldly things were of no value to him as compared with his inexhaustible munificence of knowledge and thought. He was almost an Emperor in the domain of knowledge. What was the necessity of outward show then? He tried to create a sense of confidence in humanity by drawing the attention of the whole world to the theory of his "Perfect Man" and in regard to nature, elevated man to celestial heights. He made the Muslims think of their past, gave them comfort in their present despair and drew the picture of a bright future in store for them.

He lit a flame of hope in the heart of every Muslim and brought a nation, gone astray, back to the fold of the Prophet (May we be his sacrifice!) and convinced them that the Prophet's blessings may help the Muslims to recover their past glory:

بمصطفیٰ برسان خویش را کہ دیں ہمہ اوست  
اگر باو نرسیدی تمام بولہبی است

Iqbal had an exquisite sense of humour. His associates, often, during serious discussions were provoked to unconventional laughter. He was a patient and untiring traveller in the dry Sahara of philosophy. Every important book on philosophy that was published in Europe reached him. He had placed standing orders with the publishers in Berlin to send him all such publications.

The Allama's devotion to the Holy Prophet was unshakeable. Whenever he gave a talk on the subject of prophethood, he would discuss at length from the point of view of modern psychology the various forms of revelation of a prophet, perfect manhood, balance between sentiment and intuition and freedom of the human ego so convincingly that even an opponent could hardly resist the force of his logic. According to him, the truth is that reason and sentiment should go hand in hand to ensure the perfection of man. Among

philosophers, reason dominates sentiment and with the poets the case is otherwise ; but, as Iqbal was a philosopher as well as a poet, he had both the things equally present in him. Islam demands such a harmony of heart and head, so that rationalism and mysticism may not encroach upon the bounds of each other.

While returning to India from the Round Table Conference, Iqbal visited Egypt and Palestine. Later on in India, he gave a talk on the affairs of Palestine and Bait-ul-Muqaddas :

"I have carefully seen the places of worship for the Jews and the Christians. These places are underground and are so dark that it necessitates the lighting of lamps in the day-time. Just on entering therein, one feels the atmosphere so unimpressively sad and dry that even the limbs are benumbed. When I came out, having seen these places of worship, I thanked God that Islam is the first religion that has ordained man to pray in the open and in fresh air and has laid emphasis on praying in the life-giving light of the sun."

One day a disappointed young man was sitting close to him and was bewailing his ill-succes in life and complaining of his misfortune. Iqbal asked him to take courage and keep a stout heart, and said :—

"The only object of human life is action. Where the Quran says that *jinn* and man were created to worship God, worship also means action. Every man is on a small scale a creator, and to destroy these creative powers in man is a sin. The Prophet came into the world to tell the people what is good and what is bad. Barry on your struggle without the least thought of success or ill-success !"

The Doctor never made an effort to compose poetry. Sometimes he was inactive for a whole year. Whenever he was under the influence of the Muse, he brought forth verses prolifically. One day, he said, "Many a time it so happens that I lie in my bed, verses in perfect metrical form begin to form in my mind and then the next morning they cannot be easily recalled. I now keep a pencil and a piece of paper under my pillow so that whenever I am in such a mood, I write the first word of every verse. These words help me to reproduce the verses in the morning."



One day, some students of a local college visited Iqbal. Islamic equality happened to be the topic of conversation. The Doctor remarked, "This is my advice to you; go and disseminate it among the people. It is the duty of every Muslim that the curse of caste system should at once be eradicated. Your caste is Islam. Whenever you face the necessity of disclosing your caste, insist on the fact that you are a Muslim. It is also the duty of every Muslim that he should say his prayers in the company of an Imam of any sect, provided he believes in the unity of God and the finality of Prophethood. Again, it is the duty of every Muslim, be he rich or poor, to abhor idleness. He should earn his daily bread, no matter how little, "with the sweat of his brow."

The anniversaries of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in those days more or less resembled "literary fairs". Maulana Nazir Ahmad, Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali, Shahzada Arshad Gorgani, Shah Sulaiman Seoharvi and other eminent orators and poets used to attend these annual gatherings, and visitors were drawn from all corners of India. Iqbal had gained for himself, in a year or two, a conspicuous place, and after his return from Europe, the glory and splendour of the Anjuman to a great extent depended on Iqbal's verses.

One of his friends says: "The more I was getting closer to the poet, the more I was convinced of his greatness. It was surprising that in spite of his deep study of philosophy, he was so much impressed by religion, and, unless one studied him at close quarters, it was difficult to appreciate his admiration and love for Islam and the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him). One night, I left him peaceful and content as his pulse was hopeful, but when I felt his pulse in the morning, it was very weak; consequently, I was very much disappointed. On making enquiry, it came to be known that the Doctor had been thinking of Muslims and had been weeping bitterly during the night. He was now in a precarious condition and it was feared his heart might fail. The poet was fervently devoted to the Holy Quran and was in the habit of reciting it aloud since youth. While reading the Holy Quran, he seemed to be greatly impressed. The one great reason why he felt the loss of his voice in his later years was that he could not read the Holy Quran aloud. During his illness, when the Quran was read aloud, tears often welled up in his eyes."

Although people at large knew him as a poet, he considered poetry only as a vehicle for the propagation of his thoughts. Like other poets, he did not like to be asked to recite his verses. His poetic mood was different from that of others. He once observed : "For some four or five months I feel that a special energy is regenerated in me which enables me to compose verses without any effort and during this influence I attend to domestic affairs as well, but, mostly I feel inclined towards versification. In these days, for this purpose, I have to keep awake at night." On enquiry, he added : "At the most I can compose three hundred verses in a single night ; after a few months this energy is exhausted."

Iqbal was always averse to taking medicine and once he said, "A doctor's medicines (allopathic) are unhuman, because they do not appeal to the taste of the patient," and added, "Medical science is an ill-success for its disregard for the science of life."

A few years before death the Jamia Millia Islamia of Delhi started a series of extension lectures. These lectures had two objects : one, that prominent men from foreign lands could be brought into contact with the students of the Jamia ; the other that the students might be able to enhance their knowledge by knowing the problems and objects of life in this country.

In 1913, the late Dr. Ansari went to Europe. He met Ghazi Rauf Bey in Paris and requested him to visit the Jamia to deliver a series of six lectures on the history of the Turks, the Great War and various Islamic topics. Ghazi Rauf Bey consented and came out to India the next year. When the news reached India, the Muslims were greatly pleased, because the Ghazi was the first President of the National Assembly and the captain of the *Hamidia* during the Balkan and the Great Wars, and had performed deeds of valour which had astonished the world. Besides all that, he was a soldier of acknowledged courage and devotion to Islam.

Ghazi Rauf Bey delivered six lectures in all. Various prominent men in India were selected to preside over these meetings. Dr. Iqbal was requested to preside at the fourth lecture.

Iqbal proceeded to Delhi. The staff and students of the Jamia and the citizens gathered at the railway station to welcome him. He



profusely garlanded and was escorted to the bungalow of Dr. Ansari amid shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar*. In the evening the Allama arrived at the Jamia in the company of Ghazi Rauf Bey, some fifteen minutes before the meeting, and sat in a room adjoining the Hall. At the appointed time the distinguished President and the lecturer were requested to enter the Hall. Both the Ghazi and the Allama stood up at the same time and when they came near the door, the Allama placed his hand on Rauf's shoulder and asked him to proceed, but the latter, with the utmost respect, asked the Allama to step forward at the same time remarking, "You are our leader, and we your followers, so you must lead us!" The incident shows the feelings of respect that Ghazi Rauf entertained for the poet.

After the Ghazi's lecture on "Pan-Islamism and Nationalism," the Allama spoke for about two hours on the very same topic. The audience listened spell-bound as he explained the necessity and importance of Pan-Islamism and then refuted the general objections raised by the Europeans. He despised nationalism and considered it extremely injurious to human evolution. At the end he recited for the first time a stanza from his well known poem, *Masjid-i-Qurtaba* :

سلسلہ روز و شب نقش گر حادثات

On another occasion, while the Doctor was presiding at a lecture by Ghazi Rauf Bey, he delivered a short speech in the course of which he narrated the following story :

"During the War some disciples of Satan presented themselves before him and saw him lying in an easy chair, smoking a cigar. The disciples asked him, 'How is it that you are free nowadays, Sir? Is there nothing for you to do?' Satan replied, 'I am idle nowadays and have nothing to do, for I have made over charge of my work to the British Cabinet.'" The audience was provoked to boisterous laughter.

In the evening after a short speech by the Sheikh-ul-ul-Jamia, Hazrat Allama spoke for two hours and gave his impressions of his recent journey from London to Cordova. He also described his meeting with Bergson at Paris and how the latter was pleased to hear the Holy Prophet's saying : لا تسبوا الدهر (Don't speak ill of Time!).

As a student, he was a precocious young man. When he appeared

in public, he was liked by all. When he was practising as a lawyer, he was looked upon as a rival by those who were prominent in the social life of the Punjab. Very unhealthy propaganda was carried on against him and the higher quarters were constantly informed that he was a mere poet and was not going to be a success in any other walk of life. But it was due to his sterling merits and honesty in public life that he rose to such Himalayan heights. It is true that he was not an ascetic youth, but on the contrary paid occasional visits to restaurants; he was a man with a live heart. He sang verses and believed in the higher attributes of life. For his powerful intellect he was respected by all. He did not believe in going out much. Even when he received an invitation from the Governor of the Punjab to attend a party, he generally expressed his inability to do so.

In 1927, when the Simon Commission visited India, some prominent men of the Punjab appeared before its members. After Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Abdul Qadir had expressed their views, Sir Muhammad Iqbal addressed the Commission as follows :

"Create such a situation that Muslims may not be exploited by the Government as well as by the Hindus, if you desire the permanent safety of the British Empire. As we are victims of two forms of exploitation, we want protection. We have been economically weakened for the last one hundred years." On this point the Commission questioned him : " Why do you say Hindu exploitation ? " " Exploitation under the protection of British guns," replied Iqbal.

During his last days Iqbal's mind was greatly agitated by the Palestine question and the Shahid Ganj affair. As a consequence, he was constantly appealing to British statesmen sympathetically to consider the Palestine situation. He was deeply wounded by the Shahid Ganj Mosque incident. Often, during this time, he asked his close friends to carry his bed (he was ill) to the Shahid Ganj Mosque. "Let me be the first to be shot so that it might contribute to Muslim unity, and if by the death of a single person such unity would result, let me die." He had a keen desire to fall a martyr in the Shahid Ganj Mosque agitation. He was not in favour of taking the appeal of the Shahid Ganj case to the Privy Council and, therefore, said. " I have no more faith in British justice."



He was the arch-priest of Pan-Islamism and felt deep concern for the Islamic nations in Asia. He looked upon them as different units of a larger whole, the Muslim world, and to him their unity was of the utmost importance in the fast-moving events of the world. He visualised Islam as a great movement and he was perhaps the first Muslim in modern times to consider Islam to be a movement in the modern sense. He believed that it was the duty of every Muslim to help the cause of this movement in all the spheres of human activity—religious, economic and political. He once expressed his views on Islam to a friend, saying, "Islam is a phase in the progress of man, and it is the final phase. It has the infinite capacity of expressing the great human possibilities, so far unrevealed." He was greatly perturbed by the sorry plight of the Muslims of to-day, and once when he had to give an important statement in reply to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, he was occupied till one o'clock in the night.

In his view, the Indian Muslims had passed through three periods during the last fifty years. The first period saw the growth of societies. Various associations were set up all over India and they vied with one another as rivals. The second period commenced as Western education was introduced with the Aligarh Movement and Muslims turned their attention to education on Western principles. As a result, the new generation was getting away from religion. Western education brought forward a few people, but the Muslim masses remained in the background. Religion was prominent in the third period, as it was realised that Islam required the revival of religion. During this period several 'Mujaddids' and 'Nabis' appeared. It was another blow to the solidarity of Islam.

The poet has left the following two verses to be inscribed on his cenotaph :—

چو رخت خویش بر بستم ازین خاک  
همه گفتند با ما آشنا بود  
و لیکن کس ندانست این مسافر  
چه گفت و با که گفت و از کجا بود

When I packed my wardrobe from this abode,

All the folk said, "He was acquainted with us."

But nobody knew this wayfarer—

As to what he said, to whom he said, and whence he was.

When Iqbal entered college, his father elicited a promise from the young man: "If you happen to be successful, make use of your education for the cause of Islam!" According to a statement of Iqbal, his father once questioned him about his promise and the son respectfully replied, "I have constantly served the cause of Islam, Sir." Iqbal has been quoted to say that his father, at a very late age, began to learn Persian to be sure that his son had fulfilled his promise. His father adds further to devote all his talents to the cause of Islam rather than strive for personal aggrandisement.

Iqbal used to write letters to Sir Akbar Hydari, the Nawab of Bhopal, Sir Ross Masood, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Justice Agha Haidar, Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Sardar Salah-ud-Din Saljuqi, the Afghan Consul-General at Delhi, His late Majesty King Nadir Shah, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, the Prime Minister of Kabul, Zia-ud-Din Tabatabai, the Persian Minister, and Sardar Umrao Singh. His letters, if collected, would throw much light on the broad range of his life and thought.

Iqbal was not only a poet but he was also a great power behind the Muslim world, something like a directive force. Before his death, he wrote a comprehensive letter to a friend of his in which he discussed practically all the serious problems of Islam as we face them to-day and fully explained how it was possible to solve them. He emphasised his views on the immediate necessity of Islamic unity and expressed his opinion on the future policy of Afghanistan and Iran. At one time he personally discussed these matters with His late Majesty King Nadir Shah. He paid a visit to Afghanistan in 1933 to advise the Afghan Government on educational affairs and drew the Shah's attention to the printing and publishing of the Holy Quran.

A short time before the poet's death, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Socialist leader of the Indian Congress, paid a visit to Iqbal. During the discussions that they had, Iqbal put some important questions to the Pandit:—

"What form of government do you want?" "Socialist, naturally," responded the Pandit. "What is the strength of your following?" asked Iqbal again, to which the Pandit replied, "Very small indeed!" "How can you expect me to sacrifice the interest of eighty million Muslims



for a handful of people whose political outlook is as dim as the dusk?" He further asked, "If you desire the independence of India in all seriousness, do you think you will be able to achieve this end without Muslim sympathy? How can you forget the vast lands that lie between Europe and India? It is perhaps the A B C of politics that no nation can act without having regard for the neighbouring nations. Bushire, Basrah, Baghdad, Aden, Aqaba, Mukalla and Suez are all Muslim cities and lie on the grand Imperial way to India. Can you forget that Muslim co-operation with India is of the utmost importance? Try to make friends with the Muslim nations of Western Asia or ....."

When Iqbal was on the Continent, Bergson, the French philosopher and a Nobel prize-winner, wrote a letter to Iqbal desiring to see him, saying, "If I were keeping good health, I would see you personally." On his return from the Round Table Conference, Iqbal paid a visit to Bergson and notwithstanding the fact that the latter was suffering from paralysis, he scrambled on to his knees at the sight of Iqbal. Sardar Umrao Singh, we are told, was present there and a highly philosophical discussion took place between the two illustrious philosophers. We learn that at this meeting, Iqbal recited the well known saying ascribed to Kh. Muin-ud-Din Chishti:

لی مع الله وقت لا یسعی فیہ ملک مقرب ... ..

"I have a time with God when even the nearest angel dare not approach," by which the Doctor referred to the extremely close contact he had with the ultimate Truth.

In England, Iqbal was once approached by a woman, for his autograph. He quietly wrote a saying of the Holy Prophet: "I love perfume, women (gentility) and prayer." The innocent woman was surprised and asked Iqbal if Islam held a belief in the soul of woman.

Iqbal was a unique man with a peculiar brightness in his eyes. Even his closest friends could not look him in the face in his moods of glory. His glance was piercing and there was a peculiar light in his eyes which inspired awe. Iqbal held the familiar belief of the Teutonic races in the Superman. He often said, "A strong personality can change the destiny of a nation." He was himself one of this type. He once remarked that he had benefited little by his vast learning—Eastern and Western,

but he had derived immense benefit from *دُرود و صلوات بر پیغمبر* invocation to the Prophet. He very hastily read the books which he received from all over the world; yet his penetrating eye picked all that was important: European politics and the problems of the Muslim world were the two important things that preoccupied his attention.

While staying with the Mufti of Bait-ul-Muqaddas on his way to London, he made up his mind to pay a visit to the Holy Prophet's Mausoleum. At about 8 o'clock at night, the Mufti was informed of his decision. He made all the arrangements for the Allama's journey to Medina. At about 10 o'clock the same night, he changed his mind and told Ghulam Rasul Mihr that he had dropped the idea. Mihr Sahib was extremely aggrieved to hear this. Iqbal explained the matter saying, "It is not right for me to visit the Holy Prophet's grave while I am on my way to London. I will return to India and if he calls me, I will come, *Insha-Allah!*" During the same night Iqbal wrote his beautiful poem, *Zauq-o-Shauq*. In his view the position of the Prophet was that of a mother to the *Ummat* who protects her child against inclement weather, heat and cold, pressing it to her bosom and thus preventing any harm befalling it.

Like many of the Doctor's friends, Sir Akbar Hydari suggested to Iqbal to go to Europe for expert medical treatment. In a moving letter written to him, Iqbal stated that he had finished his work and he did not feel the necessity of going to Vienna. The time of his departure, he said, was at hand.

Javid, the younger son of Iqbal, once picked a quarrel with a comrade. The boy took the complaint to the Doctor. Javid was called in and reprimanded: "If you go against the tenets of religion, you are no longer my son. Try to be just to your friends and respect their rights!"

The mango was the Doctor's favourite fruit. On several occasions, he entertained his friends at a mango party. He used to say that although the grape was the highest stage in the realm of fruits, the mango went a step further. During his last days he could not take any food himself, but it was a great pleasure for him to see his friends eat. A few days before his death, he had his friends served with ice-cream, which had been prepared by the German governess who was also in charge of the kitchen.



He never allowed political differences to stand between himself and his friends. In the political arena he had to come across strange men. He was a *ujdani* himself, and as such he was extremely sensitive everywhere and at all times. A short time before his death, he had set his mind on writing a book, *Introduction to the Study of the Quran*, for which he had requisitioned the help of the Rector of Al-Azhar University, but dictated only a few preliminary notes.

The Doctor once said that after *Armughan-i-Hedjaz*, he had a mind to undertake another work which he would name *Sur-i-Israfil*. He proposed to make it his last effort and it was to eclipse all his other publications. Only a few of his works have so far been translated into English. Like all true artists he was jealous of his works being translated into other languages. Obviously, he feared misrepresentation of his thought. During his last visit to Europe, he tried to find a qualified scholar to whom he could entrust the responsibility of writing a suitable introduction to his literary and philosophic achievements. Unfortunately, that was not possible in his lifetime.

شفق چہی تو ستاروں نے روشنی پائی  
کسی کی موت کسی کی حیات بنتی ہے



کمال صفت بود ملک منور  
که در آن آید ملک موش  
که در آن آید ملک منور  
که در آن آید ملک منور

نوا بود و چشم منور  
خود بخت نون بین نود و چهل  
گمان بر که یک شبهه منتن کی بازند  
نیا پیش ملک و دلا نود و چهل

نوا بود و چشم منور  
که در آن آید ملک موش  
که در آن آید ملک منور  
که در آن آید ملک منور

دوبین چنین که سودا و این نواز کاست  
که نجه سه و چهل و یک موش  
اگر



—II—

***THE POETICAL WORKS  
OF IQBAL***

—II—  
THE POETICAL WORKS  
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## THE POETICAL WORKS OF IQBAL

### THE POET AS AN ARTIST

COUNTLESS poetical works have been preserved by humanity that have not been of constructive value in the development of the human mind, but antiquity has imparted to them a sacredness and their appeal to our emotions is the sole cause of their survival, a repository of unscientific thought. Such books of mythology and fiction are numerous and must be regarded as a sacred burden of human history.

Iqbal was conscious of such a reality in the process of evolution and human progress. It is strange that he did not entertain a very high opinion of the mode of poetic expression but only adopted it as a means to move the hearts of his readers. Iqbal was a genius. Nature made a poet of him and, as such, his genius had a fair scope to shine and in the course of time when it reached perfection, it did really outshine the brightest stars in the firmament of poetry.

The domestic atmosphere in which the poet was born and bred made him religious-minded and the influence lasted all through his life as it deeply coloured his thought. Born as he was in a house typically Eastern, he loved the people and civilization of the East and had a great regard for Asiatic culture. Besides, the poet was a devout Muslim, brought up in the religious traditions of Islam and as such held religion in high esteem. But with a background of Oriental culture and thought, he was educated on Western principles under the guidance of such famous scholars as Arnold and McTaggart. He himself was a erudite scholar and thus cultivated a broader vision of things. As a student of philosophy he penetrated the fundamental secrets of the universe, made an expert study of human nature and took note of some radical problems, social and political. As he was an Indian Muslim, he felt concern for his native land and its hydra-headed problems. He wished to see his country free from foreign domination, but as a Muslim he painfully observed the great contrast between the glorious past and the deplorable present. His interest

was not confined to the Indian soil, but extended all over the Muslim World ; Egypt, Turkey and Persia equally occupied his attention. During his life, he was not for a single moment forgetful of the fact that Islam was passing through a critical period.

Iqbal spent his life mostly writing poetry. High thinking and simple living remained the guiding principle of his life. In the intervals between his professional work he devoted his attention to verse, and such a man was India's need. The nation had deteriorated; society had morally gone bankrupt and character had almost lost its meaning. Iqbal sang to his people telling them to "wake up, or else die in sleep". For the uplift of the dejected nation, he based his teachings on the realisation of the Self and aimed at the reconstruction of universal thought and society. The poet's labour must have been very exacting for such a high standard of poetry as his is not a work that can be finished overnight. The acute mental efforts of the poet must have involved a terrific drain on his energy.

Iqbal was not a voluminous writer. As a principle, he believed in art to be constructive. Accordingly, his works contain polished and chosen thoughts, the result of keen thinking and creative power. For the criticism of art with all the different criteria that are applied, it is essential to note that an artist's success depends primarily upon his presentation of what he aims at. If he has successfully conveyed his idea, his success as an artist is assured. Yet he has to respect the unwritten word of the moral code that an artist's work should be constructive. From this point of view, the works of Iqbal are masterpieces of Urdu and Persian poetry and it is no exaggeration that contemporary literature in India had hardly a parallel.

Before proceeding to Europe, he brought forth nature poems with a peculiar conflict of thought. The poet's mind was then in the process of evolution. Some of the poems were simple; most of them were written for children after the style of Western poets. Some of these poems reflect a deep colour of nationalism. During this period the poet earned sufficient popularity on the Lahore Anjuman's platform by reciting poems of Islamic interest.

While the poet was in England he did not write much, but all that he wrote reflected deep thought. The poet was conscious of his vocation



and was philosophising in the midst of busy European life. Even there he is a true Asiatic, but in any case he is not happy. The poet's visit to Europe and his study in Islamic literature and thought inspired him with a greater love for Islam. As he prepared to return to his native land he wrote to his friends saying: "Arise and light up the Assembly by your fiery speech as darkness has covered the horizon of the East!"

On his return from England, his writings contained a predominantly Islamic tinge. Although he composed stirring poems in connection with the Tripoli War and other popular poems for the Anjuman platform, he now turned his attention to Persian poetry and published his renowned poems, *Asrar-i-Khudi* in 1915 and *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* later. The former has been translated into English and has been widely appreciated both in the East and in the West. After *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, the poet busied himself with the preparation of *Piyam-i-Mashriq* in response to the *Diwan* of the German poet, Goethe. The *Piyam* was published in 1922 and the same year the poet published his collection of Urdu poems, *Bang-i-Dara*. The *Piyam* was followed by *Zabur-i-Ajam* and *Javid Nama*, both in Persian. Now the poet began to write in Urdu again and published first *Bal-i-Jibril* and then *Zarb-i-Kalim*. In these days he also completed two Persian poems, *Musafir* and *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*. *Armughan-i-Hedjaz* is a posthumous collection of his poems.

The facts of Iqbal's life may be gathered from his biography, but a closer study of his works is necessary to understand the poet's mind that could see destiny playing on the new forces at work in Asiatic life.

### IQBAL AND FOREIGN SCHOLARS

IQBAL'S fame as poet-philosopher won the hearts of many prominent scholars, philosophers and poets of all nationalities. The following brief description of the translations of his works into different languages throws light on the universal popularity of the poet in the Muslim world and beyond.

Husain Danish, a Turkish scholar, translated several poems of Iqbal into Turkish and wrote an elaborate review on *Piyam-i-Mashriq*. This fact was disclosed by Dr. Taufiq Bey, a member of the Red Crescent Delegation. Dr. Taufiq added that hardly any scholar, other than Husain Danish, would have explained the views of Iqbal so

explicitly. One day Taufiq remarked that if Dr. Iqbal were to pay a visit to Constantinople, he would have been accorded a royal welcome.

Agha Hadi Hasan, who was formerly an Afghan ambassador, wrote a series of articles on *Piyam-i-Mashriq* which were published in several journals. Ahmad Rif'at is a famous Egyptian traveller, who has travelled all over the Islamic lands. During his travels he stopped at Simla and Lahore. He translated many poems of Iqbal into Arabic and these translations were published in one of Egypt's foremost daily paper, *Al-Ahram*.

Maulvi Abdul Haq Haqqi, of Bagdad, a former Professor of the Aligarh Muslim University, translated Iqbal's widely sung poem, *Tarana* into Arabic. This translation appeared in several Egyptian papers as well.

Dr. Nicholson, of the Cambridge University, rendered *Asrar-i-Khudi* into English and wrote a learned review on *Piyam-i-Mashriq* in the *Islamica* (Germany). The translation of this review appeared in the *Nairang-i-Khizal* of Lahore in 1925.

The late Professor Browne wrote a review on the English translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, which appeared in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1921. Professor Browne also referred to Iqbal's works in connection with Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi in the fourth volume of his monumental work, *The Literary History of Persia*.

Deutsche Russu translated the Introduction of *Piyam-i-Mashriq* into German and explained its aims and objects. Dr. Fischer of the Leipzig University and Editor of the *Islamica* wrote a comprehensive review on *Piyam-Mashriq* and compared Iqbal to Goethe. The German Orientalist, Dr. Hans Macnige, who is a distinguished poet, welcomed *Piyam-i-Mashriq* with great admiration, and translated a certain portion of this work, writing it on parchment with Oriental paintings and sent it to Iqbal as a present. In Germany a society has been founded after the name of Iqbal, the object of which is the dissemination of Iqbal's teachings and poetry.

Dr. Scaria, a famous Italian scholar, who paid a visit to Afghanistan some years ago, published a critical article on Iqbal. Some years ago, a book on Indian literature was published in Germany. The collection



contains selections of Indian poetry incorporating five poems of Iqbal therein. A Russian scholar, who had travelled all over India, visited Lahore only to see Iqbal. He wrote a comprehensive review on *Asrar-i-Khudi* in Russian.

Mr. Forrester reviewed the English translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi* in the *Athenium* of 1921, examining the poet's teachings as a national reformer. There is a chapter under the caption, "The Dawn of Modern Literature," in a book called *India's Awakening* by Mackenzie, wherein appears a descriptive note on Iqbal from the pen of Sardar Sir Jogindra Singh. The book was published in America in 1927.

### BANG-I-DARA

*BANG-I-DARA* is a collection of Iqbal's Urdu poems which was published for the first time in 1924 and has since rapidly passed through print many times.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains the poems written up to the year 1905. This was the time before the poet left India for England. The second part contains poems written between 1905 and 1908—the period of the poet's stay in England. The third part includes the poems written after his return to India in 1908. The book opens with a comprehensive Introduction by Sir Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law, formerly Editor of the *Makhzan*. The writer, being a friend of Iqbal, gives a short biographical sketch of the poet and briefly describes the various stages through which the poet's mind passed. He maintains that there is no book of Urdu verse which can be compared with *Bang-i-Dara* for the simple reason that the work is the result of vast study, experience, observation and travel.

Before undertaking an appreciation and criticism of his works, it is essential to know that the mind of a poet has to pass through various stages of development before it can attain perfection in the realms of expression and thought. The growth of the human mind can be compared to the growth of a plant. Apart from hereditary potentialities, the soil must be fertile and then the seed requires adequate watering and congenial atmosphere. All these things taken together ensure the healthy growth of the plant. A close study of the development of poetic thought is, therefore, very necessary to understand the poet's

mind. Environment is the first obstacle that man has to encounter in nature, and since a poet possesses a sensitive temperament, he feels its influence all the more. Nature is a real book of study for man. A poet cannot, therefore, but make observations and collect vast data for inference.

In his early days of poetical practice, besides lyrics, Iqbal was given to serious thinking. Natural phenomena and world events were the first things that influenced him. The problems of life and this world made him think till he had drawn some reasonable conclusions which were eventually presented as aspects of philosophic truths. The woeful tale of the fall of the Mughal Empire and the social conditions of Indian Muslims and the general decline of Islamic nations occupied and influenced his mind. He gave voice to his feelings in the form of poems aiming at the revival of Islam and the reconstruction of Islamic society. The poet's love for his country found expression in many nationalistic poems, but after his visit to England there was a material change in his views. He now became a citizen of the world and every country was his native land as he believed in humanity.

As might be naturally expected, the earlier poems of *Bang-i-Dara* are comparatively simple and the metre is common. The first part contains a large number of nature poems with the visible influence of literature and poetic ideology of Europe, and they remind the reader of William Cowper, Wordsworth, Keats and Shelley.

The second part of *Bang-i-Dara* presents the poetry of a transitional period. The language is more expressive while the philosophic element has increased. The poems in the third part show a growing concern for Islam and its history. His expression seems to have attained maturity and the language abounds in Persian phrases and constructions. It should be remembered that most of Iqbal's verse written contemporaneously with the third part of the *Bang* is in Persian.

*Bang-i-Dara* opens with *Himala*, Ode to the Himalayas, which was published in the first number of the first volume of *Makhzan* in 1901 and was recited previously at a *Musha'ara*. *Himala* is one of the popular poems of Iqbal and is a lasting monument to the height and grandeur of the Himalayas. As a naturalist, the poet looks upon the quiet recesses of the mountains, the serene flight of the clouds while the



beauty of life, intoxicated buds and babbling streams are the objects of interest to him. The poet is legitimately proud of the "Grand Ramparts" of India :

اے ہمالہ ! اے فصیل کشور ہندوستان  
چومتا ہے تیری پیشانی کو جھک کر آسمان

The poet addresses the mountains as the ramparts of the Indian realm whose forehead is kissed by the sky. "Ye do not exhibit any signs of old age, as ye appear young amid the alternation of morning and evening." The quiet Himalayan valleys divert a man's attention to himself :

سوئے خلوت گاہ دل دامن کشی انسان ہے تو

This is perhaps the poet's first step to the Self, and the beauty of nature is his first attention, and to him it is a constant source of similes and metaphors alike :

جنیش موج نسیم صبح گہوارہ بنی  
جھومتی ہے نشہ ہستی میں ہر گل کی کلی  
یوں زیان برگ سے گویا ہے اسکی خامشی  
دست گلچیں کی جھٹک میں نے نہیں دیکھی کبھی

The wave-like motion of the morning breeze is turned into a cradle :  
Every bud is rocked under the magic influence of Existence,  
So speaks its silence with the tongue of a petal so soft,  
"Never have I experienced the jerk of the flower-gatherer so far."

آتی ہے ندی فراز کوہ سے گاتی ہوئی  
لوثر وہ تسنیم کی موجوں کو شرمانی ہوئی  
آئینہ سا شاہد قدرت کو دکھلاتی ہوئی  
سنگ رہ سے گاہ بچتی گاہ ٹکراتی ہوئی  
چھیڑتی جا اس عراق دلشیں کے ساز کو  
اے مسافر دل سمجھتا ہے تری آواز کو

The stream comes down the hill-side, singing—  
Giving *Kausar* and *Tasnim* a cause for shame,  
Holding a mirror to the Beloved of Nature.  
Sometimes deflecting from, and sometimes striking against, the wayside stone.

Play on this instrument of charming *Iraq*, play on !  
O traveller ! my heart follows thy voice serene.

In daily life, the poet had overcome many obstacles. He sees a flower and says :

تو شناسائے خراش عقدہ مشکل نہیں  
اے گل رنگیں ترے پہلو میں شاید دل نہیں

Thou art not familiar with the pangs of a knotty problem ;  
O colourful flower ! perhaps, thou hast not a heart in thee.

ہے بلندی سے فلک بوس نشمین میرا  
ایر کہسار ہوں گل پاش ہے دامن میرا  
کیبھی صحرا کبھی گزار ہے مسکن میرا  
شہر و ویرانہ مرا بحر مرا بن میرا  
کسی وادی میں جو منظور ہو سونا مجھکو  
سبزہ کوہ ہے مخمل کا بچھونا مجھکو

*Abr-i-Kohsar* is another beautiful nature poem :

My cottage kisses the Heavens because of its height :  
I am the mountain cloud ; my skirt sprinkles flowers.  
My abode is sometimes a Sahara and sometimes a garden ;  
The city and the ruins are mine and so are the sea and the woods.  
If I have a mind to repose—in a valley,  
The mountain green is a couch of velvet for me.

بن کے گیسو رخ ہستی پہ بکھر جاتا ہوں  
شانہ موجہ صرصر سے منور جاتا ہوں

I, like a lock of hair, cover the face of Existence so bright :  
I become arrayed with the comb of a gust of violent wind.

*Parindai-ki-Faryad* is one of the beautiful poems for children. The poet speaks the captive bird's mind :

آتا ہے یاد سچو کو گزرا ہوا زمانہ  
وہ باغ کی بہاریں وہ سب کا چہچہانا

I remember my past days ever and anon—  
Those happy moments in gardens and the chirpings in chorus.

The poet's constant concern for his country is visible in these lines :

کیا بد نصیب ہوں میں گھر کو ترس رہا ہوں  
ساتھی تو ہیں وطن میں میں قید میں پڑا ہوں

How unfortunate, I am longing for my home ;  
My comrades are there and I am a captive here !



"Enquiry from Those Who Sleep in the Dust" is a poem full of pathos. The sun has set ; the veil over the face of Evening is lifted and her locks are scattered on the shoulders of Existence while dreamy silence is all around. The heart of the poet is fleeing from the world on account of his impatience. He sits close to those who sleep in the lonely corner while he implores his heart to gather strength :

تھم ذرا بیتابی دل ! بیٹور جانے دے مجھے  
اور اس بستی پہ چار آنسو گرانے دے مجھے

Wait a while, O impatient heart ! Let me sit down,  
And shed a few tears on the city of the dead.

The poet asks those intoxicated with the wine of forgetfulness to tell him something of the other world. To him, this world is a house of wonder where a constant battle of elements is going on. He puts them various questions as to whether Paradise is an abode of peace ; whether Hell is actually a place to burn the sinful.

The last question that he asks them is one that had been agitating his mind for quite a long time :

تم بتا دو راز جو اس گنبد گرداں میں ہے  
موت اک چبھتا ہوا کانٹا دل السان میں ہے

Explain ye, the secret that is in this revolving Dome ;  
Death is a pricking thorn in the heart of man for aye.

The little moth that finds peace in flying round the candle and which eventually sacrifices itself to the flame is a wonderful sight for the poet who exclaims :

پروانہ اور ذوق تماشاۓ روشنی کیڑا ذرا سا اور تمنائے روشنی

A moth, and what a yearning for the sight of light !  
A tiny insect, and what a consuming desire for light !

A constant cause of pain to the poet is the disunity among the Indian peoples. He raises his voice in grief :—

جل رہا ہوں کل نہیں پڑتی کسی پہلو مجھے  
ہاں ڈبو دے اے محیط آب گنگا تو مجھے

I am aflame with restlessness : I find no peace on any side ;  
Yea, flow over me, O surging waves of the Ganges !

بزم جہاں میں میں بھی ہوں اے شمع درد مند  
قریاد در گسرہ صفت دانہ سپند

O Candle ! I am also a sufferer in this assemblage of the world.  
With a grievous complaint in my knot, like a rue seed.

The poet gives the reason for his personal consciousness :

یہ آگہی مری مجھے دکھتی ہے بقرار  
خراہیدہ اس شرر میں ہیں آتشکدے ہزار

This consciousness of mine makes me restless :

There are a thousand furnaces dormant in the spark (of life).

The poet's ever-increasing love for solitude leads him to the quieter regions of life. He shuns society and desires to lead a calm life in a small hut on a hill, singing in the morning in the company of a cuckoo. The window of the hut would show him the dawn, thus enabling him to be no longer under an obligation to a temple or mosque. In such silence the poet's cries would rise so high that his voice might serve as a bell to the "Caravan of Stars." With such imagination the poet expresses 'A Wish' :—

دنیا کی محفلوں سے اکٹا گیا ہوں یا رب  
کیا لطف انجمن کا جب دل ہی بجھ گیا ہو

O God ! I am tired and sick of the Assemblies of the world—  
What pleasure is in society, if my heart is extinguished ?

The poet is not satisfied with the light that lights up the outward appearance. Addressing the morning Sun, he says :

ڈھونڈھتی ہیں جس کو آنکھیں وہ تماشا چاہنے  
چشم باطن جس سے کھل جائے وہ جلوہ چاہنے

The sight which is sought by my eyes is wanted  
The light that opens the inner eye is wanted !

A 'Withered Flower' is a touching sight to the poet :

کس زبان سے اے گل پژمرده تجھ کو گل کہوں  
کس طرح تجھ کو تمنائے دل بلبل کہوں

O withered Flower ! how shall I call thee a flower ?

How can I say that thou art the desire of a nightingale's heart ?

Among the manifestations of nature, the new moon on the western horizon is a vision of rare beauty to him. Iqbal draws a vivid picture of such a scene :—



ٹوٹ کر خورشید کی کشتی ہوئی غرقاب نیل  
 یک لکڑا تہرتا پھرتا ہے روئے آب نیل  
 طشت گردوں میں ٹپکتا ہے شفق کا خون ناب  
 نشتر قدرت نے کیا کھولی ہے فصہ آفتاب  
 چرخ نے بالی چراالی ہے عروس شام کی  
 نیل کے پانی میں یا مچھلی ہے خام کی

The boat of the Sun being wrecked sank in the Nile,  
 There is a plank floating on the waters of the Nile,  
 The pure blood of Twilight is trickling into the basin of the celestial Globe,  
 The lancet of Nature has opened the vein of the Sun wondrous, indeed,  
 Either the heavenly Sphere has stolen the ear-ring of the Bride of Evening,  
 Or, there is a fish of pure silver floating in the Nile.

It is surprising to note that Iqbal was very much misunderstood in his own days. He describes a pleasing story of a Maulvi Sahib under the title of *Zuhd aur Rindi*. The poem is as simple as it is beautiful; the metre is equally appropriate and the rhymes are extremely rhythmic. The poem opens :

اک مولوی صاحب کی سناتا ہوں کہانی  
 تیزی نہیں منظور طبیعت کی دکھانی

I relate to you the story of a Maulvi Sahib,  
 I intend not to demonstrate the astuteness of my mind.

مدت سے رہا کرتے تھے ہمسائے میں میرے  
 تھی رند سے زاہد کی ملاقات پرانی

He used to reside in my neighbourhood for a long time,  
 The Rind had an old acquaintance with the Zahid.

The Maulvi Sahib had heard a good deal about Iqbal and knew him to be a synthesis of opposites, familiar both with Rindi and Shari'at. He could not comprehend the real nature of the poet. One day, the Maulvi Sahib met Iqbal and the latter with humble submission said :

گر آپ کو معلوم نہیں میری حقیقت  
 پیدا نہیں کچھ اس سے تصور ہمہ دانی  
 میں خود بھی نہیں اپنی حقیقت کا شناسا  
 گہرا ہے مرے بحر خیالات کا پانی

## THE POET OF THE EAST

مجھ کو بھی تمنا ہے کہ اقبال کو دیکھوں  
 کی اس کی جدائی میں بہت اشک فشانہ  
 اقبال بھی اقبال سے آگاہ نہیں ہے  
 کچھ اس میں تمسخر نہیں واللہ نہیں ہے

If you are not conversant with my reality,  
 It does not cast any reflection on your omniscience.  
 I myself do not know the truth of myself;  
 The waters of the ocean of my thought run deep,  
 I too have a desire to see Iqbal, indeed—  
 I have shed tears for a long time aloof.  
 Even Iqbal is not familiar with Iqbal—  
 This is no joke, by God it is not !

The poet protests against the narrowness of circumstances and desires a wider sphere of activity, So says the Wave of the River :

زحمت تنگی دریا سے گریزاں ہوں میں  
 وسعت بحر کی فرقت میں پریشان ہوں میں

I run away from the pressing confines of the river,  
 I am dejected while away from the vastness of the sea.

An endless search for reality is the essence of his life :

میں جنوں مجھ کو کہ گھبراتا ہوں آبادی میں میں  
 ڈھونڈھتا پھرا ہوں کس کو کوہ کی وادی میں میں

I have an obsession as I feel lost in populated space;  
 Whom am I looking for in the valley of the mountain ?

The poet compares himself to a child :

میری آنکھوں کو لبھا لیتا ہے حسن ظاہری  
 کم نہیں کچھ تیری نادانی سے نادانی مری

The outward beauty pleases my eyes.  
 My ignorance is no less than thine.

*Taswir-i-Dard* is one of the longer poems of Iqbal such as *Shikwah*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu-i-Islam*. In length, these poems remind the reader of Milton's poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, but the subject and thought are different.

*Taswir-i-Dard* was read at a meeting of the Lahore Anjuman in March, 1904. The poem presents the national sentiments of the poet



who feels a deep concern for the fate of his native land. The poem occupies a high position in national literature and is an appeal for unity among the peoples of India. The beauty of words and colourful expression of feelings are simply remarkable :-

نہیں منت کش تاب شنیدن داستان میری  
خموشی گفتگو ہے، بے زبانی ہے زبان میری

My story imposes not the obligation of being heard patiently;  
Silence is my speech and muteness my tongue !

The right of free speech is denied in the Assembly and the tale is told by the scattered petals of the tulip, the narcissus and the rose. The poet sheds tears and feels as if he is weeping for the "garden," so he says: "I am a flower, and the autumn of every flower is my autumn." The people are unaware of him and he considers himself to be a treasure hidden under a handful of dust. "Who knows where I am and whose wealth I am" ? and cries aloud :

رلاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہندوستان مجھ کو  
کہ عبرت خیز ہے تیرا فسانہ سب فسانوں میں

O India ! Thy sight makes me weep ;  
Of all stories, thine is a pathetic one.

And warns his countrymen :

چھپا کر آستیں میں بجلیاں رکھی ہیں گردوں نے  
عنادل باغ کے غافل نہ بیٹھیں آشیانوں میں

The planets have lightning hidden in their sleeves—  
The nightingales of the garden should not repose carefree in their nests.

وطن کی فکر کر نادان ! مصیبت آنے والی ہے  
تری بربادیوں کے مشورے ہیں آسمانوں میں

Ignorant fellow ! Think of thy country, a calamity is about to appear,  
Conferences are going on in the celestial sphere about thy ruin.

A pathetic *ghazal* is included in *Taswir-i-Dard* with the opening line :

ہویدا آج اپنے زخم پنہاں کر کے چھوڑوں گا  
لہو رو رو کے محفل کو گلستان کر کے چھوڑوں گا

To-day, I shall lay bare my hidden wounds—one and all ;  
By my tears of blood I shall turn the Assembly into a garden.

Iqbal aims at lighting every candle with his burning heart

and strives to unite the scattered "beads of the rosary" (his countrymen). The short-sighted Indian is advised to free himself from all kinds of bias. The eye should be made to see reality :

اگر دیکھا بھی اس نے سارے عالم کو تو کیا دیکھا  
نظر آئی نہ کچھ اپنی حقیقت جام سے جم کو

And even if he saw the whole world, what did he see ?

Jamshid could not see his own reality in his Cup, Alas !

The poet cannot restrain his tears !

تھے کیا دیدہ گریان وطن کی نوحہ خوانی میں  
عبادت چشم شاعر کی ہے ہر دم باوضو رہنا

How can the weeping eye cease to mourn for the native land ?

The worship of the poet's eye is to remain washed with tears.

Love is the binding force of humanity :

شراب روح پرور ہے محبت نوع انسان کی  
سکھایا اس نے مجھ کو مست بے جام و مبو رہنا

The love of humanity is a soul-nourishing wine, inspiring—

It has taught me to be intoxicated without a cup and a vat.

The poet is striving for the realisation of truth, as he thinks that change takes man through different regions of knowledge till he passes from external appearance to his own Self, and the first exodus being :

لگی نہ میری طبیعت ریاض جنت میں  
پیا شعور کا جب جام آتشیں میں نے

I could not find solace in the garden of Paradise.

As and when I drank the fiery cup of consciousness.

ہوئی جو چشم مظاہر پرست وا آخر  
تو پایا خانہ دل میں اسے مکین میں نے

When the surface-worshipping eye was opened at last.

God was found resting in the abode of my heart serene.

Iqbal, being a sincere lover of his country, has written some of the best-national poems. *Tarana-i-Hindi* is one of them and has gained wide popularity among the people of all classes in India. It opens with the beautiful lines :

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا  
ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ گلستان ہمارا



Best of all the world is our land—India :  
We are its nightingales and it is our garden

غربت میں ہوں اگر ہم رہتا ہے دل وطن میں  
سمجھو وہیں ہمیں بھی دل ہو جہاں ہمارا

If we are away, our hearts are in our native land,  
Think of us to be in that place, where our hearts be !

The study and observation of nature are slowly bringing to light the universal secrets. The glowworm is a fascinating object for his poetic perception :

جگنو کی روشنی ہے کاشانہ چمن میں  
یا شمع جل رہی ہے پھولوں کی انجمن میں

Is that the light of the glowworm in the garden ?  
Or, is it a candle burning in the assembly of flowers ?

The poet is now able to grasp one reality and strives for another :

کثرت میں ہو گیا ہے وحدت کا راز مخفی  
جگنو میں جو چمک ہے وہ پھول میں سہک ہے  
یہ اختلاف پھر کیوں ہنگاموں کا محل ہو  
”ہر شے میں جب کہ پنہاں خاموشی ازل ہو“

The secret of Unity has been shrouded in various ways,  
That which is light in the glowworm is perfume in the flower.  
Why then this difference should be the seat of commotion ;  
When there is the eternal silence hidden in everything ?

Humanity has always longed for an eternal life and various sacrifices are made to achieve that end. No one on this earth is pleased with his existence to his entire satisfaction. There is always an aspiration for an ideal, something higher, which leads us through sacrifice to a better life. Iqbal's "Morning Star" illustrates this aspect of life :

میری قدرت میں جو ہوتا تو نہ اختر بنتا  
نہ دریا میں چمکتا ہوا گوہر بنتا

If I had the power, I would not have been a star,  
I would rather have been a bright pearl deep in the sea.

But all things end in disaster :

ہے یہ انجام اگر زینت عالم ہو کر  
کیوں نہ گر جاؤں کسی پھول پہ شبنم ہو کر

And if this is the end, after being something beautiful in this world,  
Why should not I fall on a flower in the form of dew ?

خاک میں مل کے حیات ابدی پا جاؤں  
عشق کا سوز زمانے کو دکھاتا جاؤں

Being mixed with the dust, I may attain eternal life.  
And show the world the fire of love so bright.

Among the national songs of Iqbal, 'Indian Children's National Song' deserves praise. The opening stanza is daily sung in many schools :

چشتی نے جس زمین میں پیغام حق سنایا  
نانک نے جس چمن میں وحدت کا گیت گایا  
تاتاریوں نے جس کر اپنا وطن بنایا  
جس نے حجازیوں سے دشت عرب چھڑایا  
میرا وطن وہی ہے میرا وطن وہی ہے

The land in which Chishti disseminated his message,  
The garden in which Nanak sang the song of Unity,  
That which the Tartars adopted as their homeland,  
That which made the people of Hedjaz leave the desert—  
That is my native land, that is my native land !

In the prevailing conditions of India when communal relations were strained and mutual tolerance was badly wanted, Iqbal thought of establishing a new temple of worship for Hindus and Muslims alike. He made an appeal to the Brahman for the erection of a New Temple :—

سچ کہہ دوں اے برہمن گرتو برا نہ مانے  
تیرے صنم کدوں کے بت ہو گئے پرانے  
تنگ آگے میں نے آخر دیرو حرم کو چھوڑا  
واعظ کا وعظ چھوڑا چھوڑے ترے فسانے  
سوئی پڑی ہوئی ہے مدت سے دل کی بستی  
آاک نیا شوالہ اس دیس میں بنادیں



I would speak the truth, O Brahman ! if thou dost not take it amiss.  
 The idols of thy temples have become really old.  
 Eventually, I left the temple and the mosque disgusted ;  
 I refrained from listening to the sermon of the preacher.  
 The abode of our heart is deserted and bleak,  
 Come, and let's raise a new temple in this land sublime !

The fundamental truth pervading the universe in different forms is now being realised by the poet. In the "Bird and the Glowworm", he says :

سر شام ایک مرغِ نغمہ بہرا کسی ٹہنی پہ بیٹھا گا رہا تھا

In the evening, a bird sat warbling on a twig.

The bird saw something shining on the ground and taking it for a glow-worm flew down and the tiny creature implored :

کہا جگنو نے او مرغِ نواریز  
 نہ کر بیکس پہ متقار ہوس تیز  
 تجھے چسنے چھک گل کو مہک دی  
 اسی اللہ نے مجھ کو چمک دی

The glowworm said, "O warbling bird !

Don't sharpen thy beak on a helpless one :

One, who has given song to thee and perfume to the flower—

The same Creator has given me brightness and beauty.

All things of the world are shining with beauty—Iqbal believes that the human soul is searching for something lost :

روح کو لیکن کسی گم گشتہ شے کی ہے ہوس  
 ورنہ اس صحرا میں کیوں نالاں ہے یہ مثل جرس

But the soul is greedy for something lost,

Otherwise, why is it crying plaintively in the Sahara ?

Iqbal's lyrics in the first part of the *Bang* are simple and are typical of the period of growth. The following verses are remarkable :

گزر ہست و بود نہ بیگانہ وار دیکھ  
 ہے دیکھنے کی چیز اے بار بار دیکھ

Do not look upon the garden of Existence as a stranger ;  
 It is something worth seeing ; see it again and again !

لاؤں وہ تنکے کہیں سے آشیانے کے لئے

بجلیاں بیتاب ہوں جن کو جلانے کے لئے

جمع کر خرمن تو پہلے دانہ دانہ چن کے تو

آہی نکلے گی کوئی بجلی جلانے کے لئے

ہاس تھا ناکامیے صیاد کا اے ہم صفر

ورنہ میں اور اڑ کے آتا ایک دانے کے لئے

From somewhere I should bring those straws to make a nest.

To burn which even lightning may be impatient.

Gather first the harvest, grain by grain,

Lightning may chance to burn the heap at last !

I did not wish to disappoint the bird-catcher.

Otherwise, should I have flown hereto for a single grain ?

موت کا نسخہ ابھی باقی ہے اے درد فراق

چارہ گر دیوانہ ہے میں لادوا کیونکر ہوا

The prescription of death yet remains, O pain of separation

The physician is insanè ; how can I be incurable ?

نہیں بیگانگی اچھی رفیق راہ منزل سے

ٹھہرا اے شرر ہم بھی تو آخر مٹنے والے ہیں

Strangeness to a fellow-traveller is not good ;

Wait, O spark of fire ! I am going to be extinguished as well.

چمن زار محبت میں خموشی موت ہے بلبل

یہاں کی زندگی پابندی رسم فغاں تک ہے

O Nightingale ! Silence is death in the garden of love,

Life here depends on being confined to the custom of crying.

کہہ اپنا بھی نظارہ کیا ہے تو نے اے مجنوں

کہ لیلیٰ کی طرح تو خود بھی ہے محمل نشینوں میں

Hast thou ever had a look at thyself ? O Majnun

Thou art also one of the litter-occupiers like Leila.

جلا سکتی ہے شمع کشتہ کو موج نفس ان کی

الہی ! کیا چھپا ہوتا ہے اہل دل کے سینوں میں

Their breath can light the extinguished candle—

O God ! what is hidden in the bosoms of generous people ?



کوئی دم کا مہمان ہوں اے اہل محفل  
چراغ سحر ہوں بجھا چاہتا ہوں

Q members of the assembly ! I am a guest only for a few moments,  
Like the candle of the morning to be put out so soon.

تمیز لالہ و گل سے ہے نالہ بلبل  
جہاں میں وا نہ کوئی چشم امتیاز کرے

The cry of the nightingale is due to the distinction between the tulip  
and the rose,

No one should open his eye of distinction in the world so vast.

شبِ نیم کی طرح پھولوں پہ رو اور چمن سے چل  
اس باغ میں قیام کا سودا بھی چھوڑ دے

Weep over the flowers like dew and move from the garden ;  
Abandon also the mad desire to stay herein !

اچھا ہے دل کے پاس رہے ہاسبان عقل  
لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے

It is good that the guard of wisdom should stay near thy heart—  
But, it should be allowed to move about alone sometimes !

Till now the poetic genius of Iqbal was passing through its primary stage. Usual topics of original poetry as beauty and love appealed to him. The mystic and philosophic elements which later on made Iqbal the premier poet of his time are discernible throughout his verse. He is inquisitive about the mysterious working of the universal system. He is not responded to by nature ; however, he is after truth and the poet's higher study in philosophy acquainted him with the ultimate questions and answers in regard to life. The practical life of Europe and modern affairs could not but impress the poet. At the same time, he was conscious of the process of decay that had set in Asiatic society. As a consequence, Iqbal determined to give up writing poetry :

مدیرِ مخزن سے جا کے اقبال کوئی میرا پیام کہدے  
جو کام کچھ کر رہی ہیں قومیں انہیں مذاق سخن نہیں ہے

Iqbal ! let someone take my message to the Editor of the "Makhzan".  
The nations that are active have no taste for poetry.

Fortunately, Iqbal was dissuaded from coming to such a decision. The poet began to write poetry once again, but it acquired a new colour,

the former confusion is cleared. He now believes that life is a struggle; modern civilization is based on materialism and it is dangerous. Freedom, equality and fraternity in Europe were the outcome of the French Revolution, but now they had a different meaning. The problems of nationalism, race, religion and colour had sprung to the fore and dominated European thought. Democracy was only another form of despotism and the growing earth-hunger of the European nations was bound to lead the world to chaos.

The superficial character of European civilisation had no appeal to Iqbal; in a way, he was rather dubious about its future. His study in philosophy and Islamic literature, combined with the reaction of modern life on him, opened a new vista of thought. He fell upon the past, and the teachings of Islam and its great men who had built such vast empires had greater inspiration for him. He found the material civilisation of Europe devoid of any spiritual element and the so-called freedom of the West was to him slavery in disguise.

Among his poems that he wrote in Europe, *Mahabbat* describes the wonderful creation of Love :

عروس شب کی زلفیں تھیں ابھی نا آشنا خم سے  
ستارے آسمان کے بے خبر تھے لذتِ رم سے

The curls of the bride of Night were yet unfamiliar with their forms,  
The stars in the sky were not acquainted with the desire of motion.

The moon yet looked strange in its new dress and it was yet the beginning of the world. It is said there was an alchemist in the upper world. He obtained the prescription of an elixir which was written on one of the pillars of the 'Arsh'. He then took brightness from the star, the liver scar from the moon, blackness of the night from the dishevelled lock, agitation from lightning, purity from a houri, heat from the breath of the Messiah, a little independence from God, holiness from an angel and precipitancy from dew. All these constituents were then dissolved in the water of the spring of life and this compound was designated 'Love' from the grand 'Arsh':—

ہوئی جنبش عیاں ذروں نے لطفِ خواب کو چھوڑا  
کلے ملنے لگے آٹھ آٹھ کے اپنے اپنے ہمدم سے



خیرام ناز پایا آفتابوں نے ستاروں نے  
چٹک غنچوں نے پائی داغ ہائے لالہ زاروں نے

Motion appeared, and the particles woke up from their sweet sleep ;  
They got up and began to embrace their dear ones—  
The suns and the stars attained their beauteous gait.  
The buds opened—the tulip fields were scarred.

An equally beautiful poem is *Haqiqat-i-Husn* in which the poet explains the essence of beauty :

ملا جواب کہ تصویرخانہ ہے دنیا  
شب دراز عدم کا فسانہ ہے دنیا

The answer received was that the world is a picture gallery :  
The world is a story of the long night of Existence

ہوئی ہے رنگ تغیر سے جب نمود اس کی  
وہی حسین ہے حقیقت زوال ہے جسکی

As its appearance is due to the colour of change,  
Only that one is beautiful whose beauty declines at last.

The poet now realises that he has been affected with the restlessness of love and feels it his duty to enlighten others. He, therefore, requests the "Old Man of the Tavern" to dispense the stuff called the country wine :

عشق نے کر دیا تجھے ذوق تپش سے آشنا  
بزم کو مثل شمع بزم حاصل سوز و ساز دے

Love has acquainted thee with the desire for agitation,  
Convey to the assembly the product of burning and melting like the candle

پیر مغاں فرنگ کی مے کا نشاط ہے اثر  
اس میں وہ کیف غم نہیں مجھ کو تو خانہ ساز دے

Old man of the tavern ! joy is the result of European wine ;  
It does not possess remorse ; give me my country stuff !

At this time, political conditions in India were rapidly changing. What were the Indian Muslims to do ? Iqbal presented his view-point in a poem addressed to the Aligarh students :

موت ہے عیش جاوداں ذوق طلب اگر نہ ہو  
گردش آدمی ہے اور گردش جام اور ہے

Eternal life is death if there is no desire for pursuit ;  
The circulation of man is different from that of a cup.

The beauty and selection of words in the following lines are exquisite:

جلوۂ طور میں جیسے يد بیضائے کلیم  
موجہ نگہت گلزار میں غنچے کی شمیم  
ہے ترے سیل محبت میں یونہی دل میرا

Like the white hand of Moses in the light of Mount Sinai,  
Or, like the scent of a bud in the perfumed breeze of a garden—  
Just so is my heart in the flood of thy love rushing on,

The dialogue between the moon and the stars is simply striking. Like Tennyson's "Lotus-Eaters", the stars are tired of constant shining as a matter of routine:

کام اپنا ہے صبح و شام چلنا چلنا چلنا مدام چلنا  
یتاب ہے اس جہان کی ہر شے کہتے ہیں جسے سکون نہیں ہے  
کہنے لگا چاند ہمنشینو! اے مزرع شب کے خوشہ چینو  
جنیش سے ہے زندگی جہان کی یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی

Our work is to move from morning to evening.

Moving, moving and always moving on—

For things are restless in this world—of ours,

What they call peace, there is none!

"Comrades!" said the moon, "ye all,

O harvesters in the harvest of night!

Life in this world is due to motion,

It is an old custom of this changing abode."

The poet now comes across another truth: The morning is restless in the separation of the sun, the 'eye of twilight' laments for the evening star. The Qais of day longs for the Leila of night and the morning star is impatient for constant scintillation. However, the secret of life is brought to light by Mercury:

راز حیات پوچھ لے خضر خجستہ گام سے  
زندہ ہر ایک چیز ہے کوشش ناتمام سے

Ask Khizr (Mercury) the secret of life—

Everything is alive with an incomplete effort.

Like the Italian poet who said, "Take my To-morrow and give me your To-day," to the poet Iqbal, youth means to-day's pleasure:

عجیب چیز ہے احساسِ زندگانی کا  
عقیدہ "عشرتِ امروز" ہے جوانی کا

The feeling of life is a startling thing;

"To-day's pleasure" is the creed of youth!



Being alive to all what was going on around him in Europe and the degrading conditions in Asia, particularly in the Muslim world, Iqbal wrote a historic letter to Sh. (later Sir) Abdul Qadir to launch a new programme for the revival of the Islamic people :

اٹھ کہ ظلمت ہوئی پیدا افق خاور پر  
بزم میں شعلہ نوائی سے آجلا کر دیں

Arise ! darkness has appeared on the horizon of the East ;  
Let us light up the assembly with our fiery voice !

رخت جان بتکدہ چین سے اٹھا لیں اپنا  
سب کو محو رخ سعدی و سلیمی کر دیں

Let us remove the wardrobe of our soul from the idol-house of China :  
Let us captivate all with the faces of Su'da and Suleima !

Being a student of Islamic history and born and brought up in the religious traditions of Islam, Iqbal was deeply impressed by the sight of Sicily in the Mediterranean Sea : .

روئے اب دل کھول کر اے دیدہ خونناہ بار  
وہ نظر آتا ہے تہذیب حجازی کا مزار

Weep to thy heart's content, O tearful eye !  
There is the grave of the Hedjaz civilization !

The number of *ghazals* written in Europe is comparatively small, however, they contain an element of modern problems. The following verses throw light on the poet's impressive thought :

نرالا سارے جہاں سے اس کو عرب کے معمار نے بنایا  
بنا ہمارے حصار ملت کی اتحاد وطن نہیں ہے

The Architect of Arabia has raised it as a unique edifice—  
The foundations of the fort of our people are not the unity of native land.

دیار مغرب کے وہنے والو خدا کی بستی دکان نہیں ہے  
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہو گا

O people of the Western lands! the city of God is in no case a shop ;  
The gold that you have been taking for genuine shall now prove false.

میں ظلمت شب میں لیکے نکلوں گا اپنے درمائدہ کارواں کو  
شرر نشان ہوگی آہ میری نفس مرا شعلہ بار ہو گا

I will set out with my weary Caravan in the darkness of night—  
My sigh shall scatter sparks ; my breath shall breathe out flames.

The third part of *Bang-i-Dara* opens with the poem, *Bilad-i-Islamia*, wherein the poet describes the ancient grandeur of the great cities of the Muslim world, namely, Delhi, the sanctuary of Islamic glory; Baghdad, the garden of the desert poppy; Cordova, where Islamic society lighted the candle of modern civilization. Constantinople, the heart of the Muslim world. Medina, the resting-place of the Holy Prophet :—

آہ یثرب! دیس ہے مسلم کا تو ماویٰ ہے تو  
نقطۂ جاذبِ ثائر کی شعاعوں کا ہے تو  
جب تلک باقی ہے تو دنیا میں باقی ہم بھی ہیں  
صبح ہے تو اس چمن میں گوہرِ شبنم بھی ہیں

Ah Yathrab! thou art the native land of the Muslim and his resting-place :

Thou art the point that attracts and radiates thought.

As long as thou art existent, we also exist here—

If there is morning, there is also the pearl of the dew drop in the garden.

Again the poet explains the fact that inactivity is impossible in the present order of things. He puts a question to a star :—

قمر کا خوف کہ ہے خطرۂ سحر تجھ کو  
مالِ حسن کی کیا حل گئی خبر تجھ کو  
چمکنے والے مسافر! عجب یہ بستی ہے  
جو آج ایک کا ہے دوسرے کی بستی ہے  
سکون محال ہے قدرت کے کارخانے میں  
ثبات ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں

Dost thou fear the Moon, or art thou in danger of the Dawn?

What information about the end of beauty hast thou received?

O shining Traveller! this is a strange habitation—

The rise of the one is the fall of the other!

Inactivity is impossible in the workshop of Nature;

Change is the only thing permanent in this world!

*Goristan-i-Shahi*, the Royal Cemetery, is a poem written by the poet during his short stay in Hyderabad (Deccan). The poet was taken out one night by his friend to see the silent domes under which were asleep the kings of the Qutb dynasty. The dead silence of the night, the sky overcast and the moonlight penetrating through the clouds deeply affected the poet's mind. The poem is a reflection of the past together with deep concern for the present :



آسمان بادل کا پہنے خرقہ دیرینہ ہے  
کچھ مکدر سا جبین ماہ کا آئینہ ہے

The Sky wears the old attire of clouds.  
The forehead of the Moon resembles a mirror, dim and gloomy.

زندگی انسان کی ہے مانند مرغ خوش نوا  
شاخ پر بیٹھا کوئی دم چبچھایا اُڑ گیا

The life of man is like a sweet-tuned bird  
That sat for some time on a branch, sang and flew away.

اس زیاں خانے میں کوئی ملت گردوں وقار  
رہ نہیں سکتی ابد تک بار دوش روزگار

No nation of celestial glory in this House of loss  
Can ever remain a burden on the shoulder of Time.

دل ہمارے یاد عہد رفتہ سے خالی نہیں  
اپنے شاہوں کو یہ امت بھولنے والی نہیں

Our hearts are not devoid of the memory of the past,  
This nation is not likely to forget its mighty kings.

As Lucifer pales before the appearance of morning, the poet depicts a beautiful picture :

ہے رواں نجم سحر جیسے عبادت خانے سے  
سب سے پیچھے جائے کوئی عابد شب زندہ دار

The Morning Star is moving from the house of prayer  
Like the early worshipper leaving it last of all.

The hereditary faithfulness that the modern Muslim has acquired by service in the House of God has to-day been transferred into a different channel and the result is the inclination towards idol-houses. Iqbal raises a questions in *Tazmin bar Shi'r-i-Anisi Shamlu* :

ترا اے قیس ! کیونکر ہو گیا سوز دردں ٹھنڈا  
کہ لیلیٰ میں تو ہیں اب تک وہی انداز لیلانی

O Qais ! how is it that thy 'inner flame' has gone out,  
While Leila yet retains the same graceful airs of Leila :

In a poem entitled *Falsafa-i-Gham* and addressed to the late Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Iqbal explains the philosophy of grief :

غم جوانی کو جگ دیتا ہے لطف خواب سے  
ساز یہ بیدار ہوتا ہے اسی مضراب سے

Grief awakens youth from the rapture of a dream ;  
This instrument wakes up with this very plectrum.

عشق کچھ محبوب کے مرنے سے مر جاتا نہیں  
روح میں غم بن کے رہتا ہے مگر جاتا نہیں

Love does not perish with the death of the beloved ;  
It resides in the soul like grief, but does not pass away.

ایک اصلیت میں ہے نہر روان زندگی  
گر کے رفعت سے ہجوم نوع انسان بن گئی  
پستی عالم میں ملنے کو جدا ہوتے ہیں ہم  
عارضی فرقت کو دائم جان کر روتے ہیں ہم

The moving stream of life which is, in essence, one,  
Falling from its height, has turned into a multitude of humanity.  
We part to meet in the lower regions of the world,  
Taking passing separation to be everlasting, we weep !

We have already come across *Tarana-i-Hindi*. Here is another poem of Iqbal, *Tarana-i-Milli*, the Muslim National Anthem which enjoys wide popularity among Muslims of progressive Asia :

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستان ہمارا  
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

Ours is China, ours is Arabia,  
Ours too is Hindustan :  
We are Muslims by our faith  
Our home is the whole wide world.

As a political conception, Iqbal looks upon nationalism as something dangerous to civilisation and culture of humanity, particularly to the solidarity of Islam. So he says, "In view of the new times, the new Saki and the new wine, the Muslim has also built a new worship-house. The sculptor of civilisation has made him carve new idols" :—

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے  
جو پہرہن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے

The biggest among these new gods is 'native land'—  
To be sure, its attire is the shroud of religion !

اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹی ہے اس سے  
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹی ہے اس سے

It divides the people of God into nations,  
It cuts at the root of Islamic nationhood.

*Shikwah* the poet's lament, or "The Complaint", is one of the most popular poems of Iqbal as it appeals to the national sense of a section of humanity which was at one time counted among the foremost peoples of the world.



We are already familiar with Hali's *Shikwah-i-Hind*, but Iqbal's poem differs in so far as it is a direct complaint to God, protesting against the present-day conditions of the Muslim world as contrasted with its glorious past of golden traditions. *Shikwah* has had a healthy effect upon Muslims inasmuch as it has reminded them of the past history of Islam, but it is not too early to say as to whether it has awakened Muslim India from its deep slumber. Of the popularity of *Shikwah* among Muslims, however, there can be no doubt. The inner thoughts of the poet's mind are reflected in the following lines :—

ہے بجا شیوۂ تسلیم میں مشہور ہیں ہم  
قصۂ درد سناتے ہیں کہ مجبور ہیں ہم  
اے خدا شکوۂ ارباب وفا بھی سن ے  
خوگر حمد سے تھوڑا سا گلہ بھی سن ے

It is true, we are famous for the practice of resignation,  
We relate the story of grief, for we are so compelled.  
O God! listen to the lament of the Faithful as well;  
Listen to a little complaint from one accustomed to praise

آگیا عین لڑائی میں اگر وقت نماز  
قبلہ رو ہو کے زمین بوس ہوئی قوم حجاز  
ایک ہی صف میں کھڑے ہو گئے محمود و ایاز  
نہ کوئی بندہ رہا اور نہ کوئی بندہ نواز  
بندہ و صاحب و محتاج و غنی ایک ہوئے  
تری سرکار میں پہنچے تو سبھی ایک ہوئے

In the battle-field, as the time of prayer approached,  
The people of Hedjaz kissed the earth facing the Qibla—  
In the same line stood Mahmud and Ayaz;  
There was neither slave, nor master—  
The slave, the master, the needy and the rich were all one,  
As they reached Thy court, they all became one.

پھر بھی ہم سے یہ گلہ ہے کہ وفادار نہیں  
ہم وفادار نہیں تو بھی تو دلدار نہیں

Yet there is a complaint that we are not faithful;  
If we are not faithful, Thou art not Beloved as well.

اے خوش آن روز کہ آئی و بصد ناز آئی  
بے حجابانہ سوئے محفل ما باز آئی

Happy is the day that Thou cometh in all thy glory:  
Without a veil Thou returneth to our assembly!

"The Night and the Poet" is a beautiful dialogue which reveals the mind of Iqbal. The poet goes out roaming after sunset. The Night, however, asks him to give a reason for his action. The poet replies :—

میں ترے چاند کی کھیتی میں گھر ہوتا ہوں  
چھپ کے انسانوں سے مانند سحر روتا ہوں  
دن کی شورش میں نکلتے ہوئے شرماتے ہیں  
عزالت شب میں مرے اشک ٹپک جاتے ہیں  
صفت شمع لحد مردہ ہے محفل میری  
آہ اے رات بڑی دور ہے منزل میری

I sow pearls in the field of thy Moon.  
Hidden from men, I weep like Morning,  
They feel ashamed to come out during the day—  
My tears rush out in the loneliness of night.  
Like the candle of the grave my assembly is dead ;  
Ah ! Very far is my goal, O Night !

Iqbal believes in the great potentialities of man through constant desire :

اس ذرہ کو رہتی ہے وسعت کی ہوس ہر دم  
یہ ذرہ نہیں شاید سمٹا ہوا صحرا ہے

This particle is in constant desire for space ;  
It is not a particle, but a desert crumpled !

The appearance of the new moon on the occasion of 'Id is a source of pleasure to him with a tinge of grief, and his grief is intense. Iqbal addresses the Crescent :—

اوج گردوں سے ذرا دنیا کی بستی دیکھ لے  
اپنی رفعت سے ہمارے گھر کی پستی دیکھ لے  
قافلے دیکھ اور ان کی برق رفتاری بھی دیکھ  
رہرو درماندہ کی منزل سے یزاری بھی دیکھ

From the celestial heights, see awhile the abode of this world !  
From thy height, see the lowliness of our house !  
See the Caravans and watch their lightning speed,  
And watch as well the weary Traveller's disgust for the Manzil.

*Sham'-o-Sha'ir*, the Candle and the Poet, one of Iqbal's masterpieces, is a poem which was read at a meeting of the Lahore Anjuman. It is a dialogue between the Candle and the Poet and throws light on the insincerity and deterioration of the present-day poets' outlook. The modern poet boasts of possessing a 'burning heart', yet he does not exert any influence on society and his efforts bear no result. The poet's



contrast to the candle is very vivid. The candle burns and illumines everything around it—the moths fly around it and sacrifice their lives. The poet is useless like a 'candle of the desert'. There is a vast difference between the candle and the poet. The burning of a candle is a natural phenomenon, while the poet's 'burning and melting' is a pose. Hence the poet fails to attract the people around him and create in them a real sense of sacrifice. The poet addresses the candle :-

دوش می نفتم به شمع منزل ویران خویش  
گیسوئے تو از پر پروانه دارد شأنه  
در جهان مثل چراغ لاله صحر استم  
نے نصیب محفل نے قسمت کا شانہ  
مدتے مانند تو من ہم نفس می سوختم  
در طواف شعله ام باے نزد پروانه  
از کجا این آتش عالم فروز اندوختی  
کرمک بے مایہ را سوز کلیم آموختی

Yester-night I said to the candle of my deserted house,  
"Thy lock has, for its comb, the wing of the moth ;  
In the world, I am like the candle of the desert ;  
Neither the fortune of an assembly, nor that of an abode.  
For long, I have been burning my breath like thee ;  
Not a single moth fluttered in going round my flame.  
Whence hast thou gathered this world-illuminating fire ?  
Thou hast taught the poor moth the 'burning' of Moses."

The Candle responds :

میں تو جلتی ہوں کہ مضمحل ہوں مری فطرت میں سوز  
تو فروزان ہے کہ پروانوں کو ہو سودا ترا

I burn because it is my nature to burn—  
Thou art luminous so that the moths may gather round thee.

کعبہ پہلو میں ہے اور سودائی بتخانہ ہے  
کس قدر شوریدہ سر ہے شوق بے پروا ترا  
قیس پیدا ہوں تری محفل میں یہ ممکن نہیں  
تنگ ہے صحرا ترا محفل ہے بے لیلی ترا

The Kaaba is in thy bosom and thou art after the idol-house ;  
How insane is thy irresponsible and whimsical longing ?  
The rising of a Qais from thy assembly is not possible—  
Thy desert is narrow and thy litter has no Leila !

رو رہی ہے آج اک ٹوٹی ہوئی سینا اسے  
کل تلک گردش میں جس ساقی کے پیمانے رہے  
آج ہیں خاموش وہ دشت جنوں پرور جہاں  
رقص میں لیلیٰ رہی لیلیٰ کے دیوانے رہے

To-day, a broken pitcher is bewailing one--

The Saki whose cups went round till yesterday.

To-day, the deserts of romance are silent, where

Leila danced in the company of her lovers.

But it is not all over ; there is yet a glimmer of hope :

شام غم لیکن خبر دیتی ہے صبح عید کی  
ظلمت شب میں نظر آئی کرن امید کی

But the evening of grief brings the tidings of an 'Id morning ;

In the darkness of night is seen the glimmer of hope !

پھر کہیں سے اس کو پیدا کر بڑی دولت ہے یہ  
زندگی کیسی جو دل یگانہ پہلو ہوا

Procure it once again ; for, it is great wealth,

What is that life, if thy heart be stranger to thy bosom ?

آہ کس کی جستجو رکھتی ہے آوارہ تجھے  
راہ تو رہرو بھی تو رہبر بھی تو منزل بھی تو

Ah ! Whose search keeps thee roaming about—

Thou art the path, the traveller, the guide and the goal !

Towards the end, there is a reference to the speedy changes that are taking place all over the world :

آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ آسکتا نہیں  
محو حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہو جائے گی

Whatever the eye sees can hardly be expressed ;

I am dumb-founded as to what the world might become !

*Jawab-i-Shikwah*, the Reply to the Complaint, gives the causes of the present unhappy state of Muslims with the assurance that faith in the Holy Prophet will make them master of things, even beyond this world. There is a warning against modernism. The *Shikwah* was perhaps misunderstood :



کچھ جو سمجھا میرے شکوے کو تو رضوان سمجھا  
مجھ کو جنت سے نکالا ہوا انسان سمجھا

The Rizwan understood my complaint to some extent,  
He took me for a man driven out of Paradise.

In view of the fact that Muslim character has deteriorated, the question is :

یوں تو مید بھی ہو مرزا بھی ہو افغان بھی ہو  
تم سبھی کچھ ہو بتاؤ تو مسلمان بھی ہو

Well, you may be a Sayyid, a Mirza and also an Afghan,  
You may be everything, but are you a Muslim, too?

عہد نو برق ہے آتش زن ہر خرمن ہے  
ایمن اس سے کوئی صحرا نہ کوئی گلشن ہے  
اس نئی آگ کا اقوام کہن ایندھن ہے  
ملت ختم رسل شعلہ بہ پیراہن ہے

The modern age is lightning that sets fire to every harvest.  
No Sahara is safe from it, nor any orchard green.  
The ancient nations are like fuel to the new fire.

The followers of the Holy Prophet are with a flame in the fringe of their attire.

The poet's views on modern education and its consequences may well be gathered from the following verses :—

ہم سمجھتے تھے کہ لائے گی فراغت تعلیم  
کیا خبر تھی کہ چلا آئیگا الحاد بھی ساتھ  
گھر میں پرویز کے شیریں تو ہوئی جلوہ نما  
لے کے آئی ہے مگر تیشہ فرہاد بھی ساتھ

We were under the impression that education would bring respite;  
It was seldom realised that heresy would accompany it,  
Yea, Shirin did light up the house of Parvez,  
But she has also brought Farhad's adze with her.

The ever-agitating wish of Iqbal as to the revival of Islam takes the form of a prayer :—

یارب دل مسلم کو وہ زندہ تمنا دے  
جو قلب کو گرمادے جو روح کو تڑپا دے  
بھٹکے ہوئے آہو کو پھر سوئے حرم لے چل  
اس شہر کے جوگر کو پھر وسعت صحرا دے

O God ! grant a living desire to the Muslim's heart—

That warms the heart and agitates the soul !

Take the stray deer to the Kaaba once again ;

Give to the immured in the city the vastness of the Sahara !

On the eve of 'Id, the poet was requested to compose verses. In answer thereto, the poet relates what a pale leaf said to him in the Shalamar Gardens :—

یہ شالامار میں اب برگ زرد کہتا تھا  
گیا وہ موسم گل جس کا رازدار ہوں میں  
اجاڑ ہو گئے عہد کہن کے میخانے  
گذشتہ بادہ پرستوں کی یادگار ہوں میں

This is what a pale leaf was saying in the Shalamar—

"The spring has passed, the secret of which I hold ;

The taverns of old have altogether been laid waste,

I am the last of the wine-worshippers of the past."

One of the most tragic incidents of Moghul history was the putting out of Shah Alam's eyes by Ghulam Qadir Rohilla. Iqbal repeats the story as a moral lesson :

مگر یہ راز آخر کھل گیا سارے زمانے پر  
جمعیت نام تھا جس کا گئی تیمور کے گھر سے

But this secret was at last disclosed to the whole world,

What was termed self-respect had vanished from the House of Timur.

"In Memory of the Blessed Mother" is a long elegy written by the poet on the death of his mother. It explains the various aspects of death by drawing inferences from natural phenomena :

موت تجدید مذاق زندگی کا نام ہے  
خواب کے پردے میں بیداری کا ایک پیغام ہے

Death is another name for the renewal of the will to live ;

Under the veil of sleep, it is a message of awakening to life !



Iqbal was by temperament and education a peace-loving man. He never sought worldly greatness. So he says in response to a letter :

ہوس بھی ہو تو نہیں مجھ میں ہمت تگ و تاز  
حصولِ جاہ ہے وابستہ مذاق تلاش

Even if there is greed, I have no mind for intrigue or struggle.  
The attainment of status is connected with a sense for search !

In the year 1922, Iqbal read his semi-political poem *Khizr-i-Rah* at the annual meeting of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore. The poem is a review of modern problems and present-day politics. The poem ranks with his *Sham'-o-Sha'ir* in diction and form. The introductory verses describing the nightly scenes on the bank of the river and the appearance of Khizr are an index to the poet's marvellous power of description :—

ساحل دریا پہ تھا اک رات میں محو نظر  
گوشہٴ دل میں چھپائے اک جہان اضطراب  
دیکھتا کیا ہوں کہ وہ پیک جہاں پیما خضر  
جس کی پیری میں ہے مانند سحر رنگ شباب  
کہ رہا ہے مجھ سے اے جو بوائے اسرار ازل  
چشمِ دل وا ہو تو ہے تقدیرِ عالمِ نرے حجاب

I was one night busy sight-seeing on the bank of the river,  
And had in the corner of my heart a world of commotion.  
I see, all of a sudden, that "world-measuring messenger"—Khizr,  
Who in old age has the colour of youth, like the morning.  
"O seeker of eternal secrets!" exclaimed he,  
"If the heart's-eye be open, the destiny of the world is unveiled!"

The poet hearing all this, asks Khizr a few questions : "What is the secret of life ? What is Government ?" And further asks about the struggle between capital and labour and the conditions prevailing in the Muslim world. Khizr gives a dignified reply in keeping with his traditional reputation of being a 'globe-trotter.'

Very solemnly, Khizr asks the poet not to be surprised by his wandering day and night : such constant moving is the sign of life :

پختہ تر ہے گردش پیہم سے جام زندگی  
ہے یہی اے بیخبر راز دوام زندگی

Constant circulation makes the cup of life more stable,  
O ignorant one! this is the very secret of our eternal life.

ہو صداقت کے لئے جس دل میں سرنے کی تڑپ  
پہلے اپنے پیکر خاکی میں جاں پیدا کرے

Whosoever desires to lay his life for truth,  
He should first procure a soul in his body of clay.

With reference to الملوك—Khizr gives the meaning of Government, the *Sultianet* :

آ بتاؤں تجھ کو رمز آیہ ان الملوك  
سلطنت اقوام غالب کی ہے اک جادوگری

Come, I will explain to you the secret of the verse : *Inn-'l-Muluk*.  
Government is the art of sorcery practised by the dominating races.

خون اسرائیل آ جاتا ہے آخر جوش میں  
توڑ دیتا ہے کوئی موسیٰ طلسم سامری

The blood of Israel at last boils up one day,  
And a Moses 'breaks' the talisman of Samiri.

The following is a message for the labourer entitled, "Capital and Labour" :

دست دولت آفریں کو مزد یوں ملتی رہی  
اہل ثروت جیسے دیتے ہیں غریبوں کو زکات

The hand that labours all day is paid wages  
As if the rich people give away alms to the poor.

The story of the Muslim world is lamentable :

کیا سناتا ہے مجھے ترک و عرب کی داستان  
مجھ سے کچھ پنہاں نہیں اسلامیوں کا سوز و ساز

What do you relate the story of the Turk and the Arab for?  
The tragedy of the people of Islam is nothing of a secret to me.



لے گئے تثلیث کے فرزند میراث خلیل  
خشت بنیاد کلیسا بن گئی خاک حجاز  
ملک ہاتھوں سے گیا ملت کی آنکھیں کھل گئیں  
حق ترا چشمے عطا کرد است غافل در نگر

The sons of Trinity have carried away the inheritance of Abraham ;  
The dust of Hedjaz has been turned into the foundation stone of Ecclesia.  
As the country passed out of the hands of the nation, its eyes were opened;  
God has given thee eyes, O heedless, try to see !

Now the prevailing conditions were slowly changing. The poet saw that the veil of darkness was lifting and the 'Dawn of Islam' was appearing. He presented a dim picture of the coming time in one of his inspiring poems, *Tulu'-i-Islam*, the Rise of Islam, in March, 1923. The poet had seen the great changes of far-reaching consequences after the Great War. He could well foresee what was going to happen thereafter :

دلیل صبح روشن ہے ستاروں کی تنک تابہی  
اتق سے آفتاب ابھرا گیا دور گراں خوابی  
عروق مردہ مشرق میں خون زندگی دوڑا  
سمجھ سکتے نہیں اس راز کو سینا و فارابی

The dimness of the stars is a sign of the bright morning ;  
The sun is rising above the horizon; the age of deep slumber is gone.  
In the dead veins of the East runs the blood of life,  
This is a secret which Avicenna and Farabi can hardly apprehend.

پرے ہے چرخ نیلی قام سے منزل مسلمان کی  
ستارے جس کی گرد راہ ہوں وہ کارواں تو ہے

Beyond the blue sky is the goal of the Muslim;  
Thou art a caravan whose wayside dust should be the stars.

یہ نکتہ سرگذشت ملت بیضا سے ہے پیدا  
کہ اقوام زمین ایشیا کا پاسباں تو ہے

This point is made clear by the story of the Islamic people—  
Thou art the warden of the nations of Asia so brave.

There are a few *ghazals* in the third part of the *Bang*. Among them the following verses are appreciable :

زندگی کی رہ پہ چل لیکن ذرا بیچ بیچ کے چل  
یہ سمجھ لے کوئی مینا خانہ بار دوشی ہے

Walk along the path of life, but walk with caution ;  
Know that there is a glass-house on thy shoulders !

پردہ چہرے سے اٹھا انجمن آرائی کر  
چشم مہر و مہ و انجم کو تماشائی کر

Lift the veil from thy face and adorn the assembly ;  
Let the eyes of the sun, the moon and the stars be lookers-on !

تو جنس محبت ہے قیمت ہے گراں تیری  
کم مایہ ہیں سوداگر اس دیس میں ارزاں ہو

Thou art the stock of love, but thy price is heavy ;  
As the traders are poor, lower thy rate in this land !

جو میں سر بسجده ہوا کبھی تو زمین سے آنے لگی صدا  
ترا دل تو ہے صنم آشنا تجھے کیا ملے گا نماز میں

Whenever I executed a *sajdah*, a voice came from the floor ;  
"Thy heart is friendly with the idol ; how will thy prayer benefit thee ?

Iqbal for some time wrote humorous verses after the style of Akbar of Allahabad, but being a philosopher, he found it difficult to avoid philosophical reflections. He could not carry on for long in this strain. Yet all that he wrote has the Iqbalian ring :

شیخ صاحب بھی تو پردے کے کوئی حاسی نہیں  
مفت میں کالج کے لڑکے ان سے بدظن ہو گئے  
وعظ میں فرما دیا کل آپ نے یہ صاف صاف  
پردہ آخر کس سے عوجب مرد عی زن ہو گئے

Sheikh Sahib himself is not much of a supporter of *pardah*;  
The college students were for no reason displeased with him.  
Yesterday, he said in unequivocal terms at last,  
"Who shall wear a veil when men have turned into women ?"

#### ASRAR-O-RUMUZ

ASRAR-O-RUMUZ, as the two poems of Iqbal, *Asrar-i-Khudi* (the Secrets of the Self) and *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* (the Mysteries of Selfless-



ness) are called, may be taken to be the foundation-stones of Iqbal's teachings. *Asrar-i-Khudi* was first published at Lahore in 1915 and *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* followed it shortly.

The conception of human entity, its fate and a natural desire to preserve it, has since the dawn of humanity given birth to various systems of philosophy, and thinkers of all ages have endeavoured to explain this mystic aspect of life according to the best of their ability. Iqbal, being a student of religion, philosophy and history and a member of a nation in distress, was naturally more concerned with the question of human destiny.

The importance of the Self and its potentialities have ever been recognised in religion and mysticism. A well known tradition, so often quoted in Sufistic circles, runs : من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

"Whosoever knoweth himself hath known God."

But the question as to the preservation or annihilation of the Self has not been clearly enunciated.

Hindu pantheism believes in the absorption of the soul in the universal life as the aim of all human activity. Buddhism regards the death of all desire as the source of all peace. There are many other systems of thought that ultimately lead to self-immolation; even Christianity did not escape the influence of such teachings. Human salvation is the sole object of all useful thought that has come to us through the ages.

Iqbal's philosophy is primarily based on religion. He supports it with modern philosophy, though he does not believe in some aspects of modern thought, yet he makes full use of it so far as it helps to understand religion. As he is a firm believer in intuition, he appears to attach little importance to discursive reasoning.

*Asrar-o-Rumuz* presents a theme almost continuous. The former is concerned with the development and growth of the individual; the latter deals with society—a phase in continuation.

To Iqbal, the Self is something real, capable of development and preservation here and hereafter, and a struggle to this end is the noblest of all the human pursuits and every thought and action leading to the weakening and ultimate deterioration of the Self is the basic cause of human decay. From this point of view, Iqbal is a realist and his poetry

is a message of hope and assurance in contradistinction to the idealistic teachings of the latter-day mystics and poets. It is no wonder that his criticism of Hafiz was the cause of angry protests from Sufi circles where Hafiz is regarded as a highly venerable exponent of mystic thought. But as the passage had served the poet's purpose, it was later on cancelled in the second edition of the poem.

Based on the close study of Eastern and Western thought, Iqbal developed his own system of philosophy, of which, however, according to Dr. Nicholson, *Asrar-i-Khudi* gives no systematic account. It should be noted here that Iqbal is a poet and as such the presentation of his thought in the form of poetry is a handicap to the philosopher. As a poet, he appeals to the heart with burning sincerity, which would be otherwise difficult in philosophical prose. The contents of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* have, however, a universal appeal. As Iqbal is conscious that his teachings will be better understood in the future, he says :

نغمہ ام از زخمہ بے پرواستم  
من نوائے شاعر فرداستم

I am a song, unmindful of the plectrum ;

I am the voice of the poet of to-morrow.

Being a student of modern philosophy, he has much in common with Bergson and Nietzsche, but he materially differs from them where they are not in conjunction with his thought. While studying Iqbal, it should be borne in mind that he is a Muslim philosopher and does not get away from Islam even for a single moment in the flight of his philosophical imagination. Being a thinker of universal inclinations, to him religion always means Islam. His strength of feeling and burning passion may have a resemblance to Shelley and may even be likened to the Greek poet, Pindar, whose genius "scorned all restraints of traditional rule and won his triumph by the sheer vehemence of masterful inspiration," but Iqbal is a personality by himself.

The metre and form of *Asrar-i-Khudi* have a close likeness to that of Rumi's *Ma'hamawi*. In the introduction, the poet relates the appearance of Rumi in a vision who bade him take a draught of the pure wine and abandon silent wailings. Rumi is a great source of inspiration to Iqbal, but the latter has no sympathy for the former's doctrine of self-abandonment and rejects his pantheistic views.



At the request of Dr. Nicholson, of Cambridge, Iqbal drew up a statement of his philosophical views on the contents of *Asrar-i-Khudi*. It would be interesting to note it here.

With reference to Professor Bradley's words, that experience should take place in finite centres and should wear the form of finite this-ness is in the end inexplicable. Iqbal says : "To my mind, this inexplicable finite centre of experience is a fundamental fact of the Universe. All life is individual; there is no such thing as universal self. God, himself, is an individual : He is the most unique individual. The Universe, as Dr. McTaggart says, is an association of individuals ; but we must add that the orderliness and adjustment which we find in this association is not eternally achieved and complete in itself. It is the result of intuitive or conscious effort. We are gradually travelling from chaos to cosmos and are helpers in this achievement. Nor are the members of the association fixed ; new members are coming to birth to co-operate in this great task. Thus the Universe is not a complete act : it is still in the course of formation. There can be no complete truth about the Universe, for the Universe has not yet become 'whole'. The process of creation is still going on and man too takes his share in it, inasmuch as he helps to bring order into at least a portion of the chaos. The Quran indicates the possibility of other creators than God.

"The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique. He who comes nearest to God is the completest person. Not that he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary, he absorbs God into himself. Life is a forward assimilative movement. The Ego attains freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determined and anything that fortifies personality is good. Anything that weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality, as love fortifies the Ego, asking (*Su'ul*) weakens it.

"The Ego in its movement towards uniqueness has to pass through three stages :—

- (a) Obedience to the Law.
- (b) Self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or Ego-hood.

(c) Divine vicegerency.

Thus the kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth. Nietzsche had a glimpse of this ideal race, but his atheism and aristocratic prejudices marred his whole conception."

#### ASRAR-I-KHUDI

*Asrar-i-Khudi*, embracing the active conception of life, aims at the protection, growth and development of the Self: Desire, so the theme goes, is the fountain of life and is a driving force which manifests itself as human activity. Asking or (*Su'al*) weakens the Self while Love fortifies the soul and by it the Self gains dominion over the universal forces.

The poet denounces the doctrine of Self-negation and warns Muslims against the teachings of the Greek idealist, Plato. The education of the Self requires it to pass through three stages as stated above.

The object of the Muslim's life is to exalt the word of God, and *Jihad* (War for Truth), if prompted by land-hunger, is unlawful in Islam.

The poet with a fresh message compares himself to a new-born sun :

در جهان خورشید نوزائیده ام  
رسم و آئین فلک نا دیده ام

I am like a new-born sun in the wide world ;

I have not yet seen the 'custom and code' of the heavenly sphere.

The poet pays a tribute to the inspiration he received from Rumi :

پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد  
از غبارم جلوه ها تعمیر کرد

Pir-i-Rumi turned my dust into Elixir,

So he raised 'lights of beauty' out of my dust.

The poet describes the object of writing this poem :



شاعری زین مثنوی مقصود نیست  
بت پرستی بت گری مقصود نیست

Poetising is not the object of the *Mathnawi* :

Idol-worshipping as well as idol-making is not its object.

پارسی از رفعت اندیشه ام  
در خورد با فطرت اندیشه ام

Persian on account of my lofty thought ;

Suits my nature (and mode of expression).

The following verses are expositions of the poet's teachings in relation to the realisation of the Self :

پیکر هستی ز آثار خودی است  
هرچه می بینی ز اسرار خودی است

The form of Existence is an effect of the Self,

All that thou seest is from amongst the secrets of the Self.

صد جهان پوشیده اندر ذات او  
غیر او پیداست از اثبات او

A hundred worlds are hidden in the Self,

Self-affirmation leads to 'Not-Self'.

وا نمودن خویش را خوئے خودی است  
خفته در هر ذره نیروئے خودی است

To manifest itself is the nature of the Self,

In every particle sleeps the might of the Self.

زندگانی را بقا از مدعا است  
کاروانش را درا از مدعا است  
زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است  
اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است

Life lasts as long as there is purpose.

The bell of its Caravan is there owing to its purpose,

Life is hidden in going out in search ;

Its origin lies shrouded in one's desire !

علم از سامان حفظ زندگی است  
علم از اسباب تقویم خودی است

Knowledge is an instrument for the protection of life;  
Knowledge is only a means of strengthening the Self.

نقطه نورے کہ نام او خودی است  
زیر خاک ما شرار زندگی است  
از محبت می شود پاینده تر  
زنده تر سوزنده تر تابنده تر

The point of light, which is called the Self,  
Is the very spark of life beneath our dust.  
By love it is made more lasting and firm,  
More living, more burning, more effulgent !

کیمیا پیدا کن از مشت گلے  
بوسه زن بر آستان کاملے

Procure alchemy (gold) out of a handful of dust ;  
Hasten to kiss the threshold of a Perfect Man !

The poet's conception of the Perfect Man has a reference to the Holy Prophet :

در دل مسلم مقام مصطفیٰ است  
آبروئے ما ز نام مصطفیٰ است

The heart of the Muslim is the abode of Mustafa:  
Our glory is due to the name of the Holy Prophet.

اے خنک آن تشنه کاندرا آفتاب  
می نخواهد از خضر یک جام آب

Happy is the man who, though thirsty in the sun,  
Does not beg of Khizar a cup of water in such need

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود  
قوتش فرمانده عالم شود

When the Self is strengthened by love,  
Its power gains dominion over the world.



گوسفندی در لباس آدم است  
حکم او بر جان صوفی محکم است

He (Plato) is a sheep in the garb of man ;  
His order dominates the soul of the Sufi.

وای قومے کز اجل گیرد برات  
شاعرش وابوسد از ذوق حیات

Woe to the nation that gives itself up to death :  
And its poet turns away from life !

در اطاعت کوش اے غفلت شعار  
می شود از جبر پیدا اختیار

Strive for obedience, O heedless !  
Compulsion leads to option at last !

هر که بر خود نیست فرمانش روان  
می شود فرمان پذیر از دیگران

Whosoever does not govern himself,  
He shall be governed by others perforce.

نائب حق در جهاں بودن خوش است  
بر عناصر حکمران بودن خوش است

It is good to be the Representative of God :  
It is pleasant to rule over the elements.

هر که خنجر بهر غیر الله کشید  
تیغ او در سینه او آرمید

Whosoever draws the sword for anything else but God,  
His sword rests in his own heart, sad and broken.

## RUMUZ-I-BAIKHUDI

INDIVIDUALLY, a man is a unit of human society. It is the primary duty of man to look after himself as a single entity—the Ego. *Asrar-i-Khudi* deals with the expression of the Self. Beyond the circle of the Ego is the wider circle of society, where the individual enters a wider self and merges into society, and contributes to the conception of the "National Self", as Iqbal calls it. *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* (the

Mysteries of Selflessness) deals with life in society or of a nation. Its principles are of universal application, but the poet refers to the life of the Islamic community and aims at the creation of a stable basis, through unity, of the social edifice.

The following are the subjects of discussion in *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* :—

Society owes its existence to the mutual contact of individuals, and its perfection depends on Prophethood. Among the fundamental pillars of the Islamic nation, the first pillar is Unity. Despair, grief and fear are the root-causes of all evil and destory life. Unity however, removes all these maladies. The second pillar is Prophethood. The chief aim of Muhammad's prophethood is the formation and foundation of freedom, equality and brotherhood of mankind. As Islamic society is based on Unity and Prophethood, it is not confined to any particular place. The native land as such is not the basis of Islamic Society, Millat. The Islamic society has no time limit as well, because the eternity of this noble society is *promised*. The national system does not come into existence without a code, and the code of the Islamic people is the Holy Quran. During a period of deterioration *taglid* is better than *ijtihad*. The stability of national character depends upon following the Divine Code. The beauty of national character depends upon adopting the manners of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. National life demands a perceptible centre, and the centre for all Islamic people is the Holy Kaaba.

True solidarity depends on a national goal and the goal for the Islamic people is the protection and propagation of Unity. The extension of national life depends on the conquest of the forces of the world system. The perfection of national life is that the nation should, like an individual, have the conception of the Self. The creation and perfection of this conception, however, becomes possible by the preservat<sup>n</sup> of national traditions. Preservation of the human race depends on motherhood and the protection and respect for motherhood is one of the genuine concerns of Islam.

Fatima (Our Lady of Paradise) is a perfect example for Muslim women.

The following verses bring out the meaning of *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi* :—



فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است  
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است

The connection of an individual with society is a boon;  
Its reality attains perfection through society.

فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود  
قطره وسعت طلب قلزم شود

When the individual loses his entity in society;  
The drop that seeks vastness turns into the Red Sea.

فطرتش وا رفته یکتائی است  
حفظ او از انجمن آرائی است

His nature is obsessed with 'oneness'.  
His protection is due to his appearance in society.

در جهان کیف و کم گردید عقل  
نه به منزل برد از توحید عقل

Wisdom wandered in the world of 'how and how much';  
It reached the goal through Unity alone.

برگ را سامان ز قطع آرزو است  
زندگانی محکم از لا تقنطوا است

Lack of desire leads one to death;  
Life is stable through "Do not despair!"

حق تعالی پیکر ما آفرید  
وز رسالت در تن ما جان دید

God Almighty created our form,  
And through Prophethood gave us life.

جوهر ما با مقامی بسته نیست  
بادۀ تندش بجامی بسته نیست

Our reality is not confined to some place;  
Its strong wine is not confined to the cup.

تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند  
نوع انسان را قبائل ساختند

As they made 'native land' the candle of the assembly,  
The human race has been divided into tribes and teams.

## THE POET OF THE EAST

ملتی را رفت چوں آئین زدست  
مثل خاک اجزائی او از هم شکست

When a nation gives up its code of honour,  
Like dust, its particles break away.

راه آبا رو که این جمیعت است  
معنئی تقلید ضبط ملت است

Follow the path of thy ancestors ; that is solidarity—  
The meaning of *taqlid* is preservation of the people.

زا جتهاد عالمان کم نظر  
اقتدا بر رفتگان محفوظ تر

Safer than the *ijtihad* of the short-sighted Ulema  
Is to follow the example of the forebears.

طینت پاک مسلمان گوهر است  
آب و تابش از یم پیغمبر است

The sacred nature of the Muslim is like a pearl—  
All its lustre is due to the Prophet's ocean.

ماسوا از بهر تسخیر است و بس  
سینه او عرضه تیر است و بس

Everything, besides God, is to be conquered,  
Its bosom is the target of an arrow, to be sure.

پوشش عریانی مردان زن است  
حسن دلجو عشق را پیراهن است

Woman is a garment for the nakedness of men :  
Her ravishing beauty is the attire for Love !

## PIYAM-I-MASHRIQ

THE causes which led to the writing of the *Piyam-i-Mashriq* (the Message of the East) may better be stated in the words of the poet himself.

*Piyam-i-Mashriq*, says Iqbal in his preface, was written in response to the German Philosopher of Life, Goethe's Western *Diwan*, which in the words of the Israelite poet of Germany, Heine; is a bouquet of feelings of admiration sent by the West to the East.



Goethe from his early youth was inclined to Eastern thought. In 1812, von Heimer published the full translation of the Diwan of Khwaja Hafiz and this translation laid the foundation of the Oriental movement in German literature. Goethe was then 65 years of age and this was the time when the social collapse of the German nation had reached, in a sense, its lowest ebb. Goethe's nature was not suited to take a practical part in the political movements of his country and being disgusted with the disturbed conditions of Europe, he found for himself a blissful abode in the Eastern atmosphere of literature and folklore. The melody of Hafiz caused a great commotion in the waters of his thought which eventually took the stable form of his *Western Diwan*.

The aim of the *Piyam-i-Mashriq* is to present moral, religious and national truths, which have their relation with the inner development of individuals and nations.

There is a certain resemblance between the conditions prevailing in Germany a hundred years ago and the present state of the Orient. But the truth is that this internal discontentment of the nations of the world, the real importance of which we are unable to realise for the mere reason that we are ourselves affected by it, is the sign of a great spiritual and cultural change. The Great War was a world-shaking event, which destroyed the system of the old world, and now nature is busy in building a new world for the rehabilitation of modern man out of the ashes of the old civilization and culture, a dim picture of which may be observed in the writings of Einstein and Bergson.

The East, particularly the Muslim East, has opened its eyes after a continuous sleep of centuries. The nations of the West realise that life cannot cause a change until there is a change in its inner depths, and no new world can come into existence unless it primarily takes form in the human mind. This simple law of nature which is expressed by the Quran in the simple words :

ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم

—governs all the individual and social aspects of life and I, the poet, have endeavoured in my Persian writings to keep the same truth in view.

The *Piyam* was dedicated to Amanullah Khan, the ex-King of

Afghanistan. *Peshkash*, a present, as the introductory verses are entitled, sets forth the reason for writing the *Piyam*. The difference between Goethe and Iqbal being :

او چمن زاده چمن پرورده

من دمیدم از زمین مرده

He (Goethe) was born in the garden as he was nourished therein :

As for myself, I sprang up from a dead soil, alas !

The poet is deeply conscious of the conditions around him :—

از هنر سرمایه دارم کرده اند

در دیار هند خوارم کرده اند

لاله و گل از نوایم بے نصیب

طائریم در گستان خود غریب

بسکه گردون سفلہ و دون پرور است

وائے بر مرده که صاحب جوهر است

They have made me wealthy by the gift of Art,

But have exposed me to insult in the Indian realm.

The Tulip as well as the Rose unfortunately takes no benefit from my song.

I am a bird—a stranger in my own garden !

Since the Planetary System is mean and a patron of the low,

Woe to the person who is a man of skill !

The *Piyam* has many parts. *Lala-i-Tur*, the Tulip of Mount Sinai, covers one hundred and sixty-three quatrains, which disclose the various secret truths about love, life, and its problems.

*Afkar* (thoughts) includes many beautiful poems such as *Taskhir-i-Filrat* (Conquest of Nature), *Fasl-i-Bahar* (The Spring Season), *Sarod-i-Anjum* (The Song of Stars), *Kirm-i-Kitabi* (The Book Worm), *Hudi* (The Song of a Camel-driver), *Kashmir* and *Ghani Kashmiri*...

*Mai-i-Baqi* (The Residuary Wine) is a collection of *ghazals* of a high standard, written in the style of the great masters of Persian verse. *Naqsh-i-Farang* contains verses on European problems and great men of the Continent, such as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Einstein, Hegel, Bergson and Lenin. *Kharid* (The Ruby Wine) is the concluding portion of the book with a miscellany of verse.



The teachings of *Piyam-i-Mashriq* are reflected in the following verses :—

ترا - از خویشتن - بیگانه سازد  
من آن آئے طر بنا کے نذارم  
بیازارم مجو دیگر متاعے  
چو گل جز سینہ چا کے نذارم

That makes thee a stranger to thyself—

I have no such pleasure-giving water,

In my bazaar, do not look for any other valuable ;

Like a flower, I have nothing but a wounded breast !

من از بود و نبود خود خموشم  
اگر گویم کہ ہستم خود ہرستم  
ولیکن این نوائے سادہ کیست  
کسے در سینہ می گوید کہ ہستم

am silent as to my existence or non-existence—

I say 'I am,' I am a worshipper of the Self, indeed!

But whose simple inspiring voice is it?

Someone in my breast seems to say 'I am'.

بدریا غلط و باموجش در آویز  
حیات جاودان اندر ستیز است

Come into conflict with the sea and get entangled with its waves,

For eternal life is in conflict and strife, to be sure !

سکندر رفت و شمشیر و علم رفت  
خراج شہر و گنج کان و یم رفت  
اسم را از شہاں پایندہ تر دان  
نمی بینی کہ ایران ماند و جم رفت

Alexander the Great is gone; the sword and banner are no more :

The tribute of the city and the treasures of the mine and sea are no more !

Surely the nations are more lasting than the kings ;

Dost thou not see that Iran has remained and Jamshid is no more !

حجرہ نشینی گزار گوشہ ضحرا گزیں  
بر لب جوئے نشین  
آب روان را بہ یں  
نرگس ساز آفریں

لخت دل فرودین

پوسه زنش بر جبین

حجره نشینی گزار گوشه صحرای گزین

Refrain from reposing in the chamber; occupy a corner in the forest!

Sit awhile on the bank of a stream;

Look at the bright flowing water!

The Narcissus, with its airs and graces—

A fragment of the heart of Farvadin!

Print a kiss on her forehead and—

Refrain from reposing in the chamber; occupy a corner in the forest!

بخود خزیده و محکم چو کوهساران زی

چو خس مزی که هوا تیز و شعله بیباک است

Live like mountains stuck fast and concealed in thy Self:

Do not live like a straw, as the wind is violent and the flame is fearless.

تپش می کند زنده تر زندگی را

تپش می دهد بال و پر زندگی را

Restlessness makes life more alive:

Agitation gives wings to life!

ناقه سیار من

آهویی تاتار من

درهم و دینار من

اندک و بسیار من

دولت بیدار من

تیز ترک کام زن منزل ما دور نیست

O my strolling dromedary!

O my Tartar deer—

My Drachma and Dinar

My 'little and much'.

My wakeful valuable,

Step a little faster; our goal is not so far!

ساحل افتاده گفت گرچه بس زیستم

هیچ نه معلوم شد آه که من چیستم

موج ز خود رفته تیز خرامید و گفت

هستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم

The humble coast said, "Although I have lived so long,

Ah! Little have I known what actually I am."



The passionate wave rolled fast and said,  
"I am, if I roll; if I don't, I am not."

آدم از بے بصری بندگانى آدم کرد  
گوهرے داشت ولے نذر قباد و جم کرد  
یعنی از خوئے غلامی زسگان خوار تراست  
من ندیدم کہ سگے پیش سگے سر خم کرد

Through blindness man became a slave to man;  
He had a pearl but presented it to Kubad and Jamshid—  
Owing to his slavish nature, he is more miserable than a dog;  
Never have I seen a dog bowing his head before another dog.

گریز از طرز جمهورى غلام پخته کارے شو  
کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر انسانے نمی آید

Run away from Democracy; be a slave to a Wise One,  
For even the brains of two hundred asses can not produce a single man's  
thought!

بهار برگ پراگندہ را بہم بر بست  
نگاہ ماست کہ بر لالہ رنگ و آب افزود

Spring brought together the scattered leaves—  
It is our vision that adds colour and lustre to the poppy.

بہ خاک ہند نوائے حیات بے اثر است  
کہ مردہ زندہ نگردد ز نغمہ داؤد

In India, the voice of life is ineffective—  
For the dead body cometh not to life through David's song.

یک نگہ یک خندہ یک تابندہ اشک  
بہر پیمان محبت نیست سوگندے دگر

A look, a secret smile, a lustrous tear—  
For the promise of love, there is no other oath!

بہ کیش زندہ دلاں زندگی جفا طلبی است  
سفر بکعبہ نکردم کہ راہ بے خطر است

According to the faith of the live-hearted, life is to seek hardships;  
I did not undertake a journey to the Kaaba as the road is safe.

ز خاک خویش به تعمیر آدمی برخیز  
که فرصت تو بقدر تبسم شرر است

Rise to make a man out of thy dust...  
As the time at your disposal is momentary like the smile of a spark !

نوائے من یہ عجم آتش کهن افروخت  
عرب ز نعمۂ شوقم هنوز بے خبر است

My voice has enkindled the old fire in 'Ajam ;  
Arabia, however, is still ignorant of my passionate song.

تو قدر خویش ندانی بها ز تو گیرد  
وگر نه لعل درخشنده پاره سنگ است

Thou knowest not thy own value as it takes its value from thee ;  
Otherwise, the luminous ruby is nothing but a piece of humble stone.

آشنا هر خار را از قصه ما ساختی  
در بیابان جنون بردی و رسوا ساختی

Thou hast made every thorn intimate with our story—  
Leading us to a wilderness of passion and humiliation at last.

اگرچه زاده ہندم فروغ چشم من است  
ز خاک پاک بخارا و کابل و تبریز

Although born in India, the light of my eyes is—  
From the sacred dust of Bukhara, Kabul and Tabriz !

چشم بکشائے اگر چشم تو صاحب نظر است  
زندگی در پئے تعمیر جهان دگر است

Open thy eye, if thy eye can see at all ;  
Life is after creating another world !

ندارد کار با دود همتان عشق  
تدرو نرودہ را شاہیں نگیرد

Love has no concern with the faint-hearted ;  
The falcon does not catch the dead partridge.



## ZABUR-I-'AJAM

*Zabur-i-'Ajam* (the Psalms of Persia) is another famous work of Iqbal which comprises two parts of *ghazals*, *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* (the New Garden of Secrets) and *Bandagi Nama* (the Book of Slavery).

*Zabur-i-'Ajam* aims at the creation of a new spirit in the rising youth—جوانان نو نیاز and the awakening of the Islamic lands. *Zabur* is a familiar word from *Za'ur-i-Daud*. The Psalms of David are reputed to have a revivifying effect on life and society :

خاکم به نور نغمه داؤد بر فروز

—'Light up my dust with the light of David's song.' The word '*Ajam*' is used for all lands other than Arabia (particularly Persia). As the secrets of Rum and Tabriz are intimately known to the poet, the meaning of *Zabur-i-'Ajam* is clear enough. The *ghazals* of the *Zabur* represent a wide range and a high standard of Persian lyricism.

*Gulshan-i-Raz (Jadid)* is written in response to *Gulshan-i-Raz* of Mahmud Shabistari—a treatise well known in mystic literature. It was originally written in response to nine questions put by a Sufi. In the Twentieth century, Iqbal undertook to answer the nine original questions in the light of modern thought, hence the name of Iqbal's work—*Gulshan-i-Raz (Jadid)*.

*Bandagi Nama* (the Book of Slavery) is an equally important part of the book as it describes the evil effects of slavery :—

از غلامی دل بمیرد در بدن از غلامی روح گردد بار تن

The heart dies in the body owing to slavery ;

Thus the soul becomes a burden to the body.

The most interesting part of *Bandagi Nama* is in a sense the description of the fine arts of the slave nations and their religion.

The spirit of *Zabur-i-'Ajam* shines through the following verses :—

یا رب درون سینه دل با خبر بده

در باده نشه را نگرم آن نظر بده

Allah ! give me a well-informed heart in my breast,

Grant me the sight that sees intoxication in wine !

خاکم بہ نور نغمہ داؤد برافروز ہر ذرۂ مرا پر وبال شرر بدہ

Light up my dust with the light of David's song ;  
Give every particle of mine the wings of a spark !

بہ نیستان عجم باد صبحدم تیز است  
شرارہ کہ فرو می چکد ز ساز آور

The morning wind blows fast in the reeds of 'Ajam,  
Produce the spark that trickles down the instrument !

ریگ عراق منتظر کشت حجاز تشنہ کام  
خون حسین باز دہ کوفہ و شام خویش را

The sands of Iraq are waiting; the crop of Hedjaz is thirsty.  
Give again the blood of Husain to Thy Kufa and Sham !

آن فقر کہ بے تیغی صد کشور دل گیرد  
از شوکت دارا بہ از فر فریدون بہ

Faqr which conquers a hundred lands without the sword  
Is better than the glory of Darius and the grandeur of Faridun.

یا مسلمان رامدہ فرمان کہ جاں بر کف بنہ  
یا دریں فرسودہ پیکر تازہ جانے آفریں  
یا چنان کن یا چنی

Order him not to place his soul on the palm of his hand !  
Or, create a fresh soul in the antique body of the Muslim—  
Do it this way or that !

او بیک دانہ گندم بزمینم انداخت  
تو بیک جرعہ آب آنسوئے افلاک انداز

He, with a single grain of wheat threw me on the earth;  
You now throw me with a single draught on the other side of the celestial sphere !

از من بروں نیست منزلیگہ من من بے نصیم راہ تیا ہم

My abode is not outside myself, to be sure;  
I am unlucky as I do not find the way.

فرصت کشمکش مدہ این دل بے قرار را  
یک دو شکن زیادہ کن گیسوئے تایدار را

Let not the restless heart be free from strife;  
Add one or two curls to thy curled up locks !



فتنه را کہ دو صد فتنہ با آغوشش بود  
دخترے هست کہ در مہد فرنگ است ہنوز

The disorder that had two hundred mischiefs in its bosom  
Hath a daughter which is yet in the cradle of Europe !

تا تو بیدار شوی نالہ کشیدم ورنہ  
عشق کارے است کہ بے آہ و فغان نیز کنند

So that you might wake up, I cried aloud, otherwise ;  
Love is a task which is performed even without a sigh or cry !

عمرہا در کعبہ و بتخانہ می نالد حیات  
تا ز بزم عشق یک دانائے راز آید برون

Life cries in the Kaaba and Idol-house for many ages  
Till, from the assembly of love comes out a Wise One.

گفتند جہان ما آیا بتو می سازد  
گفتم کہ نمی سازد گفتند کہ برہم زن

They said, "Is our world agreeable to you?"  
I said, "No;" they added, "Upset it!"

زمین بہ پشت خود الوند و بے ستون دارد  
غبار ماست کہ بر دوش او گراں بود است

The earth bears on its back the Behistun and the Alwand ;  
It is our dust which is heavy on its shoulders, alas !

خواجہ از خون رگ مزدور سازد لعل ناب  
از جفائے دہ خدایاں کشت دہقانان خراب  
انقلاب!

انقلاب! اے انقلاب!

The master makes a pure ruby of the blood in the labourer's vein :  
Because of the high-handedness of landlords the peasants' farm is laid waste.

Change ! O Change !

خود را کنم سجودے دیر و جرم نماندہ  
این در عرب نماندہ آن در عجم نماندہ

I bow my head in prayer to myself ; the temple and the mosque are no more :  
This is no more in Arabia ; that is no more in Persia !

## THE POET OF THE EAST

شرارے جستہ گیر از درونم  
 کہ من مانند رومی گرم خونم  
 وگر نه آتش از تہذیب نو گیر  
 برون خود بیفروز اندرون میر

Take a spark, sprung up from my heart,  
 For I am warm blooded like Rumi:  
 Otherwise, take the fire from the new civilization—  
 Light up thy outside and die in the dark within!

مرگ ها اندر فنون بندگی      من چه گویم از فنون بندگی

There is many a death in the arts of slavery:  
 The magic of slavery is simply indescribable.

دین و دانش را غلام ارزاں دهد      تا بدن را زندہ دارد جاں دهد

The slave gives away his religion and wisdom—so cheap,  
 In order to be able to keep his body alive, he gives away his soul.

## JAVID NAMA

*Javid Nama* (the Book of Eternity), one of Iqbal's later Persian works, was published in 1932.

It is said that Iqbal had an idea to write a *Mi'raj Nama* after the style of *Gulshan-i-Raz* (*Jadid*) with a view to throwing light on the ascension of the Prophet to the heavens in relation to modern thought. But in the meantime a good deal of valuable criticism on the famous Italian poet, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, was published which proved to the hilt that the whole of the celestial plot of Dante's work was directly based on the events that have been described in the traditions of the holy Prophet Muhammad in connection with his ascension and was mainly copied from *Futuhut* of Ibn-i-Arabi. This diverted Iqbal's attention to describe Iqbal's ascension after the style of Dante from a literary point of view to enjoy the height of flight in the sphere of thought and vision.

The title of *Javid Nama*, to a great extent, suggests that it is after the name of Javid Iqbal, the younger son of Iqbal. In this sense there is a supplement to *Javid Nama* which is particularly the sphere of addressed to Javid and the younger generation alike.



*Divine Comedy*, one of the great epics of the world, was called by Dante simply *Comedia* because the book ends happily. As the book grew popular, the word 'divine' was added by Dante's admirers later on. It is divided into three parts—*L'Inferno*, *Il Purgatorio*, and *Il Paradiso*—and describes the poet's journey, who passes through Hell and Purgatory with Vergil as his guide, and Beatrice conducts him through Paradise. She was a Florentine lady of a noble family whom Dante loved. The theme of Dante's *Vita Nuova* (New Life) is his idealized love for her. After her death, the poet's love assumed a supernatural and mystical form and he made her the central figure of the *Divine Comedy*.

During his visit to the various planets, Iqbal is accompanied by Rumi (Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the famous mystic saint) as Dante was guided by Vergil. Like Dante, Iqbal presents in *Javid Nama* his views on all what was happening around him, exposing the ostensibly invisible truths of life, and fearlessly criticises the modern age.

*Javid Nama* opens with a short preface of two verses which refer to the possibility of life in other planets before man reaches the Eternal Region. The idea is not far from the scientific theories relating to life on Mars and other planets and is equally based on the suggestions of the Prophet's interviews with so many prophets on his ascension.

گمان مبر کہ ہمیں خاکدان نشین ماست

کہ ہر ستارہ جہان است یا جہاں بود است

Do not suppose that this Earth is our only abode ;  
Every star is a world or has been a world.

The poet has no faith in the old generation and prays :

بر جوانان سہل کن حرف مرا بہر شان پایاب کن ژرف مرا

Make my word easy for the young men :  
Make my deep fordable for them.

In the "Heavenly Introduction," the sky censures the Earth to the effect that dust, even though it be Alwand, is nothing but dust and is in no case as bright and stable as the Heavens. The Earth being ashamed complains to God and a complaisant voice from the other side of the celestial sphere was heard :

اے امینے از امانت بے خبر غم مخور اندر ضمیر خود نگر

O. Trustee! ignorant of the trust you bear,  
Do not feel aggrieved, look into your mind!

Towards the end of the "Earthly Introduction" is the explanation of the secrets of the Prophet's ascension by Rumi who accompanied the poet on his visit to the Heavens.

Just before the start, the poet, thirsty and far from the bank of the spring, was singing a *ghazal* of Rumi, till the sun set and Rumi appeared.

روح رومی پرده ها را بردرید از پس که پاره آمد پدید

The soul of Rumi tore the veils asunder,  
And from behind the mountain a fragment appeared.

The poet asks him many philosophical questions as to *وجود* (Existent) and *ناوجود* (Non-existent) and the soul of Rumi answers them. The poet further requests Rumi to illustrate the ultimate Self. Rumi's illuminating conversation incites the poet to a heavenly flight. In the meantime, the spirit of Time and Space, *Zarwan* as it is called by the poet, appears in the form of an angel. In this part the poet elucidates the conception of time and space and its reality as presented by the Quran and the Prophet's traditions.

The poet now starts his ascension and approaches the moon first. Rumi shows the poet forbidding mountains. In a cave of the moon they meet an ancient sage from India, whom the Indians call *وشوامتر* (Jehān Dost). He puts many questions to Rumi :

چیست عالم چیست آدم چیست حق ؟

What is Universe ? What is Man ? What is Reality ?

The poet and his guide then enter the valley of Yarghamid, also called the valley of Tawasin, the name of Mansur-i-Hallaj's book and the name of several *Suras* in the Quran. The teachings of prophets are made manifest and clear on the tablets in the moon.

Thereafter the poet and Rumi reach the planet Mercury. Here they meet the souls of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and Said Halim Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Turkey. During the conversation Rumi introduces Iqbal to Afghani as *Zinda Rud* (Living Stream). Afghani makes enquiries about the Islamic countries and the present conditions of the Muslims. *Zinda Rud* gives a reply and then Afghani explains the true meaning of religion and native land, and cleverly exposes Socialism and Imperialism :—



صاحب سرمایہ از نسل خلیل  
یعنی آن پیغمبر بے جبرئیل  
زانکہ حق در باطل او مضمر است  
قلب او مومن دماغش کافر است  
غربیان گم کرده اند افلاک را  
در شکم جویند جان پاک را  
رنگ و بو از تن نگیرد جان پاک  
جز بتن کارے ندارد اشتراک

The author of *The Capital* from the race of Abraham,  
Karl Marx, the prophet sans Gabriel;  
As truth is mixed with his untruth,  
His heart is a believer and his brain is not!  
The Westerners have lost the Heavens,  
They see the sacred soul in the stomach.  
The holy soul takes not 'colour and smell' from the body;  
Socialism has no concern but with the body.

Said Halim Pasha explains the difference between the East and the West :

غربیان را زیرکی سازحیات      شرقیان را عشق راز کائنات

With the Westerners, wisdom is the instrument of life ;  
The Easterners take love as the secret of this world.

There is a reference to Mustafa Kemal Ata-turk :

ترک را آهنگے نو در چنگ نیست  
تازه اش جز کمہنہ افرنگ نیست

The Turk has no new note in his lute,  
His 'fresh' is nothing but the 'old' of Europe !

Afghani then describes his views on Vicegerency of man and divine Government. The earth belongs to God and wisdom is beneficial and blissful in the sphere of human activities.

Halim Pasha again speaks :

دین کافر فکروتدبیر و جہاد      دین ملا فی سبیل اللہ فساد

The religion of the Infidel is thought, plan and Jihad;  
The Mulla's religion is disorder in the name of God.

Then, there is a message from Afghani to the Russian people.

Afghani further asks Zinda Rud to recite a verse and the latter sings a *ghazal*.

The poet and Rumi then arrive at the planet Venus and Rumi questions : "Do you want to see another world?" and there it was. The poet found there the old gods--Baal and others, some known, some created by the Poet's imagination. They all believe that they have come to life again as the age was without a Khalil or a But-shikan. Baal sings a message of hope, and assuring his comrades that "a good time is coming", thanks Europe :--

زنده باد افرنگی مشرق شناس      آنکه مارا از لحد بیرون کشد

Long live the European who knows the East !

He has pulled us out from the depth of the grave

The travellers now see the souls of Pharaoh and Lord Kitchener in the depths of a river in Venus, because both were drowned in the sea. Both of them look at each other with wonder. Pharaoh then asks Rumi as to how the morning in a stream of light appeared in the depths of the sea, and Rumi explains :

هرچه پنهان است ازو پیداسته  
اصل این نور از ید بیضا سته

All that is hidden is revealed through Him,—

The origin of the light is from the White Hand.

Some time after, the soul of the Dervish of the Sudan comes flying from Paradise and addresses Kitchener :

گفت اے کشر ! اگر داری نظر      انتقام خاک درویشے نگر

Said, "O Kitchener, if thou hast sight,

Watch the revenge of the dust of the Dervish !"

Here is the message given by the Mahdi of the Sudan to the people of Arabia and Africa :—

گفت اے روح عرب بیدار شو      چون نیاگاں خالق اعصار شو

He said, "Wake up, O Spirit of Arabia !

Like thy ancestors be a creator of ages !"

From the planet Venus the travellers move to Mars. Hakim Mirrikhi is the creation of the poet's power of imagination. The Hakim is an astrologer and has widely travelled. He informs the travellers



that the place where they are is in the environs of Marghadin. Here Zinda Rud enters into a dialogue with Hakim Mirrikhi on questions of Fate and Effort—تقدیر و تدبیر and he illustrates his view-point.

After passing a number of places, the travellers reach a city. On one side of the city, there is a multitude of people. A woman is delivering a speech, while her face is instinct with life but her body is totally devoid of spiritual light. Her words are unimpressive and her eyes are dry as she abhors man's company. The sagacious Hakim informs the travellers that the young girl is not from the planet Mars but has been brought here by Farzmuraz from Europe so that she might influence the women of Mars as well. Farzmuraz trained her to be a prophetess, but she now maintains that she has been sent from the Heavens as a warning.

Next, they move to the planet Jupiter where they come across the souls of Mansur-i-Hallaj, Ghalib and Qurrat-ul-Ain, the well known poetess of Persia. "The Voice of Tahira," is the beautiful poem of the poetess :

از پنہ دیدن رخت همچو صبا فتاده ام  
خانه بخانه در بدر کوچه بکوچه کو بکو

In order to see the face, like the zephyr I am fallen,  
From house to house, door to door, street to street and lane to lane !

Mansur also sheds light on *An'-al-Haq*. According to the poet the cry of *An'-al-Haq* was the demonstration of the Self in the extreme sense. Mansur asks Iqbal to be cautious :

آنچه من کردم تو هم کردی بترس

What I have done, thou hast also done, beware !

At the end of these questions, Satan appears and in the planet Saturn, the poet discusses the various aspects of the past and present politics of India. Saturn is regarded by the poet as the abode of those mean souls which, on account of their faithlessness to their country and people, were not admitted by Hell.

The two Taghuts are :—

جعفر از بنگال و صادق از دکن  
تک آدم تک دین تک وطن

Jafar from Bengal and Sadiq from the Deccan—

Insult to man, insult to religion, insult to the native land !

As is well known, Jafar proved faithless to Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula and Sadiq proved false to Tippu Sultan. Later appears the Soul of India lamenting, and the poet discusses the causes of the bondage of India and other political questions.

The last flight is supposed to be on to the other side of the celestial globe but before going there, they visit another world where a man is seen moaning. The poet questioned Rumi :

من به رومی گفتم این دیوانه کیست  
گفت این فرزانه المانوی است

I said to Rumi, "Who is this insane fellow?"

He said, "This is the Wise Man of Germany."

The poet takes him to be a Mansur of his time, but no one understood his teachings and personality. He discussed Christianity and could not find his way to unity. It is true he revolted against the current beliefs of Europe but himself fell a victim to his own imagination :

مستی او هر زجاجی را شکست از خدا بیرید و هم از خود گسست

His intoxication broke every cup and phial ;

He cut himself away from God as well as himself.

The travellers now reach the region of Eternity beyond the Universe. The question of time and space again springs up.

Here the first palace which they sighted was that of Sharaf-un-Nisa Begum, the daughter of Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan and the granddaughter of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan. The two Nawabs were the Governors of the Punjab in the times of Bahadur Shah and Shah Alam. In those days, the Government House of the Punjab was on the site where there is now situated Begumpura, a village lying towards the north of the road leading to the Shalamar Gardens. Begumpura takes its name after the wife of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan. The old Government House is still traceable in the ruined buildings, mosques and mausoleums. Among these is the grave of Sharaf-un-Nisa Begum. She had built a raised platform in the royal palace and a ladder was used to ascend it. As a rule she used to recite the Holy Quran on the platform after the morning prayers. Her father had given her a sword as a present—a token of his affection. After she had finished her daily reading, she used to leave the Quran there with the sword. While dying, she requested to be buried under the platform and the Quran and the sword



to be placed there. According to her wishes she was buried there and a dome was raised. The Quran and the sword were preserved there till 1845-46, when a Sikh Chief ascended the grave and had it opened, hoping to find a treasure therein. He, however, found nothing but removed the Quran and the sword :—

مومنان را تیغ باقران بس است      تربت ما را همین سامان بس است

A sword with the Quran is sufficient for the faithful ;  
These very appurtenances are sufficient for my grave !

خالصہ شمشیر و قرآن را ببرد      اندران کشور مسلمانی ببرد

The Khalsa carried away the sword and the Quran,  
In that land, Islamism died, alas !

After visiting the palace of Sharaf-un-Nisa, they met Syed Ali Hamadani and Mulla Tahir Ghani of Kashmir, and then a question is put to India's ancient poet, Bhartari Hari, "What is verse?"

Passing this scene, they meet Nadir Shah Abdali and the martyr king, Tippu Sultan. Nadir enquires about the present condition of the Persians. Abdali delivers a message to the Afghan nation and warns them against Europeanisation after the manner of the Turks. Tippu Sultan, the lion-hearted, gives a message to Zinda Rud.

The last scenes at the time of leaving Paradise are touching. The houris ask Iqbal to recite a verse. Then there is *Huzur* and *Nida-i-Jamal* :

آن نگینے کہ تو با اهرمنان باخته ای  
ہم بجبریل امینے نتوان کرد گرو

The precious stone, set in the ring, which thou hast lost to the devils,  
Could in no case be mortgaged even to Gabriel !

The last portion of the book—خطاب بہ جاوید—is addressed to the modern generation and incorporates the poet's advice to young men :

در رہ دین سخت چون الماس زی  
دل بحق بریند و بے وسواس زی

In the path of religion, become hard like diamond ;  
Attach thy heart to God and live on fearlessly !

گر نیابی صحبت مرد خبیر      از اب وجد آنچه من دارم بگیر

If thou dost not find the company of a man of knowledge,  
Take from me whatever I have from my ancestors !

## BAL-I-JIBRIL

THE poet had been so far more concerned with Persain poetry. He now turned his attention to Urdu and published a collection of his Urdu poems entitled, *Bal-i-Jibril* (the Wing of Gabriel) in 1935.

The first part of *Bal-i-Jibril* contains sixty-one *ghazals* and a few quatrains. The second part opens with a prayer in the Cordova mosque and other poems written in Spain. Besides, there are miscellaneous poems, most of them topical with reference to men and events in the contemporary world, such as "Lenin in the presence of God. To Javid, The Mulla and Paradise, Politics and Religion. To a Young Man, Philosophy and Religion, Mussolini, To the Punjab Peasants, Khushhal Khan's Will, A Tartar's Dream, etc."

*Bal-i-Jibril* is a very inspiring collection and represents a high standard in the domain of Urdu poetry. The style and form of the *ghazal* has been used in the first part to convey some deeper truths and visions. The following verses are notable :

گرچہ ہے میری جستجو دیر و حرم کی نقشبند  
میری فغان سے رستخیز کعبہ و سومنات میں

Although my search is the painter of the temple and the mosque,  
Resurrection has overtaken the Kaaba and Somnat due to my plaint!

جوانوں کو مری آہ سحر دے  
پھر ان شاہیں بچوں کو بال و پر دے

Give the young men my morning sigh!  
Give again wings to the young ones of the Falcon!

کرم تیرا کہ بے جوہر نہیں ہیں  
غلام طغرل و سنجر نہیں ہیں  
جہاں بینی میری فطرت ہے لیکن  
کسی جمشید کا ساغر نہیں ہیں

Due to thy benevolence, I am not without merit,  
However, I am not a slave of a Tughril or a Sanjar;  
It is my nature to see the world as it is;  
But, in no case, am I the Cup of any Jamshid!



گزر اوقات کر لیتا ہے یہ گہوہ و بیاباں میں  
کہ شاہیں کے لئے ذلت ہے کار آشیان بندی

It passes its time in the mountains and wilderness,  
It is sheer disgrace for the Eagle to build a nest aloft !

زیارت گاہ اہل عزم و ہمت ہے لحد میری  
کہ خاک راہ کو میں نے بتایا راز الوندی

My grave is the shrine of men of courage and will ;  
As I have taught the wayside dust the secret of being Alwand.

پرانے ہیں یہ ستارے فلک بھی فرسودہ  
جہاں وہ چاہئے مجھ کو کہ ہو ابھی لوخیز

These stars are old and the celestial globe is ancient,  
However, I want a world just newly sprung.

بہروسہ کر نہیں سکتے غلاموں کی بصیرت پر  
کہ دنیا میں فقط مردان حر کی آنکھ بینا ہے

We cannot trust the sight of slaves—  
Only the freemen's eye can actually see.

The prayer in the Cordova mosque ;

ہے یہی میری نماز ہے یہی میرا وضو  
میری نواؤں میں ہے میرے جگر کا لہو  
راہ محبت میں ہے کون کسی کا رفیق  
ساتھ میرے رہ گئی ایک میری آرزو  
میرا نشیمن نہیں درگہ میر و وزیر  
میرا نشیمن بھی تو شاخ نشیمن بھی تو  
باس اگر تو نہیں شہر ہے ویراں تمام  
تو ہے تو آباد ہیں اجڑے ہوئے کاخ و کو

This is my prayer : This is my ablution ;  
My songs contain the blood of my heart.  
Who is one's companion along the path of love ?  
My only company has been just my desire.  
My abode is not a noble's chamber or that of a Vizier ;  
Thou art my abode : Thou art the branch of my abode !  
If Thou art not with me, the city is dark and desolate ;  
With Thee are populated the ruined palaces and lanes !

Written in Cordova, Spain :

سلسلہ روز و شب نقش گر حادثات  
سلسلہ روز و شب اصل حیات و ممات

The continuation of day and night is the creator of events ;  
The link of day and night is the root of life and death.

نقطہ پرکار حق مرد خدا کا یقین  
اور یہ عالم تمام وہم و طلسم و مجاز

The belief of a godly man is the point of the compasses of truth.  
And this world—is all a whim, a talisman and unreal !

اللہ کا سو شکر کہ پروانہ نہیں میں  
دریوزہ گر آتش بیگانہ نہیں میں

A hundred thanks to God ; I am not a moth :  
I am not a beggar of a stranger's fire ; Oh, thanks !

هوئی نہ زاغ میں پیدا بلند پروازی  
خواب کر گئی شاہیں بچے کو صحبت زاغ

The crow could not learn to soar high in the sky ;  
The crow's company, however, spoiled the young falcon.

عقابی روح جب بیدار ہوتی ہے جوالوں میں  
نظر آتی ہے ان کو اپنی منزل آسمانوں میں

When the Eagle spirit wakes up in young men,  
Surely, they see their goal in the Heavens !

تن بے روح سے بیزار ہے حق خدائے زندہ زندوں کا خدا ہے  
God is displeased with the soulless body,  
The living God is God of the living !

شہید محبت نہ کافر نہ غازی محبت کی رسمیں نہ ترکی نہ تازی

The martyr of love is neither an infidel, nor a Ghazi :  
The formalities of love are neither Turkish nor Arabian.

راز ہے راز ہے تقدیر جہان تگ و تاز  
جوش کردار سے کھل جاتے ہیں تقدیر کے راز

The destiny of this world of strife is a mystery, indeed ;  
Zeal for action unfolds the secrets of the destiny unknown !



## ZARB-I-KALIM

*Zarb-i-Kalim* (the Stroke of Moses), which is described by the poet to be a 'declaration' of war against the modern age, was published in 1936. The word, *Zarb*, consequently stands for a stroke implying force.

On the first page, the poet offers the 'Wealth of Spring' to His Highness Nawab Sir Hamidullah Khan, the Ruler of Bhopal, with the hope that "the flower might remain fresher in his hand than on the branch."

The book concerns the modern age and its problems. The first portion is devoted to poems on Islam and the Muslims. The second deals with Teaching and Education. The third is entitled 'Woman'. The fourth 'Literature and Fine Arts.' This is followed by the Politics of the East and West and the last portion covers the thoughts of Mihrab Gul Afghan.

The book incorporates a variety of topics, but the poems are rather short and sketchy. The following verses are chiefly representative :—

نہ دیر میں نہ حرم میں خودی کی بیداری  
کہ خاوراں میں ہے قوموں کی روح تریاکی

Neither in the temple nor in the mosque is the awakening of the Self,  
As the soul of the Eastern nations is addicted to opium.

تھا جو نا خوب بتدریج وہی خوب ہوا  
کہ غلامی میں بدل جاتا ہے قوموں کا ضمیر

The 'Not-good' has turned into 'Good' at last ;  
Because the conscience of the peoples changes in slavery !

مقام فکر ہے پیمائش زمان و مکان مقام ذکر ہے سبحان ربی الاعلیٰ

The stage of meditation is the measurement of Time and Space,  
The stage of Remembrance is "Praise be to my Supreme God !"

زمانہ ایک حیات ایک کائنات بھی ایک  
دلیل کم نظری قصہ جدید و قدیم

Time is one, life is one, the Universe is one ;  
The tale of the 'new and old, is an argument of short-sightedness.

روح اسلام کی ہے نور خودی نار خودی  
زندگانی کے لئے نار خودی نور و حضور

The light and fire of the Self are the spirit of Islam :  
The fire of the Self is light and presence for life.

ہے زندہ فقط وحدت افکار سے ملت  
وحدت ہو فنا جس سے وہ الہام بھی الحاد

Unity of thought is the very life of a nation ;  
The revelation which destroys unity is nothing but heresy !

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ آفاق میں گم ہے  
مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اس میں ہیں آفاق

The sign of an infidel is that he is lost in the world ;  
The sign of the believer is that the world is lost in him !

اے پیر حرم رسم و رہ خانقہ چھوڑ  
مقصود سمجھ میری نوائے سحری کا  
اللہ رکھے تیرے جوانوں کو سلامت  
دے ان کو سبق خود شکنی خود نگری کا  
تو ان کو سکھا خارہ شگافی کے طریقے  
مغرب نے سکھایا انہیں فن شیشہ گری کا

O Old Man of the Khankah ! give up the traditions of the Khankah ;  
Follow the meaning of my morning song so sweet !  
May God grant life to thy young men !  
Teach them to break the Self and probe the Self :  
Teach them the hard methods of cutting granite ;  
The West has taught them the art of making glass.

تقدیر کے پابند نباتات و جمادات  
مومن فقط احکام الہی کا ہے پابند

The plants and minerals are bound by destiny.  
The faithful are bound only by the commands of God.

زندہ کر سکتی ہے ایران کو عرب کو کیونکر  
یہ فرنگی مدنیت کہ جو ہے خود لب گور

How can it revive the peoples of Iran and Arabia—  
This Western civilization with one foot in the grave ?

اس قوم کو شمشیر کی حاجت نہیں رہتی  
ہو جس کے جوانوں کی خودی صورت فولاد

That nation does not stand in need of a sword,  
The Self of whose young men is like steel in quality.



خودی کی موت سے ہندی شکستہ بالوں پر  
قفس ہوا ہے حلال اور آشیانہ حرام

Owing to the death of the Self, for these broken-winged Indians,  
The cage is *lawful* and the haven of rest is *forbidden*!

خدا تجھے کسی طوفان سے آشنا کر دے  
کہ تیرے بحر کی موجوں میں اضطراب نہیں

May God acquaint thee with some kind of storm!  
For there is no commotion in the waves of thy sea.

میسر آتی ہے فرصت فقط غلاموں کو  
نہیں ہے بندہ حر کے لئے جہاں میں فراغ

Only the slaves can afford to have time, somehow;  
For a free man there is no leisure in this world.

فطرت افراد سے اغماض بھی کر لیتی ہے  
کبھی کرتی نہیں ملت کے گناہوں کو معاف

Nature even connives at individuals, many a time,  
But it never pardons the sins of a people.

To Javid:

شاخ گل پر چہک ولیکن کر اپنی خودی میں آشیالہ

Whistle on the branch of a rose tree, but  
Do not forget to find a haven in thy Self!

کیا یہی ہے معاشرت کا کمال مرد بیکار و زن تہی آغوش

Is this the perfection of society, may I ask?  
Man unemployed, and woman empty-bosomed!

پھر میرے تجلی کدہ دل میں سما جاؤ  
چھوڑو چمنستان و بیابان و در و بام

Enter again my heart—the abode of light,  
Leave the gardens and wilderness, abroad!

بت خانے کے دروازے پہ موتا ہے برہمن  
تقدیر کو روتا ہے مسلمان تہ محراب  
مشرق سے ہو بیزار نہ مغرب سے حذر کر  
فطرت کا اشارہ ہے کہ ہر شب کو صبح کر

The Brahman sleeps at the door of the idol-house;  
The Muslim is bewailing his destiny under the arch.  
Do not feel upset by the East; you need not shun the West!  
Nature tells you to turn every night into morning!

## THE POET OF THE EAST

وہ قوم نہیں لائق ہنگامہ فردا  
جس قوم کی تقدیر میں امروز نہیں ہے

That nation is not fit for the tumult of To-morrow,  
Whose destiny has no To-day in hand, here and now.

یہ پیر کا یسا کی کرامت ہے کہ اس نے  
بجلی کے چراغوں سے منور کئے افکار

This is the miracle of the Old Man of Ecclesia—  
He hath lit up thought with electric lamps.

سنا ہے میں نے غلامی سے امتوں کی نجات  
خودی کی پرورش و لذت نمود میں ہے

I have heard that the nations' deliverance from slavery,  
Lies in the development of the Self and its unfolding.

وہ علم نہیں زہر ہے افراد کے حق میں  
جس علم کا حاصل ہے جہاں میں دو کف جو

That is not knowledge, but poison for freemen,  
Which earns only two handfuls of barley in this wide world.

گرچہ مکتب کا جوان زندہ نظر آتا ہے  
مردہ ے مانگ کے لایا ہے فرنگی سے نفس

Although the youth in the college appears to be alive.  
He is dead : he has borrowed his breath from the European !

## PAS CHIH BAYAD KARD

*Pas Chih Bayad Kard* (What to do then, O Nations of the East ! ) was published in 1936. It also includes *Musafir* (the Traveller), a small collection of poems written during the poet's visit to Afghanistan in 1933.

*Pash Chih Bayad* is a short *Mathnawi* containing a special poem, conceived in connection with Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. The other important poems are : The Wisdom of Moses, the Wisdom of Pharaoh, There is no god but God, Faqr, the Free Man, the Secrets of Shari'at.

*Musafir* comprises an Address to the Frontiersmen, Before the Martyr King, Visits to the Graves of Babur, Hakim Sanai, Sultan Mahmud and Ahmad Shah Baba, and an Address to King Zahir Shah.



The following verses give an insight into the meaning of the two poems :—

امتان را زندگی جذب درون کم نظر این جذب را گوید جنون

The inner impulse is the life of nations—  
The short-sighted call it insanity, somehow.

مومن از عزم و توکل قاهر است گر ندارد این دو جوهر کافر است

The Faithful owes his existence to his determination and resignation ;  
If he has not these two virtues, he is an unbeliever.

عصر ما ما را زما بیگانه کرد از جمال مصطفی بیگانه کرد

Our age has made us a stranger to ourselves,  
And has estranged us from the glory of Mustafa.

تا خودی در سینه ملت بمرد کوه گاهی کرد و باد او را ببرد

Since the Self died in the breast of the people,  
The mountain became a straw and was blown away by the wind.

یورپ از شمشیر خود بسمل فتاد زیر گردون رسم لادینی نهاد

Europe has fallen wounded by its own sword, at last,  
As under the vault of heaven it laid the foundation of irreligion.

زمانه کهنه بتان را هزار بار آراست

من از حرم نگذشتم که پخته بنیاد است

Time has adorned the old icons a thousand times,  
I did not by-pass the Kaaba, because its foundation is firm.

درون دیده نگه دارم اشک خونی را

که من فقیرم و این دولت خداداد است

In my eyes, I guard a blood-like tear,  
As I am a Faqir and this wealth is a gift from God !

### ARMUGHAN-I-HEDJAZ

*Armughan-i-Hedjaz*, the posthumous publication of the poet, saw the light of the day in November, 1938. The poet had completed the work before his death with a few gaps to be filled in during the Haj pilgrimage which he intended to undertake if his health permitted, but his intention did not materialise. The work, however, is complete in every respect. It speaks the mind of the poet who was retiring within himself, casting his last looks on this mortal world as he was conscious

of his journey to Eternity in the near future. The book is important inasmuch as it forms the last link in the poet's distinguished series of works and brings his message to a close. All the poems herein centre round the general theme of the poet, with his characteristic outspokenness in addressing God, fervent devotion to the Prophet and pungent criticism of the Muslim people.

The work consists of two parts : The first incorporates the poet's Persian verse including such important addresses as "Before God," "Before the Prophet," "Before the Muslim People," "Before Mankind," and "To the Friends of the Way". "Before the Muslim People" includes highly inspiring poems such as "Attach thy heart to God.....," "The Self," "I am the Creative Truth," etc. The second part covers the Urdu poems in the style of *Bal-i-Jibril* and *Zarb-i-Kalim*. "The Parliament of Satan" is a forceful satire. "The old Baluch's Advice to His Son," "The Prayer of a Man in Hell," "Masud Marhum" and "Mullazada Zaigham Lolabi's Biaz" are among the masterpieces of the poet. The following verses unveil the recesses in the poet's mind while the eternal curtain was falling :—

مے از میخانه مغرب چشیدم      بجان من کہ درد سر خریدم  
نشستم با نکریان فرنگی      ازاں بے سود تر روزے ندیدم

I tasted the wine from the Western tavern ;  
By my soul, I purchased a headache, in fact !  
I sat in the company of the virtuous men of Europe ;  
I found no other day more profitless than that.

مقام خویش اگر خواہی درین دیر  
بحق دل بند و راه مصطفیٰ رو

If thou desirest a stance in this world,  
Attach thy heart to God and follow the path of Mustafa !

بہ بند صوفی و ملا اسیری      حیات از حکمت قرآن نگیری  
بایاتش ترا کارے جز این نیست      کہ از یاسین او آساں بمیری

Thou art in the grip of the Sufi and the Mulla, alas !  
Thou dost not learn wisdom from the Quran, it seems.  
Thou hast no business with its verses—  
Except to ensure with its *Yasin*, thou may'st die in peace !



در صد فتنه را بر خود کشادی      دو گامے رفتی و از پا فتاری  
برہمن از بتان طاق خود آراست      تو قرآن را سر طاقے نہادی

Thou hast opened the door to a hundred mischiefs upon thyself :  
Thou hast made two strides to fall down once again.  
The Brahman adorned his niche with idols ;  
Thou didst install the Quran in the niche as well.

بہشتے بہر پاکان حرم هست  
بہشتے بہر ارباب ہمہ هست  
بگوہندی مسلمان را کہ خوش باش  
بہشتے فی سبیل اللہ ہمہ هست

There is a Paradise for the pious of the Haram,  
And there is a Paradise for the men of adventure.  
Say unto the Indian Muslim, "Be happy,  
As there is also a Paradise just in the name of God !"

The old Baluch advises his son :—

غیرت ہے بڑی چیز جہان تگ و دو میں  
پہناتی ہے درویش کو تاج سر دارا

Sense of honour is a great thing in the world of strife,  
It sets the crown of Darius on the head of a dervish.

In the memory of Masud, the poet continues :

نہ کہ کہ صبر میں پنہاں ہے چارۂ غم دوست  
نہ کہ کہ صبر معمائے موت کی ہے کشود  
”دلے کہ عاشق و صابر بود مگر سنگ است  
ز عشق تا بہ صبوری ہزار فرسنگ است“

— سعدی

Tell me not that in patience lies the remedy for the loss of a friend :  
Tell me not that patience solves the problem of death !  
"A heart which is loving and yet patient is, perhaps, a stone ;  
From love to patience, it is, indeed, a thousand leagues !"

—Saadi.





—III—

***IQBAL AND HIS TEACHINGS***





# I

## IQBAL AND HIS PREDECESSORS

CONTEMPORANEOUS with the fall of the Moghul Empire was the decline of the Persian language and poetry. Persian poetry continued to enrapture the minds of Indian Muslims down to 1857. Mir Taqi, Khwaja Mir Dard, Mirza Sauda and other poets of the time wrote Urdu as well as Persian verse. Among the associates of Bahadur Shah Zafar, Ghalib was the reputed master of the Persian language whose appearance during the declining years of the Moghuls stimulated the zest for Persian literature. Zauq and Momin were not wholly strangers to Persian composition. Imam Bakhsh Sahbai was another renowned scholar of the day, who was well versed in Persian letters. Among these luminaries, Ghalib outshines them all, and his Urdu and Persian Diwans have rightly been regarded as models of Urdu and Persian poetry. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Urdu verse of Ghalib has set a comparatively new standard of expression which received further impetus at the hands of Iqbal. The Persian poetry of Ghalib, along with the works of the earlier poets, Saib, Urfi, Naziri, Kalim and Baidil, has been a source of inspiration to those who came after Ghalib, but with the march of time Urdu has become the *lingua franca* of India; hence, Ghalib's Urdu Diwan has been widely read, appreciated and adorned.

As times changed, Urdu was destined to replace Persian in all spheres, and naturally the scholars of the day diverted their attention towards Urdu and efforts were made to make it an up-to-date language. Along with the lyrical poetry of the later Moghul days, which gave rise to the effective style of Mirza Dagh and Amir Minai, another school of poetry sprang up which dwelt upon the glamour of the past and the decline of the present day. Then came Sir Syed Ahmad and his colleagues, who made it their mission to awaken the nation to the call of the spirit of the times. Hali, who was a product of the pre-Mutiny period, had shaken off the decadent germs of old poetry. He now directed poetry towards higher ends such as reconstruction of society and complete reformation. He simplified his language and adopted a natural mode of expression. His

*Musaddas*, the Rise and Fall of Islam, is an inspiring poem. Its effect on Urdu poetry was beneficial. Professor Muhammad Husain Azad of the Government College, in Lahore, was another pioneer who indefatigably worked for the reform of Urdu poetry and prose. His nature poems are perhaps the first specimens of their kind in Urdu poetry. Thus Azad and Hali laid the foundation of a new school of poetry, which may conveniently be styled "modern." Azad and Hali were the direct links with the historic Delhi Society, just after the days of Zafar, and it was decidedly through their efforts that the heritage of the Grand Moghul, Urdu with all its cultural thought, was handed over to the modern generation.

The modern writers, among whom Iqbal is an outstanding figure, naturally followed in the footsteps of Hali and his colleagues, but the language and the deep poetic vision of Ghalib had a greater attraction for them. Hali and Akbar, the two great poets of the reformation period, rendered great services to the cause of Urdu and left an indelible impression upon modern poetry. Akbar, the humorist, employed the device of caricature in his poems, and it proved a very useful weapon in his hand. The poet was conservative, but his poetry was unique in its nature. Iqbal was at one time greatly attracted by his poetry. The short, pithy and light kind of verse which Iqbal attempted was formerly published under the title of *Akbari Iqbal*, pointing to the fact that it was written in the style of Akbar, but Iqbal could not go on with such light verse. By temperament and education he was more inclined towards philosophical poetry.

In the making of the modern mind, two things have played a very important part. Past civilization and culture have all along been highly valued by the leaders of thought. All literature has been overflowing with a keen sense of change and the much desired need for adjustment, in a sense, to the present circumstances. The great reverence for the past has naturally led the modern mind to study the past to establish a link with the present. Modern education and thought have affected the modern generation in no small measure. Western thought aims at a radical change in the East and the foundations of Eastern culture have certainly been shaken by forces which Western thought has created. The great experiment which humanity



has made in the Western world is being repeated in the East. The modern mind in the East is indirectly influenced by the leading lights of the West.

In the realm of philosophic thought, Iqbal has been influenced both by his predecessors and contemporaries. In India, very few thinkers, in modern times, have left their impress on life. Iqbal was indeed imperceptibly affected by the current thought of the Indian poets ; otherwise his source of inspiration, in a predominant measure, was the *Mathnawi* of Rumi. Being vastly read in modern philosophy, Iqbal seems to have been impressed by the philosophy of Nietzsche, Bergson, McTaggart and other modern thinkers, but that was merely in the nature of appreciation. He recognised all stable thought, and the teachings of Islam were his main source of inspiration.

Iqbal generally composed Urdu poetry up to 1908 ; the year coincides with his return from Europe. But since that time he was more concerned with Persian verse and was busy for some years in the preparation of his philosophical poem, *Asrar-o-Rumuz*. Like a host of other Indian poets, he wrote Persian with the ease of expression and grace of style of classical scholars. The *Mathnawi* of Iqbal follows the style and metre of Rumi's *Mathnawi*, but the poet equally appreciated the poetry of Sanai and Jami. The lyrical verse of Iqbal takes its reflection from the poetry of Saadi, Hafiz, Khisrau, Jami, Saib Urfi, Baidil and Ghalib. His ghazals represent the old diction, but they convey new meanings and suggest new inferences. The vein of thought is unchanged and the mode of expression also ; but there is a touch of modernism, which makes the inferences drawn conspicuous for their optimistic outlook.

Iqbal was aware of the trend of modern Persian poetry and he seems to have been impressed by its mode. He retained the classical style for the reason that classical Persian poetry is understood all over the world. Undoubtedly, modern Persia has not yet fully appreciated the work of Iqbal, because of its being in the classical style. The beauty and greatness of Iqbal's verse lies in the revivifying thought that it enshrines. The poet made the best use of all what his predecessors conveyed to him but he had to reshuffle all that came to his hand. He tested its value in the light of the present and the past, and made sure if it could possibly endure the touch of time.

## II

### IQBAL'S POETIC GENIUS

THE socio-political gloom of the Nineteenth century and the general decay of Oriental literature, particularly of Urdu, were followed by the dawn of modern poetry.

Down to the days of Hali, the Urdu poets confined themselves to the four walls of *ghazal*. Like all writers of a decadent period, their poetry was a mere pastime for the people who were no longer concerned with the struggle of the day. Hali revolted against the past and used his poetry as an instrument of reform, and thus gave a new impulse to Urdu literature. The new kind of poetry depended on the principle of social reform, and literary reform formed a part of it. Hali and Azad were guided by Western literature in their struggle for evolution and, unlike their predecessors, they saw the signs of the beneficial changes through which India was passing. Azad and Hali responded to the time-spirit and took up the great problems of the change in outlook then only dimly foreshadowed.

Fortunately, Azad and Hali came to stay in Lahore and their activities in connection with *Musha'aras* made Urdu literature very popular among the masses. Notwithstanding the new kind of poetry that was slowly coming into vogue, *ghazal* still had a natural appeal to the common folk and the verses of Mirza Dagh and Amir Minai were still sung in the bazaars of India.

Azad and Hali passed away, having done all the spade work for the new movement. In 1896, Iqbal appeared in *Musha'aras* at Lahore with all the lustre of a rising star above the horizon. Like all young college students, he attempted simple poetry, influenced by society and the changing spirit of the time. While at Sialkot, Iqbal had the good fortune to have as his literary guide Allama Mir Hasan, who was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian, and there he began to send his poems by post to Nawab Mirza Khan Dagh, of Delhi, for criticism



and in this way he sought the advice of the foremost poet of the day, but Iqbal was soon informed by Dagh that his poetry hardly required any correction. At the same time, there was another poet of Delhi, Mirza Arshad Gorgani, in Ferozepore, who was a literary acquaintance of Iqbal and his poetic genius was availed of by the contemporary generation.

Notwithstanding the fact that Iqbal had established poetical relations with Dagh, his composition was more inspired by the poetry of Mirza Ghalib as he used the same diction with a peculiar personal touch. It is true that the language of Ghalib is not simple on account of its highly Persianised vocabulary, but the fact cannot be denied that Ghalib's poetry has gained the depth and vastness of meaning through Persian words and has indirectly imported the same capacity to Urdu. The same is true of Iqbal. In his younger days, he had been introduced to Persian literature and the learned society of Allama Mir Hasan created in him a refined taste for the appreciation of poetry. The simple form of Urdu poetry devoid of the colourful splendour of Persian and classical refinement did not appeal to him. The style of Ghalib suited the flight of his sentiments and thoughts and, as such, the style which Iqbal developed was peculiarly his own and is distinct from that of any other Urdu poet.

Iqbal was born and bred in a family of strong religious traditions; and as a result, his poetry is marked by a deep religious sense. His poems *Nala-i-Yatim*, *Shikwah*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah* and *Khizr-i-Rah* are overflowing with religious sentiments. His Persian works are all permeated with an intensely religious atmosphere and this peculiar character of Iqbal's writings makes him the unique personality of modern times and the effect of such writings on the Muslim world is bound to be profound.

Iqbal was educated on modern lines and had a brilliant career at the Government College, in Lahore. He was a student of philosophy and his association with Professor Arnold proved of infinite benefit to him. By nature he was given to thinking and his study of philosophy, coupled with his poetic talents, determined his educational career and went a long way to develop the poet and philosopher in Iqbal. The study of Western literature gave him a refined taste for natural poetry

in the early stages of the growth of his poetic genius, and this marks a clear divergence from the beaten track of other lyricists. Some of his early poems such as *Ode to the Himalayas*, *Abr-i-Kohsar*, *A Bird's Complaint*, *The Faded Flower* and *The Morning Star* all remind the reader of the Western spirit of poetry. Iqbal was a thinker, born in a period of intellectual conflict and national decline. Hence, his early poetry reflects a constant struggle on the part of the poet to adjust his mind to the universal reality and shows a great concern for the cause of the country which, at a later stage, is replaced by his conception of world citizenship.

His strong religious sense compelled him to see things through Muslim eyes, yet he could not ignore Western thought as altogether valueless. He passed through a stage of reaction for a long time till his visit to Europe dispelled all his mental cloudiness and he returned home with conviction and confidence.

Before going to Europe Iqbal was inquisitive and restless. He did not find so much solace in society as in the solitude of nature. He looked upon a flower as a contrast to himself. The flower was not so agitated and restless as the poet. Iqbal was always pondering on the problems of life and in order to seek the truth he would resort to the mountain valleys and speak to the stars, the moon and the sun. The problem of life was soon disclosed by a wave, and the ultimate destiny of the ship of life was explained by the flowing waters of the Ravi. The glowworm divulged to the poet the secret of the inner light. Such a spirit of enquiry and interminable search for truth marked the growth of Iqbal's poetic talent in the early stages :

"Like a glowworm in the night,  
That which hath fire in darkness, none in light."

In an age of social changes and political developments in the country, Iqbal could not ignore the national destiny; with this sense, he wrote the Indian national anthem. But the ever-increasing estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations was, to the poet, the real cause of all trouble. He wanted them to come closer for mutual understanding and thus enter the common temple of worship. Therefore, he expressed the idea in *The New Temple*, addressing the Brahman :



سیچ کہ دوں اے برہمن گر تو برا نہ مانے  
تیرے صنم کدوں کے بت ہو گئے پرانے

I would speak the truth, O Brahman ! if thou taketh it not ill ;  
The idols of thy idol-house have grown old and weary !

Such were the efforts of Iqbal to bring about a harmony of relations between the various classes in India.

The poet's visit to England brought him in contact with new people whose life was passing through a dynamic process of evolution. The new civilization with all its free thought, science and machinery, the growing social problems of individual rights and class domination and the dangerous clash of capital and labour were subjects of absorbing study to Iqbal. At the same time, he realised that the two civilizations were essentially poles apart. The static life of the East had led to the downfall of so many great Empires and the entire social system was speedily breaking up. Nothing short of a revival of Eastern thought and a new life of action could bring back past glory. Hence the poetry of Iqbal, conceived during his stay in Europe, shows the old spirit passing through a transitional period. The reader who looks through his poems becomes immediately conscious of the past glory and the future of Islam. Iqbal's poems, *Love* and *The Reality of Beauty*, bear a certain resemblance to Shelley's conception of love, which is reflected in the *Spirit of Delight*. The tinge of classical mysticism in Iqbal can yet be traced in *Swami Ram Tirath* :

نفی ہستی اک کرشمہ ہے دل آگاہ کا  
لا کے دریا میں نہاں موتی ہے الا اللہ کا

Negation of Existence is a marvel of the knowing heart ;  
In the ocean of 'No' is hidden the pearl of 'But God' !

The poems of this period are saturated with a feeling of life. The poet regards beauty and love as the very essence of life. He seems to be apprehending the reality of things as a whole. However, change is the governing force of the Universe. Nothing is static as life is nothing but a form of constant struggle, exhibiting a superficial aspect of an imperfect effort,

In 1907, India was passing through a state of political unrest. Indian Muslims could not remain uninfluenced by the political currents in the country. Iqbal presented his views in his poem, *To the Aligarh College Students* :

موت ہے عیشِ جاوداں ذوقِ طلب اگر نہ ہو  
گردشِ آدمی ہے اور گردشِ جام اور ہے

Eternal life is death, if there is no zest for living ;  
The revolution of man is different from that of a lifeless cup.

Affected by the active life of Europe and its marked contrast with the indolence of the East and the sad state of Islamic countries, Iqbal wrote a few verses to Sheikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir to work for the enlightenment of the Eastern nations :

اٹھ کہ ظلمت ہوئی پیدا افقِ خاور پر  
بزمِ میں شعلہ نوائی سے آجالا کر دیں

Arise ! darkness has appeared on the horizon of the East ;  
Let's light up the assembly with our fiery speech !

And a typical poem that enshrines Iqbal's devotional feelings for past Islamic glory is *Sicily*, which he wrote while passing by the Island ;

رو لے اب دل کھول کر اے دیدہ خونابہ بار  
وہ نظر آتا ہے تہذیبِ حجازی کا مزار

Weep now to thy heart's content, O tearful eye !  
There lies the grave of the Hedjaz civilization !

Iqbal henceforth plays the role of a prophet as he has a special message to convey to the people of the world, in particular, to the Muslim world. Iqbal's sojourn in Europe is an important period in the evolution of his mind. He had now become a devout admirer of Islamic principles and he fervently preached them, supported by his modern philosophy. His thought and sentiments had now passed through a process of formative change.

On his return to India in 1908, Iqbal wrote inspiring poetry for the revival of Islam. He wrote *Tarana-i-Milli* as opposed to *Tarana-i-Hindi* and was now living in a wider sphere of human association.



China, Arabia and India now became his native land. *Shikwah*, *Sham'-o-Sha'ir*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam* are his important poems which he wrote later. All of them are devoted to the cause of Islam and are of great value. He also devoted his time to the preparation of his Persian *Mathnawi*, *The secrets of the Self*.

Iqbal was mostly concerned with the destiny of man and, as such, he planned to convey his universal message through the medium of Persian poetry as it enabled him to approach a far wider circle of humanity. *Asrar-i-Khudi* was, in the first instance, published in 1915. It represents a system of Iqbal's philosophy based on the secrets of the Self. The *Mathnawi* explains the nature of the Self and emphasises the fact that the Self forms the nucleus of all existence, individual or social, and every effort for the realisation, protection and development of the Self is a noble pursuit of man. The teachings of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* practically form the basis of Iqbal's philosophy and the effect of the *Mathnawi* on the younger generation has been tremendous. After *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, Iqbal published his famous work, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, which was written in response to the German poet Goethe's *Western Diwan*. The book has earned a great reputation for the poet. It is in many ways unique, particularly the attachment of the poet to Eastern civilization, and his criticism of modern thought and civilization are indeed fascinating.

The other important Persian works of Iqbal are *Zabur-i-Ajam*, *Javid Nama* and a short *Mathnawi*, *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*. In later years, the poet turned his attention to Urdu poetry and produced his two best works, *Bal-i-Jibrit* and *Zarb-i-Kalim*, which are devoted to the problems of the world to-day.

All these books represent the evolution of a mind of the Twentieth century facing all the political and cultural dilemmas of the day with the courage and nerve of a true Muslim undaunted by the violence of change around and the process of life as a whole.

### III

## HIS CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

"If anybody in India was awarded a title on real merit, it was Iqbal," said one of Iqbal's very intimate friends; and it is true that he was created a Knight when his fame as a poet and scholar had crossed the seas. However, his character and personality were in no degree less responsible for this high honour.

His simplicity and charming personality won him many friends during his educational career. As a professor, he became popular in literary circles all over the Punjab. Besides his poetic talents, he possessed personal magnetism which commanded a very wide circle of admirers.

He loved people of all classes and never differentiated between man and man. He believed in good deeds and was of the opinion that all those who acted rightly were the people of God and would be rewarded by Him. There is not a single word in his writings which is meant to be a cause of grief to anyone. He was a great lover of Islam and preached Islam as the religion of humanity, but he was far from being what is called a fanatic, and that was the main reason for his vast popularity among men of all religions in India.

He was by nature independent, and valued liberty above everything else. As a liberal youth, he never imposed upon himself such bondage as was calculated to curtail his liberty. As a lawyer, he never approached anyone for help, nor did he cultivate society to derive some personal benefit. He was a dervish and was always content with whatever little he had. The conception of the Self and its destiny is a familiar topic in Persian poetry. Iqbal preached the secrets of the Self, and had put his teachings in this respect to test himself. His high-mindedness inspired his intense love for the civilization and culture of the East and an unusual admiration



for the spirit of Islam. During the latter part of his life, he fought bravely for the cause of Islam and was always sure of the ultimate triumph of Islamic truth. Danger to Islam from any quarter, be it from an individual or a Government, was always a matter of great concern to him. In the defence of Islam, he was a fearless and outspoken advocate.

Iqbal passed most of his time quietly at home in thought and meditation as thinking was his hobby. All his writings are the result of deep thought. People of all opinions visited him, and he had the advantage of studying human nature and the progress of modern thought, and his position enabled him to have an insight into the current problems as well as the intellectual conflict of the present century.

Although Iqbal had acquired modern education and had visited Europe, he was not much impressed by Western civilization. One would say he was a conservative, but his conservatism was not that of a die-hard type. He was a Muslim and a student of world history and thought. All through his life his attitude towards modern civilization was that of a clever self-confident critic. In the noise of modern civilization, his motto was—

شورش امروز میں محو سرود دوش رہ

In his daily life, not only in thought, but in practice also, Iqbal lived the life of a typical man from the Orient, whose behaviour and outlook on life were dictated by the Word of God. He would prostrate himself before God with all the humility of a Muslim. He is said to have devoted himself to the early morning prayers, *Tahajjud*, continuously for two months and was often seen reciting the Holy Quran with tearful eyes.

As a rule, Iqbal never accepted anything by way of tribute. On "Iqbal Day", some of his friends wanted to raise a fund for the poet in recognition of his services to the cause of Islam, but he vigorously declined the suggestion. On the same occasion the Nizam's Prime Minister sent a cheque to the poet, who returned it together with a few subtle verses. Iqbal never hesitated to visit the homes of common people who were in distress. He, however, did not believe that aristocrats were inherently born fools, nor did he hate them, but he loved the poor and always supported their cause.

As a leader of the Muslim community, Iqbal was a great power in the land. To his own people, he was a sincere, sympathetic and honest guide. He never misled them and in a crisis was always at the helm of affairs. He was concerned not only with the destiny of Indian Muslims but of the entire Muslim World. He stood like a rock in all adverse circumstances and his advice proved of infinite value to Muslims. In fact the personality of Iqbal raised the standard of Muslim leadership and his example shall ever be a source of inspiration to future generations.

Iqbal was a citizen of the world and was a staunch believer in human brotherhood and the principles of justice, equality and liberty. To use a more comprehensive term, he was a pan-Islamist and his attitude towards Indian politics was determined by his deep concern for the protection and preservation of the Muslim religion, civilization and culture in India. As a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem Iqbal proposed the creation of an independent State in the North-West of India, now called Pakistan.

There were many facets to Iqbal's personality. He did not belong to any particular period, country or nation. It is true that a greater part of the world knows him as an eminent modern poet, but it is his personality that arrests one's attention.

Iqbal stood for the high aims and objects of a *Mujahid*, but his nature was all love. He was one of those great men of the world, whose number is very small, who as far as possible never hurt anyone. He was never a rival to anybody, but there was no lack of such men who, jealous of his growing popularity and eminence, considered him to be their rival. Iqbal was always proud of Faqr as he refers to himself :

فقير راه نشين است و دل غنى دارد

He is a wayside Faqir, with a wealthy heart !

He did not woo fame, although fame dogged him day and night. He never cared for status and never struggled to that end. In fact, he was not born for that, as he himself says : " The attainment of status involves a 'desire for search' and even if it be there, I have no inclination to act in that manner !"



Throughout his works he refers to himself as a *Faqir* or a *Dervish* or a *Qalandar*, which was not merely poetic indulgence in the use of vain words. It was the expression of his true feelings. The people who had the chance to see him recognised the poet's greatness and ever longed for another opportunity to see him. The fame of Iqbal spread all though the world during his lifetime, and in this respect very few great men have been fortunate.

With the passing of Iqbal, the world has lost a unique personality and no stretch of imagination and no power of expression can bring back or portray the impression that Iqbal created. He was a man of medium height, with a broad forehead, his hair brushed back, sharp eagle-like eyes, and a moustache like a Turkish Pasha's.

While the works of Iqbal explain his thoughts to the reader, the clue to his personality is contained in his message to man :

در جهان آزاد زی آزاد میر

Live a free life and die a freeman !

#### IV

### INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC LITERATURE AND THOUGHT

"I HAVE a long descent—Zarathustra, Moses, Muhammad, Zeno, Plato, Brutus, Spinoza. Mirabeau—and so if I speak of Plato, Pascal, Spinoza and Goethe, I know that their blood runs in mine," are the significant words uttered by Nietzsche while tracing his descent. Iqbal, with such historical heritage, is certainly a distinguished member of the House of the Great, but he claims his descent from Islam, and was legitimately proud of it.

It is an indisputable fact that mentally Iqbal is the product both of the East and West, but the basis of all his teachings is Islamic, and the reaction of Western thought has only strengthened his faith in Islam. His early introduction to Persian literature laid the foundation-stone of all his learning and while at the Government College, in Lahore, his philosophical study determined the course of his future thought. Some time later, when Iqbal was a professor at the Oriental College and had to teach history and philosophy, the Oriental atmosphere of the college gave him a chance to study Islamic literature in all its aspects. Once Iqbal disclosed that he was introduced to the elementary Islamic books in his younger days and that in school and college his knowledge of Persian did not extend beyond Saadi's *Gulistan* and *Bustan* and the works of Urfi, Hafiz and Sanai. All his later Persian study was private and his knowledge of Arabic was hardly beyond the elementary books of religion and grammar, but Iqbal was a voracious reader. He was an intelligent student of the Holy Qurān and supported all his teachings by appropriate verses. He was acquainted with the *Hadith* and made use of it in his scholarly approach. In fact, Iqbal was always guided by the Quran and the *Hadith*. *Asrar-o-Rumuz* and his other Persian works are interspersed with quotations from the Holy Quran and the *Hadith*. Even in his philosophical work, *The Reconstruction*



of *Religious Thought in Islam*, he quotes the Quran profusely, and for all philosophical explanations in the face of highly scientific thought of the West, he falls back upon the Quran and his exposition is praiseworthy.

He rambled through all the valleys of Islamic literature. From early life, he composed doggerel rhymes in Urdu; later, he read and wrote Urdu and his verse, which is, indeed, a very fine specimen in our modern literature, bears testimony to the fact that Iqbal had his eyes practically upon the whole of Urdu literature, particularly the kind of King's Urdu of the days of Zafar; but Urdu literature did not influence his mind as much as Persian did. Persian thought had an immense effect on Iqbal and it goes without saying that being a poet of classical Persian, his form and style closely resembled the style of classical poets. As regards Persian thought he was always critical, but even then the fountain of his poetry is all Persian. The poet Rumi was his spiritual leader and the well known *Mathnawi* was the source of Iqbal's inspiration, yet the works of Hafiz, Saadi, Sanai and other *ghazal*-writers, such as Saib, Jami, Baidil and Ghalib, had no less attraction for Iqbal.

Besides the Persian poets, the works of Persian Sufis impressed Iqbal considerably. Notwithstanding the fact that he was hostile to most of them and did not appreciate the teachings of the later Sufis, who had developed a kind of philosophy closely akin to Aryan asceticism, yet their mysticism influenced the structure of his thought. Iqbal may not be a mystic in the general sense, but he was not free from the influence of the mystics and may be said to have evolved a mysticism of his own. His *Asrar-o-Rumuz* resembles the *Mathnawi* of Rumi in many respects and the conception of the Self is nothing alien to Persian mystic literature. It is true that Iqbal's conception of the Self, from many points of view, is wholly different. His teachings of the Self are primarily Islamic, and there is no lack of Islamic traditions to support this view. In various places the importance and dignity of the Self have been emphasised in the Quran and the fact that the angels were asked by God Almighty to bow in *sajdah* to Adam clearly alludes to the individual Self, which is finite in the philosophic sense. It would not be safe to say that Iqbal's conception of the Self is wholly Western. The attribute of love, which Iqbal ascribes to the development of the Self, is of the

essence of Persian mysticism. Persian literature is almost entirely based on this conception of love.

The works of Iqbal are permeated with the poet's historical sense. In his preface to the first edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, there is a significant passage in which he explains that the subject of the *Makhnawi* is to revive the national 'I' and the best means to that end is to keep national history alive. Accordingly, the poet has drawn moral lessons from the history of Islam and presents them to Muslims showing the past as an example of how life can best be lived with the ultimate result of survival of the national Self. He condemns Plato as the leader of the "old herd of sheep" and regards his teachings as dangerous and appeals to the nation to look to Islam for inspiration. The holy verse, *اني جاعل في الارض خليفة*, is the basis of Iqbal's third stage for the development of the Self — Divine Vicegerency. The kind of *Jihad* which Iqbal preaches is typically Islamic. The conception of prophethood as the central figure for the people of Islam and the fundamentals of the Islamic people, such as Unity of God and the Prophet's finality, go to make the poetic thought of Iqbal basically Islamic.

In his famous work, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, the touch of Westernism is easily perceptible and such familiar themes as *Life is to Face Danger* and *A Falcon's Advice to Its Young One* remind the reader of Nietzschean philosophy and such words as *Shahin*, *Baz*, *Kabutar* and *Fakhra* notably point to the influence of German thought on Iqbal. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the spirit of such poetry is Islamic and the words so used do not necessarily show his acceptance of Nietzscheism. They are, on the contrary, used to convey the meaning of life with a marked difference from the view-point of Nietzsche.

*Gulshan-i-Raz (Jadid)*, which forms a supplement to *Zabur-i-Ajam*, is a manifestation of the poet's exposition of Islamic thought, closely allied to mysticism in the light of modern philosophy. The poet's views on art are, in many ways, different from current notions. Art for the sake of art had almost no meaning for Iqbal. To him all art was supposed to be constructive and any art that led to the deterioration of life was destructive and was to be banished from the sphere of life. In this respect, the art of Islam had no parallel in the world. *Alhamra*, the *Taj* and the *Sahsaram* mausoleum are all expressions of life and



gave life to the dead, a living reminder of the nation's glory. On the other hand, music, painting and sculpture which lead the human mind to pleasure and self-destruction are no art in the eyes of Iqbal. Rightly, Islam has condemned all such art.

*Javid Nama*, though written after the model of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, is the work of a devout Muslim with great concern for Islam and the Islamic people. *The Javid Nama* has a spiritual link with the familiar *Mi'ra'i Namas*, read all over the Muslim world. The later works of the poet deal with great universal truths, expounded by a Muslim philosopher of an unquestionable authority who was always thinking of humanity as a whole and who looked at the problems of society, race, civilization and government from a universal point of view—according to the principles of Islam.

The political and economic views of Iqbal were primarily Islamic. He did not believe in nationalism, specifically, its Western concept. He was, in fact, against it and looked upon it as something dangerous to human solidarity. Any attempt to divide the human race into geographical or linguistic provinces was regarded by him as detrimental to human progress. As a political creed, Iqbal believed in Islamic democracy and was a severe critic of its modern conception which, according to him, is worse than despotism.

The position of woman in modern life was not in any manner satisfactory in the eyes of Iqbal. He was not a believer in the equality of man and woman in the modern superficial sense, and was of the opinion that a demand of equality on the part of woman was bound to bring chaos in society. Nietzsche, however, assigned to women a lower and more limited sphere in the world. "They are to produce better and better children.....and to comfort, cheer, assist and satisfy man, who has to bear the greater part of the fight, to increase power and to improve the race." This is how Nietzsche looked upon woman. Iqbal was keen to emphasise the Islamic view of equality with mutual duties and rights.

As a philosopher, Iqbal made an elaborate study of Eastern thought, especially the works of Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Ibn-i-Hazm, Ghazzali, Averroes and Nasir-ud-Din Tusi and the writings of Muslim jurists, such as Shafii and others.

*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is one of Iqbal's very valuable works in modern philosophy. It defines his outlook on life and discusses its realities, happily through the eyes of a Muslim. It has been generally recognised that Iqbal has, in his illuminating lectures, very successfully advocated the cause of religion, not exclusively Islam. In the Twentieth century, when religion has ceased to inspire the progressive section of humanity while such indifference is a menace to human civilization and culture, the lectures of Iqbal have greatly helped to dispel the mental haze. The philosopher himself refers to his lectures and poetical works as *harf-i-pechapech*—the word of a tangled knot. Conscious of the fact that he was speaking to the modern world, he had to use the language of modern philosophy, otherwise he was a poet of intuition and attached greater value to his poetic thought. In fact, he sometimes humorously said that he was not a student of scientific thought. To be fair to him, he was guided by his heart more than by his mind.

Iqbal always looked for support in the writings of great Muslim thinkers who were the pioneers of all modernism. Ibn-i-Khaldun, Ibn-ul-Arabi and Hallaj have been freely referred to ; while expounding Islamic thought in modern terms Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and Said Halim Pasha were among the moderns whom he consulted in current affairs.

Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhind, one of the prominent mystic saints of Islam, was a notable thinker of his time. The poet-philosopher has unhesitatingly referred to his valuable views while discussing highly scientific thought, such as the value of mystic experience and the relation between spiritual reality and objective form.

*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* may conveniently be designated modern, but it has a mystic link with the celebrated Sufis and thinkers of the Muslim world. Iqbal's interest in Islamic literature had grown to such an extent that even when seriously ill before his death, he was making a close study of Razi's *Mabathih-i-Mashriqia* and the *Talimat-i-Ilahiya* of a Delhi scholar. While he was seriously searching for a suitable definition of Time from a philosopher's point of view, the book of time was suddenly closed to him.



## V

### THE MIND AND ART OF IQBAL

ART, as an occupation to satisfy taste or to produce what is beautiful, is a natural tendency in man. Beauty is found scattered in nature ; and by perception the mind of man is affected by natural phenomena while the impression has a positively constructive value in the development of the mind. The orderliness in things is the basic principle of beauty and has a natural attraction for man because of the satisfaction and soothing effect it has on the mind and nerves. Art, therefore, is the expression of the mind in relation to things. In common parlance, it may be described as the application of skill to subjects of taste, such as poetry, music, painting, sculpture and architecture which may be further divided into fine arts and useful arts. The study of an art is never complete without the study of the artist's mind as the one has a direct relation with the other.

Art has various uses in life and society. Apart from its physical advantages, its value in the development of the mind cannot be under-rated, provided the art is constructive. Art flourishes according to the state of society which can encourage and provide a suitable atmosphere for its proper development. Criticism, particularly, constructive criticism is very essential for the growth of art, and the quality of critics in a society governs the standard of art. During a period of national progress, the artist's view on life is progressive, and the art of such a period is creative and reflects the evolution of the national mind. Art deteriorates during an age of national decline and the art of a fallen nation points to a low mentality. Poetry deteriorates to a very low standard and its thought often represents intellectual pessimism and mental decay. But then nature has to keep her system going as the shop is never closed. Just as in the hot weather high temperature forecasts stormy weather, in the same way conditions of decline in a nation's art foreshadow the possible emergence of a leader. He may be a prophet, a soldier, a politician, a philosopher, or, a poet.

Iqbal was born in a period when the people of India were passing through a critical stage. The political state of affairs was far from satisfactory. Religion had almost ceased to be a living force. Literature and art were on the wane and were adding to the deadening effect of the forces of disruption. Such a suffocating atmosphere had a natural reaction in the revival of Islam and Muslim India in the latter half of the Nineteenth century. This period gave birth to several leaders noted for their sacrifice and faithful services. Iqbal was one of them, and in many ways had a peculiar distinction of his own. He is the spokesman of the modern spirit, yet he has a great admiration for the past and wants the Muslims to preserve the past traditions of Islam. His message is universal and Islam being a universal religion, Iqbal is synonymous with Islam.

*Le style est l'homme*—the style is the man. In order to study Iqbal and his mind, one has to study his works and his style, in particular. All his works are life-giving and his style is that of an artist who aims at a renaissance. The poetry of Iqbal presents a marked contrast to the pre-Mutiny literature in India. The poet was fighting against the decadent forces in Indian society, as he says :—

So that I may lead home the wanderer, imbue the idle looker-on with impatience, advance hotly on a new quest to explore and become known as the champion of a new spirit.

Iqbal's conception of the Self directly speaks the high-mindedness of a great lover of life. His great poetic talents had a magnetic attraction, but the strength of his mind as a leader of thought was far more responsible for the present change in society. The poet had an independent mind and never sacrificed the freedom of his soul. These qualities gave his teachings the beautiful colour of 'Iqbalism' and such an attitude of his mind deeply influenced all his art, mainly directed towards the preservation of the Self (استقرار ذات).

The poet's attitude towards art may best be explained in his own words which occur in an article on our Prophet's criticism of contemporary Arabian poetry :—

"The ultimate end of all human activity is Life—glorious, powerful, and 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."

His view of art practically sums up all what his poetical works suggest and argue. The poetic thought of Iqbal is morally refreshing as it shows the way to life, and the works of his art are so many direction posts to life and power. The art of Iqbal has revived in a manner Oriental taste, and the external beauty of his choicest words and rhymes, appropriate metres and thoughts, rising high into the sky, raise a poetical edifice of rare beauty and structure. He is not an idle dreamer, which he could not be. As opposed to the idealist poets of the past, he is a realist and if he inclines towards idealism due to heredity, it is only with a view to convey reality through the poet's device.

Iqbal was a modern and his works, from the point of art, have a strong link with the past, but he does not observe the hard and fast rules of the past so strictly. Diderot mentions the story of a young painter who invariably, before he applied himself to work, flung himself down on his knees in front of his canvas and exclaimed: "*Mon Dieu ! Delivrez moi du modele !*" That is to say, he desired to be free from the domination of the school and all the prevailing artificialities of the style in vogue, Iqbal may not be so loud in his protest, yet he held in derision poetical artificialities and conventions. He frequently takes leave of the old style and looks to opportunities of expression and does not sacrifice the honesty and dignity of his thought,—speaks from the heart.

The foreign and past influence on the mind and art of Iqbal has many aspects. His art is the expression of the spirit of Islam and quite naturally reflects the art of the days of Islamic glory and splendour. A very vast and diligent study of a grand heritage of literature and arts gave a peculiar form to the mind of Iqbal. His contribution to world thought and literature, which is of a highly creative value, is expected to bring about a beneficial

change in the Muslim world. He has revived religion and has interpreted philosophy, politics and economics from the Islamic point of view, and the study of his art in the reformatory aspect is all the more interesting. Iqbal's early poetry is marked by a spirit of inquiry after reality with the tinge of a lover's pessimism. Certainly, the poet played the important role of a reformer and critic in society. His well known poem, *Jawab-i-Shikwah* has for its aim the reform of society and has greatly served the purpose of the poet. Iqbal was a popular master and used his pen as a clever painter's brush displaying charming colours, and that is the creative side of his art. But it was his precious life-blood that imparted colour to his verse as he himself says :

نقشِ ہنر سب ناتمام خونِ جگر کے بغیر

نغمہ ہے سودائے خام خونِ جگر کے بغیر

All painting is imperfect without the blood of the heart :

A song is imperfect insanity without the blood of the heart !

Oriental poetry is noted for its atmosphere of sensuality, peace and languidness, with a deteriorating effect on society. The verse of Iqbal, on the other hand, presents the inspiring message of life—to live a life of adventure, It has broadened the individual and national outlook beyond its own narrow confines, enlarging the painter's canvas simultaneously.

While discussing the reality of verse and reform of Islamic literature, the poet lays emphasis on the necessity of desire in life which leads to action :

گرم خونِ انسان ز داغِ آرزو آتشِ این خاک از چراغِ آرزو

Human blood is hot from the scar (wound) of desire.

This dust turns into flame from the lamp of desire !

He pities the nation whose poet ceases to take interest in life to move on and on :

وائے قومے کز اجلِ گیردِ برات شاعرش وابوسد از ذوقِ حیات

Woe to the nation in whose midst death abides ;

Its poet turns away from the desire for life !

All art, when divorced from life, becomes dull and insipid, just as religion is a mere frivolity unless it is rooted in conduct. Iqbal was, however,



true to his high principles and no contemporary poet has shown such wide interest in life as the poet of the East :

اے میان کسیہ ات نقد سخن بر عیار زندگی او را بزن

O thou, who hast a coin of verse in they pocket ;  
Test it on the touchstone of life to find its value !

In *Bandagi Nama*, Iqbal discusses the arts of slavery very comprehensively. Under the caption, 'Slavery', the poet reveals :

مرگ ها اندر فنون بندگی من چه گویم از فسون بندگی

Death is concealed in the arts of slavery :  
It is hard to describe the magic of slavery !

Referring to music he voices his feeling :

تشنه کامی این حرم بے زمزم است  
در بم و زیرش هلاک آدم است

Art thou thirsty? This *Haram* is without Zamzam ;  
In its high and low tunes is the death of man !

من نمی گویم که آهنگش خطا ست  
بیوه زن را این چنی شیون رواست

I do not say that its tune is unharmonious ;  
Such a cry is, however, lawful for the widow !

The poet speaks of painting in the same terms :

همچنان دیدم فن صورت گری نے براہیمی درو نے آذری

Of the same type have I seen the art of portraiture ;  
It reflects neither the talents of Abraham nor that of Azur.

And referring to the freemen's art of building, the poet points to the grand monuments of the Qutb Minar, the Taj and the Sahsaram Mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri. All this art is nothing but self-expression to identify the Self :

خویش را از خود بروں آورده اند این چنی خود را تماشا کرده اند

They have taken themselves out of their Self ;  
In this way, they have looked upon themselves.

دلبری بے قاہری جادو گری است    دلبری باقاہری پیغمبری است

Ravishing beauty without force is simply magic :

Ravishing beauty with force is Prophecy !

Alluding to creative thought which gives birth to all art, there is a forceful verse in *Zarb-i-Kalim* :

جہان تازہ کی افکار تازہ سے ہے نمود

کہ سنگ و خشت سے ہوتے نہیں جہاں پیدا

The appearance of a new world depends on new ideas,

For the world is not created from stone and brick !

Discussing the object of excellence in art, Iqbal describes the true character of art, and he passed his life pursuing the same ideal :

مقصود ہنر سوز حیات ابدی ہے

یہ ایک نفس یا دو نفس مثل شرر کیا

The object of art is the burning quest of eternal life ;

What is this—a moment or two, like a fleeting spark ?

شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنی کا نفس ہو

جس سے چمن افسردہ ہو وہ باد سحر کیا

Be it the voice of a poet or the breath of a singer—

Which makes the garden gloomy, what morning breeze is that ?

وہ شعر کہ پیغام حیات ابدی ہے

یا نغمہ جبریل ہے یا بانگ سرافیل

That verse which is a message of eternal life

Is either the song of Gabriel, or, the cry of Israfil!



## VI

### HIS PHILOSOPHY AND POETIC THOUGHT

THE early poetry of Iqbal is valuable material for the study of the progressive growth of the poet's mind. The work of nature and the constant change in all phases of life seem to have deeply influenced the rising youth who loved solitude. The restless mind of the young poet takes him from place to place and he passes under survey what he sees. The Himalayas, the Colourful Flower, the Mountain Cloud, a Bird's Plaint, are all objects of inspiration to the budding poet : but his verse on beauty and love is not wholly free from pessimism :—

بزم جہاں میں میں بھی ہوں اے شمع درد مند  
فریاد در تگرہ صفت دانہ سپند

O Candle ! I am also distressed in the assembly of this world,  
Like a rue-seed, I too have a plaint in my knot !

یہ آگہی مری مجھے رکھتی ہے بیکار  
خوابیدہ اس شر میں ہیں آتشکدے ہزار

This awareness of mine keeps me restless abroad ;  
A thousand fire-places are dormant in this very spark.

The phenomenal change, which takes on different forms, sometimes puzzles the poet's mind. He walks in the garden and comes across a withered flower, and at once thinks of himself as he falls into a brooding mood :

میری بربادی کی ہے چھوٹی سی اک تصویر تو  
خواب میری زندگی تھی جس کی ہے تعبیر تو

Thou art a small picture of my desolation,  
My life was a dream, and thou art its interpretation.

With the passing of time, having seen and thought on a large scale, the poet begins to realise the centre of all human conception, the Self. He feels that only outward appearances occupy man's vision ; he, therefore, under-rates himself, while he is actually the pivot of all existence :

تو اگر اپنی حقیقت سے خبردار رہے  
نہ سیہ روز رہے پھر نہ سیہ کار رہے

If thou knowest thy worth, somehow,

Thou shalt neither be unfortunate, nor an evil-doer.

The far-sightedness and the deep concern of a poet for the future of his own people was seldom so practically demonstrated as by Iqbal. He sang the praises of his native land and always taught the people of India to love one another. No idea of the progress of the people and their political deliverance, according to him, can have any meaning before the people of this vast sub-continent learn the secret of national unity. Iqbal preached this doctrine of mutual sympathy throughout his life. He saw all that was happening around him and conveyed it to the nation. Any calamity, even the slightest injury to the common man and his interest made the poet's eyes tearful as his representative :

مبتلائے درد کوئی عضو ہو روتی ہے آنکھ  
کس قدر ہمدرد سارے جسم کی ہوتی ہے آنکھ

If a certain limb feels pain, the eye weeps ;

How sympathetic towards the body is the eye !

Perhaps the first poem in which the poet gave expression to what may be conveniently called the "national spirit" is *Taswir-i-Dard*. The poet is not unaware of his personal worth. He knows that he is a treasure hidden under a handful of dust, as he says, "No one knows where I am and whose fortune I am." Here he refers to the sad story of India :

ولاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہندوستان مجھ کو  
کہ عبرت خیز ہے تیرا فسانہ سب فسانوں میں

Thy sight, O India ! makes me tearful,

For, thy tale is the most pathetic of all !

The poet advises the people of India to open their eyes to reality : Love is the binding force among the people of a country :

شراب روح پرور ہے محبت نوع انساں کی  
سکھایا اس نے مجھ کو مست بے جام و سبورہنا

Love of humanity is a soul-nourishing wine,

This very thing has taught me to be inebriated sans cup !



That the all-pervading reality is one and the same throughout the Universe is a common philosophical truth. The inquisitive mind of Iqbal perceives the basic reality everywhere. Man, the bud, the moon and the poet's heart all direct him to the same truth :

حسن ازل کی پیدا ہر چیز میں جھلک ہے  
انسان میں وہ سخن ہے غنچے میں وہ چٹک ہے

Eternal beauty shines in every thing,  
In man it is speech ; in the bud it is bloom.

Immortality of the soul was conceived by Iqbal at a very early stage. He explains this aspect of human life very beautifully in his famous poem, *On the Banks of the Ravi*. To him, man is like a fast-sailing boat on the breast of a river, struggling with the waves. The speed of the boat is almost that of light, and death is nothing but the passing of the boat out of sight. Similarly, the ship of human life sails along and is equally apparent and invisible :

شکست سے یہ کبھی آشنا نہیں ہوتا  
نظر سے چھپتا ہے لیکن فنا نہیں ہوتا

It is never faced with defeat ;  
It passes out of sight, but never perishes..

But at the same time, Iqbal anxiously feels for the short life of man here on earth. A feeling of disappointment with a deep colour of a lover's pessimism and sweetness of grief, so cherished by youth, can be traced in the poet's animating verse :

نہیں بیگانگی اچھی رفیق راہ منزل سے  
ٹھہر جا اے شرر ہم بھی تو آخر مٹنے والے ہیں

Unjustifiable is the feeling of strangeness to a fellow-traveller ;  
Wait, O spark ! we too are going to fade away at last !

کوئی دم کا مہماں ہوں اے اہل محفل  
چراغ سحر ہوں بجھا چاہتا ہوں

O members of the assembly ! I am a guest for a few moments :  
I am the morning candle, apt to go out soon !

But, we shall soon see that this kind of pessimism is a characteristic

of the poet's early verse. The optimistic note is the distinguishing feature of his later poetry. The modern view of life that it is a constant struggle was poetically conceived by Iqbal like the Greek philosophers who thought that the heavenly planets possessed life because of their motion. Like Milton, who ascribed life to the heavenly bodies, imagining them to be singing and dancing, Iqbal gives a beautiful meaning to motion in *The Moon and the Stars* :

جنبش سے ہے زندگی جہاں کی یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی

Life in this world depends on motion,  
It is an old custom of this scene of existence.

As such, everything is making an effort, though not entirely successfully, to remain alive :

زندہ ہر ایک چیز ہے کوشش نا تمام سے

Everything is alive through an effort that knows no end !

In the midst of all such thought, Iqbal does not forget the compelling impulse of life and as a young man believes :

عقیدہ عشرت امروز ہے جوانی کا

'To-day's pleasure' is the creed of youth !

The sight of a star makes the poet reflect on the deeper side of life. He asks the trembling star the reason of all fear : "Dost thou fear the moon ? Is it the fear of the morning ? What news hast thou received of the end of beauty ?" The poet very solemnly unveils the truth that the rise of the one is the fall of the other. The rising of the sun is a message of death to thousands of stars. The sleep of mortality is the intoxicating effect of the wine of life. The fading of the bud is the secret of the birth of the flower and this phase of birth on the brink of death, however, passes comprehension, but—

سکون محال ہے قدرت کے کارخانے میں  
ثبات ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں

Inactivity is impossible in the workshop of Nature ;  
The only thing that endures in time is Change.

The philosophy of grief is a very popular theme among poets,



and there must be very few of them who have not been impressed by its sweetness. Iqbal has his own explanation :

غم نہیں غم روح کا اک نغمہ خاموش ہے  
جو سرود بربط ہستی سے ہم آغوش ہے

Grief is the silent song of the soul bereft,  
Which embraces the song played on the lute of life.

The unlimited possibilities of spiritual evolution were a matter of conviction with Iqbal and his philosophical poetry abounds in such references :

اس ذرہ کو رہتی ہے وسعت کی ہوس ہر دم  
یہ ذرہ نہیں شاید سمٹا ہوا صحرا ہے

This particle is ever greedy of vastness—and space :  
It is not a particle, perhaps, it is a microcosm of Sahara !

The candle flame attracts the moth, and as an analogy, the poet desires the possession of the 'inner light'. The question which he puts to the candle is illuminating, indeed :

از کجا این آتش عالم فروز اندوختی  
کرمک بے مایہ را سوز کلیم آموختی

Whence hast thou gathered this world-lighting fire ?  
Thou hast taught the poor moth the 'burning zeal' of Moses.

The candle gives a befitting reply telling the poet, "I burn because of the 'burning' in my nature and you 'light up' yourself so that you may attract the moths." This reveals the true attitude of the poet's mind towards society. He never appeared in society wearing artificial attire. As a poet his feelings were the result of natural inspiration inasmuch as he hated ostentation and posing, because he condemned the vain display of poetic art.

Iqbal's message to humanity, particularly to the Muslim world, has always been of hope. He stirred his people to new life and assured them that they still had the field of achievement open to them :

اپنی اصلیت سے ہو آگاہ اے غافل کہ تو  
قطرہ ہے لیکن مثال بحر بے پایاں بھی ہے

O heedless ! acquaint thyself with thy worth, for thou  
Art a drop—but hast the potentiality of a boundless ocean !

Towards the end of his interesting poem, the Candle and the Moth, the poet foreshadows a bright future :

شب گریزان ہوگی آخر جلوۂ خورشید سے  
یہ چمن معمور ہوگا نغمۂ توحید سے

Eventually, Night shall flee before the glory of the Sun,  
And this garden shall echo with the melody of Unity.

A very important feature of Iqbal's verse is that he always looks to the past and wants us to be cautious of the present. As he was a member of a fallen race, his primary concern as a poet was to preserve the solidarity of his people. In a way, he was conservative in his outlook, as he felt that society, while passing through a state of change, was liable to lose connection with past culture and civilization. For this reason, Iqbal was never tired of emphasising the great value of remembering the past :

ہاں یہ سچ ہے چشم بر عہد کہن رہتا ہوں میں  
اہل محفل سے پرانی داستان کہتا ہوں میں

Yea, it is true that I keep my eyes on ancient times,  
And relate to the members of the assembly an old story.

The past of Islam was refulgent and in its light the poet sought the future. The present is deceptive as Muslims have lost ground in regard to their role in world affairs and the process of decay has set in. The poet, therefore, perpetually looks back to the past :

سامنے رکھتا ہوں اس دور نشاط افزا کو میں  
دیکھتا ہوں دوش کے آئینے میں فردا کو میں

I keep before my eyes that glorious period—  
And I see To-morrow in the mirror of Yesterday.

*Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah* are the popular poems of Iqbal; the former serves the purpose of an introduction to the latter. *Jawab-i-Shikwah* aims at social reform and *Shikwah* is a plaint setting forth the grievances of Muslims. The plaintive note is naturally the cause of the popularity of *Shikwah*, casting *Jawab-i-Shikwah* into the background. These two poems—one representing the Muslim's case and the other the "Divine Reply"—have had a revivifying effect on



Muslim society. *Shikwah*, as the poet's lament, must be judged from the merits of the plaint.

The philosophy of life has been interpreted in various ways by poets of all times, but Iqbal removes the dubious and dark veil of life. To him the secret of eternal life is :

پختہ تر ہے گردشِ پیہم سے جامِ زندگی  
 ہے یہی اے بے خبر رازِ دوامِ زندگی  
 تو اسے پیمانۂ امروز و فردا سے نہ ناپ  
 جاوداں پیہم دواں ہر دمِ جوانِ زندگی  
 زندگانی کی حقیقت کوہکن کے دل سے پوچھ  
 جوئے شیر و تیشہ و سنگِ گراںِ زندگی

By perpetual circulation the cup of life becomes firmer than ever ;  
 O heedless ! surely this is the very secret of eternal life.  
 Do not measure life with the cup of To-day and To-morrow.  
 Life is perpetual and young at all times, here and hereafter.  
 Ask the heart of Farhad about the actual truth of life—  
 Life is a stream of milk, an adze and a weighty stone!

The philosophical basis of Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* and a major portion of his other poetical works is the conception of the Self. To quote Iqbal from his statement to Dr. Nicholson, "All life is individual; there is no such thing as Universal life. God himself is an Individual: He is the most unique Individual (this closely resembles the theory of Iman Ahmad ibn Hanbal!). The Universe, as Dr. McTaggart says, is an association of individuals; but we must add that the orderliness and adjustment which we find in this association is not eternally achieved and complete in itself. It is the result of instinctive or conscious effort. We are gradually travelling from chaos to chaos and are helpers in this achievement. Nor are the members of the association fixed; new members are ever coming to birth to co-operate in the great task. Thus the Universe is not a completed act: it is still in the course of formation. There can be no complete truth about the Universe, for the Universe has not yet become 'whole'. The process of creation is still going on, and man too takes his share in it, inasmuch as he helps to bring order into at least a portion of the chaos. The Quran indicates the possibility of other creators than God."

This conception of life is not in harmony with the traditions of pantheistic mysticism, which associates itself with the idea of absorption in a Universal life and looks upon such an end as salvation. Self-negation has been a common feature of many systems of thought, and the result of such teachings has been witnessed in the social deterioration of many nations. The teachings of the later Sufis of Islam were, very unfortunately, directed towards such an end. The penetrating eyes of Iqbal realised the fatal mistake and expounded the true meaning of religion, particularly Islam. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique." In this, the poet is supported by the Prophet's saying.—*Takhallaqu bi-akhlaq illah* (Create in yourself the attributes of God!) and this is a reference to the fact that man has to develop himself after the unique Self. "What then is life? It is individual: its highest form, so far, is the Ego (*Khudi*) in which the individual becomes a self-contained exclusive centre." The poet is led to think that man is not absorbed in God, but on the contrary, he absorbs God into himself. He seeks further support in Rumi's beautiful couplet alluding to the Prophet (while a young boy) when lost in the desert. His nurse, Halima, was greatly perturbed, but while searching agitatedly for the boy in the desert, she heard a voice saying:

"Do not grieve, he will not be lost to thee;  
Nay, the whole world will be lost in him!"

To Iqbal, life is a forward assimilative movement and conquers all its difficulties by assimilating them and the basis of all life is "the continual creation of desires and ideals," but as matter is a solid obstruction in the way of life, its conquest is very essential for the growth of life. The poet believes that love (*Ishq*) strengthens the Ego and the word, 'love' has a peculiar meaning for him, namely, the desire to assimilate, and in its developed form it creates values and ideals and endeavours to attain them. The life-giving effect of love is that individuality is the very essence of the poet's teachings. In contradistinction to the effect of love, asking (*Su'al*) weakens the Ego and asking in its ultimate sense stands for 'inaction'. The Ego has to pass through three stages as an evolutionary process:



- (a) Obedience to the Law,
- (b) Self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or Ego-hood.
- (c) Divine Vicegerency (*Niyabat-i-Ilahi*)

Obedience to the law is a training for higher ends which gives the conception of governance. Before man aspires to rule others, he must learn discipline and order in the light of Divine Law, which is a pre-requisite to order on earth. It may be pointed out that the word, 'Law' here refers to the *Shari'at* of the Prophet. The value of self-control would be easily appreciated to-day, when man is acquiring an increasing hold over nature, and at the same time he is losing self-control. The social upheaval of to-day is in no small measure due to this fact. Divine Vicegerency is the representation of God on earth as revealed in the Holy Quran and aims at the establishment of "the Kingdom of God on Earth"—the democracy of unique individuals. Nietzsche had also such a conception, but the difference between the views of Iqbal and Nietzsche is quite plain. The latter was an atheist and believed in the code of Superman. He had a very high notion of aristocracy and this cast him away from the idea of divine democracy, but the belief of Nietzsche in the virtues of a strong man has affected modern thought in no small measure; and for his peculiar rashness of thought he is blamed to have provoked war. Iqbal being a Muslim believes in the representation of God on Earth. He is naturally a democrat, but his democracy is presided over by a 'unique' personality. While defending the Democracy of Islam, Iqbal wrote in *The New Era*, 1916 :—

"The Democracy of Europe, overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical fear, originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European societies. Nietzsche, however, abhors this 'rule of the herd' and, hopeless of the Piebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of Supermen. But, is the Piebeian 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 cultiva-

ting a certain type of character. Out of the Plebeian material, Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then, the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?"

The Universe, according to Iqbal, originates in the Self and on its strength depends the individual life :

خویشتن را چون خودی بیدار کرد  
آشکارا عالم پندار کرد

When the Ego awakened itself eventually,  
It brought to light the Universe of thought.

وا نمودن خویش را خوئے خودی است  
خفته در هر ذره نیروئے خودی است

To display itself is in the nature of the Self,  
In every particle lies dormant the strength of the Self.

The life of the Self depends upon the creation of an object and the pursuit of this object, as life is vapid without any end in view, and nature herself helps man in that direction. Without a desire, there is nothing to live for, and it has been seen that people who have lost the desire 'to live' due to unfavourable circumstances, have all of a sudden been deserted by life—altogether collapsed. The basis of life among the poor is a strong desire to cling to life in adverse circumstances and this makes them drift along in action. The rich being satiated with life do not step into the arena of strife :

آرزو را در دل خود زنده دار      تا نگردد مشّت تو خاک مزار

Keep the desire alive in thy heart at any cost ;  
Lest the handful of thy dust should turn into a grave.

The Self gains strength through love, which expresses the latent possibilities of an individual. It is a binding force which keeps the scattered individuals together and imparts to society the much desired strength of unity on which alone depends the vital functioning of social life

از محبت می شود پابنده تر      زنده تر سوزنده تر تابنده تر

The Self becomes more enduring through love—  
More alive, more zealous—more effulgent !



The poet ultimately conceives the guiding force in *Mard-i-Kamil*, an idea so near to Nietzsche's Superman, but, in any case, the idea of Perfect Man is not alien to Persian mysticism. Iqbal's conception bears a close resemblance to the idea of *Insan-i-Kamil*, as conceived by Sheikh Abdul Karim ibn Ibrahim al-Jili. Nietzsche's Superman is supposed to establish a new order and, to this end, he would seek dominion over the weak. On the contrary, Iqbal believes in a unique personality, destined to establish Divine Democracy on the face of the earth and uphold the cause of all alike :

کیمیا پیدا کن از مِشت گلے      بوسه زن بر آستان کامله

Make alchemy out of thy handful of dust :

Humbly kiss the threshold of a Perfect Man !

The personality of the Holy Prophet is the Perfect Man in the eyes of Iqbal and he describes it in the beautiful verse of Jami :

نسخه کونین را دیباچه اوست      جمله عالم بندگان و خواجه اوست

He is the preface to the book of the two worlds ;

The people of the world are slaves while he is the Master.

As the Self gathers strength through love, it conquers the visible and invisible forces of the Universe :

از محبت چون خودی محکم شود      قوتش فرمانده عالم شود

When the Self gains strength through love, :

Its power becomes the ruler of the world.

As the strength of the Self is an object towards which all human energy should be directed, self-negation impedes human progress in all its phases. The fall of a nation in most cases pre-supposes the deterioration of the Self. National awakening, on the other hand, must be preceded by the awakening of the Self, which should be cautiously guarded against unhealthy thought that robs it of its strength. The Platonic teachings that found their way into Islamic thought through Greek philosophy have imperceptibly done harm to Islam. Iqbal looks upon Plato's attitude towards life as that of sheep, because the latter denies the reality of life, as opposed to Iqbal's view. All existence is a fact, and no nation can live for a long time without

going into the secret causes of all that happens. Iqbal severely criticises Platonic views and sounds a note of warning against them. Farabi's effort to prove the similarity of thought between Aristotle and Plato in *Al-jam' bain-ar-Rayain* is not successful in the eyes of Iqbal :

بسکه از ذوق عمل محروم بود    جان او وارفته معدوم بود

As Plato was devoid of practical taste,

His soul was simply mad after non-existence.

The continuation of national life is a problem for every responsible leader of a nation. Iqbal was a great lover of past traditions and his 'credo' was justifiable since the perpetual life of a nation depends on clinging fast to national traditions. As the history of nations has proved, the survival of a group of people depends upon reverence for past traditions ; It is a cogent force that breeds affinity for the social whole.

One of the high aims of a Muslim is to resort to *Jihad* to exalt the 'Word of God' and if in any case land-hunger is the object of *Jihad*, it is not lawful in Islam.

The Holy Prophet is the central figure in Islam—the Perfect Man of Iqbal. The poet believes that the evolution of the Islamic people depends on following the example of the Holy Prophet who reveals to man the divine significance of legality :

تا سوئے یک مدعایش می کشد    حلقه آئین بیایش می کشد

As he draws him towards a single object,

He draws a circle of laws around his feet.

The poet describes the foundation of Muslim society as based on Unity and Prophethood and, as such, it has no spatial limit and is eternal. The eternity of the chosen People is promised ; however, the solidarity of a nation cannot be ensured without a code, and the code for the Islamic people is the Holy Quran :

نوع انسان را پیام آخرین    حامل او رحمته للعالمین

The final message to humanity, certainly,

Its bearer is a 'Blessing to the Worlds' !



'Life is a constant struggle,' as Iqbal points out :

سکندر با خضر خوش نکته گفت  
شریک سوز و ساز بحر و بر شو  
تو این جنگ از کنار عرصه بینی  
بمیر اندر نبرد و زنده تر شو

Alexander explained a fine point of wisdom to Khizar;  
Share the 'burning and suffering' of the sea and land!  
Thou art watching the fight from the margin of the arena;  
Die in the battle array and thus become more alive!

رفیقش گفت اے یار خرد مند اگر خواهی حیات اندر خطر زی

His companion said, "O wise friend!  
If thou desirest life, live dangerously!"

Iqbal does not condemn reason, but regards love as a superior guide, as he is, like Bergson, an intuitive philosopher. The superiority of love has been recognised by all mystics; and Sanai is one of them, to whom Iqbal pays a tribute :

سفالم را منے او جام جم کرد درون قطره ام پوشیده یم کرد  
خرد اندر سرم بتخانه ریخت خلیل عشق دیرم را حرم کرد

His wine has turned my clay into the cup of Jamshid  
And placed inside my drop a hidden stormy sea!  
Wisdom built an idol-house inside my head;  
The Abraham of love turned my temple into the Haram.

Hard and unfavourable circumstances sometimes compel a man to lead an unusual life, and the hardship of life imparts to the soul the strength which characterises the men of courage. 'Be hard!' was Nietzsche's attitude towards life, as Iqbal in the Eagle's Advice to His Young One, sings almost in the same tune :

پئے شاہبازان بساط است سنگ  
کہ بر سنگ رفتن کند تیز چنگ

For the eagles, the hard stone is almost a carpet,  
As moving over the stones sharpens their claws!

Life is activity : The simple fact is illustrated by the poet by alluding to a sea wave :

موج ز خود رفتہ تیز خرامید و گفت  
ہستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم

A wild wave rolled fast and said to assure,  
"I am, if I move; and if I don't, I am not!"

Iqbal was after a new world and was always thinking of its balanced formation. In the realm of thought, he discovered new regions and was never satisfied with the present state of things :

پرانے ہیں یہ ستارے فلک بھی فرسودہ  
جہاں وہ چاہئے مجھ کو کہ ہو ابھی نوخیز

These stars are old and the global sphere is worn out,  
I want a world, which is just newly sprung!

Referring to a person bred in low society, the poet makes the beautiful use of the word, *Shahin*, the Eagle :

وہ فریب خورده شاہیں جو پلا ہو کر گسوں میں  
اسے کیا خبر کہ کیا ہے رہ و رسم شاہبازی

That self-deceived falcon, bred amongst vultures—  
How can he be aware of the characteristics of the Eagle?

The attributes of the nightingale or the peacock make a nation foppish and physically weak as they have nothing to do with the sterling worth of a people :

کر بلبل و طاؤس کی تقلید سے توبہ  
بلبل فقط آواز ہے طاؤس فقط رنگ

Forswear the imitation of the nightingale or the peacock—  
The nightingale is nothing but voice, the peacock is nothing but colour!

The poet offers wholesome advice to youth :

نہ ہو نومید نومیدی زوال علم و عرفاں ہے  
امید مرد مومن ہے خدا کے راز دانوں میں

Do not lose hope; despair is the decline of all knowledge; .  
The hope of a true believer is acquainted with the secrets of God!

The tendency of the modern generation towards modern philosophy is not healthy according to Iqbal. In his poem, *A Philosophy: To the Son of a Sayyid*, the poet says :



تو اپنی خودی اگر نہ کھوتا      زنارِی برگساں نہ ہوتا  
دل در سخن محمدی بند      اے پور علی ز بوعلی چند  
چوں دیدہ راہیں نداری  
قاید قرشی بہ از بخاری

If thou hadst not lost thy own Self—altogether,  
Thou wouldst not have been a follower of Bergson.  
Attach thy heart to what the Prophet said ;  
O son of Ali ! how long from Bu Ali ?  
When thou hast no eyes that can see the way,  
The Qarshi leader is better than a Bukhari !

Iqbal did not believe in any rigid system of philosophy simply conceived as the result of abstract reasoning :

یا مردہ ہے یا نزع کی حالت میں گرفتار  
جو فلسفہ لکھا نہ گیا خوں جگر سے

Either it is dead, or is struggling in the last stages of decay—  
The philosophy that does not spring from the blood of the heart !

Iqbal turned from the decadent old system and looked for a personality that could build a new world :

دنیا کو ہے اس مہدیٰ برحق کی ضرورت  
ہو جس کی نگہ زلزلہ عالم افکار

To-day the world stands in need of such a Mehdi,  
Whose glance could cause an upheaval in the realm of thought.

Modern free thought has many grave aspects. Certainly, there is danger to religion, and the view of Iqbal in the context has special value :

آزادی افکار سے ہے ان کی تباہی      رکھتے نہیں جو فکر و تدبیر کا سلیقہ

Free thinking leads to the destruction of those—  
Who have no aptitude for thought and independence of views.

According to Iqbal, the process of creation is still going on and the freshness of constructive thought is the primary asset for rebuilding a new world :

جہان تازہ کی افکار تازہ سے ہے نمود  
کہ سنگ و خشت سے ہوتے نہیں جہاں پیدا

A fresh world takes its appearance from fresh ideas,  
For, stone and brick do not create the worldly scheme of things !

## VII

### IQBAL'S CONCEPTION OF LIFE

ONE night, the poet was watching the Ravi with a 'world of disturbance' concealed in the corner of his heart. The night was calm and the river was flowing quietly. The restless wave was sleeping in the depths of the river like an infant in its cradle. The magic of the night had held the birds in the nests as captives and the dim stars were caught in the talisman of the moon. All of a sudden, Khizar, who even in his old age had the elasticity of youth, appeared and said to the poet, " If the eye of the heart be open, the destiny of the world is unveiled " The poet then questioned Khizar :—

چھوڑ کر آبادیاں رہتا ہے تو صحرا نورد  
زندگی تیری ہے بے روز و شب و فردا و دوش  
زندگی کا راز کیا ہے سلطنت کیا چیز ہے  
اور یہ سرمایہ و محنت میں ہے کیسا ہروشی

Away from populated areas, thou keepest roaming the desert,  
And thy life is without day and night, without To-morrow and Yesterday !  
What is the secret of Life? What is Sultanet?  
And what is this noisy conflict between Capital and Labour?

And Khizar replied :

کیوں تعجب ہے مری صحرا نوردی پر تجھے  
بد تگا پوئے دمدام زندگی کی ہے دلیل

Why dost thou wonder at my rambles in the desert ?  
This constant motion is certainly the potent sign of life.

پختہ تر ہے گردش پیہم سے جام زندگی  
ہے یہی اے بیخبر راز دوام زندگی

Constant circulation makes the cup of life all the more durable ;  
O thoughtless one ! this is the very secret of eternal life !



اپنی دنیا آپ پیدا کر اگر زندوں میں ہے  
سر آدم ہے ضمیر کن فکاں ہے زندگی

Create thy own world, if thou art among the living;

Life is the secret of Adam—the conscience of Creation !

Such is the dynamic view of Iqbal on life, as contrasted with the teachings of so many Eastern thinkers and poets. The primary instinct of life, self-preservation, so to say, is the basis of all his thought. The poet supported this view during a private discussion with one of his friends; "Undoubtedly, in order to strengthen the Self, its consciousness is very essential, but preservation of the Self is a natural instinct, of which no object in the Universe is devoid. Hence, there is the possibility of eternal life for every person, whatever his stage of consciousness. This instinct is as common as life. Islam stands for the nature of God, the ultimate reality which must form the basis of all life. Look, I give give you an example for illustration ! There is a plank before you. If you try to lift it, what will you have to overcome? Resistance, of course ! You would say, resistance is in its nature. Hence, what is the property of life?—Self-preservation, to be sure ! And this law of nature is prevalent everywhere."

This explains the fact that the poet traces life to the behaviour of the Self, which is a fundamental potential force that keeps the system going. The conception of the Self has a direct relation with mysticism, but the entity of the Self, its behaviour and end have been confused by the mystics. The doctrine of self-negation strikes at the root of all human progress and this was perhaps the worst intellectual calamity that overtook the Eastern nations. The result of the ancient lore and inactivity, as seen by Iqbal, in the *Khankah* and tavern, together with his modern education and experience brought him into contact with the optimistic side of life as expounded in nature. It has often been said that the philosophy of Iqbal had been influenced by Western thinkers, but Iqbal himself maintains, as he wrote to Dr. Nicholson: "The philosophy of the *Secrets* is based on the thought and observations of Muslim saints and philosophers. Even Bergson's conception of time is nothing new to the Sufis, The Quran is not a book of metaphysics. All what has been said in it relating to life and after life is definite although

it has a direct relation with metaphysical problems. When an educated Muslim of modern times describes these points which have their origin in the Quran, in the light of religious experience and thought, it should not be understood that the new thought is being presented in the old garb. It should be rather said that the old truths are being put forth in the light of modern thought,"

Idealism has been very popular with poets. An inclination towards inactivity in the garb of *Sukun* has almost become the essence of Oriental poetry, particularly Persian, and the reason is obvious; Iqbal chalked out a new line for himself singing with Rumi :

زین ہمرہاں سست عناصر دلم گرفت

He focussed his attention on the Self, which is the centre of all activity and on which alone depends the survival of man. Naturally, he could not agree with Plato, whose philosophy later influenced by Plotinus, found its way into Persian mysticism which was responsible for self-immolation and renunciation of the world. Plato looked upon the world as having two sides. To him the outward appearance of all objects was illusory and the reality was imperceptible. Consequently, Platonic teachings led his followers to attach greater importance to reality which is imperceptible, hence a disregard for "this worldliness".

Iqbal renounced the philosophy of Plato with all the force at his command; he speaks of him as 'the leader of the old herd of sheep.' As Platonic philosophy dug its roots deep in Iran, Iqbal is opposed to Persian mysticism, noted for ascetic renunciation of the world and intellectual pessimism, and admires the practical Arabian thought and life, as inspired by the Quran. He equally deprecates Hindu and Buddhist philosophy of transmigration and self-negation, which developed a complete disregard on the part of man for the responsibilities of life and brought to naught human greatness and glory.

Iqbal's philosophy of life may be traced back to the Quranic verse :

انا عرضنا الامانة على السموات والارض فايقنا ان يحملنا واشققنا منها وحملها الانسان انه كان ظلوماً جهولاً۔

"Verily we proposed to the Heavens and to the Earth, and to the mountains to receive the 'Trust,' but they refused the burden and they



feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless !” (33 : 72). That ‘Trust,’ which the Heaven and the Earth refused to bear, was responsible for the growth of the personality and the consciousness of the Self. This contributed to his greatness, and this gave him dominion over the world. In the light of his views, the Self is the basis of all life, which in its dynamic form is constant activity and creates new desires and ends every day ; this leads to its extension and preservation. Nature is an obstacle in the way of self-development and, as such, its conquest is essential and compulsory. The conception of Iqbal’s Self gives great importance to the individual, as the development of an individual is not possible without an effective discipline and code for society. Iqbal, therefore, believes that the loss of self-consciousness on the part of an individual or society directly leads to its absorption into another stronger individual or society, a view that resembles that of Ibn-i-Khaldun. So the best way of preserving an individual or society is to keep alive the ‘active element’ in life, in a sense, adjustment to new circumstances.

Very naturally, Iqbal, being a teacher of dynamic life, admires the Eagle Spirit (it reminds one of Nietzsche) ; in other words, he hates weakness and regards inactivity as a curse of social life. A victim of tyranny is as blamable as a tyrant—he creates an opportunity for the practice of tyranny. Power is a dominating feature of Iqbal’s conception of life and its demonstration is to live dangerously :

اگر خواہی حیات اندر خطر زی

If thou desireth life, live dangerously !

Besides, the poet’s aesthetic taste sees beauty in power, and the art of Iqbal is no less a demonstration of power. Referring to the Taj, while discussing the architectural art of Islamic buildings, the poet once said : “ It does not reflect the quality of Quvvat-ul-Islam. Like the buildings of the later periods, it has also suffered in the power element and in fact this element of power keeps up the balance of beauty.”

From the same point of view, the poet hated static philosophy or literature. The element of *Taqlid* (Imitation) in all departments of life breeds inactivity. Specifically, mysticism relies on *Taqlid* and similarly politics, philosophy and poetry. Differentiating between Baidil and

Ghalib, the poet once remarked that the mysticism of the former is dynamic and that of the latter is 'inclined to be static,' and as the poetry of Nasir Ali Sarhindi has little to do with *Taglid*, his poetry is very popular among the active people of Afghanistan and Bukhara. For similar reasons, Baidil is equally popular in Central Asia.

According to Iqbal, the origin of the Universe is in the Self :

پیکر هستی ز آثار خودی است  
هرچه می بینی ز اسرار خودی است

The form of Existence is an effect of the Self;  
All that thou seest is nothing but a secret of the Self.

One gathers from his verse that demonstration is nothing but the nature of the Self, and in every particle lies dormant the power of the Self. As the life of the Universe depends upon the Self, the measure of life is in proportion to its strength. The continuation of life depends upon an object or a goal, and its endless pursuit is the very secret of life. It is not the wild growth of human life which is to be looked upon as the object of man.

The philosophy of Iqbal lays great emphasis on individual protection, but the poet is not forgetful of the welfare of society and the secret of individual evolution in society. The poet's conception of the Self draws a circle round the individual ; and within that circle the individual is independent, but the social circle is a wider sphere for the development of the social Self :

فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است  
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است

Social alliance is a blessing to the individual;  
His essence gains perfection in society at large.

The poet further suggests that the existence of national life depends upon the conquest of Universal forces :

کاروان را رهگزر است این جهان  
قد مومن را عیار است این جهان

This world is but a pathway for the caravan ;  
It is a touchstone for the coin of the true Believer.



گیر او را تا نه او گیرد ترا  
همچو مے اندر سبو گیرد ترا

Hold it so that it may not hold thee, otherwise,  
Perforce, like wine in the vat, it holds thee !

Eternal life, as viewed by the poet, is the constant pursuit of a goal, desire constituting the very water of life :

اگر ز رمز حیات آگہی مجوے و مگیر  
دلے کہ از خلش خار آرزو پاک است

If you know the secret of life, such a heart should not be sought, nor found  
As is free from the stinging pain of the thorn of desire !

Life is definitely a forward movement and a constant pursuit :

چو موج خیز و بہ یم جاودانہ مے آویز  
کرانہ مے طلبی بے خبر کرانہ کجاست

Rise like a wave and keep struggling with the sea !  
Dost thou seek the shore ? O ignorant one! where is the shore ?

The caravan of life is leaving everything behind :

شایان جنون ما پهنائے دو گیتی نیست  
این راہگزر ما را آن راہگزر ما را

The vastness of the two worlds does not befit our insanity.  
This is a passage for us : that is a passage for us!

'An endless search for a new world and every time a fresh demand,'  
is the poetic inspiration under which the poet himself led the life  
of a *Mujahid* :

ہر زمان یک تازہ جولانگہ می خواہم ازو  
تا جنون فرمائے من گوید دگر ویرانہ نیست

Every time I demand a fresh play-ground from Him—  
Till my Ordainer of Insanity says : "There is no other desolation!"

## VIII

### HIS THOUGHTS ON SELF, FREEDOM AND IMMORTALITY

THE questions concerning the human ego, its freedom and immortality have agitated the minds of great philosophers in all ages. Iqbal looks upon these questions in two ways: As a poet his inspiration is intuitive, and as a philosopher he takes us through a labyrinth of reasoning. The poet only sees and speaks while the philosopher discusses the intricate problems in his own terms and presents the subject to us in philosophical values with due regard to modern philosophy and its great achievements in the domain of psychology. Iqbal, as a Muslim philosopher, proves and evaluates the experience of life in the light of the Holy Quran:—

“The Quran emphasises the individuality and uniqueness of man. It has a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life, and clearly points out :

- (i) That man is the chosen of God ;
- (ii) That man, with all his faults, is meant to be the representative of God on Earth ;
- (iii) That man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.”

These truths form the basis of Iqbal's philosophy of the Self and other allied problems. He attaches great importance to the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Quran declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge, the other two being history and nature. “This experience in the religious life of Islam,” says the philosopher, “reached its culmination in the well known words of Hallaj—‘ I am the creative truth ! ’ ” The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not the drop falling back into the sea, but the



realisation and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality." That is to say, the philosopher approaches the Self through the intuitive experience of a mystic saint of Islam and proves the great importance of the ego and its ultimate destiny. Such an experience has its scientific value and can, in no way, be ignored while testing the value of human experience. Purely dialectic approach to such questions as the ego and its immortality is not of much help. Scientific materialism does not help us either. Unfortunately, the purely subjective aspect of inner experience makes the scientific knowledge of such questions extremely difficult. The two domains of knowledge, material and psychological, are quite different from each other—not to say independent. A scientist may deny the reality of the ego, but he has no *locus standi*. Hypothetically, the ego is beyond the domain of matter, yet it has a connection with matter. The questions of the freedom and immortality of the ego presuppose that the ego survives even after death. Some of the modern philosophers have not been able to recognise the reality of the ego, while the idea of the Self finds a prominent place in Hegelian philosophy. Bradley discovers "the finite centre of experience to be infected with irreconcilable opposition of change and permanence, unity and diversity; the ego is a mere illusion." Yet he has to admit that the Self must be in some sense indubitable fact. The finite centre of experience, according to Iqbal, is real even though its reality is too profound to be intellectualised.

So the entity of the Self is not easily comprehensible. The mere fact that the conception of the Self is a dubious affair is not equivalent to a plain denial, particularly when the futility of reason in higher questions of psychology and metaphysics is self-evident. It may not be disputed that the value of individual experience is not scientifically appreciable by the observer, but the value of such an experience to the individual is a reality. A philosopher, unless he has that mystic aptitude which brings man into close communion with reality, is incapable of grasping the value of such experience, but then again, the experience is inexpressible in material terms. Such are the handicaps in the way of realising the Self and its behaviour which manifests

itself in the unity of experience. "I do not mean to say," says Iqbal, "that the ego is over and above the mutually penetrating multiplicity we call experience. Inner experience is the ego at work. We appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging and willing. The life of the ego is a kind of tension, caused by the ego invading the environment and the environment invading the ego. The ego does not stand outside this arena of mutual invasion. It is present in it as a directive energy and is formed and disciplined by its own experience. The Quran is clear on this directive function of the ego : 'And they ask thee of the soul. Say : the soul proceedeth, from my Lord's *Amr* (command), but of knowledge only a little to you is given,' (17 : 87). So in the light of the Quran, Iqbal defines the ego as the directive function which may not be perfectly comprehended. It is, however, through experience that we can grasp the reality of the Self.

The question of the freedom of the Self is as intricate as the possibility and the experience of the Self itself. Iqbal's theory of freedom, however, rests on the active conception of the Self as a free agent. The fact that the Self is a directive force alludes to the free capacity of the Self for motion ; otherwise the meaning of direction would be wholly lost and the mere functioning of the Self would be an impossibility. The Self expresses itself through motion (activity), a kind of instinctive urge which manifests itself as life in the Universe. "Thus the element of guidance and directive control," says Iqbal, "in the ego's activity clearly shows that the ego is a free personal causality." Lack of freedom on the part of the ego would impede the natural working of the system, but that does not imply the absence of the influence of the Universal forces. The power to act forcibly undergoes a change according to circumstances. "The rise and fall of the power to act freely is an important fact of human psychology and Islam is anxious to retain the power to act freely as a constant and undiminished factor in the life of the ego. Prayer in Islam is the ego's escape from mechanism to freedom." So the ego activity may vary from time to time, and a constant vigilance to maintain its freedom is essential.

Another important question in connection with the ego is its immortality. We are constantly living under a big question mark :



What is death? And what happens after death? A materialist's view, that man is a machine and that human life comes to an end as soon as the machine goes out of order, or, becomes dusty, does not appeal to us on the mere ground that life would lose its meaning and the present struggle would not be worth while. A strong urge and belief of the mind of man in survival is the intuitive proof of the immortality of the ego. "It is open to man," according to the Quran, "to belong to the meaning of the Universe and become immortal. It is highly improbable that a being whose evolution has taken millions of years should be thrown away as a thing of no value. But it is only an ever-growing ego that can belong to the meaning of the Universe." This is intended to show that the work of nature is not meaningless. The Universal forces, with all the diversity and change, are conducting the system through an evolutionary process. That matter is indestructible is a scientific truth only in its practical working, in a limited sense. So the contrary view about the ego involves the loss of meaning to life. Yes, the ego passes through a process of change. "It is the deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for future career. The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others. Personal immortality, then, is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it," and this implies dynamic thought and action in life which is the key-note of Iqbal's teachings. As the entity of the human ego is a fact, it is free to act but the maintenance of such freedom depends upon an effort to retain it. Similarly, personal immortality involves a struggle to that end. Iqbal gave expression to these views more beautifully in his poetry which guides mankind through this mortal passage to a life beyond the shifting scene :

ضمیر کن فکاں غیر از تو کس نیست  
 نشان بے نشان غیر از تو کس نیست  
 قدم بیباک تر نہ در رہ زیست  
 بہ پہنائے جہاں غیر از تو کس نیست

The Conscience of Creation, there is none other than thyself:  
 A sign without a sign, there is none other than thyself.  
 Place thy foot more fearlessly on the path of life:  
 In this vast world, there is none other than thyself!

The above quatrain discloses the significance of man in the Universe. His unique greatness lies in being the very Conscience of Creation. The Quran describes man as the 'noblest of creation' and in form evolution regards man as progressive, as the belief that the human career comes to an end with physical death becomes a psychological paradox which disturbs the mind. The poet's lines are so many rays of hope and his view satisfies the natural demand of the Self for survival. He suggests that we are only moving towards another stage; this is not going to be the end:

کھو نہ جا اس سحر و شام میں اے صاحبِ ہوش  
اک جہاں اور بھی ہے جس میں نہ فردا ہے نہ دوش

Do not be lost in this 'morning and evening,' O master of senses!

There is yet another world, which has neither To-morrow, nor Yesterday.

Physical death does not bring the drama to a close:

یہ نکتہ میں نے سیکھا ابوالحسن سے  
کہ جاں مرنی نہیں مرگ بدن سے

I learned this fine point from Abul-Hasan (Ali)

That the soul does not perish with bodily death.

The poet's attitude towards death is best understood in his statement to most of his friends, particularly to a German Baron, who was the poet's personal friend and who visited him the day before his death: "I am not afraid of death, I am a Muslim and shall welcome death with a smiling countenance."

The poet's optimistic belief in the human ego, its freedom and immortality is purely an Islamic view and is calculated to make the believers fearless, always struggling for higher ends on the way to immortality. Such a conception of religious liberty automatically ascribes a great value and meaning to good acts in this life and in the life to come:

"Heaven and Hell are states, not localities. Their descriptions in the Quran are visual representations of an inner fact, namely, character. Hell in the words of the Quran is 'God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts'—the painful realisation of one's failure as a man. Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration. Thee



is no such thing as eternal damnation in Islam. The word 'eternity' used in certain verses, relating to Hell is explained by the Quran itself to mean only a period of time (78: 23). Time cannot be wholly irrelevant to the development of personality. Character tends to become permanent; its reshaping must require time. Hell, therefore, as conceived by the Quran, is not a pit of everlasting torture, inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an infinite reality which 'every moment appears in a glory.' And the recipient of divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding."

Man should carry on the interminable struggle to the brink of the grave':

از ناله بر گلستان آشوب محشر آور  
تا دم به سینه پیچد مگزار هائے و هورا

By thy cry create the tumult of Resurrection in the garden;

Do not give up the hue and cry until the breath is suffocated in thy breast!

An endless desire gives an endless impulse to life:

گفتم که شوق سیر نبردش به منزله  
گفتا که منزلش به همین شوق مضر است

I said, "The desire to move did not take life to its goal."

He answered, "Its goal is concealed in this very desire!"

The fundamental note in Iqbal's philosophic thought is that of the Self which he struck with all his might throughout his life as if he had a celestial instrument in his hand, and the following lines are a comprehensive reverberation of his inspiring songs:—

وجود کوهسار و دشت و در هیچ  
جهان فانی خودی باقی دگر هیچ

The existence of mountains and wilderness is all nothing;

The world is perishable, the Self is eternal; all else is nothing!

دگر از شنکر و منصور کم گوے  
 خدا را هم براه خویشتن جوے  
 بخود گم بهر تحقیق خودی شو  
 اناالحق گوے و صدیق خودی شو

Don't talk of Shankar and Mansur any more;

Seek God in thy own way Self-inspired !

Be lost in thy own Self for the verification of the Self;

Say, "I am the creative truth!" and bear testimony to the Self!





## IX

### THE MYSTIC ELEMENT IN IQBAL

"HIS verse can rouse or persuade even if his logic fails to convince," wrote Dr. R. A. Nicholson in his introduction to the *Secrets of the Self (Asrar-i-Khudi)* in 1920, when Iqbal's later works of sterling worth, such as the *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, *Javid Nama*, and his lectures, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, had not yet appeared. The value of the poet's philosophic thought is sufficiently clear to-day and requires no proof. What Dr. Nicholson means to say is that the poet appeals to the heart rather than to the mind. This was, perforce, quite natural. Iqbal derived his inspiration from such mystic Persian poets as Sanai and Rumi and inherited a deep tinge of mystic element in his poetry as a natural consequence, but his mysticism is not of the kind which was developed by the pseudo-mystic poets. Actually, Iqbal hated and deprecated their teachings. He was a philosopher, but for the true estimation of his philosophy, a very important fact should never be lost sight of, that is to say, he was equally a poet. He did not belittle the importance of reason, but he certainly attached a far greater value to intuition—an experience which in a poet takes the mystic form.

Iqbal depended on philosophy as a means to an end, and the means of approach to Reality through philosophy being limited, the poet had to rely on poetic inspiration, closely allied to mystic experience in its highly developed forms. In order to guard against a wrong impression, which the use of the word 'mysticism' in connection with Iqbal's poetry may convey, it must be constantly borne in mind that the poet was a mystic in the trans-physical domain of Reality. As such, his thought has a specific and rare value. The mystic element in Iqbal is not the result of despair, nor is it his inclination to wrap up his ideas in a mystery. It is rather the optimism of the poet who aspires to plunge into the deeper regions of inner

experience, without which the poetry of Iqbal would lose so much meaning and inspiration, and no conception of truth can be called complete without such experience, the ultimate reality of life being spiritual. The inner experience made Iqbal bold and created an urge in his mind to mould the world according to his desire and, within the limits of possibility, not to adapt himself to circumstances :—

گفتند جهان ما آیا بتو می سازد  
گفتم کہ نمی سازد گفتند کہ برہم زن

They said, "Is our world agreeable to thee?"

I said, "No, it is not!"—They answered, "Upset it!"

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے  
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے

Raise thy Self to such a height that before the approaching destiny,  
God should ask man, "What dost thou desire?"

The higher flights into the heavens and the far-sightedness that *Dervishism* (Iqbal attaches specific meaning to this word!) implies can only be understood in relation to inner experience :

امین راز ہے مردان حر کی درویشی  
کہ جبرئیل سے ہے اسکو نسبت خویشی

The *Dervishism* of freemen is a secret-holder,  
For it has a close relation with Gabriel sublime.

The life-giving philosophy of Iqbal which he teaches in his poetical works aims at bringing about a revolutionary change in a decaying social system. The poet had to fight against the forces of decay. So, he fearlessly criticised the enervating pseudo-mystical thought of the later Sufis, which in a sense, possessed the properties of opium and which had totally robbed society of all activity. The poet's grief is meaningful with a divine discontent :

کسے خبر کہ سفینے ڈبو چکی کتنے  
فقیر و صوفی و شاعر کی ناخوش اندیشی

Who knows how many boats it has sunk, in all?—

The unhappy thought of the Jurist, the Sufi and the Poet!



The deep colour of intuition that characterises the poetry of Iqbal may be justified in the words of the poet-philosopher himself :—

“The heart is a kind of inner intuition or insight, which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense-perception. It is, according to the Quran, something which ‘sees’ and its reports, if properly interpreted, are never false. We must not however, regard it as a mysterious special faculty ; it is rather a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation, in the physiological sense of the word, does not play any part. Yet the vista of experience thus opened to us is as real and concrete as any other experience. To describe it as psychic, mystical, or supernatural does not detract from its value as experience.”

Intuition as a particular source of the poet's knowledge distinguishes his verse from modern poetry and its value is all the more enhanced when one sees that the materialistic trend of the modern mind is largely responsible for the loss of balance in contemporary society :

اقبال نے کل اہل خیاباں کو سنایا  
یہ شعر نشاط آور پر سوز و طربناک  
میں صورت گل دست صبا کا نہیں محتاج  
گرتا ہے مرا جوش جنوں میری قبا چاک

Iqbal recited yesterday to the people of the garden

This verse, so pleasant, inspiring and entertaining :

“Like a flower, I hardly need the hand of the Zephyr,

The overflow of my passion rends my garment asunder !”

Iqbal defines the difference between intuition and the knowledge of sense-perception :

جوابش داد آن مرغ حق اندیش  
تو مے بینی و من دانم کہ آب است

That right-thinking bird replied to him,

“Thou seest, but I know, that it is water.”

The mystic element in the poetry of Iqbal adds to the value of his message to humanity in relation to moral and spiritual purification

and has made him one of the foremost spiritual leaders of his time. The poet, inspired by the religious traditions of Islam, has made a unique contribution to world literature. His verse reminds the reader of other works of sterling worth in Islamic literature. Surely, his writings are the result of evolution in Islamic thought. He was at the same time, a *Mujahid* (a fighter in the name of God) and a Sufi in the sense that his acquaintance with the reality of life gave infinite inspiration to his poetic thought. The words such as *Faqir*, *Dervish* and *Qalandar* interpret the conscience of the poet that he considered himself as one in the line of the great saints who had been the standard-bearers of Islam. His spiritual attachment to Rumi (whom he addresses as *Murshid-i-Rumi*) and his devotion to the Holy Prophet amply throw light on the poet's mind. His attitude towards un-Islamic mysticism was not favourable, but at the same time, he was an admirer of the type of mysticism advocated by Rumi and Sanai. The mystic element in contemporary society has vanished rapidly before the revolutionary philosophy of materialism. He almost stood alone 'like a Tulip in the Desert':

در جهان مثل چراغ لاله صحراستم  
 نے نصیب محفلے نے قسمت کاشانہ

In the world, I am like the lamp of a Tulip in the Desert—  
 Neither the fortune of an assembly, nor the lot of an abode!

In the early poetry of Iqbal are found traces of traditional mysticism, but that is because he adopted the familiar mode of expression as he could not free himself from the traditions of the past. Later, while writing Persian poetry, his breath became warm and it is no exaggeration to say that he breathed a new life into contemporary Muslim society:

نوائے من به عجم آتش کهن افروخت  
 عرب ز نغمہ شوقم هنوز بے خبر است

My voice has rekindled the old fire in 'Ajam,  
 Arabia is yet unaware of my rapturous song!

An important aspect of Iqbal's mystic trend of thought is that he regards love as a true guide, and to him, it is far surer than reason by any stretch of imagination:



خرد کی گتھیاں سلجھا چکا میں  
مرے مولا مجھے صاحب جنوں کر

I have unravelled the tangles of wisdom :

O God ! grant me insanity !

دل من روشن از سوز درون است  
جہاں میں چشم من از اشک خون است  
ز رمز زندگی بیگانہ تر باد  
کسے کو عشق را گوید جنون است

My heart is illuminated by my inner burning, to be sure ;

My eye sees the world through blood-like tears !

May he be a stranger to the secret of life,

Who unknowingly speaks of love as 'madness' !

In the latter part of his life, the poet's inclination towards mysticism seems to have gained strength. The new problems of life and the rash growth of materialism, with a corresponding disregard for spiritual reality, appear to have profusely inspired his poetry :

دل بینا بھی کر خدا سے طلب  
آنکھ کا نور دل کا نور نہیں

Demand a *seeing* heart as well from God !

The light of the eye is not the light of the heart.

تند و سبک سیر ہے گرچہ زمانے کی رو  
عشق خود اک سیل ہے سیل کو لیتا ہے تھام

Although furious and fast is the wave of Time,

Love is a torrent and certainly checks the torrential flow !

## X

### A SPIRITUAL DISCIPLE OF RUMI

THE fragrant mystic touch which gives the poetry of Iqbal a nearer approach to the heart is traceable to his source of inspiration—the great Rumi, who was one of the leaders of mystic thought in Asia. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi was born at Balkh in A. D. 1207 and died in A. D. 1273. He lived the greater part of his life at Konya, the ancient Iconium, and there founded the Order of *Maulvi Dervishes*. He is the author of the famous *Mathnawi* which comprises three volumes, *Daftars*. The *Mathnawi* has great importance in being the best known work of mysticism and has a special value in modern philosophy. The work of Rumi is itself the effect of inspiration, as he says:

این که گفتم هم نبد جز بیخودی

What I have said would not be but that it has sprung from ecstasy !

Whatever the value of such out-of-the-ordinary reference from a scientific point of view, it cannot be denied that the appreciation of such a genius depends upon taste, as Rumi alludes:

من لم یذق لم یدری

He, who has not tasted, does not know !

Such a sublime contact and taste characterise the verse of Iqbal, who is never tired of paying tribute to the great mystic saint and openly acknowledges him to be the source of his inspiration. Rumi was a spiritual disciple of Shams of Tabriz and was an admirer of Hakim Sanai, whom he describes as *Josh-i-Kamil*. Iqbal refers to him:

آن حکیم غیب آن صاحب مقام  
ترک جوش رومی از ذکرش تمام

The peculiar conditions, combined with a strong religious sense, gave birth to the abundance of mystic sentiments in those days, and



the works of Rumi as well as other mystic saints are valuable data of inner experience. The age of Iqbal is decidedly different from that of the above-mentioned saints, but the religious sense of Iqbal, the Sufistic traditions of his family and his vast study in Islamic learning of which his work, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, loudly speaks, were all responsible for the shaping of Iqbal's mind. The deplorable present-day indifference to religion and the ruthless disregard for the spiritual side of things sharpened the poet's spiritual sense. However, it must be noted that Iqbal's *Maihnawi*, *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, is different in its fundamental philosophy, although the inspiration from Rumi is there. Like the great mystic, he does not believe in self-abandonment and has no sympathy with Rumi's pantheistic creed. To him, life is the realisation, expression and preservation of the Self, as opposed to the absorption of the Self into the Universal Self. The virtues of the ultimate reality, God, should be copied by the Self in the light of *Takhallaqu-bi-akhlaq-illah*, but at the same time, the doctrine of the merging of the Self into God to the extent that it should lose its entity has no place in Iqbal's teachings. On the contrary, the Self, according to him, should absorb the Uniqueness of God. Such is the philosophy of Iqbal. It may not be so well visualised as clear-cut philosophical propositions because of the poetic conception that he conveys to us. While judging the actual value of thought along with its merits, it must not be forgotten that Iqbal was a poet. The metre of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* is that of Rumi's *Maihnawi* and the manner of drawing moral lessons from the tales of saints, a characteristic of Rumi, finds favour with Iqbal whose language and idiom are classical. His use of Arabic phrases, allusions to historical events and Sufistic references in the *Asrar-o-Rumuz* remind the reader of the great *Maihnawi*. Rumi is to Iqbal what Vergil was to Dante. The poet pays tribute to Rumi in the introductory verses of *Asrar-i-Khudi* :

پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد      از غبارم جلوه‌ها تعمیر کرد  
ذره از خاک بیابان رخت بست      تا شعاع آفتاب آرد بدست

The Old Man of Rum turned my dust into Elixir ;  
From my dust he raised the lights :  
The particle packed its wardrobe from the desert  
So that it might catch the ray of the Sun.

موجم و در بحر او منزل کنم      تا در تابنده حاصل کنم  
من که مستی‌ها ز صہبایش کنم      زندگانی از نفسہایش کنم

I am a wave and take my abode in his sea  
So that I may obtain a lustrous pearl at last.  
I, who derive intoxication from his wine,  
Live a life through his breath, so fast and warm !

And a little further on :

روئے خود بنمود پیر حق سرشت      کو بحر پهلوی قرآن نوشت  
گفت اے دیوانہ ارباب عشق      جرعه گیر از شراب ناب عشق

There appeared the Master, moulded in Truth,  
Who wrote the Quran in Persian, of the purest ray.  
He said "O thou, lost in the frenzy of love,  
Take an inspiring draught of Love's pure wine!"

Among the many points of similarity between Rumi and Iqbal the most important is that Iqbal attaches great value to the inner experience, and his doubts of pure reason as a guide to knowledge and exaltation of love proceed from the same reason. This particular aspect of Iqbal's philosophy is also manifest even in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Referring to a passage from the works of Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhind, the poet writes :

"Whatever may be the psychological ground of the distinctions made in this passage, it gives us at least some idea of a whole universe of inner experience, as seen by a great reformer of Islamic Sufism. According to him, this *Alam-i-Amr*, i.e., 'the world of directive energy' must be passed through before one reaches that unique experience which symbolizes the purely objective."

The passage throws light on the poet's attitude towards the perception of reality through inner experience. Such a capacity to recognize reality depends upon the development of the heart, as Rumi describes it:

"The Sufi's book is not the blackness of letters and words ; it is naught but a heart as white as snow.

Like a huntsman he goes after the game ; he sees the musk-deer's steps, and follows upon the traces.

To proceed one stage in search of the musk-bag is better than a hundred stages and the steps in circumambulating the Kaaba !"



Like Rumi, the voice of Iqbal comes from the inner depths of his heart ; hence, his great influence. As it was the greatest need, Iqbal aimed at religious revival, and planned to institute social reform. His religious-mindedness was the most effective force that he made use of.

Rumi's *Mathnawi* is read all over India, Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia and Turkey and has been a very popular book of verse in Sufistic circles, but ignorant Sufis have distorted the meaning of Rumi's teachings. Not only this, but with the decline of Muslims, the optimistic message of such books as the *Mathnawi* failed to appeal to their taste, and words such as *Saqi*, *Shisha*, *Mai*, *Ma'shuq* and *Mutrib* only echoed their sentiments. The meaning of the *Mathnawi* and its inspiration to Iqbal revived great interest in Rumi's verse and went a long way to launch a movement for the correct interpretation of the mystic theme of the *Mathnawi*. There has come into existence a new school of criticism which judges the value of such works with reference to life. Much of the haze on the mystic way has now been dispelled.

Throughout his works Iqbal makes references to Rumi that shed light on the kind of inspiration he derived. In his dedicatory verses to the ex-King Amanullah Khan in *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, the poet says:

مرشد رومی حکیم پاک زاد  
سر مرگ و زندگی بر ما کشاد

The spiritual saint Rumi, the philosopher of holy origin,  
Opened the hidden secret of life and death to us all.

And then under *Jalal and Hegel* :

.....  
چهره بنمود پیر یزدانی  
آفتاب که از تجلی او  
افق روم و شام نورانی  
شعله اش در جهان تیره نهاد  
به بیابان چراغ رهبانی

The divine Old Man appeared—  
A sun whose rays scatter to light up  
The horizon of Rum and Sham :  
His flame in this world of darkness  
Resembles a hermit's lamp in the desert.

In *Javid Nama*, Rumi is the guide of Iqbal in his trip to the higher regions and Rumi discloses to the poet various secrets in relation to Reality :

بر مقام خود رسیدن زندگی است  
ذات را بے پرده دیدن زندگی است  
مرد مومن در نسا زد باصفیات  
مصطفی راضی نشد الا بذات

To reach one's own destination is life :

To see the Self 'unveiled' is life in its true sense.

A believer is not satisfied with the attributes—

Mustafa was not content but with the (knowledge of the) Self.

Rumi's guidance of Iqbal to various planets is a proof of the poet's flight of thought which he enjoyed in the company of Rumi. It also points to the spiritual vision of Rumi. It is beyond doubt that when the poet refers to Rumi, it is often Iqbal himself who speaks, but then its value being inspired is not lost in any manner.

In his poem, *Pir-o-Murid*, in which the poet discusses the various problems of the day concerning contemporary knowledge, soul and other things, the dialogue occurs between two persons, Murid-i-Hindi and Pir-i-Rumi. Murid-i-Hindi is very likely Iqbal himself. The dialogue is of exceptional interest as revealing the mind of Iqbal :

مرید ہندی

علم حاضر سے ہے دین زار و زیوں چشم بینا سے ہے جاری جوئے خوں

پیر رومی

علم را برتن زنی مارے بود علم را بر دل زنی یارے بود

*Murid-i-Hindi—*

A stream of blood flows from the seeing eye, alas !

Owing to modern knowledge, religion is in a miserable state.

*Pir-i-Rumi—*

If you strike knowledge on the body, it becomes a snake :

If you strike knowledge on the heart, it becomes a friend !



## XI

### AWAKENER OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

**D**URING the Nineteenth century Islam was drifting towards a crisis. The fall of the Moghul Empire in India was a *fait accompli* towards the close of the Eighteenth century, but it lingered on till 1857, and the Muslims of India found themselves in the throes of a great struggle. The Afghans were engaged in internecine wars. Turkistan was a play-ground for international diplomacy. In Iran, the process of decay had been accelerated by foreign influence and the socio-religious chaos was giving birth to new forces. The Ottoman Empire had fallen a prey to domestic disorder and foreign intrigues. The condition of Egypt was far from satisfactory. In these dark days, the famous Pan-Islamist, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, was moving all over the Muslim world, asking Muslims to stand united and to take note of the reality of change. He emphasised the importance of religious and social reform. The Syed visited Paris, London, Berlin and Moscow to use his influence on foreign Powers in favour of Islamic centres.

The Syed died in the last decade of the Nineteenth century, but he left all over the Islamic world miniatures of his Self. India felt the strength and influence of his views. Egypt produced young men who followed in his footsteps and the Turkish youth was equally inspired by him. After the death of the Syed, Iqbal directed his energy towards the awakening of Islam and his services to this end were commendable.

Islam without a State is a very vague term, because in the absence of that fundamental sanction, the social system is like a machine without any source of directive energy. In India, Muslim power had declined with the fall of the Moghul Empire, and Muslims were, for the first time, without a State. Islam as a socio-religious system ceased to function as a whole with the loss of its State, and the end of the Muslim State created violent upheaval in all domains of social activities. The problems of religion and culture became very grave and intricate, indeed. This

was a period of self-consciousness, and the economic difficulties along with the loss of liberty were naturally responsible for much confusion of thought. These tragic circumstances gave birth to a type of literature of a socio-political kind. Revival of the past could only be the proper object of a poet as a workable plan. Men sat down to think, and questions of religion and past glory found favour with the poets. The impulse was accompanied by a renaissance, which came with modern thought with all its force. Hali and Akbar made valuable contributions to Urdu literature, but it was Iqbal who was destined to guide the nation through more hazardous circumstances when darkness prevailed all around and revivalism as a movement had yet to stand the test of time.

Iqbal as a young man awakened the nation by his Islamic poems and soon presented a valuable work in philosophical verse. *Asrar-o-Rumuz* came as a message of revolutionary change in Muslim society. In those days Islamic character had deteriorated and religion had ceased to inspire the new superficial class with its artificial props. The message of Iqbal was a new source of moral support and energy.

With the influx of modern civilization and thought, new problems sprang up. The new generation was getting away from religion and Eastern civilization was at a discount. Iqbal, who was well versed in Islamic thought and who had been educated on Western principles, proved himself a reliable leader for the guidance of Muslims, and Muslim society certainly owes a great debt to him for the present awakening of Islam, specifically Indo-Pakistan.

While the poet was in England, he was a member of the Pan-Islamic Society and his concern with the international aspect of the problems of Islam was deep-seated. The poet's lectures on Islamic subjects and his interviews with responsible leaders of thought in England and Germany showed the earliest signs of his interest in the international affairs of Islam.

On his return from England, when he had just entered the legal profession, the Tripoli and Balkan Wars entangled the Turks in a bloody conflict. The eyes of the Western Powers were fixed on the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, which seemed to be breaking up through the separatist tendencies of the Arabs, who were mainly in-



spired by international diplomacy. The grief and the anxiety of Indian Muslims, in sympathy with the Turks, were natural and spontaneous. The Lahore Muslims gathered in the Badshahi Mosque on October 6, 1911, and Iqbal read his inspiring poem, *Khun-i-Shuhada ki Nazr* at an historic meeting. The poem impressed his audience and moved them to tears. It was a time when there was a general feeling among Muslims that Islamic countries were facing a common danger. The sensitive heart of the Pan-Islamist poet felt and realised the magnitude of the calamity.

The following verses addressed to the Holy Prophet speak of Iqbal's zealous heart :

حضور دھر میں آسودگی نہیں ملتی  
تلاش جس کی ہے وہ زندگی نہیں ملتی  
ہزاروں لالہ و گل ہیں ریاض ہستی میں  
وفا کی جس میں ہو بو وہ کلی نہیں ملتی  
مگر میں نذر کو اک آہگینہ لایا ہوں  
جو چیز اس میں ہے جنت میں بھی نہیں ملتی  
جھلکتی ہے تیری امت کی آبرو اس میں  
طرابلس کے شہیدوں کا ہے لہو اس میں

Sire ! there is no peace in this world—

The life which is sought one cannot have.

While thousands of tulips and roses in the Garden of Existence, one sees,

The bud containing the fragrance of Faith is seldom found.

However, I have brought a chalice as an offering,

Its contents are not found even in Paradise.

The honour of thy people sparkles therein.

As it holds the blood of the Martyrs of Tripoli !

The glorious past of Islam inspired the poet and he looked upon the present with great anxiety. Referring to the passing Caravan of Nations, he sings with a graceful simplicity of expression :

آہ مسلم بھی زمانے سے یونہی رخصت ہوا  
آسمان سے ابر آذاری اٹھا برسا گیا

Ah ! the Muslim passed away from the world in like manner ;

The cloud of the first month of spring rose and passed away .

Nationalism as a political conception was looked upon as an idol by the poet who evinced a remarkable freshness of mind :

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے  
جو پیراہن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے

Among these fresh gods, Native Land is the greatest of all ;  
That which is its attire is verily the shroud of religion !

Islam treats humanity as a whole and condemns the cult of nationalism aiming at the breaking up of human society into separate units. As nationalism means disintegration for the Muslim World, the unity of the Muslim countries would be as difficult as is the case in Europe to-day. The poet warned Muslims against the consequences of nationalism and his teachings diverted the people's attention to a wider conception of world citizenship. The poet, therefore, sang :

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستان ہمارا  
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

China and Arabia are ours ; India is ours as well ;  
We are Muslims ; our native land is the entire globe !

*Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, the two popular poems, were primarily written to inspire and reform society. The role played by the poet as a reformer had its desired effect and his voice resounded in most of the streets and lanes in Muslim cities :

اے خدا شکوہ ارباب وفا بھی سن لے  
خوگر حمد سے تھوڑا سا گلہ بھی سن لے

O God ! listen to the lamentation of the Faithful too ;  
Listen also to a small complaint from one inclined to praise !

ہم تو جیتے ہیں کہ دنیا میں ترا نام رہے  
کہیں ممکن ہے کہ ساتی نہ رہے جام رہے

We live so that Thy name may remain in the world,  
Is it possible that there be a Cup alone and no Saki ?

The message of Iqbal has a special significance for young men who often lack the virtues of their forefathers and possess none of the good qualities of the dominating races of Asia and Europe. They have forgotten all about Islam as well as the golden history of their past glory and general prosperity, it seems.



کبھی اے نوجوان مسلم تدبیر بھی کیا تو نے  
وہ کیا گردوں تھا تو جسکا ہے اک ٹوٹا ہوا تارا

Hast thou ever thought, O young Muslim!  
What Universe was it, of which thou art a shooting star?

گنوا دی ہم نے جو اسلاف سے میراث پائی تھی  
ثریا سے زمیں پر آسمان نے ہم کو دے مارا

We have lost the heritage we received from our Fathers:  
The Sky threw us to the Earth from the Pleiades.

The Hedjaz was the poet's spiritual home and he wanted Islamic culture to be revived as it once had found full expression in the cradle of Islam. Foreign influence, according to him, distorted the original conception of Islam. The poet raised the cry, "Back to Arabia!" in the sense of giving new life to Islam by reviving the original spirit:

ٹوٹنے کو ہے طلسم ماہِ سیمایانِ ہند  
پھر سلیمی کی نظر دیتی ہے پیغامِ خروش

The talisman of the beauties of India is about to break,  
The sight of Suleima again gives the message of activity!

The poet's abiding interest in Muslim politics is best shown in his well known poem, *Khazir-i-Rah*. At a time when the old attire of Asia was being torn to pieces and young men were blindly imitating the manners and mode of dress of the newly-risen Powers; while Hashimi was selling away the prestige of Mustaf'a's religion and the painstaking Turkoman was 'mixing in dust and blood', Iqbal noticed all that—and he was one of the few who were keeping their eyes on the Muslim World suffering from mental mix-up:

ملک ہاتھوں سے گیا ملت کی آنکھیں کھل گئیں  
حق ترا چشمے عطا کرد است غافل در نگر

The country passed out of its hands and the nation's eyes were opened;  
God has given thee eyes, O heedless! it is time to see!

The poet still looks forward with hope:

دلیل صبح روشن ہے ستاروں کی تنک تابی  
افق سے آفتاب ابھرا گیا دورِ گراں خوابی

The dimness of the stars is the sign of the bright morning—  
The sun rose above the horizon and the time for deep slumber is gone!

Not only ordinary Muslims, he also wanted the Kings of Islam to maintain the golden traditions of the past. In his *Piyam*, he addresses the ex-King Amanullah Khan :

در قبائے خسروی درویش زی . دیده بیدار و خداوندیش زی

In thy kingly robes of gold, live like a Dervish !  
Live with thy eyes awake and God-fearing !

هر که عشق مصطفی سامان اوست بحر و بر در گوشه دامان اوست

Whosoever has the love of Mustafa as his treasure,  
The sea and land should be in the folds of his skirt !

The poet prompted the nation to action, emphasising the truth that the reality of life is to face danger, always pointing to the mode of the Eagle's life :

ز دست کسی طعمه خود مگیر نکو باش پسند نکویاں پذیر

Take not thy food from another's hand,  
Be good and accept the advice of the good !

The most important feature of his teachings is that, besides awakening the people to the change passing over the world, he gave them a new inspiration based on the protection of the Self, and laid emphasis on the great necessity of desire and the guiding force of love. The effects of such teachings were healthy, that is to say, he awakened the heart of the Muslim World :

دل بیدار پیدا کر کہ دل خوابیده ہے جب تک  
نہ تیری ضرب ہے کاری نہ میری ضرب ہے کاری

Bring forth a wakeful heart, for as long as the heart is asleep,  
Neither thy blow is effective, nor mine !

The great value of *Faqr* along with high-mindedness is another peculiarity of his teachings which led the people he inspired to great moral heights :

دارا و سنکدر سے وہ مرد فقیر اولیٰ  
ہو جس کی فقیری میں بوئے اسداللہی

That Faqr is far superior to Darius and Alexander,  
Whose life possesses the fragrant virtues of Ali !



The poetry of Iqbal is mainly philosophical and the questions relating to religion, race and civilization, government, progress of women, literature and arts, and world politics, were all of equal interest to the poet. He always concentrated his attention on human destiny and for his particular interest in Islam, he rightly deserved to be called the 'Awakener of Islam'. He was in the words of Carlyle a 'hero as a poet.' The glory of Greece has survived through the works of Homer, while Firdausi gave an imperishable touch to the golden deeds of the Persian heroes. Iqbal awakened the Muslim world to the strife of the day and in many respects resembles Dante and Goethe, whose works gave new life to their countries. If it is true that the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire presaged a new era in France and the works of Nietzsche, Marx and Tolstoy ushered in a new period of life and progress in their native lands, the poetry of Iqbal is working to bring about a radical change in Muslim society :

معمار حرم باز به تعمیر جہاں خیز  
از خواب گران خواب گران خواب گران خیز

## XII

### RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

IN modern times, when a wave of renaissance is passing all over the Muslim world and Western materialism is influencing the Eastern mind, it is very essential to keep pace with modern inventions and discoveries, and in order to guard Islam as a living force it is far more essential to bring our religious thought up-to-date, as the basis of our civilization and culture is religion, and history commands us to meet new situations and fresh problems.

Through various causes, the process of growth in the Islamic system of thought was brought to a standstill during the last five centuries. The importation of Greek philosophy into Islamic life had its advantages and disadvantages. It was useful in so far as religion had to be understood in the light of reason. It was harmful inasmuch as Greek philosophy hardly recognised the value of inner experience—the very basis of religion. However, the efforts of the philosophers of Islam were praiseworthy to the extent that they realised the importance of rationalism in religion, but they assimilated much of Grecian colour which was not wanted. The Quran, however, did not warrant such importance of discursive reason. The contributions of some of the realistic schools of Sufis, in some sense, have been of great value, but the latter-day pseudo-mystic thinkers only added to the lack of discipline in Islamic thought.

One of the fundamental causes, on account of which Islam has ceased to be a living force, is the disappearance of progressive growth in its organic structure as a whole. In the contemporary world, when there is a general clamour for scientific reasoning and standards of life, with an increasing tendency towards materialism, Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* carries great value. Such a work involves a vast study of the Quran, as well as modern thought. It is



undoubtedly a laudable attempt to reconstruct Islamic thought with due regard to past traditions in a progressive world order.

The book comprises seven lectures of the philosopher, which were undertaken at the request of the Madras Muslim Association and delivered at Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh. "I have tried," writes Iqbal in a short preface to this work, "to meet, even though partially, this urgent demand by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical tradition of Islam and the more recent development in the various domains of human knowledge. And the present movement is quite favourable for such an undertaking.

"It must, however, be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views, and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures, are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it." God made man a rational creature.

Inner experience is the basis of religion which finds so much space in Iqbal's lectures, but religion does not condemn reason. It may be impossible to grasp the reality of religion through philosophy as a whole, but philosophy has its value in so far as it helps us to understand the meaning of religion. Sense-perception and the inner experience both reinforce each other, although the sphere of the one is different from the other. As science confines its knowledge to matter, religion depends on inner experience and its value as a source of knowledge is as sound as that of sense-perception for practical purposes; and this is the basis of all religious thought.

The study of Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is the scanning of the philosopher's intellectual horizon as well as the working of the modern mind of Islam which is destined to give a lead to a Universal movement. A silver lining has already appeared in the dark clouds and the learned lectures of Iqbal point to the infinite possibilities of Islamic renaissance. Philosophic thought is a constant endeavour to retain knowledge, just as when one has reached the top of a hill, he has to struggle to maintain a footing. Philosophy is not perfect

knowledge ; it is always on the path of search for truth, because the primary source of its knowledge being sense-perception, it is always behind intuition, which is something inner and akin to reality. The two kinds of knowledge always try to harmonise with each other. A philosopher only tries to visualise the inner experience through the spectacles of reason. Thus philosophical knowledge is dignified inasmuch as it has a basic importance in its mental approach and an effort towards the harmony of religious and philosophical knowledge is noble and worth while.

Iqbal has discussed in these lectures the basic ideas of Islam in the language of modern philosophy, and the reason for such philosophical exposition of his thought is the tendency of the modern mind to rely upon external sense and a corresponding inability to appreciate the value of inner experience. The lectures primarily bring home to the modern mind the reality of inner perception which gives us a clue to the solution of all puzzles about religion, God and the human ego. Iqbal refers to his lectures in *Javid Nama* :

من بطبع عصر خود گفتم دو حرف      کرده ام بحرین را اندر دو ظرف  
حرف پیچاپیچ و حرف نیش دار      تا کنم عقل و دل مردان شکار  
حرف ته دارے بانداز فرنگ      ناله مستانه از تار چنگ  
تا مزاج عصر من دیگر فتاد  
طبع من هنگامه دیگر نهاد

I set forth two ' words ' according to the nature of my age,

I have enclosed the two seas in two vessels.

A folded word, and a word with a sting,

So that I may hunt the heart and reason of the people.

A deep penetrating word after the style of the Franks :

A passionate cry from the chord of a harp.

As the temperament of my age happens to have undergone change,

My nature laid the foundation of another tumult.

As religion and its possibility is the foremost question that agitates the modern mind, it is but natural that the first lecture of Iqbal is entitled *Knowledge and Religious Experience*. Referring to the fundamental question common to religion, philosophy and higher poetry, the philosopher explains the differences of knowledge from various



sources. Poetic inspiration is individual in its character and the stability of its value may not be relied upon in various cases. Religious knowledge is more advanced as it relates to society and points to the direct vision of reality. Philosophy undertakes free enquiry into the nature of things, being guided by pure reason and with its ostensible capacity, it may, or may not, reach the perfect truth. Religion, on the contrary, is based on faith—a surer guide to the ultimate reality. The existence of a mystic school of thought all through the ages, which has played a very important part in the history of religion, lends support to the meaning and vital importance of the 'faith element' in religion.

Science may not recognize metaphysics, but religion has to take note of all rational experiences of life and must harmonise with them in whatever domain. To rationalise Faith is not to submit it to the verdict of philosophy ; it is rather an admission of the fact that philosophy may judge religious values. Thought and intuition are not hostile to each other. Such a thing would never happen, because the system of life and things must work as a whole. "They spring up from the same root and complement each other . . . In fact intuition, as Bergson rightly says, is not only a higher kind of intellect." The religious thought of Islam has a rational basis which can be traced back to the Prophet's prayer : "God grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things." The inclination of Muslim thinkers towards Greek philosophy had nothing inherently wrong about it, but it confused the original meaning of the Quran. Socrates confined his attention to the world of man alone, and Plato despised sense-perception as it was not the source of real knowledge, while the Quran regards 'hearing' and 'sight' as of infinite value. Thus following Greek philosophy, the Muslims turned aside from the right way for a long time, until Ghazzali based religion on philosophic doubt, which is not vouchsafed by the Quran. The Ash'arite thinkers tried to defend religious beliefs with the help of Greek dialectic and the Mu'tazila looked upon religion as a body of doctrines and did not realise its value as a vital fact. "They failed to see that in the domain of knowledge, scientific or religious, complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible."

Ghazzali was as distinguished a thinker in the East as Kant in Germany, who realised the shallowness of rationalism to approach reality,

for which purpose, he relied upon mysticism, but he wrongly concluded that thought and intuition were two different things. Thus, it was recognised by the Muslim thinkers long ago that religion has an independent sphere of inner experience, but owing to one reason or another, the development of Islamic thought was retarded. As growth is the very life of a system, the necessity of examining in an independent spirit what Europe has thought can well be gauged in the philosopher's own words :—

“During the last five hundred years religious thought in Islam has been practically stationary. There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture on its intellectual side is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. During all the centuries of our intellectual stupor, Europe has been seriously thinking on the great problems in which the philosophers and scientists of Islam were so keenly interested.... New points of view have been suggested, old problems have been restated in the light of fresh experience and new problems have arisen. It seems as if the intellect of man is outgrowing its own fundamental categories—time, space and causality. With the advance of scientific thought even our concept of intelligibility has undergone a change. The theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the Universe and suggests new ways of looking at the problems, common to both religion and philosophy. No wonder then that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith. With the awakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in revision and, if necessary, reconstruction, of theological thought in Islam.”

The Quran aims at the awakening of man to his multifarious relations with God and the expression of the human spirit depends on



a harmony between the external and internal forces. Islam has recognized the contact of the ideal with the real, and thus emphasises the conquest of nature to regulate the life of man on this Earth. As the Quran says :—

He (God) adds to his creation what He wills. (35 : 1)

Iqbal concludes: "It is not a universe, a finished product, immobile and incapable of change. Deep in its inner being lies, perhaps, the dream of a new birth." The great struggle in which man is engaged proves his superiority to nature and his conquest points to the great 'Trust' that he carries with him. "His career, no doubt, has a beginning, but he is destined perhaps to become a permanent element in the constitution of being, for man as conceived by the Quran is a creative activity." The life of man depends upon his effort to express his inner Self, otherwise the spark that grasps the reality would slowly die out. It is through knowledge that a link can be established with reality, and knowledge is sense-perception elaborated by understanding.

The emphasis laid by the Quran on the close study of the processes of nature gave birth to the spirit of research and engendered a sense of practical values leading to the foundation of modern science. The Quran also draws attention to change which, it says, is at the root of a progressive civilization. The knowledge through sense-perception, which is so useful in the conquest of nature, should be supplemented by the perception of "what the Quran describes as *Fuad*, or *Qalb*, i.e. heart, for the progressive movement of spiritual life. The value of knowledge through the heart is independent and reliable. The revealed and mystic literature of mankind bears ample testimony to the fact that religious experience has been too enduring and dominant in the history of mankind to be rejected as mere illusion." The knowledge that we get through sense-perception is not all knowledge. If it be so, the reality of our Self would be very vague. The immediacy of our experience in the mystic state has some resemblance to our normal experience and has a peculiar value and cannot be wholly discarded, merely because it cannot be traced back to sense-perception. "Religious experience is essentially a state of feeling with a cognitive aspect, the contents of which cannot be communicated to others,

except in the form of a judgment." The validity of such a judgement can be examined by two kinds of tests, which Iqbal calls intellectual and pragmatic.

*The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience* is the subject of the second lecture. The three arguments, cosmological, teleological and ontological, according to Iqbal, are a real movement of thought in its quest after the absolute, but as logical proofs, they are open to serious criticism. The cosmological argument regards the world as a finite effect. Passing back through a series of causes and effects, it pre-supposes a beginning—"an uncaused first cause." But as the first cause should be the effect of some other cause, in an endless series the cause and effect must continue. "Logically speaking then, the movement from the finite to the infinite as embodied in the cosmological argument is quite illegitimate. The teleological argument scrutinizes the effect with a view to discovering the character of its cause. From the traces of foresight, adaptation in nature, it infers the existence of a self-conscious being of infinite intelligence and power. The argument gives us a contriver and not a creator." As to the ontological argument which infers from an attribute the existence of God, it is clear that "the conception of existence is no proof of objective existence. The reason of the failure of these arguments is that they look upon thought as an agency working on things from without. To my mind nothing is more alien to the Quranic outlook than the idea that the Universe is the temporal working of a preconceived plan. As I have already pointed out, the Universe, according to the Quran, is liable to increase. It is a growing Universe and not an already completed product which left the hand of its maker ages ago, and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing and, consequently, is nothing. A critical interpretation of the sequence of time, as revealed in ourselves, has led us to a notion of the ultimate reality as pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose inter-penetrate to form an organic unity. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of a self, an all-embracing concrete self—the ultimate source of all individual life and thought.

"To exist in pure duration is to be a self, and to be a self is to be able to say, 'I am.' The ultimate self, in the words of the



Quran, can afford to dispense with all the worlds. The ultimate reality is a rationally directed creative life, and the facts of experience justify the inference that the ultimate nature of Reality is spiritual."

In his third lecture, *The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer*, Iqbal starts with 'a rationally directed creative will' which may be described as an ego, which leads to the ultimate Ego, and "is therefore, neither infinite in the sense of spatial infinity nor finite in the sense of the space-bound human ego whose body closes him off in reference to other egos. The infinity of the ultimate Ego consists in the infinite inner possibilities of His creative activity of which the Universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive. It involves an infinite series, but is not that series. I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego, and I must add now that from the ultimate Ego only egos proceed."

Iqbal held prayer as a means of closer communion, its origin being instinctive. In thought the position of mind is that of an observer, while praying, it gives up the business of seeking and "captures Reality itself with a view to become a conscious participator in its life."

In his fourth lecture, *The Human Ego, His Freedom and Immortality*, Iqbal describes the individuality and uniqueness of man as supported by the Quran, making it impossible for one individual to bear the burden of another and this suggests the destiny of man as a unit of life. The unity of inner experience is one of the three sources of knowledge, according to the Quran. Unfortunately, the value of such an experience was seldom investigated except by devotional Sufism. This experience found full expression in the famous phrase of Hallaj—"I am the creative truth!" The expression did not mean, or, the experience could hardly be the result of merging into a bigger whole, as Iqbal puts it: "The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realisation and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality; and the inner experience is nothing but the ego at work and we appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging and willing."

The Quran describes the soul as proceeding from the Lord's *Amr* (command) and is equivalent to "direction". "That is, the essential nature of the soul is directive as it proceeds from the directive energy of God. Thus the element of guidance and directive control in the ego's activity clearly shows that the ego is a free personal causality."

In the light of the Quran, it is open to man to attain for himself immortality, but it is only possible as an ever-growing ego. Such a personal immortality is not a matter of right. It is through personal struggle that he can attain it. "Man is only a candidate for it."

*The spirit of Muslim Culture* is the fifth lecture of Iqbal. It primarily draws attention to the great idea in Islam—the finality of the institution of Prophethood. "A Prophet," writes Iqbal, "may be defined as a type of mystic consciousness in which 'unitary experience' tends to overflow its boundaries and seeks opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life. In his personality the finite centre of life sinks into his own infinite depth only to spiring up again, with fresh vigour, to destroy the old and to disclose the new directions of life." He further regards prophetic consciousness as a mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing ready-made judgments, choices and ways of action. The Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. The birth of Islam was synonymous with the birth of inductive intellect. Prophecy reached its highest perfection in Islam; the institution could now be abolished. Otherwise, the lack of permanent character in the 'system' would demolish the edifice by itself. In order to give a continuous support in the achievement of full self-consciousness, man was thrown back on his own resources. The constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran and the emphasis it lays on Nature and History as sources of knowledge, all point to the finality of Prophethood. "The intellectual value of the idea is that it creates an independent critical attitude towards mystic experience by generating the belief that all personal authority claiming a supernatural origin, had come to an end in the history of man."

As it is self-evident from the teachings of the Quran, the Universe is dynamic in its origin, finite and capable of increase. The idea created a conflict between Muslim thinkers and Greek thought, which neglected reality as it stands. There came a time when this defect in Greek



thought was realised and criticism in all departments of knowledge led to new discoveries. It was the awakening of the spirit of Islam that formed the taste of the Muslims who laid the foundations of modern science. "The first important point to note about the spirit of Muslim culture then is that for purposes of knowledge, it fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite. It is the intellectual capture of power over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete."

In his sixth lecture, Iqbal discusses *The Principle of Movement in Islam*. As has already been referred to, Islam is not in sympathy with the old static view of the Universe. All lines of Islamic thought converge into the dynamic view. "The ultimate spiritual basis of life, according to Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. So, a society, based on such a conception of Reality, must reconcile in its life the categories of permanence and change. What then is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam? This is known as *Ijtihad*." Among the various causes that led to the decline of Islam, lack of *Ijtihad* in Islamic society had a foreboding effect. There have been some great reformers like Ibn-i-Taimiyya and Shah Wali-Ullah who realized the necessity of *Ijtihad*, but it has never been taken as a matter of serious concern.

*Is Religion Possible?*—is the last lecture of Iqbal and the possibility argued by him has a special value in modern times, as religion is rapidly losing its hold upon the present generation. Religion, in the eyes of Iqbal, which is essentially a mode of actual living, is the only serious way that leads to Reality. "The truth is that the religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching the most real. In fact, religion, for reasons which I have mentioned before, is far more anxious to reach the ultimate 'Real' than science. And to both, the way to pure objectivity lies through what may be called the purification of experience."

### XIII

## IQBAL AND MODERN CIVILIZATION

"A MODERN idea, and therefore a false idea," is the inference which Nietzsche drew about progress. What is the value of the word 'modern,' then? Ordinarily, the word suggests a divergence from the old path; so naturally it does not appeal to a conservative mind and has a peculiar fascination for the progressive section of mankind. The judgment of a philosopher is not that of a common person. In the Twentieth century, Iqbal is one of those who had enough to say on questions of race and civilization, and as a thinker of great insight his views are of particular importance although some of his ideas appear to be moving quite at a tangent to some of the recognised views prevalent to-day in Western society.

The attitude of Iqbal towards modern civilization is that of a critic, whose criticism is certainly constructive. He does not hate Western civilization merely because it is modern, but approaches it through the human experience of centuries and the test he applies to it is the expression of the human Self and the stability of cultural edifice in reference to Reality that governs through change and permanence. His view on life is dynamic and regards the conquest of nature as inevitable for the development of the human ego, but the conquest of nature is only a means to an end. The extreme type of materialism, which has driven man to attach far greater importance to matter than is necessary is not a happy sign of human progress. Material civilization, as it has won the name, has confused the meaning of ultimate reality. The materialists consider man to be a machine—a view which is responsible for the lack of the spiritual element in modern civilization. According to Iqbal, the ultimate reality is spiritual, and the activities and inclinations of the modern mind point to the danger ahead. The wholesale disregard for spirit has had a disastrous effect on man, as Iqbal says :

"Thus wholly overshadowed by the results of his intellectual activity, the modern man has ceased to live soulfully, *i.e.*, from within."



So the fundamental objection of Iqbal against modern civilization is the materialistic view on life and its obvious stress and strain on the mind of modern man. He does not deprecate the intellectual progress of Europe, as he regards it as the natural process of evolution, which had passed from the hands of Muslim scientists to the European scholars.

The principles of dubious value that are governing Western society and which gave birth to modern civilization and culture are the basis of all criticism that Iqbal has levelled against them. Iqbal was a devout believer in religion. Not only this; his philosophy and teachings have a direct reference to religion which is defined by the poet as a mode of living. Inner experience, being the basis of religion, yields a kind of knowledge which may be tested and has almost a scientific value, but is denied by the scientific thinkers of the West, who are responsible for the mentality of modern society. As a result, religion has been totally ignored to-day. Iqbal, on the contrary, regards religion as a potential force, essential to make society a functioning whole.

During the medieval ages, the people in Europe won their individual liberty through a great struggle. All their movements were directed towards the attainment of liberty, but industrialisation on a gigantic scale was responsible for the rise of the capitalist, who proved a menace to the stability of society. The individual has almost become a tool in the hands of great capitalists who are in a position to influence governments. The individual is being crushed out of existence in an over-mechanised society and the objection of Iqbal against such a state of affairs is not unjustifiable, as he believes in the preservation of the Self, and, consequently, individual liberty. There is nothing bad in independence, but it is suicidal when man or woman uses it as something detrimental to the cause of human progress, because it is co-operation by which humanity creates a suitable atmosphere for the development of the Self. The growing demand of women in the West for equality with man is something hardly natural in the eyes of Iqbal. He explains that man and woman have different rights and duties and one should not encroach upon those of the other. Social independence in the West has had grave consequences, the most disastrous being the disruption of the family system which is the unit of human society and on which rests its stability. The principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood that

were recognized through the experience of the French Revolution, have been given a different meaning to-day. Aggressive nationalism, which is now disturbing the equilibrium of European society, is purely a modern conception, directly based on the non-recognition of human brotherhood; hence, the universal chaos to-day. Such and many other kinds of political and economic notions in vogue have not found favour with Iqbal and the gravity of his views has been appreciated in the West.

Some of the great thinkers of the West have also expressed doubts as regards the stability of the structure of European society. It is being recognized that the absence of the spiritual element in present-day society is to a great extent responsible for the grave problems that are arising consequentially. Religion may be described as the centralising force which creates harmony in human activities.

The ever-increasing control of nature and a corresponding lack of control on the part of man keeps society in perpetual restlessness and the diagnosis of Iqbal is probably correct : " The modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestation is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility, which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society, motivated by an inhuman conception, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political views."—

شعلہ افرونگیاں تم خوردہ ایست

چشمشان صاحب نظر دل مردہ ایست

The flame of the Franks is 'damp' in effect ;

Their eye can see, but the heart is dead !

تہی وحدت سے ہے اندیشہ غرب کہ تہذیب فرنگی بے حرم ہے

Western thought basically lacks unity,

For, European civilization has no Haram !

A very instructive letter which Iqbal wrote to his son, Javid, from London, included in *Bal-i-Jibril*, throws light on the poet's attitude towards Western civilization :



اٹھا نہ شیشہ گرانِ فرنگ کے احسان  
سفالِ ہند سے مینا و جام پیدا کر

Don't be obliged to the manufacturers of glassware in Europe ;  
Make for yourself a cup and a carafe out of Indian clay !

Free-thinking is a peculiarity of modern society. Whatever its value, Iqbal's criticism of free thought has a moral ground and reveals his anxiety to protect spirituality among Muslims :

تو فکرِ خداداد سے روشن ہے زمانہ  
آزادئی افکار ہے ابلیس کی ایجاد

Although the world is illumined by the God-gifted thought ;  
Free-thinking is the invention of Satan, forsooth !

ترا وجود سراپا تجلئیِ افرنگ  
کہ تو وہاں کے عمارت گروں کی ہے تعمیر  
مگر یہ پیکرِ خاکی خودی سے ہے خالی  
فقط نیام ہے تو زرنگار و بے شمشیر

Thy entity is from tip to toe the glory of the Franks,  
As thy edifice has been erected by the masons of Europe.  
But this form of dust, as one sees, is without the Self :  
Thou art only a scabbard—golden, but without a sword !

The absence of the religious element in Western politics has given licence to some European statesmen and politicians. Iqbal has very severely criticised irreligious politics as he believed in a moral world :

جو بات حق ہو وہ مجھ سے چھپی نہیں رہتی  
خدا نے مجھ کو دیا ہے دلِ خیبر و بصیر  
مری نگاہ میں ہے یہ سیاستِ لادین  
کنیزِ اہرنم و دونِ نہاد و مردہ ضمیر

All that is true remains not hidden from me ;  
God has given me a knowing and seeing heart.  
In my eyes this irreligious politics is nothing but—  
The handmaid of Satan, of low nature, with a dead heart !

Under the heading, *The Snare of Civilization*, Iqbal writes :

اقبال کو شک اس کی شرافت میں نہیں ہے  
 ہر ملت مظلوم کا یورپ ہے خریدار

Iqbal, however, does not doubt her nobility ;  
 Europe is the buyer of every oppressed nation.

Such is Iqbal's criticism of Western civilization, but he does not agree with Nietzsche—"because modern, therefore false!" Iqbal was himself educated on Western principles. He had the opportunity to go as a student to Cambridge and London and thus had a very intimate knowledge of Western society. His criticism cannot be regarded as superficial, nor was it a wholesale condemnation of the West, as he greatly appreciated in certain respects the intellectual progress of the peoples of Europe. His critical attitude towards the West is an indirect service to his own people, for he wanted them not to be misled by the superficial glamour of the West. Somehow, the principle of collective effort and co-operative life now being employed in some of the progressive countries does not appear to have excited his imagination possibly to propose a scheme of social reconstruction.



#### XIV

### CONTEMPORARY WOMAN AND MODERNISM

"WOMAN is the root of all evil," is a familiar saying which, with the spread of classical civilization, travelled all over Europe as a quaint truth and has been quoted quite profusely. The position of woman under the Roman law was very unenviable as she was hardly regarded as anything better than a chattel and carried with her the idea of being the property of somebody. With such low status in society in an atmosphere of ignorance, the people even doubted whether a woman possessed a soul at all, and in order to decide the issue, a conference was called forth in Europe in the year 586 A.D. Such was the angle of vision of the forefathers of modern Europe. The position of a Hindu woman may well be described in the words of Manu : " Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependence."

The position of woman in Islam is recognized on natural principles. She is as important and dignified as man and has her rights as clearly defined as those of man. The Quran says : " And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over them in kindness, and men are a degree above them." (ii : 228). And the benefits of mutual company are best illustrated in another verse : " They are raiment for you and ye are raiment for them." (ii : 187).

From an economic point of view, Islam recognizes the right of a woman to inherit and is entitled to exclusive *mahr* from the husband and can own property independently. Besides, marriage, according to Islam, is in the nature of a social contract and the parties can appear before the *Kazi* for its dissolution. Such is the position that woman occupies in Islam.

However, an undue regard for naturalism has let loose the modern mind to make experiments in social matters from a purely natural

point of view, totally ignoring the fundamental differences between the blind working of nature and the conscious movement of humanity. Consequently, the conception of modern life in Europe is undergoing rapid changes and, having lost the centralising force, contemporary society is trying to stabilise itself with a perpetual adjustment of free thought and experience, but the exuberance of material facilities and independence in life is taking the Western people through an abnormal experience of life. The magic of Western life has already begun to work in the East, giving rise to new problems. The inclination of contemporary woman towards modernism and its effect on the structure of modern society has been subjected to a great deal of criticism, both in the East and in the West. The views of Iqbal, in this connection, as a spokesman of the East, deserve careful attention.

The present liberty of woman in the West appears to be the result of a reaction against the degrading low status which she was forced to accept in the Dark Ages. Owing to the disturbance of social equilibrium, a change was bound to appear in European society. A change in the extreme sense may not be wholly free from a destructive element. It is like a powerful medicine which with all its uses may yet kill the patient. One of the remarkable changes in modern society is the demand of status on the part of woman equal to that of man. Natural philosophy and material conquest are obviously at the root of such a demand. However, in her zeal for freedom, she seems to be over-stepping the bounds of her natural rights, and the visible signs of hatred of woman towards man and motherhood are fraught with grave danger. Iqbal as a Muslim philosopher is the exponent of the Islamic point of view in regard to women. The so-called independence and the natural rights of equality, which modern woman holds so dear, are a real danger to the stability of modern society in the eyes of Iqbal. Notwithstanding the great Feminist movements, the position of modern woman is hardly secure. The pretentious idea of chivalry is losing its charm day by day, as Iqbal once said that there was gradually appearing in English society a change in the attitude of men towards women, and quite contrary to what he had noticed in the past, men did not stand up in her presence; strangely enough, they would not even move to make room for her.



The poet describes the modern girl in *Javid Nama* :—

One Farzmurz stole a girl from Europe and took her to the planet Mars in order to incite the women there to copy her mode of life. She is seen in an open *maidan* lecturing at a public meeting, where men and women have gathered. Her face is bright, but she has not the light of the soul in her body. Her words are unimpressive, eyes dry; that is to say, she is apparently devoid of desire and love. Her breast lacks passion and her 'mirror is blind.' She is after fashion and freedom and is little acquainted with love. She avoids the society of man and abhors matrimonial alliance. Here, she delivers a speech :—

اے زنان اے مادران اے خواہراں  
زیستن تا کے مثال دلبراں  
دلبری اندر جہاں مظلومی است  
دلبری محکومی و محرومی است  
در دو گیسو شانہ گردانیم ما  
مرد را نخچیر خود دانیم ما  
مرد صیادی بہ نخچیری کند  
گرد تو گردد کہ زنجیری کند  
ہمہر او بودن آزار حیات  
وصل او زہر و فراق او نبات  
از اموت زرد روئے مادران  
اے خنک آزادئی بے شوہراں

Ladies—mothers and sisters !

How long could you live like sweethearts ?

To be loved is to undergo tyranny—

It is nothing but subjection and destitution.

We comb our two locks to adorn,

We know man only as our prey.

Man hunts by becoming a victim—

He goes round thee actually to chain thee !

To be his companion is a curse for life :

His meeting is poison ; his separation is sugar !

Mothers' faces are pale owing to motherhood :

Mighty pleasant is the freedom of those who go *sans* consorts !

Such a mentality of the modern girl is really dangerous and the infection of such ideas in the East shall certainly revolutionize East-ern society. The modern educational institutions being the chief places where one has to drink what he, or she, has brewed, Iqbal views female education with doubt :

لڑکیاں پڑھ رہی ہیں انگریزی  
 ڈھونڈ لے قوم نے فلاح کی راہ  
 روش مغربی ہے مد نظر  
 وضع مشرق کو جانتے ہیں گناہ  
 یہ ڈراما دکھائیگا کیا سین  
 پردہ اٹھنے کی منتظر ہے نگاہ

Our girls are being taught English—nowadays,  
 The nation has found the way of salvation, at last !  
 The Western mode of life is held in view,  
 Eastern etiquette is regarded as a mortal sin.  
 What scene shall this drama unfold ?  
 The eye awaits the lifting of the curtain (*purdah*) !

The consequences of the equal status of women with men have been looked upon as serious in the West. Woman has come forward as a worker to compete with man in all the spheres of life. She has lost interest in her own duties which nature has primarily imposed upon her—the most important being to produce children and to look after them, which involves a deep interest in domestic affairs. The tendencies of modern woman have been instrumental in present-day economic dislocation in Europe. Some time ago, Hitler made a statement on the duties of woman : “ She must go back to the kitchen !” It might sound as if Nietzsche was speaking. However, the soldier's remark has attracted serious attention of the entire world.

Iqbal puts forth a very relevant question :

کیا یہی ہے معاشرت کا کمال      مرد بیکار و زن تہی آغوش

Tell me : Is this the perfection of society ?

Man is without work and woman's lap empty !

The poet was not in favour of such a scheme of female education as was popular in his day.



تمہذیبِ فرنگی ہے اگر مرگِ امومت  
ہے حضرتِ انساں کے لئے اس کا ثمرِ موت

If European civilization is death to motherhood,  
Its fruit for man is sure to be death !

But Iqbal, unlike Nietzsche, had great respect for woman and his criticism was only levelled against her ultra-modern tendencies :

وجودِ زن سے ہے تصویرِ کائنات میں رنگ  
اسی کے ساز سے ہے زندگی کا سوزِ دروں  
شرف میں بڑھ کے ثریا سے مشتِ خاک اس کی  
کہ ہر شرف ہے اسی درج کا درمکنوں

The colour in the picture of the Universe is due to woman ;  
The inner burning of life is due to her instrument !  
In dignity, her handful of dust is superior to the Pleiades,  
For all dignity is the secret pearl of this precious box !

In his *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal has devoted considerable space to woman and her importance. As preservation of the human race depends upon motherhood, according to him, respect for motherhood is real Islam, and something noble and edifying :

پوششِ عریانیِ مسرداں زن است  
حسنِ دلجوِ عشق را پیراھن است

Woman is the covering for the nakedness of man :  
Her heart-ravishing beauty is the attire for love !

از امومتِ گرم رفتارِ حیات از امومتِ کشفِ اسرارِ حیات

Owing to motherhood, the speed of life is hot,  
Motherhood displays the secrets of life to shine !

The poet's respect for motherhood is simply amazing. He admires the ignorant rustic girl :

آن دغ رستاقِ زادے جاہلے بستِ بالائے سطرے بدگلے

Referring to her passion for motherhood and the blue circular lines around her eyes, the poet expresses his adoration : " If the nation gets one self-respecting and God-fearing Muslim from her lap, our existence is strengthened and insured through her hardships. Certainly, our morning lights up the world through her evening !"

هستی ما محکم از آلام او است صبح ما عالم فروز از شام اوست

In contrast to a rustic girl, the poet hates the thin, slender and empty-lapped modern girl :

و آن تهی آغوش نازک پیکرے

The poet criticises such a girl whose thought displays Western lustre, but her knowledge could not bear the burden of motherhood and upon her evening did not shine a single star :

این گل از بستان ما نارسته به

داغش از دامن ملت شسته به

If such a flower blooms not in our garden, it is better ;  
And if her stain is washed from the nation's skirt, it is better still !

The poet looks upon Fatima (our Lady of Paradise) as a perfect model for the women of Islam on account of three reasons : She was the beloved daughter of the Holy Prophet, the wife of Hazrat Ali and the mother of Hasan and Husain. She has been a source of inspiration for the women of Islam through centuries. She had a noble character as the poet fondly describes her :

آن ادب پرورده صبر و رضا آسیا گردان و لب قرآن سرا

One, who was brought up to learn patience and resignation,  
Grinding a hand-mill and her lips reciting the Holy Quran !

As regards *pardah*, Iqbal often quoted the well known Quranic verse: "Say (O holy Muhammad !) to the Faithful that they restrain their eyes and preserve their modesty. And say to the believing women that they restrain their eyes and preserve their modesty, and display not their ornaments, except what appears thereof, and let them throw their kerchiefs over their bosoms." (XXIV : 30-31). He once explained to a college youth that *pardah* was not the real cause of ill-health of Muslim women. It was rather due to economic reasons. "If women," said the poet, "could give birth to such great men as Muhammad bin Kasim and Mahmud Ghaznavi inside the *harem*, there is no reason to suppose that *pardah* is the sole cause of our misery." Iqbal had great sympathy with the enlightenment of women, but he did not hold a high opinion in regard to her so-called modern approach.

Thus Iqbal's criticism of contemporary woman and modernism did not spring from a sense of conservatism. His views were rather determined by the abiding principles of reality that govern the stable character of society.



## XV

### IQBAL ON RELIGION AND SOCIETY

THE fact that life manifests itself in the form of an individual recognizes self-preservation as the first law of nature, but the growth of an individual presupposes a wider circle of activity and suitable environment. This wider circle in the case of man is his society.

The philosophy of Iqbal, apart from its emphasis on the development of the Self, does not ignore the social aspect of human life, which gives birth to and controls the world forces. As Iqbal was an Indian Muslim, the questions pertaining to the destiny of the Indian Muslims primarily occupied his attention and as the conditions prevailing in other Islamic lands were equally grave, the necessity of unity among the Muslim nations was keenly felt by him. To attain this object, he aimed at the awakening of the individual and, consequently, the revival of society. Islam presented to him an ideal society and a religion based on the ultimate realities of life. His zeal for Islamic revival does not make his humanistic thought any the less valuable. Through Islamic society, he speaks to the world at large beyond the narrow confines of nationalism.

Mind and body together go to make up the unity called the individual. The body being the physical self of man is governed by physical forces and, in a sense, the growth of man is akin to the growth of plants in nature. The mind, which gives consciousness to man, passes through a very intricate process of development, and it is through this process that humanity has been guided through the ages. The influence of heredity and environment has largely been responsible in shaping human thought, but with all its complexity it can be traced back to the absolute principles of Reality and its source of knowledge, intuition.

Individual consciousness and development are the primary stages in the growth of the National Self. The collective life of individuals as an organized association is the desired end, namely, society which can only

come into existence through a binding force which keeps the individuals together. But, as the behaviour of the individuals in society must take the form of mass action, the necessity of a code for society is altogether undeniable. What should be the code and who should bring forth a code are the questions that take man to the necessity of choosing a leader. What should be the basis of his knowledge and how to test his knowledge are the other important questions that man has to face before he can make society a functioning whole.

According to Iqbal, the character and general structure of the Universe, its relation to man and the kind of conduct that befits his dignity are some other aspects of the basic enquiry that can best be elucidated through religion. "In its attitude towards the ultimate reality, it is opposed to the limitations of man; it enlarges his claims and holds out the prospect of nothing less than a direct vision of reality." Thus the poet, like Bergson, believes in knowledge through intuition, which is only a higher kind of intellect. As religion has guided man since the dawn of humanity, his religious experience has a reliable value as a natural source of knowledge. Experience in its various stages takes different names. The religious experience of a prophet is the closest approach to truth when he is in touch with reality, hence the peculiar position of a prophet makes him the fittest person to convey his knowledge gained through revelation to humanity for its guidance, "a mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing ready-made judgments, choices, and ways of action." The object of Muhammad's (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah!) prophethood was to lay the foundation of human freedom, equality and brotherhood and it is the duty of every Muslim to support these fundamental principles of Islamic society. The Prophet was a perfect model for the world, and, as such, the beauty of the inner self of society depends on copying the Prophet's mode of living and social manners.

As a perceptible centre is necessary for national life, the K is the centre for the Muslim world; the protection and propagation of Unity is the goal of the Muslim people and they can only attain unity through clinging fast to it. At the same time, the conquest of nature by exploiting its resources is very essential for the extension of national life.

"In Islam," says Iqbal, "prophesy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that



life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The philosopher refers to the finality of prophethood in Muhammad whose religious experience was the closest to reality, described in the Quran as *Atmamtu 'alikum ni'amtī*, and this is final, because any such approach again would bring forth the same result, and the absence of such finality would keep humanity in a constant mood of change and expectation while society would be robbed of its stable character, so indispensable for the process of evolution.

The spirit of Islamic culture is dynamic and it was through ignorance and foreign influence that the Muslim philosophers and the latter-day Sufis developed a static view on life, mystifying the Quranic conception of life. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society, based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change." To keep pace with the changing circumstances, Islam recognises the institution of *Ijtihad* which, in other words, is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam. *Ijtihad* is the source of life to society and makes Islam a living intellectual force. After the destruction of Baghdad in the Thirteenth century, the *Ulema* tried to preserve the uniformity of social life by adhering to the outward appearance, as they wanted to preserve the social order.

"But they did not see, and our modern *Ulema* do not see, that the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization as on the worth and power of individual man. In an over-organized society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus, a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for a people's decay."

The institution of *Ijtihad* has been recognized by all sects of Islam, but it was seldom practised. Ibn-i-Taimiyya rose up in revolt against the finality of the schools and went back to fresh principles in order to make a fresh start. Shah Wali Ullah in the days of the later Moghuls was alive to the necessity of *Ijtihad*. Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was conscious of the changing times and Prince Said Halim Pasha,

the late Grand Vizier of Turkey, actually saw the intellectual revolt in Turkey, Iqbal seriously called the attention of the Muslim people to the value of *Ijtihad*. The forces of modernization have not and could not have left Islam uninfluenced anywhere. Turkey, being the nearest Muslim country to Europe, has passed through an historic ordeal and the conflict between modernism and Islam in that land has presented new problems to Islam, and they are being cleverly solved by the Turks. The other countries are also facing similar problems which have given birth to various new movements and the young men are crying for a new life. The instinct is quite natural and Iqbal was not opposed to any liberal movement in modern Islam; "but it must also be admitted that the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical movement in its history. Liberalism has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration."

Iqbal valued the solidarity of Islam above all other things and zealously opposed the forces of disintegration, "masquerading as Reformist movements." He laid great emphasis on the internal cohesion of Islam to preserve its social system, and, consequently, advocated the exclusion from the fold of Islam of all such persons who were a constant menace to the unity of its people. So in connection with the excommunication of the great philosopher Spinoza, Iqbal writes: "They were perfectly justified in regarding Spinoza as a disintegrating factor, threatening the dissolution of their community."

Discussing some aspects of the new life in Islam, Iqbal refers to a new set of men, namely, Zaghlul Pasha, Mustafa Kemal and Reza Shah—"who relying on their healthy instincts, had the courage to rush into sun-lit space and do even by force what the new conditions of life demanded. In them it is not logic but life that struggles restless to solve its own problems."

Iqbal was a firm believer in religion without which the social system cannot work properly. That is why he focussed his efforts on the revival of Islam and the protection of Islamic society. He believed Islam to be the most valuable contribution to world thought. It was a genuine concern for human destiny that he had given the best part of



his life to a careful study of Islam and a constant endeavour to awaken the Muslims.

Iqbal very much doubted the stability of Western society as it was based on the principle of change and, as such, a constant adaptation to the new problems of change and time was highly essential, otherwise the system might collapse suddenly. On the other hand, Islamic society has a permanent element in its structure of thought, such as the unity of God, the finality of Prophethood and the Shariat—the Islamic Code of Law. In the eyes of Iqbal, Islamic society, therefore, has only to keep pace with the new discoveries in the domain of knowledge and does not stand in need of a fundamental overhauling as Western society may require. The West is fast losing faith in religion, and any pattern of society without a moral sanction is bound to end in chaos. The stable character of society directly depends upon the essential regard for the ultimate realities that govern life.

During his visit to Madras, the representative of the well known journal, *Swarajya*, put a question to Iqbal on the unity of religion and politics. The poet gave an elaborate answer :

“ I strongly feel the necessity of religious instruction in our educational institutions. The fact is that I, as an Indian, give precedence to religion over *Swarajya*. Personally, I shall have nothing to do with a *Swarajya* divorced from religion. The purely secular education in Europe has brought forth disastrous results. I would not like my country to have such a bitter experience. It is quite apparent that the Asiatic peoples cannot overlook the material side of European life. We to-day face the important issue as to how to bring about a happy blend of the spiritual phases of life.

“ Turks were the first of the Asiatic nations who had to face the solution of this problem. I believe that the Turks failed to attain the desired combination of spiritualism and materialism. However, I am not disappointed in the Turks. I think the Tartar race is devoid of the sharp intelligence, perception and depth of conscience essential to solve the problem. I cannot at present give my views on the problem of the future moves of Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan, which is now occupying the attention of the Asiatic nations.

“ It is my belief that the people of India shall be able to solve this problem, because their religious traditions, the sharpness of their perception and strength of their sentiments prove their ability to do so. That is why I am always desirous of a Hindu-Muslim understanding, and I hold it of the utmost importance. Only the people of India have a peculiar capacity to build a new world for the ‘ new ’ man on the ruins of the old world. The present tendency of our young men to, ‘ consign religion to the shelf ’ and concentrate all their attention on politics is nothing but the sad result of the slavish, imitative attitude towards Europe.”

The poet's views on religion and society may be gathered from the following lines :

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنها کچھ نہیں

موج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

The individual owes his existence to social cogency and is nothing aloof,  
The wave exists only in the river and is absolutely nothing outside !

دامن دیں ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیت کہاں

اور جمعیت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی

The skirt of religion being lost, where is Unity ?  
And if Unity has left us, the nation is gone with the winds.

چیست دیں برخاستن از روئے خاک

تا زخود آگاہ گردد جان پاک

What is religion ?—To rise from the dust,  
So that the soul becomes aware of itself !

ہوئی ہے زیر فلک امتوں کی رسوائی

خودی سے جب ادب و دین ہوئے ہیں بیگانہ

Nations have been disgraced under the vault of heaven,  
Since literature and religion have become strangers to the Self.



## XVI

### HIS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL VIEWS

**I**QBAL was a poet as well as a philosopher, but the influential position that he occupied in society as a leader in thought and literature made him a politician. Like Goethe, he preferred a quiet life and had no liking for the noisy life of a politician, but as he played the role of a reformer of Muslim society, he could not refrain from taking part in the various movements of his country. In 1926, the poet was elected member of the Punjab Legislative Council, and this was the beginning of his period of active politics. Although, up to this time he had always associated himself with Muslim politics as a guiding force, his advice was sought even by the foremost Congress leaders in the critical years after the Great War. In his own words, as a politician, he led no party and followed no leader. It would be difficult to say whether he was a successful politician in the general sense, but his influence on Indian politics was certainly tremendous and it would not be an exaggeration to say that as a political oracle, he was listened to by all and his advice was very much valued in Muslim countries. Lying in his bed, he scanned the horizon of Indian politics and cast glances over Samarkand, Bukhara, Teheran, Istanbul and Cairo.

As a true son of Islam and its interpreter, the political creed of Iqbal was dictated by the spirit of Islam. He was born at a time when Islam had fallen a prey to the stormy forces of the world. The Muslim political power was declining and the conflict between the Western and Eastern civilizations had created unforeseen and serious problems for the Muslim World. In his youth, Iqbal was inspired by his love for his country and, as such, some of his early poems breathe the national spirit. But after his return from Europe, his political vision was that of a pan-Islamist and his views on Indian politics were largely determined by his anxiety to protect Indian Muslims—their religion, culture and civilization.

Iqbal was not a blind follower of such political thought of the West as was based on desperate naturalism imported as something sacred into many lands of the East. He, however, attached special significance and value to experience and nature. The territorial basis of nationalism as conceived by European thinkers found no favour with Iqbal who, as a philosopher viewed mankind as a single nation. In his eyes, the dissolution of mankind into so many groups was the greatest threat to world peace and, therefore, he never sympathised with national movements. The attitude of Indian Muslims towards nationalism and democracy were largely the result of Iqbal's optimistic teachings. He laid great emphasis on the development of human society as a functioning whole :

تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است      کہ ما پروردہ یک نوبہاریم

All men are the sons of Adam, sprung from the same dust. The earth belongs to God Almighty, and man is not confined to any particular tract of land. Territorial, racial and linguistic distinctions are unreal and should in no case be allowed to break up humanity into warring clans, with perpetual disorder on the face of the earth, something akin to political fever in Europe before World War II. The growing helplessness of European politicians and statesmen lends support to Internationalism as a more stable basis of society to-day.

Human experience in society has given various systems of government to the nations of the world, according to their time and circumstances; and it is not easy to say as to which form of government is the best of all. A pattern of government is the creation of society and largely depends on the development of the social mind. The Greeks are known to have practised democracy as a form of government. Islamic democracy gave Muslim society, in its primary stages, an ideal State under the patronage of Khulafa-i-Rashidin.

Just after the Middle Ages, life in Europe was struggling for a wider circle of action. The new waves of thought which the Renaissance brought in its wake made European society commotive and turbulent, and in the Eighteenth century, all of a sudden, numerous poets and reformers sprang up in France and their forceful pen paved the way for the French Revolution. The people had grown tired and sick of the autocratic rule and



with a cynical attitude towards the ruling class believed in the right of self-government, while the King still pronounced: "I am the State!"

The modern conception of State owes much to the French Revolution, and the democratic spirit which France has given to the world is really appreciable, but unfortunately, with the onward march of time, democracy has been carried too far. It is to-day in various countries either a section of people governing the State in an autocratic form or a dictator controlling the destinies of a whole nation under his iron heel. It is slowly being realised to-day that practical democracy as distinct from ideal democracy is only another form of despotism. Iqbal, like Nietzsche, doubted the ability of the masses to run the government system properly and favoured the fittest man to hold the reins of government :

گریز از طرز جمهوری غلام پختہ کارے شو  
کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر انسانے نمی آید

Keep away from Democracy : Follow the Perfect Man,  
For the intellect of two hundred asses cannot bring forth a single man's thought !

The poet was not attracted by the outward democratic form of government in Europe. In his eyes, it was a colossal hoax and it held no prospects of human deliverance :—

ہے وہی ساز کہن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام  
جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری  
دیو استبداد جمہوری قبا میں پائے کوب  
تو سمجھتا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری

The Democratic system of the West is the same old instrument,  
Whose chords contain no note other than the voice of the Kaiser,  
The demon of Despotism is dancing in his democratic robes—  
Yet you consider it to be the Nilam Peri of Liberty !

Like Nietzsche's Superman, Iqbal had a belief in the Perfect Man (*Insan-i-Kamil*) who with his moral and intellectual force is the most suitable person to guide society. The possibility of human development in a single individual, in the opinion of the poet, is far greater than so many taken together ; and the collective judgment of a nation

has to lower its standard before it can appeal to the masses. The Perfect Man would lead society to his own heights, while the decisions of a group of people representing a society reflect the intellect of an average man only.

As a political philosopher, Iqbal was a staunch supporter of Internationalism as conceived by Islam. He was not so optimistic about European Internationalism which appeared after the Great War, almost under compulsion. For many years the authority of the League of Nations had been flouted by the Imperial Powers of the West and unfortunately the League had been looked upon as an institution just to feed the vanity of some of the dominating nations of the world :

من ازین بیش ندانم کہ کفن دزدے چند  
بہر تقسیم قبور انجمنے ساختہ اند

I only know that a few shroud-stealers  
Have formed an Association for the distribution of graves,

Similarly, the pretentious cry for disarmament with a view to eliminating the chances of war in Europe, is seldom serious. The poet, therefore, says :

بطے می گفت بحر آزاد گردید  
چنین فرماں زد دیوان خضر رفت  
نہنگے گفت رو ہر جا کہ خواہی  
ولے از ما نباید بے خبر رفت

The duck said, " The sea has become free at last,  
Such a Firman has emanated from the chamber of Khizar."  
The crocodile said, " Go wherever you like— fair one,  
But you should never go out regardless of me !"

Iqbal was inclined towards socialism, as a political conception in the Islamic sense. The poems of Iqbal abound in verses showing the poet's intense sympathy with the labouring classes and disgust for the capitalists. The type of socialism that leads to nihilism had no attraction for the philosopher-poet. Thus in *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, Lenin sarcastically questions the Kaiser :



غلام گرسنه دیدی کہ بر درید آخر

قبیص خواجہ کہ رنگیں ز خون ما بود است

Did you see the hungry slave who, eventually,  
Tore off the shirt of his Master—coloured with our blood?

And the Kaiser, pointing to the tendency of man to carve out new gods as he gets tired of the old ones, replies :

نماند ناز شیریں بے خریدار اگر خسرو نباشد کوہکن هست

The elegance of Shirin remains not without a suitor—  
If Khusroe be not there, Kohkan definitely is!

The poet's attitude towards Lenin, later on, was a little changed as shown by the poem, *Lenin (in the Presence of God)*, but the poet was not forgetful of the dangerous nihilism which aggressive socialism carries hidden in its sleeves.

As a Muslim, the political philosophy of Iqbal was based on the Holy Quran, the divine code which lays down, once for all, the rules and regulations of human society with reference to the nature of things and God. "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." This gives mankind a permanent element in its structure of thought—social and political. The Quran is the book for mankind and its exposition of the fundamental realities is universal and its application to life automatically makes a Muslim a citizen of the world, who is required by nature to protect rationally the divine code wherever he may be. It was this sense of all-pervading reality that gave a universal colour to the political views of Iqbal. A treatise on political economy is evidence of his true interest in some of the fundamental problems of his country.

As he was keenly alive to the unsatisfactory state of Indian society, he was always anxious about their political future. A very legitimate desire for self-determination on the part of the Indian Muslims was, to a great extent, created by the poet's outlook who wanted the Islamic people to understand the significance of the Kaaba as a unifying force in their march towards a bright future.

The claims of the Indian Congress to stand for the peoples of India as a whole have always been repudiated by Muslims. Some of the Congress leaders of the Left Wing believe "in the total suppression of the cultural entities of the country through the interaction of which India can evolve a rich and enduring culture." Such a creed of some of the responsible Congress leaders, noted for their Socialistic trend of mind, is a reasonable cause of apprehension for Indian Muslims, and it is not strange that they should look for the creation of a Muslim State in the North-West of India. The political atmosphere of India has been tense with suspicion all these years, and Iqbal was far-sighted enough to look through the political mist. He reminded Muslims in India that the unity of religion and politics was one of the vital dictates of Islam. He did not only desire the revival of Islamic society, but had also in mind the creation of a true Islamic State with its typical politico-economic system which was the greatest need of the time, as the Islamic States were drifting towards Western political ideology for the mere lack of economic support. The fulfilment of such a dream primarily depends on the unity of Islamic nations which is of the utmost importance in the circumstances. "It seems to me," says Iqbal, "that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations, which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinction for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."

The presidential address which Iqbal read at the Allahabad Session (Dec. 1930) of the All-India Muslim League discusses the political problems of Muslim India and suggests their solution. Some of the poet's statements are, in a sense, historic and the address as a whole is remarkable for its pan-Islamic breath. Iqbal was not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations. He believed that religion is a power of abiding importance in the life of individuals as well as States, and was of the conviction that "Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny."

He was opposed to the Western political conception of nationalism, and regarded it as a menace to Islam, in particular, which does not recognize territory as the only basis of political solidarity. The separation



of religion and State in Europe was possible only because Christianity there "was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast church organisation." Islam recognises this-worldliness and regulates the social activities of man with due regard to his social impulses.

"In Islam, God and the Universe, spirit and matter, church and state are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam, matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time." The modern youth in the Muslim East, as he is looking to the West for political guidance and wholesale importation of Western thought, is bound to create chaos.

"Islam to-day stands in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments. However, it is difficult to predict the fate of the national idea in the Muslim world. To-day, the Muslim outlook is being racialised by the national idea and may, in time, very much retard the humanising work of Islam and the racial consciousness may in time create standards different from those of Islam. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment." Iqbal, the philosopher, however, did not see eye to eye with the political thinkers of the West in regarding religion as a personal affair. The Prophet's religious experience in its individual sense is creative of a social order. "The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created; the rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. The construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. The peoples of India are not prepared to pay the heavy price, the suppression of their individual cultures, to create a nation with one mind. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, says Iqbal, must be sought not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many." Unfortunately, the conditions prevailing in India to-day are disheartening and the much desired harmony among the different peoples of India has

been made impossible by the lack of sacrifice on the part of the leaders of the various communities.

"Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions." The demand of such a right to free development does not make one communal (a word so much abused nowadays) and does not imply a hostile attitude towards the other groups of people.

In view of the heterogeneous society of India, Iqbal proposed the creation of a State-Muslim India, now known as Pakistan. The idea has undergone a little change since then. "The units of Indian society," said Iqbal, "are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising\* the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component whole, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands, embodied in this resolution. Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it. *I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire; the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.*" It appears, Iqbal very well realised the gravity of the present crisis in the history of India, of which he had a clear picture in his mind: "The present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and



unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious future. We have a duty towards India, where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia.....An independent line of political actions, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified group? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent."

As an economist, Iqbal was led by the Holy Quran, as he had great reverence for the economic system of Islam, which, if put into practice, would go a long way to solve the economic problems of modern society. The Islamic injunction of *Zakat* is a powerful check against the growth of millionaires and decay of the poor in society. Iqbal had great sympathy for the poor peasants and labourers. Thus some of his poems smack of socialism, but he had in view only the economic doctrines of Islam and its liberal ideas.

As a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, Iqbal took a leading part in an historic discussion: Whether land belongs to the Government or to the people. The poet took exception to the Government view that land is the property of the Government and said that no Government in India had ever put forth such a claim. All land belongs to God. The Governments come and go; the nations go on for ever—even if not their kings. Thus the poet regarded land as national property and believed in its fair and equitable distribution.

His sympathy towards the labouring classes was not the result of feelings akin to Marxism, wholly devoid of spiritualism as the Marxian philosophy of bread seeks and aims at equality through the stomach alone:

دین آل پیغمبرے حق ناشناس بر مساوات شکم دارد اساس

- The religion of that Prophet, ignorant of truth,  
Has its basis in the equality of the stomach, alone.

'Interest' in various forms is recognized by the modern economist. Iqbal, as it is forbidden in the Quran, was vehemently opposed to un-earned profit, as he says :

رعنائی تعمیر میں رونق میں صفا میں  
گرجوں سے کہیں بڑھ کے ہیں بنکوں کے عمارات  
ظاہر میں تجارت ہے حقیقت میں جوا ہے  
سود ایک کا لاکھوں کے لئے مرگ مفاجات

In the elegance of construction, lustre and cleanliness,  
The buildings of Banks are superior to those of the Churches,  
Ostensibly, it is trade ; in reality, it is gambling—  
'Interest' of one is sudden death for millions of people !

The following verses throw light on the poet's economic and political views :

جاں نکتجد در جہات اے ہوشمند  
مرد حر بیگانہ از هر قید و بند

Space cannot accommodate the soul, O wise one !  
The freeman is alien to all kinds of restrictions.

جلال پادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو  
جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تورہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

Be it the grandeur of sovereignty or the democratic show,  
If politics is divorced from religion, it is nothing but Changhizism.

خواجہ از خون رگ مزدور سازد لعل ناب  
از جفائے ده خدایان کشت دھقانان خراب

The Khwaja makes a shining ruby out of the blood in the labourer's vein ;  
The peasants' farms are laid waste, because of the landlords' high-handedness.

*The Firman of God to the Angels :*

اٹھو میری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو  
کاخ اسرا کے در و دیوار ہلا دو

Arise and awaken the poor people of my world !  
Shake the doors and walls of the palaces of the Amirs !



گرمائے غلاموں کا لہو سوز یقین سے  
کنجشک فرومایہ کو شاہیں سے لڑا دو  
جس کھیت سے دھقان کو میسر نہیں روزی  
اس کھیت کے ہر خوشہ گندم کو جلا دو

Warm the blood of the slaves with the fire of confidence ;

Set the humble sparrow at the daring falcon !

The field which does not provide the peasant with food—

Burn every ear of corn in such a field to go up in flames !

Thus Iqbal came to a stage of disillusionment where he lost all hope in regard to the system of life established by the Imperialistic forces and designs of exploitation.

## XVII

### IQBAL AMONG OTHER THINKERS

THE universal aspect of Iqbal's teachings calls for a comparative study of the fundamentals of his philosophy, as a true appreciation of the poet's works is impossible without reference to some great thinkers of the world and their ideas. Iqbal laid the foundation of a social reform movement with a practical ideology as incorporated in his inspiring poem, *Asrar-o-Rumuz*.

Unlike the early Muslim philosophers who depended on the works of Plato and Aristotle, Iqbal, with the advantages of modern study, is a liberal thinker. He deprecated Greek philosophy for its inhibitive effect on the growth of Islamic ideology. The works of the Greek masters have been held in very high esteem in Muslim countries and, consequently, the teachers in *Maklabs* never found it advisable to revise or test the value of their thought. Iqbal is perhaps the first Muslim thinker in modern times who has attempted to readjust views in the light of modern inventions and discoveries without attaching much importance to the Platonic heritage.

All the nations of the world tend to have their own modes of thinking and are susceptible to foreign influences. The Egyptians, Persians and Indians all have materially contributed to world thought, but if philosophy ever grew on a soil, it was that of Greece, and from there it was taken to different countries. The Arabs because of their desert life had no natural inclination towards philosophy. Religion had a greater attraction for them, which was only a matter of creed and action, but, as the Muslims conquered foreign countries, new problems of civilization had their birth in the process of change and demanded immediate solution. The people now wanted to understand religion in the light of philosophy. Their interest in Greek philosophy, which had reached the Muslim thinkers through translation, was a social need. It had its benefits in so far as it met the mental demand of the age, but it had



undesirable effects on religion as the spirit of the Quran was interpreted in the light of Greek thought ; in course of time Islam lost much of its original vigour. Persian dualism, the teachings of Plato and Pythagoras, the Jewish and Christian traditions of thought—all influenced Muslim writers and thinkers. The teachings of Plato were taken to support Islamic views on the creation of the Universe and the eternity of the soul, but Iqbal warns the Muslim world against Plato's thought for his unbelief in appearance and a total rejection of this-worldliness. Plato was criticised by Muslim legists in the Tenth century, but their criticism unlike Iqbal's was from a different point of view. They objected to the Platonic view that the Universe is a single soul and the human souls are its limited parts. Iqbal set his face against foreign influence on Islamic conceptions. His main object was the exposition of the Quranic spirit and he believed that the meaning of the Quran can be interpreted in the light of contemporary thought in all ages, with an independent critical attitude towards the progress of human thought. Unfortunately, Muslim thinkers in the past did not keep in view this healthy principle.

The Greek philosophers attached great importance to knowledge. Knowledge is really of the highest value to man. They, at the same time, believed in the high efficiency and infallibility of reason, and the view fascinated the Muslim thinkers. Socrates is said to have been put to death by the Athenians for his Rationalism. " Know thyself," is the well known saying ascribed to Socrates, which has found a place in Muslim thought in various forms ; and the distance from Iqbal's doctrine of the Self through the works of the mystic saints to the Greek master's saying is not very long.

In contradistinction to the Greek thinkers and some of the early Muslim thinkers, Iqbal did not emphasise the infallibility of reason in the ordinary sense. However, he believed in the two important sources of knowledge—Revelation and Intuition. Like Ghazzali, the poet-philosopher attached real value to the inner experience and, according to him, it has a scientific importance.

Kindi, Farabi, Ibn-i-Miskwaih and even Ibn-i-Sina were all influenced by Greek thinkers. Ghazzali was perhaps the first Muslim

thinker who doubted the efficacy of reason and found for himself another source of knowledge, Intuition, through which alone religion can be understood; and ordinarily it is not tenable to ascribe to speculative reason the capacity to grasp Reality. Iqbal takes his cue from Ghazzali and finds ample support for his intuitive philosophy in Bergson among modern thinkers.

Through the works of Aristotle, logic became popular with the Muslim thinkers to the extent that even the commentaries of the Holy Quran were written with strict regard to logical conventionalism. The early writers failed to see that religion is based on a particular source of knowledge. Although philosophy has a right to go into the secrets of religious knowledge, it does really fall short of its total comprehension. Iqbal does not go very far with the prominent Muslim thinkers like Farabi and Razi in their devotion to Greek rationalism. To him, the complete and true vision of reality depends on religious experience, while scholastic thought leads one to dogmatic insistence, which is as dangerous as religious or political fanaticism.

The Mutazilites emphasised the use of reason as a religious duty beyond pragmatic intelligence. In the times of Al-Mamun and Mutawakkil, their rationalistic creed was thrust upon the people, and they went so far as to employ the sword to enforce the acceptance of their doctrine. Iqbal, on the contrary, might draw the sword for the defence of his intuitional creed. Iqbal realized the importance of the intricate problems that arose in the Mediaeval Ages in connection with Time and Eternity of the Word of God. He came to certain conclusions in the light of modern thought, but it was only to meet the demand of reason on behalf of the younger generation.

With the decline of Rationalism in the Muslim world, Mysticism came into prominence and exercised complete control over poetry. The deterioration of poetry during this period was the natural consequence of a cynical disregard for reason, in a way, common sense. Iqbal protested against this aspect of Persian as well as Indian thought so far as it affects Islamic culture and civilization, and his works reveal a clear divergence from the old school which, at the outset, did not believe in the reality of the Universe and later denied



any meaning to the soul, a kind of Immaterialism, which had to be discarded later in favour of the new ideas related to material causation.

The adverse forces of modern times and Western materialism might give birth to the Ikhwan-us-Safa of the Twentieth century. The appearance of Iqbal in Muslim society seems to have encouraged social cogency, otherwise the disruptive tendency among the various sections in Islam is still perceptible, and only a scientific study of the social affairs and behaviour of the Muslim mind to-day can save the people from a crisis. Iqbal was keenly alive to the gravity of the situation and his services to the cause of Islam were equally unselfish and beneficial. The question is still relevant: Where are we, and whither are we going? What type of society do we stand in need of? And how to save the individual and society from a moral and economic crisis—with which the Muslim World is faced to-day?

Iqbal was a poet who passed his days in this world with an eye on a broad range of its social and political problems, but he was not forgetful of the other world. Unlike Kindi, who believed that the human soul did not find peace in this world as it was full of sorrow and pain, Iqbal was a great lover of life, who firmly believed that this world had a direct and purposeful relation with the other. According to Farabi, the mind has a close likeness to the body, but the perfection of the mind depends upon reason. Obviously, Iqbal does not attach such importance to pure reason, as he believes that the growth and development of the soul do not wholly depend on it. Farabi and Iqbal were both seekers after the eternal reality.

Ibn-i-Miskwaih was a great believer in the social life of man, as individual life does not provide ample opportunities for the proper growth of mankind and the highest conception of good cannot go beyond human love. Besides, he thought that *Shariat* had a close relation with human ethics. Similar is the view of Iqbal, who laid stress on the unity of individuals in the form of a society (*The Secrets of Selflessness*). *Shariat*, according to Iqbal, is a code of ready-made judgments in the hands of Muslim people under the authority of the Prophet. Just as Farabi was concerned with wisdom, Ibn-i-Sina looked

upon the mind as the more important thing and his inclination led him to a peculiar kind of mysticism. He believed that physical defects precede physical ailments, and in the same manner spiritual health is conducive to heavenly pleasure. According to Iqbal, the Self needs a suitable atmosphere for its development and is susceptible to pain and pleasure.

The growing inclination of Muslim thinkers towards philosophy received a severe setback at the hands of Ghazzali, who produced his useful work, *Tahafut-ul-Falasifa*, to contradict the teachings of philosophy. He sought peace of mind and the knowledge of God, and to this end, he discovered the value of Intuition, and henceforth chalked out a new line of thought. There is no manner of doubt that his new light made the comprehension of a large number of problems easy. Iqbal duly recognised the value of Ghazzali's thought, which has been widely appreciated up to this day.

Ibn-i-Baja was a follower of Farabi who loved peace and solitude. He entered the vast Sahara of philosophy and in his confusion discovered the unity of life and the secret of its pleasure. He was a rationalist and differed from Ghazzali's view that man attains salvation only through the knowledge of reality, gained through the light of God. According to him, religious and mystic experiences, instead of clearing the conception of reality, blur it. In order to have a perfect vision of reality, a philosopher should discard the pleasure of inner experience. The knowledge of God cannot be acquired except through pure reason, devoid of all sensuous pleasure. Iqbal might have an idea of the society of the select, while Ibn-i-Baja emphasised individual development and at the same time advocated the formation of free-thinkers' societies. They should live a natural life as a model for the common people. In that case there would be no need of a physician or a judge, as love would be the governing force of life. Iqbal is more concerned with the individual and believes in a personality that guides the people as a directing force and keeps them bound together.

Ibn-i-Rushd was a follower of Aristototle and held the latter's logic in great esteem as it clears the way to reality. According to his belief, knowledge through reason passes the limits of perception and enters the domain of rational vision. The common people pass their life in the



realm of perception and as such are liable to err. Ibn-i-Rushd's view does not find favour with Iqbal who had faith in the inner experience of man. To him, the only way to acquire a perfect vision of reality was through intuition. But Iqbal agrees with Ibn-i-Rushd to the effect that the difference between the fundamental aims of religion and philosophy is the basis of their harmony. Ibn-i-Khaldun took exception to the view that reality could be perceived only through logical principles. Beyond the individual domain, he attached greater importance to the universal experience of mankind. He discovered the principles of evolution in the realms of history and civilization. His works have, for a long time, influenced practical politics in the East and his scientific discussions were often referred to by Iqbal.

Among the European thinkers, Kant, one of the astutest minds of the West, occupies an important position in so far as he proved, from the point of view of philosophy, the necessity of Faith because man cannot perceive Reality through pure reason. He looked upon man as a free agent; otherwise he would not be responsible for his actions. Iqbal's conception of the freedom of the Ego and his immortality finds a place in the philosophy of Kant as well. The main difference between the two thinkers is that Iqbal did not feel the necessity of proving the essential element of Faith. According to him, the freedom of the Ego as well as his immortality is the result of a constant struggle. The views of Kant are based on his belief in the principles of justice—order in the Universe and that the actions and their results closely correspond to one another. Like Descartes', the philosophy of Iqbal "begins with the Self and travels outwards." Kant was more of a metaphysician; his inferences in regard to the Self were the outcome of external command. In view of the poet's intense belief in religion, the ethical law of Iqbal finds its sanction in the inner necessity of the life of the Ego. He evinced deep interest in life and was always prepared to face all kinds of difficulties. Desire, he says, is the source of life.

With a peculiar difference, Schopenhauer was a pessimist and regarded desire as the source of all sorrow. He seems to have been adversely affected by the ostensibly disagreeable vastness of the Universe and failed to see the inner activity of life. Owing to his unpleasant experience of life, to him, adversity and grief were fatal. On the other

hand, Iqbal, like Goethe, of whose personality and teachings he was a fervent admirer, believed that immortality of the Ego depends on personal effort. Instead of avoiding adversity, man must face it.

Among the Western thinkers, the philosophy of Nietzsche who died in 1900, seems to have influenced the modern mind in a considerable measure. After Goethe, he gave Germany a new life. His name has been inseparably linked with Iqbal's whose works bear a Nietzschean tinge, but it must be said that, except a few points of resemblance, the two thinkers fundamentally differ from each other. A study of Nietzsche's psychology reveals the true significance of his philosophy. He was a weak man and his maxim in life was, 'Be hard!' He believed in 'Will to Power' as a universal phenomenon. Iqbal's faith in the constant effort of the Ego is not very far from that of Nietzsche. Both of them emphasised the importance of personality. Nietzsche's *Übermensch* (Superman) is Iqbal's Perfect Man, but the Superman of the former is the symbol of power, while the Perfect Man of the latter possesses a character based on justice. He uses power to enforce justice in the Universal system and, as such, destroys the tyrant and protects the weak. Nietzsche over-estimated the virtues of the aristocracy and there was no place in his society for the weak. The Superman would be mainly confined to his Self. On the other hand, the Perfect Man, having belief in God, would have unlimited possibilities of self-expression and would endeavour to give to the world a practical system based on justice. As he does not distinguish between the high and low, the common man will have the just and right sort of treatment as also opportunity to unfold his being. So he would establish an ideal democratic State. For his revolutionary philosophy, Nietzsche is accused of having motivated the war; but there are still many all over the world who follow him. Such power politics as is in vogue nowadays in Europe can be traced back to Nietzsche.

A certain amount of mystic element characterises the works of both Nietzsche and Iqbal. Nietzsche was himself a bird soaring to the empyreal sphere to have a closer vision of reality through Faith. The German philosopher, however, said, "Other birds might fly farther." Was it not Iqbal who flew farther? Both of them had a peculiar historical sense,



and upheld the traditions of true greatness. While one was influenced by Greek literature and thought, the other was inspired by an Islamic sense of historical continuity and progressive tradition.

Among the thinkers of the Twentieth century, the philosophy of Iqbal has much in common with Henri Bergson's views, to whom constant change is the basic principle of the Universe. The apparent disorder in the Universe is due to our senses which do not provide us with real knowledge; they only guide us in our daily life. Reality must be traced to the ultimate conception of Time and Space, which can only be appreciated through intuition. Bergson's views on change, creative evolution and time find favour with Iqbal, but he differs from the former inasmuch as he believes in a kind of dualism in the Universe on the basis of a clash between soul and matter. This dualism in the philosophy of Iqbal is absorbed into the Unity of God Who is an all-embracing personality. Reason and perception, according to Bergson, are too weak to comprehend reality. Iqbal, however, does not look upon reason as something useless and futile. He believes in the respective values of perception, intuition and love, which, he thinks, is a force conducive to unity. Love is a surer guide and reason should be subservient to it, the poet maintains.

Bergson does not conceive any object, whatever, in both the individual and social spheres of life and, to him, life has no object. His principle of Creative Evolution presents a vision of the Universe, driven by a blind creative impulse, where man is not a free agent. His Creative Evolution is Iqbal's God (the Universal Ego), being the conscious ultimate cause, which differentiates between man and animal. Certainly, Iqbal's view imparts more meaning and significance to human life than that of the French philosopher.

McTaggart, the well known British philosopher, was a teacher and personal friend of Iqbal. His views on the conception of the Self seem to have influenced his pupil. In a letter to Iqbal, he wrote in 1920: "I am writing to tell you with how much pleasure I have been reading your poems (*Secrets of the Self*). Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic. For my own

part, I adhere to my own belief that selves are the ultimate reality, but as to their true content and their true good, my position is as it was, that that is to be found in eternity and not in time, and in love rather than in action. Perhaps, however, the difference is largely a question of emphasis—we each lay most weight on what our own country needs. I caresay you are right when you say that India is too contemplative. But I am sure that England—and all Europe—is not contemplative enough. That is a lesson that we ought to learn from you—and no doubt we have something to teach in return."

Mystical intuition found a place in McTaggart's system of philosophy as a source of knowledge and this, according to Iqbal, must have been due to the need of a direct contact with the ultimate Reality. Such knowledge only confirmed what he had apprehended through pure reason, and in a manner he believed in spiritual apprehension of truths beyond the understanding.

It would be remembered that Iqbal had abiding faith in direct revelation. While taking exception to the British philosopher's views, Iqbal writes: "I cannot agree with McTaggart in the view that the Self is elementally immortal. From the mere fact that the individual ego is a differentiation of the eternal Absolute, it by no means follows that, even in its finitude, the human Self retains the character which belongs to its source alone. To my mind, such a differentiation should give it only a capacity for immortality and not immortality itself. Personally, I regard immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. Man is a candidate for immortal life, which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaining the tension of the ego.....But while I disagree with McTaggart in his view of immortality, I regard this part of his work as almost apostolic. He emphasised personal immortality even at the expense of the transcendent God of Christian theology at a time when this important belief was decaying in Europe and when the European man was about to face death on an enormous scale."

Almost like Iqbal, the British philosopher ascribed basic value to Love, and he was of the opinion that the solution of all problems was only found in Love. He described it as the essence of Reality, as another Western thinker has said, "All original beauty or excellence that is among minds is Love." He, however, seems to oppose love to action



and the opposition is unintelligible to Iqbal, to whom love is not something passive—"It is active and creative. Indeed, on the material plane, it is the only force which circumvents death, for when death takes away one generation, love creates another."

McTaggart does not appear to comprehend the "central unity as an all-inclusive Self," probably due to his Hegelian inspiration. Nietzsche suffered from similar handicaps as his "peculiar intellectual environment led him to think that his vision of the ultimate ego could be realised in a world of space and time." With the obvious benefits of unified Islamic thought and tradition, Iqbal had no such confines as would hamper the unfolding of his genius. Through Faith and Intuition, his flights in the sphere of knowledge were manifestly unlimited.

ز خاک تیره دمیدم قبائے گل بستم

وگر نه اخترے واماندہ ز پروینم

## XVIII

### A MESSENGER OF NEW LIFE

NATURE gave Iqbal an extremely delicate and impressionable heart which was responsible for the production of such beautiful poetry as is incorporated in his celebrated works, *Bang-i-Dara*, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, *Zabur-i-Ajam*, *Bal-i-Jibril*, *Zarb-i-Kalim* and *Armughan-i-Hedjaz*. This collection of feeling, beauty and wisdom is, indeed, as rare a repository of thought as was ever produced by any great writer, poet or philosopher of any land. He composed verses both in Urdu and Persian, and was thus able to speak to a larger world beyond the narrow confines of India; and Persian suited his philosophy and ideology. He visualized a world-wide society, with a Perfect Man to guide its destiny, in a vast group of self-concentrated Selves. Even his early poetry was widely appreciated by his countrymen, but later his verse began to bear a more potent content and a deeper shade of meaning. He interpreted his philosophical concepts in the form of poetry, and this gave a subtler inner meaning to his verse as a whole.

In the beginning, his verse carried a political message, as its object was to open the eyes of his countrymen to the reality of events and circumstances around them; and as such his services were, indeed, great. But with his growing outlook, he became a pan-Islamist; an internationalist, to be more correct. His wider conception of a world-wide society on the basis of world citizenship and pan-Islamism were simply complementary ideas. As he was conscious and confident of the great historical role which Islam was still destined to play in a changing world order, he was deeply pained when he saw that the Muslims were not playing the role they were supposed to. It was this feeling, coupled with his dynamic philosophy of the Self, which prepared him for the great task of awakening the Muslim world, especially, his countrymen, to the dynamic message of Islam.



The philosophy and poetry of Iqbal can only be studied and appreciated against the background of the poet's genuine concern for life as seen in changing forms, on the basis of which he evolved a progressive conception of life, with a quest for stability in movement and thought, along with harmony in the great ideal before him, as reflected from the finite Ego to the ultimate Ego. In short, he was a realist, and believed in the existence of the Self as an independent entity, as is clear from his well-known work, "*Asrar-o-Rumuz*", and would insist on its existence and independence, though not isolated from the ultimate Ego. He based his system of thought, action and reality on knowledge acquired through inner experience, which, when associated with a prophet, would bring forth great results in the practical domain of life. His attachment to the Quran is, therefore, quite intelligible and, in fact, his whole philosophy and poetry can be directly traced to the influence of Islam, its history and culture, which made him the Poet of the East as well as the Poet of Islam in his approach to questions of human history and civilization, as a distinguished thinker of the world.

In an appreciation of the Poet of the East today, we are at once reminded of his outstanding contribution to the conception of Pakistan as an independent State, which at one time had been considered only a poet's dream. But the dream has come true. No wonder only a few years ago our opponents taunted us by saying that our aspiration was nothing but a poet's dream. However, it was not a dream, but an inspiration, and a reiteration of the truth that no nation can demand or have freedom unless it is capable of defending that freedom. This is, indeed, an important proposition which faces us today. We have struggled hard to win our freedom and no freedom is worth the name unless it has been achieved by suffering. According to the poet, we are passing through different stages at every moment of our lives to achieve higher ends and purposes.

Now that we have won our freedom, much remains to be done. Let us not relax our efforts. Our problems are numerous, especially the problem of Kashmir, the home of Iqbal, who conceived the idea of a free Pakistan. The poet to-day appeals to us to rise and stand by the people of Kashmir in their struggle for liberty.

Iqbal was not only a great poet of his day, widely admired as a genius, but also a first-rate thinker, possessing a keen and cautious insight into the fundamental problems of philosophy, in the discussions of which he has left his impress on cultural thought. Iqbal was an attractive personality around whom philosophy of the Self found a congenial atmosphere to blossom.

Those who have read his poetical works will agree that, apart from the value of his sparkling verse as a tremendous source of inspiration to make one's life strong and healthy, the underlying message of his song is always a dynamic force aiming at a certain form of revolution in an out-dated static system of life. His constant appeal for action and his emphasis on the sanctity and significance of the Self is something refreshing and unique in Asiatic thought and literature at a time when this great continent, the abode of classical races, had passed under foreign subjugation, and the racial groups which had at one time made great contributions to human thought and civilization were suffering from political and social decay. The poetry of Iqbal, which inspired the countries at least of South-West Asia, won him the title of "the Poet of the East".

By composing poetry of a very high order, both in Urdu and Persian, Iqbal performed the great task of making man worthy of the trust imposed upon him by God Almighty, which the Quran says he accepted at his peril. The poet wants man to realise, in reference to the Holy Book, the significance of such responsibility and, as such, preaches the dignity of the individual who, having attained his own perfection, is destined to unfold his possibilities in a universe of unforeseen potentialities which cover his activities in the political, economic and social domains of life. He, therefore, refers to man in his various beautiful verses as a diamond or an eagle, assigning to him a high status of strength, purity, self-respect and activity. His object in such optimistic description of the Perfect Man, which was his ideal beyond Nietzsche's Super-Man, was to elevate his own people to a height of self-understanding dignity in a world where the principle of struggle for existence rules supreme.

The poet's passionate song achieved his object and the present-day awakening of the Muslim world is in no small degree due to his inspiring



verse which had come to be appreciated in Asia and Europe during the lifetime of the poet. His poetry, however, could not go beyond the domain of artistic description of a high ideal as a colourful picture. In his philosophical discussions, he set himself directly the task of answering the fundamental questions of philosophy.

Iqbal's philosophy was primarily concerned with those fundamental aspects of truth which have been agitating the minds of great men of alltime. At least a considerable portion of his thought deals with religious experience, its nature and significance in the sphere of philosophy, the value and test of the revelations of religious experience, the concept of God and the meaning of prayer, the human Ego—its freedom and immortality. The questions raised in these discussions are inter-related and extend themselves ultimately into questions pertaining to time, space and God.

The other part of his philosophical work treats of important questions concerning Muslim society and religion. Iqbal faced these questions and, in some cases, raised them with the undaunted courage of a Muslim rationalist who came in the line of Ibn-i-Miskwaih, Farabi and Abu Ali Sina. While dealing with such subtle questions having their direct bearing on the truth of ultimate reality, he undertakes an impartial enquiry into them with the help of all kinds of knowledge man has accumulated in all domains of the sciences, and throughout his research his main guide is the light of the Quran. Critics of international reputation have been surprised by the happy blend of Eastern and Western thought, which Iqbal's intellectual achievements represent, and the assimilation by the poet of all that was appreciable in the East and the West. The works of Iqbal possess a rare value in world thought and literature inasmuch as they give a clue to the political and cultural problems of his countrymen and the nations of Asia at large. They were individually and collectively faced with the question, "How to achieve freedom from Western domination?" The Muslim world was further concerned with the question, "How to readjust Islam as a religion and social force?" So, Iqbal's poetical and philosophical thought was to a great extent the creation of his environment and Islamic history.

In his role of a poet-philosopher, Iqbal rendered a great service to his people, who were awakened from a deep slumber to a new life of constructive thought and action. As he was a Muslim, his main concern was Islam as a world force. So in his attempt to solve the problems of his people, he never forgot the actual significance and strength of Islam which it had revealed by its historical role as a radical reformer of a world-wide social system, comprising such various groups of nations as Indians, Afghans, Persians, Turks and Egyptians. For Iqbal, therefore, political and social questions, even viewed from an economic standpoint, could not be easily solved unless treated as a social whole destined to function under the wings of an all-embracing system of thought in the light of Islam as a religion. His admiration for Islam, its history, thought, literature and social system was indeed great. He lived and died in the service of his countrymen and Islam, and of the idea of Pakistan as a free State for the Muslims of India. His role as a thinker is, therefore, doubly important.

His message awakened his own people at home and it had a revivifying effect on the process of life in the Muslim world where during the last two hundred years thought activity had come to a dead stop and the pseudo-mystics and third-rate thinkers had created unprecedented social difficulties; and with the disappearance of original thinking the workshop of life had come to a standstill, with far-reaching effects on south-west Asiatic economy. The situation had become very grave in view of the active life of the West, which, among other things, by their scientific achievements in the realms of industry and means of communication had wrought new weapons to secure political domination over the Eastern countries.

The main question before Iqbal was to find an independent content for spiritual life, and he believed that matter was not something foreign to life and reality. Among the philosophical problems Iqbal has discussed, knowledge and religious experience are very important and basic, inasmuch as they lead to the conception of the Ego as a real entity. To Iqbal, religious experience is a phenomenon of great meaning, and while it has its independent basis, it is complete and fuller than the ordinary kind of knowledge gained through sense perception—which forms the basis of all conceptual knowledge, and is partial in any case.



Iqbal admits that there is no scientific method so far evolved to record such knowledge, and yet such knowledge only can be regarded as the basis of a surer understanding of life and world events.

There are two important aspects of such conscious knowledge—mystic and prophetic. The former is only for the mystic himself; he dives into the stream of his experience and never comes out to the world; but the prophet does return to the world and the truth of his religious experience is judged by the fruits of his labour which brings about a change for the better in the environment where he works on the practical plane of life. Iqbal emphasises that such a living experience of the kind of biological unity requires today a method physiologically less violent and psychologically more suitable to a concrete type of mind, and that the demand for a scientific form of religious knowledge is otherwise only natural.

Iqbal was, therefore, constrained to reconstruct the religious thought of Islam with due regard to its evolutionary traditions in keeping pace with modern scientific discoveries. In his approach towards such a responsible task, he advocated an independent and critical attitude on the part of Muslim thinkers. He was particularly encouraged to reconstruct the religious thought of Islam as the modern sciences, especially physics, had undertaken an inquiry into the fundamental assumptions of its knowledge and was coming very close to Islamic conceptions of truth or reality.

So, while emphasizing the fundamental and possibly scientific value of religious experience, Iqbal depended on faith, as it had a cognitive content, and argued that there was no reason to regard thought and intuition as essentially opposed; they were only eternal and temporal aspects of reality.

In his rational approach, Iqbal deprecated the zeal of the early Muslim thinkers for Greek thought as it blurred their vision of the Quran. So, he himself undertook to interpret the spirit of the Quran with copious references to the principle of eternal change and the process of history and biology. Thus seeking the permanent element in the constitution of the universe, Iqbal relied on religious experience as the most dependable source of knowledge, which is primarily inner

experience and without which all knowledge must remain partial and incomplete.

Confronted with the question of ultimate reality as between religion and philosophy, Ghazzali spurned Greek thought and based religion on philosophical scepticism which, according to Iqbal, lacked its permanence. Ibn-i-Rushd, on the other hand, depended on the impartiality of the Active Intellect, something which he inherited from the Greeks. In the realm of conceptual knowledge, Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" showed the limitations of human reason and, similarly, Ghazzali had to discard analytic thought for mystic experience and, therefore, found an independent content for religion and secured the right for religion to exist independently. Thus, Iqbal suggested how religious experience could reveal the total infinite reality as opposed to conceptual knowledge, which had created many psychological problems for Locke, Berkeley, Hume and some other philosophers of the West.

As opposed to science, religion cannot ignore rational metaphysics. It was more in the interest of religion that a method should be devised to rationalise religious experience, without which modern knowledge lacks materially in its complete description of reality, and this fact has created grave complexities in the social and political spheres of thought and life, as Iqbal had noted in some neighbouring countries of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. While science and religion both are concerned with reality, thought is sometimes regarded as incapable of visualizing the infinite because of its habitual treatment of finitude in broken moments; but it is not difficult to realise that thought in its dynamic character is able to reach the infinite beyond itself and, as such, the inner experience has an objective value with its cognitive content—which is something positive in character and can be made the basis of rational metaphysics. In view of such a principle, Iqbal thought of reality as all-pervading, and life as such could not be a bundle of oppositions, spirit and matter grappling with each other, so to say, or, planning to subdue each other. He, therefore, laid stress on the adjustment of man's relation to the forces of the universe, and this deserves to be looked upon as a vital suggestion to solve our socio-political problems today.



While to Iqbal knowledge based on inner experience was real, he regarded the life of the Ego as real—which stands for the organised conscious activity of the mind being a real entity, and flourishes as a vital process to be revealed in its self-directing activity, which is both efficient and appreciative and, though distinct, is not isolated from the infinite, Ego. The inner experience is the function of the Ego which is a finite entity and is capable of expanding and keeping direct contact with the infinite. As it is capable of growing itself and absorbing the higher and wider attributes of the infinite which is the ultimate Ego, it can no more be clearly imagined than immanent God. As such, Iqbal develops a conception of the universe being in its ultimate sense an Infinite Ego, and beyond itself there is nothing—no time and no space. In the all-embracing reality of the Ultimate Ego, the existence of time is the eternal “now” and the existence of space is the eternal “here”. The value of such a concept in such modern sciences and from the point of view of Islam as a religion is quite obvious, with its direct reference to the human self as having a formative and organizing principle.

The relationship between the finite Ego and the Ultimate Ego in respect of time and space as visualized in the light of the inner experience as well as the knowledge based on sense-perception that reveals the habit of the human mind to observe reality in pieces, gives rise to intricate problems of human knowledge, such as serial and absolute time; subjective time and space; real and unreal time, space, and so on. These problems have engaged the attention of many philosophers, especially, among the moderns, Locke, Berkley, Hume, Kant and recently, Bergson and Einstein. Iqbal had the brilliant achievements of such great contemporaries before him. He was, therefore, able to judge, weigh and consider their inferences and was in a position to describe his dream as well as his view of things and the universe—which was, indeed, a stupendous task—to reconstruct the religious thought of Islam, so admirably undertaken by him for the modern generations of Islam. In the later part of his life, Iqbal appeared to be busily occupied with such problems of philosophy and humanism.

His residence on McLeod Road some two decades ago appeared to be an international centre of cultural activity as poets, artists, thinkers

and politicians visited his house in a constant stream. With them he had the opportunity to exchange his ideas in keeping pace with some of the latest discoveries in science and progress in thought, and in this manner he was able to serve his people at a time when they were facing the grave question of life and death. Certainly, Iqbal was an eminent and distinguished thinker as well as a popular poet of his time in the Muslim world, and of humanity at large.

بہار چوں بہ گلستان کشید بزم سرود  
نوائے بلبل شوریدہ چشم غنچہ کشود



## XIX

### A GREAT HUMANIST

**A**MONG the great men of the East who were destined to become leaders of thought and action, Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, occupied a unique position inasmuch as his poetry which was, in the first instance, appreciable for beauty of diction and glamour of love-inspired ideas succeeded in galvanising Muslim society into a dynamic system of life, and with such a fundamental change in the political outlook of the Indian Muslims, as is shown by the achievement of Pakistan as a sovereign State within a short span of seven years. Apart from the poet's great concern with the life of the individual in society and the problems of the individuals in a highly organised social system, which were the result of his close observation of nature and intense study of Islamic literature and thought, he eventually became very anxious about the future and fate of the Indian Muslims.

In his own way and in his limited sphere of political preaching, he wrote inspiring poems in Urdu and Persian reflecting a highly imaginative talent and containing a passionate appeal to revive and overhaul the entire system of life in the light of the fundamental conception that Islam believes in the independent existence of the individual and his freedom in a corporate system of social and political patterns. Thus his doctrine of the Self and the struggle of the individual to win and preserve the immortality of the soul was a composite whole which represented a type of unity in thought which admirably suited the Muslims of India and other countries of Asia to live up to the greatness of the past and recapture the glory that was Islam. The real object of Iqbal's literary works was the internal regeneracy of the Muslims as a self-respecting independent people. As a poet, Iqbal served Muslim India with his life-giving message and as a philosopher he helped to interpret the Islamic system of thought as it worked throughout the centuries, the reformatory role of which has a brilliant record in the archives of creative thought.

Born in Sialkot in the year 1873, Iqbal finished his educational career in the Government College, Lahore, towards the close of the 19th century and later went to Europe for higher studies. In London and Cambridge he studied higher Philosophy, economics and politics and in Germany, he got his Doctorate in philosophy from the Munich University. His visit to Europe and higher education in the West coupled with his experience of European life and politics made him a keen observer of social events and problems of which he made ample use in forming his views and criticising European system of thought and civilization with its reactions on the social life in Asia. He was conscious of the general problems of the Asiatic countries on the international level which had appeared as a direct consequence to the inroads of the material civilization of the West into the backward countries. The political bondage of the Oriental people, for which the uncontrolled earth-hunger of the European powers with imperialistic designs was mainly responsible brought about a deplorable deterioration of the Eastern nations as they had failed to keep pace with the progress of the Machine Age. Iqbal on coming back to his native land could not adjust himself to the circumstances in which he found himself completely disappointed. He could not like the British bureaucratic system of Government. So he blamed the British for it and protested against their policy in his own modest way as a leader of poetic thought, although he once said, "I am not a leader and am led by no one." He was of the opinion that for the development of a truly Islamic system of life a people's government on democratic lines was highly essential, which could evolve its own pattern of Islamic democracy, designed to guarantee ever-growing and ever-progressing modes of thought and life.

European education and his experience of European society made the East and West meet in him. Although the two met as strangers, yet the result was a happy assimilation by the poet of European thought and cultural values which has been regarded by some international critics as a phenomenon of unusual significance. Iqbal's contribution to world thought is indeed of immense and rare value. While he was closely acquainted with the works of the poets and mystics of Persia and India such as Saadi, Hafiz, Rumi, Mahmud Shabistari, Ali Hujwairi, Amir Khisraw, Urfi, Saib, Baidil and Ghalib, he was equally conversant



with the works of the great poets, philosophers and politicians of Europe, such as Goethe, Nietzsche, Dante, Bergson, Browning, Karl Marx and some of the eminent thinkers and writers of his day. He was, therefore, not only admired by his countrymen, but also by the great men of the contemporary world. While his Urdu and Persian lyrics were passionately sung in the bazaars of Lahore, Delhi and Hyderabad, his Persian poetry was no less appreciated in Kabul for its invigorating influence and the warm breath of the poet that dispelled the spiritual gloom over the lethargic society of the East. This aspect was of no less significance than a Messiah's miracle of reviving the dead. The reverberations of Iqbal's songs were also heard in the gardens of Teheran and Shiraz, as he once said, "The bamboo groves of Persia have caught the flame of my lyrical song, but Arabia is still unaware of my plaintive cry." He was so widely admired for his poetry that once a Persian Princess in London was reported to be prepared to enter into a bet maintaining that Iqbal was originally Persian and had been kidnapped to India through Baluchistan in exchange for a few sacks of sugar.

Iqbal's fame as a poet had spread far and wide even in the early days of his literary career, but his reputation as a thinker of eminence was established only when he spoke on Islamic subjects of importance on the platform of a local Anjuman in Lahore. Since that time onward his advice was often sought on matters of social and political importance by Muslims all over India, and he was known as a man of social integrity and honest views. But still he had his opponents in the sphere of literary criticism. The publication of the *Asrar-o-Rumuz* in 1916 introduced him to the society of international figures of thought and literature, for the translation of the work by Dr. R. A. Nicholson, of the Cambridge University, gave him a wide introduction both in the East and the West. The *Asrar* and *Rumuz* presented the poet's doctrine of the Self which had already gained support in some of the well known works of psychology in Europe and America. While the poet's work was criticised in foreign countries, the inspiring works of the poet inspired his readers in the task of building a real life in Muslim India, as the poet taught the individuals in society to be as hard as a diamond and as brave and self-respecting as the Eagle—with a will to live and be strong. This conception was something which reflected in some sense a tinge of Nietzsche's

philosophy who was considered to be a revolutionary of his age.

The *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, a 'Voice from the East,' was the poet's masterpiece in response to the German poet, Goeth's *Western Diwan*, who, like Iqbal, had appeared in his own country as a reformist and was destined to raise his people from the low abyss into which they had fallen to the great heights which they achieved on account of his teachings through a revival movement mainly sponsored by the great German poet. The *Piyam-i-Mashriq* was perhaps responsible for the fact that the poet was often referred to as the "Poet of the East," as his work was a sanctuary of noble ideas of highly constructive value. The beautifully sweet verse of the *Piyam*, which was dedicated to *ex-King* Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan, is regarded as the most brilliant work of Iqbal and has been translated into many languages of the world. The style of the lyrics and variety of the poems of the poet are in classical style and the criticism of international thought found therein is indeed enlightening and instructive, and is of great international significance as it is likely to bring about a healthy understanding between the East and the West which has hitherto been lacking. The significance and presentation of Iqbal's ideas is of special interest as the poet essentially looked through the glasses of "Intuition" without which, according to him, knowledge could neither connote nor carry its full value.

In the year 1924, when he had become a Knight, the poet was seen in his bungalow in an atmosphere of peaceful calm like "the awful rose of dawn," as he passed his days in deep thinking and appeared as if he was "voyaging through the seas of thought," to borrow a phrase from Wordsworth, whose poetry was as humanising as that of Iqbal.

The broad range of poetry covered by Iqbal in his works of high value, such as the *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, *Zabur-i-Ajam* and *Bal-i-Jibril*, fundamentally deal with such important problems and aspects of human life as the doctrine of the Self, struggle for existence and the influence of environment, life in danger, the immortality of the soul, individual freedom and Muslim society, the new social and political problems of the Muslim world, and the international federation and security of the Muslim nations. All these important topics have been wisely dealt with by the poet in his highly impressive poetic style, which while closely following the best models set by the masters of Urdu



poetry, also brings into light all that is good and beautiful in the poetry of the Persian masters of verse, from Saadi and Hafiz to Qaani. Some of his inspiring poems, such as *Naghma-i-Anjum* and *Naga-i-Sayyar-i-Man*, are modern in spirit and style. As an artist the poet's motifs are equally constructive as his pursuit of art is progressive and refreshing.

From the year of his being created a Knight in 1922 to the years of his visits to Kabul at the instance of the late King Nadir Shah, who had a great regard for the poet and admired his literary works, and later his visit to London, Paris and Cordova, which places he visited when he went to attend the Round Table Conference in 1932-33, the poet worked untiringly to complete his literary mission and, as such, he could not attend to the profession of law which he had adopted as his calling. But while his colleagues were busy to achieve greatness as lawyers and statesmen, Iqbal was spending most of his time in writing verse and leading the life of a *dervish* reflecting a deep regard for otherworldliness, as was the case with Cardinal Newman at Oxford. Iqbal was primarily devoted to the task of writing poetry and in this manner he served his people with the pen and achieved what perhaps the sword could not have achieved for him. Besides, he was among the few literary geniuses in India who could live on his income by the sale of his literary works. Although he is widely known as a poet, yet he was a great philosopher who was associated with such renowned philosophers as McTaggart and Bergson and was appreciated by them for his keen interest in philosophical ideas and his valuable contribution to human thought. The doctrine of change as represented by Bergson's "Creative Evolution" was closely allied to that of Iqbal to whom the universe was not a calm edifice, but everything was in a constant process of change as a flow of stream in time and space, and human beings had no inherent right to existence. All of us are candidates to existence, and for survival we must struggle.

Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, has given to Muslim society and the world at large something which has made the world the richer in thought and culture—which is indeed a great achievement, but it is as a humanist that he will be remembered by the coming generations. He was one of the few idealists of the contemporary world who never lost touch with reality

as he emphasised the preservation of the individual as a free entity in a corporate system of life, both social and political. He wanted the Muslims to wake up and rise to their problems. He laid great emphasis on the independence of man in his approach towards life and of criticism of the modern problems *vis-a-vis* the European system of thought in the fields of political and scientific enquiries as one can see from his lectures, "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam." He was conservative in a sense and was never carried away by the mere glamour and gaiety of modernism which is sometimes just to look for a change for the sake of change. As a citizen of the world, the preservation of man and his civilization was his first concern and to this aspect of human life he devoted most of his time and attention. While preaching his own ideas through poetry he was always thinking of something more than a system of morality. He was a man inspired by religion and, as such, he always spoke from his heart and his appeal was to the heart. In truth, his ideology was inspired by faith, and was something of intrinsic value, away from the internal discord and rational agnosticism which from the times of Sir John Stuart Mill had baffled many a great thinker. Iqbal depended on Faith and many of his concepts depended on Intuition, proved by his inner conviction. Both as a poet and a philosopher, he was given to a life of extreme reserve. It appears in his doctrine of the Self, he built for himself a temple, into which he had retired to worship his own Self. Yet he often cried:

"Lead kindly light amid the gathering gloom: Lead Thou me on!"

Iqbal was an Oriental poet, yet his thought had a deep tinge of the West. Islam was the bedrock of his ideology which at the same time was something eternal and dynamic. Instead of looking to "isms" for his guidance, while many thinkers of his day were being tossed to and fro like shuttle-cocks in such pursuit, he believed in the inner experience of man as something more reliable than discursive reasoning. His works have awakened the Indian peoples from a deep slumber. He was one of the few thinkers in India to conceive the idea of Pakistan, and inspired by his faith, the present generation is now struggling to make Pakistan a truly Islamic Republic, destined to be a democratic State of free individuals. This new State, it is hoped, will continue to be inspired by the faith of Islam which inspired the eminent poet, Iqbal.



## XX

### IQBAL AND THE NEW WORLD

**A**MONG the eminent scholars, poets and thinkers of the East who made brilliant contributions to the progress of ideas and general awakening of the great races of Asia, Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, was an outstanding figure. The great poet not only served his own people, the Muslims of India, by his fiery message of hope and glory which he incorporated in his Urdu and Persian poetry, but also undertook to found an intellectual movement in thought with a view to awakening the Muslim World, in particular, and humanity, in general.

Towards the end of the 19th century when the political power of the Muslim countries was fast collapsing and men of the right type were not forthcoming to shoulder the responsibilities of State and society, it was widely recognised by the best brains of Islam that the basic need of the time was to revitalise Islamic society which had deteriorated with perilous consequences to the socio-political system of Islam. It was about this time when Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, a reformist leader of Islam, who had fought unflinchingly for Pan-Islamism, had breathed his last in Turkey, that Iqbal was beginning to open his eyes as a college student in Lahore. The Ottoman Empire was then fast giving way and with it Islam was retrogressing every day. Iqbal was seen in that great city singing his refreshing verses as if it were a fragrant breeze which rejuvenated the life impulse, recalling the past glory of Islam and its achievements in the domains of science and art which distinguished its civilization and culture from those of the Medieval Ages of Europe and Asia.

Iqbal, the poet, during those days was very anxious to arouse his countrymen from the dreamy mood which, like the lotus-eaters of Tennyson, they had come to enjoy. Not unaware of the languid air that blew around and inside the vast gardens of India, the poet addressed himself to the onerous task of imparting to the peoples of India a new consciousness of human dignity, nobility of human effort and a belief in their

ultimate destiny. With such a mission before him, Iqbal passionately sang of the spirit of *khudi* (ego) and its pregnant meaning in the system of life and universe, and was thus able to achieve by his poetry a great-deal more than what the sword or gold could achieve for any prince or warrior.

The poet led a simple life, but it is true that as a thinker he wielded vast influence in South-West Asia, and his poetical works had won him recognition not only as a poet, but also as a philosopher, who made a laudable contribution to religious thought and criticism of Western philosophy. Because of his being the principal exponent of the idea of Pakistan as an independent State and a homeland for the Muslims of India, he is regarded as the main source of inspiration of the new free State, but his reputation as a poet of the East has a special significance in world literature and thought which entitles him to a distinguished position as a first-rate thinker on account of his life-giving ideas about the Self which, according to him, is something real, and enduring with an ultimate destiny, covering both the present and the life hereafter. Apart from the importance of the religious and cultural outlook and ideas which Iqbal was so keen to pass on to his people as precious and practicable, he was desirous of devising a plan for the reconstruction of a new world which found expression so vividly in the vista of his new scheme.

As a student, nature inspired Iqbal to write beautiful poems on objects of nature revealing the sensitive mind of the young man, who some time after produced verses with a national outlook on life, but soon he was able to bring out his true self in his warm and fragrant breath as the herald of a new dawn for Islam. His writings took now more and more of a Pan-Islamic look and his interest in the Muslim World was simply boundless and impatient. He desired to see India free. He was concerned with the destiny of Central Asian countries; and had a soft corner for the Persian, the Turk and the Arab.

After his return from Europe, he became busily occupied in his thought activity with a view to launching a social movement in order to awaken and prepare the Muslims to relive a life of dignity, which meant individual freedom in an atmosphere of social and economic independence. Some of the valuable ideas he presented to his people



may not be new, for nothing appears to be radically new in this world. His doctrine of the Self which is the burden of his admirable poem, *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, has borne unprecedented results in the history of contemporary literature and thought. For it was his conception of *khudi*—as the Self implies that Muslim society in India was galvanised to achieve its political salvation in the form of an independent State which had been the dream of the Indian Muslims through many decades in the past.

Iqbal had a charming, but elusive personality. Those who saw him when he was at college found him a young man of genial disposition, but there was a tinge of sadness underlying his youthful verse—even the form and diction of his poetry suggested his mystic sense of regret and mournfulness. He was mournful as a budding youth and was unhappy as a Muslim. He was saddened by the fate of his brethren in Kashmir, for he was a distinguished Kashmiri himself. On the other hand, his education and vast study of Islamic literature and history gave him a Pan-Islamic outlook on life. At the beginning of the 20th century he had the reputation of a well known poet. Later, after his return from Europe, he was seen among his intimate friends as a philosopher-poet of reserved habits, though he would enjoy a joke and laugh with his colleagues. Among his admirers, the late Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan had great regard for the poet and the two friends were often seen at the house of the former, "Zarafshan", where they pondered over the destiny of Islam and allied questions.

Immediately after the First World War, when Europe had made great discoveries in the domain of science, European thinkers had fully realised that science had placed in the hands of European potentates such enormous powers of destruction as would soon annihilate the entire social order of the white race, a matter of vital concern to the Anglo-Saxons to-day. Besides, there was a growing feeling that scientific materialism was fast drifting away from the social sciences with disastrous effects on culture and religion, which had so far held the different forces of society in unison. In addition to the destructive inventions of science which the War in Europe had brought to the forefront, scientific knowledge was becoming more and more dependent on pure mathematics,

which required a new approach of adjustment between the various departments of knowledge, *e.g.*, the new strides made in modern science such as the Theory of Relativity, the Quantum Theory and Atomic physics have had the result of compelling an entirely new orientation and integration of all branches of acquired knowledge. Consequently, classical idealism and materialism since the days of Plato and Aristotle up to the time of Spinoza and Kant have undergone different measures of change in outlook and practical implications as life and nature demand both in the spheres of human values and material sciences.

Today, science cannot afford to be either thoroughly materialistic or guided by pure mathematics, which is nothing but symbolic in character. Science must develop itself as a social movement and the various branches of knowledge must co-ordinate themselves to present an all-embracing view of things and the universe, without which it is not possible for man to develop society to its fullest dimensions, or guide human destiny, which the inherent nature of things has in store for mankind. But so long as man does not acquire true knowledge of his being and environment and discover a suitable method for the achievement of his ends, it seems well nigh impossible to remove the confusion prevailing in the development of society at the present stage. This fact has been realised by most of the distinguished thinkers of the East and the West. Among such great men who have been applying their minds to the fundamental problems of society, religion and culture was, Dr. Iqbal, who is known to have conceived the idea of an independent free State of Pakistan, which has a direct reference to his conception of the ego and the national ego.

During his active literary life after World War I, Iqbal was pre-occupied with the idea how best he could revive the inactive society of Islam, especially, the decaying social order in India, whose intelligent leadership was smarting under a growing sense of dissatisfaction with the conditions then prevailing in the vast sub-continent. In his day, the British regime was well established, having full control of the balance of power in Asia. As the whole of the Indian Empire was then under the iron heel of the British, the Muslim World indirectly suffered heavily from foreign influence with devastating consequences to its political, economic and social stability.



Iqbal, the poet, addressed himself to the noble task of regenerating the unhealthy social order and, as such, wrote one of his best known works, *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, in which he planned to develop among his people a consciousness of the great status they occupied in the comity of nations of the world and the lustrous past which they had inherited from their forefathers, who had built such vast empires in the past and had a brilliant record of service to the cause of humanity, religion and culture beyond the narrow limits of caste, colour and creed. -

Having in view the revival of the past, with a new approach to life as active rationalism implies, Iqbal turned his attention to the individual, without whose growth, development and progress society cannot hope to unfold itself as a functioning whole, and concentrated his efforts on preaching the doctrine of Self (the ego) in the light of the Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him!) and, in order to disseminate his basic ideas of revivifying effect, he presented his thoughts both in poetry and prose, which have revealed their extraordinary synthetic value to human understanding and culture.

The *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, along with his other illustrious works, such as the *Piyam-i-Mashriq* and the *Zabur-i-Ajam* treat of the central idea of self, which, according to the poet, is the *raison d'être* of man and on its vitality depends the destiny of man as an individual, who is described in the Holy Quran as the noblest of creation and is the vicegerent of God on earth. The existence of man in the circumstances is a trust from God and he is destined to discharge a divine responsibility, incorporating obedience to God and peace to man on earth. As the poet was anxiously concerned with the future of Islam as a dynamic force in the progress of human civilization and culture in the face of the new scientific knowledge and discoveries, he fully realised the significance of the conflict of idealism and materialism which scientific materialism had accentuated during the 19th century and the tide of materialism had been rising well over to the brink of the Great War of 1914-18. The war brought Europe almost to the verge of social collapse, when some eminent thinkers began to examine the causes of the decline of the West and realised the perilous consequences of the intellectual duality pervading the thought processes of the European mind.

Iqbal was fully conscious of the danger to the European social order and he was equally alive to its repercussions on the social system in Asia and Africa. In consequence, he undertook to examine the fundamental question as to knowledge in the light of the sum of knowledge man had so far before him in the realms of physics, biology and psychology. For the basic needs of man and society, he brought to the fore the significance of religious experience and the philosophical test of its revelations. With reference to religious experience, he was able to write profusely on the conception of God and the human ego, his freedom and immortality in the domains of metaphysics and empiricism, wherein he shows his rational approach to such subjects of vast interest to humanity as religion and culture.

In order to illustrate the fundamental conception of Islamic ideology which, according to the Quran, holds in its embrace both spiritual and material forms of reality, Iqbal found himself on firm ground when pleading for Islamic thought, religion, culture and its history, which in its early stages of vitality raised the status of man and human institutions to such heights of moral and material prosperity. So to bring home the truth of reality as a unity of the two aspects in the present form of existence and hereafter, Iqbal treated life as a vital process having its continuity, which could only be appreciated in the light of the inner experience on which religious faith depends. Referring to inner experience, he was aware of the biological and psychological handicaps of modern man, who might find it difficult to rely on such inner experience or attempt to relive life aiming at the assimilation of a universe, materially conceived as beyond such possibility. The modern European man, having been so brought up with emphasis on a materialistic approach to life, was therefore naturally shy of accepting cultural values as ultra-mundane, in a sense, at this juncture of history when nuclear physics and pure mathematics had produced and placed in the hands of contemporary statesmen such destructive weapons as the rocket and the hydrogen bomb.

In making such suggestions that the questions of ultimate significance and value would remain partially solved, Iqbal appreciated the good work done by the early mystics of Islam, but deplored the crude and irrational approach of the latter-day Sufis which had such debasing



effects on the religious and social outlook of the Muslim world. The Poet was of the opinion that in the changing circumstances a fuller grasp of reality in the realms of science and mathematics and a new method for assessing the value of inner experience, "physiologically less violent and psychologically more suitable to a concrete type of mind," was the need of the time and so long such a method was not forthcoming it was only natural that to-day great stress was laid on a scientific form of religious knowledge. In presenting such views, the poet-philosopher was actuated to write on religious philosophy with specific regard to philosophical traditions of Islam and modern trends and developments of contemporary thought that had exposed the foundations of modern materialistic thought as shaky and not so firmly laid. The unity and harmony of science and religion had to be reasserted and reassured as the fundamental truth in human thought.

Some of the radical questions which Iqbal raised were: "What is the character and general structure of the universe in which we live? Is there a permanent element in the constitution of this universe? How are we related to it? What place do we occupy in it and what is the kind of conduct that befits the place we occupy?"

As all knowledge is individualistic in character, so religion, philosophy and poetry had their own answers, ranging from the vagueness of a poet to the intelligent appreciation of a philosopher, while religious experience had a much deeper significance and content which cannot be easily discarded, the only precaution being how best such appreciation could be effected and its value assessed with the application of a scientific method. It is true that religion had its dogmas, but science was equally dogmatic in asserting its basic conceptions which could not proceed any further nor could they throw light on the ultimate form of reality and its comprehension. Religion, however, had a better view of things by means of intuition and that is not necessarily opposed to thought, which, according to the French philosopher, Bergson, is only a higher kind of intellect. Thus, the Islamic approach to reality has been always rather rational throughout the centuries despite the emphasis on discursive reasoning through Greek scholasticism.

Ghazzali, however, protested against a partial approach to such problems with a subjective content and meaning of reality—and

this point was later raised by Hume after Berkeley. Thus, Ghazzali suggested the superiority of mystic appreciation of the divine reality and to him materialistic reasoning was inherently incapable of presenting a sound view of ultimate reality.

The German philosopher, Kant, who was awakened from a deep slumber by Hume, had brought into light the weak basis of metaphysics as viewed through the glasses of pure reason. The fact had its reaction on Bergson who started with his antinomies and found that while reality did not subject itself to the process of subtraction, it could be, on the other hand, appreciated through the method of addition employed to conceive and describe the content and view of the universe as more comprehensive and real with practical implications. Iqbal, the philosopher was a contemporary of Bergson; he independently came to such conclusions of all-embracing reality as set forth in the *Asrar-o-Rumuz* and his philosophical work, "*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*," which is a highly useful dissertation on religion and culture.

Thinkers of Islam, however, were at one time greatly influenced by Aristotle's conception of immortality of active Intellect through Averroes of Spain whom Ghazzali so successfully opposed and was, as such, in alliance with the mystics in their assertion of the total or fuller experience of the Infinite. Herein, says Iqbal, Kant and Ghazzali failed to appreciate that "thought in every act of knowledge passes beyond its own finitude." This aspect of the question was taken up by Dewey in respect of movement in thought with a reflection on the active element in human understanding as distinct from Kant's pure reason. It may be noted here that while Iqbal was moving along a line chalked out by Ghazzali up to a certain limit, a similar direction of movement in thought had brought him such inferences as were presented by Bergson in regard to intuition, time and space while presenting a picture of the Universe as conceived by the European mind in the 20th century which is amazingly different from that of the classical days. Iqbal was naturally perturbed over the so-called modern outlook which thinkers, like the poet Tawfiq Fitrat of Turkey, had accepted as opposed to the Islamic outlook of a Universal character on life and thought towards which Europe was quickly drifting in developing her fundamental conceptions of life, God and the universe.



Iqbal cited Goethe's appreciation of the Quranic teaching as he said to Eckermann, "You see this teaching never fails. With all our systems, we cannot go, and, generally speaking no man can go, farther than that." That sums up the view of Goethe, who never strayed away from the lap of nature in all what he presented in his literary works. He loved life which as a unitary process had a wide significance both of thought and action, as these discover and affirm the ideal of Islam which is not opposed to the real; but any notion of the two must recognise life as an organic unity in the first instance as inspired and led by the ideal which appears to lie beyond the picture of the universe. As illustrated by Islam it cannot be regarded as complete without movement in time and space so as to give its system of thought a dynamic significance. No wonder such an approach to reality has been appreciated by Western thought today. The new vision of man altogether changes the nature of the universe to which Newton's laws had given a radically different meaning. "While man," says Iqbal, "has the full option and power to shape and direct the forces around him and in such plans he has the capacity to build a vaster world of course in the depths of his inner being wherein he discovers sources of infinite joy and inspiration."

That man himself is destined to think out his plans, nature has thrown him on his own moral resources as guided by reason to choose the right and rational path out of the two choices. God Almighty will not interfere with his conduct as a free agent as he is free to select his way, either to hell or heaven. It is in this sense that the Holy Book is said to lead and mislead many, for it depends on his capacity to choose, follow and act on what is right and consistent with the all-embracing will of God. One of the suggestions of the Holy Quran, namely, reflective observation of nature, is to awaken in man the consciousness of that of which nature is regarded a symbol. This is, perhaps, a clue to the suggestion of some prominent thinkers of the world today, among them scientists, that life must be treated as a unitary process with its own method and terms to describe categorically the conception of reality, but such a unitary process as suggested, however universal in approach, will ever remain thoroughly materialistic in significance and content of all that it stands for.

The Quranic view of nature is described as not only the moving

nature of things as a process in history, but also as a movement of all reality which does not bifurcate life in this world and hereafter. The development and growth of man and his institutions can, therefore, only depend on the control of nature and the conquest of environment. As the will to live and control of the forces of nature, in their adverse effect on man, cannot be acquired without a scientific knowledge of how matter and force act in the vast workshop of nature, and the desire to survive the rough and tumble of this toilsome life, cannot be achieved without reference to the ultimate goal and purpose of life, the treatment of religious experience as a source of divine knowledge must command the respect of both philosophy and science. The picture of the universe, its meaning and significance can neither be complete nor can human effort and inspiration to survive be regarded as sure to succeed in the long run, while civilization and culture must go hand in hand. Thus, Iqbal emphasised the deeper content of life as is revealed by the inner experience of man, which has been the basis of conscious thought throughout the ages as it is today.

Philosophy, in any case, must accept the data of religion as fundamental. Religion refers to the whole man; hence, religious experience must be a good index to the truth about man and his environment. Lately, there has been the antithesis of intellect against intuition as the work of difference between philosophy and religious outlook on appearance has revealed. It is true that the two techniques differ. Intellect attacks reality piecemeal, while intuition tries to capture reality in its wholeness. Iqbal, like Bergson, believes that intuition and reason have common roots and the two are complementary. In short, the search for rational foundations for the religious life of Islam is worthwhile and is a pursuit of knowledge which the inherent nature of Islamic teachings has inspired through the ages.

Throughout Iqbal's picture of the universe, his conception of Self is the basic tune in the scheme of harmony which he desired to create in the sum of things and thought and it is not without a moral value to look into his teachings as to how far he succeeded in guiding his people on the road to a successful life, socially and politically. The success of an idea, however, must rest on its usefulness and its test might be only pragmatic. After the publication of the *Asrar-o-*



*Rumuz*, Iqbal wrote to Dr. R. A. Nicholson, who undertook a translation of the work in English, quite comprehensively throwing light on his ideas about Self as its concept was aimed at the awakening of the individual to the basic fact of individual reality—to prosper and survive as an individual.

The second part of the poem, *Rumuz-i-Baikhudi*, purports to address the community to build up a compact social whole designed to grow, develop and endure as a stable social system. The poem does not and, perhaps, cannot give the details of the poet's mind revealing a clear-cut system of thought. There is, however, a unity and continuity of thought which is inherent in the two concepts and relationship between the individual and society. Iqbal looked at the various countries of the Muslim World as members of a confederated society and, as such, he depended on the teachings of the Quran, unity of God, the Holy Prophet and the social centre of Muslim society, Mecca. He wanted the Muslims to stick to God and follow the path of the Holy Prophet in their onward march to progress and prosperity. Iqbal deprecated nationalism and imperialism and condemned Machiavelli as the "worshipper of false gods."

To Iqbal, *jihad* was justifiable only when it was waged for God's sake alone. Iqbal's verse is pregnant with a revolutionary force which is directly inspired by Islam and is aided by Western philosophy as is shown by the events after his departure from the scene. He was not in sympathy with Rumi's pantheistic ideas nor did he appreciate the selfless poetic outlook of Hafiz, as he insisted on the reality of Self as something genuine as opposed to Bradley and even Hegel, for he believed in the inherent right of the ego to exist as an autonomous entity and continuation of personality, which, according to him, is only a "stage of tension and continues only if that state is maintained ; " and art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality.

In an article by Iqbal, which was published in the "*Journal of the India Society*" long ago, the poet's views on philosophy are noticeable. He says, while criticising McTaggart as a thinker: "Agnosticism is not a permanent mode of thought. It comes and goes. The British mind tried to escape from it in two ways. One is the total

elimination of what is called the Ultimate Reality. The 'Unknown and Unknowable' of Herbert Spencer simply does not exist. Why then look for it? The universe is nothing but perishable phenomena without any eternal reality behind. The other way is that an Eternal Reality does exist behind the world of perishable phenomena and is approachable by a purely speculative method. The first course was adopted by Hume, the second by Green.

"In opposition to British phenomenalism, Green affirmed the existence of an Eternal Consciousness. The temporal process, according to Green, is unthinkable without a non-temporal consciousness: for consciousness of change cannot be identical with the process of change. But the Eternal Consciousness, so regarded, is nothing more than a kind of Newtonian space holding together the world of eternally interrelated appearances. This view makes it an impossible system of abstract relations. This view makes it impossible to develop the living concrete self out of a dead immobile system of abstract relations.

"Bradley's philosophy is the logical outcome of Green. The criterion of reality is coherence and freedom from contradiction. Applying this test, the world of appearance, time, change, movement, multiplicity, turns out to be a mere illusion. The Ultimate Reality is only one and immutable. This is the ancient Hindu doctrine of Maya and the Greek Permenides again. But how did this illusion originate? Nobody knows. Bradley, however, admits, in spite of the contradictions involved in the notion of Self, that the human Self must in some sense be real. In what sense it is real, he does not explain. McTaggart reaches the Absolute by means of the dialectic method, but he does not stop at the Absolute. The Absolute, according to him, further differentiates itself into concrete egos. The universe is not an illusion; it is a system of real selves, which cannot be regarded as mere predicates or adjectives of the Absolute."

In his criticism of his teacher's views, Iqbal continues: "I cannot agree with McTaggart in the view that the Self is elementally immortal. From the mere fact that the individual ego is a differentiation of the external Absolute, it by no means follows that even in its finitude the human Self retains the character which belongs to its source alone. To my mind such, a differentiation should give it only a capacity for



immortality and not immortality itself. Personally, I regard immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. Man is a candidate for immortal life which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaining the tension of the ego."

"When the World-illuminating sun rushed upon Night like a brigand,  
My weeping bedewed the face of the rose ;  
My tears washed away sleep from the eye of the narcissus;  
My passion awakened the grass and made it grow."

## XXI

### IQBAL AND MCTAGGART

**A**N appreciation of McTaggart's philosophy by Iqbal, which the poet undertook to write after the death of the great British philosopher, has been widely admired by students of philosophy in India and abroad. The contents of Iqbal's appreciative note, besides paying a tribute to his teacher, make out a brief criticism of Western philosophy and afford a glimpse into Iqbal's mind.

The following is the text of the note as it appeared in the *Journal of the India Society* :—

I was reading the other day Mr. Dickinson's memoir of the late lamented Dr. McTaggart, that philosopher-saint, whose lectures on Kant and Hegel I had the privilege to attend as an advanced student of Trinity College, Cambridge, about a quarter of a century ago. I should like to note for the readers a few points which occurred to me while reading this interesting book, whose value is very much enhanced by the personal reminiscences of those who had the good fortune of coming into contact with that great thinker.

"As we have pointed out more than once," says Mr. Dickinson, "the origin of McTaggart's philosophy was not in his intellect, but in his emotions." This is true—perhaps more or less true of all thinkers—if we look at McTaggart as a thinker torn asunder from the general current of British thought. In order to understand the true significance of his philosophy we must put him back into that current.

Agnosticism is not a permanent mode of thought. It comes and goes. *The British mind tried to escape from it in two ways. One is the total elimination of what is called the ultimate Reality.* The "Unknown and Unknowable" of Herbert Spencer simply does not exist. Why, then, look for it? *The universe is nothing but perishable phenomena without any eternal reality behind. The other way is that an Eternal*



*Reality does exist behind the world of perishable phenomena, and is approachable by a purely speculative method.* The first course was adopted by Hume, the second by Green. In opposition to British Phenomenalism, Green affirmed the existence of an Eternal Consciousness. The temporal process, according to Green, is unthinkable without a non-temporal consciousness, for consciousness of change cannot be identical with the process of change. But the Eternal Consciousness, so regarded, is nothing more than a kind of Newtonian space holding together the world of eternally interrelated appearances. This view makes it impossible to develop the living concrete self out of a dead immobile system of abstract relations. Bradley's philosophy is the logical outcome of Green. *The criterion of reality is coherence and freedom from contradiction.* Applying this test, the world of appearance—time, change, movement, multiplicity—turns out to be a mere illusion. *The ultimate Reality is one and immutable.* This is the ancient Hindu doctrine of "Maya" and the Greek Permenides again. But how did this illusion originate, nobody knows. Bradley, however, admits, in spite of the contradictions involved in the notion of self, that the human self must, in some sense, be real. In what sense is it real he does not explain. McTaggart reaches the Absolute by means of dialectic method; but he does not stop at the Absolute. The Absolute, according to him, further differentiates itself into concrete egos. The universe is not an illusion; it is a system of real selves, which cannot be regarded as mere predicates or adjectives of the Absolute. As he wrote to me in December, 1919 :

"I agree with you, as you know, in regarding quite untenable the view that finite beings are adjectives of the Absolute. Whatever they are, it is quite certain to me that they are not that."

In this aspect of his teaching, McTaggart is much more genuinely British than either Bradley or Green or Bosanquet. Indeed, he was to Hegel as Leibnitz was to Spinoza. Thus the character of McTaggart's philosophy was determined not so much by his private emotions as by the intellectual difficulties, as well as the non-British character of neo-Hegelian thought in England. It was also determined by what he called the needs of his country. I quote from another letter of 1920, which he appears to have written after he had read Nicholson's English translation of my *Secrets of the Self* :

"I am writing to tell you with how much pleasure I have been reading your poems. Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic.

"For my own part I adhere to my own belief that selves are the ultimate reality, but as to their true content and their true good my position is, as it was, that that is to be found in eternity and not in time, and in love rather than in action.

"Perhaps, however, the difference is largely a question of emphasis—we each lay most weight on what our own country needs. I daresay you are right when you say that India is too contemplative. But I am sure that England—and all Europe—is not contemplative enough. That is a lesson that we ought to learn from you—and no doubt we have something to teach in return."

*The point of interest in McTaggart's philosophy, however, is that in his system mystical intuition, as a source of knowledge, is much more marked than in the system of Bradley. The need of such a direct revelation is the natural outcome of the failure of a purely speculative method.* An Italian writer describes McTaggart's philosophy as mystical degeneration of English Neo-Hegelianism. Nothing of the kind. *Some of the greatest minds of the world have felt the need of a direct contact with the ultimate Reality, and have indeed, in some cases, achieved such contact.* Plotinus, Ghazzali, Schelling, and Bergson are instances in point. In his spiritual evolution Kant himself reached that stage; but unlike Ghazzali and others he was led to conceive the ultimate Reality as a regulative idea only. The result of his critical philosophy is that God cannot be proved to exist, but that we should act as if He does exist. Not William James but Kant was the real founder of modern Pragmatism. Will, then, the Italian writer referred to above describe Kant's philosophy as a pragmatic degeneration of German thought?

*It must, however, be remembered, in the case of McTaggart that the mystic revelation of Reality came to him as a confirmation of his thought. His system is deductive not in the sense in which the philosophy of Bergson and Plotinus is deductive. He started with a firm conviction in the power of human reason, and that conviction remained with him to the*



end of his days. *His illumination came, I think, as an accidental confirmation of what he had reached through pure reason.* That is why he had such an unshakable faith in his philosophy. This is clear from the last words which he said to his wife :

"I am grieved that we must part, but you know I am not afraid of death."

*Such a triumphant faith is the result of a direct revelation alone.* And this revelation has nothing to do with what our psychology calls emotion ; it is, as Mrs. McTaggart rightly insists, "an actual perception of the senses." *Like a true mystic McTaggart rarely mentioned his experiences to others. The ultimate basis of religion is an experience which is essentially individual and incommunicable. It is because of its essentially private character that mystics see no use in talking about it, except to experts, and that too, for the purposes of verification only.* In the history of Islamic mysticism we find many recorded instances in which some mystics have been reported to have travelled thousands of miles for the verification of a single experience. This is technically known as "Tasdiq"—i.e., verification by an appeal to another man's experience. Knowledge and direct revelation are not mutually opposed : they are complementary to each other. The philosophical theologian simply tries, for the sake of less fortunate persons, to socialize, through reason, what is essentially individual. When the mystic Sultan Abu Said met the philosopher Abu Ali ibn Sina, he is reported to have said, "I see what he knows." McTaggart both knew and saw ; but his vision, I believe, did not precede his system. It did not initially inspire his thought, though it did bring to him the warmth of conviction. This, to my mind, indicates a far more powerful intellect than that of Plotinus or Bergson. Yet the vision of McTaggart, in view of its static character, is not free from the unhealthy influences of his Hegelian inspiration. *But, perhaps we possess no criterion to decide whether the universe in its ultimate essence is at rest or in motion.*

Another point on which I would like to say a few words is McTaggart's view of the self. Hegel's indifference to personal immortality has more or less affected all those who received inspiration from him. With Bosanquet and Bradley the self is not a substance in the sense of Spinoza. It is a construction of thought, a mere predicate

or adjective of the Absolute. And this self-hood, according to these thinkers, is further transcended in the Absolute. This account of the self disregards even the elementary conditions of self-hood as known to living experience. The self, as known to experience, is much more than a mere predicate of the Absolute; it is a dynamic centre of experience. By this criticism of the common neo-Hegelian view of the self I do not mean to argue for McTaggart's view. All that I mean is to show how his mind tried to escape from the results of English neo-Hegelianism. *To McTaggart, the self is a real substance.* He reached the Absolute through the method of Hegel. But with him the Absolute has further determinations—i.e., the egos of actual experience which participate in the elemental eternity of the Absolute. This amounts to a total dismissal of the Hegelian Absolute. But the result of this dismissal is not a return to Empiricism. It gives us not a world of interrelated appearances, but a living world of interrelated egos. Mr. Dickinson thinks that it cuts out science at one stroke. It does nothing of the kind any more than the spiritual pluralism of Leibnitz. But while I agree that the self is more than a mere predicate of the Absolute, *I cannot agree with McTaggart in the view that the self is elementally immortal. From the mere fact that the individual ego is a differentiation of the eternal Absolute it by no means follows that, even in its finitude, the human self retains the character which belongs to its source alone. To my mind, such a differentiation should give it only a capacity for immortality and not immortality itself.* Personally, I regard immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. *Man is a candidate for immortal life which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaining the tension of the ego.* I venture here to translate for the English reader one or two passages from my poem called *The New Garden of Mystery*:

If you say that the 'I' is a mere illusion—

An appearance among other appearances—

Then tell me who is the subject of this illusion?

Look within and discover

The world is visible;

Yet its existence needs proof!

Not even the intellect of an angel can comprehend it;



The 'I' is invisible and needs no proof.

Think a while and see thine own secret!

The 'I' is Truth; it is no illusion.

When it ripens, it becomes eternal;

Lovers, even though separated from the Beloved, live in  
blissful union!

It is possible to give wings to a mere spark;

And to make it flutter for ever and for ever!

*The Eternity of God is elemental and not the reward of his  
action!*

*That eternity is superior, which a borrowed soul  
wins for herself by love's frenzy.*

*Why fear that death which comes from without?*

*For when the 'I' ripens into a self,*

*It has no danger of dissolution.*

There is a more subtle inner death which makes me tremble—

This death is falling down from love's frenzy;

Saving one's spark and not giving it away freely to the heaps  
of chaff;

Cutting one's shroud with one's own hands;

Seeing one's death with one's own eyes—

This death lies in ambush for thee;

Fear it, for that is really our death!

But while I disagree with McTaggart in his view of immortality, I regard this part of his work as almost apostolic. *He emphasized personal immortality, even at the expense of the transcendent God of Christian theology, at a time when this important belief was decaying in Europe, and when the European man was about to face death on an enormous scale.* Indeed in this aspect of his work, he may be compared to the great Muslim mystic Hallaj, whose undying phrase—"I am the creative Truth!"—was thrown as a challenge to the whole Muslim world at a time when Muslim scholastic thought was moving in a direction which tended to obscure the reality and destiny of the human ego. Hallaj never ceased to utter what he had personally seen to be the Truth until the Mullahs of Islam prevailed upon the State to imprison him and finally to crucify him. He met his death with perfect calm.

There is one more point which I would like briefly to consider here—I mean his atheism. I used to meet him almost every day in his rooms in Trinity, and very often our talk turned on the question of God. His powerful logic often silenced me, but he never succeeded in convincing me. There is no doubt, as Mr. Dickinson points out in his memoir, that he had a positive dislike for the transcendent God of Western theology. The Absolute of the neo-Hegelian lacks life and movement. The Eternal Consciousness of Green is hardly distinguishable from Newtonian space. How could these satisfy him? In a letter already quoted he wrote to me :

"As far as the life of the individual remains the same in the course of amplification and expression, I am inclined to think (for an European, you know, can also be a mystic) that the solution rests in loving the same persons. But indeed it still seems to me, as it did when we first knew one another, *that the solution of all problems is found only in Love.*

Indeed, his description of love as the essence of Reality indicates that, in spite of his thorough-going intellectualism, his soul revolted against the inert Absolute of neo-Hegelianism. Yet in a letter from which I have quoted above, he seems to oppose love to action. I do not see the opposition. *Love is not passivity. It is active and creative. Indeed on the material plane it is the only force which circumvents death; for when death does away one generation, love creates another.* He tells us that this love which he regarded as the essence of Reality is just the love of one person for another; and further, it is the cause and not the effect of the proximity of two persons. Now it is because of its character as an active cause that, in spite of variety in content of the mutual loves of various persons, it is capable of being *experienced* as a unity embracing the entire universe. But the crucial point is whether this central unity is an all-inclusive self. This was McTaggart's real difficulty. The self is unique and impervious. How could one self, however superior, include other selves? The mystic poet Rumi felt the same difficulty. "Between the individual egos and their Sustainer," he says, "obtains a contact which can neither be imagined nor intellectually conceived." In his *Idea of God*, Professor



Pringle Pattison also regards this relation as inscrutable by human intellect. But is not the individual ego himself a colony of egos?

Shall I point the way to the  
eternal secret?

Open thine eye on thyself--  
Thou art visible and invisible,  
many and one!

Perhaps, it is not possible intellectually to conceive this ultimate unity as an all-embracing self. It is my belief, as I have pointed out before, that McTaggart's Hegelian inspiration marred the vision which vouchsafed him. A more serious thing happened to poor Nietzsche, whose peculiar intellectual environment led him to think that his vision of the ultimate ego could be realized in a world of space and time. What grows only out of the inner depths of the heart of man he proposed to create by artificial and biological experiment. He was taken as a madman, and was placed in the hands of those who administer drugs and mixtures. As I said of him in my *Jawid Nama*:

A Hallaj! A stranger in his own land!

Safe from the Mullah's hit, killed by the Physician's hand!

*The real test of a self is whether it responds to the call of another self. Does Reality respond to us? It does; sometimes by reflection, sometimes by reflection rising higher than itself—i.e., the act of worship. In McTaggart's case reflection took the place of worship. The orders of Muslim mystics have invented various rules and practices by which to come into direct contact with the ultimate Reality. The truth, however, is that neither worship nor reflection nor any kind of practices entitle a man to this response from the ultimate Love. It depends eventually on what religion calls "grace". The philosophy of McTaggart has in fact raised the great problem of the nature of Love. How will it be solved in Europe, if at all? Surely, analytic psychology will never be able to solve it. Its secret lies in the pangs of separation, detachment, or as McTaggart would say, differentiation.*

*If the ultimate, Reality i.e., Love, has any significance for the life of its own ego-differentiations, it must itself be an all-inclusive ego*

which sustains, responds, loves, and is capable of being loved. In McTaggart's view there is no guarantee that the process of birth, death and rebirth will be endless. On the other hand, he himself suggests in his *Some Dogmas of Religion* that "it may be that the process will eventually destroy itself and merge in a perfection which transcends all time and change." In this eventuality we come back to the Absolute again, and McTaggart's system defeats its own purpose. *The possibility of ego-differentiations merging again into a perfection transcending time and change must be counteracted, however remote it may be. And this can be done only by taking immortality as a hope, an inspiration, a duty, and not as an eternal fact.*

My heart burns on the loneliness of God !

In order, therefore, to maintain intact His Ego-Society,

I sow in my dust the seed of self-hood ;

And keep a constant vigil over my ' I.'

—(New Garden of Mystery)



## XXII

### IQBAL TO DR. NICHOLSON

LAHORE :

Dated 24th January, 1921.

My Dear Dr. Nicholson,

I was very glad to learn from your letter to Shafi (Principal Md. Shafi of Oriental College, Lahore) that your translation of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* had been favourably received and excited much attention in England. Some of the English reviewers, however, have been misled by the superficial resemblance of some of my ideas to those of Nietzsche.

The view of the writer in the *Athenaeum* is largely affected by some mistakes of fact for which, however, the writer does not seem to be responsible. But I am sure if he had known some of the dates of the publication of my Urdu poems referred to in his review, he would have certainly taken a totally different view of the growth of my literary activity. Nor does he rightly understand my idea of the Perfect Man which he confounds with the German thinker's Superman. I wrote on the Sufi doctrine of the Perfect Man more than twenty years ago, long before I had read or heard anything of Nietzsche. This was then published in the *Indian Antiquary* and later in 1908 formed part of my *Persian Metaphysics*. The English reader ought to approach this idea not through the German thinker, but through an English thinker of great merit—I mean Alexander—whose Gifford lectures delivered at Glasgow were published last year. His chapter on Deity and God (Chapter I, Book IV, P. 341, Vol: II) is worth reading. On page 347, he says—"Deity is thus the next higher empirical quality to mind, which the universe is engaged in bringing to birth. That the universe is pregnant with such a quality—we are speculatively assured. What that quality is we cannot know; for we can neither enjoy nor still less contemplate it. Our human altars still are raised to the Unknown God. If we could

know what Deity is, how it feels to be Divine, we should first have to become as gods." Alexander's thought is much bolder than mine.

I believe there is a Divine tendency in the universe, but this tendency will eventually find its complete expression in a higher man, not in a God subject to Time, as Alexander implies in his discussion of the subject. I do not agree with Alexander's view of God, but it is clear that my idea of the Perfect Man will lose much of its outlandishness in the eye of the English reader if he approaches it through the ideas of a thinker of his own country.

But it was Mr. Dickinson's review which interested me most, and I want to make a few remarks on it. Kindly pass on this letter to him; I am sure he will be interested to know what I think of his review :—

(1) Mr. Dickinson thinks, as I understand from his private letter to me, that I have deified physical force in the poem. I am afraid he is mistaken in his view. I believe in the power of the spirit, not brute force. When a people is called to a righteous war, it is, according to my belief, their duty to obey the call; but I condemn all war of conquest (the story of Mianmir and the Emperor of India). Mr. Dickinson, however, is quite right when he says that war is destructive whether it is waged in the interests of Truth and Justice, or in the interests of conquest and exploitation. It must be put an end to in any case. We have seen, however, that Treaties, Leagues, Arbitrations and Conferences cannot put an end to it. Even if we secure these in a more effective manner than before, ambitious nations will substitute more peaceful forms of the exploitations of races supposed to be less favoured or less civilized. The truth is that we stand in need of a living personality to solve our social problems, to settle our disputes, and to place international morality on a surer basis. How very true are the last two paragraphs of Prof. Mackenzie's Introduction to Social Philosophy.

"There can be no ideal society without ideal man: and for the production of these we require not only insight but a motive power; fire as well as light. Perhaps, a philosophic understanding of our social problems is not even the chief want of our time. We need prophets as well as teachers, men like Carlyle or Ruskin or Tolstoy, who are able



to add for us a new severity to conscience or a new breadth to duty. *Perhaps we want a new Christ . . .* It has been well said that the prophet of our time must be a man of the world, and not merely a voice in the wilderness. For indeed the wilderness of the present is in the streets of our crowded cities, and in the midst of the incessant war by which we are trying to make our way upwards. It is there that the prophet must be.

"Or perhaps our chief want is rather for the poet of the new age than for its prophet—or for one who should be poet and prophet in one. Our poets of recent generations have taught us the love of nature, and enabled us to see in it the revelation of the Divine. We still look for one who shall show us with the same clearness the presence of the Divine in the human . . . . We still need one who shall be fully and in all seriousness what Heine playfully called himself a "Ritter von dem Heiligen Geish," one who shall teach us to see the working out of our highest ideals in the everyday life of the world, and to find in devotion to the advancement of that life, not merely a sphere for an ascetic self-sacrifice, but a supreme object in the pursuit of which "all thoughts, all passions, all delights may receive their highest development and satisfaction."

It is in the light of the above thoughts that I want the British public to read my description of the ideal man. It is not our treaties and arbitrations which will put an end to the internecine wars of the human family.

(2) Mr. Dickinson further refers to my "Be hard." This is based on the view of reality that I have taken in the poem. According to my belief, reality is a collection of individualities tending to become a harmonious whole through conflict which must inevitably lead to mutual adjustment. This conflict is a necessity in the interests of the evolution of higher forms of life, and of personal immortality. Nietzsche did not believe in personal immortality. To those desiring it, he ruthlessly says, "Do you wish to be a perpetual burden on the shoulders of time?" He was led to say this because he had a wrong notion of time, and never tried to grapple with the ethical issue involved in the question of time. On the other hand, I look upon immortality as the highest aspira-

tion of man on which he should focus all his energies, and consequently, I recognise the need of all forms of activity, including conflict, which tend to make the human person more and more stable. And for the same consideration, I condemn speculative mysticism and inactive quietism. My interest in conflict is mainly ethical and not political, whereas Nietzsche's was probably only political. Modern physical science has taught us that the atom of material-energy has achieved its present form through thousands of years of evolution. Yet it is unstable and can be made to disappear. The same is the case with the atom of mind-energy, *i.e.*, the human person. It has achieved its present form through ions of incessant effort and conflict; yet, in spite of all this, its instability is clear from the various phenomena of mental pathology. If it has to continue intact it cannot ignore the lessons learnt from its past career, and will require the same or similar forces to maintain its stability which it has availed of before. It is possible that in its onward march nature may modify or eliminate altogether some of the forces (*e.g.*, conflict in the way of mutual wars) that have so far determined and helped its evolution, and introduce new forces hitherto unknown to mankind to secure its stability. But, I confess I am not an idealist in this matter and believe this time to be very distant. I am afraid mankind will not, for a very long time to come, learn the lesson that the Great European War has taught them. Thus it is clear that my purpose in recognizing the need of conflict is mainly ethical. Mr. Dickinson has unfortunately altogether ignored this aspect of the "Be hard."

(3) Mr. Dickinson further remarks that while my philosophy is universal my application of it is particular and exclusive. This is in a sense true. The humanitarian ideal is always universal in poetry and philosophy, but if you make it an effective ideal and work it out in actual life, you must start, not with poets and philosophers, but with a society exclusive in the sense of having a creed and well-defined outline, but ever enlarging its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to my belief, is Islam. This society has so far proved itself a more successful opponent of the race-idea which is probably the hardest barrier in the way of the humanitarian ideal. Renan is wrong when he said that science was the greatest enemy of Islam.



No, it is the race-idea which is the greatest enemy of Islam—in fact, of all humanity, and it is the duty of all lovers of mankind to stand in revolt against this dreadful invention of the Devil. Since I find that the idea of nationality based on race or territory is making headway in the world of Islam, and since I fear that the Muslims, losing sight of their own ideal of a universal humanity, are being lured by the idea of a territorial nationality, I feel it is my duty, as a Muslim and as a lover of all mankind, to remind them of their true function in the evolution of mankind. Tribal or national organizations on the lines of race or territory are only temporary phases in the unfoldment and upbringing of collective life, and as such I have no quarrel with them; but I condemn them in the strongest possible terms when they are regarded as the ultimate expression of the life of mankind. While I have the greatest love for Islam, it is in view of practical and not patriotic considerations, as Mr. Dickinson thinks, that I am compelled to start with a specific society (e.g., Islam) which, among the societies of the world, happens to be the only one suitable to my purpose. Nor is the spirit of Islam so exclusive as Mr. Dickinson thinks. In the interests of a universal unification of mankind the Quran ignores their minor differences and says, "Come let us unite on what is common to us all!"

I am afraid the old European idea of a blood-thirsty Islam is still lingering in the mind of Mr. Dickinson. All men and not Muslims alone are meant for the Kingdom of God on earth, provided they say good-bye to their idols of race and nationality, and treat one another as personalities. Leagues, mandates, treaties, like the one described by Mr. Keynes, and Imperialisms, however draped in democracy, can never bring salvation to mankind. The salvation of man lies in absolute equality and freedom of all. We stand in need of a thorough overhauling of the aims of science which has brought so much misery to mankind and of a total abandonment of what may be called esoteric politics which is ever planning the ruin of less clever or weaker races.

That Muslim peoples have fought and conquered like other peoples, and that some of their leaders have screened their personal ambition behind the veil of religion, I do not deny; but I am absolutely sure that territorial conquest was no part of the original programme of Islam. As a matter of fact, I consider it a great loss that the progress of Islam

as a conquering faith stultified the growth of those germs of an economic and democratic organization of society which I find scattered up and down the pages of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. No doubt, the Muslims succeeded in building a great empire, but thereby they largely repaganized their political ideals, and lost sight of some of the most important potentialities of their faith. Islam certainly aims at absorption. This absorption, however, is to be achieved not by territorial conquest but by the simplicity of its teaching, its appeal to the common sense of mankind and its aversion to abstruse metaphysical dogma. That Islam can succeed by its inherent force is sufficiently clear from the Muslim Missionary work in China, where it has won millions of adherents without the help of any political power. I hope more than twenty years' long study of the world's thought has given me sufficient training to judge things impartially.

The object of my Persian poems is not to make out a case for Islam; my aim is simply to discover a universal social reconstruction; and in this endeavour, I find it philosophically impossible to ignore a social system which exists with the express object of doing away with all the distinctions of caste, rank and race; and which, while keeping a watchful eye on the affairs of this world, fosters a spirit of unworldliness so absolutely essential to man in his relations with his neighbours. This is what Europe lacks and this is what she can still learn from us.

One word more. In my notes which now form part of your introduction to *Asrar-i-Khudi*, I deliberately explained my position in reference to Western thinkers, as I thought this would facilitate the understanding of my views in England. I could have easily explained myself in the light of the Quran and Muslim Sufis and thinkers, e.g., Ibn Arabi and Iraqi (Pantheism), Wahid Mahmud (Reality as a Plurality), Al-Jili (the idea of the Perfect Man) and Mujaddid Sarhindi (the human person in relation to the Divine Person). As a matter of fact, I did so explain myself in my Hindustani introduction to the first edition of the *Asrar*.

I claim that the philosophy of the *Asrar* is a direct development out of the experience and speculation of old Muslim Sufis and thinkers. Even Bergson's idea of time is not quite foreign to our Sufis. The Quran



is certainly not a book of metaphysics, but it takes a definite view of the life and destiny of man, which must eventually rest on propositions of a metaphysical import. A statement by a modern Muslim student of philosophy of such propositions, especially when it is done in the light of religious experience and philosophy invoked by that great book, is not putting new wine in old bottles. It is only a restatement of the old in the light of the new. It is unfortunate that the history of Muslim thought is so little known in the West. I wish I had time to write an extensive book on the subject to show to the Western student of philosophy how philosophic thinking makes the whole world kin.

Yours Sincerely,

Muhammad Iqbal

## XXIII

### GOETHE AND IQBAL

THE following is an English translation by Iqbal of his own dedication of his renowned work, *Piyam-i-Mashriq*, in which he drew a comparison between the German poet, Goethe, and himself. The *Piyam* was dedicated to Amir Amanullah Khan:—

Ever since they showed me the secret of life,  
And lighted a fire in my breast,  
I have brought forth a heart-illumining song,  
And renewed the youth of Love.  
The Western master, the German bard—  
Lover of Pahlavi song—  
Painted charms and grace of lovely ones,  
And gave the message of the West to the East.  
I respond with the message of the East;  
I flooded the eve of the East with moonlight.  
Since I know myself I am not conceited,  
I shall tell thee what he was and what I am.  
He—with the fire of Western youth running through his soul;  
My flame lighted by the breath of Eastern sages.  
He—born and brought up in a garden;  
I—sprung out of a dead soil.  
He—a nightingale warbling heavenly melodies;  
I—wailing like a Caravan-bell in a desert.  
Both in touch with the heart of Nature;  
Both messengers of life in death.  
Both daggers smiling as the morning, shining like a mirror;  
He—naked and I still in the scabbard.  
Both shining pearls of value,  
Born of the shoreless ocean.  
He—glowed brilliant under the waves



Till he burst the womb of the mother of Pearls.  
 I—still tremulous in its lap,  
 Undiscovered within the heart of the sea.  
 My companion left me as a stranger,  
 And went with an empty cup from my tavern.  
 I offer him the might of Emperors—  
 I place under his feet the throne of Caesars ;  
 But he demands of me the stories of love,  
 And mere colour and imagery of Poets.  
 The short-sighted—he did not see my restless soul ;  
 My externals he saw, but not what was hidden in me.  
 My nature has embraced love ;  
 It has begun to play with fire and ashes.  
 God revealed to me the secrets of State and Religion ;  
 And effaced the traces of others (than Himself) from my retina.  
 My music tints the rose petals—  
 And my verse is the blood ooze of my heart.

---

هنوز هم نفسے در چمن نمے بینم  
 بہار می رسد و من گل نخستینم  
 بہ آجو نگرم خویش را نظارہ کنم  
 باین بہانہ مگر روئے دیگرے بینم

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