GABRIEL'S WING

A STUDY INTO THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

BY

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FOREWORD

During the 25 years which have passed since the death of Muhammad Iqbal, hundreds of books and pamphlets, of articles and poems in honour of the poet-philosopher of Muslim India have been published, most of them in Pakistan, the country which is proud of calling him its spiritual father. In the West, too, his fame has spread perhaps more than that of any other modern Muslim thinker and poet.

Unfortunately, the great output of studies into Iqbal's work is not on the same line with the scholarly contents of these articles and books which, for a great part, dwell again and again upon the same main features of Iqbal's thought. Whole books on his connection or disconnection with Islamic mysticism have been written without investigating the problem of Hallaj's influence on the formation of his thought; learned views have been expressed as to his aesthetics, and nearly nobody has made, until now, a simple careful analytical index of the motifs and symbols Iqbal uses in his poetry, or of the meters he prefers, in short, of his poetical technique. The first useful attempts in this direction, the studies of Dr. Sayid Abdullah, are written in Urdu and therefore not available to a larger European audience. In Europe, only Alessandro Bausani who has introduced Iqbal in his Italian motherland, has made some fine critical remarks on his poetical—but also his philosophical—technique.

The aim of the present book is not to add some more theories to those already existing. It will simply show Iqbal's view of the essentials of Islam, i.e. the five Pillars of Faith, and the Creed which is taught to every Muslim child. K. Cragg was the first to arrange the chapters of a book—*Call of the Minaret*—according to the sentences of the call to prayer, and when the plan of the present book was already made, I saw with pleasure that Constance Padwick in her work on *Muslim Devotions* had followed the course of the Muslim prayer-rite for making understandable the spirit of Muslim worship. It seems that this form offers the greatest advantages to a writer whose main interest is concentrated on the religious side of his subject. For, starting from the simple propositions of the faith one can show—or at

least hint at—how the Muslim thinker has followed the traditional pattern of thought, and in how far he has neglected several parts, or interpreted them in quite a new and unexpected manner.

It seemed, however, necessary to give a sketchy introduction to the religious situation of India at Iqbal's time, a survey of his life, and of his artistic and theological ideals. Further, the influences that Eastern and Western thought have exerted upon him—positively or negatively—could not be left aside, though it is not the purpose of our study to enter into details concerning his debt to European philosophy, or the way he changed Western ideas according to his concept of Islam. This side of Iqbal's thought we leave to the philosophers who are more competent than the present writer. The same principle has been applied to Iqbal's political and social ideas which are treated only in so far as they form an integrating part of his religious thought. To judge their practical implications, and their possible implementation into the present Republic of Pakistan, is far beyond our limit.

Although it would be easy to quote to a larger extent from earlier publications I have tried to avoid that, making rather Iqbal himself speak than his commentators. Since only part of his work is available in translation, full quotations were considered useful.

I simply want to give a picture of Iqbal's way of thinking, arguing, suffering, and again finding mental peace in the security of his religion—suspending judgment as far as possible though the book will be, in any case, an account of my personal experience with Iqbal's work.

I apologize for the English style of the present book. Every Britisher or American knows how small is the number of foreigners who have a real command over English. But for the hope that this study on Iqbal should be available to a larger audience in Pakistan and neighbouring countries I would surely not have attempted to write in a language not my mothertongue. I am afraid that in spite of the help of some friends who did their best to brush up the style some clumsy phrases or awkward expressions have not yet been removed.

As to the transcription I have, mostly, accepted the form of names as they are in use in the Subcontinent, f.i. *Maudoodi* instead of the correct *Maudūdī*, avoiding diacritical marks in most of them.

I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to a large number of friends and colleagues:

I am deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. C. J. Bleeker who was kind enough to accept the book as a supplement to *NUMEN*.

Prof. Dr. A. J. Arberry, Cambridge, kindly allowed me to quote in full from his poetical translations of several of Iqbal's works.

Prof. Dr. M. Hamidullah, Paris, took pains in reading carefully the whole manuscript and provided me with precious informations, esp. about Indian Islam.

It is impossible to enumerate all those friends in Pakistan who encouraged me in this work during the last years. There is scarcely any "Iqbalist" who did not give me some information. I desire to record my gratitude especially to Dr. Javid Iqbal, Lahore—our discussions provided me with a deeper insight into the character of his father.

I am very indebted to the German-Pakistan Forum, Karachi, under the able leadership of Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, and to the German Embassy, Karachi, who had invited me to my first lecture-tour in Pakistan in February 1958. To the Iqbal Academy, Karachi, I owe help in some crucial bibliographical matters.

Special thanks are due to Mr. S. A. Vahid, Karachi, in whose hospitable house we often discussed problems connected with Iqbal; he read the first chapters of the present book, and introduced me to most of Iqbal's friends both in Karachi and in Lahore.

And I thank Mrs. Anny Boymann for typing the manuscript so carefully.

Bonn, August 28, 1962.

Annemarie Schimmel

Foreword to the Reprint

Twentyfive years ago, at the time of the twentyfifth anniversary of Allama Iqbal's death, GABRIEL'S WING was published in Leiden. It has taken another twentyfive years to bring out a reprint edition which, as I hope, will be useful for Pakistani and Non-Pakistani readers. It goes without saying that during the last quarter of a century much has been written about Iqbal, beginning from the extensive biography in Urdu published by Dr. Javid Iqbal. The number of articles and books about the great poet-philosopher has grown tremendously, with contents varying according to the literary, political, and social stances of each author. Despite this plethora of material I hope that the present book will still retain its value as it tries to put Iqbal into the framework of the general history of religions which enables us to see him as one of the most fascinating figures, if not the most original Muslim thinker and poet in the twentieth century. Iqbal is an ideal example of what history of religion calls a "prophetic" type of experience, an experience which made him soar into ever new heights. Not in vain was the falcon, bàz, his favorite symbol for the soul that is in quest of ever new horizons, and as it is this enterprising soul-bird which he prefers to the lamenting nightingale of fragrant gardens it is also the tulip and not the rose which becomes his favorite: the tulip, long associated with the blood-stained shrouds of the martyrs, and likewise comparable to the flame in the wilderness, which illuminates the way and is reminiscent of God's revelation through the Burning Bush.

Iqbal's quest was to "bring resurrection to the spiritual dead", as he says in the Jupiter-Heaven in the *Javidnama*, to tell his correligionists of the infinite possibilities inherent in the words of the Qur'an which, as Divine Word, opens ever new worlds before its reader. One may think, in this context, of Shah Wali Allah, whose Persian translation of the Holy Book was meant to draw his contemporaries to the source of wisdom and rid them from the commentaries and supercommentaries that had shrouded the living word of God more and more.

Re-reading and studying Iqbal, as I have continued during the time after Gabriel's Wing appeared first, constantly opens new insights. At this very moment, studying the Javidnama with my students at Harvard, we find with great delight expressions in his poetry which, twentyfive years ago, would have been taken as utopic, and certainly not as

relevent for humanity as they are now. I refer to the scene where Zindarud is led into the presence of the Sage in the Sphere of Mars, who tells him about the use of what is now called solar energy, speaks of the danger of air pollution, while the false prophetess that was imported from Europe is a typical product of some ultra-feminist movements and advocates the test-tube baby ... all topics that are now in the news every day. When Iqbal wrote these descriptions they must have sounded utterly irrelevant to his readers, but the true poet can, as Rudolf Pannwitz has said so well, help to give birth to the future while expounding the situation of his own time.

In discussions with European and American friends I often found that it is the dynamic character of Iqbal's poetry that attracts them most, a dynamism which is quite opposed to the more static worldview as presented by more mystically inclined students of Islam and Muslims. His constant emphasis on the alternating stages of *khalwa* and *jilwa*, man's lonely, loving discourse with GOD IN PRAYER AND THE MANIFESTATION IN THE WORLD OF what he has experienced in this dialogue is one of the central aspects of "prophetic" religion, contrary to the ideal of the mystic who wants nothing but the dialougue of God and the soul. Iqbal has described these two states very well in the beginning of the fifth chapter of his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, and symbolized it perfectly well in the *Tàsìn-i Zardusht* in the *Javidnama* and his predilection for Moses as the one "to whom GOD TALKED", and who proclaimed God's commandments in the world, is again typical of his attitude. Allama Iqbal knew that life in this world can manifest itself only by the constant interplay of the positive and the negative pole, of the twofold rhythm of heartbeat and breathing, or, as the Chinese tradition calls it, in the togetherness of the yang and yin principle. Does not God, the Absolute One and Unique, manifests Himself under the appearance of His *jalàl* and His *jamàl*, His *lutf* and His *qahr*? Both aspects – Beauty and Majesty, Mercy and Justice – belong together, pointing to the One beyond them. Iqbal's predilection for the contrast of 'ishq', 'aql' or 'ilm', love and intellect or dry science, points to the same duality, and it is expressed even in the rhythmical structure of many of his verses with certain repetitions, which make his poetry so comparatively easy to remember. Maulana Rumi, Iqbal's spiritual guide through the centuries, once compared the Divine word of creation, kun, with its two letters *K-N* to a two-colored rope, which, for many people, covers the Divine Unity. Iqbal has not used this metaphor but certainly would

have liked it. The interplay of the two contrasting aspects of life spurs the human being to try to reach ever new stages on the way towards the Divine Truth instead of losing himself in idle speculations or useless dreams.

The influence of Maulana Rumi, well-documented as it is, can be detected in many of Iqbal's writings – he gratefully returns time and again to his Khizr-i-Rah who guides him through the celestial spheres. But while one generally concentrates upon his interest in Maulana Rumi's poetical work is seems to me that there are also strong influences from Rumi's prose work *Fìhi màfihì* visible – and if these are no exact influences, yet, some of Iqbal's expressions strongly remind the reader of certain sayings of Rumi. It seems to me that his use of the word khùdì, so often misunderstood and criticized by his readers, has its origin in Fìhi mà fihi unless Iqbal was moved by an experience similar to that of Maulana. In the fourth chapter of Fìhi mà fihi, Maulana tells of a king who had instructed his stupid son in all kinds of astrology, geomancy, and other secret sciences, and then asked him to tell what he had hidden in his fist. The boy described the qualities of the object as yellow, hollow, and round and then concluded that it must be a millstone. Thus, says Maulana, are the scholars of the age; they know all the details and forget the real self – and here he uses the word *khudì*. It is this *khudì* that remains when all the attributes of the round, hollow, golden ring disappear in the crucible. Whether Iqbal knew the passage or not – it is important to see that Rumi had used the term *khudì* in the sense of the spiritual, unperishable Self of the human being.

The relation to Maulana Rumi is also evident in Iqbal's philosophy of prayer, which is seen by him as by his master as the act that brings the lonesome human being into contact with the Divine Reality, and some of his prayer poems seem like a distant echo of Maulana's saying in *Fìhi mà fihi* that in true prayer the *qiyàm* should be in this world, the rukùy in the next world, and the *sujùd* in the Presence of God, according to the Qur'anic order *usjud wa'qatarab* (Sura 96/19). Iqbal knew that the deepest mystery of prayer is that it is, like everything else, a gift from God, a loving dialogue in which, as in every act, God takes the initiative – as Maulana had said in the *Mathnavì* (Daftar I 174) that "not only the thirsty seek the water but the water seeks the thirsty as well", a verse repeated in Sindhi in Shah Abdul Latif's Risalo, and echoed in some of the most daring prayer poems in the *Zabùr-i Ajam*.

Iqbal is, as one of his biographers called him, indeed the "ardent pilgrim". He saw life as a never endig quest, a journey into infinity, not resting in the beautiful rosegardens of Iran or in the tempting glittering avenues of the Western world, not even in the gardens of Paradise. It is a journey through deserts and mountains towards the symbol of Divine Presence, the Kaaba. The very title of his first collection of Urdu poetry, *Bàng-i Darà*, clearly points to this ideal of his: he saw himself as the bell at the camel's foot which leads the pilgrims to the homeland of their religion. Similarly, the pen-name given to him in the *Javidnama* by Rumi, *Zindarùd*, Living Stream, points to his proximity to the prophetic spirit, for the Prophet is often represented as the great river which, coming from a small spring and taking into its embrace rivulets and brooks on the way, will bring all of them into the presence of the ocean, symbol of the Divine. It was in Goethe's poem *Mahomets GESANG*, which Iqbal translated very freely in the *Payàm-i Mashriq*, that this comparison struck him as very much in tune with classical Islamic descriptions of the prophetic activity.

Many works have been published since 1963, books, in which single figures which have been mentioned more or less in passing in this book have been treated extensively, such as J.M.S. Baljon's study on Shah Wali Allah and Y. Friedann's book on Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Inspired by Iqbal's satanology, Peter J. Awin has published an important study on Satan's Fall and redemption. The *khilafat*- movement, the school of Deoband, and many detailed works on political, social, and religious questions such as Fundamentalism, Islamic Revival and similar topics are produced lately in great numbers. However, most of the political scientists, sociologists and so on lack a deeper understanding of Islamic history, let alone the linguistic background which is necessary to evaluate certain trends in modern Islamic thought. To appreciate Iqbal's greatness it is necessary, I feel, to know the tradition of Persian, and that implies Urdu – poetical parlance because only by discovering how much he used the traditional forms and how ingeniously he filled them with new contents one can do justice to his work. The language of his poetry is certainly one of the most imposrtant aspects of his life, and one would like to have more in-depth studies of his imagery in the context of Persian-Urdu poetical tradition.

This "Persian" heritage is, however, difficult to understand for someone trained in the Arabic theological, philosophical, and literary tradition, and as much Iqbal has emphasized the Arabic aspect of Islam

and tried to guide his readers toward the central sanctuary in Mecca, yet, he has also been misunderstood by Arab scholars, and his philosophy seems difficult to accept for at least some of the more traditional thinkers. The fact that Iqbal speaks of the Divine *khudì*, which seems to mean GOD AS "person", is unaceeptable to the Arab scholar who would never apply the term *shakhs*, "person", to God because it contains a limitation. One hopes that one day a scholar from the Arab world, equipped with a good knowledge of the traditions – literary and cultural – of the eastern part of the Muslim world, may do justice to Allama Iqbal's thought.

I myself have to admit that my longlasting love of Iqbal (which began when I was a student in Berlin during the War) has led me to publish a number of works which are more or less relevant for a study of his contribution to Muslim thought. Not only my German book on Pakistan (1965) and numerous translations from his work (published in 1977 at the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of his birth) give witness to my continuing fascination with his work (and with the country which he inspired), but I may mention studies on Islamic Literatures in India (1974), Classical Urdu Literature (1976), *Pain and Grace a study of Mir Dard and Shah 'Abdul Latif* Islam in the Indian Subcontinent (1980), furthermore my study on Maulana Rumi, called The Triumphal Sun (1978) and not to forget "And Muhammad is His Messenger" (1986), the last chapter of which deals exclusively with Iqbal's prophetology. In many articles I have tried to show Iqbal in the context of Islamic modernism, or deal with his imagery, and I still dream of a heavily annotated translation of the Javidnama (as I had done it into Turkish in 1958) to explain all the strands in his work and to make people in East and West aware of his unique way of weaving a grand tapestry of thought from eastern and western yarns.

I sincerely hope that Iqbal will continue to inspire the people of Pakistan by teaching them the important role of the human being as the *khalifa* of God, working on His earth and called to ameliorate it in responsibility for his fellowbeings while never foregetting that "the earth belongs to God". Iqbal himself has called the poet, who is able to inspire new life into a people and create a new outlook in human beings, an "heir to prophets", and I can only wish that he may remain, as he has been, "the heart in the breast of the nation."

April 21, 1988
Allama's Iqbal fiftieth death anniversary
Harvard University

Annemarie Schimmel

ABBREVIATIONS

(E) = English, (P) = Persian, (U) = Urdu.

MP: The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, London 1908. (E).
SR: Stray Reflections (1910), ed. Javid Iqbal (1961) (Numbers of Chapters quoted). (E).
AK: Asrār-i Khūdī (English Translation according to R. A. Nicholson's Secrets of the Self, lines are quoted), 1915. (P).
R: Rumūz-i bēkhūdī (pages are quoted), 1918. (P).
PM: Payām-i Mashriq (pages are quoted), 1923. (P).
BD: Bāng-i Darā (pages are quoted), 1924. Verse-translations of Shikwāh and Jawāb-i Shikwāh given after A. J. ARBERRY's translation. (U).
ZA: Zabūr-i ʿAjam (numbers of poems are quoted), 1927. Verse-translations after A. J. ARBERRY, Persian Psalms. (P).
GR: Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd at the end of the Zabūr-i ʿAjam.
L: Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (1930), used in the edition of 1958. (E).
J: Jāvīdnāme (numbers of lines are quoted), 1932. (P).
BJ: Bāl-i Jibrīl (pages are quoted), 1936. (U).
ZK: Żarb-i Kalīm (pages are quoted), 1937. (U).
AH: Armaghān-i Ḥijāz (pages are quoted), 1938. (P and U).
SS: Speeches and Statements. (E).
M: Maktūbāt (Letters: Iqbālnāme), two volumes. (U).

CHAPTER ONE

MUHAMMED IQBAL

a) THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

That is my homeland,
whence the cool breeze came to the Lord of Arabs

sings Muhammad Iqbal proudly in his "National Song for Indian Children" (BD 87), alluding to a tradition according to which the Prophet Muhammad had said once: "I feel the cool and refreshing breeze coming from India".

The relation between the Subhimalayan continent and Arabia during the approximately 1300 years which separate the Indo-Muslim poet-philosopher from the Prophet of Islam, have been more intense than one would expect. Long before Islam, maritime transports had established close commercial relations between Arabia and India, "persons from Hind and Sind" [1]) used to come to some of the annual fairs in Oman.

Only a short while after Muhammad's death in 632, under the second caliph Umar, Muslim armies had occupied parts of Sind and Gujrat, as we are informed by Balādhurī and Ibn Qudāma who affirms that the pressure on this frontier was relentlessly continued under all the succeeding caliphs. In 711—the year when in Spain the Battle of Xerxes de la Frontera took place, and in the North-East the Muslims had already entered Chinese territory—a lad of 17 years, Muhammad

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[1]) Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 265; about pre-Islamic commercial relations of Arabia with India, cf. Syed Sulayman Nadwi's articles in IC.

There exist legends in Muslim India according to which the Rāja of Malabar had witnessed the miracle of the splitting of the moon and travelled to Arabia to embrace Islam; they also mention tombs of two companions of the Prophet at Covelong and Porto Novo (Mahmood Bandar near Madras). Cf. Zainuddin al-Maʿbarī, *tuḥfat uimujāhidīn fī baʿḍ akẖbār al-Purtūgaliyīn*, ed. Lisbon (Information kindly supplied by M. Hamidullah).

The historical facts are found in al-Balādhorī, *k. futūḥ la-buldān*, p. 435 ff. About the early history of the Indus-valley cf. *Chāchnāme*, transl. together with other important sources in Eliot and Dowson, *Historians of Sind*, 1955 [2]; For the whole problem vd. M. Hamidullah, *Cultural and Intellectual History of Indian Islam*, WI, NF III 3-4. I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent*, 1962.

ibn al-Qāsim conquered the fortress of Daibul near the mouth of the Indus, and followed the river upwards to Multan. From this time onward, Sind has been part of the Islamic Empire; Buddhism—then still prevalent—disappeared from this province, and Hinduism, cut off from the main-stream of Indian Brahmanism, developed in a less rigid and orthodox way than elsewhere. The Indus-valley became a centre of Islamic culture and learning whence a number of well-known scholars hailed.

Yet, a larger impact of Islamic civilization on the continental North of India is visible only approximately 3 centuries later: with Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the Turkish Sultan of Afghanistan and Transoxiana the long list of rulers starts who entered the fertile lands of the Panjab through the Khaibar-Pass, and slowly extended the provinces belonging to Muslim princes. Maḥmūd has become notorious in Indian history as the destroyer of the famous Hindu-temple in Somnath in Kathiawar, the most southward point his armies reached—and his name has therefore been used as a symbol of idol-destroying power of Islam in Muslim poetry. With him came al-Bīrūnī, [2]) one of the greatest scholars that Medieval Islam has produced, and whose book on India, based on a sound knowledge of Sanscrit, is still of great use for our knowledge of Indian customs and religions.

Maḥmūd laid the foundations for the Indo-Turkish dynasties which were to follow him during the centuries to come. Under his heirs, the city of Lahore became a great cultural centre—"a second Ghazna"—and still the tomb of the great mystic Hujwīrī, commonly known as Datā Ganj Bakhsh, is venerated by the population; Hujwīrī was one of the first authors in Persian language of a systematic treatise on Sufism, Islamic mysticism, and has exerted wide influence in the Panjab through his personal saintliness. [3]) This is a phenomenon typical of Indian Islam: though the kings had military and political authority, the islamization of the country is due almost completely to the Sufi saints who wandered throughout the country, and who, far away from the methods of hairsplitting scholastic theologians, tried to teach people the simple practical faith of Islam and the ardent love

[2]) *al-Bīrūnī's India*, ed. and transl. by E. Sachau; cf. H. Ritter, *Al-Bīrūnī's Übersetzung des Yogasutra des Patanjali*, Oriens IX 2, 1956.

[3]) Hujwīrī's important treatise on mysticism was translated by R. A. Nicholson. GMS, 1952².

of a personal God. Just as Hujwīrī and his followers were nuclei for the spread of Islam in the Northern Panjab, so Khwāja Muʿīnaddīn Chishtī—who visited Lahore in 1190—settled for similar purposes in Ajmer (Rajputana) which just had been added to the Empire of the so-called Slave-kings (Turkish Mamluks) who had shifted the capital to Delhi where still the magnificent Quṭub Minār—named after the saint Quṭbaddīn—rests as a symbol of their vigorous religious fervour. In Ajmer, amidst the Rajput warrior clans, a similarly large mosque was erected; but today the attraction of the town lies in the sanctuary of Muʿīnaddīn Chishtī (d. 1236), whose Sufi order, the Chishtiya, is still thriving, and has influenced Indian culture widely. [4]) The pupils of the Saint and his followers spread over the country, north and south, and whilst Gīsū Darāz (He with the long curls) preached mystically tinged Islam in the Deccan, where at that time Muslim kingdoms like that of the Bahmanids were founded, Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā (1253-1325) went to Delhi and outlived there seven kings, and inspired innumerable people; his mausoleum which contains also the tomb of the most versatile poet and musician of his age, Amīr Khusrau, is still in the hands of his family. Already somewhat earlier, Bābā Farīd Shakarganj (d. 1265) had attracted the masses in the environment of Pakpathan in the Panjab, where his anniversary is still celebrated. These Chishti Saints who united love of God with love of humanity, are mainly responsible for the impregnation with Islamic ideas of great parts of the lower classes in India, and it seems that the love mysticism they preached and practiced, which was based on a personal god, has had some influence on the development of the Indian *bhakti*-mysticism that started growing in that very time. [5]) Popular singers who used the folk languages as a medium of expression and raised them to literary rank, popularized these ideas among both Hindu and Muslim circles:

When Mohammedanism, with its strong grasp of the reality of the

[4]) cf. K. A. Nizami, *taʾrīkh-i mashāʾikh-i Chisht*, Delhi, 1953; the same author, *Some Aspects of Khānkāh Life in Medieval India*, (Stud. Isl. VIII, 1957) and many articles by his pen in IC after 1950. The best introduction is still: Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*. Cf. also Arnold's Article, *Saints, Muhammadan, India*, in the ERE.

[5]) Y. Husain, *L'Inde Mystique au Moyen Age*; the same, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*; J. Estlin Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, London, 1921.

> Divine existence and, as flowing from this, of the absolutely fixed and objective character of truth, came into conflict with the haziness of pantheistic thought and the subjectivity of its belief, it necessarily followed, not only that it triumphed in the struggle, but also that it came as a veritable tone to the life and thought of Upper India, quickening into a fresh and more vigorous life many minds which never accepted for themselves its intellectual sway (Bishop Defroy). [6])

Besides the Chishtiya, other Sufi orders from the Western Islamic world entered Indian territory in about the same period: in Multan the Suhrawardīya centred around the attractive personality of Bahā'uddīn Zakariya (d. 1266)—a pupil of 'Omar Suhrawardī—under whose influence the mystical poet Fakhraddīn 'Irāqī remained for a long time; it was probably through this medium that the ideas and works of both Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār, the mystical poet, and of Ibn 'Arabī, the pantheistic theosophist, were introduced to Indian Islam. The oldest Islamic order, the Qādirīya ('Abdulqādir Gīlānī died in 1166) succeeded somewhat later in winning more and more adherents in India. It started from Uch, the old centre of Suhrawardīya, and until now the largest part of the Qādiriya is recruted from the subcontinent where they have a remarkable influence on mystical literature. The relations between the different orders were very friendly, and jealousy and rivalry between them belong only to a later period. [7])

The Turks have always been defenders of sunnitic Islam, and so were, in a moderate degree, the mystical orders. But the propagation of Shi'a ideas in India is also a factor which cannot be overlooked. Isma'iliya propaganda is recorded in Sind and Multan as early as 10th century, and in the 14th century a most active *dā'ī*, Shāh Ṣadr, won many Hindus in Sind for the Isma'iliya; the propaganda also reached the South, where the rulers of Golconda were Shi'a. [8]) The Shi'a Community of the Bohoras—who had segrated from the Isma'iliya after 1094, Nizār's death—became established in India at the same time. [9])

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[6]) Arnold, *o.c.*, p. 259 (from: Mankind and the Church, London, 1907).

[7]) Cf. also Abdur Rashid, *The Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Sufi Writings*, in C. H. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 128 ff.

[8]) Cf. G. Allana in: *Mehran* 9, Karachi, 1960, p. 148 f. Cf. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India.*

[9]) Sh. T. Lokhandwalla, *The Bohras, a Muslim community of Gujarat*, Stud. Isl. II.

Carried on by the leaders of these different movements, Islam slowly and steadily spread in the country, whereas the names of the dynasties changed rather quickly. The Kings of the Slave Dynasty of Delhi—who had to resist the Mongol invasion (—Chingiz-Khan invaded the country in 1221, persecuting the last Chwarizmshah to Attock, and his descendants sacked Lahore in 1286)—were replaced by the Turkish dynasty of Khiljīs, who not only defended the Panjab against the continued raids of the Mongols but even conquered Gujerat and parts of Central India; 'Alā'addīn Khiljī is praised as the great administrator of the growing empire; they were followed by the house of Tughluq in 1320 which lasted nominally till 1413, under the threat of renewed Mongol invasions: Timur had looted the unhappy town of Delhi in 1389. In the middle of the 15th century a rather large number of smaller Muslim dynasties were scattered all over India: from Kashmir which had fallen under Muslim rule in 1334, to Golconda in the South; Bengal saw the rule of several independent Muslim kings; and the sultanate of Delhi was eventually in the hands of the Lōdī-dynasty under whom administration as well as culture flourished. The medium of instruction and court language in the Muslim areas was Persian which was adopted also by those Hindus who entered government service; the regional languages lived in the people and produced a—mostly mystical—literature of their own.

The beginning of the 16th century is one of the landmarks in the history of East and West—in Europe it means the beginning of a new era, inaugurated by the discovery of the sea-way to India and the discovery of America on the one hand, the emergence of Protestantism on the other hand. A new Weltgefühl gave the impulse for shaking off the medieval ways of life and thought and for a development in quite an unexpected direction. In the Islamic countries, too, a situation crystallized which was to give to the East its look for centuries to come: the Ottoman Empire had reached the zenith of its power, and snatched Egypt and Syria in 1516/17 from the Turco-Circassian Mamluks; hence it became the ruler of the holy lands of Mecca and Madina; in Iran, the young and ambitious Ismail, the Safavid, descendant of Shi'a leaders in Ardabil, had risen to power and introduced the Ithnā 'Asharīya Shi'a doctrines in 1501 as official religion in Persia, thus digging a Shi'a ditch between the Sunni blocks: the Turcs in the West and those in the East where, since 1400, the sons of

Timur had ruled in Afghanistan and Transoxiana and had developed a splendid civilization, but were driven out of their respective capitals by the Uzbek invasion of 1506 which wiped out the highly sophisticated but already decadent culture of the later Timurids.

But out of this disastre of the Timurid power in Afghanistan, the new Indian Moghul Empire emerged. The intrepid Prince Bābur—who has written a most charming Turkish autobiography [10])—crossed, coming from Kabul, the Khaibar Pass and succeeded after a short encounter in winning the battle of Panipat (1526) against Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi—Panipat, north Delhi, was to become two more times the place of decisive battles in later Indian history. Bābur died, still young, in 1530, after having consolidated his reign in the north-west of India, and was succeeded by his son Humāyūn who had as usual to defend his throne against his numerous talented brothers. The attacks of Shēr Shāh, a governor of Afghan origin, forced him to seek shelter in Iran; he could, however, return and regain his father's country after difficult campaigns and negociations. He brought with him Persian artists and poets, and the prevalent vigorous Turkish taste in Islamic India was now refined by Persian elegance. Before that time, a chiliastic movement of large extent disturbed the Western provinces: Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur had declared himself—as so many have done before him and also after him—the Mahdi, and won a considerable number of adherents in Gujerat and Sind; but he and his disciples were persecuted by the orthodoxy, and he died, lonely, in Afghanistan (1505).

When Humāyūn died in 1556, his son Akbar who had been born during his father's flight in Umarkot/Sind, succeeded him at the age of fourteen. He has become famous in the history of religions as the inventor of an eclectic religion which combined elements of Islam, Hinduism, Parsism, and Christianity. Discussing with religious leaders of all these communities, very inclined towards the Chishtīya order, always keen on bridging the gulfs between the different sects and religions, he tried in the political sphere also combinations of the representatives of the two main religions of his daily expanding

10) The first English translation of Babur's memoirs had been made by J. Leyden and W. Erskine, Edinburgh 1826; the recent Turkish translation by Reşid Rahmeti Arat with introduction by Hikmet Bayur, Türk Tarih Kurumu II 5, Ankara 1943 f. is very reliable. Cf. Schimmel, *Babur as a poet*, IC 1960.

Empire. In 1599 he had annexed Sind where Turkish petty kings had settled, in the Deccan he reached as far as the northern borders of Golconda, East Bengal was completely in Muslim hand since the poor population of indigo- and jute-planters accepted Islam very willfully: three centuries later, the Province of Bengal alone contained one third of the Muslim population of India.

However, the religious policy of Akbar and his intimates—of whom to mention only the historian Abū'l-Faẓl and his brother, the poet Faiżī—was sharply criticized by the orthodox, starting with the historian Badaōnī. The orthodox elements advocated a clear distinction between Muslims and Hindus because they were afraid lest too many concessions in favour of the Hindus should weaken the Islamic individuality. Up to our days, Muslim orthodoxy has accused Akbar

> to have sowed the seed of heresy (R 112),

and to have preferred non-Muslims to his faithful subjects.

The orthodox protest was personified in the person of Aḥmad Sirhindī who entered the religio-political scene at the end of Akbar's reign, and persued his struggle under his son Jihāngīr (1605-1627). [11]) Aḥmad Sirhindī was called, by his admirers, the *mujaddid-i alf-i thānī*, the Reformer of the second Millenium, because he appeared at the beginning of the 11th century of the *hijra*. He utilized for his teaching the order of the Naqshbandiya which had come from Central Asia and had been popular with the first Moghul Emperors as well as with their Uzbek adversaries, and propagated his ideas through this rapidly spreading order.

> ...and his ceaseless efforts, even from inside the prison, succeeded in a remarkable degree, weaning the Emperor Jahangir from the heresies. His Persian *maktūbat* (letters) is an invaluable monument and a mine of information for the intellectual struggle and spiritual greatness of the renovator... [12])

11) About the development in general and Ahmad Sirhindi in special cf. *A short History of Hind-Pakistan*, Karachi, 1955, *A History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I 1707-1831—B. A. Faruqi, *The Mujaddid's Conception of God*.

12) Hamidullah, *o.c.*, p. 133. About the general mystical trend which was common in Muslims and Hindus, a modern Muslim apologist (Ubeidullāh Sindhī) writes: "This Islamic philosophy (of *waḥdat alwujūd*) is in fact the same Hindu philosophy, which the Muslim mystics of India have brought to a magnificent completion"

The *mujaddid* draw a clear distinction between Islam and infidelity, and urged the government to revest again to the long forgotten Islamic customs; his fervour for the purity of faith made him even work against the very influential group of Shiᶜa like the Empress Nūr Jahān and her father who were practically ruling the country. Notwithstanding these political efforts, Aḥmad Sirhindī's most important contribution to Indian Islam is the strict refusal of the doctrine of monistic pantheism (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) which had been laid down in Ibn ᶜArabī's theories submerging almost all the other mystic movements in the Islamic world from the 13th century onwards, and which, in India, could easily mingle with kindred Vedantic speculations. Essentially, this monistic theory is nothing but a result of the overemphasis laid on God's unity, leading to the conclusion "There is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He; there is not even a There, where the essence of all things is one".[13]) Against this doctrine which had changed the personal and active Allah of the Qurᵓānic revelation Who is the Creator out of nothing, into a Being which contains the world in itself, and, as such, leaves no room for the personal relation between man and God—against this doctrine was directed Aḥmad Sirhindī's main energy; and it is small wonder that almost all reformers in later days have gone back to his work. He advocated the doctrine of *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, "testimonarian monism"; essential monism expressing, according to him, only a subjective experience, not a metaphysical truth. His influence has, through the Naqshbandīya, reached even Turkish Muslims and impressed them deeply. Iqbal, too, was a great admirer of the Imām Rabbānī—another popular epithet of Aḥmad Sirhindī—and has quoted him several times in his poetry (BJ 211, J 1377), and in his Lectures he characterizes him as

> great religious genius... whose fearless analytical criticism of contemporary Sufism resulted in the development of a new technique (L 193).

The reign of Shāh Jahān, Akbar's grandson and builder of the Taj Mahal, is, seen from outside, perhaps the most splendid period in the history of the Moghul Empire. Fine arts, music, poetry, miniature painting reached their culmination, the silks manufactured in Dacca,

13) Husain, Glimpses, p. 58.

Thatta and Multan were unsurpassable in the world, and in architecture pure white marble was used in preference to the warm coloured red sandstone. Almost no exterior enemies lurked at the frontiers of the well consolidated Empire. But it was also the time when the heir appearent, the splendid young prince Dārā Shikōh, came under the influence of Sufism, and tried to continue the work of reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus on lines similar to those of Akbar. Dārā Shikōh was, like his father, a great admirer of Miān Mīr (d. 1635) who had hailed from Sind and formed a centre of the Qādirī order in Lahore, and was succeeded by Mollā Shāh (d. 1659). The young prince even left the Chishtī tradition of his family (which was, however, maintained by his elder sister, the gifted poetess and mystic Jahānārā); and became initiated into the Qādirīya. His letters and numerous books prove how deep he had drunk from the wine of pantheistic mysticism. Thanks to him, and partly by himself, the Upanishads were translated into Persian (this translation is the basis for the Latin version of Anquetil Duperron, 1801, which influenced so deeply German philosophy of the 19th century) and the reports recording his discussions with a Hindu sage show, as well as his booklet *majmaᶜ al-baḥrain*, how intensely he craved for a "meeting of the two oceans" of Islamic and Hindu thought, [14])

It is quite natural that the other princes of the house of Shāh Jahān did not agree with the unorthodox views of their eldest brother who was on very intimate terms even with the converted Jew Sarmad, one of the most daring writers of mystic quatrains (executed 1660), and with Hindu poets. Their father was still being alive, when struggles among the brothers arose; Dārā Shikōh was eventually defeated and reached the Afghan frontiers where he lost his wife Nādira who had been his faithful companion throughout his life, sharing with him the veneration of Miān Mīr; he sent his soldiers with her corpse to Lahore for burying her next to the mystic's tomb. The next day he was handed over by his treacherous host to his brother, ᶜĀlamgīr Aurangzēb who sentenced him to death, together with his son (1659).

The reign of ᶜAlamgīr brought for nearly half a century (he died in 1707) a period of Muslim supremacy in India. The country which

14) Cf. Qanungo, *Dara Shikoh*, J. B. Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh, Life and Works*, Calcutta, Visvabharati. 1953. Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Qānīᶜ, *maqālāt ash-shuᶜarā*, ed. H. Rashdi, Karachi, 1956.

had been split into petty kingdoms and small principalities since time immemorial, was united under ʿAlamgīr for a time to almost the same extent as later on inside the British Empire. This was the largest extension which the Kingdom of Delhi has reached in the subcontinent. ʿĀlamgīr Aurangzēb has been accused by most of the Hindu and European writers of his fanatic zeal for Islam. He was a puritan whose puritanism grew during his lifetime; a man who tried to govern according Islamic law, who f.i. levied again the *jizya* (the capitation tax which had been abolished by his predecessors) from the Hindus because the injunctions of Islam made it obligatory to him. [15]) These practices made him highly unpopular in Hindu circles and lost him the active loyalty of his Hindu subjects. His puritanism also led him against the Shiʿa sultanates in the Deccan, and he took measures to limit the influence of the Shiʿa officials in the government. Music and fine arts were no longer cultivated; albeit even this stern and austere ruler had a certain predilection for some moderate Sufi saints. [16]) Iqbal has praised him in his poetry as

> the moth around the flame of Divine Unity —
> He sat, like Abraham, inside the idol-temple (R 113)

(the prophet Abraham is the true monotheist who had broken the idols of his father, cf. III C). Already in 1910, Iqbal was aware of the importance of Aurangzēb for the history of Muslim India—as contrasted to the all-embracing mystical sway of his unfortunate brother Dārā Shikōh:

> The political genius of Aurangzeb was extremely comprehensive. His one aim of life was, as it were, to subsume the various communities of this country under the notion of one universal empire. But in securing this imperial unity he erroneously listened to the dictates of his indomitable courage which had no sufficient background of political experience behind it. Ignoring the factor of time in the political evolution of his contemplated empire he started an endless struggle in the hope that he would be able to unify the discordant political units of India in his own lifetime. He failed to islamise (not in the religious sense) India just as Alexander had failed to hellenise Asia. The Englishman, however, came fully equipped with the political experience of the nations of antiquity—and his patience and tortoise-like perseverance succeeded where the hasty genius of Aurangzeb had failed. Conquest does not necessarily mean unity. Moreover, the history of the preceding Muslim dynasties had taught Aurangzeb that the strength of Islam in India did not depend, as his great ancestor Akbar had thought, so much on the good will of the people of his land as on the strength of the ruling race . . . Aurangzeb's political perception, though true, was too late. Yet considering the significance of this perception he must be looked upon as the *founder* of Musulman nationality in India... (SR 31). [17]

15) Sri Ram Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Moghul Emperors*, p. 168.

16) Cf. Aurangzeb's predilection for ʿAbdul Laṭīf Burhānpūrī and his Sufi friends in M. R. Burhānpūrī, *Burhānpūr kē Sindhī Auliyā*, Karachi, 1957.

This judgment is now accepted by almost all Muslim historiographs of Pakistan.

During the long—and partly glorious—period of Aurangzeb's reign the Hindu Mahratta tribes attacked the country from inside and quickly succeeded, inspired by the nearly legendary person of their leader Shivaji, in winning large parts of central and southern India, and formed a constant danger for the Empire for about one century. In the Panjab, the Sikh movement grew stronger, which had been in its beginning a kind of link between Hindu and Muslims, and based its teaching on the adoration of the One God. [18]) But after the execution of their leader Guru Tēg Bahādur by Aurangzēb in 1675 the Sikhs had become strongly militant and constituted due to the simplicity of their faith and their religious fervour a serious danger for the Muslims in the Panjab which fell nearly completely into the hands of the Sikhs in the decades after Aurangzēb's death. Last not least European powers had entered Indian territory: the British East India Company which had been founded on December 31, 1600, sent its agents to several parts of the country, and its factories were seen in many of the important ports; the Portuguese had already annexed Goa and sacked the old capital of Sind, Thatta, as early as in 1555; the Dutch tried to get hold of some harbours at the Carnatic, and the French, in competition with the British, had got some smaller colonies on the Carnatic Coast.

In the period of dissolution which followed the death of Aurangzēb (1707), once more a religious reformer tried to uplift spiritually the Muslims: it was Shāh Walīullāh of Delhi who was born in 1703, four years before Aurangzēb's death, in a family of devout scholars

17) Cf. also his speech: *Islam, as a social and political ideal*, in which he underlines the importance of Aurangzeb even more. (Aligarh, 1910).

18) E. Trumpp, *The Adhi Granth*; E. Macauliffe, *The Religion of the Sikhs*.

and mystics of the Naqshbandī-order; [19]) his father was one of the compilers of the *fatāwā-i'ālamgīrī*, the code of Ḥanafī law which was prepared under the auspices of the emperor. Shāh Walīullāh set out for Mecca at the age of 29, and studied there for two years; after his return he proved a prolific writer on exegesis, traditions, history, jurisprudence, mystics, etc.

The great work which made his name immortal among Indian Muslims was his translation of the Qur'ān into Persian, which he undertook because he was of the opinion that true Islamic life would be impossible without a thorough knowledge of the contents of the Holy Book. [20]) Since its Arabic text could be understood only by an extremely small group of scholars in the subcontinent, most people were more or less unaware of its real injunctions and instructions, and the Qur'ān had become, for the rank and file, a merely magical thing which was kissed with veneration, wrapped into lovely covers, and used as a kind of talisman. Shāh Walīullāh's translation—though not the first one in Persian nor in other languages made by Muslims—is accepted up to this very day as a masterpiece, and has been styled as *i'jāzī*, an unsurpassable wonder. His commentary has been translated in extenso and in part into several Indian vernaculars. Persian being only the court language, and vehicle of higher education, Shāh Walīullāh's two sons, Shāh Rafī'uddīn and Shāh 'Abdulqādir translated afterwards the Qur'ān also into Urdu, the wide-spread popular language; his third son continued his teaching profession in Delhi on the lines of his father.

In Arabia, Shāh Walīullāh had come under the influence of the newly growing Wahhabi movement which preached a strict return to the manners and practices of Islam of the prophetical times, and was especially directed against the exceeding veneration of saints, living

[19]) *Shāh Walīullāh kē Siyāsī maktūbāt*, Aligarh, 1950; D. Rahbar, *Shāh Walīullāh and Ijtihād*, MW 45/1955; Maulana Ubaidullāh Sindhī, *Shāh Waliūllāh aur unkī siyāsī taḥrīk*. Cf. *History of Freedom Movement*, I 492 ff.

[20]) "He wanted to make the Qur'ān intelligible to the ordinary intellect since this was necessary for the success of his religious as well as political programme" (*Freedom Movement*, p. 513 note 1) the name of the translation is *fatḥ ur-raḥmān*; he further published a *Muqaddima fī tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i majīd* and *al-fauz al-kabīr fī uṣūl at-tafsīr*, both on exegesis of the Qur'ān. About the influence his translation has exerted f.i. on modern Sindhi Qur'ān interpretation cf. Schimmel, *Sindhi translations and commentaries of the Qur'ān*. For the problem of translations cf. M. Hamidullah, *al-Qur'ān fī kull lisān*—Qur'ān in many languages.

or dead, which was condemned as utterly superstitious and opposed to the tenets of Islam. Although the Indian scholar agreed with the Arabian reformers in their attempt to base Islamic life on the pure teachings of the Qur'ān, he could not share their views about mysticism in which they followed the lines laid down by the great medieval Hanbali scholars like Ibn Taimīya and Ibn al-Jauzī. He tried to reform Sufism and to bring into existence a type of piety with mystic flavour which does not over-emphasize the subtle differences between the Sufi orders, and he attempted to find a middle way between the pantheistic trend and the adherents of *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, by proving that "God transcends and indwells in different aspects, His transcendence and immanence being united through their different functions in God's total being". [21]) That shows that he reached a very comprehensive understanding of the polarity of religious phenomena.

In his great work *ḥujjatullāh al-bāligha* as well as in other books and pamphlets Shāh Walīullāh has tried to convince his contemporaries that religion is not only a matter of worship and dogmatics but must even become part and parcel of daily life, transforming it completely into a permanent witness to God. Iqbal is no doubt right in calling him

> perhaps the first Muslim who felt the urge of new spirit in Islam (L 97),

and he has fully approved of his explanation of the prophetical method of teaching which is

> to train one particular people, and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal Sharī'at (L 171 f.).

Shāh Walīullāh did not content himself with teaching and writing but took active part in the political struggle of his days. The remnants of the Moghul Empire which was at its zenith still half a century ago, were finally crushed by the Mahrattas and the Sikhs. Only a powerful Muslim ruler could rid the Muslims from these enemies, and this ruler was found in Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī Abdālī of Afghanistan. Not that the Muslims of North Western India were very fond of their mountaineer neighbours—in the lifetime of Shāh Walīullāh the Persian king Nādir Shāh had invaded the country and looted Delhi in

[21]) Husain, *Glimpses*, p. 62.

1739 shortly before he was murdered, and Mīr Dard has written his famous threnody on the ruins of the capital; but the new Afghan ruler was the only correligionist who might be able to avert the excessive dangers. Indeed he gained, after several raids and invasions, a complete victory over the Mahrattas in the third battle of Panipat 1761, and could also threaten the Sikhs who were holding Lahore, but then returned to his own realm without fully utilizing his victory, and North Western India remained in as miserable a condition—or perhaps even more pitiable—than before.

The situation in Bengal, too, had grown worse for the Muslim rulers. Clive, the representative of the British East India Company, had beaten the Nawwab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey 1757, thanks to the treachery of Mīr Jaᶜfar who was, then, made Nawwab, and sold to the British the *zamīndar* rights of 1150 qkm, the first important land-acquisition the East India Company made. Mīr Jaᶜfar has been depicted by Iqbal in the *Jāvīdnāme* in the darkest possible colours; even Hell does not want to pollute its fire with this traitor, nor with Sādiq of Deccan, the betrayer of Tipu Sultan.

In the Deccan, the house of the Nizams of Hyderabad had been established in 1724, and succeeded in surviving the different wars until the country was annexed by India in 1948. British and French tried to secure large parts of Southern India for themselves; France could retain but Pondicherry after three Carnatic wars; eventually the Muslim ruler of Seringapatam, Tipu Sultan, who sided with them, was killed in 1799.[22]) Although this ruler—and his father Ḥaidar ᶜAlī—belong to the few Indo-Muslim kings under whom forced conversions to Islam took place, he has become in modern Muslim historiography one of the last heroes of Muslim resistence against the surrounding peril of Hindu and European enemies, and Iqbal has placed the "martyr Sultan" in his *Jāvīdnāme* into the Highest Paradise; because his death meant, for him, the turning point in the history of Indian Islam:

> The year 1799 is extremely important in the history of the world of Islam. In this year fell Tippu, and his fall meant the extinguishment of Muslim hopes for political prestige in India. In the same year was fought the battle of Navarino which saw the destruction of the Turkish fleet. Prophetic were the words of the author of the chronogram of Tippu's fall which visitors of Serangapatam find engraved on the wall of Tippu's mausoleum:
>
> Gone is the glory of Ind as well as of Rum.
>
> Thus in the year 1799 the political decay of Islam in India reached its climax. But just as out of the humiliation of Germany on the day of Jena arose the modern German nation, it may be said with equal truth that out of the political humiliation of Islam in the year 1799 arose modern Islam and her problems (SS 124 f.).

22) Tipu Sultan is of special interest because of his calendar reform. Cf. Muhibbul Husain Khan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, 1951; *Freedom Movement* I; Hidayet Hosein, *The library of Tipu Sultan*, IC 1940/139; *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan*, ed. Mahmud Husain; Arnold, *l.c.*

At the same time, the reformist movement inaugurated by Shāh Walīullāh was carried on not only in the Northwestern Frontier and in the Panjab, but also in Patna and Bengal, by his sons, his grandson and their pupils and friends among whom the remarkable figure of Syed Aḥmad of Bareilly is worth mentioning.[23]) He was a simple man who combined military and mystical tendencies, without being interested in the theoretical subtleties of the faith. 35 years old he performed the pilgrimage (1821) and returned to his native country after three years during which he had deeply imbibed the teachings of the Wahhabi reformers who had been driven out of the holy cities by Turkish troops, because their puritan ardour had led them even to a desecration of the Prophet's tomb and other places venerated since centuries. Aḥmad Brelwī, too, started, with the spiritual help of Walīullāh's followers, a fight against corrupt practices and innovations, without, however, leaving mysticism aside. He himself was mystically inclined, and the movement which he founded and called *ṭarīqa muḥammadīya*, may be compared, to some extent, to the similar movements in North Africa, like the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiya* of Sayyid Idrīs or the Tījānīya. Sayyid Aḥmad—whom the historians call *shahīd*, martyr, like Sultan Tipu—maintained a kind of panentheism: everything is in God, but is not God, and he has well distinguished between the mystical type of religious life—*ḥubbᶜishqī*, the Loving Love (love for the sake of love)—and the prophetical type in which the *ḥubb*

23) *Freedom Movement*, I 556 ff.; W. W. Hunter, *Our Indian musulmans*, 1871; Mehr, *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, 2 vls., Lahore. One of his famous pupils is Ismāᶜīl Shahid, the author of the *taqwiyat ul-īmān*, (1781-1831) who is still held in high respect; and whose anniversary was celebrated in Lahore first in 1941 (IC 1941/390) Cf. also Handwörterbuch s.v. *Farāiḍīya; Karāmat ᶜAlī*.

īmānī, the Faith-love (love on account of the faith) is the axis. Without refusing traditional Sufism as it was, he admonished his followers explicitly "not to follow the authority of any spiritual leader against the authority of Qurʾān and tradition", an order which shows in sufficient clearness how far the influence of the mystical leaders had gone and was going.

In the Northwestern Frontier and the Panjab, the Sikh had settled and partly suppressed Muslim practices in their villages and towns; the aggravating situation entailed the question whether or not the Holy War should be declared against them; and the youngest son of Shāh Walīullāh who was a kind of legal adviser of Aḥmad Brelwī, decided in the affirmative. The troops marched through Gujerat and Sind to the Afghan border, getting volunteers from all over the country. Yet, the movement being connected with the Wahhabis whose very name was detested by the average orthodox Muslims, it was declared unlawful by some religious leaders, and the complicated political and social circumstances in the tribal areas of the Khaibar Pass and Swat Valley as well as the rebellions of some tribal chiefs whose pride Sayyid Aḥmad had hurt by interfering with their customs, were the main reasons of his defeat in May 1831.

But even after his death the movement which he had inaugurated was carried on. W. W. Hunter has described the "chronic conspiracy within our territory" which continued in both Swat Valley and Bengal for nearly 40 more years. But he has done justice also to the missionaries of the Wahhabi movement:

> Indefatigable as missionaries, careless of themselves, blameless in their lives, supremely devoted to the overthrow of the English Infidels, admirably skilful in organizing a permanent system for supplying money and recruits, the Patna Caliphs stand forth as the types and exemplars of the sect. Much of their teaching was faultless, and it has been given to them to stir up thousands of their countrymen to a purer life, and a truer conception of the Almighty. [24])

And he comes to the conclusion—which holds true also for later parts of Indian history, and for the History of Islam,—that

> it is one of the misfortunes attendant on the British Rule in India, that this Reformation should be inseparably linked with hatred against the Infidel Conquerors. [25])

[24]) Hunter, *o.c.*, p. 68.

On the other hand, the same movement was carried on also on a more theoretical basis, especially by the efforts of Shāh Walīullāh's grandson who, however, left the country for Mecca after the British gained victory after victory—Holy War or *hijrat*, emigration, that was the alternative preached by the Wahhabis, and the invitation to emigration has created even in our century the tragedy of 1922 when tenthousands of simple faithful left India for Afghanistan without being able to settle there.

The Wahhabi movement had taken firm roots in Bengal. A young and ardent pilgrim, Ḥājjī Sharīʿatullāh, went so far as to declare the subcontinent *dār ul-ḥarb*, belligent territory, since it was under British occupation respectively in the hands of Hindus, where according to a narrow interpretation of the Law valid Friday and ʿId prayers could not be offered. He attracted the small peasants, and his movement was made popular by his son Dūdhū Miān. The result was a growing tension between the indigo- and jute-planters and the big landlords and European farmers, so that, as often in Islam, religious movement and socio-political revolution went together. Another follower of Sayyid Aḥmad Brelwī, Titu Mīr, started at the same time a reformation movement in Bengal, and even succeeded in forming a government in 1831, but was—in the same year as his master—killed in a fight against British troops.

In spite of these hopeless attempts of strengthening Islam against the infidel invaders, in all parts of life British influence grew stronger with every day. The educational service of the British, which had started with the excellent group of orientalists in Fort William in Calcutta, was completed by other schools and colleges, like Delhi College in 1827. In 1835 the government adopted Macauley's scheme of modern education with English as medium of instruction. Missionary schools were opened in all parts of the country, and their net became closer after Sind had been annected in 1843, the Panjab eventually in 1849.

For the Hindus, the new situation offered many advantages; after

[25]) id. p. 75.

having lived so many centuries—in certain regions for more than a millenium—under Muslim rule, they welcomed the change which gave them more opportunities for coming in touch with modern European civilization. The interest which European scholars displayed in the study of classical Indian philosophy and Sanscrit, helped the Hindus to develop their self-consciousness even more, whereas the Muslim minority in the country, once the ruling class, could not adjust themselves to the changed way of life; they recalled the memories of past glory, without partaking in the British educational system which did not suit their religious requirements. The abolition of Persian, the old language of higher instruction, [26]) opened the way for the development of Indian regional languages which started—from the scientific point of view—at Fort William, and which entailed not only a larger literary output in the different local languages but brought into existence little by little the art of translation which produced adaptations of European literature and technical works.

The Hindus who had only changed one ruler for the other, took more joyfully the opportunity of organizing new ways of life, and the name of Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal, the first powerful writer in Bengali prose, is connected with the beginning of social reform inside Hinduism which he advocated with fervour in his pamphlets. The Brahmo-Samaj movement that he inaugurated proved very important for the preparation of the Hindu population for the changing conditions of life.

In 1857, universities were founded in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and in the same year the great Sepoy revolt broke out which has been named by the British historians the Mutiny, a result of accumulated discontent which sealed the fate of the country for nearly a century: the Crown took over the rule from the hands of the East India Company. Since the responsibility for this revolt was attributed to a large extent to the Muslims, this community remained in the following years deliberately and almost completely excluded from important public posts, and when W. W. Hunter in 1871 rose his

[26]) Persian had been the depository of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Indian Islam and had produced a large literature; local languages possessed more or less only religious or folk-poetry. About the endeavours of the Muslims to resist the growing British influences cf. M. Hamidullah, *Défense de la Culture Islamique pendant la domination Anglaise de l'Inde*, p. 87 f.

famous question "Our Indian Musulmans—are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" he did not fail to draw the attention of the government on the deplorable situation of the Muslim in British-Indian service, the 'Wrongs of Musulmans under British Rule'.

The Sepoy revolt of 1857 has been called "a dress rehearsal for the future struggle for freedom". Indeed, this very period is in India as well as in other parts of the Islamic world a time of preparation for a new consolidation of Islamic ideals. In Egypt, the contact with the French who had invaded the country under Bonaparte, and who held there important positions throughout the following century, had opened the eyes to some liberal minded Muslims to start—albeit with insufficient methods—to incorporate modern Western civilisation into the Islamic system of thought. In Turkey, the first steps towards a westernization had been made in the 1820ies and formally with the *khaṭṭ-i sharīf* of Gülhane which introduced some modern juridical and administrative changes into Turkish government; for the first time, poets and prose-writers became interested in Western literary and political ideals.

But it was not until the 70ies that these movements took, each starting from a different intellectual basis, a new and more revolutionary form. It should not be overlooked, and is perhaps even significant of the development to unfold, that the awakening of the Muslims took place in contrast to both Christian missionary forces and to the works of European orientalists which were regarded as mere tools of an anti-Islamic propaganda; their studies on the origins of Islam or the Life of Muhammad were — and still are to some extent—looked upon as outbursts of the tendency to minimize the importance of Islam, whereas the revival of Hinduism and Buddhism which can be dated from approximately the same period, is largely due to the sympathy of European scholars, and even converts, for these religions which were considered in the West models of mystical comprehensiveness and tolerance, and contrasted with the prophetic rigidity of Islam.

The leading figure in the awakening of Islam is the preacher Jamāl-addīn Afghānī who has, through his most adventurous life, travelled from one Islamic country to the other, teaching now in Egypt, now in Russia, then in India, then in Turkey—where he eventually died in 1897, under somewhat mysterious circumstances, and probably not

without the assistance of Sultan Abdulhamid who had utilized for a time Afghānī's ideals of Pan-Islamism for his own political goals. W. C. Smith has—no doubt right—pointed out that Jamāladdīn Afghānī "seems to have been the first Muslim revivalist to use the concepts of Islam and the West as connoting correlative—and of course antagonistic—historical phenomena". [27]) This antagonism is repeated, half a century later, in Iqbal's writings when he shows, in his *Jāvīdnāme*, Afghānī as the prototype of Islamic reforms and makes him, together with the Turkish reformer Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha, explain ideas about East and West as opposite forces.

The writings of Afghānī had reached India in the 80ies, and the two great centres of traditional Islam—the Theological School of Deoband which had been founded in 1870 by followers of Shāh Walīullāh, but on a stricter "Wahhabi" line, a school which has trained every year hundreds of *ʿulemāʾ* not only from India but also from Turkestan and other countries, and the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ in Lucknow—both of them were in contact with Afghānī and his widespread paper *al-ʿūrwat al-wuthqā*; they cherished his ideas which culminated, after the First World War, in the Khilāfat movement. [28]) Afghānī deplored the weakness of the Muslim countries which were lacking contact with each other, and

> he regarded it as the religious duty of Muslims to reconquer any territory taken away from them by others, and if this was not possible, then to migrate from what had become as a result of alien conquest *dār al-ḥarb*, to some other land in the *dār al-Islām* ... The ʿulamā of Islam should build up their regional centres in various lands, and guide the commoners by *ijtihād* based on the Qurʾān and the Hadith; these regional centres should be affiliated to a universal centre based at one of the holy places, where representatives of the various centres could meet in an effort towards a unified *ijtihād* in order to revitalize the *umma* and prepare it to meet external challenges. [29])

The ideas of Jamāladdīn Afghānī were carried on in Egypt by Muhammad ʿAbdūh and then by Muhammad Rashīd Riḍa whose quarterly *Manār* has become the symbol for the struggle for freeing Islam from the fetters of centuries-old traditions which were living like a deadening crust around its dynamic spirit that was visible in the deeds of the Prophet and the first caliphs.

Iqbal deeply admired the great reformer who

> never claimed to be a prophet or a renewer; yet no other man in our time has stirred the soul of Islam more deeply than he! (SS 132),

and was of the opinion that

> if somebody deserves to be called renewer after ʿAbdulwahhāb—the founder of the Wahhabi movement—it is Jamāladdīn Afghānī (M II 231).

He characterizes him in his Lectures (97) as

> the man ... who fully realized the importance and immensity of the task, and whose deep insight into the inner meaning of the history of Muslim thought and life, combined with a broad vision engendered by his wide experience of men and manners, would have made him a living link between the past and the future. If his indefatigable but divided energy could have devoted itself entirely to Islam as a system of human belief and conduct, the world of Islam, intellectually speaking, would have been on a much more solid ground today.

Jamāladdīn Afghānī was outspokenly anti-Western in general, and anti-British in particular. However the man who undertook the risk of bringing Indian Muslims into contact with the modern European way of life, had to be as pro-British as any Indian could be. It was Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898)—knighted in 1879—who had got his early education under one of Shāh Walīullāh's descendants, but had, after the unforgettable shock of the 'Mutiny' of which he did not approve at all, proved a most loyal subject of Her Majesty's Government. [30]) He tried to demonstrate that it was absolutely necessary for the Indian Muslims to appropriate the good sides of Western civilization, technique, and thought, to come into social contact with

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27) W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, 49: In Europe, Afghānī has gained fame by his refutation of E. Renan's lecture on "Islam and Science", 1883. Cf. *Handwörterbuch*, 107 ff.

28) Aziz Ahmad, *Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī and Muslim India*, Stud. Isl. XIII, 1960/55-78.

29) id. p. 70.

30) G. F. J. Graham, *Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, 1885, 1901²; Altaf Husain Hali, *ḥayāt-i jāvīd*, 1901 (best biography of Sir Syed); W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, 1947; J. M. S. Baljon jr., *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, Lahore, 1958²; B. A. Dar, *The Religious Thought of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*, Lahore, 1957; Dr. Syed Abdullah, *Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān*, Lahore, 1960.

the Europeans, and to reconcile science with religion. This last problem has also been stressed by Afghānī who says:

> With a thousands regrets I say that the Muslims of India have carried their orthodoxy, nay, their fanaticism to such an evil extreme that they run away with distaste and disgust from sciences and arts and industries. All that is associated with the enemies of Islam, be it knowledge or science, they regard as inauspicious and unwholesome, whereas the love of their religion should have made it binding on them to consider themselves as having the right to acquire erudition and perfection, knowledge and science, wherever they found them... Alas, this misuse of religious orthodoxy will end in such weakness and disaster that, I am afraid, the Muslims of India will some day find themselves annihilated. [31])

Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan endeavoured by means of his popular Urdu-journal *tahzīb al-akhlāq* to bring people back to the original simple meaning of the Qurʾān which was, according to him, perfectly compatible with the exigencies of modern times. There is no contradiction between the Divine word and modern science, provided that people understand the Qurʾān in the right way and not through the commentaries and super-commentaries—

> The commands of God which that innocent, simple-minded, truthful and sweetnatured Prophet had communicated to the ignorant and illiterate dwellers of the desert in such a simple, clear and sincere manner have been so much distorted by such unwarranted importations into them of empty distinctions and subtleties, metaphysical propositions, and arguments of logic, that their original simplicity has ceased to make its appeal, with the result that the Moslems have been obliged to neglect the real commands contained in the Qurʾān and the authentic sayings, and to follow those invented by X, Y, Z. [32])

That was the reason for Sir Sayid's writing a commentary of the Qurʾān after he had published, in 1861, a commentary on the Bible, with the purpose of promoting a deeper understanding between Christians and Muslims. His commentary was, however, criticized by both Jamāladdīn Afghānī and the orthodox wing of Indian theologians who accused him of being a materialist, a *nēcharī*. Indeed, Sayid Ahmad Khan tried "to denaturalize the contents of the Qurʾān", and his rationalistic views have been often attacked, though it seems not fair

31) Aziz Ahmad, *o.c.*, 59.
32) H. A. R. Gibb, *Whither Islam*, p. 199.

to characterize the endeavour to harmonize Revelation and Science as "an attempt that strikes the Western mind as almost tragic and may move it to pity rather than to admiration". [33]) The perseverance of Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan — who has been styled not as a simple rationalist but a model of "rational supernaturalism" by J. M. S. Baljon [34])—in his struggle for the progress of Indian Muslims, and for the realization of his ideals of Muslim education on the lines of modern training systems, is admirable, and the Oriental College which he founded in 1875 in Aligarh against the furious resistance of the orthodoxy, became the home of those young Indian Muslims who in the second and third generation were to become leaders of India's struggle against England. For Sayid Ahmad Khan, it was still necessary to advocate the British rule which gave at least some consolidation to the complicated situation of the subcontinent, and granted the Indian people the time required for attaining political and religious maturity.

The model of Aligarh College—which was converted into a University in 1920—became quite popular in India, in spite of the resistance of the orthodoxy; in Dacca and Delhi similar Muslim colleges with modern educational system were established; colleges in Lahore, Peshawar and other places followed. Iqbal himself was closely related to the Aligarh movement and the *Jāmiʿa millīya*, the National Muslim University in Delhi, and a lifelong friendship existed between him and Sir Ross Masood, grandson of Sir Sayid (cf. M I 233). It is little known that Iqbal is also the author of the chronogram on Sayid Ahmad's death which is inscribed on his tomb. [35]) He has characterized him

> as probably the first modern Muslim to catch a glimpse of the positive character of the age which was coming. The remedy for the ills of Islam proposed by him, as by Mufti Alam Jan in Russia, was modern education. But the real greatness of the man consists in the fact that he was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. We may differ from his religious views, but there can be no denying the fact that his sensitive soul was the first to react to the modern age (SS 131),

33) Lichtenstädter, *Islam and the Modern Age*, London, s.d., p. 25.
34) Baljon, *o.c.*, p. 113.
35) S. A. Vahid, *Iqbal, His Art and Thought*, London, 1959[3].

and there is no doubt that the reformer's greatness lies in the fact that he, in spite of the extreme conservatism in the country succeeded for the first time "in restoring the Muslim to faith in himself". [36])

In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded as a means of expressing the Indian wishes to the British Government; this body was built upon the ideals of British liberalism, and was not at all intended as a specific forum of the Hindu majority; it has had although its existence prominent Muslim members, like Abul Kalam Azad [37]) and Badraddin Tayyibji; however, the fact that Sir Sayid Ahmad did not approve of the formation of this Indian national organ which seemed not to guarantee the rights of the—then still backward—Muslim minority, made the Muslims quite reluctant in joining this party.

When Sir Sayid died in 1898, the Aligarh movement was steadily attracting more and more Muslims, inspiring poets like Ḥālī with new ideas, but slowly changing its emphasis, for it must be admitted that for a transitory period a remarkable anglophily had overshadowed many of the Muslim students who came here first in contact with the progressive West; and not without reason has Akbar Allāhābādī, one of Iqbal's oldest friends, in his satirical poems ridiculized this new "western" outlook of a certain group of Indian Muslim intelligentsia.

Sir Sayid's reforming activity had not remained unrivalled in India. In 1891, Syed Ameer Ali published the book *The Life and Teachings of Muhammad* which was later called *The Spirit of Islam* (1922). It has been said that Sir Sayid Ahmad wanted to show that Islam is compatible with any kind of human progress, while Syed Ameer Ali—himself a Shiᶜa—tried to prove that Islam is in itself dynamic and progressive. [38]) This new view according to which Islam bears in itself all powers of progress, and contains in its essence whatever is required for meeting the problems of every age, leads, consequently, to a new evaluation of Islamic past, and the fresh interest of Muslim scholars in exploring the long forgotten sources of their glorious history resulted in a large output of partly research work, partly polemical articles which were directed against the Europeans who had seemingly overlooked that their culture would not exist but for the Arabic influences during the Middle Ages. This apologetic literature should not be belittled but taken as a first sign of the awaking of new forces inside Islam which had, however, not yet found the right approach to the problems of both their own and Europe's civilization.

In India, Urdu literature which had blossomed until that time especially at the courts of Lucknow and Delhi, and was on the whole merely an imitation of classical Persian poetry with its superfine and hyperelegant forms, its melting languishment, its endless descriptions of the beloved's unsurpassable charm—this Urdu poetry now changed its character according to the new ideals of life. Already in Ghālib (1787-1869) a certain philosophical tune can be met with now and then; [39]) but it is in Ḥālī's work that the new style develops in full. Ethical ideas and the call for new heroic deeds are now expressed instead of outworn love-motives, and in his famous *musaddas* (sextains, six lined stanzas) this poet (and biographer of Sir Sayid Ahmad) complains in touching words of the deplorable state of Muslim countries, confronting their misery with the splendour of the Western world. [40])

On the other hand, the great scholar Maulānā Shiblī Nuᶜmānī (d. 1914) deserves special mention among the Urdu writing Muslims because he has left a large number of important standard works, like his 'History of Persian Poetry', biography of Umar, and the 'Life of the Prophet', written in beautiful Urdu which became gradually more and more a perfect means of expression, and which was made medium of instruction in the Osmania University of Hyderabad/Deccan, a second centre of Islamic revival in India (founded as College in 1856, and given University status in 1919). [41])

The most crucial problem which was to be faced by the modernists was a new interpretation of the *sharīᶜa*, the Islamic Law, and here the name of the Calcutta scholar and politician Khudā Bakhsh is noteworthy. [42])

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[36]) Baljon, *o.c.*, p. 121.

[37]) Cf. Maulana Abu'l-Kalam Azad, *India wins Freedom*, cf. I. M. S. Baljon, *A modern Urdu Tafsir*, W I (NS) II 1952.

[38]) W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 50.

[39]) A. Bausani, *The Position of Ghalib in the History of Urdu and Indo-Persian Poetry*, Islam, Sept. 1959.

[40]) The famous musaddas of Alṭāf Ḥusain Ḥālī was published first in 1886. Cf. *The Quatrains of Hali*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1932.

[41]) Cf. Hamidullah, WI, NS III 3-4.

[42]) Cf. Schacht, *Stud. Isl.*, XII 105.

Among the movements in favour of a revaluation and reorientation of Islam that of Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Qadian was destined to play an important role in the first decades of the 20th century; Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad had declared himself the bearer of a new inspiration, and laid claim in some ambiguous terms to prophethood—which is incompatible with the orthodox view according to which Muhammad is the last prophet and receiver of the final revelation. The followers of Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad were divided (in 1914) into two sects; the group of Lahore tended more and more towards orthodoxy, and unfolded a large missionary activity abroad, whereas the proper Qadian group persevered in the views of its founder, objecting, as him, the Holy War with weapons, and denying the fact of Christ's being taken up to Heaven instead of being nailed to the Cross (cf. Sura 4/157); they hold that he had after a short crucifix emigrated to Kashmir and died there. This attitude of the Ahmadiyya has not only reaped hostility among the Muslims but has—to quote a prominent Christian writer—"sharpened the gulf between Christians and Muslims to the degree that it displaces or modifies that veneration for Jesus in Islam which derives from traditional exspectations centered in Him". [43]) Iqbal, on the other hand, judged the Ahmadiyya movement as an aberration from orthodox theology, esp. in its founder's claim to prophethood, and as a fruit of decadence. He writes—in an open letter to Pandit Nehru—:

> I dare say that the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement did hear a voice, but whether this voice came from the God of Life and Power or arose out of the spiritual impoverishment of the people must depend upon the nature of the movement which it has created and the kind of thought and emotion which it has given to those who have listened on it... The life-history of nations shows that when the tide of life in a people begins to ebb, decadence itself becomes a source of inspiration, inspiring their poets, philosophers, saints, statesmen, and turning them into a class of apostles whose sole ministery is to glorify, by the force of a deductive art of logic, all that is ignoble and ugly in the life of their people. These apostles unconsciously clothe despair in the glittering garment of hope, undermine the traditional values of conduct and thus destroy the spiritual virility of those who happen to be

43) *Handwörterbuch*, s.v. Ahmadiyya; cf. S. E. Brush, *Ahmadiyyat in Pakistan*, MW 45/1955; K. Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret*, p. 249; cf. *Report of the Court of Enquiry*... 1954 (Munir-Report)

> their victims. One can only imagine the rotten state of a people's will who are, on the basis of Divine authority, made to accept their political environment as final. Thus all the actors who participated in the drama of Ahmadism were, I think, only innocent instruments in the hands of decadence... (SS 128).

Just as Iqbal remained deeply interested in this movement inside his own country, in the hope that Islam would emerge stronger and more purified from the difficult situation created by the tolerance of European powers towards the Ahmadiyya mission, so he carefully watched the reform movements in the neighbouring countries and especially in Turkey between which country and the Indian Muslims a certain sympathy existed since long. The Indian Medical Mission in the Balkan-War had created perhaps a stronger feeling of friendship between those two nations than between others. In the first decade of the 20st century a man like Ziya Gök Alp—trained in the French sociological school of Dürckheim, and endowed with an ardent love of his country and his religion—tried to promulge in the decaying Ottoman Empire his ideal of a new society, which should be Turkish-Islamic-Westernized, [44]) and Mehmed Akif, perhaps the most powerful poet of that time, advocated an Islamic revival and a reinterpretation of misunderstood and misused Islamic values in Turkey—his poems sometimes show a close similarity to those of the Indian reformist poets of whose activities he was well aware. [45])

In India, the situation had deteriorated by the social hardships that peasants and small workers had to undergo; the fact that the British bought Indian cotton, and, after spinning it in Lancashire, exported again the manufactured ware to India, created social catastrophes, and the members of both communities, Hindus and Muslims, were suffering under the economic pressure. Therefore the problem of Hindu and Muslim communalism was, till the beginning of this century, not

44) Cf. Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*; A. Fischer, *Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1922 (this book was Iqbal's source for his ideas on Turkey).

45) Mehmet Akif Ersoy was the editor of the orthodox reformist magazine *sebil-ar-reşad*, in which Said Halim Pasha's article *Islamlashmak* was published in 1918; his poems *Safahat* are of great power and partly show a wonderful mastering of Turkish language. On March 12, 1921, his poem *Sönme*... was accepted as Turkish National anthem by the Great National Assembly; the poet had, however, to leave the country since he disliked the nationalist course of politics which emerged shortly after the Independence-War.

of paramount importance. The communal tensions grew only after the partition of Bengal in 1905, an act which made Lord Curzon, then Viceroy, widely unpopular. One year later, the Muslim League was founded in Dacca under the leadership of the Agha Khan, and sent a deputation to the Viceroy. The aim of this body was "to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musulmans of India" without being directed against the British Government as such.

It was the time when, on Hindu side, Rabindranath Tagore's fame spread not only in his homeland Bengal but beyond the borders of India, and the deeprooted sympathy of Western Europe, especially Germany, secured his life- and loveful poetry wide popularity in the West, and he was regarded as a kind of living symbol for the religious powers of "Mother India", though in his first book *Naivedya* he had also foretold the disaster which awaited the chauvinistic West, and complained of the twofold thraldom of his unfortunate motherland—"to the boastful foreigner on the one hand and to the unreason and listlessness of her sons of the other".[46]) It was the time that Gandhi started his politico-social work among the Indian workers in South-Africa which provided him with the training for his later activities in his homeland. A remarkable revival of Hindu religious life, which had already started in the 19th century, was visible: there was the Ramakrishna Mission for which Sri Ramakrishna's pupil Vivekananda untiringly travelled all over the world in order to propagate his master's religious ideas as a remedy against the Westerner's lack of spiritual depth and their sheer materialism. Ramakrishna, too—whose name has been popularized in Europe by Romain Rolland—"opened the eyes of Indians who had for a time been almost blinded by the glare of Western civilization to the splendour of the firmament of the Spirit".[47]) There was Madame Blavatzky and her Theosophical Society which brought larger circles of Europeans and Americans into contact with Hindu-thought as she understood it, and there was, a few years later, the fascinating personality of Sri Aurobindo Ghose who, after his studies in Cambridge and a short career als politician retired, in 1909, for political reasons on French territory: in the Ashram in Pondicherry he elaborated ideas of human and cosmic development which can be compared, keeping in mind the different religious basis, to some of Iqbal's main ideas, though Sri Aurobindo advocates, as a true Hindu and mystic, the liberation from the Ego, and pure receptivity without autonomy, and also highlights the parapsychological achievements of the future Superman. Indian Buddhism, though existing only in a few places, also saw a revival under the influence of the contemporary Social Gospel which was becoming popular in Christianity and outside; the Buddha became interpreted not only as a social reformer but as the initiator of a religion higher than those of theistic type which were considered by Buddhist revivalists as connected with tyrannic imperialistic rule.

[46]) *Contemporary Indian Literature*, p. 22.
[47]) Id. p. 39.

The Indian Muslims did not fail to recognize the achievements of their Hindu countrymen, and also witnessed the predilection of the West for Hindu and Buddhist thought as opposed to Islamic religion. Yet, in the First World War a cooperation of both elements of the Indian population was unavoidable, and the noteworthy Lucknow-pact which was signed in 1916 secured separate Muslim electorates and a proportional number of seats in the respective provincial bodies. The Muslim-Hindu unity seemed to become a living reality in the dark days after the war, when, due to the movement of Civil Obedience of Indian population the British killed 379 Indians in Amritsar, among them members of both communities. Both agreed on Gandhi's principle of non-cooperation, and since the Muslims had, during the war, been forced to raise their weapons against their Muslim brethren, the Ottoman Turks, Gandhi and his coworkers tried to recompense them by partaking actively in the *khilāfat*-movement which now filled almost all Indian Muslims with enthusiasm.

The *khilāfat* idea had been launched actually by Jamāladdīn Afghānī who was in search of a political centre for the Muslims of the world. The theoretical basis for the rôle of a caliph was essentially not given; after the four so-called *khulafā'i rāshidūn*, the Righteous first successors of Muhammad, the caliphate had been taken over by the Omayyades (661-750), then, in 750, by the destroyers of their rule, the Abbasids; yet, already in the first half of the 10th century both the Spanish Omayyad prince ᶜAbdurraḥmān III and the leader of the North-African Fatimids laid claims to the title caliph for themselves. With the destruction of Bagdad in 1258 the last members of the Abbasid caliph-dynasty were slaughtered, and it is more than doubtful whether the person who sought shelter at the Egyptian Mamluk court

under the pretension of belonging to the Abbasid-house, was not a mere impostor. Anyhow, he and his descendants were kept by the Mamluk Sultans as a kind of spiritual patrons of Mamluk rule, and when the Ottoman Sultan Selim II conquered Cairo in 1517, he took with him the last member of this questionable family who is said to have conferred the rank of Caliph upon him. Through the next centuries, the Ottoman Caliph—then the ruler over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and most potent sovereign in the Islamic world—was commonly acknowledged as Caliph of the Muslims, and this title was interpreted for the first time in a purely religious sense in the treaty of Kuchuk Kaynardja of 1774 when the Turkish ruler as 'Caliph of all Muhammadans' was granted the right of looking after the affairs of those Muslims who had become subjects of the Russian government. [48])

Indian Muslims had always—already in the Middle Ages—"been paying at least lip service to the appeal of a universal caliphate, with a touch of political romanticism". [49]) The name of Sultan Abdul^{c}aziz was read in the Friday sermons in Indian mosques, but the claims of Sultan Abdulhamid to the caliphate as a means of his pan-Islamic interests were thought rather suspicious, and Sir Sayid Ahmad had expressedly rejected any spiritual jurisdiction of the Turkish caliph on Indian Muslims. But after the First World War, when the political views of the Aligarh group had somewhat deviated from those of its founder, and when Deoband had become a dynamic centre of Muslim freedom movement, then theologians and politicians like Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali approached the problem from another standpoint; thus the *khilāfat* movement became the first revolutionary mass movement of Muslim India. Abul Kalam

[48]) R. Hartmann, *Islam und Politik*, p. 76 ff.; H. Laoust, *Le califat dans la doctrine de Rashid Rida*, Beyrouth, 1938; M. Barakatullah, *The Khilafat*, London, 1924; A. Sanhoury, *Le califat*, Paris, 1926.

"As to India's relation with the caliphate, Muhammad Tughluq made frantic efforts to find out the new caliph—to pay him homage—after the massacre of the last Abbasid caliph at Baghdad. Yet Shah Jahan laid claims to caliphate which dignity was then claimed by the Ottoman rulers. As Prof. Massignon has brought into relief, the British promised the Ottoman Sultan to cause his name pronounced in Indian mosques on Fridays if he allowed free passage to British reinforcements through Egypt in 1857—this gain of several weeks proved fatal to the Indian revolt against the British" (information supplied by M. Hamidullah).

[49]) Aziz Ahmad, *o.c.*, 73.

Azad, who had created his wellknown religious paper *Hilāl* under the influence of Jamāladdīn Afghānī's *al-^{c}urwat al-wuthqā*, described in these critical days of post-war India, his tenets in the presidential address at the annual conference of the *jamā^{c}at ul^{c}ulamā-i Hind* (18.11.-1921) and summed up his Islamic ideals, contrasting them with the "servile imitation" of Europe in the period of the westernizing modernism. His basic views laid down in this address are:

> 1) that in the Muslim *sharī^{c}a* there is no distinction between this world and the next; 2) that the Muslims can deserve the title of Best-Community (*khayr al-umam*) only if they follow the Qur^{c}ān and the Sunna; 3) that the Islamic *sharī^{c}a* is the last and most perfect of all revealed laws; 4) that the decline of Islam has been due to the decline and suspension of *ijtihād*, and preoccupation not with the essentials but with the externals and minutiae of religion. [50])

Azad accepted the claim of a monarchic caliphate as the spiritual centre of Islam and intended to give this Caliph some viceroys in different countries; political loyalty was due to the Ottoman caliph who was however a temporal, not a spiritual leader.

After its climax in 1921 and the successful cooperation with the Congress Party the *khilāfat* movement suddenly broke down in 1924 when Mustafa Kemal and the Turkish National Assembly abolished the caliphate on March, 3 and the whole struggle in its present form proved outdated and useless. This shock led, to a great part, to frustration and difficulties in the camp of Indian Muslims from 1924 to the dawn of the Second World War. And after the cementing factor which had united the two communities in India had disappeared suddenly, the tensions between them, hidden for a few years, became gradually more visible. Iqbal wrote in 1923:

> It is a pity that in the Panjab the jealousy, no, rather enmity of Hindus and Muslims is growing. If it remains like that, then life will become difficult for both the communities during the next 30 years (M II 204).

Iqbal's fears proved right.

Different movements which aimed at consolidating the Muslim community and giving it new ideals, grew throughout the country: after the disaster of the *hijra*, the migration of tenthousands of Indian

[50]) Id:, p. 74.

Muslims to Afghanistan in 1920, the revolution of the Muslim Moplahs on Malabar coast constituted a new and dangerous feature of Indian Islam. [51]) At the North-Western frontier, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan founded in 1930 the nationalist and socially progressive group of the *khudāī khizmatgars*, the Divine Servants, and tried to unite the divergent Pathan tribes, advocating complete independence for India, and cooperating, after 1931, to the detriment of the Muslim League with the Congress Party. In 1930 the Group of *Aḥrār*—the Free Ones—was formed who proved a progressive party, both interested in Indian nationalism and the propagation of Muslim ideals, and strongly anti-British, a movement which was to play a very conspicious role in the Panjab riots of 1953. In the same year, 1931, the organization of the *Khāksār* was inaugurated by Muhammad Inayetullah Khan, known as al-Mashriqi (born 1888), a man who had received Western education and had been Principle of Islamia College in Peshawar, and who proposed a total revaluation of Muslim thought and ethics, holding that "Islam is action". He wanted to raise soldiers for God and Islam and so came to found this movement the members of which showed, in their brown uniform, carrying a spade on the shoulders, fatal similarity with synchroneous movements in Germany. Mashriqi has not hesitated to interpret Islam in the light of 10 principles built by himself relegating to the background of the classical five Pillars, i.e. attestation of God's Unity and Muhammad's Apostleship, ritual prayer, alms, fasting in Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca. Yet his movement gave a certain mental satisfaction to many young Muslims who were longing for a more practical outlook in life. [52])

Besides these organized groups, one has to mention the names of single personalities: there is the "firebrand agitator" Ubaidullah Sindhi, a convert from Sikhism, whose pertinacious attacks on imperialism and his unfailing influence on the Muslim villagers in Sind and North-Western frontier had made him dangerous enough for the British to send him to exile. He was—old pupil of Deoband—defender of a new social order, which he derived from the writings of

51) Cf. W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 265; he gives the numbers of refugees with 500 000-2 Mill., whereas Indian colleagues of mine did not admit more than 10 000 as highest rate.

52) Cf. Baljon, *o.c.*, about al-Mashriqi's way of interpreting the Qurʾān; the same, *A Modern Muslim Decalogue*, WI, NS III 189.

Shāh Walīullāh of Delhi, and which has deeply influenced modern Sindhi exegesis of the Qurʾān. [53])

There is also Abulᶜ Ala Maudoodi (born 1903) whom W. C. Smith has branded as "the most ominous representative of the trend back to religious conservatism", [54]) who has, through his fervent call to go back to the religious principles of Islam without caring for the criticism of the West won a rather large flock of followers, lately congregated under the name of *jamāᶜat-i Islāmī*, a counterpart of the Muslim Brethren of Egyptian origin, and has played an important role in discussions of the foundations of the Islamic constitution of Pakistan, and also in the Panjab riots.

Not to forget G. M. Parvez whose *ṭulūᶜal-Islām* movement with its strict renunciation of every source of wisdom, or means of communication between man and God except the Qurʾān is rather influential among parts of Pakistan intelligentsia.

These movements were the countermove of the activation of Hindu-organizations which did their best to bring back the Hindus to the sources of their culture, and among which the Sanscrit revival under the spiritual guidance of the Arya Samaj, and the Shuddi movement, emerging from there with the aim of leading former Muslim converts again into Hinduism, are worth mentioning. It was under these circumstance of growing communalistic tendencies on both sides that Iqbal, in his Presidential Address to the Muslim League Meeting of 1930, made the famous statement:

> I would like to see the Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Beluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government

53) W. C. Smith, *o.c.*, 252; M. Ashfaq Shāhjahānpūrī, *Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and his political thoughts and activities*; Ubaidullah Sindhi, who had been i.a. in close contact with the Russian-Turkish reformer Mūsā Jārullāh during his stay in Mecca tried to revaluate the philosophy of Shah Walīullāh and to build a system of Muslim-Hindu unity based on the essential monism (*waḥdat al-wujūd*); cf. Schimmel, *Sindhi translations . . . of the Qurʾān*.

54) Syed Abul ᶜAla Maudoodi, *Islamic Law and Constitution*, Karachi, 1955.—1932 he issued a monthly *tarjumān al-Qurʾān* (Towards understanding Qurʾān); 1940 he had published *Towards understanding Islam*, which was essential for the Muslim theology course of the Matriculation students of the Osmania University, Hyderabad; W. C. Smith, *o.c.*, p. 177 and index; cf. F. K. Abbot, *Maulānā Maudūdī on Quranic Interpretation*, MW 48/1958; the same. *The jamāᶜat-i Islāmī of Pakistan*; M. J. Faruqi, *Jamaᶜāt-i Islami, Pakistan*, Lahore, 1957; J. Windrow Sweetman, *View Points in Pakistan*, MW 47/1957, esp. 111 f.; *Munir Report*, and *An Analysis of the Munir Report*, transl. and edited by Khurshid Ahmad, Karachi, 1957.

> within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India... SS 12).

This "higher communalism" as he called it, seemed to be the best solution of the difficulties in a vast country like India (though, in this scheme, the preponderantly numerous Muslim population of East Bengal is not mentioned). That Iqbal did not judge from a hasty timebound point of view, is clear from a letter written in 1909 to a friend:

> I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country, and even now act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal, and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and the unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfilment (SR p. XXI).

In the following years, the communal difficulties, kindled i.a. through the British policy of patronizing sometimes this, sometimes that party, grew worse, but it still took several years until M. A. Jinnah—a member of the Shi'a community and in the beginning active member of the Congress party—, deeply struck by the fact that the votes for the Muslim League in the communal elections of 1936 had not resulted in more than 4,4 %, activated the League, and prevented double membership of Muslims in both bodies, Muslim League and Congress Party. Iqbal willingly lent Mr. Jinnah (—later on given the epitheton Quaid-i Azam—) his help in the consolidation of the Muslim Party. On March 23, 1940—two years after Iqbal's death—the creation of of an independant state of Pakistan was accepted officially as goal of the Muslim League. Seven years later, on 14.8.1947, India won her freedom—and was divided into Bharat and Pakistan.

This is, in very broad lines, the background on which came into existence the poetry, philosophy, and theology of Muhammad Iqbal who has, from 1915 onwards, helped to form through his poetical word the destiny of more than 90 millions of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent.

b) His Life

Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot in the North-Western Panjab; there are, however, some differences as to the exact date of his birth. The generally accepted view is 22 February 1873; but, in his thesis, the poet himself gives the date of 2 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1294/1876. Yet since the *hijra*-year 1294 begins only in January 1877, the 9th November 1877 would correspond to this *hijra*-date and this date would match also better with the different phases of Iqbal's life in College and University than 1873. [55])

Iqbal's family came from Kashmir; hence he often alludes to the fact that he is "a son of Kashmiri-Brahmans, but acquainted with the wisdom of Rum and Tabriz". [56]) His deeproted love for the ancestral country and his vivid interest in the Kashmir-problem are reflected both in his poetry — some of his finest lyrical poems being devoted to the description of Kashmir's spring, and complaining of her sad fate—and in his political life. [57])

His father, a small business-man, was probably illiterate, but a muslim of great devotion and mystically tinged piety, who urged his son to regular recitation of the Qur'ān, thus influencing his attitude throughout his life. As to the devout mother, Iqbal's love for her is reflected in the beautiful elegy he wrote on her death in 1914:

> Who would wait for me anxiously in my native place?
> Who would display restlessness if my letter fails to arrive?
> I will visit thy grave with this complaint:
> Who will now think of me in midnight prayers?
> All thy life thy love served me with devotion—
> When I became fit to serve thee, thou hast departed (BD 252 ff)

Among his teachers in Sialkot, Shamsul 'Ulamā' Mīr Ḥasan proved very helpful for the progress of the young student who attracted the interest of literary and religious circles very early. After having married, Iqbal went to Lahore in 1895 for finishing his higher studies:

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55) Jan Marek, *The Date of M. Iqbal's Birth*, Arch. Or. 26/1958; but cf. *Islāmī taṣawwuf aur Iqbāl*, p. 187. The title Shaikh is given in India to persons whose ancestors have been converted from Hinduism.

56) Kashmir-Rum-Persia, f.i. ZA 9; AK 1. 175, PM 203, 214.

57) Cf. Vahid, *Iqbal, His Art and Thought*, p. 265; SS XVIII-XXI. He was for a while President of the All India Kashmir Committee, and in 1909 he worked in the Anjuman-i Kashmīr-iMusulmān; cf. PM 155; J. Paradise: the scene with 'Alī Hamadānī and Ṭāhir Ghanī.

to the town which had been one of the spiritual and cultural centres of the country since the days of the Ghaznawids in the 11th and 12th centuries, and especially in the later Moghul period. In the College, the young scholar had the good luck to meet the famous English orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold who soon recognized his ability: the *nāle-yi firāq*, Complaint of Separation (BD 74), which Iqbal published in 1904, shows the deep affection he felt for his teacher who went, then, back to Europe. [58])

At that time, Iqbal was already wellknown through his Urdu poetry, and had displayed interest in world-literature. [59]) Poems like the *nāle-yi yatīm*, Complaint of the Orphan, which he had recited in the annual meeting of the *Anjuman-i ḥimāyet-i Islām* in 1899, and the Addressing of an Orphan the New Moon of the Fast-breaking, that was read one year later at the same occasion, were well received in Lahore. From 1901 onward he contributed to the journal *Makhzan*, which Shaikh—later Sir—Abdul Qadir, one of the important figures in Indian Freedom Movement, started issuing. The poet was, then, not unaware of his poetical talent and merits and complained of a critic who

> had wounded my innocent poems with the sword of his pen—may God give him his recompense! (M I 11, 1904).

Later on, however, poetry became merely an appropriate means of expression for his religious ideas, and he often mentions that he did not seek any artistic value in it—

> the goal of poetry is, to me, not to get fame and honour but merely to show religious convictions (M II 40, 1914).

Hence he did not even wish that poems pertaining to this preparatory stage of his life should be counted as his own work (M II 254, 1926).

In 1901, Iqbal published his first prose-book in Urdu, *ʿilm-i iqtiṣād*, Economics, a subject which seems to be wide of his later spheres of

58) Maulana Shiblī wrote at the same occasion a quatrain:
Arnold who came to this city and this land and went away,
Was a beloved who took us in his bosom, came and went away,
He came to the College just like the morning-breeze to the rosegarden,
And went so that one should say: Spring came and went away.

59) M. I 3, 1899 he wanted photographs of poets for a collection.

interest; its Urdu style was corrected by Maulana Shibli, the great historian and literary critic; for Iqbal's mother-tongue was Panjabi, and even in his later poetry now and then a Panjabi-inspired expression occurs. [60])

Both in Sialkot and Lahore, Iqbal studied Arabic, though some later critics have pointed out that he was not well acquainted with that language, criticizing his translations and quotations from the Qurʾān from the linguistic point of view. [61] But in 1900, he was MacLeod Reader in Arabic in Oriental College, Lahore, and he himself asserts in a later letter, that he had once devoted much time to his studies of Arabic and had still the right measure of its greatness albeit he had left it because of his other occupations. (M I 220, 1932).

At Government College Lahore, Iqbal taught philosophy for a few years, only interrupted by a short journey to Baluchistan where his elder brother was in the army (M I 5, 1903); then, in 1905, after a visit to the shrine of Niẓāmaddīn Auliyā in Delhi (BD 97) he left for Europe. He studied in Cambridge in Trinity College under the famous neo-Hegelian MacTaggart, and under James Ward; he also followed courses in jurisprudence. Atiya Begum, one of the first Indian Muslim ladies to travel abroad, has given a vivid picture of the young brilliant student of those days; she met Iqbal first in London and later in Germany where he went in June 1907 for polishing up his German. According to Atiya Begum he wrote even an examination paper in German on the subject of World History. [62]) The happy days of Heidelberg with its charming lady teachers are reflected in Iqbal's romantic poem 'Evening on the Neckar' (BD 136). Iqbal "was all for German knowledge", [63]) and his love of Germany did not fade till the end of his life. He would have liked to spend the last years of his life in Germany and Italy (M II 341, 1936), and as bitter was his criticism of the West in general, as affectionate was his love for the country of Goethe, Nietzsche, and Hegel.

From Heidelberg Iqbal went to Munich and submitted a thesis on

60) Cf. his article in *Makhzan*, Oct. 1902.

61) Qāḍī Aḥmad Miān Akhtar, *Iqbāliyāt kā tanqīdī jāʾize*, p. 108. In Garhiyasin I met in March 1961 a Maulvi who had once helped Iqbal—in the twenties—in translating an Arabic text and was still carrying with pride a certificate from Iqbal that he had done it well.

62) Cf. Atiya Begum, *Iqbal*, p. 19.

63) Id. p. 19.

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia to Prof. F. Hommel on November 4th, 1907, being excepted from the obligation to stay two terms in a university before being admitted to the doctorate (M II 228). His thesis for which he used some unknown manuscripts especially from Berlin Staatsbibliothek, is important for the history of religions, as an investigation of the history of Persian religious thought beginning from Zarathustra: the reader will meet this prophet again in Iqbal's later poetical work. The author was perhaps the first to draw attention on the works of Suhrawardī Maqtūl, [64]) whose importance for the history of Sufism has recently been brought into relief through H. Corbin's researches; the ideas of 'Abdulkarīm Jīlī [65]) on the Perfect Man and on the Ascension of the soul which are analyzed in detail in the *Metaphysics*, have influenced Iqbal's own concept of man's spiritual development; and he has put into limelight Persian theologians like Mollā Sadrā and Hādī Sabzawārī who were nearly unknown in Europe. [66]) On the other hand, the study shows a remarkable knowledge of European theology from Thomas Aquinas to Adolf von Harnack, and of German philosophical thought. However, the thesis is instructive not only for the orientalist interested in Persian thought, but even more for the student of Iqbal, because it can be considered a starting-point of his philosophy. Iqbal was, at that time, still under the spell of traditional Persian and Urdu poetry and its outlook on life which is close to pantheism and even looses itself completely in pantheistic flights. Hence his sympathy for Ibn ʿArabī, the leader of the pantheistic-monistic current in Islamic mysticism, hence his quotation of Hegel's appraisal of the pantheism of Maulānā Rūmī, the Persian mystical poet whom he later on choose as his spiritual guide in the way of theistic mysticism, and many other judgments which are exactly contrary to his mature ideas. Twenty years later, Iqbal held, therefore, that the book should not be translated into Urdu, because he had outlived most of the ideas

64) *Opera metaphysica et mystica*, ed. H. Corbin; cf. A. Bausani, *Persia Religiosa*, 228 ff.

65) Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, ch. 1; E. Bannerth, *Das Buch der 40 Stufen*.

66) About Mollā Ṣadrā Shīrāzi (d. 1640) whose ideas have been stūdied in Germany especially by M. Horten, cf. Bausani, *o.c.*, 392 ff.; Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1878) belongs to the followers of his theological thought; cf. E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, ch. CVI.

expressed in it. Notwithstanding this verdict there can be no doubt that the mystics who are discussed in the *Metaphysics*, and their religious and philosophical convictions have helped him to form his philosophy either in congruence with them, or out of a complete antithesis. And as a research work, the book is still worth studying. [67]

After having got his Dr. phil. from Munich, and having also visited Oberammergau with Atiya Begum, Iqbal went back to London, where he lectured in spring 1908 on Islamic topics, and returned to India in summer. The three years in Europe had opened new horizons to him. Though his knowledge of European philosophy was wide enough already in Lahore, the contact with European civilization impressed him deeply: comparing the achievements of European culture, he was apprehensive of the jeopardy with which the Islamic culture was confronted, and also understood the threat of imperialism perhaps more than those who had witnessed only its effects in their homelands. On the other hand, the visitor comprehended also the dangers which were lurking in the very inside of this European civilization: the growing pressure of socialist and communist ideas, the reaction of the capitalists on these menaces, the superficial hedonism of leading circles, and the widening gap between the ideals of Christianity—of love and altruism—and the daily life of the individual and the community.

These problems occupied his mind during the following years, and the quest for a remedy of the weakness of his people made Iqbal unquiet, threw him into a long crisis. He was, for a short while, part-time Professor of Philosophy and English Literature in Government College; and as he had been called to the bar, he soon left the professorship and concentrated on his work as a practicing lawyer.

Slowly his ideas took a new shape. During his stay in Europe, he had come into closer contact with the German vitalist philosophy, and there is no doubt that this Weltanschauung appealed very much to him, and helped him to discover a new approach to his own religion and culture, in rediscovering the original dynamism of Islam.

He had begun as a patriot in the Western sense; hence his anthem:

Our India is the best of all countries in the world—(BD 82)

but then he reverted to the Islamic notion of patriotism, and corrected himself in another famous anthem:

67) Cf. Bausani, *Muslim classical philosophy in the work of a Muslim Modernist*, p. 284.

China and Arabia are ours, India is ours,
Muslim we are, the whole world is ours
...
O water of the river Ganges, thou rememberst the day
When our torrent flooded thy valleys... (BD 172)

In a speech in Aligarh Oriental College in 1910: 'Islam, as a social and political Ideal', he reminded the audience of the past glorious development of the Islamic peoples, since he understood that

> the Indian Muslim has long since ceased to exploit the depths of his inner life.

Here, for the first time ideas are visible which crystallized, in the twenties, in the concept of a separate Muslim nationhood; and it is not without significance that these very statements of Iqbal have been included in the official British Census of India of 1911.
His 'Elegy on Golconda', written in the same year at the occasion of a visit to Hyderabad, refers to the fall of the Muslim kingdom of the Bahmanids and its importance for human history (BD 160).

In a letter to Atiya Begum (7.7.1911) Iqbal mentions new ideas for poetry, and a quotation shows that he has made attempts of writing poetry in Persian. After some smaller, but impressive, poems which sketch the ideals of the Muslim youth, Iqbal bursts out into the grand Urdu poem *Shikwā*, Complaint (BD 177), a prayerpoem of great power:

> Thou art used to songs of praise, now hear a note of protests, too!

Why, he asks, why are the countries of the infidels full of wealth and beauty? Why has God forgotten the faithful who cry day and night that He is the Greatest One, and who have been torchbearers of Divine Unity since more than 1300 years?

Be it so; bid us be gone, and let the earth belong to those,
Yet protest not that the earth of Unity is now bereft.
For no other cause we live but Thy remembrance to maintain;
When the *sāqī* is departed, can the wine-cup yet remain?

Why have the infidels got castles and houris already here on earth whereas the poor Muslims live only on hope of paradisic houris and castles? It is the same complaint which Ziya Pasha had uttered in Turkey some decades earlier, which Ḥālī had expressed, and which probably remained subconscious in the hearts of most of the Muslim intelligentsia.

But bitter as the complaint was, Iqbal himself found, about one year later, the *Answer* in a second great poem (BD 220): after his wild cry has pierced the heavens and disturbed angels and stars, God himself reveals the reason for the decadence of the Muslims: there is neither fire of faith left in their hearts nor Divine love; they have forgotten the love of the Prophet, have transformed their religiously founded unity into earth-rooted nationalism, and therefore have fallen a prey to the imperialists.

In this poem, the ideals which were now to rule Iqbal's poetry up to his death are expressed lucidly for the first time: the force of the all-conquering love of God and the Prophet, and the importance of genuine Islamic values for the strengthening of the personality. Little wonder that Iqbal felt grieved that some of his contemporaries did not yet acknowledge him as Islamic poet:

> Iqbal has shown the secret of real Islamic nationalism in a time when the people of Hindustan were still heedless of it (M II 365, probably 1913).

And later on, he opposed energetically the rumour that his Islamic poetry had developed under the influence of the *Hilāl*-movement of Abul Kalam Azad (M I 111, 1919).

Sometimes Iqbal was suffering under the pressure of daily work which did not give him enough leizure for pondering on his proposed poetico-philosophical work. He had married twice after his return from Europe, and had to do legal work

> for that is the demand of stomach... though I do not complain, for complaining is infidelity in our religion (M II 210).

Yet he found some consolation in the fact that two great German poets, Goethe and Uhland, had been in the same profession as he; but Uhland, he sighs, could write few poems because he continued his legal work (M I 108, 1919).

Notwithstanding the pressure of daily work, Iqbal found the opportunity of moulding his new ideas. It was to his friend Khwaja Hasan Nizami of the famous Nizami family of mystics in Delhi to whom he disclosed the existence of a new great work, written in Persian; he asked him to find a proper name for this poem (M II 368, 6.2.1915). His friend Shaikh Abdul Qadir had proposed the titles: Mystery of Life, Message of Sarosh, New Message, or New Canon (*āyīn*). Eventually its name was choosen *Asrār-i Khūdī*, Secrets of the Self,

and the book was published in the same year. It was written in the style and meter of Maulānā Jalāladdīn Rūmī's famous *mathnawī*, and, according to a family tradition, the great mystic had appeared to Iqbal in a vision urging him to write this poem in order to promulge the new way of life. Rūmī appears in this and all the following poetical works of Iqbal as his spiritual guide.

The *Asrār-i Khūdī* were a shock therapy for almost all of Iqbal's friends and admirers. One must think of the highly negative significance in Persian of the word *Khūdī*, Self, with its implications of selfishness, egotism and similar objectionable meanings. Iqbal gives this word a new meaning as Self, Personality, Ego in an absolutely positive meaning. But still, deepest dismay was caused by his new ideas: brought up since centuries with the idea of seeing in the Self something which has to be annihilated in the Divine Essence, the mystically inclined Indian Muslims could not easily accept a philosophy that taught them to watch over the growth of their personality, to strengthen it, instead of melting away in the highest bliss of union with the Only Reality. Iqbal held that the Indian Muslims had been corrupted by the influence of Persian pantheistic ideas, and had forgotten almost everything of true Arabic Islam and its ideals (M I 24); now he wanted to show here real Islam without veil. The accustomed ideals of self-surrender, of quietism, of languishing nostalgia were abandoned, and a new doctrine of the Self put forth: man is the vicegerent of God, he has to strengthen his personality, and to cooperate with his Creator. The reason for this unexpected attitude was Iqbal's conviction that

> religion without power is only philosophy. This is a perfectly sound proposition and this very idea has urged me to write a Mathnawī about this Truth. [68])

Spiritual and political power was required for the future of the slumbering Muslim nations: therefore the *Asrār* contains poignant attacks on Plato "the leader of the old sheep of idealism" and on Hafiz, the poet of alluring sensitivity and idle dreaming. That made the poem intolerable for those who were used to the classical models of thinking and writing. Iqbal himself knew:

[68]) *Tanq.*, 142.

> I have no need of the ear of today,
> I am the voice of the poet of to-morrow (AK 33 f.).

R. A. Nicholson who has introduced Iqbal's ideas into Europe, has pointed out in his introduction to the translation of the Secrets of the Self—an article which still belongs to the best ever written on behalf of the poet—that "Iqbal is a man of his age and a man in advance of his age; he is also a man in disagreement with his age" (p. XX). What the poet tried was nothing less than

> to sling from the saddle a deer that has not yet leaped forth from the convent of non-existence (AK 13 f.).

Quite natural that, in spite of a few admirers, a whole set of polemic literature rose around his poem, accusing the poet of unlawful pride and wicked egotism. Surely, there are passages which are open to misinterpretation, but in order to kindle a lively discussion, thoughts must be pointed out in the most acute way possible. And for Iqbal, it was not a mere academic discussion which he intended but a question of life and death for the Muslim nation. [69]) He had, indeed

> put his feet on a path thinner than a hair (PM 260). [70])

That was also the reason why he composed the *Asrār* in Persian, not in Urdu. He wanted the poem to be read and understood by the Afghan and Persian Muslims as well as by the Indian intelligentsia and by European orientalists. He apologizes for some possible artistic defects of the *Mathnawī*.

> I am of India, Persian is not my native tongue (AK 173).

But one knows from his correspondence with Maulana Sulayman Nadwi, the great scholar of Islamic subjects, how carefully he used to choose his Persian words and always found classical authors for the documentation of rare expressions and words (M I 80 ff.).

The *Asrār* wanted to unveil the Secrets of the Self, the rôle of the

[69]) C. A. Nallino has written in OM 1922-23, p. 191, that the *Asrār* are "un grido di riscorsa musulmana contro l'Europa, una manifestazione delle più ardenti aspirazioni dell'irredentismo panislamica" and has spoken of its "extraordinary and dangerous success" in India.

[70]) About the attacks on the *Asrār*, cf. *Tanq.*, 93, 144, 145 and Bibliography s.v. *Asrar*; but cf. *Tanq.*, 93 the words of ʿAbdur Raḥmān Bajnūri, that *Asrār* and *Rumūz* should be read and recited in all schools of Delhi, Kabul, Teheran, Cairo, Istanbul, Kazan, Mecca and Medina, and used in sermons in the mosque.

individual qua individual, whereas the second part of the *Mathnawī*, which was published two years later, is concerned with the *Rumūz-i bēkhūdī*, the Mysteries of the Not-Self, i.e. with the rôle of the individual in the Islamic community: as such, the booklet forms the basis for all discussions of Iqbal's social and political ideals. He himself wrote:

> It will be a source of amazement and joy for the Muslims because—as far as I am aware—the philosophy of the Islamic nation has never been put before the Islamic society in this form. [71])

Against the accusations brought forth by all those who felt injured by Iqbal's poignant criticism of traditional mysticism and his attempts of restoring the vigourous and pristine Islam, Iqbal writes, in 1922, that—though his life might not be that of a true Muslim—his heart is faithful and

> I swear by the Lord of Might in Whose hand my soul and honour is, and by that great and high being (i.e. the Prophet) through whom I have got belief in God and am called a Muslim, that no power in the world can prevent me from saying the truth, inshā Allāh (M I 206 f.). [72])
> I speak out what I consider to be the Truth,
> I am not the simpleton of the mosque nor the educated of the *kāfir*.
> Friends and strangers are alike displeased with me.
> Because I can never confuse poison with sugar.

He continued writing poems in both Persian and Urdu. In 1919 he intended to compose a *dīwān* containing lyrics in both tongues, under the title *Payām-i Mashriq*, Message of the East (M I 107). However, he eventually concentrated on Persian poetry for this proposed collection which was meant as an answer to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. As early as in 1920 the poet was sure that

> a translation of the *dīwān* will be necessary, because in it every side of Europe's intellectual life will be regarded, and it will be tried to warm a bit the cold thoughts and ideas of the West (M I 159).

This 'Message of the East' which was published at the end of 1922 is dedicated to King Amanullah of Afghanistan and includes some of

71) *Tanq.*, 152.
72) *Tanq.*, 175 ff.

the finest Persian poems Iqbal ever wrote. In the dedication the spirit of Goethe is invoked,—of

> the Sage of the West who was fascinated by the charms of Persia.

As an introduction, Iqbal has written a short history of the Oriental movement in German literature, mainly relying on the study of A. F. J. Remy. [73]) It is indeed remarkable that after the centuries old influence of Persian poetry on Western and especially German thought which culminated in Goethe and Rückert, we have here, for the first time, a genuine attempt of a qualified Eastern poet, endowed with wide knowledge of Western literature and thought, to respond to this poetical movement and enter into a dialogue with Europe.

The *Payām* starts with a collection of 155 quatrains called *lāle-yi Tūr*, Tulip of Sinai; then follows a group of poems in different forms, which, like the quatrains, outwardly seem to be close to classical models but contain the whole philosophy of life which Iqbal had developed in the *Asrār-i Khūdī*, though in a more lyrical form. The same holds true of the 45 *ghazals* of the third part of this book. The fourth and last chapter, Picture of the Europeans, gives poetical portraits or sketches of European poets, philosophers and politicians—some of them show the revolution which his philosophical ideals had undergone since he had returned from Europe (f.i. the characterization of Hegel).

Just as the *Asrār*, the *Payām*, too, found some grim adversaries, and in 1923 a certain Karīmuddīn Barq published in Amritsar a *payām-i āftāb*, in which he tried to outdo Iqbal's work which was to him a model of "mean mentality, self-praise, and ignorance of Persian literature" and was also "much too expensive". [74]) But the *Payām-i Mashriq*, on which again R. A. Nicholson wrote a most illuminating note in *Islamica*, Vol. 1, soon saw its second edition and is now perhaps the best known Persian work of Iqbal, which also quickly gained fame outside India. Mehmet Akif, the Turkish poet of Islamic revival, got the book when he came to Egypt, and he, whose ideas are often very close to those of Iqbal, writes:

> I compared the poet to myself. Iqbal, who has read the whole poetry

73) A. F. J. Remy, *The influence of India and Persia on the poetry of Germany*, Columbia Univ. Diss. NY, 1901.
74) *Tanq.*, 146.

of the great sufis which were brought up in the East and then, having gone to Germany, also digested well the Western philosophy, is indeed a very strong poet... In the *Payām-i Mashriq* there are very beautiful pieces and ghazals. One or two of his ghazals made me shout in intoxication. [75])

He gave, then, this book of poetry to ᶜAbdulwahhāb ᶜAzzām who later on was to become Egypt's Ambassador in Pakistan and has translated Iqbal's poetry into Arabic. [76])

One year after the 'Message of The East' had come out, Iqbal published a collection of his Urdu poems, from the beginnings—what he thought worth keeping—up to 1923, under the title *Bāng-i Darā*, the Sound of the Caravan's Bell. It is a book which shows clearer than anything else the spiritual development which had taken place in the poet's mind and had lead him from the traditional way of feeling, of longing and tenderness and from the skilful adaption of some English poems, to a new way of life. In the end one finds a small collection of short poems which criticize with unusual sarcasm certain socio-political evils. The title is, as always in Iqbal's works, most significant: the symbol of the caravan's bell occurs as early as in the Answer (*Jawāb-i Shikwā*) and is repeated in all phases of his poetry. [77])

My ringing cry has urged along the road
the throng who lost their way upon the plain (Lāle 140).

He identified himself with the bell which, at the beginning of the journey, awakes the sleeping pilgrims to lead them to the goal which is the centre of Islamic faith, the Kaaba in Mecca. Already Maulānā Rūmī had used the symbol, [78]) and Fayżi, the mystical poet at Akbar's court, sings:

I am the bell of the caravan
I am excused when I make noise— [79])

[75]) Letter of 8.3.1341/1932 in Eşref Edip, *Mehmet Akif*, 1943.

[76]) ᶜAbdulwahhāb ᶜAzzām, introduction to the Arabic translation of the *Payām-i Mashriq*, p. 2.

[77]) Cf. AK 1. 42, 73, 87, 144, 267; PM 2, cf. 219; AH 29; ZA I 67. One may perhaps even see in Iqbal's frequent use of the bell-symbol an implicit refutation of Hafiz' complaint in the famous 1. ghazal of his Diwan that there is no rest for the lover, every moment the bell calling to new journeys.

[78]) Our cry is like the bell in the caravan,
or like thunder's voice when the clouds are wandering,
Oh traveller, do not put the heart on any station,
that ye may not become sleepy at the time of attraction,
Diwān, ed. Fūrūzanfar, No. 304.

[79]) Husain, *L'Inde mystique*, p. 164.

expressing an idea which is concealed also in Iqbal's use of this symbol: that the prophetically minded spirit must proclaim aloud his ideas, shocking those who are slumbering in the "sleep of heedlessness".

At the same time, Iqbal was—as recently has been discovered—involved in the composition of an 'Urdu-course' for secondary schools (together with Hakim Muhammad Shuja BA) in which he has laid down his educational ideals and selected such pieces of prose and poetry as might stir the will to life in the children, and introduce them into the "Secrets of Self". [80])

In these critical years of Indian history, Iqbal's activity was mostly by his pen, since he did not like to interfere too much with political meetings etc.; only once in 1919 he mentions that he attended a meeting of the Lahore Muslims in which they decided not to partake in the celebration of Peace (i.e. the Allies' victory over Germany; M II 199).

In 1922, the British Crown conferred a knighthood upon Iqbal. [81]) During the post-war years, new and revolutionary ideas were fermenting the Islamic world. Iqbal had regarded the *khilāfat*-movement, which gave so much fervour to the Indian Muslims, and united them for a short time with the Hindus, as a means for strengthening the cause of Islam; but it unfolded later on aspects in which "no sincere Muslim could join for a single minute" (M I 158, 1928). Whilst the situation of the Muslims in India became rather confused, Iqbal followed the different movements outside his country with great interest. The Turkish experiments attracted his attention. The modernist movement of the Russian Turks, especially of Mūsā Jārullāh, who had contacted Muḥammad ᶜAbdūh in Egypt and visited India several times, was of interest for Iqbal; the Russian reformer, who has also cooperated with the energetic propagandist ᶜUbaidullah Sindhi, has visited Iqbal in Lahore in 1935, and stayed later on in Bhopal, where the Nawwab protected him against the British (M I 128, 1924; M I 198, 1936). [82]) The change in Turkey proper was partly welcomed

[80]) Khurshid Ahmad, *A rare compilation of Iqbal*, Iqbal Rev., July 1961.—In one of his letters Iqbal mentions that he had been asked to write the chapter on Urdu Literature in the Cambridge History of India (M II 73).

[81]) Cf. Vahid, *l.c.* p. 14.

[82]) About him, cf. M. R. Balaban, *Musa Carullah 1875-1949*.

by Iqbal, because Turkey was the first Islamic country to shake off the fetters of medieval mentality and had found a way of life of her own; partly the poet criticized sharply the reforms of Ataturk, since the country seemed simply to ape European manners and ideas, and to forget her glorious Islamic past.

In the discussion pro and contra Ibn Saʿud who had annected the kingdom of Hijaz in 1924, and had become thence ruler of the Holy Cities, Iqbal belonged to the admirers of the king who had again introduced the stern Wahhabite form of Islam in the homeland of this religion. A number of his countrymen condemned him because of these Wahhabi sympathies, and a learned theologian even issued a *fatwā* against "this unbeliever" because he had translated, in his youth, the Sanskrit-prayer, the famous Gayitri. Iqbal, confronted with such old-fashioned religionists, was of necessity in search of new forces which might enable the Muslims to a modern interpretation of their faith. [83]) The problem of *ijtihād*, of free research into the sources of Islamic life, Qurʾān and tradition, became of greatest importance to him, as it had been to Jamāladdīn Afghānī and his followers. Iqbal intended to write an article on *ijtihād*; and then thought of elaborating it in a complete book which he wanted to call 'Islam as I understand it' which should say that his "personal opinion may be wrong" (M I 46).

In the difficult situation with which India and the Muslims of the Subcontinent were confronted in the end of the twenties, Iqbal could not keep aloof from practical politics. In 1927, he was elected to the Panjab Legislative Council, and was also Secretary to All India Muslim League, from which post he resigned in 1928 because of differences of opinion especially in the question of provincial autonomy [84])—some authors have maintained that these activities were, essentially, not compatible with the lofty ideals he had preached in his poetry. [85]) Iqbal himself would surely have preferred to travel to Turkey and

83) Salik 130, a nice story of an old saint who did not admit Iqbal to his place because he had no beard, but after recognizing the great poet he run after him and asked him to enter his room.

84) SS III-IX.

85) Thus Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim*, and W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*. Quaid-i Aʿzam Jinnah, however, said in his speech on Iqbal-Day 9.12.42: He was a great poet and philosopher, but also not less than a practical politician (Tanq. 164).

Egypt, perhaps also to Persia, for studying the institutions of Muslim education in these countries; he was in correspondence with Muṣṭafā Marāghī, the modernist rector of al-Azhar, and Professor Khalid Khalil of Istanbul University. However, he could not overcome the financial difficulties and complains that

> the Muslim princes of India are absolutely unaware of the necessity and importance of spending money for the sake of Islam (M II 88, 90, 1929).

At approximately the same time, a new collection of Persian poetry came out, the *Zabūr-i ʿAjam*, Persian Psalms (1927) and it has been said that this book was dearest to Iqbal of all his literary products. A. J. Arberry characterizes the artistic standard of the book writing that

> Iqbal displayed here an altogether extraordinary talent for that most delicate and delightful of all Persian styles, the ghazal. [86])

The first part consists mostly of ardent prayer-poems, the second one again calls the slumbering people:

> Learn a new flight, learn a new sight . . .
> get up from your deep sleep . . . (II 19)

In the last part, Iqbal has followed the pattern of the *Gulshan-i rāz*, the Rosegarden of Mystery, a mystical question-and-answer-poem of Maḥmūd Shabistarī, a Persian pantheistic mystic of the early 14th century, now introducing the reader, in this New Rosegarden (*gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*) into his own philosophy of life, and of life-giving love.

During the same period the poet was deeply involved in the preparation of lectures for the Universities of Hyderabad, Madras, and Aligarh which he delivered at the end of 1928 and during the first weeks of 1929. His journey to South-India offered him the welcome opportunity of visiting Sultan Tipu's tomb in Mysore.

The lectures, which were published under the title *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (in later editions only: The Reconstruction...), are the philosophical essence of Iqbal's work. He wanted to represent anew Islam, and the title is likely to bear an implied allusion to the *Vivification of the Science of Religion*,

86) *Persian Psalms*, Introduction.

tion of Ḥallāj". [90]) From France he went to Spain, the country of the glorious past of Muslim culture, where the Mosque in Cordova inspired one of his most famous poems, [91]) and lectured in Madrid University, invited by Asīn Palacios whose researches on Islam and Divine Comedy had provoked a whole set of literature on the subject of Islamic influences on Dante's work. [92])

In Italy, Iqbal met Mussolini whom he has praised in a long poem, (BJ 202), but has changed his opinion later on—he saw in him devil and saint combined (M II 315, 1934) and though he imagined him as a hero first, he intensely condemned his attacks on Abyssinia, just as Nietzsche had regarded Napoleon as a synthesis of "Unmensch und Übermensch". [93]) (Pas 58, ZK 148). But in 1932, in his speech in All India Muslim Conference Lahore, he had still taken over his maxime:

> He who has steel has bread.
> I venture to modify it a bit and say: He who is steel has everything. Be hard and work hard. This is the whole secret of individual and collective life (SS 55).

It was at this occasion that Iqbal deplored the lack of political wisdom in the minds of the Muslim leaders, and proposed the formation of one political organization all over the country, which should raise a national fund for the needs of the Indian Muslims and also the arrangement of youth leagues—

> Let then the fire of youth mingle with the fire of faith in order to enhance the glow of life and to create a new world of actions for our future generations (SS 58).

In the same year of 1932, the indefatigable poet had published a new poetical work in Persian which he had dedicated to his son Javid and called *Jāvīdnāme*. Already in his student days, Iqbal had the idea to write a book in the style of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In some of his earlier works he has introduced Heavenly discourses; in 1916

90) Kind communication of Prof. L. Massignon dated 30.1.61.

91) Cf. also BJ 137 ff. Muᶜtamid's complaint in prison, and ᶜAbdurraḥmān I. The heroic figure of Ṭāriq who crossed the Strate of Gibraltar, has inspired several poems of Iqbal.

92) *La escatologia musulmana en la Divina Commedia*, Madrid, 1919.

93) E. Benz, *Der Übermensch*, p. 117.

he mentions a plan of an Urdu poem *Iqlīm-i khāmūshān*, The Land of the Silent—

> its intention is to show what dead people have done in this world (M II 173).

That was, essentially, not a virgin idea; other-worldy discussions are a common feature in world-literature, and the symbol of a heavenly journey was also widely used in Islamic mystical literature from early times. The longer Iqbal meditated on the mysteries of being and not-being, of time and eternity, of the glorious past and the still hidden but hoped for glorious future of the Muslims, the more his ideas crystallized into a new poetical work—

> It will be a kind of Divine Comedy and in the style of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*

he writes in 1931 (M I 216),

> and its preface will be most interesting, therein will be new things for India and Iran, perhaps for the whole world of Islam.

Iqbal was acquainted with the literature of Heavenly journeys as well as with Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and he was apprehensive of the good chance of expressing all his political and mystical views in a great, half-dramatic poem. He started—about 1930— collecting more precise informations about the character of the different spheres and planets according to the experience and speculations of Islamic mystics, for instance a *risāla* of Muḥammad Ghauth Gwāliārī dealing with the mystical aspects of the heavenly world, and a book called *sirr as-samā*, Mystery of the Heaven, by a certain ᶜAllama ᶜAbdul ᶜAzīz. [94]) He wanted to study these works not for scientific purpose but for learning

> what has been discovered, basing on religious experience, i.e. on spiritual vision or revelation and inspiration (M I 217).

The book which resulted from these studies, is indeed a most fascinating specimen of art. Written in Persian, it starts with a Prologue in Heaven and Prologue on Earth after the model of Goethe's *Faust*, and leads the reader to the meeting-place of Iqbal and Maulānā Rūmī

94) M II 373 ff., a group of letters directed to Maulvī Ṣāliḥ Chishti in the Niẓāmīya in Delhi.

who guides him—like Dante's Virgil—through the different spheres after having broken the spell of time, here manifested in the old-Iranian Time-God Zurvan. In the discussions that follow with the inhabitants of the spheres—which are sometimes conceived according to the classical astrological ideas, sometimes shaped in a very original way—the poet finds the opportunity to sum up his philosophical and religious ideas, and in these discussions with religious reformers like Jamāladdīn Afghānī and Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha, with so-called heretics like Ḥallāj and the Bahai-martyr Ṭāhira, with imperialists like Lord Kitchener, with traitors to their nations like Jaʿfar of Bengal and Ṣādiq of Mysore, with the great warrior-kings, or with the spirit of Nietzsche—in these discussions Iqbal not only displays an extraordinary knowledge of contemporary European philosophy and history of religions but also an amazing psychological insight. Only the *ghazals* that are sometimes inserted, interrupting the simplicity of the *mathnawī*-form, are not always consistent with the text, the reason is that all of them are taken from earlier poetical works, esp. from the *Zabūr-i ʿAjam*. [95]) Iqbal himself was fully aware of the importance of this work, and was sure that

> its translator will gain fame in Europe (M I 300, 1933).

In the *Jāvīdnāme*, the poet has taken the nom-de-plume *Zinderūd*, Living Stream (v. 514). [96]) This is significant since he has used the symbol of the stream very often for representing the prophetic genius: just as Goethe has regarded the message of Muhammad in *Mahomets Gesang* under the symbol of the river, so has Iqbal (who had translated this very poem into Persian, PM 151) understood this symbol as appropriate; and the never resting river which cuts its way through stones and mountains, and brings life to the whole country, has always been dear to him. [97])

In autumn 1933 (20.10.-15.11.) Iqbal was invited by Nadir Shah of Afghanistan to visit Kabul, and to discuss the problem of a new University; [98]) he travelled together with his friends, the great scholar

[95]) PM 188, ZA I 58, II 14, 21, 45, 52, 62.

[96]) Cf. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, about the "new name" in Hekhalot Mysticism; cf. also H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the visionary Recit*, and: *Le Récit d'Initiation*.

[97]) Cf. AH 154, J 1700 ff., Pas 30.

[98]) SS XXIV, XXV.

Sulaymān Nadwi, and Sir Ross Masood, grandson of Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan and then Educational Minister of the Nawwab of Bhopal.

Iqbal has described this journey in his small Persian dīwān *Musāfir*, (The Traveller), in which he extolls the Afghan ruler—who was murdered a few days after the Indian commission had left—and advises his son Zahir Shah in a long and touching poem: Afghanistan was, in his view, one of the few Muslim countries which had not betrayed their old tradition, where the glory of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the founder of Islamic rule in North-West India and destroyer of the temple of Somnath (Mus 27) and the spirituality of Sanāʾī, the mystic poet, are still alive. Together with the poem *Musāfir* a short Persian *Mathnawī* was published: *Pas che bāyad kard, ey' aqwām-i sharq*ʾ What is to do now, oh peoples of the East?, of which one admirer has said that it is the *"sūrat ul-ikhlāṣ of the Qurʾān in Pahlawī"*, [99]) i.e. a condensation of the contents of the faith and of Maulānā Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, since the poet repeats here once more his ideals of poverty and unity in glowing verses; he addresses the Arabs praising the great deeds of their ancestors under the spiritual leadership of the Prophet, but complaining that they, too, have been allured by the Westerners (p. 51), and he sheds tears on the feuds of the Indians (p. 43 f.).

Shortly after this visit to Afghanistan, Iqbal was invited by the Muslims of South Africa (M II 310) for lecturing, and Oxford University extended an invitation for the Rhodes Lectures in the same year of 1934 (M II 291). [100]) He chose his favorite topic 'Time and Space in Islamic Thought', but due to his failing health it was impossible for him to leave India. A mysterious illness of the throat which prevented him from speaking with loud voice, had started after ʿId-Prayer in a cold morning, and resisted all medicine. [101])

Notwithstanding this illness the poet persevered in expressing his Islamic ideals in new poems. He has symbolized himself in the poem *shuʿāʿ-i umīd* (ZK 105): though the sun is tired of struggling with the shadows, and will withdraw all his beams, one weak but courageous sunbeam remains for carrying on his work . . .

[99]) *Tanq*., 23.

[100]) He hoped for more invitations: in a letter in 1934 (M II 310) he writes: "From a letter from Germany it is understood that an invitation will come for me from Turkey".

[101]) Cf. the poem *Pas*, 68 ff.

1934 Iqbal took his son Javid to Sirhind for a visit at the tomb of Ahmad Sirhindi, and one year later he partook in the celebration of the 100. anniversary of Ḥālī's birth in Panipat. His relations with Aligarh University and the Jāmiᶜah Milliyah in Delhi were as close as ever.

His political and literary enemies accused him of being only a *guftār kā ghāzī*, a fighter with the word, without taking active part in the political strife of the country, or living up to his ideals; and later on, a critic like W. C. Smith has taken over these arguments and contrasted his individualist ideals with his lack of understanding of the simplest political and social problems. [102]) Iqbal—so runs the story—answered those critics:

> I am a musician, I sing, and you dance. Do you want that I should start dancing with you? [103])

But in reality, the tenser the situation of the minorities grew, the more involved he was in Indian politics. Therefore he cooperated during the last years of his life with Mr. Jinnah who now was to mobilize the Muslim League. Iqbal's letters to Jinnah show a deep responsibility for the Indian Muslims who had willingly accepted slavery and, moreover, split into parties and groups instead of co-operating:

> Why hast Thou made me born in this country,
> The inhabitant of which is satisfied with being a slave? (ZK 15).

He complains of certain politicians of his time

> Anow he carries on with the Church,
> At other times he is in league with temple-dwellers.
> His creed and his code is but bargaining,
> An ᶜAntara in the robes of Ḥaydar.
> Outwardly he displays concern for the faith,
> Yet inside he carries the thread of the infidels.
> Smiling with all, he is friend of none—
> Forsooth snake is a snake even when laughing (J 1315)

In the poems written at that period, Iqbal pertinaciously dwells upon the dangers which come from the West, and teaches the only

[102]) Thus W. C. Smith, *l.c.* 157 ff.
[103]) *Tanq.*, 139.

road which seemed to be open for the Muslim world: to go back to the Qurᵓān and to the beloved Prophet, to revive the glory of times past:

> Both art and religion come from the East,
> From our April rain comes the pearl in every shell (Pas 60).

In 1936, the Urdu collection of poems called *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, Gabriel's Wing, was published which contains, from the artistic point of view, perhaps the finest specimens of Iqbal's Urdu poetry, among which the Great Prayer in Cordova and the Discussion of Lenin with God are especially worth mentioning.

Already in the next year another collection of his Urdu poems followed which was dedicated to the Nawwab of Bhopal who had allotted a monthly pension of Rs. 500,— to the poet. Its name is again significant: *Ẓarb-i Kalīm*, the Blow of Moses: among the Islamic prophets, Iqbal had a predilection for Moses whose miracle of splitting the sea by his blow becomes here a symbol for the challenge he flings to the present civilization. The book is filled with bitterness, with harsh attacks against the loveless European civilization and educational systems—

> Do not expect the song of the harp in the battlefield!

The last part contains 20 *ghazals* under the name of 'The Thought of Miḥrāb Gul Afghānᵓ in which Iqbal lays down his ideas of tribal distinction and attainment of liberty draped in a language more likely to appeal to the Pathans of the North-Western frontier.

In spite of this activity in the field of Urdu poetry Iqbal himself expressed—in a letter to Maulvī ᶜAbdulḥaq, the Bābā-yi Urdu—the view that he has

> no capability of serving Urdu from the philological point, but my philological attachment to it is not less than my religious attachment! (M II 79)

At the occasion of the translation of his Lectures into Urdu, he has confessed that he had some difficulties in putting his philosophical ideas in the Indian language because he had been brought up under the influence of Western philosophy.

The last years of Iqbal's life were rendered more difficult by finan-

cial troubles; the treatment of his illness was rather expensive; and in May 1935 he lost his last wife, the mother of Javid and Munira, and it took him a while until he succeeded in finding a German lady for the education of the children. Perhaps the most severe blow was the sudden death of Sir Ross Masood in 1936 for whom he composed an elegy which culminates in a mighty hymn on the all-conquering power of Self. [104] In 1937 his eyes developed cataract, and he was nearly completely deprived of reading and writing. [105]

Some lines in the poems which were posthumously published show the despair which overwhelmed the poet at times. One of his greatest grievances was that he was unable to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and visit the Prophet's tomb at Medina. But this personal grief was only part of his distress about the destiny of the Indian Muslims. He apprehended the world-wide catastrophe to come, and was afraid lest his mission had not had any result. Therefore he compared himself to that flower which he loved most:

> The goods of my heart is the knowledge of pain,
> My part is the never-reaching complaint.
> In the dust of my grave the tulip will be nice:
> which is also silent and has a bloody heart (AH 15).

In spite of all these difficulties Iqbal never ceased planning new books: he wanted to publish a work *Aids to the study of the Qurʾān*, in which his personal interpretation was to be laid down; and since long he had thought of composing a work similar to Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* which should be called *The Book of a Forgotten Prophet*. As a lawyer, his special interest was concentrated on the problem in how far Muslim law was applicable to the present conditions, and he had already collected a bulk of material for a reconstruction of Muslim law. Maulana Maudoodi was invited to help him in the classification of the raw material during the last months of his life; unfortunately, the book—which would have been of paramount importance for the constitutional problems in Pakistan—has not been completed, and not even brought into a raw draft. [106])

Iqbal's New Year's Message which was broadcast by Radio Lahore

104) Vahid, *o.c.*, p. 188 ff. in translation.

105) A visit of Tagore in 1935 is mentioned M I 287; Pandit Nehru also visited Iqbal (cf. Sing *o.c.*, p. 157).

106) Maudoodi, *Islamic Constitution*, Introduction.

on January 1, 1938, reflects the deep disappointment of the thinker with the political development of the last years, the events in Spain, Abyssinia, Palestine, Germany, and he calls for a world-wide human brotherhood:

> Only one unity is dependable and that unity is the brotherhood of man which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise. Let us therefore begin the New Year with the prayer that God Almighty may grant humanity to those who are in places of power and government and teach them to cherish mankind (SS 222 f.).

In March, Iqbal's illness took a turn for the worse; in a last article he defended his ideas of supranationalism of Islam against Husain Ahmad Madani of Deoband, a Congress man. His last visitor in Lahore was H. H. von Veltheim-Ostrau with whom he discussed, as long as he could stand it, German philosophy. A few hours later, in the morning of April 21, 1938, the poet passed away—

> a true Muslim will welcome death with a smile. [107]

Strange enough that one of the Indian Muslim poets had discovered in advance the chronogram of his death in the poem *Musāfir* in the line

> *ṣidq u ikhlāṣ u ṣafā bāqī namānd* — (Mūs. 27)
> There remained no longer sincerity, purity and clearness,

the numerical value being 1357 h./1938. [108])

The wellknown scientific quarterly of Indian Islam, *Islamic Culture*, wrote in the obituary note:

> In mourning him we do not conceive of his death as that of a single man: we realize that something that appears in a nation perhaps once in a century, something that was infinitely precious in, and because of, its uniqueness, has been suddenly taken from our midst. The world of

107) Cf. Rumūz 190.

108) Vahid *o.c.*, p. 199; as far as I am aware it was Hafeez Hoshyarpuri, a well-known Urdu-poet of Pakistan and himself expert in composing *taʾrikh* (verses with numerical value), who discovered this.

> Islam is like a bleeding body from which a vital limb has been cut away at a time when it was needed most. [109])

But non-Muslims alike deeply deplored the death of the poet-philosopher, and Rabindranath Tagore, in an admiring sense of comradeship, used nearly the same expression as the Hyderabad Muslim journal had done when he said that

> Iqbal's death creates a void in literature that like a mortal wound will take a long time to heal. [110])

After Iqbal's death, a collection of mostly Persian and a few Urdu poems of his was published as *Armaghān-i Ḥijāz*; dispersed poems have been collected in the *Bāqiyāt-i Iqbāl* and other works.

The poet had to struggle during his lifetime against heavy odds: against British Imperialism, the encroachment of Western civilization, Indian narrow nationalistic concepts, and the lethargy of the Muslim intelligentsia and the common people. This constant struggle on different fronts has moulded some of the most important aspects of his work which cannot be easily separated from the outward conditions under which the poet-philosopher had to live. When he died, the situation not only in the subcontinent but all over the world seemed more hopeless than ever; Iqbal himself anticipated the war which was to break out one year after his death.

Ten years later Pakistan was established which has accepted Iqbal as her national poet and spiritual father; [111]) his simple tomb in front of the grand Badshahi Mosque in Lahore appears like a symbol of his deep attachment to the fundamentals of Islam, and may remind the visitor of that word of the Qurʾān which Iqbal used to quote with preference:

> Verily God does not change the situation of men unless they change what is in themselves (Sure 13/12).

109) April 1938,p. 127.

110) G. J. Candreva, *Iqbal and emergent Islam,* (hectographed manuscript which the author kindly sent me about 10 years back), p. 6. About Tagore's attitude towards Iqbal cf. the letter he wrote to Dr. Luma' who had found some similarities between him and Iqbal, a fact which he acknowledged very gladly (M I 7).

111) Lt. Col. Ferrar wrote, in 1932, about Iqbal's Pakistan-Project: "Here at least is a clear picture, but ideals are seldom fully attained. At least the leaders know their minds. Can they carry the masses with them? Yes, provided the masses take more generally to education... We can agree with the closing words of Iqbal's Presidential Address, Koran 5/104 Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided" (*Whither Islam,* 235 f.).

c) The Aesthetic Side of his Work

Iqbal's fame spread rapidly after his death, and his aspirations to be the "poet of to-morrow" which he had expressed so often in his work, were widely acknowledged in the following years. Starting from 1939—and even more in post-partition Pakistan—the anniversary of his death is being duely celebrated, and the leading papers use to issue a special supplement in Iqbal's honour every April 21st. [112]) One of his admirers has applied to him the verse which Jāmī wrote about Rūmī, alluding to the latter's famous *mathnawī-yi maʿnawī*, "He was not a prophet but had a book", changing it into the sentence "he was not a prophet but he did the work of a prophet". That would fit exactly into the ideal which Iqbal had put before himself as the goal of poetry:

> I do not imagine language as an idol which must be adored, but as a medium for expressing purposes (M I 56).

Thus he has, on several occasions, declared that he did not feel a poet in the traditional sense of the word. The high duty of a poet as he understands it, is repeated in most of Iqbal's articles and poems; already in the *Asrār* (ch. VII) the poet is compared to Khizr, the mysterious leader of Moses to the fountain of life.

> His thoughts dwell with the moon and the stars,
> He creates beauty and knows not what is ugly.
> He is a Khizr, and amidst his darkness is the Fountain of Life:
> All things that exist are made more living by his tears,

and Iqbal has dwelt intensely upon the glory of this "life-giving poet-prophet" and upon the dangers which arise from the work of those lifeless and deadening poets, whose songs are mere poison. Every art has to be devoted to the strengthening of human personality and na-

112) IC 1939/13 mentions the first Iqbal-Day in Hyderabad/Deccan, where i.a. Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqui gave a lecture on Iqbal's Philosophy of Death; Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, too, partook in the meeting; in Lahore a similar meeting was held. Two years later, the same magazine (IC, 1941/389) writes about the Iqbal-Day in Lahore: "Iqbal was described... not only as one of the greatest poets of the world but also a political prophet who first visualized the ideal of a separate Muslim State in India". It was the year after Muslim League had accepted the Pakistan ideal as their political programme.—A vivid impression of the large number of meetings on Iqbal Day 1962 can be gathered from the Pakistani newspapers of 21.4 and 22.4 1962, beginning with the message of the President.

tional and religious life. Therefore he attacks so bitterly what he calls "the arts of slavery", [113]) i.e. "purposeless" painting, music, sculpturing, etc. which—if performed only for the sake of aesthetic pleasure—seemed to be nothing but a kind of idle idol-worship, and he was of the opinion that a real Islamic Art was still to be born. In a short article "Our Prophet's criticism of contemporary Arabian poetry" Iqbal wrote in 1916—the time when the *Asrār* had just appeared:

> All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose (i.e. Life), and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings droosiness 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. [114])

In his condemnation of poetical art qua art Iqbal is in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'ān and with the sayings of the Prophet who had characterized the greatest artist among the pre-Islamic poets, Imru'l-qais, as leader of people towards Hell. The Sūra 26, surnamed *ash-shu'arā*, The poets, points to the dangerous art of the poets who are inclined to tell lies, and Goethe has, in the chapter on 'Mahomet' in his *Noten und Abhandlungen zum West-Östlichen Diwan*, taken up this Qur'ānic verdict in contrasting poet and prophet: both are seized and enthusiasted by one God, but the poet trifles his gift, enjoying it and making people enjoy it, whereas the prophet fixes his eye only on one specific goal and uses the simplest possible means for gaining it, preaching one single doctrine in order to collect the peoples around it like around a flag. That is exactly what Iqbal wants from his ideal poet.

And there is a second problem for the Muslim author. Islam has never produced a religious-aesthetic philosophy. Since all what is in heavens and on earth is bound to perish but God's face (Sūra 55/26 f.) the beautiful things of this world are never seen as a goal in themselves. Islamic art, in its most perfect examples, is that art which rises

[113]) cf. *Tanq.*, 103.
[114]) cf. also J 1168.

from religious roots: there are the mosques and the minarets, like stone-made cries "God is Great", there is the calligraphy in all its subtleties, developed for preserving the Qur'ān in a worthy appearance, and there is the decoration which, in the high times of Islam, displayed endless varieties of abstract arabesques that may be compared to the ghazal in poetry: arabesques which seem to be without beginning and without end, and which if applied f.i. to the wall of a mosque, may withdraw the visitor from his worldly environment and uplift him into the presence of God Who is beyond all forms. But that was not enough to develop aesthetics proper in Islam.

The perfect beauty of some masterpieces of Islamic art can be judged from the religious point of view—as inspiring awe and fascination—; the other side of the art shows quite a different aspect: H. Ritter has focussed the fact that non-religious poetry in Arabia as well as in other Islamic countries which sings of wine and love, enters with these subjects in the field of the religious interdiction, the *ḥarām*, and has therefore always been suspected by the religious leaders, [115]) one may remember the expression *nafth ash-shaiṭān*, 'expectoration of Satan', for erotic poetry, an expression which dates back to Muhammad himself. Mystical poetry, on the other hand, has tried to sing in many words the ineffable mystery of Union, and there exist mystical poems of unsurpassable beauty in all Islamic languages. However even in this field the formal element wins whereas genuine religiosity fades away, and there remains nothing but a spiritual play, "das Geistreiche" as Goethe has put it. The blending of mystical and profane meaning, the willfully used ambiguity of symbols, the stress on the pessimistic aspects of life which was in vogue in classical Persian and Urdu literature, the endless expression of languish, the hopeless sighs of the frustrated lover—all these were features of poetry (and in a wider meaning also of music) which appeared to a prophetically minded spirit like Iqbal extremely dangerous. He wanted literature to be optimistic (M II 56, 1918). This is also the reason for his criticism of Hafiz whose poetical art—if taken only as art—he highly admired but who

> did not sharpen the sword of the Self (ZK 127).

The same struggle which he launched against the favorite poet of

[115]) H. Ritter, *L'orthodoxie a-t-elle une part dans la décadence?*, p. 173.

Persian-speaking peoples in the first period of his work, he continued later on against what he regarded as denervating power of European lifeless civilization and education (ZK 155 and others).

Iqbal himself was not fond of out-door amusements, and therefore praises Islam which has, essentially, no amusements—

> no theatres, no music-halls, no concerts, and better so. The desire for amusement once satisfied soon becomes insatiable. The experience of European countries clearly proves this deplorable fact. The absence of amusement in Muslim countries indicates neither poverty nor austerity nor bluntness of the sense for enjoyment; it reveals that the people of these countries find ample amusement and enjoyment in the quiet circles of their homes... (SR 53).

He saw clearly, when exposing this simple and austere ideal—which has remained the ideal of millions of Muslims all through the centuries—how dangerous the impact of European amusements would prove for the younger generation, and it was unquestionable for him that none of the poetical arts, or music or painting, which were introduced from the West would be able to uplift people spiritually and morally. Neither from the West nor from among their own ranks a poet in the ideal meaning, an artist of high standard could be expected. And Iqbal writes, in his Foreword to the *Muraqqaᶜ-i Chaghtay*, an album of paintings of Abdurrahman Chaghtay:

> The spiritual health of a people largely depends upon the kind of inspiration that their poets and artists receive... The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his songs, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attila or Chengiz... [116])

It is interesting to note that Iqbal, as long as he talks about poets and poetry, acts like a prophet pouring his wrath over the useless devastators of individuals and peoples whereas, when preaching his religious ideals, he uses the classical literary forms, and expresses his thoughts in most sublime poetry, using the traditional symbols of his predecessors whom he otherwise so strongly attacked.

[116]) It is astonishing that Iqbal wrote the Foreword to this book of paintings since one would see in Abdurrahman Chaghtay's highly romantic pictures which draw inspiration from classical miniature style, rather a certain decadence than the freshness and vigour which Iqbal described as the goal of art. His most interesting statements about poetical art are found in his Letters to Dr. Luma (in M I); cf. also M II 371, about Poetry and Logical Truth SR 14.

Iqbal has, in his first Persian poem, quoted the famous couplet which opens Maulana Rūmī's *Mathnawī*,

> Hearken the reed,

but instead of symbolizing by the reed-flute the home-sick soul longing back for her eternal "reed-bed" as thousands of poets had done since Rūmī's time, he writes:

> Away from the reed-bed, the reed became happy,
> The music was released from its prison (AK 292 f.).

That will say that only longing and a never-fulfilled desire can awake an artist's creativeness. Similarly Iqbal says, a few years later:

> Don't be worried that the world gives not out its secret,
> For what the rose cannot say, the complaining bird can say it.

Iqbal has taken over, in both cases, an age old symbol, turning it, however, in an unexpected way: In the second verse the stress lies not upon the self-conceited flower, in its never-changing beauty (the rose had been for mystics of all centuries the manifestation of God's perfect beauty, [117]) but upon the plaintive nightingale who is made creative by love and longing—

> May the station of longing never be traversed! (ZK 126).

This way of dealing with the traditional symbols of Persian-Urdu poetry is very significant of Iqbal's poetical art—

> My object is a fresh meaning,
> It is allowed when I repeat something already said (PM 130).

Though Iqbal has condemned the official poetry which was in use in all Islamic countries, as "funeral of love and intoxication" (ZK 128), he has adopted the classical style in both his Persian and Urdu poems. Perhaps he needed strong bindings for the new ideas he was to put before his audience, and there is no doubt that the traditional forms wellknown to all his countrymen offered great possibilities for a gifted poet. Besides that (and this fact is often not realized by outsiders): the memorability of classical poetry with its strongly determined metres and its monorhyme is immense. There is a very peculiar art of reciting poetry in the East, and especially in the Indian

[117]) cf. Schimmel, *Rose und Nachtigall*.

subcontinent: the poem is recited, with or without a special melodious intonation, and every line is repeated once more either by the recitator himself or taken up by the public which listens untired for hours and hours, and learns easily by heart the new verses; the effect of a single well-said line can raise a large audience simply up to ecstasy. By writing poetry in the classical style to which Indian Muslims were accustomed, Iqbal could secure for his ideas a larger audience , and make them more well-known. That is also underlined by his use of symbols. [118])

The classical Persian—and consequently Urdu—poetry has worked out a long list of symbols which are used again and again, and which every poet has elaborated and sublimated according to his personal taste; it suffices to mention here Rose and Nightingale, Moth and Candle, King and Slave, the narcissus-like eyes, the hyacinth-like curls of the Beloved etc. All of them are repeated since centuries. Iqbal showed a strong predilection for contrast-pairs which are already common in classical use, but which he selected fromout his deep belief in the polarity of life: it is, however, not so much the moth and the candle or the rose and the nightingale which are found comparatively rarely in his lyrics, but abstract pairs like Love and Reason, *jamāl* (Divine Beauty) and *jalāl* (Divine Majesty), *faqr* (spiritual poverty) and Kingdom, *khalvat* (solitude) and *jalvat* (manifestation), or the historical figures of Abraham and Nimrud, Moses and Pharao, etc. [119]) These contrast-pairs form a typical part of his poetry and—inserted into verses with a metre which allows the hemistich to be split into two parallel halves—can be understood and memorized very easily by everybody. The same holds true for the standard types of historical figures whom Iqbal used as ciphers of the True Believer or Perfect Ego who braves all dangers: he has

118) About the symbolism in Persian poetry v. Goethe's *Noten und Abhandlungen zum West-Östlichen Diwan;* the Introduction of J. von Hammer in his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* is still readable; cf. also A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura Persiana,* and his *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan.*

119) A typical example is BJ 118:
The beauty (*jamāl*) of love and intoxication is *nai-nawāzī* (flute-playing).
The power (*jalāl*) of love and intoxication is *ḫīniyāzī* (independence)
The perfection (*kamāl*) of love and intoxication is the *ẓarf* of Ḥaydar (i.e. the capacity of the hero ᶜAlī).
The end (*zawāl*) of love and intoxication is the letter (*ḥarf*) of Rāzī (a commentator of the Qurᵓān).

chosen, in a very personal way, among the given elements of history besides the heroes of early Islam a number of princes who are well-known to all Indians (albeit, we must admit, not too much loved by them!) [120]): the reader meets often with Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, together with his slave Ayāz, these two lovers belonging to the traditional stock of Persian poetry; then, astonishing enough, Nādir Shāh of Persia, the destroyer of Delhi, and the Afghan warrior-king Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī whose victory over the Mahrattas in the third battle of Panipat in 1761 had endeared him to the Muslims—Iqbal has a certain predilection for the Afghans which made him even write an illuminating article on Khushḥal Khatak, the "father of Pashto poetry" and rebel against Aurangzeb's rule; Tipu Sultan of Mysore, the last independant South Indian Muslim ruler, [121]) became as favorite a diagram as the medieval Turkish princes Sanjar and Toghrul of the Seljukid house; yet, Iqbal has never transformed the great Emperors of the Moghul dynasty into prototypes of religious fervour, but has mentioned them only incidentically. And he has never used those similes which point at the outmost humiliation of man, f.i. the very common comparison of the lover's head to the ball in the polo-stick of the beloved's curl and similar expressions—that makes out the difference with traditional poetry. This peculiar kind of selectivity shows itself also in the symbols taken from nature: though Iqbal has written some of his most exquisite poems in honour of spring, and especially about springtime in his beloved Kashmir, he prefers one flower for expressing his ideals: it is not the traditional rose but the tulip which has inspired him to invent the most glowing images; this flower, coming fromout the darkness of its root, is for him the symbol of the Ego yearning for manifestation; it is like the flame

120) "The gardener tried the power of my song
He sowed my verse and reaped a sword" (AK 5).
Iqbal quotes f.i. Aybak, the founder of the dynasty of Slave-Kings in Delhi, Sūrī, the Afghan leader who destroyed the Empire of Ghazna; Ghori; cf. BJ 107, 137; and also Khushḥal Khatak Khan though he was the antagonist of the otherwise praised Moghul emperor Aurangzeb, and representative of Pathan nationalism (about Khushḥal cf. Bausani, *Letterature del Pakistan,* 324 f.; *G. Morgenstierne, Khushḥal Khan,* RCAJ June 1960; cf. BJ 206 and the quotation J 1640).

121) For Tipu Sultan cf. M II 89, 92, J 1581 ff., ZK 71 etc.; when the proposal came to call a military school after Iqbal's name, he himself expressed the wish to have it named after Tipu Sultan (M I 246) Now a warship of Pakistan bears the name of Tipu Sultan; another one that of Tughril.

of Sinai (therefore the title of his collection of quatrains, *Tulip of Sinai*) through which God spoke, and which is waiting for a Moses who might understand its secret; it is the martyr since pre-eternity in in its blood-stained shirt.

Then one finds the falcon, symbol of the free man—a bird which is often refered to in the lyrics of Iqbal's spiritual master Rūmī; the falcon admonishing its children is a common subject in Iqbal's poetry. There is also the fire-fly, thousands of which glimmer on the Canal Bank in Lahore in warm summer evenings: it, too, becomes the symbol of the Self:

> The speck of dust was vitalized by my burning song:
> It unfolded wings and became a firefly (AK 65 f.).

And there is the dew-drop which aims not at losing itself in the abysmal depths of the ocean of Divine life, as in traditional poetry, but which is

> storm-ridden like the ocean (AK 40)

and will rather become a solitary pearl than disappear in the waves.

These are some of the key-symbols which Iqbal has used in his poetry after his return from Europe till his death.[122]) At large, his poetry is, compared to the stylistic complication of other oriental poets, rather straightforward, and free from exaggerated symbolism or mere plays of words.

> Symbol and allusion are not suitable of this time,
> And I have not got the art of word-making (BJ 214).

As to the forms, Iqbal has, as we have already pointed out, never used free rhythms, but has remained, on the whole, faithful to the classical models of art; only in the *Payām-i Mashriq* he sometimes chooses freer forms which remain, however, bound by rhyme and rhythm. He has excelled in the art of *rubāʿī*, the quatrain, either in the classical rhyme scheme *aaxa* with fixed metre or in the more popular type *abab*, expressing in this poetical form—which had always been the vehicle of mystical or frivolous aperçus—sometimes ideas of great boldness.

As to the *ghazal*, Iqbal himself had written in his thesis:

> The butterfly imagination of the Persian flies, half inebriated as it were, from flower to flower and seems to be incapable of reviewing the garden as a whole. For this reason his deepest thoughts and emotions find expression in disconnected verses (ghazal) which reveal all the subtlety of his artistic soul (MP VIII).

Iqbal has, however, adopted the form of *ghazal* for most of his lyrics, which often are of exquisite beauty, and where, just as in classical poetry, the single verses can easily be taken as units, without losing their charm. It is, nevertheless, the dominating note of his philosophy of Self, which gives even the *ghazals* a certain unity and a persuasive power.[123])

The form which is most suitable for didactic purposes is the *mathnawī*, the distichs, for which Iqbal has accepted since his first attempt in this form in 1912 (*shamʿ aur shāʿir*, Candle and Poet, BD 201) the metre used by Maulānā Rūmī in his *Mathnawī*, a metre which was wellknown to everybody in the Persian-Indian world and which enabled him at occasions to insert into his own poetry original verses of Rūmī, or distichs which he slightly modified.

In the so-called *sāqī-nāmes*, again in distich-form, the poet invokes the cupbearer to bring fresh wine and then turns to the burning issues of his poetry: the development of personality, the lifegiving force of love, and Islamic ideals and political problems.

Is has always been a problem for the orientalist whether or not one should take the poetical expression of an Oriental poet as a true reflection of his own experiences, or whether the traditional form has so completely veiled the peculiar ideas and personal circumstances of the writer that is is sheer impossibility to examine his "spiritual development" or to reconstruct his life from his work. Can the work of a poet been taken literal when he uses antiquated symbols and confines himself in the traditional hedge of the prescriptions of metre and rhyme?[124])

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122) A symbol-index of Iqbal's work is lacking until now; the first attempts of classifying his poetry according to aesthetic views have been made by Dr. Syed Abdullah in several Urdu articles which are collected in his book *Iqbāl kī maqāmāt*.

123) cf. EJ IV 1113 (Urdu); *Contemporary Indian Literature*, p. 302; "He rose with the mastery of a genius and gave the ghazal a new turn... By the Midas touch of his genius he turned to gold all that he wrote and enlarged the frontier of poetic expression by suggestiveness."

124) Cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Läßt sich die 'seelische Entwicklung' des Dichters Hafiz feststellen?*

Iqbal himself answered a young man who had asked him the meaning of his allusions to Timur, the grim destroyer of Muslim civilization, as a symbol of life-power:

> The appeal to Timur's spirit does not mean to quicken the *tīmūriyāt*; but its intention is to awake the Turks of Central Asia. The allusion to Timur is simply a style for explanation (*tabyīn*), and it is not right to think this allusion as the real view of the poet (M II 315, 1934).

This explains the poetical use of rulers like Nādir Shāh as diagram for life-power, and the poet's own sentence contains also an objection against too literal an interpretation of many of his poems.

But, as we pointed out before, Iqbal did not feel himself a poet in classical sense—

> I have no interest in the art of poetry, but I have some special intentions for the declaration of which I have chosen the way of poetry because of the state and traditions of this country (M I 195, 1935).

Iqbal's poetry, notwithstanding his negative opinion of artistic values as such, is generally of a very high standard, and sometimes he reaches a height of beauty and intensity which is rarely found even in classical lyrics. However, the comparatively small number of poetical symbols he used, and the untiring repetition of one and the same basic idea throughout a period of nearly 30 years, further the complete absence of any personal allusion to erotic subjects make him indeed more an exponent of prophetical thought than a poet in the classical sense. Whilst even the poetry of Maulānā Rūmī is filled with the intense glow of his personal attachment to his spiritual beloved Shamsaddīn, and later Ḥusāmaddīn Chelebi, Iqbal is concerned only with his doctrine of Self and his strife for the new life of Islam in India. Around this centre of gravity turns his whole poetry, and with the single-mindedness typical of the prophetic mind he uses every occasion to preach these doctrines (poetically!), and to hammer them into the mind of his people.

For his own poems it is true what he writes in 1930 to a young friend, that a poem should not be dissected from the aesthetical point of view but judged according to the effect or the impression which it leaves in the human heart (M II 372). Art is living only in so far

as the poet or any artist has poured his heart-blood into it. In both of his great Urdu-collections he has highlighted this fact:

> (The material) may be brick or stone or the harp or the letter of the sound:
>
> The miracle of art is the result of heart-blood.
> A drop of heart-blood makes the stone a heart,
> From heart-blood are sound and burning and joy and melody (BJ 129),

and:

> From the blood of the architect are constructed
> The tavern of Hafiz and the idol-temple of Bihzad (ZK 131),[125]

an allusion to the wine-lyrics of Hafiz (which are, in any case, taken here as symbol of a perfect work of art) and to the miniature-paintings of Bihzād, the greatest of classical Persian miniaturists. "To draw one's picture with one's own blood" (AH 123) was Iqbal's ideal.

He has never ceased to represent the poet in his highest destination: he should be the seeing eye of the people (BD 53), a man

> who apprehends the melody already from the trembling of the chords (PM 232),

i.e. who is endowed with the vision of the future, a future which he is to search and to create himself:

> The nature of a poet is entirely searching,
> he is the creator and the cherisher of wishes.
> The poet is like the heart in the breast of the nation,
> a nation without a poet is like a heap of clay (J 363),

and Iqbal continues in this strain of thoughts, after having condemned the art which makes peoples blind and deaf and devoid of creative ness:

> If the object of poetry is, to make men,
> then poetry is the heir of prophecy (J 365).

If it bears the message of eternal life it is like the song of Gabriel,

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[125]) Cf. ZK 117, 112. Hafiz and Bihzad, otherwise condemned as models of perilous traditional art and seductors of people are taken in verses like this as symbols of highest power of expression—that shows the ambiguity of symbolism which sometimes can be met with in Iqbal's poetry.

the angel who brought inspiration to the Prophet, or the cry of Isrāfīl, the angel announcing resurrection (ZK 133).

Iqbal's ideal of poetry may be compared to that which Rudolf Pannwitz, himself philosopher-poet, has written down as his ideal:

> Jede große Dichtung ist aus der Zeit und zugleich mehr als die Zeit. Sie ergänzt die Zeit, enthebt ihren unentfalteten Keimschichten das, war ihr mangelt, was die Zukunft bringen soll und das, was ewig gilt. Sie ist ihr Spiegel, ihr Richtschwert und ihr Sporn. Damit ist sie nicht passive, sondern aktive Geschichte, Geschichte mitbewirkende Prophetie. Es ist kaum möglich, das Maß ihrer Wirkung abzuschätzen, da sie selten geradezu Ereignisse hervorruft, immer in deren halbdunkle Ursprünge, die Seelen hinabstößt. Dort verwirklicht sie, was noch nicht vorhanden ist oder auch nie vorhanden sein wird. Und zwar als heilige Triebkraft, welche alte Wirklichkeiten vernichten und neue schaffen kann. Sie befreit damit die Zeitgenossen von dem Druck ihrer Zeit, deren sie nicht Herr werden. Denn sie, die große Dichtung, entfesselt in ihren Seelen einen produktiven Prozeß, der stärker ist als jede Gegenwart und es vermag, ihr die Zukunft zu entreißen oder entbinden. 126)

Poetry as active history and history-making prophecy, that is the supreme goal of Iqbal's aesthetics.

d) His Religious Motives

Thirty years ago, Lt. Col. Ferrar wrote in the Work "Whither Islam" (p. 204 ff.) about Muhammad Iqbal:

> The strength and fervour of his love for Islam as an ideal which if fully realized should suffice for man's every want in this world and the next...

and continued:

> His wide reading and his poetic temperament have created in his mind so attractive and so inspiring a picture of the simplicity, the force and the appeal of early Islam that his main preoccupation centres round a return to that simple creed in order to regain what he believes Islam to have lost.

Indeed, the religious motif is the axis on which Iqbal's whole system of thought revolves, and which is reflected in his poetry

126) R. Pannwitz, *Beiträge zu einer europäischen Kultur*, p. 202 (Der Dichter und das Zeitgedicht).

as strongly as in his prose writings, though he was interested in a wide range of subjects. Religion, philosophy, and theology ask the same questions about the destiny of man, and these three forces are blended together in Iqbal's work. But he himself has expressed already on the first page of his Lectures where his basic interest lay:

> Religion, in its more advanced forms rises higher than poetry. It moves from individual to society. 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.

Religion is described thus as a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as nations (SS²/IV). Iqbal has tried in both poetical and philosophical ways of expression to manifest his ideal of religion as a force

> which means to find one's Self (Mus 7)

or, as he says in the end of his Lectures (L 198):

> The end of the ego's quest it not emancipation from the limitations of individuality, it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and re-made by continuous action.

Activation of individual and community, that is for Iqbal the meaning of religious experience.

In his Lectures he has analyzed in great detail the mystic and the prophetic type of religious experience, with a strong predilection for the prophetic type as that which bears fruitful results in daily life. He has never denied the irrational background of religious phenomena in general and of Islam in particular, in contrast to many of his contemporaries who tried to interpret Islam in a purely rationalistic way as a reasonable religion perfectly compatible with Western science, and whose theology was devoid of the numinous element—

> I do not want anything from philosophy nor from the Molla:
> That is death of the heart, and this is destruction of thought and vision (BJ 101),

or, again:

> Truth, revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring (L 179).

Imān, faith, is defined by Iqbal as "the vital way of appropriating the Universe" (L 109)—far away from both the blind acceptance of given traditional religious forms and the merely rationalistic approach to the central problem of life, the relation between man and God. We cannot but admit that this way of interpretation of religion is much more in tune with the original Islam with its overwhelming feeling of the omnipresence and omnipotence of the living God than a rational explanation which has been—and is still being—given by many defenders of Islam against Christianity. Not the fact that Islam was more "reasonable" than Christianity and that its God could be described in the scholastic definitions of catechism as learnt by heart by every boy, proved, for Iqbal, the real greatness of his own religion, but its dynamic, life-giving character which he proved out of the Qur'ān in a sometimes very personal way of exegesis.

Iqbal was fully aware that

> before one throws a critical view on my word it is necessary to become acquainted with the Islamic truths (M II 214).

And he was also not unmindful of the fact that Islam, in his time and in his country, had acquired traits completely alien to its original simplicity, that the Muslim had even out-hindoed the Hindus:

> I am sure that, if the Holy Prophet would appear once more and teach Islam in this country, then the people of this country would not be able to understand the Islamic truth due to the existing conditions and behaviours (20.1.25).

Indeed, the situation of Islam in India had deteriorated very much. Life was spent mostly in the blind acceptance of accustomed symbols which were taken erroneously for reality, a situation which led to fundamentalism, whereas these symbols—be it the creed, be it the traditions about the life of the Prophet—had become void of their true religious significance. The task for Iqbal, and his fellow-reformers, was to come to a re-interpretation of the traditional symbols, so that the outworn forms were filled again with life. And that was possible only through participation in that power which once had given birth to the symbols: through the religious experience of the God of the Qur'ān thanks to which, then, a re-actualization of religion could be expected.

The poet had once made mention of the "four deaths" which threaten the Islamic world of today: the sufi-shaikh, the molla, the moneylender and the governor (J 180). That is what Iqbal aimed at saying in his Open Letter to Pandit Nehru:

> They (the reformers) found the world of Islam ruled by three main forces and they concentrated their whole energy on creating a revolt against these forces:
> a) Mollaism. The *ulamā* have always been a source of great strength to Islam. But during the course of centuries, especially since the desctruction of Bagdad, they became extremely conservative and would not allow any freedom of *ijtihād*, i.e. the forming of independent judgement in matters of law. The Wahabi movement which was a source of inspiration to the nineteenth century Muslim reformers was really a revolt against this rigidity of the *ulamā*. Thus the first objective of the nineteenth century Muslim reformers was a fresh orientation of the faith and a freedom to re-interpret the law in the light of advancing experience.
> b) Mysticism.—The masses of Islam were swayed by the kind of mysticism which blinded actualities, enervated the people and kept them steeped in all kinds of superstition. From its high state as a force of spiritual education, mysticism had fallen down to a mere means of exploiting the ignorance and the credulity of the people. It gradually and invisibly enerved the will of Islam and softened it to the extent of seeking relief from the rigorous discipline of the law of Islam. The 19th century reformers rose in revolt against this mysticism and called Muslims to the broad daylight of the modern world. Not that they were materialists. Their mission was to open the eye of the Muslims to the spirit of Islam which aimed at the conquest of matter and not flight from it.
> c) Muslim Kings. The gaze of Muslim Kings was solely fixed on their own dynastic interests and so long as these were protected, they did not hesitate to sell their countries to the highest bidder (SS 132 f.).

Among these four it was especially the molla, as representative of the accustomed lifeless religion, and the shaikh whom he attacked violently from the first to the last of his life. Molla is for him the representative of the traditional way of those who learn by heart meticulously texts and juristic decisions which they themselves do not understand, and who impose upon people innumerable religious and ritual prescriptions without knowing their inner meaning. The theo-

logical hairsplittings in which they indulge—whether the Mahdi will come, and what will be his attributes—are nothing but a welcome opportunity for the devil to blindfold the power of Islam (AH 227).[127])

There is no *zamzam* spring in the sand of their Hijaz (AH 65), their teachings, though they pay lip-service to the Arabian homeland of the Prophet, lack the life-giving fountain of faith, and they are deprived of the realization of God's beauty and might in their prayers (ZK 16). Since they are only concerned with the chains of traditions which they transmit from generation to generation (AH 49), they ignore religious spontaneity, being restricted on *khabar*, traditional hearing, as opposed to *naẓar*, the vision, and their way of interpretating the Holy Writ is such

> that a nation will die therefrom,
> that the fire in their heart will freeze (Pas 41),

nay that even God Himself, His messenger-angel Gabriel, and the Prophet would be taken aback when seeing how they have misunderstood the Divine prescripts! (AH 102)—It is worth mentioning in this connection that the great reformer Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan, in his commentary of the first Sūra of the Qurʾān in his explanation of *al-maghḍūbi ʿalaihim* 'those upon whom is wrath' does not follow the traditional way of relating these words to the Jews, but sees in this group of sinners the old-fashioned mollas![128])

Iqbal himself was deeply faithful to the obligations of religious law yet did not want to cut off these prescriptions from their emotional roots; the ritual actions should be offsprings of loving obedience, not a matter of convention and tasteless duty. (J 681 f.:)

> The true religion has sunk lower than irreligiousness,
> For the Molla, though faithful, is branding people as infidel
> ...
> He appreciates not the wisdom of the Prophet's teaching,
> His firmament is dark being starless,
> Shortsighted, crude and an aimless wanderer,
> His harangues disrupt the community.

127) M II 231 (1932): "The traditions concerning Mahdi, Messiah, Mujaddid are of Iranian origin and have nothing to do with the Qurʾān" (letter in connection with the Ahmadiyya movement).

128) Baljon, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, p. 208.

> The religion of the unbeliever consists of planning for Holy War
> The religion of the Molla is creating trouble in the name of God.

Iqbal was convinced that the traditional molla would gladly declare him (i.e. Iqbal) an unbeliever (as it had been already done because he had translated the *Gayitri* into Urdu!), and he admits that his adversary, from his point of view, would be completely right (AH 100)—thus in his verses he reflects the eternal strife between the conservative and static priest and the dynamic prophetic spirit which forms an inborn element in the history of religions.

But it should not be forgotten that Iqbal's attacks on the molla by no means constitute a first outburst of this feeling in Islamic poetry; since centuries, mystics and lay poets had taken the orthodox scholar as most appropriate goal for their attacks against clumsy bookish wisdom and lifeless traditionalism; it suffices to go through a few poems of Hafiz or those poets who are under his influence and the same struggle with or derision of the mollas are not only commonplace in higher Persian, Turkish, and Urdu literature but also in the songs of the popular mystic poets through all centuries: Indian mystical songs—like those of Iqbal's countryman, the Panjabi Bullhē Shāh, or of Sachal Sarmast in Sind—blame and ridiculize with preference the molla through whose ruthlessness the real lovers of God are sentenced to death (allusion to the execution of Ḥallāj) and who does everything to trammel true religious life.[129]) Iqbal, who advocates an intoxication by action, accuses the molla of being intoxicated by talking, but also the mystic who is drunk by the climax of mystical states (ZK 35).

The mystic orders and congregations which had, in olden times, done so much in keeping the warm faith living in constant strife with the dry and cold ritualists—these mystic orders, too, are likewise an object of Iqbal's wrath, and he writes that

> today one will scarcely find any more ignorant Muslim than the mystical leaders (M I 231, 1938):

it is one of his last letters that contains this sad statement. The art of exercising unbelievable influence on the hearts of their ignorant

129) Cf. the verse of Dārā Shikōh (in: *ḥasanāt al-ʿārifīn*):
Paradise is there where no Molla exists,
Where there is no argument and turmoil with him
quoted by B. J. Hasrat, IC, 1951, p. 52.

murīds (M II 179, 1917) and of keeping a large number of believers under their spell without giving them substantial spiritual help as did the Pirs of old, constituted an immense danger in the under-developed areas of India and other countries—this perilous influence of the derwish-orders was also one reason for Ataturk's abolishing them in Turkey in 1925, and orthodox circles in Islam have always objected the enormous credit given to living and dead saints by all parts of the population.

On the other hand, the sufi shaikhs were mostly defenders of the pantheistic philosophy, the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* which had spread all over the Islamic world and had changed the ideal of Islam deeply (cf. p. 8). The great mystical systems in Islam emerged in 13th century, the century of the Mongol invasion which culminated, for Islamic history, in the fall of Bagdad in 1258 and the destruction of the Abbasid caliphate. One is inclined to see in the chain of great mystics and divines which lived in that very century—from Thomas Aquinas and St. Francis, Mechthild and Meister Eckhart in Christian Europe, Maulānā Rūmī, Ibn ʿArabī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Yunus Emre, Muʿīnaddīn Chishtī, Bahāʾaddīn Zakariya Multānī and many other mystics in the Islamic environment, Ramānuja, the new interpreter of the Vedanta in Hindu India, Honen, Shinran, and Nichiren in Japanese Buddhism—one is inclined to see in all those religious personalities a kind of spiritual counterweight against the political disaster of the Mongol storm which reached as far as Germany in the West in 1244, in the East up to the coasts of Japan in 1274.

But Iqbal regarded the monistic philosophy as one of the main causes for the material and spiritual decline of the East since the 13th century: misunderstood *tawakkul*, trust in God, deteriorated into an inactive quietism which accepted the evils of this world as sent by God and therefore inevitable: that was, according to him, the result of the monistic interpretation of the Muslim creed. [130])

The dumbness and worldliness of some of the so-called spirituals is attacked in the most aggressive way in the famous quatrain (AH 20)

> A poor starvling of pupil said to his shaikh:
> God is not aware of our state—
> He is nearer to us than our jugular vein,
> But not nearer than our stomach!

This is the reverse of the pantheistic doctrine which had relied in numberless verses of more or less famous poets on the Qurʾānic word (Sūra 50/16) that God is nearer to us than our jugular vein...

> Our spiritual guides owe their distinction to white hair,
> and are the laughing-stock of children in the street.
> Their hearts bear no impress of faith in God,
> But house the idols of sensuality.
> Every long-haired fellow dons the robe of mysticism,
> God save us from these traffickers in religion.
> Day and night they are travelling with disciples,
> Insensible to the needs of community.
> Like the narcissus they have eyes, but without sight;
> Their breasts are devoid of spiritual wealth.

These shaikhs have even yielded to European influence (Pas 29) because they are ignorant of the spiritual glory of Islam.

Just as the cry to go back from Christianity to the unspoiled message of Christ has been heard in Europe, Iqbal wants to abandon the Muslimism and return to real Islam (ZA II 56).

However, he saw the lamentable weakness of faith not only in his own correligionists but also in the followers of other religions—

> neither firetemple nor mosque has remained in Iran or in Arabia (ZA II 75).

Christians and Muslims alike have misinterpreted their respective religion (ZA II 30), and as far the modern Muslim is from the synonym of prophetic monotheism, i.e. from Abraham, as far is the non-Muslim from Azar, the prototype of idol-worshippers (AK 1265)—in East and West living faith has disappeared.

Sometimes more faith may even be found in non-Muslims than in Muslims—Iqbal's poetry shows a certain admiration for the venerable Brahman who is invited to live worthy of his Brahmanic thread (AK 1258) and who, at least, spends all his power for carving the sculpture of his god out of a stone (AH 137).

> Infidels who live like Muslims surely merit Faith's reward,

was written in the *Jawāb-i Shikwā*.

A religion which does not animate in its followers the fire of life deserves indeed to be called opium for the people (J 992), and the

130) A most important introduction into Iqbal's Islamic ideals is his letter to Maulvi Zafer Ahmad, M I 201 ff.

great danger of mollaism and quietistic mysticism is that they convert Islam—even this dynamic religion!—into a sleeping pill instead of using it for setting free the creative forces of the musulmans.

In his youth, Iqbal had noted down:

> The more you reflect on the history of the Muslim community, the more wonderful does it appear. From the day of its foundation up to the beginning of the sixteenth century—about a thousand years—this energetic race (I say race since Islam has functioned as a race-making force) was continually busy in the all-absorbing occupation of political expansion. Yet in this storm of continuous activity this wonderful people found sufficient time to unearth and preserve the treasures of ancient sciences, to make material additions to them, to build a literature of a unique character, and above all to develop a complete system of law—the most valuable legacy that Muslim lawyers have left us. (SR 73).

But he soon understood that this was the story of past centuries, and that in the present age "the Indian musulmans, charmed by decadence, have started to think their murderers their educators" (M I 37, 1916), i.e. they have given themselves completely to the Western system of thought. As much as Iqbal himself was interested in Western thought, philosophy and poetry, and has even advocated, like Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan, for some time the British rule over India until the people should have matured for political independence, as much he detested the outward glittering of civilization which was blindly imitated by the Easterners who did not understand its spiritual background.

> 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 (L 7),

and he addressed his countrymen:

> You have reconciled yourself to the slavery of the West—
> My grudge is against you, not against the West (ZK).

Yet the meaning of the concept "West" is not clearly comprehensible from his work—as little as from the works of his contemporaries in all parts of Asia. It might either be the historical adversary of Islamic power in which position the West stood in the Middle Ages, or Europe which had formed cultural values distinguishing it

from the widely common medieval civilization which remained prevalent in large parts of the Islamic world, or it might be the West of the Enlightenment period which developed the concepts of Human Rights, or the 19th century-Europe which was reduced in the eyes of India on its imperialistic aspect. And it might even be the West which issued a rather uniform conglomerate of civilization in which the cultural peculiarities of all countries slowly got submerged. The last two aspects of the West seem to be the most important ones in Iqbal's work, and "West" often becomes a mere cipher for everything opposed to the ideals of true religion in the widest sense of the word, what Grunebaum has called the "mystical" and "comfortable antithesis of the Spiritual East and the Material West".[131]) Iqbal was sure that

> as a political force we are perhaps no longer required; but we are, I believe, still indispensable to the world as the only testimony to the Absolute Unity of God. Our value among nations, then, is purely evidential (SR 13).

This idea has been repeated also in his letters, and he thought that, in spite of their political weakness, Indian Muslims

> can be very helpful for the Islamic nations from the intellectual point of view (M I 148, 1926).

In order to keep the Islamic ideals living in the country, a new organization of Indian Muslims was required (SS 56), and Iqbal was very keen on founding a trust for the benefit of his Indian correligionists (M II 348 ff, 1931).

But as important he considered the political organization for the

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131) Cf. Grunebaum, *Islam*, S. 235 note 138. It sometimes seems as if the old mystical-philosophical concept of the soul which is exiled in the "terrestrial occident" (i.e. the interpretation of the West *gharb*, in connection with the concept of loneliness, being exiled, *ghurba*) be visible through Iqbal's picture of the West. Corbin has underlined the importance of this 'occidental exile' in Avicenna's and Suhrawardi's mystical philosophy, and the idea of the East, *sharq*, as the country of illumination is not only common to the just mentioned thinkers but also to Indian mysticism; it suffices to read Kabir's words on the *pūrabī*, Eastern language (cf. Vaudeville, Kabir), or the verses, even whole chapters, on the wandering towards the spiritual East in Sindhi Muslim poetry (Shāh Laṭīf, *Sur Pūrab*). The comparison may look far fetched, yet it may be that these traditional ideas have helped the modern poet to express the contrast beween East and West in an unusually sharp form.

revival of Indian Muslims and as highly he was interested in bridging the gap between the different Muslim groups in the country (M II 388, 1931), he was even more interested in the organization of a scientific platform for a new understanding of Islam which might bar nuisable foreign influences. In a most interesting letter Iqbal has drawn the scheme for an Islamic faculty at the University of Istanbul (M II 272 ff). In the same light his advices for the construction of a university at Kabul must be judged. [132])

He complained of the lack of interest of Indian Muslims in scientific matters (M II 375) and was convinced that

> the creation of a chair for Islamic research on modern lines in the local Islamia College (i.e. in Lahore) is the crying need of the country (SS 249, 1937).

He has even exchanged correspondence with the rector of the Azhar in Cairo, the famous modernist Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, and discussed with him the idea of an Islamic cultural centre in Panjab (M I 251). He anticipated the danger of a spiritual conquest of the East by European ideas (M I 148, 1926) because there was no opposition to be expected: neither the modernists who were educated completely under British system, unmindful of their own inherited cultural values, nor the traditionalists who were ignorant of both the real meaning of European civilization and of the contents of their own cultural heritage would be able to offer resistence to the sway of Western influences—

> How low and mean from the spiritual point of view are those Muslim youngsters who have read in the Western colleges! [133]) (M I 242), 1933).

Iqbal recognized the problems with which the Islamic world was confronted—problems more serious to face than the invasion of the Mongols in the 13th century, because this time the adversary was equipped with the highest possible achievements of civilization. He knew that new ideals, and a new political orientation were needed. The remedy for all the evils of the present age he found in Islam: [134]) here was the religion which had preached fraternity, humanity and equality long before these ideas were known to the West; here was a religio-political system which taught the unity of all human beings, and is a corrective to the nationalism which spreads all over the world just as to capitalism and communism; it was a system in which state and church cannot be separated—an aspect of Islam which seemed to Iqbal of outmost importance, and which he wanted to preach to these religious leaders who were to gather at Pakpathan in May 1931 for the anniversary of Bābā Farīd, the famous medieval Panjabi mystic (M II 393). He was sure, however, that it would be useless to try to preach further the Islamic faith to a nation which had accepted the ideals of political nationalism instead of those of Islam (M II 240, 1937, directed against Turkey).

There was not the slightest doubt for Iqbal that

> fascism, communism, and all the isms of this age are nothing real. In my conviction only Islam is the one reality which can become the medium of salvation for human beings from every point of view (M II 314, 1934).

Yet, it is noteworthy that he did not preach a political Pan-Islamism as Jamāladdīn Afghānī had done. For him, Pan-Islamism was not a political but a humanitarian ideal—this "unnecessarily long phrase" was nothing but Islam seen from the point of view that it

> as a society or as a practical scheme for the combination not only of races and nations but also of all religions does not recognise the barrier of race and nationality or geographical frontiers (SS 204)

though he deplored, in earlier poems (BD 172 ff.) the fact that Muslims are dispersed in different political units—

> dispersed like stars in the world (AK 1637).

Iqbal did not ignore that in a country like India where the Muslims formed a minority and were neither united nor politically mature the realization of Islamic ideals would be extremely difficult. He

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132) Cf. also the very interesting letter to Sahibzade Aftāb Aḥmad Khan (M II 212) about the organisation of Islamic scholarship; also SS 205, 170.

133) Cf. AH 82.

134) That Iqbal was not restricted to the acknowledgment of one special interpretation of Islam, is evident from the praise he bestows on the Agha Khan (M I 169, 1933); he also defended his truely Islamic ideals against Pandit Nehru who had doubted if the Agha Khan represented the solidarity of Islam: "He is obviously not aware that however the theological interpretation of the Ismailis may err, they believe in the basic principles of Islam" (SS 144).

had already noted down in 1910 about the evolution of religious ideas that

> there are principally three stages in the development of a community: 1) the attitude of scepticism towards traditional religion—a revolt against dogma,
> 2) but the need of religion as a social force of great value is at last felt; and then begins the second stage—an attempt to reconcile religion with reason.
> 3) This attempt leads necessarily to difference of opinion which may have awful consequences for the very existence of a community. Difference of opinion, if not honest (and unfortunately it is generally not honest), must lead to utter desintegration. The Musalmans of India are now in the third stage; or, perhaps, partly in the second, partly in the third. This period in the life of our community appears to me to be extremely critical; but I am glad that there are forces of a different nature at work which have a tendency to preserve the solidarity of the community—though their influence, I fear, will be only temporary (SR 58).

Fifteen years later he complained of the dearth of genuine leaders, who might rescue the Muslims in this critical period of transition, these Muslims

> who are now, from the intellectual point of view, in the state of Europe in the time of Luther; but in the Islamic movement there is no personality as leader (M I 143 ff., 1924).

Iqbal welcomed every attempt of fresh interpretation of Islam, he longed for the birth of a great personality to revitalize the dying social organism (SR 70), and it is touching to read his letter to the leader of the *Jamʿiyyat Shabbān al-muslimīn,* the Muslim counterpart of the YMCA which had been founded in November 1927 in Egypt with the aim of helping the expansion of Islam, and had got a considerable group of adherents, especially in Egypt, when somebody was sent for opening a branch of this organization in Calcutta in 1931:

> I had seen in a dream that a black dressed army was riding on Arab horses; I felt that they were angels. As to me the explanation of this dream is that in the near future a new movement will appear in Islamic countries. The meaning of Arab horses is the spirit of Islam (M II 252).

Since Iqbal hoped that in spite of the degeneration and decadence

of the mystic leaders of Islam in India there might be some younger heads of orders who might have possibly inherited the spiritual greatness of their ancestors, he even proposed to Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi to call an assembly of the young Pirs from the Panjab and Sind in order to discuss the issues of Indian Islam at stake and

> to preserve that tree which had formerly blossomed thanks to the work of their ancestors (MII 384, cf. M I 222, 1937).

But this idea was never realized.

Iqbal himself has described in many a verse the ideal Muslim, the member of the society to come: the ever truthful, ever fearless heir of the Prophet was the man he dreamt of, and whom he tried to shape through poetry and philosophy; the Muslim who should be able to rule himself by means of the Islamic law once given and yet eternally valid, to rule the world as vicegerent and coworker of God, to realize highest freedom in his state of being God's servant, and who should practice tolerance not out of weakness but because he is sure of himself.

The poet was aware that it was a difficult task to become a Muslim in this sense of the word—he himself reminds his reader in the *Jāvīdnāme* (J 1122 f.) of the story told by Maulānā Rūmī about the Magian priest who did not embrace Islam because he saw before him the example of his neighbour, the great mystic Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī, and was afraid that he never would reach these heights of the living faith.

> When I say 'I am a Muslim' I tremble, because I know the difficulties of the witness: "There is no God but God"! (AK 81).

From this basis we may interpret Iqbal's doctrine of God and man, and show how he understands the contents of the Muslim Creed, and the Five Pillars of Faith.

CHAPTER TWO

HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE FIVE PILLARS OF FAITH

a) There is no God but God . . .

The simple faith of Islam is based on two propositions—that God is one, and that Muhammad is the last in the line of those divinely inspired men who have appeared from time to time in all countries and all ages for guiding mankind to the right way of living. If,

> as some Christian writers think, a dogma must be defined as an ultra-rational proposition which, for the purpose of securing religious solidarity, must be assented to without understanding of its metaphysical import, then these two simple propositions cannot be described even as dogmas; for both of them are supported by the experience of mankind and are fairly amendable to rational argument (SS 117 f.).

One can apprehend Iqbal's whole set of religious ideas as a commentary of the simple words of the creed, and Kenneth Cragg is no doubt right when he thinks that Iqbal's work "represents an attempt to express anew the fundamentals of Islamic faith in terms of modern thought", and that he expresses "the meaning the *shahāda* has come to hold for some modern Muslims". [1])

Indeed Iqbal has built his system—as far as we can call it a closed system—upon the principle of *tauḥīd*, the acknowledgment of the absolute uniqueness of God which is reflected in the unity of individual life, and the unity of religio-political groups:

> The new culture finds the foundation of world-unity in the principle of Tauḥīd. Islam, as a polity, is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. 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 (L 147).

A decade before he wrote these lines he had given the following title to a most important chapter in the *Rumūz*, (p. 195 ff.):

[1]) Cragg, *Call of the Minaret*, p. 64.

> The ideal of the Muhammadan *ummah* (religio-political community) is the preservation and propagation of *tauḥīd*

an ideal which recurs in all his poetical works, down from the *Bāng-i Darā*. [2]) The principle of Divine unity becomes, at the same time, a formative factor for the unity of mankind (cf. J 1654, Mus 10).

Phenomenology of religion acknowledges different types of monotheism and accepts that the confession of Divine unity relies on different propositions: [3]) there is, f.i., the secondary monotheism in which, starting from polytheistic tendencies, at last theological speculation comes to understand that one single reality underlies all the varied manifestations which are called deities, and reaches the conclusion to explain the manifold gods and goddesses only as functions of the One Divine Being; this type of monotheism may also result from mystic experiences in which the seeker finds himself united with the profoundest depths of the Divine, and regards, thus, the deities only as emanations from the Most high indivisible Essence; or in prayer man chooses one out of the great number of gods and turns towards him in faith and trust as if only he be effective; or different deities become united for purposes of cult and rite or as a result of the political unification of two peoples with different objects of worship. But this kind of monotheism which is characteristic of the ancient religions of Egypt, Babylon, India, etc., is always deductive; it does not make a clear cut between the One and the many, and admits the existence of deities besides the Highest Being. It was only the prophetical experience in Israel (plus Christianity) and in Islam, which realized the overwhelming uniqueness of God besides whom all those whom man might have adored until then were Nothings, and which cannot tolerate the worship of any other than that God who reveals Himself in the individual life and in history. Mystic monotheism may include all forms of reality because there is nothing existent but God and everything is a part of His life; but prophetic monotheism is always exclusive—that is why the majestic Thou shalt not ..., that is why the negation in the beginning of the Muslim creed: *lā ilāha illā Allāh*—there is no God but God.

This formula of the creed forms a favorite pattern in Iqbal's poetic-

[2]) *Sham*ᶜ *aur shā*ᶜ*ir*, BD 216.

[3]) F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, p. 456 ff.

al work. It becomes the symbol of the strength and power of Islam; it is indeed, with him, Islam in a nutshell. Starting from the *Asrār*, where the poet announces

> we have honour from *lā Ilāh* (AK 1607),

he continues throughout his life singing the glory of these words which are

> the turning point of the world, and the end of the work of the world (R 161),

thanks to which heaven marches more quickly and sun is sound on his way (alluding, here, to God in his aspect as creator and sustainer of the visible world). These words are

> the material of our mysteries

through which life grows stronger (R 106, cf. 139). Every movement, every burning and every joy in life comes from this creed (Pas 64); but the same formula becomes also "the sword in the hand of the real believer" (Pas 34): by repeating it, and by realizing its proper meaning—i.e. the absolute rule of God—man is saved from all that may turn away his eye from the Lord or may lead him astray (cf. Mus 20). The beginning of the creed is like the chain armour which protects the faithful from all danger which surround him (BJ 131).

But Iqbal complains—addressing the ritualists and scholastic theologians—that the word of *tauḥīd* has become eventually but a question of scholastic hairsplitting (ZK 18). The meticulous disputations about the essence or the attributes of God which fill voluminous books have turned away the interest from "practical Islam" and are, according to the poet, one of the causes of the deplorable stagnation of Islam—Muslims are no longer alive to the simple fact that bare 'unity of thinking' without 'unity of action' is immature and useless (ZK 18). Against these theoretical applications of the word of Unity he protests, and calls to the living experience of Divine Unity which will beget practical unity too.

> Whosoever knotted the *Lā ilāh illā Allāh* into his mind,
> Has left the fetters of school and Molla (AH 143),

or, in a more satirical strain:

> The free man does not possess anything except the two words *Lā Ilāh*,
> But the jurist of the town is (as rich as) a Qārūn in Arabic dictionaries (BJ 50).[4])

Qārūn, the Biblical Korah, is famous for his wealth of which he had made no practical use: in his likeness is the learned scholar who is in possession of a large library on Arabic topics and yet does not grasp the inner meaning of the confession of faith (cf. also Mus. 17). But whosoever has understood the inner meaning of this confession of Divine unity, "sun and moon will move according to his wish" (Pas 15), i.e. he will attain the spiritual stage of complete freedom from everything but God and look upon the world from quite a different angle: since he is obedient to God all things will be obedient to him.

Examples of the creative *tauḥīd* are, in Iqbal's imagination, Muslim mystics of old, like Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī or Abū Dharr,[5]) or builders of nations like the Seljukid rulers Toghrul and Sanjar (J v. 1821).

Besides its purely religious significance, the credo *lā ilāha illā Allāh* has an importance in the realms of art and also of mystic poetry which can scarcely be overestimated. In the Arabic script its alternating letters *alif and lā*—two letters with vertical stems— ا ل ا ل ا —form a wonderful basic pattern for every kind of decorative ornamentation of the formula which is, of course, found wherever Muslims have reached, and in both minor arts and architectural inscriptions these weighty words have been ornated with so intricate and bewildering interlacing ornaments that an uninitiated would scarcely imagine that the essence of Muslim faith is concealed behind them. On the other hand the rhythmical wording of the formula has made it the typical *dhikr* of mystic circles which can be repeated hundreds of times, either in solitude or in congregation, often connected with breath control or rhythmical movement.

The contrast between the two parts of the sentence 'There is no God—but God' has, from early times, often attracted speculative

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[4]) Quoted also in SS 223, against Husain Ahmad Madani, a congressman and follower of Gandhi; about him cf. W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam*, p. 252 f.

[5]) About Bayezid (d. 874) cf. H. Ritter, *Die Aussprüche des Bayezid Bistami*; cf. also R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism sacred and profane*, s.v. Abu Yazīd. Abu Dharr belongs to the famous companions of the Prophet and has become a model of ascetic piety; many traditions show the love the Prophet had for him; cf. A. H. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Abu Dharr. Anawati-Gardet, *Mysticisme*, p. 23: "Un socialiste avant la lettre."

minds who discovered not only a strictly dogmatic meaning but also a deeper mystical truth in the confrontation of the *lā* and the *illā*. The great Persian mystics like Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār have made use of these contrast-pairs, and Maulānā Rūmī apologizes in one line for his way of using symbols and allusions reflecting to the creed:

> When I say 'lip' then I intend the lip of the sea—
> When I say No the intention is But (Math. I 1759)

and Jīlī writes a variation of the creed in his verse:

> When they say No I say But her beauty
> When they say But I say Her loveliness is radiant! [6])

Indian Islam inherited this poetical and mystical use of the formula from its Persian masters. Under Aurangzeb, the heretic Jewish convert to Islam, and bold poet Sarmad was accused of reciting only the first part of the creed, *lā ilāh*; on this he replied that he would be a sheer hypocrite if he pronounced the positive as long as he had not freed himself completely from the state of negation. [7])

It is little wonder that Iqbal, grown up in these traditions, has also utilized this contrast as a poetical means, all the more as he was fond of confronting opposite concepts:

> For the peoples there is no Tremendum but Divine Beauty—
> No and But are the reckoning of the created world,
> No and But are the opening of the door of created beings (Pas 19).

He has once, in the *Asrār*, stressed the importance of negation:

> Who dwells in the world of negation
> Is free from the bonds of wife and child,
> He withdraws his gaze from all except God (AK 869 ff.).

in such a way that one may understand it as the state of mystical seclusion where there is nothing but God, [8]) a state which the mystics have sometimes claimed for the Prophet Muhammad who had

[6]) Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 96.

[7]) Y. Husain, *L'Inde Mystique*, p. 190; B. A. Hashmi, *Sarmad*, IC 1933, 1934; W. J. Fischel, *Jews and Judaism at the Court of the Moghul Emperors in Medieval India*, IC, 1951; cf. Bēdil Rohrivārō, *Diwan*, p. 123.

[8]) A beautiful expression of the mystic *lā* as highest state of the Prophet is found in ʿAbdul Karīm Girhōrī's *tafsīr sūrat al-Kauthar*, in *Kalām-i Girhōrī*, Hyderabad, 1957; cf. my article *Sindhi translations and commentaries of the Qurʾān*...

withdrawn from everything worldly in the beginning of his path. But it is also the state of Abraham who was ready to sacrifice his son since he saw only God. For man can realize his being before God only in so far as he is ready to sacrifice himself or what is dearest to him.

Iqbal is an advocate not of the mystical but of the prophetic No of which Söderblom has said:

> But No is also needed. Without No there will be no proper Yes. For then all that denies and destroys, degrades and delays what is right and good would be allowed to remain unattacked and unabolished. That is why a No is necessary in the moral warfare of the individual, in the evolution of religion and in the history of the race. [9])

This is the situation in which Iqbal felt himself embedded:

> To say No in front of everything besides God is life,
> From this strife creation is made fresh (Pas 19).

It is (as he says in the same poem which can be called the most lucid exposition of the theory of *lā* and *illā*) "the sword of No" which makes the faithful who wields it ruler of the word (Pas 22), a sword, with which the Prophet takes the blood off the veins of the idle whereas the word But God

> written on the desert became the title-line of our salvation (R 128, cf. AK 1645 f.).

It is the greatest fault of the men of the present age that they do not longer use this dagger of *lā* (Pas 27) which would enable them to resist the temptations of modern civilization, with its numerous idols. This negation is, of course, only the first stage:

> In the world the beginning is from the word No,
> This is the first station of the man of God (Pas 19).

Life does not rest in this place, since creation runs towards the But God (Pas 22). Yet negation is the condition of true life:

> Both of them are the destiny of the created world [10])
> Movement is born from negation, quietude from affirmation (Pas 19)

[9]) N. Söderblom. *The Living God*, p. 298.

[10]) Lit. of *k* and *n*, i.e. *kun*, "Be"!

The same idea had been expressed by ʿAṭṭār eight centuries ago when he admonishes the faithful

> Become *lā* if thou art going upwards (*bālā*),
> For only through *lā* one can move. [11])

It is the dialectical tension of negation and affirmation, of negative and positive pole that enables life to subsist in every grade, from the basic electric and magnetic current to the highest stages of spirituality.

However, the poet has to complain many a time and oft that

> The bottle of modern civilization is brimful with the wine of *lā*
> Perhaps there is no cup of *illā* in the hands of the cupbearer (BJ 39).

The Western world is intoxicated with poisonous negation, destitute of religious life.

Since it is

> the message of death to remain in the negation (ZK 60, cf. ZA II 26),

the station of *lā* is that of the infidel who has not yet attained the affirmation of Divine Unity (cf. PM 220)—from this point of view already early Islamic tradition had told that Pharao when drowning in the waves of the Sea started confessing that there is no God but God—but an angel closed his mouth as soon as he had uttered the words of negation. [12]) It is significant that this very concept occurs twice in Iqbal's *Jāvīdnāme*: first in the impressing speech in which Jamāladdīn Afghānī addresses the Russian people: he asks the Bolshevists to leave the perilous state of negating the Divine side of life, and to accept the positive completion of their—practically right but spiritually wrong—attitude towards life by embracing Islam as embodied in the formula But God. Once more the same symbol is used in a similar context when Iqbal thinks that Russia had uttered her right No against capitalism, imperialism of Western type, and other idols—but has not yet reached a positive solution of these and similar questions (Pas 21). [13])

11) ʿAṭṭar, *Diwān*, S. 141 (cf. Ritter, Oriens XII).

12) Cf. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 74.

13) In a lecture about modern trends in Buddhism at the UNESCO Meeting in Bad Ems, Oct. 1961, Prof. E. Benz remarked that certain Buddhist circles regard Bolshevism as a preparatory stage for Buddhism thanks to its negation of traditional theism and its atheistic philosophy — that is the reverse of Iqbal's theory.

The second instance in the *Jāvīdnāme* where *lā* and *illā* are confronted is the apparition of Nietzsche (v. 1373 ff.): he, the admired and pitied philosopher is also said to have remained in the state of *lā*, having asserted that God had died, and that there is no God; Iqbal, well aware of his hard spiritual struggle, deplores that he has never attained the *illā*, though his heart was faithful. In both cases, that of Russia and that of Nietzsche, the poet had used the formula not as a mere play of words but displays his deep sympathy with those whom he imagines to have negated the tenets of Christian religion and Western civilization and to be very close to Islam but who have failed to make the last step and are therefore condemned to eternal spiritual death. [14])

For the poet himself the lines in *Musāfir* (30) are very fitting:

> I came out of the convent of the Magians, intoxicated without goblet—
> I was in the place of negation already intoxicated by the wine of affirmation—

he has indeed tried to realize in his life the prophetical No against everything which seemed to him unislamic and threatening for the Muslim community, and to give, by this protest, evidence of the reality of the living One besides whom there is no other object of worship.

The principle of *tauḥīd* was for him applicable also to individual and national life. That is why he has depicted in the Sphere of Mars in the *Jāvīdnāme* the ideal of the unity of body and soul as contrasted to the "christian" separation between these two, and has repeated that idea in the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*—

> Since the European has separated body from soul,
> His eye has seen religion and state also as two (GR Question III).

Comparatively rarely has Iqbal used the age-old symbol of the soul-bird or said, like in PM 146, that

> man is dust, but when the seed cleaves the dust,
> it becomes a fresh rose—

He was on the whole of the opinion that body and soul form a

14) The formula *lā-illā* is also used in Iqbal's Poem on *Swāmī Rām Tirth*, BD 118.

unity and must not been separated unduly—body is the veil of the soul but is indispensable for its development and preservation—

> Yet grows the soul more salient through the flesh,
> Our dagger's whetted by its scabbard there (*Lāle* 98).

He arrived, just as Ghazzālī in his refutation of Averroes' doctrine of the immortality of the active intellect, at the conclusion that a separation between body and soul is not acceptable, and "this is the position of the theologian who has drawn his inspiration from the Qurʾān". [15]) Iqbal rejects such a separation and with it the idea of the *sōma sēma*, this favorite symbol of the mystics of all times. Yet in his rejection he is mistaken in attributing this separation to Western Christianity. Although the development of Christian theology has reached similar conclusions under the strong influence of Greek thought and Manichean systems, the original Christianity has not known the dualism of spirit and matter which was so typical of the gnostic currents but never of prophetic religion. [16]) Iqbal, however, has regarded the dualism which he thought essential of Christianity as the weakest point of that religion, and saw it reflected also in the separation of State and Church. The superiority of Islam could be proved through the essential unity which is witnessed both by its concept of God and of man and by the inseparability of temporal and religious affairs. The same point of view made Iqbal also reject the materialist outlook on life—

> they have called the soul a result of the body! (AH 49),

he repeats several times with highest disapproval.

But who is this God whose unity is to be confessed? How is He to be thought though thoughts cannot reach Him? The later definitions of the catechism [17]) which teach the pupils that one is obliged to know what is necessary, what is impossible, and what is possible

15) Cf. R. Arnaldez, *La Pensée religieuse d'Averroès* III, in Stud. Isl. X 37.

16) Cf. Söderblom l.c. 215; G. van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie*, p. 356. Cf. esp. Thomas Aquinas, *De unione animae cum corpore*, STh. I q. 76a, 1-8. One may compare the mystical statement about Muhammad's ascension that "in the Prophet body was soul and soul was body", i.e. the ideal unity of both had been attained (cf. Ritter, *Meer*, 187).

17) R. Hartmann, in *Die Religion des Islam*, p. 43 (The Sanūsīya); cf. also M. Horten, *Muhammedanische Glaubenslehre*, and H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*.

regarding God our Lord... and inform him about the 20 attributes one of them being essential (His existence), five exclusive (like His unity); seven are called accidens-attributes (like His power, His hearing), and seven accidental attributes (like His being hearing) etc.—these definitions have framed God into an exactly limited system of rational thought, and have done the same with all parts of the Muslim Creed. But this rational argumentation is rather far from the lifeful descriptions the Qurʾān itself gives of God the Creator whose grandeur is attested by everything created, from the atom to the movement of the stars, who is the Judge on Doomsday, the Merciful to those who repent. From whatever angle we may approach God: He remains a most active and living being. It is God who has put signs in the world, on earth and Heaven with the purpose that man may understand who has created him and has breathed His breath into his dust-made form, and who has ordered that everything created should obey His commandments and worship Him, who has sent Prophets to all peoples for warning and advising them, and who will summon once more all created beings before His throne to judge them according to their deeds. Modern research has tried to prove that the prevalent attribute of the Qurʾānic God is His justice; [18]) but the theological difficulty is always the tension between absolute justice and absolute power. In the course of times the living God of the Qurʾānic revelation has become the rationally described God of the catechism; philosophy and neoplatonic thought had helped in transmuting the active Semitic God of early Islam into a prima causa, a motor immobilis, or a merely neutral essence, so that some foreign observers have even been misled to the conclusion that Islam is a deistic system. [19])

Iqbal goes back behind the rationalistic commentaries and the mystic speculations to the original Qurʾānic teachings and describes God first and last as an Ego: His name Allah, as He calls Himself in the Qurʾān, manifests His personalistic character (L 62), and the 112th Sūra, the short confession of God's unity which is of paramount importance for Islamic thought, theology and spiritual life, is again a proof of God's being an Ego. In the first work where Iqbal has laid

18) cf. D. Rahbar, *God of Justice*, Leiden, 1960.

19) Trumpp, ZDMG 18, *Einige Bemerkungen über den Sufismus*.

down his philosophy of the Self, the Introduction to the Secrets of the Self, he writes:

> God Himself is an individual, He is the most unique individual.

It is astonishing that R. A. Nicholson has written in his fine studies on the 'Idea of Personality in Sufism' which were published only shortly after he himself had translated Iqbal's 'Secrets of the Self' into English, that

> —we must define, at least in general terms, what we mean when we ascribe personality to God—a question of prime importance for Christians, but on which Moslem theologians have never asked themselves, much less attempted to answer. I would remark, in the first place, that the expression 'Divine Personality' cannot be translated adequately into any Mohammadan language... [20])

Iqbal, however, has tried to answer the question, and more than that, he has built his whole system upon this very idea that God is the most perfect personality which he was to prove from the Qurʾān.

The problem before Iqbal is this: how can the Divine Ego, this "stupendously rich reality" (F. von Hügel), [21]) which cannot be described adequately by human words, who is *ghanī* "the most rich who has no need" [22])—how can this infinite and overwhelming Being be compatible with personality? Iqbal has been accused of having developed an unlogical concept of an "infinite personality" since these two conceptions are contradictory and exclusive. It is of interest to compare his views in this respect with that of some modern European thinkers who have, as he did, tried to revaluate the God of the prophetic (i.e. for them Christian) experience. Friedrich von Hügel, the profound English Catholic thinker, writes:

> Indeed we can safely hold with Lotze not only that Personality is compatible with Infinitude, but that the personality of all finite beings can be shown to be imperfect precisely because of their finitude, and hence that 'Perfect Personality' is compatible only with the conception

[20]) Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality*, p. 1.
[21]) Quoted in E. Underhill, *Collected Papers*, p. 21.
[22]) Syed Nazir Niazi, *Conversations with Iqbal*, (about Schopenhauer) in: Muhammad Iqbal, German-Pak Forum, p. 118.

> of an Infinite Being; finite beings can only achieve an approximation to it. [23])

Besides the name Allah, and the 112th Sūra, Iqbal has found another proof of God's Egohood in the Qurʾānic assertion "Call upon me, and I will answer"—that means the experience of prayer becomes the proof for God's personality. Iqbal shares here the view of one of the leading philosophers of modern Germany, Heinrich Scholz (d. 1956), who writes:

> It belongs to the character of the Divine that it is given as a Thou. Thus the content of the religious consciousness of God can never be the same entity that metaphysics calls "the Absolute". For it is clearly an absurdity to contact the Absolute in the form of a Thou, indeed even to come into touch at all. [24])

Contact with the Absolute, as sought by many of the most influential mystics, is only possible on quite other levels of consciousness and ultimately involves a passing away from all qualities of thought and from life in the normal sense of the word. That is also the conviction of C. C. J. Webb whom R. A. Nicholson quotes in his above-mentioned booklet:

> Only so far as personal relations are allowed to exist between the worshipper and his God, can that God be properly described as personal... [25])

Paul Tillich, too, has stated the importance of

> a God with whom I have a person-to-person encounter. He is the subject of all the symbolic statements in which I express my ultimate concern. [26])

The emphasis Iqbal laid on the personality of God—which, of course, transcends every imaginable personality—is one of his greatest contributions to the reconstruction of Islamic thought, and is completely in tune with the contemporary interest which concentrates

[23]) *Essays and Addresses*, 20 f. (the quotation from Lotze is taken from *Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie*, 1884, pp. 40, 45). Cf. Pfleiderer, *Religionsphilosophie*, about Lotzes's speculative theism (in Iqbal's case, we cannot properly call his system 'speculative theism'; here starts Iqbal's criticism of Lotze which is visible in his thesis).
[24]) H. Scholz, *Religionsphilosophie*, 2nd ed., p. 138.
[25]) Nicholson, o.c., p. 2.
[26]) P. Tillich, *Love, Power and Justice*, p. 109.

again on the Divine personality and can be remarked in Christian theology and science of religion, but also in other religions, like Sikhism. [27])

Classical Islamic mysticism had held that real personality belongs to God alone, that 'nobody can say I but God'. [28]) In Iqbal's philosophy and theology, however, there are other egos besides God, or rather inside the all-embracing Divine Ego. The world itself is conceived as an Ego, and everything created it nothing but an ego; the unimaginable varieties of them are sustained by that comprehensive Divine Ego who holds them in His own being—not in His imagination. [29]) The existence of those numberless egos on different stages of development—from atom to man—whose existence is not obliterated by the greatest Ego, seems to be self-contradictory, for either the smaller egos have no existence of their own but are organic parts of the Greatest Ego, or they exist in a sphere outside that Ego and cannot come into living and life-giving contact with Him. We may guess that Iqbal's ideas of the relation between the Ultimate Ego and the created egos is something similar to Rudolf Euckens's notion that

> the singular existences must as a matter of course belong to a universal personal life in order to be or to be able to become that what the striving of their nature aims at; the particular beings will get a character of personality only from a universal personality-life. [30])

One has seen in Iqbal's thought the influence of the spiritual pluralism of J. Ward [31])—to whom he refers also as a parallel to the Ash^{c}arite concept of world and God (L 72)—, but the affinity to R. Eucken, whose 'Collected Essays' were found in the thinker's private library, is as great, and is visible in many other concerns too.

Iqbal's idea that God is both immanent and transcendent—immanent as the nature of the self (cf. L 62, 73) but transcendent as not being within the grasps of our experience—can be again illustrated by a statement of Von Hügel:

> But there is nothing intrinsically unreasonable in thinking of the ultimate Cause, Ground and End of the world as certainly not less than, as somehow not all unlike, what we know our own self-consciousness mind, feeling and will to be, provided we keep the sense that God is certainly not just One Object amongst other objects, or even simply one Subject amongst other subjects, He is not only more perfect than, but distinct and different from, them all... [32])

27) Thus Dr. Mohan Singh in his lecture at the X. Congress for the History of Religions at Marburg. 1960.
28) Sarrāj, *kitāb-al-luma^{c}*, p. 32.
29) Cf. E. H. Enver, *The Metaphysics of Iqbal*, p. 72.
30) R. Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, p. 45.
31) Cf. B. A. Dar, *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy*, p. 120.

God, the ultimate Ego, takes in Himself the infinite fullness of life, but His

> infinity is intensive, not extensive. It involves an infinite series, but is not that series (L 64).

Here lies a very important concept which is helpful to comprehend the meaning of God's infinity and which is again in complete harmony with words uttered by the just quoted English theologian who also held that

> God is not endless but eternal.

That is what Iqbal means when he writes that

> God's eye sees all the visible and His ear hears all the audible in one indivisible act of perception (L75),

or, in poetical version (albeit he has rarely attempted at describing God in his poetry, as mystics have done to indefatigably, but rather dwells upon the personal relation between man and God)—

> His inside is void of Up and Down,
> But His outside is accepting space (ZA GR 216).

With these lines the question of creation is touched which means, in Islamic theology, always *creatio ex nihilo*, not out of an already existing material ground. Creation, with Iqbal, is the unfolding of the inner possibilities of the Ultimate Ego, and is, therefore, besides being a single act through which our world and serial time have come once into existence, a continuing act—"every day He is in a new phase (*shān*)", says the Qur^{3}ān (55/29). As in different cases Iqbal has here, too, aimed at combining Qur^{3}ānic revelation with the view of modern science; he writes:

> Einstein is quite right in saying that the universe is finite but boundless. It is finite because it is a passing phase (*shān* in the Qur^{3}ānic language) of God's extensively infinite consciousness, and boundless

32) *Essays*, p. 20 f.

because the creative power of God is intensively infinite. [33])

This universe, once created, can change in every moment, not, as the Ashʿarite school of thought would say, in an atomistic development moving from point to point but in a never ceasing organic movement in the Divine Ego itself. This is proved, for the philosopher-poet, by the Qurʾānic attestation "God increases" (Sura 35/1) which hints at the ever fresh possibilities that may emerge from the fathomless depths of the intensive Divine life and be manifested in the created, serial time, and in space.

Iqbal does not hesitate to apply the symbol of light which is used in the Qurʾān for God,—Sura 24/35, the favorite verse of the mystics who found here the all-pertaining and all-embracing omnipresence of God,—to his personalistic God as the Absolute:

> The metaphor of light as applied to God, therefore must, in view of modern knowledge, be taken to suggest the absoluteness of God and not His omnipresence (L 64),

or, in poetical form:

> Do not seek the Absolute in this monastery of the world,
> For nothing is Absolute but the "Light of the Heavens" (ZA GR III 295).

It is interesting that nearly two centuries before Iqbal, the Indian Naqshbandī mystic Khwāja Mīr Dard of Delhi (1720-1784) in some speculations in which he attempted a new way to the realization of the Self has devoted a whole chapter of his *ʿilmu'l-kitāb* to "The Metaphor of Light for the Being of God" and has reached the conclusion that this metaphor "suggests both Absolutism and Omnipresence which covers both transcendentalism and all-immanency of the Supreme Being." [34])

In spite of his strongly personalistic concept of God Iqbal touches —and that cannot be denied—a different chord in some of his poems when he changes the simple and stern words of the creed 'There is no God but God' into the form preferred by the monistic mystics 'There is no Existent but God'—*lā maujūda illā Allāh*. It may be noted in this connection that both in the *Rumūz* (163) and in the

[33]) *Self in the Light of Relativity*, repr. in Dar, o.c., 398.
[34]) Y. Husain, *Glimpses*, p. 66.

Musāfir (7), i.e. poems written at an interval of 16 years, the expression

> the sword of 'There is naught Existent but God'

is used, and the posthumous poems also contain this expression. It is difficult to decide whether it is a purely literary play of words, which would be surprising in Iqbal, or comes from a deeper layer of religious feeling.

In general Iqbal has avoided as much as possible these mystical definitions of the Divine. For him, God was the living and acting God. He was, however, alive to the danger of anthropomorphism which is unavoidable in the apprehension of 'life', and he has quoted, in this respect, Ibn Ḥazm, the Spanish theologian of the Ẓāhirit School of strictest literalism who 'suggested that God is living', not that He has life; he himself holds that the perfection of the Ultimate Ego

> exists in pure duration wherein change ceases to be a succession of varying attitudes, and reveals its true character as continuous creation, untouched by weariness and unseizable by slumber or sleep (cf. Qurʾān 2/256).
> ...The Not-yet of God means unfailing realization of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughout the entire process (L 60).

Iqbal quotes, for underlining this view of his, Goethe's wellknown lines

> Und alles Suchen, alles Streben
> Ist ew'ge Ruh in Gott dem Herrn.

He protested against the Hellenistic interpretation of God which had converted the living God of prophetic religions into an immovable *prima causa*, and his early sympathy with Nietzsche can be attributed to a certain extent to the fact that the German philosopher attacked this Hellenized God of Christianity (but failed to reach the concept of the pure Biblical God). [35]) Iqbal, on his part, wanted to rid the Islamic idea of God from these immobilizing influences; God had revealed Himself to him as power. In 1910, he noted down:

> Christianity describes God as love, Islam as power... God reveals

[35]) Cf. Javid Iqbal, *Iqbal and Nietzsche*, in: Muhammad Iqbal, German-Pak Forum, p. 58.

> Himself in history more as power than love. I do not deny the love of God, I mean that on the basis of our historical experience, God is better described as power (SR 10).

This Divine personality as absolute power who is able to create spontaneously and whose life is creativeness, realizing His infinite energies in nature and history, that is the God of the prophetical religion, and also the God whom the vitalist philosophers had postulated—

> for the comprehension of Reality, Being, under the symbol of purpose, creation, realization, insistence, progress, power, energy, life, has its origin in prophetic teaching, [36])

says N. Söderblom with regard to Bergson's "Semitic" philosophy which has, again, influenced Iqbal's thought.

The proposition that God is conceived as an Ego whose Egohood is realized in full in man's contact with Him in prayer, leads to the logical conclusion of man's egohood. Als Tillich has pointed out:

> Man becomes man in personal encounters. Only by meeting a thou does man realize that he is an ego. [37])

This self-realization of the human ego is the central theme of Iqbal's philosophy and theology, not only in the first *mathnawī* which bears the significant title 'The Secrets of the Self' but during his whole life. The human ego may be understood as

> higher than everything you see (ZA GR 327; cf. the whole question VI)

and may be compared, to a certain extent, to Eucken's concept of the Self which is

> in one meaning the proposition, in the other one the perfection of striving, there as self-being, here as self-becoming, there as a fact, here as a task. [38])

That means, the Self is both existent and still to be perfected, it is a given thing and yet a task before man.

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[36]) Söderblom, *o.c.*, p. 311 note 1
[37]) Tillich, *o.c.*, p. 78.
[38]) Eucken, *o.c.*, p. 39

But the gamut of egohood goes farther and is more comprehensive than of human beings:

> It is the nature of the self to manifest itself,
> In every atom slumbers the might of the self (AK 229 f.)

and "every atom may become a sun" (ZA II 31).

The word *khūdī*, Ego, Self, which has in classical Persian a rather pejorative meaning as "unlawful selfishness" etc., becomes now the axis on which Iqbal's system revolves. This Ego is

> both single and manifold, both hidden and open (PM 200).

Iqbal has one favorite symbol for this Ego: that of the pearl which is, according to oriental imagination, created by a rain drop falling into the shell and forming there a jewel. [39]) In this symbol lies a silent opposition against the conventional mystical symbol of the drop which is lost in the vast ocean of the Godhead: the self should be preserved—though living in the Ocean of Divine being, it must concentrate on his own reserves and become more precious through this concentration—

> Though the terror of the sea
> gives to none security,
> in the secret of the shell
> Self-preserving we may dwell.
> Ask them not to price the heart,
> Money-changers of the mart;
> we can estimate alone
> the true merit of our stone (ZA I 63). [40])

The symbol implies that in the primary stage of development of Ego isolation and gathering of all powers of the self are required in order to resist the threatening forces from outside. Iqbal has, besides the pearl-symbol, used also other images which point to this concentration of the ego—it is likened to the tiny rivulet which rather remains in the dust than to lose itself in the ocean (ZA II 26), and he has referred to this stage of consolidation in the lines

> Thou becomest a corn—the bird will eat thee,

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[39]) About the pearl-motif cf. A. Bausani, *Letteratura Persiana*, p. 260.
[40]) No. 53 in Arberry's translation; the numeration of the Persian edition is incorrect.

Thou becomest a bud—the children will pluck thee.
Hide the corn and become completely a snare,
Hide the bud, and become the grass on the roof (BJ 188),

which will say that the human ego lives in perpetual danger as long as it is extravert in its primary stages; man must concentrate his whole power with the purpose of gaining that strength which is required for braving the risks of life; he must no longer remain the corn which is devoured by birds but be transformed into the snare which catches the birds (the word-play *dām* = snare, and *dāna* = corn is commonplace in Persian poetry). Man must retire into the "corner of the Ego" (*kamīne-ye khūdī*) from where one can catch everything with one's lasso (PM 7).

This is the preliminary stage of the ego's development, of *qabḍ*, as the Sufis of old would term it. Iqbal has dwelled upon this side of the development of the self especially in the *Asrār*, and has illustrated it by examples which are partly taken from Nietzsche (like the diamond and the coal ch. XIII), and deal with the hardening of the self.[41]) Hence his conception of *khūdī* has often been understood as a simple theory of self-preservation and will-to-power. The poet himself has in spite of some poetical licences which are open to misinterpretation, conceived *khūdī* in the meaning which he expresses in a letter in the last year of his life:

> In my writings the word *khūdī* is used in two meanings, ethical and metaphysical... If you have found any of my poems in which the concept of *khūdī* is used in the meaning of pride or haughtiness, then please inform me about it.... I have shown only that side of the problem of self the knowledge of which was, according to my ideas, necessary for the Indian Muslims of this age, and which everybody can understand (M II 238 ff).

The self, which has been described in the *Asrār* and other works as a force to appropriate everything and use it for its own consolidation, becomes stronger when under greater compulsion, and having built itself from inside it reaches the stage where it can turn to action. The poet writes with a wellknown symbol of Persian poetry

I understand that the wine of self is very bitter—
Regard thy illness, and drink our poison as medicine (ZA II 11).

41) Cf. ZK 25; ZA II 33; PM 191.

The conventional poet would say that either the wine of self should be poured out and it glass broken, or that the poison which the beloved grants him for killing him is most welcome to him—but Iqbal reverses the meaning: the medicine of Selfhood which looks like poison for the mystic who is yearning for self-annihilation will restore to life those who are ill of selflessness, and will give them the strength required for facing the struggle of life.

Iqbal has explained his ideal of restraint in the Notes to *Asrār* (l. 833):

> The flower prison turns air into fragrance... the idea is that restraint leads to perfection.

He was well aware of the great Urphänomen of nature, that of polarity,[42]) which underlies the classical Chinese concept of *yang* and *yin* as well as the Heraclitian philosophy, and like Goethe for whom the secrets of nature and life were unveiled best in the phenomenon of polarity—of *systole* and *diastole*,[43]) of attraction and repulsion, attachment and detachment (as Bergson would say), of *qabḍ* and *basṭ* in the Sufic terminology—Iqbal too has understood the secret of the pulse of life which is felt in every moment, and the careful reader of his poetry may have remarked this predilection for contrasting pairs of words which hint at this side of his philosophy.

In a letter of 1918 he writes that the Muslim

> has assimilated the opposite attractions, i.e. force and love, by the heat of his heart, and this is not limited to the moral opposites but involves also the opposites of nature (M I 15).

This idea of polarity is visible for Iqbal also in the different stages of the growth of the self.

With one eye it sees the *khalvat* (reclusion) of his self,
With one eye it sees the *jalvat* (manifestation) of his self.
If it closes one eye, it is a sin,
If it sees with both eyes, it is the condition of the Path (ZA GR 2).

To see the self only in the state of concentrating its power, of making itself a pearl or diamond, is as wrong as to see it exclusively

42) R. Pannwitz, *Der Aufbau der Natur*, p. 204, 112.
43) G. Schaeder, *Gott und Welt* (about the problem of polarity in Goethe's work).

in its exterior activity. Iqbal has invariably alluded to this mystery of change between *khalvat* and *jalvat* (which is of special attraction for an oriental poet since the two words differ only by the situation of one dot in Arabic script). In one of his poems, he sings:

> In the *jalvat* (manifestation) of the Self is the place of Mustafa the Prophet,
> In the *khalvat* (reclusion) of the Self is Divine grandeur (BJ 118),

a very significant verse because this idea recurs several times: the self in its deepest isolation, consolidating itself, can attain to the culmination of its development only by contact with God, and this contact is so close that the Ego may reach the summits of Divine Majesty, whereas in its unfolding and exterior activity the thus enpowered self does the work of the Prophet, i.e. tells what it has experienced in the Divine Presence, and practices this experience by giving a new direction and fresh impulse to his people.

> They appear (*jalvat*) and round the sun
> And the moon their rope is spun;
> They retire (*khalvat*), and in their breast
> Time and Space repose and rest (ZA II 53).

The polarity of *jalvat* and *khalvat* is manifest in the whole world, as well in the development of the ego as in the Divine life: it is revealed in the two sides of the Divine Being which we are used to call the *tremendum* and the *fascinans*, the Deus absconditus and the Deus revelatus, or, as Muslims would say, *jamāl*, beauty, and *jalāl*, power. From this point of view one has to interprete lines like this:

> The lover makes no difference between Kaaba and idol-temple,
> This is the *jalvat* of the Beloved, that the *khalvat* of the Beloved (PM 197).

In the Kaaba God reveals Himself in His aspect as impartial judge and merciful beloved whereas in the temples of the idol-worshippers He is still adored as the hidden and unknown yet awfully felt divinity. In the same way the activities of great religious personalities and state-builders become manifestations of these two aspects of life Divine (J last scene). Therefore Iqbal has always maintained that pure *jamāl* is without result—if art and life are not permeated by *jalāl*, there will possibly be neither life nor real artistic expression (ZK 122).

The contrast of *jalvat* and *khalvat* is utilized by Iqbal in several connections—now it becomes a cipher for the contrast of love and intellect (J 155), now a diagram of the beginning of prophetic work in seclusion and its end in public work (J 428); other examples could easily be added.

The phenomenon of polarity as life principle if applied to the individual self is described by Iqbal in his Notes to the *Asrār*:

> The Self is a power hidden and yearning for activity, and since its life is action it imprisons itself in the means to action, i.e. it individualizes itself so that action may become possible.

Self is strengthened by becoming aware of its own peculiarities, and its uniqueness. It imprisons itself into its own self until it becomes capable of action, and spends its formerly gathered powers in deeds. The *khalvat* (reclusion) can become, thus, either seclusion into one's own self, or seclusion in the experience of prayer, the contact with the Divine Ego. Iqbal has, here, not sharply distinguished.

What he intends is that concentration and action follow successively, and that action is the expression of the inner yearning of the Ego for a higher stage:

> What is the origin of our wakeful eye?
> The joy of seeing became the form (AK 289 ff.).

Iqbal explains this line:

> Light transformed itself into a circle until it became an eye.
> Desire determines the evolution and character of our organs (Notes 254).

Thus the partridge formed its foot from lust of walking graciously, the nightingale its bill from desire of singing. This may be taken as the poetical expression of Lamarckian ideas of development—that functions determine the structure of the organs—,[44]) but is perhaps rather a parallel to the idea that special aspects of man's destiny may be developed through intense desire, and that it is even possible to bring forth one's 'own death' and the direction of one's eternal life thanks to one's unflinching concentration on the development of a

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44) Dar, *o.c.*, p. 162.

distinctive side of one's ego, provided that it remains in the limits of the innate possibilities of the ego:

> The tree is not grateful to the dark house of dust—
> In every moment the seed has the desire of growing (ZK 49).

This desire of growing is the mystery of all life. Life is, in itself, careless and prodigious; in endless time it brings forth and destroys, only for producing once a perfect model—

> for the sake of a single rose it destroys a hundred rose-gardens, and makes a hundred lamentations in quest of a single melody (AK 201 f.).

Already Farīdaddīn ʿAṭṭār had complained that innumerable human lives are needed until a prophet can come into existence, [45]) and Iqbal follows him in accepting that numberless new figures issue and fall again into obliteration during the millions of years since creation, eventually culminating in man; that new and different cries are uttered

> in order to bring forth one call to prayer (R 161; cf. ZA II 12).

Thus man, not only from the biological but from the spiritual point of view is the result of immense periods of development (J. v. 23). He should not—as the evolutionists did—inquire too much about the previous states of his biological life but rather ponder upon his future:

> Why should I ask the wise men: Whence is my beginning?
> I am busy with the thought: What will be my end? (BJ 81).

That is what Iqbal replies to the pessimism he saw in the Western world which seemed to be robbed of faith in man's future, whereas he regarded the idea of evolution that he witnessed in classical Islam as a most effective means of giving life a new direction (L 186); he underlines this evolutionary concept by inserting the famous verses from Maulānā Rūmī's *Mathnawī* which point to the growing possibilities which extend from stone to heavenly beings; lines that have even been read by other commentators as an advocation of transmigration of souls. [46])

For Iqbal, there is no doubt that

[45]) Ritter, Meer, p. 17 according to *Manṭiq uṭ-ṭair* 41/o: the valley of *istiġnā*.
[46]) L 187; in different translation quoted L 155. (Math. III 3900).

> throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of Egohood till it reaches its perfection in man (L 72),

that the *dhauq-i numūd*, the joy of manifestation (BJ 79), the wish of becoming more and more individual is the leading force in life. It is the same idea which has been explained by R. Pannwitz in many of his recent philosophical books (and it is interesting to note that both the German and the Sub-Himalayan Muslim philosopher have been influenced to a certain extent by some Nietzschean concepts):

> As in every life the rising tendency is preponderating—for otherwise there would be no life at all—so every development aspires to a higher step, and on the highest rank to the greatest consciousness, individuation, and freedom. [47])

Man constitutes the highest rank in his world because he contains the greatest possible number of ranks in his being, and is, as such, "the first and last cosmic constant", [48]) says Pannwitz, whilst the lower potencies—that what Nietzsche had called so acutely "the matter which has learned nothing"—are always in danger of being destroyed (Iqbal would remind here the reader of the example of the drop which has not consolidated its Self and is therefore swallowed by somebody else) and must start again and again to rise gradually on the gamut of individuation; [49]) man differs from this matter which forms simply a colony of egos of a lower order thanks to his striving for perfection.

"Only the individual can reach perfection", [50]) avers R. Pannwitz who has drawn as undefatigably as Iqbal the attention of the modern age to the fact that the entelechy is the real meaning of life: translated into Iqbal's poetry that would correspond to the 'Address to the New Moon':

> Look upon thyself and do not be anxious because of thy void shirt,
> For in thy breast a full moon is concealed (PM 96). [51])

To become more individualized, more unique, that is

[47]) R. Pannwitz, *Kritische Kosmologie*, (in: Beiträge zu einer europäischen Kultur, p. 260).
[48]) Id. p. 242; cf. also the same, *Die Normen*, (in: Der Nihilismus und die werdende Welt, p. 61).
[49]) The same, *Kritische Kosmologie, o.c.*, p. 263.
[50]) The same, *Der Aufbau der Natur*, p. 172, 179.
[51]) Cf. also BD 213.

the moral and religious ideal of man (Intr. Secrets XIV).

But with this desire of individualization which is the inward impulse in everything the "risk of creativity" [52]) is connected. Iqbal has, quite in harmony with modern psychology and theology, laid stress not only on the greatness of personality and individuality but also on its innate dangers:

> In the case of man in whom individuality deepens into personality opening up possibilities of wrong doing the sense of the tragedy of life becomes more actual (L 88).

In order to prove this psychological insight he gives a new interpretation of the much discussed verse Sura 33/72 of the Qur²ān:

> 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!

This trust which was offered to the whole creation and was refused by everything except man, is explained either as the Divine vicegerency which was granted to Adam (AK 1077), or as the burden of individuality which is as glorious as dangerous for those who accept it (L 11, 88, 95). [53])

Contrary to the quietistic mystics' craving for obliteration of the Ego in the all-embracing Godhead, Iqbal is sure that

> the end of the ego's search is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality, it is on the contrary a more precise definition of it (L 187).

Through this more precise definition of his ego man will be capable to understand the person-character of the Divine which is so central a point for Iqbal. According to my reading, lines in which the poet asks man

> to see God in the light of the Self (Lāle 128)

or

> to ask from God an Ego, and from the Ego God (ZA II 47)

52) Tillich, *o.c.*, p. 54.

53) ZA GR 225 V; cf. Bausani, *Il gulšan-i rāz-i ǧadīd*, p. 16; cf. also Ritter, *Meer*, p. 623; and Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, Commentary I ad v. 1958; cf. also F. Meier, *Kazerūnī*, p. 31: about K.'s interpretation of this verse.

should be interpreted in the sense that by recognizing myself as a well defined personality containing still unknown possibilities which unfold according to my original formation I shall also be able to conceive that God is the greatest Ego with possibilities which are infinitely greater than those of anything created. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand lines like the beginning of the *Zarb-i Kalīm:*

> The hidden secret of Self is 'There is no God but God',
> The cutting sword of Self is 'There is no God but God'.

In Iqbal's anthropology that man is greatest who has realized his self in relation to God—according to the prophetic tradition *takhallaqū bi-akhlāq Allāh*, 'Create in yourself the attributes of God'—i.e. who is nearest to God in creativity and activity, and lives in the pulse of divine seclusion and manifestation (Mus 27). That is the ideal Muslim who is depicted in all of Iqbal's poems—

> he is the sword of God, the heir of the prophets,
> he has no room in the world of others,
> until he brings forth a new world,
> he destroys this old world etc etc. (Mus 7 ff.).

The Muslim he dreamt of is

> the brilliant star for the destiny of the world (BD 217),

he is the great example of humanity as described in *Ẓarb-i Kalīm* (129); he resembles the dew-drop which, in his splendid beauty, is concentrated in the morning-sun (Pas 8); he is the model of energy and trust in God; yet this trust (*tawakkul*) is not a blind acceptance of whatever showers upon him of visitations of Fate but is a positive cooperation with God (Pas 6). The true believer is the personification of mildness and goodness (R 152), and from his personal strength emerges his tolerance. Tolerance is not the attribute of the weak who have no choice but to tolerate whatsoever they come across, but is the quality of those who behold that

> unbeliever and faithful are both created by God

and therefore worthy of respect. This perfect Muslim is, for Iqbal, nothing but the realization of the Qur²ānic sentence according to which Adam was ordered to be the *khalīfa*, the vicegerent of God on

earth (Sūra 2/28). Therefore allusions to this sentence—*innī jā'ilun*, I am making—occur so frequently in Iqbal's poetry. The high rank of the vicegerent is dealt with in extenso in the IXth chapter of the *Asrār*—

Appear, o Rider of Destiny!

and in the Introduction of the same poem where Iqbal describes this ideal man as the last fruit of the tree of humanity (p. XVIII) who should conquer this world not only materially but also spiritually—

> The powerful man does not adjust himself to his surroundings; it is the surroundings that have to adjust themselves to his temperament (Notes to the Asrār v. 1023).

The revaluation of man, so long neglected in Islamic countries, is Iqbal's main message. He has invented new analogies, new symbols, coined new expressions for the purpose of reminding his compatriotes of the supreme rank of the human race who are negligent of the great task lying before them:

> Who art thou? And whence doest thou come? For the dark blue sky
> Has opened thousand eyes of stars upon thy road! (ZA II 50).

Man, this apparently so tiny handfull of dust is yet, in his individualization, the object of envy and amazement not only of the destiny-bound heavens and stars, but even of the angels who lack the element of free choice between good and evil which makes man both rich and endangered.

> Thou art not for the earth, nor for the Heaven—
> the world is for thee, thou art not for the world (BJ 73).

That is the poetical expression of the Qur'ānic word that the world is for Adam's service. Only the unbeliever goes astray in the secondary causes, which Iqbal calls, again in a Qur'ānic allusion, the *āfāq*, [54] the horizons, but

faithful is he, in whom the horizons are lost (ZK 39, cf. ibd. 73)

where the word 'faithful' is not restricted upon the Muslim but means

[54]) About the *āfāq*, (ZA GR p. 209) cf. the glossary in Bausani's above-mentioned article. (Sūra 41/53).

everybody who has experienced the Divine Presence, to whichsoever belief he may cling.

The conquest of the 'horizons' is even brought into relation with the conquest of Self in the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*.

This high rank in the world which marks out man is due to the fact that his Self, the eternal part in him, does not belong to the world of dust of which he is outwardly moulded (BJ 174).

Iqbal has endeavoured to explain this eternal and indestructible ego in Qur'ānic terms and writes:

> The life of the ego is a kind of tension caused by the ego invading the environment and 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 Qur'ān 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).

Discussing then the difference between *khalq*, creation, and *amr*, direction, as both used in the Qur'ānic representation of what in English is expressed by the single word creation, Iqbal continues:

> The verse quoted above means that the essential nature of the soul is directive, as it proceeds from the directive energy of God; though we do not know how Divine *Amr* functions as ego-unities. The personal pronoun used in the expression *Rabbī* (My Lord) throws further light on the nature and behaviour of the ego. It is meant to suggest that the soul must be taken as something individual and specific, with all the variations in the range, balance, and effectiveness of its unity... Thus my real personality is not a thing, it is an act. My experience is only a series of acts, mutually referring to one another, and held together by the unity of a directive purpose. (L 102 f., cf. J 1135).

This dynamic concept of Self is very characteristic of Iqbal's whole philosophy; yet there is a little inconsistency as to the relation of the created world to man and to God. In the *Asrār* and even in some verses of later poems one meets with formulations like this:

> The form of existence is an effect of the self,
> whatsoever thou seest is a secret of the self,
> it makes from itself the forms of others,
> in order to multiply the pleasures of strife (AK 187 ff.),

which sounds rather subjective: an embracing Self which brings forth out of itself worlds and individual egos who now, in their turn, form small worlds of their own, as he said ten years later:

> What is the world? The temple of my thought,
> The seen projection of my wakeful eye,
> As I behold, or not, is aught, or naught,
> Time, Space, within my mind audacious lie... (ZA I 12).

Self is

> the wakefulness of creation,
> the inner mystery of life (BJ 172).

One is tempted to conceive here the world being reduced to the self, as something irreal—

> The world is nothing but our manifestation
> For without us there would be no light and no sound (ZA GR 213) [55])

Or when contemplating the lines in the *Asrār*:

> Night is born of its (the Self's) sleep,
> Day springs from its waking,
> It divided its flame into sparks... (222 ff.), [56])

the historian of religions will be reminded immediately of the classical definition the Kaushitaki-Upanishad gives of the *Atman*

> ...as from a blazing fire sparks would disperse in all directions, even so from this self (*Atman*) the vital breaths disperse, from the vital breaths, the sense-powers, from the sense-powers the worlds. [57])

Iqbal may have used these symbols of Indian wisdom unconsciously in his earlier work and mislead in the first moment a reader who is not aware that his theological position is completely opposed to the Indian theory of *māyā*, never accepting an essential unity between *atman* and *brahman* but always maintaining the distinction between creator and creation. For him the world was, in spite of the ambiguity of verses like those just quoted, something real, based on the experience of man.

55) cf. ZA GR 212; ZA II 66; J 1140.
56) Cf. ZA I 56.
57) *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, III 3 (R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*).

As to the Indian influences, it seems that the poet has admitted them inclusively in the scene of the *Jāvīdnāme* where he describes his encounter with the Indian wise Vishvāmitra, [58]) called here Jahāndōst, who is made to say

> Man is higher than clay and water,
> the world is a picture from the monastery of his phantasy, [59])

which means a clear reference to the *māyā*-doctrine. Another symbol which shows that the meaning of *khūdī*, Self, abstractly taken and isolated from its contexts, was not too far from the Indian *ātman*, is the symbol of the firefly

> who lits its way by its own light (PM 122, 136),

and though in Lahore the firefly was a symbol which offered itself to the wanderer on summer evenings, the connection with the word of Bṛhadaranyaka-Upanishad seems not too far fetched:

> 'When the sun has set, Yajnavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire has gone out and the speech has stopped, what light does a person here have?'
> 'The self, indeed, is his light', said he, 'for with the self, indeed, as the light, one sits, moves about, does one's work and returns.' [60])

As to the relation of God and world to which the poet refers once more in the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*, he writes in his Lectures (65):

> Finite minds regard Nature as a confronting 'Other' existing per se, which the mind knows but does not make. We are thus apt to regard the act of creation as a specific past event, and the universe appears to us a manufactured article which has no organic relation to the life of its Maker, and of which the Maker is nothing more than a mere spectator... Thus regarded the universe is a mere accident in the life of God and might not have been created. The real question which we are called upon to answer is this: Does the universe confront God and His 'other' with space intervening between Him and it... The universe cannot be regarded as an independent reality standing in opposition to Him. This view of the matter will reduce both God and the world to two separate entities confronting each other in the empty receptacle of an infinite space. We have seen before that

58) Vishvāmitra "a celebrated sage who was born as Kshatriya, but by intense austerities raised himself to the Brahman caste, and became one of the seven great Rishis" (J. Dowson, *A classical dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 364).
59) Cf. ZA II 72; GR ch. I, and V.
60) *Brhadaranyaka Upan.* IV 3, 6.

space, time, and matter are interpretations which thought puts on the free creative energy of God. They are not independent realities existing per se but only intellectual modes of apprehending the life of God.

But partaking in the life of God means eternal growth: the concept that the universe is an organic unity with will and destinity leads Iqbal to the conviction that this entity is growing and changing in every moment, what is proved by Sura 35/1 "And God adds to the creation what He will". Reality is not something given, something ready-made but is eternal becoming—here Iqbal fully agrees with the Vitalist philosophy in general and with Eucken's view in special. He tries to prove that

Our world is nothing but an artist's sketch (Lāle 101, cf. ZA 41)

and that

this creation is perhaps still unfinished
for every moment arises the cry 'Be', and it becomes (BJ 44)

both from the Qur'ān and from modern science, especially from Einstein's theory of relativity which seemed to supply the required scientific foundation for this religiously conceived idea. [61])

God adds in every moment new manifestations to the once created world—and here lies the proper task for man, too: since the Lord has destined him vicegerent on earth, he has to assist Him in the completion of His creation.

Man is the key board of love's melody,
man is the solver, and the mystery,
God made the world, man made it yet more fair,
And is man God's competitor to be (Lāle 11).

Iqbal goes even so far as to seek a justification for this theory of man as the second creator [62]) from the Qur'ān and finds it in Sūra 23/14: 'God is the best of creators' which

indicates the possibility of other creators than God (AK, Intr. XVIII).

an interpretation which would shock every orthodox translator of the

[61]) *Self in the Light of Relativity*; cf. PM 239 the poem on Einstein: "the Zoroaster from the family of Moses and Aaron".

[62]) About man as creator in Mashriqi's ideology cf. J. M. S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation*, p. 55 f.

Holy Book. He does not hesitate to apply the oft-quoted verse "Every day He is in a phase" (*fī sha'n*, Sura 55/29)—which he has elsewhere taken as proof of God's infinite creative possibilities—to man:

In every moment the faithful has new *sha'n* (work, new moments),
In word and in deed he is the proof for God.
The qualities of the conquering and clement and holy and mighty
—Where these four elements are, there is the true Muslim (ZK 57),

a rather daring verse in which the analogia entis is brought up to a point where many orthodox Muslims would not easily follow Iqbal who, however, shows here in perfect lucidity his ideal of human personality built in complete analogy to the Divine personality: God created Adam according to His image. One may compare also the invitation to the reader, 'to learn the coquettery of Grandeur from his Lord' (ZA II 56).

The most famous expression of man's work as cooperator with God, and as corrector of the sketchy world, is found in the dialogue between man and God in the *Payām-i Mashriq*, where man boasts:

Thou didst create night and I made the lamp,
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup,
Thou didst create the deserts, mountains and forest,
I produced the orchards, gardens and groves,
It is I who turn stone into a mirror,
And it is I who turn poison into an antidote! (PM 132).

Man has to give the potentially existing universe its shape and to form out of the given raw-material the best possible world. Thus, creating always new values as a co-worker with God, man is

not a superman but more humble than ever, devoted to that what is not only he himself but the God in him and he himself as His legate and minister— [63])

this Pannwitzian formulation expresses exactly Iqbal's ideal man. Iqbal has repeated this message of man's work and worth in the present age because his correligionists seemed to have forgotten the Qur'ānic phrase of man's destination as divine vicegerent on earth which implies further that this world is not given as property to him but that he is to take it only as a trust from God to Whom he has to give it back at the moment of his death (cf. J Mars-phere). This feeling

[63]) R. Pannwitz, *Am Stufensprung*, (Beiträge ...) p. 40.

of being only the legate and trustee, not owner, of the created world should prevent the faithful from transgressions in the political and social realm, and be an antidote against both nationalism, capitalism, landlordism, and imperialism.

This world is the "world of work" (PM 144) in which the Muslim must undergo the examination of his possibilities (R 165); it is the whetstone for the sword named man which God keeps in His hand (J 290)—the symbol of sword or dagger for the Self is not rarely employed by Iqbal (cf. BJ 46 the comparison: man = crescent-shaped sword). Just as the sword is sharpened by the resistence of the stone, so man, too, unfolds his personality in conquering his environments and creating new values. This free activity is his chance and his privilege, and that is why Iqbal has advocated great action—which is almost identical, for him, with love

> In great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing his own identity, and transcends the limits of space and time. Action is the highest form of contemplation: [64])

This emphasis laid on great action could have led the philosopher to a theologically founded treatise on professional morality (Berufsethos); but this problem which has on the whole never been treated in full by Islamic philosophers is also not scrutinized by Iqbal. It could be developed on the basis of what G. M. Sayyidayn [65]) has called Iqbal's educational philosophy and would have to start from verses like this:

> If they have made thee the thorn of the fresh grown rose, then adjust thyself to the order of the garden and learn to sting (PM 187),

which could, reverted into dry prose, simply mean that man is bound to do his duty according to the place he is given, and must try to make the best of it.

The faithful who has realized in himself the Divine call to vicegerency, and who has consolidated his ego so much that he is able to have a person-to-person encounter with his creator is, for Iqbal, the Perfect Man, the Free Man. The first critics of Iqbal have accused him of having laid the Nietzschean superman as ideal before

64) *Self in the Light of Reativity*, in Dar, o.c., p. 401.
65) G. Sayyidayn, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*.

the Muslim.[66]) As a matter of fact certain similarities between the Perfect Man and the Nietzschean Superman can be admitted, and one must not overlook the fact that the idea of a superman, or, as Emerson put it, a plus-man, was well-known just then in different circles of thinkers, and that the interest not only in the anthropological and theological consequences of this future man have been and are being discussed earnestly, but also the biological possibilities of a human development to come. [67])

But Iqbal, as may be proved, had been involved in the problem of the Perfect Man in a period when he was still a stranger to Nietzsche's philosophy. In 1900 one of his first articles, published in *The Indian Antiquary*, (Bombay), dealt with the theosophic system of ʿAbdulkarīm Jīlī, the classical writer on the Perfect Man in Islamic mysticism. [68]) For the shrewd observer the differences between the Nietzschean and the Iqbalian concept of the Perfect Man are immediately visible. As to Iqbal's ideal man, the nearer he draws to God the more he surpasses the boundaries of normal—or accustomed to—men and unfolds all his internal powers. It is interesting to note that Iqbal ascribes also great importance to the not yet explored psychological and para-psychological predispositions of man at which until now only few examples of so-called mystical experience are hinting:

> For the purpose of knowledge, then, the region of mystic experience is as real as any other region of human experience (L 23, 97).

The expansion of consciousness and of faculties still nearly unknown to scientific research is taken by Iqbal as unquestionably true experience in cases as that of the mystic Ḥallāj who becomes one of his ideal figures as having realized the greatest possible closeness to God. Iqbal's Perfect Man is not the man without God, or who replaces a God "Who has died", that means who unveils the ficticious character of religion, [69]) but contrariwise the man who has fully realized his personal relation with the God with whom he lives,

66) W. Braune, *Der islamische Orient*, p. 182 about ʿAzzām's concept of Islam as the religion of superman. A. ʿAzzam is a close relation of ʿAbdulwahhāb ʿAzzām, the former Egyptian Ambassador to Pakistan who has translated Iqbal's poetry into Arabic.
67) E. Benz, *Der Übermensch*, Zürich, 1961.
68) Cf. L. Massignon, *L'homme parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique*, Eranos, 1947.
69) Benz, *o.c.*, ch. 1 (about Feuerbach).

works, and talks. We are here not in the world of Philosophy but in the tradition of the Islamic *insān kāmil*, the Perfect Man of Sufism.

For classical Islam, the Prophet himself is the *insān kāmil*, man par excellence, and Iqbal is always regardful of this connection with the Prophet. Nevertheless his Perfect Man is not, as in Ibn ᶜArabī's or Jīlī's theosophy, a merely metaphysical being.

> Ibn ᶜArabī has cut off the idea of Perfect Man from that of the Prophet and has put it at the beginning of his system so that God, world, and man become only the three aspects of the same concept... and the Perfect Saint identifies himself with the Perfect Man completely and becomes himself the vicegerent Lord of the Universe. [70] The Perfect Man is "the eye of the world whereby God sees His own works, [71] he is the "microcosmos of a higher order who reflects not only the powerful nature but also the Divine powers as in a mirror". [72]

It is not this aspect of the Perfect Man which Iqbal intends to emphasize; his faithful Muslim is not a mere reflection of Divine attributes or an aspect of the all-pervading reality—it is simply the man who feels that the loftier stages of life he reaches the more he is the slave of God, a slave

> of whose dust of the road the sun is but an atom,
> and of whose ascension the Qurᵓān is a witness (Mus 8).

Here, we have grasped again the point of comparison, even likeness, with the Prophet who is the 'Slave of God' par excellence (vd. II b). Just as in the Christian interpretation of the Übermensch Christ is the Übermensch once for all, [73] so the Perfect Man with Iqbal is, so to say, he who attains the perfect *imitatio Muhammadi*.

The state of Slave is the highest possible that man can reach and is even preferable to that of God—

> do not sell the state of Slave for all the majesty of being God (PM 157)

because it involves the loving submission and the possibility of adoration and worship, of service in the widest sense of the word;

> In Thy world I am a servant,
> In my world Thou art Lord and Sovereign.

Exactly as the Prophet was able of standing in the presence of God, without being annihilated, so the perfected man must remain upright before God, for the light of God

> instead of extinguishing the candle of individuality, increases its glow. Hence man's perfection can be determined in proportion to the degree of his selfpossession in the presence of God.

That is referred to in the lines

> If thou wantest to see God more clearly,
> then learn to see thy ego more clearly (AH 154),

for man and God are each others' witnesses, as the poet has written in an important paragraph of the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*. In the *Jāvīdnâme*, however, he enumerates three witnesses for the ego (v. 121 ff.): self-consciousness, to see oneself with one's own eyes; the consciousness of the others, and the consciousness of God: to see oneself with God's light which means to say, to remain in this Divine light without being annihilated. For Iqbal, the highest experience is not the *fanā*, the submerging of the human self in the fathomless abyss of Divine unity, nay

> unitive erperience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite Ego, it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite (L 110).

This idea had been expressed already in the Introduction of the *Asrār*:

> that the true person... absorbs God Himself into his ego (p. XIV)

and then explained in a somewhat less shocking way in the notes that this act could take place "by assimilating Divine attributes" (Notes 1).

In order to prove that human personality can rather embrace God instead of being lost in Him Iqbal cites the noted tradition that

> Heaven and earth do not contain Me, but the heart of My faithful servant contains Me,

[70] H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ᶜArabi*, p. 117.
[71] Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, Commentary I, p. 81.
[72] Nicholson, *Studies*, 82; cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 355; H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen*. ZDMG 79/1925.
[73] Benz, *o.c.*, about the Christian concept of Übermensch.

and illustrates this Divine saying by a story of the Prophet who went astray in the desert when still a child, but his despairing nurse Halima was consolated by a heavenly voice telling her that 'he would not get lost to her, nay the whole world would be lost in him', an anecdote which had been narrated by Maulānā Rūmī in his *Mathnawī* (Secrets XIX).

The mystery that man feels:

> Thou hast no room in the Kaaba, nor comest into the temple of idol-worshippers—
> But how quickly comest Thou, longing, to longing people!
>
> (PM 207)—

this mystery of God's indwelling in the human heart had been touched by many a poet, like Sarmad who hold that

> the Molla said that Aḥmad went to Heaven—
> Sarmad said: The Heaven came to Aḥmad,

or Mīr Dard who has versified the above-mentioned tradition—

> Heaven and earth how could they contain Thy greatness—
> It is my heart where Thou canst dwell. [74])

But for Iqbal this traditional word entailed the proof for his theory that the fully developed ego can embrace the Divine person. However this mystery is not so easy to solve, and there are always possible oscillations between the different modes of perception. Iqbal is well aware that "the centre of a completely individualized being cannot be entered by any other individualized being, and it cannot be made into a mere part of higher unity", [75]) to use Tillich's word:

> It is impossible that an ego should find place in an ego,
> But if an ego is the essence of itself, then it is perfection (ZA GR 222).

[74]) Cf. ZA 61; the idea is common to all religions; for a Jewish example cf. R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Mystical and Magical Contemplation*, in: History of Religions, I, 1 p. 24; or the Christmas-Poem 1961 of R. Pannwitz (still unprinted):

> Und das innigste, das herz des herzens
> ist die cella die unendlich raum hat
> die den endlichen den weltraum einschließt.

[75]) Tillich, *o.c.*, p. 26.

It is difficult to give any definition of this loving encounter between man and God—

> I do not know I nor He—
> But I know that I is on His breast (AH 174).

There is the strange feeling that an essential union is impossible; and that God, though "nearer than our jugular vein" (Sūra 50/16) is always present, even immanent, and yet transcending all human being in an ineffable way—

> O Thou that art like the soul in the body of the Universe—
> Thou art our soul, yet Thou art ever fleeing from us! (AK 1617 ff.),

or, in a pure immanentistic strain:

> Thou runnest in our blood like potent wine—
> But ah! How strange Thou comest, and too rare (Lāle 89).

Iqbal has deeply felt this mutual attraction between God and man, the longing of that loving and living personality which man calls God, and in many of his poetical prayers he has referred to this highest experience in most beautiful verses, avowing that

> The scent of the rose has first shown the way towards the rose-garden—
> Otherwise how could the nightingale know that there is a garden? (PM 255) [76])

God, the infinite Ego, is the source of life for the finite ego which can maintain its existence only as long as it is in contact with this all-embracing Divine person.

> The Self has existence from the existence of God,
> The Self has show from the showing of God,
> I do not know where this splendid pearl
> Would be, if there be no ocean (AH 173)—

this quatrain coins poetically what Iqbal had written a decade earlier in the Lectures (p. 72):

> Like pearls we live and move and have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine Life.

This ego, born in the heart of the infinite Ego, developing in Him,

[76]) These lines belong to another context, but the idea expressed here is exactly that of the attraction of grace which enables man to move towards God.

and yet distinct from Him, unable to exist without Him, but also unable to be non-existent in His presence (PM 199) is like a secret in the breast of the world (BJ 6)—a secret which God has revealed to the creation and which in its turn now reveals both itself and God. We may see here a reminiscence (as also in AH 116) of a tradition which, though coming into existence comparatively late among the mystics, has influenced mystical poetry and speculation rather deeply—the *ḥadīth qudsī*: "Man is my mystery, and I am his mystery" which is not only quoted in Maulānā Rūmī's *Mathnawī* but largely in the writings of Indian Muslim poets and must have been very popular in India. [77]) But in general it has been used for signifying man as the Perfect Man in the monistic sense as essentially not distinct from God, whereas Iqbal has embedded it into his philosophy of the two egos, growing separately and yet mysteriously joined. And the thinker who had with daring formulations aimed at showing God in His different aspects as the most active Personality, confesses at the end of the road that "the Muslim who sees in himself the secret of the *Laulāka*", [78]) i.e. who has understood the Prophet as the goal and limit of creation and as his own model—cannot reach a higher level than him who has said *mā ᶜarafnāka*—'We do not know Thee' (AH 206)—the mystery can only be approached but never solved completely.

Those critics who have seen in the ego-philosophy of Iqbal a dangerous influence of Nietzschean thought, or a horrible attack on every kind of traditional values as manifested in mysticism need only read the letter Iqbal wrote in 1918:

> I am the protector of that kind of Self which has come forth from real Selflessness, that means which is the result of the emigration towards God (*hijrat ilā Allāh*) M II 59).

In the light of Iqbal's poetry this sentence tends at the truth that it is only through the contact with God that the purified and refined self can emerge the formation of which he aspired to:

Write Allah on the tablet of thy heart,

77) *al-insān sirrī wa anā sirruhu*, cf. B. Z. Furūzanfar, *aḥadīth-i Mathnawī*, No. 162.

78) *Laulāka mā khalaqtuᶜl-aflāka*: If thou werst not I had not created the spheres, id. No 546 in different forms. It has been elaborated by mystics up to recent times; cf. ch. II B.

So that thou seest both thy Self and Him more openly (AH 64).

"To live with God is absolute life", he attests in another verse (Mus 42), and this life in the presence of God is expressed in his work by the word *naẓar* 'seeing', 'vision'. When Iqbal makes (in the *Jāvīdnāme*) the wise man Jahāndōst say:

What is the proof? The face of the Beloved!

he is alluding to the widely known verse of Shiblī, the Bagdadian mystic and friend of Ḥallāj (d. 945) who is related to have recited on his deathbed the verse:

The house where Thou art does not need a candle—
The day they will ask for proofs, our proof is Thy face! [79])

The quest for the vision of God forms a constantly repeated pattern in Iqbal's poetry. *Naẓar* is, however, not the visio beatifica in its technical meaning, albeit this problem, too, has puzzled his mind, it is rather the immediate experience of Divine presence, as contrasted to *khabar*, information, i.e. the knowledge given by others and accepted blindly.

Leave him who never won to sight
And bears repast alone;
Who makes long speech, but the delight
of vision gives to none—(ZA II 59).

That is one of the reasons why Iqbal contrasts *ᶜishq* and *ᶜilm*, love and science, love being, to a certain extent, the term correspondent to the Bergsonian intuition: the work of love is immediate experience, that of science, careful scrutinization of given facts. In his quest for 'vision' Iqbal has, however, never taken the path of those mystics who tried to realize the beauty of their Divine Beloved manifested in human beauty, and the word *naẓar*, notorious in classical Persian poetry in the sense of "looking at the beautiful young men" has never been stained with any similar signification in Iqbal's verses. [80]) Nothing temporal can reveal the fullness of God's beauty and majesty, He being beyond all likeness; but on the other hand, this world and the other world are, essentially, not even veils which hide the mystery of the Godhead, they are nothing for the passionate eye—

79) Sarrāj, *k. al-lumaᶜ*, p. 209.

80) Ritter, *Meer*, about the problem of *naẓar ilāʾl-murd*, p. 459 ff.

neither is this world His veil nor that world His cover—
If thou hast the burning of the view, then thou canst have the vision (ZA II 39).

Man should be transformed entirely into *naẓar*, vision (BJ 184): Iqbal has quoted a verse of Maulānā Rūmī pertaining to this problem (J 182 f.), and his poetry is impressed by the desire that human life should get into permanent contact with the Divine reality, a life in *yaqīn*, the classical word for the absolute certitude of interior experience (AH 156); for

He who has seen, is Imām for the world,
I and thou are still incomplete, he is complete (ZA GR 232).

This vision can be obtained by exploring the depths of the Self where the secrets of faith are hidden (one is reminded of the innumerable mystic prescriptions which advise man to enter his own heart in order to find his Divine Beloved, the 'sweet host of the soul', or the Divine spark).

If thou doest not see the Self, thy religion is, to be constrained,
Such a religion means to be far away from God (Pas 40).

When this and similar lines are isolated from their context one could interpret them in a monistic sense, as hinting at the identity of the soul and God, of *ātman* and *brahman*. But Iqbal wants—if I am not mistaken—to indicate that those who have understood the possibilities of their own ego will also be sensitive to the possibilities of God and disposed to partake of the creative dialogue between the two egos which rescues man from the state of blind acceptance and makes him Lord of his own destiny. The cry for Divine nearness, for the realization of the Qurʾānic word "We are near" (Sura 50/16), is uttered too many times in Iqbal's work, the Divine revelation, too often asked for—thus it would be near to impossible to explain a sudden turn to monistic ideas in Iqbal's poetry.

Discussing the problem of Self, Iqbal was faced with the problem of power. His first descriptions of the Self in the *Asrār* display it as a powerful being, animated by an almost Nietzschean will-to-power without being cut off its religious basis. This problem of power was all the more important for the poet-philosopher as he was born in a time of utter weakness of India, of the Muslims in general, and of

the Muslims of India in particular. Therefore he concentrated on the power-problem even though facing the fact that 'power' could be easily mistaken for a sheer brute force. In his Notebook he reflects in 1910:

Power is more divine than truth. God is power, Be ye, then, like your father who is in Heaven! (SR 63 and sequ.),

pointing acutely to both the Christian ideal of humility and to the un-Christian practice of the rulers of India. It was his aim to show that

Life is power made manifest,
and its mainspring is the desire for victory (AK 1045 f.).

The different allegories which he uses in the *Asrār* are nothing but a commentary on that will-to-power which has been described by a modern protestant thinker as "a designation of the dynamic self-affirmation of life". [81]) It took Iqbal about ten years — according to his own words—to become able to air his opinion on this problem which struck him first during his stay in Europe, and led him to the feeling that

Religion without power is nothing but sheer philosophy. That is a most right problem, and this idea has brought me to commit to paper a mathnawī (M II 45, 1915)—

a *Maʿhnawī* in which he writes that (now somewhat milder than in the *Stray Reflections*)

Strength is the twin of truth...
Power explains the mystery of truth and falsehood (AK 1067, 69).

He was, in this assertion, not too far from the greatest medieval scholar and mystical theologian of Islam, Ghazzālī, who had explained in his *Iḥyāʿulūm ad-dīn* that weakness and lie go inseparably together, [82]) nor of Milton, in whose work the power-problem plays a paramount role and who says in similar words that "all wickedness is weakness". [83]) In Iqbal's concept of the rising gamut of egohood

81) Tillich, *o.c.*, p. 36.
82) Ghazzālī, *iḥyāʿulūm ad-dīn*, part IV, k. al-maḥabba.
83) R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Lucifer and Prometheus*: the problem of power with Milton.

in all beings, the will-to-power is included, if we take it in the splendid formulation of R. Pannwitz, as

> das ausgreifende, einverleibende, sich mehrende und steigernde, sich mit sich selber messende und im anderen noch überwältigende, vernichtend-erschaffende Leben, dieses von seinen untersten bis zu seinen obersten Potenzen. [84])

And one may quote once more Paul Tillich who has given the finest definition of power in this dynamic sense:

> All life process is the more powerful the more non-being it can include in its self-affirmation without being destroyed by it. [85]) The more centred a being is the more power of being is embodied in it. The completely centred, self-related and self-aware being, man, has the greatest powers of being. He has a world, not only an environment, and with it infinite potentialities of self-realization. [86])

That would correspond exactly to Iqbal's ideal man with his powerful self, which is

> the hunter, and its game are sun and moon (ZA GR 214),

and the remarks of Tillich about the ontological unity of life and power [87]) can be applied without difficulty to Iqbal's anthropology and theology too albeit he has never defined it this way.

Yet, he was aware of the ambivalence of power:

> Cut adrift from religion it is a deadly poison,
> wedded to religion it is an antidote for all poisons.

Since the essence of religion—in the widest possible meaning—is, with Iqbal what he calls love, the union of power and love is required for his system. [88])

To the problem of love a large part of Iqbal's poetical work is dedicated. Love is, in his terminology, the force which brings man nigh to God and consolidates the ego, and which sometimes even corresponds to intuition. It is the fiery element, which enables the growth of the personality, and without which real life cannot exist.

The history of the concept of love in Islam is long and compli-

84) R. Pannwitz, *Aufbau*, p. 205; cf. also p. 157.
85) Tillich, *o.c.*, p. 40.
86) Id., p. 44.
87) Id., p. 48.
88) Cf. Werblowsky, *o.c.*, p. 74 f.

cated. [89]) The earliest generation of Muslim theologians was not familiar with this term. Although some Qurʾānic verses indicate that God loves those who do right, there is only a single verse which can be—and has been indeed—taken as proof for the mutual love of man and God; that is Sūra 5/59 "He loves them and they love Him", a verse which has granted later generations the proof not only for mutual love but for the mystery that God's love is preceding human love. However orthodoxy has always understood love of God—if they admitted its possibility at all—in the meaning of obedience to His law; the pure mystical interpretation, starting with Rābiʿa (d. 801) only slowly took firmer roots. The term *ʿishq* with its cognition of burning, longing love, passion, has been rejected even by most of the earlier mystics, with the significant exception of Ḥallāj who has called the inmost dynamic principle in God *ʿishq*. In later centuries, however, mystics have sublimated the theory of love and have entered into the most subtile speculations about its essence and its attributes (though one of them admitted that "everything is described by something finer than itself—but there is nothing finer than love: how could it be described?"). Imām Ghazzālī [90]) has tried to prove that God alone is worthy of love, and that it is not only possible but even necessary to love Him, whilst his younger brother Aḥmad [91]) composed with his *sawāniḥ* one of the profoundest collections of aphorisms pertaining to a highly sublimated concept of mystical love. In Ibn ʿArabī and his followers, eventually, love becomes the working principle in all manifestations of the One, from the highest to the lowest one. Using the tradition "I was a hidden treasure", Ibn ʿArabī shows that "God the One in His supreme isolation and simplicity loved Himself for and in Himself, and so loved to be known and manifested. This was the cause of creation. In loving Himself the One loved all the essences of things latent in His essence." [92])

Love is, thus, the cause of creation as well as of the return of all

89) Cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Gottesliebe in der islamischen Theologie*, Islam 1919; H. Ritter, *Arabische und persische Schriften über die profane und mystische Liebe.* (Philologika VII); A. Schimmel, *Studien zum Begriff der mystischen Liebe in der frühislamischen Mystik*; Anawati-Gardet, *Mysticisme.*
90) Cf. H. Dingemans, *Al-Ghazzali's boek der liefde.*
91) Ahmad Ghazzali, *sawāniḥ*, Istanbul, 1941.
92) A. Affifi, *Ibn Arabi*, p. 170 ff.; cf. F. Meier, *Eranos Jb.*, 1946, p. 219; similar quotations from Nasafī.

created beings into their Divine source and ground. But this is no longer the creative love between man and God which enables the human being to talk to God in unheard words, nor a personal sympathy between the Creator and each of His creatures, but rather an impersonal force of attraction. Love remains nothing but the conative element in the whole scale of beings, whereas it is in the great mystics, especially in Rūmī, a personal and free encounter, a most wonderful power which is, though innate in everything, not bound to space and time and has no goal but "the attraction of the Friend" (Matth. VI 4.5). Iqbal seems to be close to the designation of love as conative force when he describes it in the Introduction of the *Asrār*:

> This word is used in a very wide sense and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb (i.e. what we have called Power).
> Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realize them.

But seen in a broader context, one feels a more personal tinge in Iqbal's use of this term. The famous Chapter III in the *Asrār* "Showing that the Self is strengthened by Love" which belongs to the most impressive parts of that poem, is reminiscent of a similiar passage in Rūmīs *Mathnawī* (II 1529 ff.)

> Love instructs it to illumine the world.
> Love fears neither sword nor dagger,
> Love is not born of water and air and earth,
> Love makes peace and war in the world,
> Love is the Fountain of Life, Love is the flashing sword of Death
> The hardest rocks are shivered by Love's glance:
> Love of God at last becomes wholly God...

Iqbal has, in never ending reiterations and ever new expressions praised that love which is

> my Imām (whereas reason in his slave), (ZA I 73)

and which is

> enough for ant and bird and man in both worlds (ZA p. 264).

which is

> the essence of life, and whose essence is the Self

and the breath of Gabriel, the heart of Muhammad Mustafa,

> the messenger of God, the word of God (BJ 128),
> the mystery of the heart,
> the field and the harvest of man (Lāle 91) [93]

However it would be erroneous to assume from the phrase that Love is 'the word and messenger of God' that God is conceived in Iqbal's philosophy as love in the common Christian meaning. He has distanced himself from this idea very early. What he intends with 'love' is rather the moving power of life which, to quote again Tillich, [94]) destroys what is against love and must be united with power. The *lā* in the confession of faith is significant of this love-power-unit: the Divine Unity as opposed to everything non-Divine; and the faithful is the fiery destroyer of whatever is against this essential powerful unique Divine personality.

Iqbal would also scarcely have agreed with the interpretation of the Muslim creed which I happened to learn from some Turkish mystics—*la ilāh illā al-ʿishq*, There is no God but Love, such an interpretation effacing the personal character of the Divine. Love remains an attribute of God (not, as Ḥallāj held, His essence); we may call it the sum total of all active attributes in God; and man, in unfolding his own activity, is able to draw nigh to this Divine love (cf. J v. 169).

Iqbal has praised this marvellous force which brings man in closer contact with God, and has uttered in this respect sometimes words which are reminiscent of the ecstatic poems of earlier mystics

> Lo, love's ocean is my vessel
> And love's ocean is my strand;
> For no other ship I hanker,
> Nor desire another land (ZA I 10).

Or, as he says in the *Asrār*:

> I sowed my eye into the field of love
> and reaped a harvest of vision (AK 411 ff.).

Love becomes, in short, in this context the symbol for that experience of intuition in which the mystic grasps reality it its wholeness in a single undiscernible moment. And it is just this intuitional experience of God which makes man religious—

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[93]) Cf. ZA GR p. 221.
[94]) Tillich, p. 47.

Be a flame and set afire the straws before thee—
there is no access for men of dust into the sanctuary of life
(ZA II 23).

As staunch a follower of the prescripts of his own religion Iqbal was as convinced was he that in this highest personal experience even the so-called unbeliever is faithful:

If there exists love, then even infidelity is muslimhood, and if there is no love, then even the Muslim is an infidel and an heretic (BJ 54; cf. ZA II 56; BJ 153).

This intuition brings forth the fruit of right work—

from love take the lesson of work and do whatever thou wilst—
for love is the essence of lust and the soul of education (PM 178).

Not a mere outwardly fulfilment of the law—for *ʿamal* is in oriental poetry rather the prescribed order of religious duties than work in the sense to which we are accustomed [95])—is the goal of religion but action in harmony with the Divine will. Thus Iqbal can describe as one of the characteristics of the *ghulāmī*, the state of subserviency, the duality of love and religion whereas the faithful slave of God realizes the *tauḥīd*, the unity, also in this sphere, and sees no difference between the two (ZA 258). Therefore, the true believer can be called simply 'lover' (*ʿāshiq*):

Lover is not he whose lip is warm with sighing,
Lover is he who has the two worlds on the palms of his hands;
Lover is he who repairs his own world,
and does not find room in a world which has limits (ZA II 27).

Love is oscillating between the two poles of the Divine—its beginning is *qahhārī*, a word which Iqbal sometimes uses instead of *jalāl*, the Divine tremendous and stupendous Majesty; its end is *dilbarī*, or *jamāl*, the fascinating Divine Beauty (Pas 15 f., J last part); it is the force which cuts man from transient worldly relations and makes him soar into the Divine presence.

This love, or intuition, in the Bergsonian sense, is directly opposed to analytical knowledge [96]); it is, as Evelyn Underhill has said so appropriately, more valid than intellectual vision—

95) Cf. H. Ritter, *L'orthodoxie*, p. 171.
96) cf. Dar, *o.c.*, p. 109.

. . . the word Love as applied to the mystics is to be understood in its deepest fullest sense; as the ultimate expression of the self's most vital tendencies, not as the superficial affection or emotion often dignified by this name . . . It is a condition of humble access, a life-movement of the self: more direct in its methods, more valid in its results—even in the hands of the least lettered of its adepts—than the most piercing intellectual vision of the greatest philosophic mind. [97])

That is the reason why Iqbal, as well as his predecessors in the field of mystical experience, of love, has opposed this power to *ʿaql*, 'reason', 'intellect', and *ʿilm*, 'knowledge', often 'science'. [98]) Iqbal was far from advocating a simple creed of the unlearned (in spite of one or two verses of his last period) [99]) and of rejecting scientific methods for the development of humanity, even for the examination of spiritual realities; he has, on the contrary, highlighted the importance of scientific methods as taught, according to him, first by the Qurʾān.

Science is an instrument for the preservation of life,
Science is a means of invigorating the Self

And he has introduced the Qurʾānic expression that "Wisdom is much good" (Sūra 2/272) even among the alleged foundations of the Qurʾānic world as displayed by Jamāladdīn Afghānī in the *Jāvīdnāme* (v. 658 ff.; cf. PM 6). However in its opposition to *ʿishq*, love, *ʿilm* or *ʿaql* means the analytical test, the measuring and analyzing of the highest experience. Reason is compared in this respect to a chain which hinders the foot of the believer from reaching reality in one moment (J v 22); it is contrasted with the heart (*dil, qalb*) which has been in Sufistic tractates always the organ of immediate experience of the reality of realities. Only thanks to the heart, the organ of intuition, this handfull of dust which is man gains any value—

97) E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 113.
98) We meet, in similar meaning, the contrast of *dhikr* and *fikr*, f.i. ZK 16: The rank of *fikr* (thinking) is the measuring of time and space, The rank of *dhikr* (recollection) is "Glorified be my Lord the Most High" (Sure 17/95).
99) Rare exceptions are found in Iqbal's last verses, starting with the line BJ 65:

In science is also joy, but
It is a paradise where there are no houris,

and culminating in AH 140:

A simpleton with good religion
is better than a learned man without religion.

Cf. also AH 144.

> Thou canst give moon and sun and stars out of thy hand for the value of that handfull of dust which contains a heart (ZA II 41).

Just as the flute is not loved because it is a dry piece of reed but because the longing and loving heart expresses its feelings in its melodies (ZK 113), so man, too, is judged according to the strength of his heart, of his immediate experience of the Divine (cf. ZA GR 205).

> The nest of love is the never sleeping heart—
> My eyes are asleep but my heart is awake (J v 37),

says the poet with reference to a famous tradition of the Prophet.[100] In a whole series of quatrains he has praised the world of the heart in which there is nothing but *Allāh Hū* (AH 170 ff.). He interpretes this heart, relying on a Qurʾānic verse (32/6 ff.), alluding to the creation of man, and concludes hence that

> the heart is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rūmī, 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 Qurʾān, something which 'sees', and its reports, if properly interpreted, are never false (L 15 f.).

This aspect of the heart is pointed at, when Iqbal says sarcastically of his countrymen:

> Our heart has died, and religion died by its dying—
> we bought two deaths in one bargain (AH 204);

wherever the organ of intuition has lost its power there religion is dead and consists only of mummy-like forms wrapped in dust-dry commentaries and super-commentaries.

From this standpoint the contrast of heart and intellect—which is as old as mystical literature in Islamic and non-Islamic countries, can be understood—

> for the intellect the company of dust is nice; the heart does not mix (ZA I 17).
>
> Reason can enlighten only the outward order of the world, but cannot see its inside,

writes Iqbal in 1936 (M II 250) as a true pupil of all those mystically

[100]) Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ, bāb al-wuḍūʾ*, About the heart, cf. L. Massignon, *Le 'cœur'* ...

inclined religious leaders as well as of the vitalist philosophers who had taught as one of the main issues of religious life "Cease to identify yourself with your intellect".[101])

In Iqbal's imagination, reason and science are often compared to an idol-temple, and love is the power which destroys all the false deities which intellect puts on the way of life:

> The whole world bows in adoration to love—
> Love is the Maḥmūd that conquers the Somnath of intellect (AK 1487 f.).

This motif pervades Iqbal's whole work; sometimes in the diagrams of Abraham's breaking the idols of his father, sometimes laid down without cipher. Only love can be called a 'real muslim'; because it sees the One and advances towards the One, whereas reason has still bound the magians'-girdle (ZA II 13)—which means not only that it creates new idols before which ignorant people prostrate but also that it is still limited by the spell of serial time which hinders man from grasping the fullness of Divine time (cf. J 322, III D). Even religion and religious law are simply empty and vain pagodas of phantasy if deprived of the experience of love and left to reasoning (BJ 153).

Love is contrasted with bookishness which is personified in the poor little bookworm that has made its nest in the leaves of an Avicenna manuscript, ignorant of the joy which the moth finds in the consuming fire of love (PM 119) and does not know that the books of philosophy and scholastic theology can be washed off by the lover who has opened his heart with the needle of realization (ZA II 46).[102]) But though reason itself is ambivalent, and can bring precious fruits if united with love, Iqbal struggles mercilessly against that intellect which is separated from love and which manifests itself in the modern world as the destroyer of the race

> Modern knowledge is the greatest blind—
> idol-worshipping, idol-selling, idol-making (AK 1497 f.),

that is the complaint which the poet raises pertinaciously against modern sciences which he identifies with the loveless European spirit in

[101]) Underhill, *o.c.*, p. 44.

[102]) Oriental ink is solvable in water; that is why oriental poetry uses so often the expression: "to wash off with tears the book of deeds" and similar symbols.

general. His equation East = love, and West = science, is, like all generalizations, wrong. Nevertheless it forms an important element in his poetical language, and the identification of intellect and denial of love with reference to the Europeans is common stock in his poetry the longer the more.

Iqbal has endeavoured to teach how reason and love, fundamentally emerging from the same Divine source, can cooperate and then create new values in the world, and hence how reason can become again something Divine whereas it is, separated from love, becoming gradually the expression of Satanic powers (the identification of Satan with intellect is at least as old as Maulānā's *Mathnawī*, v. III A). The best known description of this twofold aspect of reason is the dialogue between Love and Science in the *Payām-i Mashriq* (PM 111).

The use of the term 'reason' is very wide in Iqbal's work. As contrasted to the sanctuary of the fire of love of the believers, it is not only the 'church of the philosophers' (PM 208), it is also the analytical power which can approach reality only step by step, and which never enters the essence of God but is contented with describing His attributes. Reason is

> the open question, love the hidden answer (ZK 13)—

a fine definition when one thinks of the importance of interrogation for the true scientific method; but for Iqbal, it means that reason will invariably remain a veil before the Divine presence. It can move only slowly through the crooked paths of secondary causes whereas loving intuition is the polo-player in the field of activity (R 125 ff.).

Reason is recognized as a useful light on the road towards God, but not as a dwelling-place (BJ 119, cf. ZA II 14), and in a charming verse Iqbal says that

> Love leapt unhesitatingly into Nimrud's fire,
> Intellect is still busy with looking from the roof-top (ZA II 38, M II 186)

That is the same idea which Maulānā Rūmī has often expressed in his *Mathnawī*,[103]) and hence he is the crown witness in the *Jāvīdnāme* when the problem of love and reason is dealt with—it would

[103]) *Mathnawī* VI, 4161.

be very easy to enumerate many parallels to this main idea of Iqbal's in the poetry of classical Sufism with its antipathy against the slow-moving reason and its triumphant cry of love "which burns the veils of patience".[104]) As a philosopher, however, Iqbal has given intellect its full right besides the intuitional experience, and one must read also his poetry in the light of the introductory remarks of his Lectures where he holds that

> There is not any reason to suppose that thought and intuition are essentially opposed to each other. They spring up from the same root and complement each other. The one grasps Reality piecemal, the other grasps it in its wholeness. The one fixes its gaze on the eternal, the other on the temporal aspect of Reality. The one is present enjoyment of the whole of Reality; the other aims at traversing the whole by slowly specifying and closing up the various regions of the whole for exclusive observation. Both are in need of each other for mutual rejuvenation. Both seek visions of the same Reality which reveals itself to them in accordance with their function of life (L 2 f.).

Thus, love and reason belong to each other, in spite of Iqbal's personal inclination towards the element of love and his condemnation of pure intellect. As in so many parts of his work, the poet-philosopher tries to maintain here, too, the essential unity of the different aspects of life as revealed in the pairs of outwardly contrasting manifestations.

The same holds true of another pair of contrasting concepts which has played an important role in classical poetry and thought: that is *husn* and *ʿishq*, beauty and love, whose story forms the subject of many an allegorical romance from Avicenna to the Turkish mystic Ghālib Dede. Iqbal has, however, used this pair comparatively rarely, and on the whole with a perceptible predilection for love as the dynamic and eternal element.[105]) Sometimes, both items are taken as revelations of the Self—

> Love becomes through the taste of vision completely view,
> Beauty is longing for showing itself and wants to become visible (PM 232);

it is again the contrast of *jalvat*, manifestation, and *khalvat*, the immediate experience of the Divine which characterizes this contrast.

[104]) Yunus Emre, *Divan*, p. 103.
[105]) M. M. Sharif, *The Genesis of Iqbal's art*, p. 33, 22.

Iqbal has never developed a theory of aesthetics proper—beauty is for him wherever action and desire reveal themselves—

> Beauty is created of desire's spring-tide

This desire which he mostly calls love, is described in various expressions—it may be called *sūz*, burning, and often *sūz-i nātamām*, the unfinished burning, or *kūshishi nātamām*, never finished striving (B J 131), it is *ḥasrat*, longing, or *just-ū-jū*, seeking and searching, *ārzū*, wish, or *ishtiyāq*, nostalgia, or even *tamannā*, wish. [106])

This differently named force, the creative power, is the core of human personality, and only by this fire of passion (J v 1111) man is capable of producing great work. It is

> the capital of sultan and prince;
> Longing is the world-looking glass of the poor (Mus 10).

Thanks to the untiring activity of his wishes man becomes living; otherwise he would remain lifeless like stone and clay, a place, where others rub their feet (Mus 10). Aiming at unfolding all its hidden potentialities, craving for higher and loftier levels of existence—all this is included in the *sūz*, the actualized fire of love which even may create idols when the God who is longed for has not yet revealed Himself (cf. PM 170, 204). It is the force which enables the reed-flute to produce melodies, and the poet is aware that not the quietly turning home into one's Divine source of life but the eternal quest for the never reached goal makes man productive. He knows that "fulfilled love is, at the same time, extreme happiness and the end of happiness. The separation is overcome. But without separation there is no love and no life", as Tillich has pointed out. [107]) Thus Iqbal has composed his most pathetic poems about the inexhaustible mystery of separation:

> To cut ourselves from Him, is our innate nature,
> To tremble and not to reach, is our nature.
> Neither He without us, nor we without Him—what is that?
> Our separation is separation in union! (ZA GR 222; cf. AH 174)

The separation of lover and beloved gives the power of vision to

106) About *shauq*, *ishtiyāq*, cf. Qushairī, *risāla*, p. 64, or the pathetic expressions of Bayezid Bistami, in ʿAṭṭār, *tadhkirat al-auliyā* I, 159.

107) Tillich, *o.c.*, p. 27.

the dust (ZA GR 220)—for were there only one, no vision is needed: That is Iqbal's reply to the existential monism which he thought so fallacious for mankind because it lacks the element of creative separation and thus may entail deadening quietism. The self, growing stronger and more powerful in the pangs of longing, discovers at last that this yearning is in itself higher than a so-called union which annihilates both itself and the beloved (ZA GR 237). A love which results in complete self-surrender is not genuine love: it extinguishes the self, but unites it not whereas genuine love wishes a union of higher order—that what one could call with the mystic term *baqā*, remaining, which preserves the individuality of both lover and Beloved. That is what Islamic mysticism calls the *waḥdat ash-shuhūd* in which unitive experience is admitted as far as the relation of the Lord and the slave is maintained and which is contrary to the heart-breaking sighs for annihilation that are heard in so many works of Islamic mystics. [108])

> Separation from Thee is dearer to me than the union with others (PM 209),

sings Iqbal and continues, one and a half decade later:

> The Self is brilliant by the light of Divine grandeur,
> Its reachings are from its not-reaching,
> Its separation is a station of the stations of union,
> Its union is one of the stations of separation (AH 172),

That is the paradox situation of the lover who is happier in nostalgia than in satisfaction—who realizes

> endless torment
> of love unsatisfied
> the greater torment
> of love satisfied (T. S. Eliot, Ash-Wednesday),

and who may address his Lord with the paradoxical cry "Oh Thou whose union is eternal separation!" (ʿAṭṭār).

The concept of love in the widest sense of the word—from the life-ruling conative element to the person-to-person encounter—is common to the wide range of religious thinkers all over the world.

108) L. Massignon has duely stressed the significance of the *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, monisme testimonial, and *waḥdat al-wujūd*, monisme existentiel; cf. *L'Alternative de la pensée mystique en Islam: Monisme existentiel ou monisme testimonial.*

The second concept however which Iqbal introduces as a factor for the development of the ego is, in the first moment, somewhat surprising: it is *faqr*, lit. poverty. In classical Islamic mysticism *faqr* means one of the preparatory stages of the mystical path, and has been understood often in a most literary sense as possessing nothing, but has been spiritualized later on as the state of him "who does not need anything but whom everything needs", as Junaid al-Baghdādī has expressed it. [109]) Under the influence of the ascetic-mystic tendencies in Islam *faqr* has gained a positive value, [110]) and traditional literature is fond of opposing the *shāh wa gadā*, King and Beggar, to each other, the *faqīr* becoming a kind of permanent admonition in the presence of worldly and superficial kings, and a protest against wealth and tyranny. Iqbal has used this positive aspect of *faqr* for his theories relying on the tradition ascribed to the Prophet *faqrī fakhrī*, 'My poverty is my pride', which occurs several times in his poetry and is used, as far as I am aware, for the first time in his work shortly after his return from Europe in the 'Address to the Youth of Islam' (BD 198). *Faqr* as he understands it is the exact contrary to begging—

> by begging, the beggar is made poorer . . .
> Like the moon, scrape food from thine own side (AK 450).

Poverty in Iqbalian sense is freedom from everything besides God, and is therefore the state of the prophets who devote themselves exclusively to the service of God: thus the science of the jurist and the philosopher can be contrasted to the poverty of Christ and Moses (BJ 110). *Faqr* is also the attribute of ʿAlī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, whose name has become, in connection with the conquest of the fortress of Khaybar, a synonym of the victory of true poverty over

109) Cf. Sarrāj, *k. al-lumaʿ*, p. 108.

110) About *faqīr*, cf. Ritter, Meer, ch. XXIV, 107 ff. Makkī, in the *qūt al-qulūb* II 50, holds that *faqr* is the attribute of the Prophet who should be imitated in every respect. Cf. also the discussion in Hujwīrī's *kashf al-mahjūb* (transl. Nicholson), p. 19-29, 58-61. A new interpretation of *faqr*, not in the mystical sense of ascesis and renunciation, has also been launched by the Arabic modernist Qasīmī (Cairo 1946), quoted by Grunebaum, *Islam* II, p. 154. For Iqbal this holds also true:

> There is no difference between *faqr* and sovereignty:
> This is the sword-play of the soldier, that is the sword-play of the eye (BJ 28),

i.e. both are manifestations of the Divine nature.

worldly strength (Pas 23, cf. J 1196). In one of his last Persian Mathnawīs, Iqbal has described in detail the virtues of this spiritual poverty in a long chapter (Pas 23, 26 ff.): it means, in the language of the Qurʾān (which, however, has never mentioned this concept) the conquest of time and space (Pas 26) and must not be confused with that ascetism which Muslims, under the influence of Christian monkery, have read into this word:

> One poverty teaches the hunter the art of hunting,
> One poverty opens the secrets of world-conquest,
> One poverty brings to nations poverty and dejection,
> One poverty gives clay the quality of elixir (BJ 213).

Iqbal has preached this ideal of *faqr* throughout his life, and has often reproached the Islamic countries and the Islamic rulers for not realizing this spiritual power—

> Your Islam is perhaps something different,
> because for you *faqr* and monkery are one,
> The passivity of the ascetic is repugnant to the spirit of *faqr*,
> For the *faqīr's* boat is completely a cataclysm (ZK 47).

When communicating his ideals to nations, the poet dwells upon the monkish and ascetic misinterpretation of *faqr*, but when addressing kings, he praises *faqr* as the only remedy against idle worldliness and superficial pleasure-hunting. Combined with *amīrī*, the state of the legimitate ruler, *faqīrī*, the state of the genuine poor, forms the ideal attitude for the Muslim ruler who wants to be faithful to the example of the Prophet himself and his immediate successors: the reader of Iqbal's poetry knows how often this pair of words occurs in his verses, be it in the address to King Amānullāh (PM 8) or his successor Nādir Shāh, and his son, Ẓāhir Shāh (Mus 36), be it to King Faruk of Egypt (AH 109 ff.), or simply in the larger context of reflections on the qualities of the true Muslim and the true ruler (cf. ZA I 7, II 13 etc.).

Thus, the word *faqīr*, the poor, can become the signification of the ideal man in Iqbal's poetry, and even the word *qalandar* [111]—the wandering darwesh who is free from all bonds but also from law—has been used in this connection for the faithful who "has nothing and possesses everything".

111) About the meaning of *qalandar*, cf. Ritter, *Oriens* XII, p. 14.

Since power and love involve struggle against everything which is against love, and *faqr* means fight against everything which turns off the eye from God, the Eternally Rich, Iqbal considers strife as one of the elements which strengthen the self and help it to unfold its possibilities. To live means to live in danger (R 147, PM 143), and for this reason the role of the Satanic element in life is fairly important in Iqbal's poetry, since only through acting and counteracting life fulfils itself and leaves behind the lower stages of development (v. III A). Evil and suffering are only a whetstone for man who struggles with them, conquers them and makes them eventually obedient servants to his will, embodying their powers into his own self, as the Qurʾān says:

> And for trial will We test you with evil and with good (Sūra 21/36).

Suffering is included in this concept—Iqbal was well aware of the importance of suffering for the maturing of the personality, and has often reminded his readers of the old symbol which had been frequently used by Maulānā Rūmī: to cast oneself upon the fire like rue (AK 126, J 31): rue and aloe-wood exhale sweet perfumes when burnt—thus man, in the fire of trials and sufferings can prove that he is more than an ordinary log and show unexspected spiritual riches. To accept these torments without outward complaint, is the secret of the faithful—

> lionhood is, to keep back the sigh,
> to sigh is the work of foxes and sheep (ZK 134).

To win force even out of afflictions, and to manifest one's greatness in suffering, is requested from the faithful, and Iqbal has in this connection coined the lines

> I am not afraid of griefs but
> Do not give me a grief which is not worthy of the heart (AH 7),

perhaps reminiscent of one of the last words of the Prophet that the afflictions of the prophets are greatest and that, as even to-day is held in popular piety, "God showers down afflictions on those whom He prefers".[112]) That fits exactly into Iqbal's idea that the more developed the ego is, the better it can stand the heaviest shocks without being destroyed, and can even survive the shock of corporeal death.

Suffering and spiritual struggle are, thus, inevitable for the development of man, and the farther away the spiritual goal, the more difficult the path, the happier is the poet who admits also the possibility and necessity of error during this development (ZA II 24, J 1453).

Error can prove useful provided that man commits it in exercising his own powers and opening new roads for himself. If committed on the trodden path in imitation of those who erred before, error is, of course, only of negative value. For imitation, *taqlīd*, is considered by Iqbal the negative complement of *faqr*, since it weakens and even destroys the ego. *taqlīd* is not only the imitation of oft-repeated poetical or aesthetical pattern, or the following of the opinion of the chains of transmitters of traditions and commentaries without exploring the very content of the transmitted fact—*taqlīd*, in Iqbal's reading, means to accept something without proper effort—

> Be repentant when thou wishest a ruby from thy father's heritage—
> Where is there the pleasure which is hidden in getting a ruby out of the stone (ZA II 61),

perhaps an echo of the Goethean "Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen".

Iqbal's protest against blind acceptance of everything inherited (with the exception, of course, of the Divine law of the Qurʾān) was raised in a time when the Islamic world needed a new impetus, when theologians in different countries had flung a challenge to the blind acceptance of the centuries-old consensus of medieval jurists, wanting to re-open the door of *ijtihād*, of investigating afresh the classical sources of Islamic law; but it was also the time when a new kind of imitation encroached upon the East which, to Iqbal, seemed even more jeopardizing to the cultural life than the adherence to traditional patterns: the imitation of the outward features of Western civilization, the aping of European dress and behaviour, of Europe's ways of thinking and speaking. This *taqlīd* is always included in Iqbal's

112) The idea of suffering has been realized in the most perfect way by al-Ḥallāj; cf. Massignon, *Passion* ..., p. 618; but is also found in most of the great classical mystics; cf. ʿAṭṭār (*Taḏkira* I 309), Makkī (*qūt al-qulūb* II 54); Ghazzālī (*Ibyāʾ* IV 282), and a large part of mystical poetry in all parts of the Islamic world. It suffices to remind of the kind of accusations the mystics — be it Bektashis in Turkey or folk-poets in India — uttered against God's way of "splitting Zakarya with a sew", of "throwing Yunus into the mouth of the fish," etc.); cf. Schimmel, *Yunus Emre*, p. 24 note 17; the type is very popular also with the Punjabi mystic Bullhē Shāh; Iqbal himself alludes to this kind of revolt in Z I 39.

condemnation of imitation whatsoever.[113]) He has written many a powerful poem against this twofold imitation, the most beautiful of them being perhaps the ghazal

> Do not become like a mirror annihilated in the beauty of others,
> and wash from thy heart and eye the dream-picture of the others
> (PM 208).

In the same period he composed the significant quatrain:

> Take thou thine axe, and excavate thy path,
> To go another's road is cruel hard;
> If by thy labour something rare is wrought,
> Though it be sin, it hath its own reward (Lāle 103).

A ḥadīth says that *ijtihād* deserves reward even if it proves wrong, and twofold reward if it proves right. Creative energy and the will to activity do not allow a blind imitation of anything, and will find their own way of acting—"no bird soars too high if he soars with his own wings".[114]) For:

> If imitation had been something useful,
> Our Prophet would have followed the path of his ancestors,

runs the last verse of the *Payām-i Mashriq*, and in the introductory prayer of the *Zabūr-i ʿajam* the poet wants

> one home-born sigh, because he does not live by the breath of others

which includes a cleverly concealed attack on the traditional concept of the healing breath of Christ and so turns into a refutation of European influence.

For Iqbal, imitation belongs to those elements which are significant of subserviency, *ghulāmī*—as opposed to *ʿubūdīya*, the state of the slave of God. Subserviency means a state in which there is no real faith left, even if a man knows the Qurʾān by heart (Pas 50), a state when man bows before other people, and is dependent on others than God. Thus it is again a contrast to *faqr*. A person who makes himself servile to others in this meaning (not in the free loving and benevolent service) is meaner than a dog—

> I have never seen that a dog bowed before a dog (PM 157).

113) Cf. ZK 170:

> But I have fear that his voice of 'reformation'
> In the East is nothing but an excuse for the imitation of the Europeans!

114) Blake, Proverbs of Hell, 125.

This problem of subserviency has been treated in full in the *Zarb-i Kalīm* (p. 78 ff.), where a long chapter is dedicated to the Beaux Arts of the Servants (251 ff.) under which are ranged f.i. music and painting but which contains also a description of the Religion of the servants. The chapter is interesting because it contains Iqbal's verdict on art which is considered useful only as far as it serves to stir the hidden energy in mankind. He was most critical to the existence of fine arts in Islamic culture, and has admired most those buildings which seemed to express the vigorous character of the young and powerful Islam, like the mosque of Cordova, and the Qutub Minar of Delhi. But on the whole the beautiful form as such did not appeal that much to him (cf. Pas 7).

The large concept of subserviency contains whatever weakens human character and declines man from his way to loftier heights. Besides imitation, the concept of fear and timidity is prevalent here. Fear of God is natural and necessary—Iqbal was the last to deny the fear which is awakened by the Qurʾānic revelation, the fear of the Lord of Justice and Power which had overshadowed the religious life of the early mystics, and has been considered in mysticism a necessary stage on the way towards God. On the other hand to fear others than God is nothing else but a kind of hidden *shirk* (polytheism). God being the only one who is to be feared, everything else which may frighten and intimidate mankind becomes a mate of God and thus misleads man from pure monotheism (R 111).

> Every evil which is hidden in thy breast,
> its root is fear, if you look right (R 109).

Therefore a whole chapter in the *Rumūz* is called

> Despair and sadness and fear are the mothers of evil and the cutters of life, and the witness of God's unity finishes these ugly maladies (R 180).

For according to the Qurʾānic description the real friends of God are those "upon whom there is no fear, and they are not sad" (Sūra 9/140, often quoted in Iqbal's poetry). And on the other hand, a believer who has got to create in himself the attributes of God, may well avoid fear: this is a typical 'human' attribute whereas love is divine and therefore eternally valid: thus runs already Maulānā Rūmī's argumentation (Math. V 2184 ff.).

Iqbal has applied these different concepts not only to the individual but as well to the nation. His philosophy of Self is thought valid also for the whole community of faithful, since according to him a nation is, just as the individual, an ego, and has to follow the same lines of conduct as the individual does. In the *Rumūz* where he develops in full his ideas on nationhood he compares the national ego to that of a child which develops slowly until it can say 'I' (R 170). The ideal nation is built on the principle of *tauḥīd*, the attestation of God's unity which is reflected in the essential unity of the nation, in prophethood, in an eternal Divine law, and in a spiritual centre (like the Kaaba).[115]) The poet also includes the principle of maternity into the foundations of the ideal nation. This ideal Muslim nation would comprise all individual Muslim nations and developing gradually its collective Ego through all the elements which are required for the growth of the individual ego too—love, power, effort, etc.—it would unfold and slowly embrace the whole world. The original unity of mankind which has been broken into pieces by the policy of duality between the temporal and religious side of life, by the supremacy of selfish interest, of material aims in different forms, shall be restored once more thanks to the all-embracing ideal of the Muslim society as Iqbal imagined it. His introduction to the first edition of the *Rumūz* gives an impression of what he aimed at:

> Just as in the individual life the acquisition of gain, protection against injury, determination for action, and appreciation of higher values are all dependent on the gradual development of the ego-consciousness, its continuity, enhancement and consolidation, similarly the secret of the life of nations and people depends on the same process, which can be described as the development, preservation and consolidation of the communal ego . . .
> The question arises as to whether in these circumstances it is possible to bring forth a community, the basis of whose collective life will be peace and goodwill. According to the Qur'ān this is possible, but only when man adopts as his ideal the direction of all his thoughts and actions by faith in the unity of God, as ordained by the Almighty. But the quest and attainment of this ideal cannot be left to political statesmanship. It will really be a blessing from God, the Beneficent that abolishing all self-imposed distinctions and differences amongst the nations of the world, a community is created which can be virtually styled as a people obedient to God, and whose thoughts and actions can be truly described in God's own words as those of the witnesses for mankind . . .[116])

115) J. D. J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le Miroir de l'Occident*, 's-Gravenhage, 1961: "Pour lui (i.e. L. Massignon), l'Islam est une communauté religieuse monothéiste, avec une unité de culte et un dépôt commun: le Coran; elle forme un bloc spirituel propre..."

Iqbal thinks that in this ideal nation which is organized according to the eternal rules of the Qur'ān, the individual proper will have space enough for unfolding its powers as widely as possible, and realizing the Qur'ānic order to be God's vicegerent, because in this community the most pious one will be dearest to God (Sura 49/13, R 120). Both individual and nation are called to this vicegerency, and it is therefore surprising only to those who are not acquainted with Iqbal's way of arguing that he applies Divine qualities to the wakeful nation which is both the realization of the mystical experience uttered by Ḥallāj: *Anā'l-ḥaqq*, I am the creative truth (AH 98), and of the Throne-verse "No slumber takes Him nor sleep" (Sura 2/256)

> Among the nations that one is of high rank
> Which is the Imām of the two worlds—
> It does not abstain from its creative work,
> For 'sleep and slumber' are forbidden to it (AH 98),

the ideal individual and the ideal nation are involved every moment in a new work, like God who unfolds fresh creative energies without interruption.

Thus the essential word of Muslim creed—that God is One—who is interpreted as the greatest personality with intensively infinite possibilities of creation, forms likewise the basis of Iqbal's representation of man as real personality, endowed with possibilities for development, the highest being in the pyramid of creatures, nearest to God and yet most endangered by his growing individualization, but formed, in any case, "after the form of God", and also of his picture of the ideal Muslim nation in which Divine vicegerency and harmonious development of the faculties of the individual in accordance with the requirements of the community are warranted through a fresh interpretation of the Divine law thanks not to bookish learning but to the

116) transl. from the introduction of the first edition of the *Rumūz* by S. A. Vahid, Iqbal, p. 234, 237.

contact of the faithful with the Living God and their daily experience of His presence, which makes them "say No to all idolatry and polytheism and let the one true God alone be the ruler in the hearts and lives of man". 117)

b) "Muhammad is the Messenger of God"

Typology of religions compares, in the three great world religions, not the personalities of their founders—Buddha, Christ, and Muhammad—but takes into consideration as respective centres of religious life (Lebenszentrum) the *doctrine* preached by Buddha, the *person* of Christ, and the *Qurʾān* as divine revelation: these are the three vital axes on which each religion turns.

However, phenomenology of religions is also aware of the great importance of the person of the founder, and history shows that, besides the fundamental importance of the Buddhist concept of *dharma* on the one hand, the Qurʾān on the other hand, the historical persons of the Buddha and of Muhammad have been transformed in quite a similar manner by later generations of the faithful, and have got—just as Christ did in Christianity—both a soteriological and a cosmic aspect.

A. Jeffery has written in his interesting article on *Ibn al-ʿArabī's shajarat al-kawn*, that

> many years ago . . . the late Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī remarked on a visit to his friend the Anglican Bishop in Egypt, that the commonest cause of offence, generally unwitting offence, given by Christians to Muslims, arose from their complete failure to understand the very high regard all Muslims have for the person of their Prophet. 118)

The fact that Muhammad has been depicted in European controversial literature from the Middle-ages up to very recent times in a most depraving manner, and that it took the non-muslim world centuries to describe him and his work with justice, has perhaps unconsciously blinded the mind of students and scholars from understanding the great importance of Muhammad for muslim religious life. 119)

117) Söderblom, *o.c.*, p. 299.

118) A. Jeffery, *Ibn al-ʿArabī's shajarat al-kawn*, Stud. Isl. X 44.

119) Cf. f.i. H. Haas, *Das Bild Muhammads im Wandel der Zeiten*; for the Middle Ages: N. Daniel. *Islam and the West*; W. Montgomery Watt, *Mohammad, Prophet and Statesman*; introduction.

Even the average European orientalist is often unaware of the veneration of the Prophet in Islamic countries—

> You can deny God, but can you deny the glory of the Prophet?

asks Iqbal (J 608) as quite correct an interpreter of this feeling, and Constance Padwick has acutely said:

> No one can estimate the power of Islam as a religion who does not take into account the love at the heart of it for this figure (i.e. the Prophet). It is here that human emotion, repressed at some points by the austerity of the doctrine of God as developed in theology, has its full outlet — a warm human emotion which the peasant can share with the mystic. The love of this figure is perhaps the strongest binding power . . . 120)

Whole books are devoted to the embroidering of the short sentence of the Blessings upon the Prophet, many of them famous in Muslim devotion, from West Africa to Indonesia, like the *dalāʾil ul-khairāt*, and the formula of blessing itself is being used sometimes just as a magic spell.—

"Only a slave to whom was revealed"—that is the idea the Qurʾān gives of the Prophet, and there is no doubt that Muslim theology and Muslim piety have always strived to maintain the human personality of Muhammad the Prophet in contrast to the term Son of God which seemed to express for them the greatest deviation from true religion of their Christian neighbours; and as long Muhammad is mentioned by millions of tongues every day as *rasūl Allāh* in the witness formula, there is no danger of his deification. Yet, as human the Prophet Muhammad has been described in the words of the Qurʾān itself, and through the numerous traditions which depict him in all his humanity, there was, from the very beginning of Islamic history, a strong tendency to idealize his personality, to attribute miracles to him, and in a slow but intense development which has been shown excellently by Tor Andrae in his famous study *Die Person Muhammads in Glauben und Lehre seiner Gemeinde*, the veneration of the Prophet reached mystical heights. 121) Starting from certain verses of the Qurʾān,

120) C. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 145.

121) Cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Mohammads*; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-Arabi*; R. A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*; A. Jeffery, *l.c.*; al-Ḥallāj, *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn*, ed. L. Massignon, Paris, 1913; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Lief. II, III; Handwörterbuch s. *Maulid*; Ibn al-Kathir.

Muhammad's future rank as *shafīᶜ*, intercessor for his followers on the Day of Judgment, became one of the centres of popular piety: it is he whom the sorrowful implore, on him is the hope that they may be released from the fire of Hell, and enter the presence of God, and already in rather early mystical theology the greatness and pre-eternity of Muhammad is maintained, f.i. in the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* of Ḥallāj (d. 922).

It is quite natural that the repetition of Muhammad's name in the second part of the confession of faith, just after the name of God, led to the conclusion that his spiritual place was far above that of other beings, that he was prior to creation, and that the worlds would not have been created but for his sake. The ḥadīth qudsī *laulāka*—"If thou werest not, I would not have created the spheres"— has become in mystical literature and poetry, a widely used cipher for the Prophet's pre-eternal glory. This mystical theology was crowned by the idea that Muhammad was the *insān kāmil*, the Perfect Man par excellence, the central point in which divine and human sphere meet, the source of light from which the lights of all the other prophets have been emerged.

It seems, that approximately from the twelfth century onwards a new side of Muhammad-veneration became more and more popular— at least we do not yet know how long it was already in use to celebrate the *maulūd*, the birthday of the Prophet, for which poets and mystics composed heartfelt hymns and which was, in some periods, a real popular festival with illuminations of the towns etc. The *maulūds* which were composed for these occasions, are still existent [122])—it is sufficient to mention the most famous example of this kind of poetry in Turkey, Süleyman Çelebi's (d. 1429) *maulūd-i sharīf* which is still living in the hearts of almost all Turks, and which is recited not only on the birthday of the Prophet on 12. Rabīᶜ I but also as a kind of Soul's Mass at the 40th day after death and at the anniversary of death. There are *maulūds* all over the Islamic world, and in their simple verses, their loving devotion they belong to the most touching expressions of Islamic religious life.

On the other hand, poets used to put at the beginning of their

122) The *maulid-i ṣerif*, by Süleyman Celebi, written in 1409/10, has been translated into English by L. McCallum.

works—after the poetical praise of God—the *naᶜt*, a praise poem in honour of the Prophet, which also developed into a poetical form of its own right; still is the *naᶜt* of Maulānā Rūmī wellknown in Turkey and the countries where Rūmī's mystical poetry is read. [123]) So Iqbal is perfectly right when he puts the praise of the Prophet into Rūmī's mouth and makes him describe the greatness of the Seal of Prophets (R 152).

The mystical tradition about the prophetical virtues has lived in India as strong as elsewhere; to mention only one example: in the folklore of a comparatively small Province like Sind, the *maulūds*, the versified stories of the miracles of the Prophet, the prayers which were addressed to him since centuries, fill large volumes, [124] and in many cases the Western reader could simply replace the name of Muhammad by that of Christ, and could, then, recite the same poem for himself.

But in this mystical atmosphere the knowledge of the real human life of Muhammad had been nearly forgotten. Not earlier than in the last decades of the 19th century the Indian Muslim intelligentsia felt the necessity—as a counterweight against the Christian missionary activities—to inform their fellow-muslims about the life and deeds of the historical Prophet. Classical sources, like the 'Life of Muhammad' by Ibn Hishām, the collection of traditions, were largely used. Syed Ameer Ali's famous work "The Spirit of Islam" is essentially called "The Life of Muhammad", and its importance for a new presentation of the Prophet as the unsurpassable model of behaviour cannot be estimed too highly. Then followed the great Biography of the Prophet by Maulānā Shiblī—the first monumental work on this topic in Urdu which was completed (it contains 7 vol.) by Sayid Sulaymān Nadwī, Iqbal's venerated friend, and was partly translated also in other Indian vernaculars. [125]) All over the Islamic world more biographies of Muhammad written by Muslim scholars were published in recent decades than in the same number of centuries, and still this

123) Text and melody of the *naᶜt* of Maulana Rumi in A. Gölpinarli, *Mevlâna'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, p. 502.

124) Cf. Dr. N. B. Baloch, *Madāḥūn ain Munājātūn*.

125) The first historical Life of Muhammad in Sindhi language was written by a Hindu, Lālchand A. Jagtiānī: *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*, Hyderabad, 1911, then the *ḥāyat an-Nabi*, by Ḥakīm Fatḥ Muḥammad Sewhānī followed in 1914. For the *sīrat*-movement cf. W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, p. 69 f.

interest in the historical figure of the Prophet is continuing.[126]) In 1920, a special *sīrat*-movement was started in India which aimed at the publication of books and pamphlets on the Prophet for distributing them among the population esp. in the Panjab.

The return to Muhammad was also visible in the concentration of mystical orders—like the movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Brelwī in India and the *ṭarīqa muḥammadīya* of the Tījānīya or the Mirghānīya in North Africa who taught as highest goal the unification of the soul not with God but with the essence of the Prophet.[127])

These two currents: the mystical veneration of the Prophet, and the investigation into his life in order to show the Muslims that they, just as the Muslim community in times of old, should live in complete harmony with the way of life, the behaviour, and the ideal which Muhammad had put before the faithful: these two currents together form the basis of Muhammad Iqbal's prophetology which is sounding like a *basso ostinato* through his work in the different periods of his life.

> The dust of Madina and Najaf is collyrium for my eyes (BJ 61).

Although some other problems which are most vividly expressed in Iqbal's poetry and his philosophical work are rarely touched in his letters, the love for the Lord of Beings is felt in his private correspondence too, and his friends tell that he often was shedding tears from emotion when the Prophet's name was mentioned. The visit of ᶜAbdul Majīd Qurēshī, the founder of the *sīrat*-movement, in 1929 was most welcomed by him (M II 93), and in the same year he mentions with satisfaction the fact that the Birthday of the Prophet had been celebrated by the Muslims in South India—

> in order to bind together the Islamic nations of India the most holy personality of the honoured Prophet can constitute our greatest and most efficient power (M II 93).

Iqbal's poetry, too, turns to the Prophet often in most unexpected places, and the role of Muhammad is important from the *Asrār* up to the *Armaghān*; perhaps with the exception of *Payām-i Mashriq* where—except the introduction—only merely literary allusions to the

126) Cragg, *o.c.*, p. 69.

127) Vd. EI s.v. *ṭarīqa*, and the analysis in C. Padwick, Mirghaniya *o.c.*, p. XVIII ff.

Prophet are found. There is the tune of perfect trust in the Prophet which is characteristic of the normal Muslim devotions:

> Thy love is greater for the rebels—
> It is, in forgiving sins, like the love of a mother (Pas 69).

It is however worth mentioning that one side of the Prophet which is most frequently mentioned by other poets, esp. in folkpoetry, and which makes him so dear to all fearful souls, is not often met with in Iqbal's poetical work: it is his role as *shafīᶜ*, as intercessor at Doomsday. Though in the *Asrār* (383) the poet sings:

> In him is our trust on the day of Judgment, and in this world too he is our protector

this tune is scarcely repeated, since Muhammad Iqbal's conception of death, resurrection, and final judgment in the later stages of his theological thought widely differs from the accustomed theological and popular beliefs and dogmatic details. However, his confidence in every human affair rested upon the Prophet whom he had asked, in the end of *Rumūz* (p. 193 ff.) to grant him the power of activity. It is rather significant that during his last long illness when he was staying at Bhopal he saw in a dream the Islamic reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan—the grandfather of his host—who advised him to tell his illness to the Prophet (M I 414), and indeed Iqbal composed a long poem (Pas 64 ff.) in which he, after having described the sad situation of the Muslims, asks the Prophet to help him in his illness—just as seven centuries ago, the Egyptian Būṣīrī (d. 1296) had composed his famous *qaṣīdat al-burda* in honour of Muhammad who had cured his illness: an example which has become a model for pious Muslims through all centuries.[128])

> Interior medicine for me is only that I recite blessings (*durūd*) on your ancestor (i.e. Muhammad)

128) The poet Kaᶜb ibn Zuhair was honoured by the Prophet who threw his cloak (*burda*) on his shoulders when hearing his qasida *Bānat Suᶜād*. More than 6 centuries later, al-Būṣīrī (1213-appr. 1296) composed a poem called *al-kawākib ad-durriya fi madḥ khair al-barriya*, after he had been cured from his illness by a dream in which the Prophet threw his *burda* upon him; the poem is therefore known as *qaṣīdat al-burda* and has gained wide fame all over the Muslim world where it is often used as talisman and has inspired commentaries in various languages; it was published in Europe for the first time in Leiden in 1761. Allusions and quotations from both Kaᶜb's poem and Būṣīrī's *qaṣīda* are found in R 116, 118, 195, BJ 151.

he writes, in 1935, to a Sayyid (M I 248)—but even this recitation is felt by him to be a daring work—

> from shame my body became like water—
> Love said: Oh you who are subjects to others . . .
> . . .
> As long as you have not yet got colour and scent from Muhammad,
> Don't dirten his name with your blessing. (Pas 49; cf. BJ 130)

Muhammad was for Iqbal the visible side of God's activity. God could not been seen by mortal eyes—as the Qur'ān says *lan tarānī* (Sūra 7/139) thou wilt not behold Me—whereas this word is not applicable to the Prophet (cf. AH 32):

> God is my Hidden One, thou art my Open One!
> With God I talk in veils, with thee openly! (PM 221).

And according to an apocryphe tradition, quoted by Rūmī and many other mystics "Who sees me, sees God" [129] the poet turns to the Prophet for help as well as for praise (cf. AH 71).

Just as the Muslim feels the nearness of God when reciting the Qur'ān, Iqbal admits to have felt a spiritual connection with the Prophet when working on the subject of Islamic history, and history of Islamic law:

> The differences of juristic questions and the argumentations of the jurists of Islam in which the love of the Seal of Apostleship is concealed—the study of all these things gives me an endless spiritual delight (M I 404, 1936).

And how much more the presence of something which was said to have belonged to the Prophet! The visit of the *khirqa-i sharīf*, the cloak of the Prophet, at Qandahar during his visit in Afghanistan inspired Iqbal to one of the finest Persian hymns (Mus. 29 ff.) in which he compares his heart to Gabriel who was able to see the Prophet in flesh, and tells how his heart started singing and dancing and reciting poetry in front of the holy place.

> The cloak of the "bar which both of them do not transgress"
> (Sūra 55/20)
> I saw it in the light of "I have two cloaks" [130])

129) Cf. Furūzanfar, *aḥadīth-i mathnawī*, p. 62 f.

130) Allusion to an apocryphe ḥadīth "I have two cloaks (*khirqa*), they are poverty (*faqr*) and Holy War (*jihād*)".

> His religion and his ritual are the effect of the All,
> In his forehead is the writ of destination of everything.

It goes without saying that a visit to Madina at the Prophet's tomb —combined with the performance of the duty of pilgrimage—was one of Iqbal's greatest and most ardent wishes from early times onward (cf. M II 36, 1911). To die in the blessed country of Hijaz—that was his dream during war-time (R 198), and not without reason his posthumous poems have been called 'Gift of Hijaz.' His letters in the last years of his life are full of sentences which express the nostalgy for the Prophet's country most ardently, and he was sure that a visit of that place would bring innumerable spiritual benefits to the visitor (cf. his letters to Sayyid Ghulām Mīrān Shāh M I 222, 1937; M I 232, 1938). He had intended to go to Madina on his way back from Europe in 1932, but was of the opinion

> that it would be bad manners to dare visit the Holy Presence of Prophethood in connection with a journey made for worldly purposes (M II 397).

He wrote, then, the great ode to the Prophet which culminates in the line

> Thou art the Preserved Tablet, and Thou art the Pen (BJ 151).

The more painful his illness grew, the stronger was the wish to visit the Holy Places—

> What other place is there left for sinners like me but the threshold of the Prophet? (M II 341, 1937),

and even in the last months before his death he did not give up hope that

> I can perform the pilgrimage in the following year and be also present in the Presence of Prophethood and bring from there such a gift that the Muslims of India will remember it (M I 382, 1937).

But that dream was not fulfilled—only a whole chapter of the quatrains in *Armaghān-i Ḥijāz* is called "In the presence of the Prophet".

In Muhammad—whom he, as most of the mystic poets, often calls with his surname Muṣṭāfā, the Chosen One—Iqbal saw the source of everything good and useful in human life; poverty (in religious sense, according to the traditional word "My poverty is my pride") and

sovereignty belong to the manifestations of Muṣṭafā (cf. Mus 3; Pas 23 ff.); he is the model for every Muslim (Pas 27), the visible witness of God's beauty and power. His way is the only way to choose (AH 89) for the Muslims of this century who are still strangers to his beauty (Pas 29). This idea, which animates the quatrains of the *Armaghān*, is expressed already as early as in the *Jawāb-i Shikwā* in 1913, where God is made say:

> Thou a muslim art, and destiny thy edict must obey,
> Be thou faithful to Muhammad and We yield Ourself to thee—
> Not this world alone—the Tablet and the Pen thy prize will be.

From here we reach the mystical ideas of Muhammad's pre-existence, and can understand, in the light of the development of mystical prâise, the great hymn which Iqbal has sung in honour of him who is the perfect manifestation of Love (BJ 151). Already in the *Asrār*, when showing that "Self is strengthened by Love" Iqbal turns to the person of the Prophet:

> There is a beloved hidden within thine heart . . .
> By love of him the heart is made strong . . .
> In the Muslim's heart is the home of Muhammad,
> All our glory is from the name of Muhammad.

The idea that Muhammad's name itself is holy which is common in muslim piety is already found in the *Jawāb-i Shikwā*:

> Light the world, too long in darkness, with Muhammad's radiant name!

and it is a common idea in all religions that the name of a thing designs the thing itself, and that to possess the name means to possess the thing itself. Name contains a certain power, a *baraka*, and that is the reason for calling so many children with the name of the Prophet in order to make them participate of the Prophet's spiritual power—but it is also the reason for the tabuisation of the pronounciation of the name Muhammad in Turkey, and its changing into Mehmet, less the most holy name be polluted by daily use and misuse. [131])

In the *Asrār* Iqbal continues:

131 Cf. A. Fischer, Vergöttlichung und Tabuisierung der Namen Muhammads bei den Muslimen.

> Eternity is less than a moment of his time,
> Eternity receives increase from his essence.
> He slept on a mat of rushes,
> But the crown of Chosroes was under his peoples' feet . . .

And more than 20 years later the poet goes on in the same strain:

> He is the meaning of Gabriel and the Qur'ān,
> He is the watchman of the wisdom of God,
> His wisdom is higher than reason . . . (Pas 12 ff.).

In the *Rumūz*, which are, essentially, the treasure-house of Iqbal's prophetology, he compares Muhammad to the lamp in the nightroom of Being . . .,

> who was when Adam was still in water and clay (R 130, cf. 121),

alluding to a famous tradition which the mystics have used in order to designate the pre-existence of Muhammad: "I was prophet while Adam was still between water and clay" i.e. not yet made.

One of the most beautiful and significant passages in honour of the Prophet is found in the *Jāvīdnāme* in the scene in Jupiter-Heaven, where Ḥallāj teaches Iqbal the secrets of Prophethood. In these verses, Iqbal's ideas about the spiritual and mystical personality of Muhammad are expressed with perfect clearness. That he has choosen Ḥallāj as interpreter of his ideas is due to the fact that this mystic had made the first substantial contribution to the Muhammad-mysticism, and some formulas of the Iqbalian poem may have been translated or at least inspired from the passages in Ḥallāj's *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn*, esp. *ṭāsīn as-sirāj*, which was with Iqbal since the first world-war, and which he has studied with increasing interest and understanding.

> "His Slave" is higher than thy understanding,
> Since he is both man and essence.
> His essence is neither Arabic nor Persian,
> He is a man, and yet previous to Adam.
> "His Slave" is the painter of destinations,
> In him is the repair of ruins.
> "His Slave" is soul-giving and soul-taking,
> "His Slave" is both bottle and hard stone.
> "Slave" is different, and "His Slave" is different.
> We are completely waiting, he is the waited for.
> "His Slave" is Time, and Time is from "His Slave",
> We all are colours, he is without colour and scent.

"His Slave" is without beginning, without end,
"His Slave"—where is for him morning and evening?
Nobody is acquainted with the secrets of "His Slave",
"His Slave" is nothing but the secret of "but God".

That Muhammad is conceived both as man and as essence shows the relations with Ibn ᶜArabī's and Jīlī's ideas of the Perfect Man who unites in himself the aspects of the divine and the worldly life. And why the stress which is laid on the expression "His Slave"? According to old mystical traditions which are found already in the most ancient handbooks of Sufism, like Qushairī's *risāla*, and which were very common in Sufi circles [132]) and not the least in India, as f.i. the example of the Panjabi mystic Bullhē Shāh shows [133]) *ᶜabduhu*, "His servant" points at the highest rank of the Prophet because this term is used in the Qurᵓān in connection with the ascension of Muhammad—"Praised be He who travelled at night with His servant" (Sūra 17/1) [134])—and since the night journey means the culmination of Muhammad's career as Prophet, being brought into Divine Presence without veils, the term *ᶜabduhu* hints at the highest degree of prophethood, and, consequently, the highest rank man can reach: not sonship of God, but the rank of the faithful servant is the highest goal (cf. Pas 33).

Iqbal is, in his lines, completely in agreement with the great Indian theologian whom he considered one of the most important figures in Islamic history, Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624), who held that the highest experience of annihilation be only transient, and that the mystic has to come back to the stage of *ᶜabdiyat* or servitude which is the summum bonum of the spiritual life of one who believes in a trancendental God. [135]) We may also quote another personality whose influence on Iqbal has not yet been examined but whose ideas display many similarities: it is the Naqshbandī mystic Mīr Dard of Delhi who has expounded a mystical theory of his own which he called *ᶜilm-i ilāhī Muḥammadī*—knowledge of God based on the teachings of Muhammad—in which he calls those men real unitarians who remain, in spite of their divine vision, "slaves of God". [136]) Thus for Iqbal too not only the secret of the Prophet lies concealed in the word "His Slave," but also the secret of every man—for man has to develop his spiritual faculties in such a way that he may come closest to the ideal of the Prophet as Perfect Man. In the aspect of "His Slave" the Prophet teaches man the mystery of the tradition "I have a time with God" starting from the experience of ascension, i.e. the immediate contact with God [137])—the famous word which has formed a favorite basis for meditation for innumerable mystics, since it points at the experience of human communion with God, when the spell of time is broken, and eternity is realized already in this life. So, Muhammad as His Slave is the model for man in his aspirations towards perfection, in which his hand, like that of Muhammad,

becomes God's hand, the moon is split by his fingers
(AK 483 ff.). [138])

The same chapter in the *Jāvīdnāme* contains another description of the Prophet which is more complicated. The Qurᵓān had described Muhammad as *raḥmatan lilᶜālamīn*, Mercy for the Worlds (Sure 21/107), and this word has been used often as diagram for the Prophet and his activities. That is also the case in a verse of Ghālib, the great Indo-muslim poet of the 19th century who had written in a *mathnawī* about the question whether God could create another Muhammad or not:

Wherever a tumult of the worlds arises,
There is also a Mercy for the worlds.

Iqbal was fascinated by this verse, but a letter to Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi (M I 117) in 1922 shows that he had difficulties in finding out its right meaning; he concludes:

132) Cf. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 105, 208.
133) Cf. f.i. in *Bullhē Shāh*, p. 296, "The Prophet was called *ᶜabduhu*".
134) Other examples for the connection of *ᶜabduhu* with Muhammad in the Qurᵓān: 17/1, 18/1, 25/1, 53/10, 57/9. Important is also in this connection the sentence sure 4/170: "The Messiah will never scorn to be a slave for God".
135) Husain, *Glimpses*, p. 58; cf. also p. 51 about Yaḥyā Manairī (d. 1380): In the state of immediate vision the slave remains slave.
136) Id. p. 65.
137) Cf. ch. III D.
138) According to the *ḥadīth qudsī*, "When I love my servant I become his eye with which he sees, his ear with which he hears, and his hand with which he grasps", Sarrāj, *k. al-lumaᶜ*, p. 59; cf. Abu Nuᶜaim, *ḥilya*, X 99 where this tradition is traced by through Muḥāsibī to the Prophet. Similarly the Qurᵓānic word (Sure 8/17) "Not thou throwest when thou threwst, but God threw" which has been discussed by Ghazzali in his chapter on *tauḥid* in detail. The splitting of the moon is a miracle of the Prophet, cf. Sūra 54/1.

> The present astronomers say that in some stars human beings and creatures of even higher order may live. If it is like that, then the manifestation of a Mercy of the World is necessary there too. In this manner the transmigration or *burūz* would be at least necessary for the Muhammadans. Suhrawardī, the *shaikh* of the *ishrāq* (illumination) philosophy, was in a certain form convinced of transmigration of souls . . . [139])

This might lead to unexspected consequences for the finality of Prophethood, and so Iqbal has left this idea when he inserts the verse —quoted by Ghālib in the Jupiter-Sphere—into the *Jāvīdnāme* ten years later though he is well aware that these lines, if continued, may prove dangerous.

Ghālib is made answering (alluding to sure 87/2):

> Creation, destinity, and guidance is the beginning —
> "Mercy for the worlds" is the end,

i.e. the finality of Muhammad's Prophethood is maintained, but Ghālib himself thinks that further investigations of the meaning of this verse might lead to "infidelity which lies behind poetry".[140]) Anyhow, by the attribution of this verse to its real author Ghālib it becomes clear why this poet—who was neither very religious nor a heretic—is put into the same sphere as the great 'heretics' Ḥallāj and Ṭāhira. Iqbal would rather—as we can gather from other poems—accept this appearance of the Mercy for the worlds as the single manifestation of the Muhammadan Reality (similar to Jīlī) though this expression, so dear to mystics, does not occur in his work.

But Muhammad is more than the individual soul

> who has given faith to this handfull dust (Pas 53),

more than a mystic light illuminating this dark world—he is the leader of the community of the faithful, the model not only of personal behaviour but that of political conduct—

[139]) About Suhrawardī Maqtūl (executed 1191 in Aleppo) v. bibliography s.v. Corbin; and Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, p. 228 ff.

[140]) The verse of Ghālib refers to a controversy between Maulānā Fazli Ḥaq and Ismail Shahīd about 1820 in Delhi: Fazli Ḥaq maintained that God could not create another Muhammad, whereas Ismail Shahīd held that although God will not create another Muhammad, but He can if He wants. Fazli Haq asked Ghalib to write a Mathnawī in support of his contention; that he did, but the last line—which is quoted in the *Javidname*—shows that he was actually more inclined to Ismail Shahid's idea (information kindly supplied by S. A. Vahid).

> who with the key of religion opened the door of this world
> (AK 189),

a poetical statement which is completely to the point. It is interesting to read the discussion between Iqbal and his friend Sulayman Nadwi about the rôle of the Prophet in worldly and religious affairs. Iqbal has asked him about the *ijtihād-i nabawī*, i.e. the power of deciding juridical or whatsoever matters outside the Qurʾān (M I 153, 1922), and Nadwi answered him that the "prophetic intelligence be higher than normal human intelligence" and that the Prophet is guided in his decisions towards the absolutely right way. This faculty enabled him to become the divinely guided leader of his community, and it is more than anything else this political rôle which Iqbal has underlined in his picture of the Prophet. Contrasting him with the self-centred recluse, the mystic who is not interested in social life, he shows in vivid colours how the prophets have always emerged from retreatment and given a proper shape to political and social events, and how Muhammad has fulfilled this prophetic mission completely:

> On his forehead is the destiny of nations (Pas 33).

Taking into consideration the idea of Sprenger that Muhammad was a psychopath, Iqbal says ironically:

> Well, if a psychopath has the power to give a fresh direction to the course of human history, it is a point of the highest psychological interest to search his original experience which has turned slaves into leaders of men, and has inspired the conduct and shaped the career of whole races of mankind. Judging from the various types of activity than emanated from the movement initiated by the Prophet of Islam, his spiritual tension and the kind of behaviour which issued from it, cannot be regarded as a response to a mere fantasy inside the brains. It is impossible to understand it except as a response to an objective generative of new enthusiasms, new organizations, new starting points. If we look at the matter from the standpoint of anthropology it appears that a psychopath is an important factor in the economy of humanity's social organization . . . (L 190).[141])

Iqbal has seen—and he is perfectly right here—that the peculiarity

[141]) Cf. the remark of G. H. Bousquet: "The fact of an anomal Psychology ought not to be discussed; the only interesting question is not, in how far he resembled to an epileptic or a lunatic but in how far he was different from them. For there existed and still exist many lunatics and epileptics, but there was only one founder of Islam."

of the prophetic mission consists of freeing the people of the traditional concepts of life, to pass from Volksreligion to Weltreligion, and that means in the case of Muhammad "to oppose, with energetic consistency, those tenets of the Arabian philosophy of life",[142] and to form a spiritual community which is no longer bound to prejudices of race, blood, and colour. Iqbal has poetically depicted this side of Muhammad's activity in the *Ṭāsīn-i Muḥammad*, in the *Jāvīdnāme*, where the doctrines of the Prophet are reflected through the reaction of Abū Jahl, one of his grimmest enemies at Mecca:

> We are utterly heart-sick because of Muhammad;
> His teachings have put out the lights of the Kaaba!
> His religion abolishes distinctions of race and blood,
> Though himself from Quraish, he disowns the superiority of the Arabs.
> In his religion the high and low are but one,
> He ate out of the same dish with his slave!

To leave earth-rootedness and narrow patriotism, that is, for Iqbal, the meaning of Muhammad's *hijra* from Mecca to Madina which is indeed the moment when Islam as a socio-political ideal became visible, and which has been choosen very properly by the Muslims as the beginning of their calendar: had the Meccans at once accepted the teachings of Muhammad, the course of history would have been different. By cutting the relations with his beloved hometown the Prophet—according to Iqbal's interpretation— wanted to give an example to the generations to come. Already in the Note-book of 1910 that idea had been expressed:

> Islam appeared as a protest against idolatry. And what is patriotism but a subtile form of idolatry . . . The fact that the Prophet prospered and died in a place not his birthplace is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect (SR 19).

The tension between the nationalism in the modern sense of the word--as he had witnessed in Europe and saw growing in the Near East after the First World War (without understanding, however, that this was, again, a protest against the Western ruling powers)— and the "higher nationalism" of the faithful which unites human beings all over the world, this tension forms a favorite subject of both his letters and his poetry till the end of his life

[142]) Goldziher, Muhammadanische Studien, I 12.

> Native country (*waṭan*) is something different in the right doctrine of the Prophet,
> and native country is something different in the words of politicians (BD 174).

Leaving the homeland for spreading one's ideas all over the world, that is the ideal of the Muslim: just as the scent of the rose perfumes the whole garden after it has left the rose-bud, so the individual and the "spiritual nation" can work properly only after having given up the clinging to the piece of earth which they call fatherland in political sense. Iqbal never got tired of preaching that Islam is opposed to blood-relationship which is considered earth-rootedness (L 146) and therefore incompatible with the lofty ideals of the Prophet and the greatest miracle which the Prophet has performed is that he has produced a nation. The whole concept of the *Rumūz* centres round this nation-building work of the Prophet, and 15 years later Iqbal has expressed the same idea that

> the Prophet was able to perform the miracle of restoration by his word *qum*, Rise,
> in awakening the cry *Allāh Hū* in the hearts of a nation (Pas 66).

He believes that a people, by turning back to the simple and proper teachings of the Prophet the centre of which is the message of God's unity and sovereignty, can start a new life after centuries of slumber and decadence.

Iqbal takes over here ideas which had been expressed by a Muslim philosopher whom he admired greatly: the ideas Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) had laid down in his *muqqadima* about the *ʿaṣabīya*, the binding power in socio-political life which is strengthened by religion:[143] the adherence to the same prophetic revelation will create, in a group of individuals, the strongest possible solidarity feelings and inspire the group to unexpected activities.

Muhammad has, according to Iqbal, not only given the example of how a supranational society should be built, but is, at the same time, the symbol for the unshakable unity of this nation—

> We are like a rose with many petals but with one perfume—

[143]) Ibn Khaldun has developed the idea of *ʿaṣabīya*, strengthened by religious ideas in Muqqadima, Book I, part 3.

He (Muhammad) is the soul of this society, and he is one
(AK 395 ff., cf. R 152),

and in the *Payām-i Mashriq* he has repeated:

We all the nurslings of one springtime be (LT 83, cf. 82).

The Prophet is "the heart in the handfull of dust which we are" (Mus 32), i.e. the life-giving power which makes mankind a true living organism.

The Islamic nation thus conceived as a sanctuary in which the Unity of God, the unity of the Prophet, and the essential unity of all human beings are maintained as basis and centre of life, all the manifestations of nationalism which tried to break up this unity seemed to be for the poet nothing than new idols, new Lāt and Manāt—as he calls them with the name of the old pre-Islamic idols: we may translate adequately that political nationalism is Baalism. The Islamic nation (*millat*) has other roots than that of dust and water, of race and blood, it is built on fundamentals which are concealed in man's heart—and the main fundamental is

Love of the Prophet which runs like blood in the veins
of the community (R 190).

Since Iqbal saw under the shining surface of the nationalist movements in the Near East a return to pre-Islamic, or rather pre-monotheistic, Baalism (only in a refined, but therefore more dangerous form), his attacks against Persian nationalism, and Turkish westernization are so bitter and aggressive, and that is why he loves the Afghan nation which is still untouched by these dangers. The *Jāvidnāme* contains, in the Mercury sphere, long discussions about the nation-concept in prophetical meaning, and even Iqbal's last statement and a related poem (cf. AH 278) is directed against a theologian—the congress-man Husain Ahmad Madani—who had confused the terms of nation (*millat*) in Islamic sense, and of Nation (*qaum*) in nationalist sense:

> Before his call to Prophethood, the nation of Muhammad (peace be upon him) was no doubt a nation and a free one, but as Muhammad's *ummat* began to be formed, the status of the people as a nation became a secondary one. Those who accepted Muhammad's leadership, became part and parcel of the Muslim or Muhammadan community irrespective of the fact whether they belonged to his own nation or other nations. Formerly they had been slaves of land and race: land and race now became their slaves . . . It is a peculiar greatness of the Holy Prophet that the self-invented distinctions and superiority complexes of the nations of the world are destroyed and there comes into being a community which can be styled *ummatan muslimatan laka* ["a muslim community for thee, 2/122] and to whose thoughts the divine dictate *shuhadā' ʿalā'n-nās* [witnesses for the people, 2/137] justly applies. (SS 235 f, 238).

The ideal *millat* which Iqbal aimed at should be the realization of the universal *tauḥīd*, the confession of unity which the Prophet had preached, who had founded, by his own example, the universality of freedom, equality and brotherhood (R 1104 ff.).

From Prophethood is in the world our foundation,
From Prophethood has our religion its ritual,
From Prophethood are hundredthousands of us one,
Part from part cannot be separated.
From Prophethood we all got the same melody,
The same breath, the same aim (R 116 ff.).

Iqbal's ideal of nationhood is a striking example for that what Nieuwenhuize has underlined in an interesting article when he writes:

> To a Muslim the problem of nationhood cannot be envisaged but in terms of what scope can be practically and empirically allowed to the operative effect to the concept of nation within the coordinates of the permanently valid comprehensive of the ummat. [144])

The factor which should form the ideal Islamic nation is the burning love of the Prophet which would enable individuum and community likewise to live according the divine law (cf. PM 8), and it was Iqbal's idea that, just as Muhammad was the leader and completor of the long line of the messengers of God, so his nation should also be the leader of nations and the most perfect model of a community:

He is the seal of Prophets, we that of nations,

and as he was *raḥmatan* (Mercy for the worlds), so are the Muslims which are related to him "the sign of Mercy for the people of the worlds" (R 116). Iqbal went even further in his analogy: the fact that this world is the heritage of the Free, is understood from the divine word *laulāka*—"if thou hadst not been I would not have

[144]) Nieuwenhuize, *The Ummah*, (Stud. Isl. X 118).

created the spheres" (BJ 97) which was revealed to the Prophet and is, according to Iqbal, to be applied to every faithful, and, as a logical consequence, to the ideal Muslim nation (cf. also BJ 117. 119).

That the aspiration to this leadership among nations involves also strength and the will to expansion, is implicitly understood (cf. M II 163), and might even lead to a new interpretation of the concept of *jihād,* the Holy War. But as much as Iqbal dreamt of the ideal Islamic nation, he clearly saw in the twenties the danger that imperialistic trends might spoil these ideas of *khilāfat* (cf. BD 286, AH 110. 126), and has warned the Islamic peoples of the consequences of blending the "poverty" of the Prophet and the splendour of mundane reign. He dreamt, as so many of his contemporaries, of the alleged ideal rule of the first four caliphs after Muhammad's death, the Golden Age of Islam.

Yet, in our context, it is not the political importance of Iqbal's ideas on religion and nationalism but simply their relation to his concept of Prophethood and the way how these ideas unfolded logically from his love of the Prophet who combined worldly and religious talents, and was conceived as a model of all qualities which are necessary for the happy life of individuum and nation. [145])

Iqbal was not only an ardent lover of the Prophet himself but also of his family and especially of his cousin and son-in-law ᶜAlī, the fourth caliph who has become, in Islamic traditions, one of the most important and pathetic figures though he was, historically seen, not very clever in his political affairs. His veneration is common not only in Shiᶜa circles but he is widely loved also in the sunnitic environment. The meaning of the different names with which he is called—Ḥaydar the lion, Murtaẓā, karrār, etc.—are set forth in the 10th chapter of the *Asrār*, and in Iqbal's poetry the name ᶜAlī or Ḥaydar becomes the cipher for that spiritual poverty which strengthens human personality; Ḥaydar is the fighter against the unbelievers of Khaybar (allusion to the conquest of the Arabian fort of Khaybar in 628), and becomes a model of the Perfect Man (Javāb 56, AK 1545 ff.). It is the tragical destiny of the Islamic peoples, Iqbal complains, that today in the struggle between Islam and nationalism (which is likened

145) Cf. Iqbal's letter M I 14 where he explains Muhammad's killing the Banū Nādir and shows that in the Prophet the qualities of wrath and love were marvellously united.

to the heathen town of Khaybar) no ᶜAlī is found who might help the Muslim by his purity (BJ 93); nations should realize his attributes in themselves (cf. Mus. 38 ff.). The other early caliphs are represented merely symbolically—Abū Bakr as model of faithfulness, ᶜUmar as master of Justice which is—in the same manner as the wealth of ᶜOthman—sometimes confronted with ᶜAlī's poverty in order to show the two poles of ideal Muslim life.

Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of ᶜAlī, is a representation of all that is loved by Muslims, and in her simple and modest womanhood she becomes the model of the true Muslim woman. Shiᶜa piety had often praised the high virtues of this daughter of the Prophet, but Iqbal, too, has choosen her as unsurpassable model of Islamic life: she is dear to the Muslim from three points of view: as daughter of the Prophet, wife of his most beloved cousin, and mother of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, whereas Maria is dear to the faithful only in connection with her son Christ (R 177). Ḥusain, the grandson of the Prophet, has become in Muslim piety a central figure after his tragical death on the battlefield of Kerbela (680) where the soldiers of the Omayyad caliphs killed him and most of the members of his family—this fact, mourned over every year on 10th Muḥarram, has inspired innumerable elegies and even dramatical espressions in Shiᶜa environments, and for Iqbal, Ḥusain becomes in his struggle against the Omayyad rulers the prototype of the saint warrior against a worldly conception of caliphate. He is the *imām* of the lovers, the free cypress from the Garden of the Prophet, the meaning of the great offering mentioned in Sure 37/107, the building of the confession of faith (R. 126 ff.). I.e. he is, just as his father ᶜAlī and his grandfather, the Prophet, a model of the Perfect Man who becomes a martyr in his strife for God's unity against the rulers of this world.

The above mentioned aspects of prophetic life and prophethood are more or less common to all Muslim thinkers, and neither in the mystical interpretation nor in depicting Muhammad as the model for every Muslim, in preaching the imitatio Muhammadi for individuals and nations Iqbal has uttered new or unexspected ideas. But he has contributed one very interesting point of view to the problem of Prophethood. Islam has always held the doctrine that Muhammad is the last Prophet after whom no other Prophet will come; his message is enough for the world now and in eternity. Iqbal writes, comment-

ing the Qurʾānic dictum "Today we have finished for you your religion" (Sure 5/5; cf. R 163):

> Now God has finished for us the divine law,
> and has finished for our Prophet prophethood.
> Now the service of the cupbearer was transferred to us,
> He gave us the last cup he possessed . . .

That means that the Islamic nation has to carry on in the lines drawn by Muhammad. But what is the meaning of the finitude of Prophethood? Would not a new prophet be necessary who translates the Divine will into the language of our time or the time to come? Iqbal answers this question in a highly interesting way:

> . . . The Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned, he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned, he belongs to the modern world. In him life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islam . . . is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition . . . (L 126).

That means that Qurʾān has opened for man the vast field of scientific methods, realizing the importance of the careful observation of nature and history. For Iqbal, Muhammad was the first critical observer of physic phenomena; that is proved by the example of his interest in a psychic Jewish youth which traditions relate (L 16). The Prophet was thirsty for knowledge, and this thirst made him the first to encourage studies

> Though he saw the essence of Being without veil,
> Yet the word 'God increase me' (in knowledge) came from his lips—

this verse is written in order to kindle the interest of the Afghan ruler Amānullāh in studies and scientific work in his country (PM 6). We can understand the importance of this statement better when we confront it with the traditional attitude of the mollas in Islamic countries who were hostile to every kind of secular learning and saw in science only satanic inventions. And on the other hand, Iqbal wanted to prove—as Syed Ameer Ali and others had already done before him—that the European science which now threatens the Eastern countries and succeeds in seducing the ignorant masses, is based essentially on

the scholarship of the Islamic peoples who introduced the scientific ways of thinking into medieval Europe. Later on, Mashriqi has in his commentary on the Qurʾān even gone so far as to declare the modern research workers as successors and substitutes of the Prophet.[146]

This is the one side—the cultural one—of the finality of Prophethood. On the other hand, it means, in Iqbal's words:

> No spiritual surrender to any human being after Muhammad who emancipated his followers by giving them a law which is realizable as arising from the very core of human conscience. Theologically the doctrine is that the socio-political organization called Islam is perfect and eternal. No revelation, the denial of which entails heresy, is possible after Muhammad (SS 120).

These words were written against the modernist movement of the Qadianis, which had emerged in the Panjab and which grew more and more important in the twenties. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had declared himself the promised Messiah and claimed to be the Mahdi in 1908; and since, the tension grew between the orthodox Muslim and the Qadianis which were split up in 1914 into the Lahore group and the Qadian group.[147] As to the moderate Ahmadiya of Lahore, Iqbal acknowledges their activity for the spreading of Islam through their missionary organizations in different countries (cf. M II 232, 1932), yet considered them ever more dangerous than the other group because they claimed their founder as Mujaddid, and such a claim most Muslims were prepared to accept—yet, the heterodox teachings remained the same. The Qadianis and their refutation form an important subject in his correspondence with Professor Ilyas Barani who had published a book against them (M I 410, 419 in 1936 and 1937), and with Sayid Sulayman Nadwi. He never ceases repeating that the belief in the finality of Muhammad's Prophethood

> is really the factor which accurately draws the line of demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims and enables one to decide whether a certain individual or group is part of the community or not . . . According to our belief Islam as a religion was revealed by God, but

146) Baljon, *Koran exegesis*, p. 73.

147) Cf. Humphrey Fisher, *Ahmadiyyah Thought and Evolution*, MW 1959/275 ff.; for the whole problem cf. the Munir Report (vd. Ch. IA note 42). How intensely the Qadiani problem was discussed in Panjabi circles proper can be understood from the remarkable number of pamphlets and books pro and contra in Panjabi language, vd. L. D. Barnett, *Panjabi Printed Books* s.v. Ghulam Ahmad.

> the existence of Islam as a society or nation depends entirely on the personality of the Holy Prophet (SS 108).
> Any religious society historically arising from the bosom of Islam which claims a new prophethood for its basis . . . must . . . be regarded by every Muslim as a serious danger to the solidarity of Islam. This must necessarily be so; since the integrity of Muslim society is secured by the idea of the Finality of Prophethood alone (SS 94).

Iqbal's Open Letter to Pandit Nehru about the question of the Qadianis is an noteworthy document (SS 111-144), and contains many important statements about the juridical situation of the Qadianis whom he regarded as violating the fundamental doctrine of Islam, as more dangerous to Indian Islam than was Spinoza to the Jewish community in Amsterdam (114).

In his correspondence with Sulayman Nadwi, Iqbal put his finger finger on the question whether

> in Islamic law the diffamation of the Prophet is a delict which has to be punished, and if yes, what is the punishment? (M I 189 ff., 1935).

His correspondent answered in the affirmative and stated that even death-punishment could be sentenced. Iqbal wanted already at that time—in the beginning of the thirties—that the rulers of India should declare the Qadianis a separate community.

> This will be perfectly consistent with the policy of the Qadianis themselves and the Indian Muslim will tolerate them just as he tolerates the other religions (SS 100).

The problem, however, remained unsolved, and when Iqbal wrote, in 1936, that

> thanks Heaven the *fitna* (disturbance, mischief) of the Qadianis is growing weaker in the Panjab (M I 199),

he could not possibly foresee that the same problem was, in 1953, to form one of the most serious problems in the political-religious history of the young state of Pakistan in which the orthodox claim of declaring the Qadianis an non-Islamic minority led to heavy disturbances in that very province.

Iqbal's aversion against this group who denied the finality of Prophecy was so strong that he has even in his poem 'Session of the Satan' which was written in 1936 but published posthumously inserted

some allusions to the Qadianis who despise the Holy War and struggle about the question of the Messiah, in order to weaken the unity of Islam, helping, in that way, the diabolic powers of destruction (AH 227). For him there was the unshakable confidence that

> for us Muṣtafā is enough (AH 81).

From this central place the "Arabic friend" held in his system of thought and in his personal faith, many symbols and ideas of Iqbal's work can be interpreted, f.i. the central concept of love which often contains the idea of love of the Prophet, or love inspired by the Prophet.

The arabic countries, the language of the Beloved, and many allusions to Najd and Hijaz gain their true significance in the light of his Muhammad-veneration, and it can easily be understood that he wished his works to be translated into Arabic.[148])

But after all the praises of the Prophet in ardent hymns, or verses full of theological depth or social and political ideas, Iqbal turns, in one of his last verses (AH 29) once more to the Prophet as dear and compassionate friend, and with a simplicity which is rarely met with in his poetry he shows himself on the road to Madina, to the threshold of the Beloved, in complete stillness and calmness

> just like a bird who, in the desert-night
> Spreads out his wings, when thinking of his nest.

c) Prayer

The second Pillar of Islam—after the Confession of Faith—is the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*, Pers., Turk., Urdu *namāz*) which is to be offered five times a day in prescribed forms after ritual ablution. This regular prayer has proved one of the greatest forces of Islam, and the absolute concentration of a praying Muslim—be it in the congregation, be it elsewhere in the midst of unconcerned people—has always deeply impressed non-Muslims. Constance Padwick has, in her excellent study on *Muslim Devotions*, entered the spiritual side of the ritual prayer with all its contents in a wonderful way.[149])

Besides this obligatory form of worship Islam knows as well the

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[148]) Allusion to Arabic or the Arabic friend are found f.i. PM 194; ZK 61; AH 48; R 149, 195; cf. also A'zami, *Falsafatu Iqbal*, p. 8.

[149]) Padwick, *Muslim Devotions* about the different types of worship in Islam.

free prayer (*duʿā*) which may be uttered either at the end of ritual prayer, or at any time and place; further the *dhikr*, or frequent repetition of certain formulas or some or all of the Most Comely Names of God. The Qurʾānic word that every created thing is adoring and glorifying God in its own tongue [150])—be it the flower breathless with adoration, be it stone, angel, or animal—has inspired innumerable poets in all parts of the Islamic world to compose beautiful hymns in which they join in the praise of the Creator of mountains and trees, of fishes and birds, of shadows and thunders. [151])

The old sentence *lex credendi lex orandi* holds true also in Islam where the manifold sides of religious life are reflected in the bewildering variety of devotional types, from the merely magical use of certain formulas up to the summits of mystical union with God or the creative dialogue between man and his Lord.

On a smaller scale, the maxim holds good also for Iqbal, in whose work the mystery of prayer is always emphasized: one of the most touching scenes of the *Jāvidnāme* is the moment, when the poet and his spiritual guide Rūmī perform their prayer behind the great reformer, Jamāladdīn Afghānī, and the Turkish prince Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha.

We know from his old servant that Iqbal was keen on morning prayer, that after prayer he used to read the Qurʾān, and that he did not neglect the *tahajjud* prayers at night [152]) which are not compulsory but only recommended and performed by all those who enjoy, in the lonely and quiet night, the loving encounter with their Divine Beloved, as the great woman mystic Rābiʿa (d. 801) [153]) had expressed it first. Besides his regular prayer-life, Iqbal seems also to

150) Cf. f.i. Sure 17/46; 59/24; 62/1; 64/1; 21/20; 41/38 etc.

151) This everlasting praise has been expressed in classical mysticism in the most beautiful manner by Dhūʾn-Nūn (d. 859), cf. his hymnical prayers in Sarrāj, *kitāb al-lumaʿ*, ch. XCIII, and Abū Nuʿaim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā*, vol. X. In Persian poetry, both the proemia of the great epics (a wonderful example is the introduction of ʿAṭṭār's *Ilāhīname*), and the art of ghazal centre in this hymnical praise, the same holds true for Turkish poetry where the folk-poets, starting from Yunus Emre (cf. the article of R. F. Walsh, Numen VII, and of the present writer, Numen VIII) are worth mentioning. Cf. Schimmel, *Some Aspects of Mystical Prayer*, WI 1953, p. 116 f.

152) Mumtaz Hasan, *A day in Iqbal's Life*, (in: Muhammad Iqbal, Pak-German Forum, Karachi, p. 133).

153) Cf. Margareth Smith, *Rābiʿa the mystic*.

have offered now and then other more particular forms of devotion; he tells in one of his letters—in 1917—that he had made an *istikhāra*, i.e. a prayer of two *rakʿa* with the intention to obtain Divine guidance and direction for the decision of any special question, after which one lies down; on awaking, the idea remaining in the mind decides the problem. Iqbal, getting an unfavourable answer, gave up the plan of going to Hyderabad (M II 178).

And how great an importance he attributed to prayer and intercession can be appreciated from a pathetic letter to Sir Kishan Prasad—the Hindu Prime-minister of Hyderabad,—to whom he writes in 1918, that, now being the sacred month of Ramadan

> I shall pray after the morning prayer for you ... I, the blackfaced slave, [154]) sometimes get up for *tahajjud* prayer and sometimes spend the whole night awake. And by the precious grace of God I shall pray for you either before or after *tahajjud*, for at that time a special delight is experienced in the Divine worship—how should it be astonishing if prayer be heard at that time' (M II 193).

Since Iqbal saw in prayer an act not only of obedience but of love which gives man highest spiritual dilection, it can be appreciated why, in the *Javāb-i Shikwā*, the Muslim community is blamed because they have forsaken this supreme bliss, and are unmindful of its importance for life:

> Very heavy in your spirits weights the charge of morning prayer.
> Liefer far would you be sleeping than rise up to worship Me.

It is small wonder that some of Iqbal's best poems are either written as lyrical prayers, or inspired by the experience of prayer: it is agreed that one of his masterpieces is the great ode on the mosque of Cordova where he had performed his prayer, and had lived a spiritual upheaval greater than he had experienced elsewhere, and which is echoed in this poem (BJ 130 ff.).

Ritual prayer is in Iqbal's interpretation a means to freedom—

> It came at afternoon the call for prayer
> which purifies the faithful from the directions (i.e. from this world)
> (Mus 15, description of a prayer led by King Nadir of Afghanistan).

The philosophical explanation of the same fact is contained, already some years earlier, in his *Lectures* (L 109):

154) Criminals used to be carried through the town, their faces blackened, mostly sitting on a donkey. "Black-faced" simply means "sinner".

> The timing of the daily prayer which according to the Qur'ān restores 'self-possession' to the Ego by bringing it into closer contact with the ultimate source of life and freedom, is intended to save the Ego from the mechanizing effect of sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is the Ego's escape from mechanism to freedom.

Daily prayers are thus the most important prescription of the Qur'ān on the believers, and are their most precious property. They are both jewel and weapon for the Muslim:

> The profession of faith is the shell, and prayer is the pearl within it.
> The Muslim's heart deems prayer a lesser pilgrimage.
> In the Muslim's hand prayer is like a dagger,
> Killing sins, and frowardness and wrong (AK 874 ff.).

Muhammad Iqbal follows strictly the traditional view according to which every individual's prayer is his *mi'rāj*, or ascension to Heaven; for the Prophet when he longed for the beatitude and bliss he had known in the Presence of God, used to ask his Ethiopian *mu'adhdhin*: "O Bilāl, refresh us with the call to prayer". Iqbal has expressed this feeling during all periods of his life in poetical form, be it in the first stages of his work:

> This impatient one again runs towards God,
> His ascension was a prayer in spiritual Presence (R 144),

or in the last years:

> If you have got in your body the burning of life,
> Then the ascension of the Muslim is in ritual prayer.
> But if you don't have blood in your body,
> Then your prostration is nothing but an old form (Pas 50).

Though daily prayers may be said alone, it is to be preferred to perform them in congregation. For:

> The real object of prayer is better achieved when the act of prayer becomes congregational. The spirit of all true prayer is social. Even the hermit abandons the society of men in the hope of finding in a solitary abode, the fellowship of God . . . It is a psychological truth that association multiplies a normal man's power of perception, deepens his emotion, and dynamizes his will to a degree unknown to him, in the privacy of his individuality. Indeed, regarded as a psychological phenomenon, prayer is still a mystery; for psychology has not yet discovered the laws relating to the enhancement of human sensibility in a state of association. With Islam, however, this socialization of spiritual illumination through associative prayer is a special point of interest (L 92).

This social side of Islamic prayer has, for Iqbal, a very high value, and the fact that

> King Maḥmūd, Ayāz the slave, their rank in service was the same (Sh 13),

is a prove of the superiority of Islam on all other religions, especially when compared to Hinduism with its rigid caste-system. As much as he holds that the form of prayer ought not to become a matter of dispute, and that the central problem is the presence of the heart, he does not ignore

> that the posture of the body is a real factor in determining the attitude of the mind. The choice of one particular direction in Islamic worship is meant to secure the unity of feeling in the congregation, and its form in general creates and fosters the sense of social equality inasmuch as it tends to destroy the feeling of rank or race-superiority in the worshippers. What a tremendous spiritual revolution will take place, practically in no time, if the proud aristocratic Brahman of South India is daily made to stand shoulder to shoulder with the untouchable! From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all Egos follows the essential unity of mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations, and tribes, according to the Qur'ān is for purposes of identification only. The Islamic form of association in prayer, besides its cognitive value, is further indicative of the aspiration to realize his essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man (L 93 f.).

Notwithstanding the importance which Iqbal ascribes to the outward congregational form of prayer, he always has stressed the fact that the heart of the matter is not worship in a beautiful temple or gorgeous mosque but the inner approach to God wherever it be. In the great scene "Lenin and God" (BJ 144 ff.) he puts in the mouth of the communist Russian leader the question to which people God belongs, and why He allows Himself to be venerated in splendid buildings, the poor having no home to live in. And consequently God's "Command to the Angels" runs:

> I am disgusted with all these places of worship built in marble
> Go and build a lowly hut of clay for my worship!

a command which reminds us of the harsh words against superabun-

dant offerings and dazzling outward forms of worship that can be found in the Old Testament prophetical words, but also of the aversion of Muhammad and his early followers against every kind of luxury in buildings, an aversion which had been renewed in the puritanism of the Wahhabi movement.

This idea leads to Iqbal's conception of the *faqīr* in spiritual sense, the "poor" who do not care for the outward values of wealth or poverty, but find their sufficiency only in God: these are the heroes whose prayers can change the history of nations:

> When the poor formed their rows in the mosque
> they rent the garment of the kings (AH 50).

It is the presence of the heart which matters in prayer, and which makes it effective. "There is no prayer (*ṣalāt*) at all if not with the presence of the heart" [155]) is a well-known tradition of the Prophet which has been repeated by the mystics all through the centuries and which indeed shows the most important aspect of true prayer life.

Iqbal has sung this longing for the presence of the heart in many of his poems; he was well aware of the dangers that a purely ritual prayer, offered mechanically, might constitute for the inner life:

> As long as longing for Thee is not the aim of my prayer,
> As long both my standing (*qiyām*) and my prostration (*sujūd*) are a veil (between us) (BJ 154).

Outward forms, as long as they are not an expression of complete concentration, may prove merely a barrier separating God and man instead of uniting them. This very ideal of Prayer in Presence holds true not only for the Muslim but also for the idol-worshipper

> An unbeliever with wakeful heart before an idol
> is better than a Muslim who sleeps inside the Kaaba (J 366),

or, as he puts it in his Speeches (SS 115)—when quoting from Amir Khusrau the story of an idol-worshipper and his intense attachment to his idol—:

> Only a true lover of God can appreciate the value of devotion even though it is directed to gods in which he himself does not believe—:

thus, the conception of true tolerance emerges, for Iqbal, again from the experience of prayer.

155) Cf. *mir³āt al-Maṯnawī*, p. 917; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Prayer.

The various parts of the ritual prayer have been used by Iqbal often as symbols of the spiritual condition of the Muslims—be it the call to prayer (*adhān*), be it the prostration or the standing upright: each of them is transmuted into a symbol of a certain spiritual experience.

The Call to Prayer which has inspired the title of K. Cragg's book because of its inclusiveness of the Islamic main dogmas is, for Iqbal too, the symbol of the living—or, in his own time, the lifeless—religion:

> Lifeless hangs the call to prayer, with no Bilāl lo lend it wings,
> Silenced is the voice of worship, the deserted mosques lament

runs God's answer to the *Complaint*.

The *adhān* may become the morning call to the night which covers this world (ZK 10, cf. ibd. 130), it may create a new world; consequently man, this handfull of dust who is aware of the mysteries which are concealed in this being summoned from sleep to prayer, is spiritually higher than the pleiads (BJ 195).

Yet, Iqbal has also completely spiritualized the symbol of the *adhān* —in the same way as he has transformed most of the Islamic symbols—when he says:

> You find yourself the time to your standing in prayer:
> There is no *adhān* for the ritual prayer of love and intoxication
> (AH 205).

These words must be compared with a quatrain of the same—last—period of his life:

> What do you ask for the loving ritual prayer—
> Its bowing as well as its prostration are secret:
> The burning and unrest of *one Allāhu Akbar*
> Does not fit into the five ritual prayers (AH 208).

He intends to hint at the mystery that a single *takbīr*, the words "*Allāhu akbar*, Allah is most great" (AK 1599)—which forms the beginning of the call to prayer ("our gift to the world"), provided it is properly realized in human life in the Iqbalian interpretation that God is the most inclusive Ego—that such a *takbīr* does change human consciousness to such an extent that man's religious life can no longer remain limited to the fixed times of prayer, but that his whole spiritual attitude is transformed. It is this cry *Allāhu Akbar* in

which "the struggle of being and not-being" is contained (ZK 103), by which the stone turns into water (R 148), i.e. the triumphant cry of man who has experienced and witnessed the inscrutable greatness of God, and, at the same time, is called to be the Lord's *khalīfa* on earth and His co-worker.

Iqbal characterizes two types of piety—

> religion is either resigned prayers at night,
> or a continuing *Allāhu Akbar* in the vaste spheres (BJ 196),

i.e. the prophetic message of the living and active God which fills space and time, whereas the former one is "the religion of the molla and the minerals and plants," i.e. quietism without volition. In a variation of Rūmī's famous *ghazal* with the recurrent rhyme "is my wish" Iqbal has contrasted once more the mystic's silence and the prophetic call:

> They said: "Close thy lips and do not tell our mysteries!"
> I said: "No! to cry *Allāhu Akbar*, that is my wish!" (PM 186).

Entering the prayer-rite properly, Iqbal uses mostly the two positions of prostration and of standing upright for the purpose of illustrating his ideals of the Perfect Man. These two positions become equals to the spiritual poverty and the sovereignty of the faithful (Mus 3): the first one pointing to man's complete dependence on God, the second one showing him in the role as vicegerent on earth.

The prostration, if performed with ardent love, can

> bring into ecstasy heaven and earth (AH 12, cf. ZK 32, PM 220)

and give blessings to the soil (AK 1586). Only if man has become "completely prostration", that means if he has experienced his absolute dependence on God ('schlechthinnige Abhängigkeit') and his relation to the Almighty as a slave (R 158), then he will be able to attain the higher stages of spiritual life: an idea which Iqbal has sometimes expressed with the contrast so common in classical poetry of *niyāz*, petition, and *nāz*, lit. coquetry, pride.

Of the perfect Muslim, one can say:

> The tremendum of Divine Grandeur is in his standing upright,
> and the beauty of human worship is in his prostration (AH 20).

Even the blue sky performs its circumambulation around the free

man who prostrates in this sublime way (Pas 50) in which the contact with the Divine has been established and has changed the fate of man (Pas 49), whereas the tasteless and loveless prostration is just like a blur on God's purity (AH 250).

Yet, as much the loving prostration is the expression of man's yearning for Divine grace, as much can it become an expression of too weak a character, and is no longer indicative of the state of Slave of God, but of ordinary subserviency, of hopelessness and meekness: Iqbal writes in a poem how a Turkish visitor had asked him during prayer in Lahore why the prostration had been prolonged more than usual and asks God

> to grant the Indian *imāms* a prostration in which the message of a national life is contained (ZK 162).

Prostration without standing upright is significant of the oppressed nation, as Satan gladly admits (AH 215, cf. BJ 84), of spiritual agony without resurgence, whilst thanks to the harmonious change of both these attitudes man is higher than angels (BJ 129)—for angels are bound, according to a traditional conception, to perform only one of the movements of prayer (either *sujūd* or *qiyām* or *rukūᶜ*), whereas man can partake in all of them.

Those who are imprisoned in the ideas of slavery and have lost faith and love, do not know the internal spiritual meaning of prayer:

> He who is killed by this century without fire does not know
> The resurrection which is hidden in his standing up
> (after prostration)—(AH 208).

In spite of the paramount importance which Iqbal attributes to the prescribed prayers, he knows that his wishes, his loving and longing words, will break their fixed forms.

> Wherever I bow my head into the dust, roses rise—
> My asking will not find room in two *rakᶜas* of prayer! (PM 177).

It surely will not. For Iqbal, the whole life must be sublimated into prayer since the greatest prerogative of man is his searching, his ardent pilgrimage towards Gods. He would not like to be God—

> This being God must be a headache—
> But this being Servant, I swear, that is not headache but heartache!
> (BJ 30).

This positive evaluation of man's situation as being endowed with the faculty of expressing his longing for God in prayers, has permeated Iqbal's whole work. He was deeply concerned with the different forms of worship besides the prescribed prayers—be it that he took up the Qurʾānic idea that everything is adoring God in its own language:

> that the birds are singing their rosary on every tree (R 113)

or that he shares with the mystics the high estimation of *dhikr*, the spiritual exercise of repeating certain formulas which had been in use since at least the 9th century; in some mystical orders this recollection had been elaborated into a refined technique with breath regulation, concentration on certain points of the body; but it has also tinged the religious life of the simple and unsophisticated people who have often found consolation in the quiet meditation of Divine Greatness.

Relying on the Qurʾānic word "Do not hearts get calm by the recollection of God" (Sūra 13/28) Iqbal writes to a young Pir in 1937:

> The calmness of the heart comes into existence from the recollection of God, and this recollection is the heritage of your fathers and ancestors . . . and nobody can deprive you from this heritage (M I 230).

Innumeral poets before him have started their poems with an invocation of God and a praise of the Prophet, and Iqbal follows their example; so he has written, f.i. in the introductory prayers of the *Jāvīdnāme*, one of the finest examples of devotional poetry, or has, in the 18th chapter of the *Asrār*, expressed his loneliness and his longing for a companion in highly pathetic style

> How long shall I wait for one to share my grief?
> How long must I search for a confident?
> O Thou whose face lends light to the moon and the stars,
> Withdraw Thy fire from my soul!
> Take back what Thou hast put in my breast,
> Remove the stabbing radiance from my mirror,
> Or give me one old comrade
> To be the mirror of mine all-burning love . . .

There are poetical prayers of exceeding beauty especially in the *Zabūr-iʿajam*, in which Iqbal praises the Divine power and fascinating grace in fervent verses and tries, as the classical poets had done, to describe the mysterious relation of God and man in rich symbols:

> Thou comest to my bosom, in my autumn spring shall glow (ZA I 55)
> Thine is the hawk upon the wing
> And Thine the thrush sweet-carolling,
> Thine is the light and joy of life
> And Thine its fire and baneful strife (ZA I 29)
> Thou assey of the asseyless,
> Ease of the reposeless mind,
> Cure of the afflicted spirit,
> save too rare Thou art to find !(ZA I 46),

and with a childlike simplicity he says:

> The raw copper which I have, I make it elixir by love—
> for tomorrow when I come into Thy presence Thou wilt ask for a gift from me (ZA I 39).

Presumably the best, the most personal, and I daresay the most typical of Iqbal's poems are these prayers. A careful analysis of these prayer-poems would suffice even for the reconstruction of his main religious ideas. In his *Lectures* too, this problem forms the cornerstone in Chapter III "The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer" where he writes:

> . . . Religious ambition soars higher than the ambition of philosophy. Religion is not satisfied with mere conception: it seeks a more intimate knowledge of an association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved in the act of worship ending in spiritual illumination . . . You will see that, psychologically speaking, prayer is instinctive in its origin. The act of prayer as aiming at knowledge resembles reflection. Yet prayer at its highest is much more than abstract reflection. Like reflection it, too, is a process of assimilation, but the assimilative process in the case of prayer draws itself closely together and thereby acquires a power unknown to pure thought. In thought the mind observes and follows the working of reality: in the act of prayer it gives up its career ar a seeker of slow-footed universality and rises higher than thought to capture reality itself with a view to becoming a conscious participator in its life. There is nothing mystical about it. Prayer as a means of spiritual illumination is a normal, vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a larger whole life.
> . . . The quest after a nameless nothing, as disclosed in neo-Platonic mysticism—be it Christian or Muslim—cannot satisfy the modern mind which, with its habits of concrete thinking, demands a concrete living experience of God. And the history of the race shows that the attitude of the mind embodied in the act of worship is a condition for such an experience. In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary comple-

ment to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature ... (L 89 ff.).

From the experience of prayer, Iqbal will prove the fact that God is an Ego, and his proof for God's Egohood is taken from the Qur'ānic verse "Call upon Me and I shall answer you" (Sūra 40/62): only an Ego can address another Ego, and in prayer man both realizes God as the great Thou and himself as a person who is able to speak and to be spoken to. Man who is yearning not as much for perfection but for a direct contact with the Ultimate Reality, tries to pray, asks for a companion, a being to whom he can disclose these inmost mysteries of his heart:

> Prayer is an expression of man's inner yearning in the awful silence of the Universe (L 92)

In many of his poems, Iqbal has expressed what as philosopher he had explained by means of psychology. The longing for the presence of God is one of his favorite subjects and brings him even to the assertion that

> from longing I sometimes cut his idol from the stone (ZA GR 221).

To live without this vision, is worse than death:

> Either open this veil of mysteries,
> Or take away this soul that has no vision! (J 34)

Only this contact with God grants real life:

> Who knows the end of the world, the judgment?
> As for me, when Thou lookest once, that is resurrection!

The call for revelation is a constant feature of Iqbal's poetry:

> For once, O awaited Reality, reveal Thyself in a form material;
> For a thousand prostrations are quivering in my submissive brow ...

As often as the poet had complained of the ritual prayer without the presence of the heart, as often does he repeat the call of Moses: "Lord, let me see Thee!" (Sure 7/139), and tries to reach the *vitio intellectualis* inspite of God's word "Thou shalt not see Me."

> Thou hast said: Do not seek union with Me, I am higher than imagination—
> Thou hast created a new excuse for the excuse-seeking tear! (PM 182).

Everything created is a veil between the soul and God—

> How long wilt Thou draw on Thy face the veil of morning and evening!
> Open Thy face, and complete the incomplete epiphany (ZA I 62).

Even love is still a veil—that is an idea which is purely mystic, and has been a favorite theme of the great lovers in Islamic religious history who have sung it in verses of unforgettable sweetness—; the soul however longs for the vision without veils (not union,—that is never Iqbal's goal), a vision beyond the veils of secrets—

> in the nearness where words become a veil
> I will tell the story of the heart with the tongue of my eye (PM 173 f., ZA I 61).

And then it may be that the seeker finds the Divine in himself, as the mystics of old had taught it:

> Thou hast come through the eye into my mind—
> But Thou hast entered it in such a way that the eye was not aware of Thy coming (ZA I 64).

In moments like that, the secret of Divine grace can be felt, and in a very significant article Iqbal writes:

> 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 (SS 155).

From the philosophical angle, Iqbal's conception of prayer as the sole refuge from that frightful emptiness enveloping man finds support in the views of the German vitalist, R. Eucken, to whose ideas Iqbal's thought shows a frequent affinity. Eucken remarks:

> It seems as if man would never escape from himself. And yet, when shut into the monotony of his own sphere, he is overwhelmed by a sense of emptiness. The only remedy here is a radical transformation of the concept of man himself, and to distinguish within him the narrower and the larger life, the life that is straitened and finite and can never transcend itself, and an infinite life through which he enjoys communion with the immensity and with the truth of the universe. Can man rise to this spiritual level? On the possibility of his doing so rests our only hope of giving any meaning or value to life. [156])

[156]) *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, p. 81; cf. E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 44.

This was, too, exactly Iqbal's root-idea when he highlighted the importance of prayer-life.

Friedrich Heiler has, in his great book on Prayer, distinguished between the 'prophetic' and the 'mystical' as recognisable and sharply contrasted types of religious experience.[157]) The goal of mystic prayer, after ascetic preliminaries, is the preparation of the soul for full union with God, the meditation of God's transcendant beauty and the contemplation of his unchanging eternity. A wide variety of religious truths may be the themes of the mystical regulation of meditation; but mystical prayer ends at the moment when union with God it attained, when there remains nothing but the 'clear darkness', and the inexhaustible Godhead, a Godhead which can be described either as a Neutrum, as spiritualized force, beyond the personal God, or as the essence of eternal beauty, the eternally Beloved whose decrees are gladly and ungrudgingly accepted.

In prophetic religion, however, God is active, creative personality, the Living God, to Whom men dare come, as they might to a king or a father, with all the tale of their griefs and sorrows. The last goal in the prayer of the prophetic type is is not quietude, calmness and detachment of wordly affairs but the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. Man's aim is not to be united with God but to unite his will with the Divine will, and work according to His laws.

There is no doubt that Iqbal, in his whole personality, is an excellent exponent of this prophetic type of religion. The poet who had written in the *Asrār* (v. 1629).

> Give me the sleepless eye and the passionate heart—

has never ceased asking God for new activities; he wants that God

> may quicken the thousand years old dust by my call (ZA I 4),

that he, the Living Stream, may be granted the deserts and mountains as his proper place so that he can spread out (ZA p. 4). Again and again in the prayers of the first part of the *Zabūr-iʿajam*, the cry is heard:

> Either kill in my bosom the wish for rebellion,
> Or change the disposition of this world and this age—
> either do like this or like that! (ZA I 19).

157) F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, Ch. F II.

The wish to create new values, to change the face of the worn out powerless world is the leitmotif of these prayers—and there is also the pride of a man who has embellished the world (ZA I 12, 66; PM 132). In a well chosen symbol Iqbal has compared himself to an arrow in the hand of God—

> O hunter, draw me out of the quiver of destiny,
> How can an arrow pierce the heart as long as it remains in the quiver? (ZA I 41).

Arrow in the hand of God, that might sound, in certain respects, like an acceptance of the theory of predestination according to which the human heart is between the two fingers of God, Who turns it as He likes. Yet Iqbal has taken the expression in a more personal sense: the arrow is not thrown but by its own wish—as much as man is not a simple instrument in God's hand but can ask Him to use him as he himself would like it. For, the Presence of God is, according to Iqbal

> a growth undiminishing (J 1791).

And when man has reached the climax of prayer, staying eye to eye, brow to brow with the Greatest Ego, he experiences the infinite possibilities in God, and may choose one of them, even asking from God the altering of His will and the granting him a new life, a new destination.

From this keen conviction a question rises that has interested the whole world of Islam (as of other religions) since the beginning of theological thinking and mystical feeling: the question whether prayer is compatible with the everlasting decree of God, and, if we assume that prayer is allowed—is it efficient? In the Qurʾān, as is well-known, the ideas of free will and responsibility and of predestination stand side by side. Among the Sufis, stern ascetics like ʿAbdullāh ibn Mubārak and Wāsiṭī, boasted of never having asked God for anything; and when Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, one of the most notorious quietists among the earliest generations of Muslim mystics, came into a tempest and the friends asked him urgently to pray for the salvation of the crew, he answered "This is not the time for praying, this is the moment of surrender"[158])—even among rationalist Muslim modernists there are men who do not attribute any positive value

158) Cf. A. Schimmel, *Mystical Prayer*, p. 112.

to prayer in the sense of asking a change in the imminent, among them the Indian reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan.[159])

But the greater part not only of the theologians but also of mystics clung to the Divine promise "Call upon Me, and I will answer you". A prophetic tradition related by Tirmidhī (*qadar*, 6) teaches that "nothing wards off the decree but prayer". The greatest Muslim thinkers, and saints, like Ghazzālī and ᶜAbdulqādir Gīlānī, were sure that prayer, too, was preordained and belonged to the *qadar*, and that it is not forbidden to use the shield of prayer against the arrows of evil.[160]) The famous Persian saint Kāzerūnī was asked: "When food and sustenance are provided, why does prayer exist, and why do we ask?" And he answered: "In order to show clearly the greatness and high rank of the believer, as God has said: If I give thee without being asked by thee, the perfection of thy honour would not be revealed! And therefore, I have ordained prayer, so that thou shalt call to Me and I shall answer thy calling".[161]) The idea that God tests man because He longs for hearing his voice in prayer is found as early as in Sarrāj's *kitāb al-lumaᶜ* (p. 136), and has been framed in a nice story in Maulānā's *Mathnawī* (VI 4217 ff.). In all religions, the greatest leaders of the prophetic type have been sure that prayer can change the world, can alter the decrees of God. Luther expressed this idea thus:

> After prayer, God altereth His decree and will, what you may remember well. And here, one must not discuss the secret and veiled change of the Divine Will, but learn it, as Psalm CXIX enjoins us: He will fulfil the desire of them that fear Him: He also will hear their cry, and will help them. He will leave His will and do their will. That is a Christian's greatest dignity and his priesthood that he can come with his prayer into God's presence and prevail upon God.[162])

Notwithstanding this admission of the fact that God's will may change indeed thanks to the prayer of the faithful, it is agreed upon the fact that even a greater marvel than the possible change of God's

159) Baljon, *Sir Sayyid*, p. 95.

160) *Iḥyā* I 298; cf. Bajūrī, quoted by M. Horten, *Die Religion der Gebildeten im Islam*, p. 138; W. Braune, *Die Futūḥ al-Ghaib des ᶜAbdul Qādir al-Gīlāni*, p. 142.

161) *Tadhk.* II 293.

162) Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 399. z

will is the psychological effect of prayer. This change of consciousness which follows real prayer, is its fulfilment:

> If by thy prayer the wide space cannot be changed,
> Perhaps it is possible that thou wilt be changed.
> And if in thy Self a revolution takes place—
> Then it is small wonder when the world changes (ZK 167).

With this allusion to the Qurᵓānic verse "Verily God will not change the condition of men, unless they change what is in themselves" (Sūra 13/12) which is a keyword of Iqbal's thought, the poet stresses the mysterious effects of true prayer as the centre of life.

The extreme nearness to God that man feels in this last experience of prayer leads him sometimes to such a boldness of expression that it comes close to impiety.[163]) Iqbal, thus, ventures to utter harsh words that would be unthinkable in the mouth of a contemplating lover, intoxicated by the cup of Eternal Beauty. But this boldness and even harshness is a fact often to be found in very religious people. Even a mystical leader like Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910) is related to have said: "When love becomes right, the conditions of fine education no longer apply.[164]) ᶜAṭṭār and Rūmī also tell many stories of people who spoke angrily, even offensively, and without any respect, to God. Turkish mystical poets often criticize God's decrees in their verses, and even to-day Turkish popular piety knows the saint who has reached the level of *nāz*, coquetry, and can scold God without being punished.[165])

As for Iqbal, the revolutionary poetical prayers that he sometimes utters are expressions of his pride of being a human being and, thus, to live on the highest level nature affords. As a strong individuality, he can work, and by his own work better nature, which is, after the first act of creation, still incomplete, and needs man for its perfection, as Iqbal has described it in the Prologue in Heaven of the *Jāvīdnāme*, or in the daring Dialogue between God and Man (PM 132).

The poet sometimes taunts God:

163) H. Ritter, *Muslim Mystics' Strife with God*, Oriens V; cf. *Meer der Seele*, 159 ff.

164) *Iḥyā*, IV, 292; ᶜAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, II 29.

165) Cf. Yunus Emre, *Divan*, p. 353; Kaygusuz Abdal, *Tekke Şiirleri*, p. 143 ff; esp. 155; cf. also *Bektaşi Şairleri*, ed. S. N. Ergun, Istanbul.

A thousands worlds blossom like roses in the meadow of my imagination,
Thou hast created only one world, and that even from the blood of man's hope (PM 183).

It is a seemingly strange world, which God has created, and in which man has to remember constantly his first disobedience and his fall from Paradise. God has made everything for Himself:

My madness has a grievance against Thy Divinity:
For Thyself Thou hast the spaceless, for me the four dimensioned space! (ZA I).

+

Thou hast acquainted every thorn with the story of my fall.
Thou hast thrown me in the desert of madness and made me dishonoured.
My sin was (that I tasted) the forbidden corn, his (Satan's) was from a prostration (which he did not make)—
Thou didst not reconcile him, the wretched, nor didst Thou us (PM 182).

And in this world God punishes those who love Him—

Thou wantest witness for Thy existence from the blood of Thy friends (ZA I 39), [166]

that is the old cry of the prophets who had felt confronted with a task which seemed to heavy for them, and the complaint of the mystics who have chanted in various modes of the sufferings of the lover, and of the afflictions the Divine Beloved showers down on those who are dearest to Him.

Iqbal, who had sighed in his first poetic prayers, like a hundred Persian poets before him:

I am the plaintive nightingale of a forsaken garden,
I ask for effective help for one in need,

touches quite a different chord in his later poetry. The nightingale is replaced by the eagle:

By Thy majesty, I swear it,
No desire my spirit moves
Save the prayer: An eagle spirit,
Lord, bestow upon Thy doves (ZA I 46).

166) Cf. Schimmel, *Yunus Emre*, p. 24 note 17.

Strength and power are now the objects prayed for, and Iqbal has more than once asked God for the creation of riper and stronger human beings, after the present race has lost all creative power and has given up itself willingly into the fetters of Satanic powers.

The Perfect Man, the faithful who talks freely to God, may ask God in the same moment—in a sudden attack on a quietistic conception of God Who is only the Beloved but not the lover—

What hast Thou to do in this world of pain and longing?
Doest Thou have my fire or my restlessness? (ZA I 6),

and can yet invite Him to come into his loving embrace:

Rest for a moment in my lap
From the labour and trouble of this being God! (ZA I 10).

This last expression leads to the question of the mutual relation between man and God as expressed in the experience of prayer. In the closing scene of the *Jāvīdnāme*, when the poet is standing in God's overwhelming presence, he asks:

Life is everywhere searching and seeking—
This delicate question has not yet been solved: am I the prey or is He? (J 1793).

an idea to which he had alluded some years ago, too:

We are gone astray from God,
He is seeking upon the road,
For like us, He is need entire
And the prisoner of desire (ZA II 29).

The mutual attraction of man and God, theologically culminating in the idea of the *oratio infusa*, has been felt by all those who have pondered over the problem of prayer, and the problem of grace. Just as the Bible tells that God addressed man first by calling him "Adam where art thou?" and gave him courage to answer, so the Qur'ān avers that, before the creation, God spoke to the still uncreated human race: 'Am I not your Lord?' on which the generations to come answered 'Yes, we attest it' (Sure 7/171). These verses point to the fact that the weak creature cannot approach the presence of the Most Holy if he is not called. This mystery, that God seeks man first, has often been expressed in mysticism both Eastern and Western, perhaps in the simplest words by the Persian Sufi Kharraqānī who beheld one night God Almighty in his dreams, and, overflowing with love and

joy, cried out: "O my God, for sixty years have I hoped to win Thy love, and lived in longing for Thee!" And the Lord answered: "Thou hast sought Me sixty years? And We have loved thee from the beginning of the world . . . [167])"

The finest example of the quest of God for man in European literature, that of Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven*, is anticipated by Niffarī, an Iraqi mystic of the middle of the 10th century. [168]) And how often do we find the idea that God Himself gives prayer, that He "causes prayer to grow in us like roses grow from the dust", so that in each "O Lord" of the slave there are a hundred "I am at your service" from God's side; that not only the thirsty are seeking water but also water is seeking the thirsty. [169])

In a *ḥadīth qudsī*, God is related to have promised "When my slave comes nearer to Me a span, I will approach him a yard, and when he approaches one yard, I will approach him one fathom, when he comes walking I come running. [170])

That is just what Muhammad Iqbal wants to indicate: the deepest mystery of prayer is the mutual approach of man and God.

For the prophetic-minded, the fruit of this mutual approach in prayer will be seen in action—"prayer naturally, spontaneously, issues in action" (Dean Inge). [171]) But on the other hand, it is also action that leads man to prayer. The search for truth and knowledge may show itself not only in the accustomed forms of prayer but also in daily life, in scientific explorations and philosophical researches. That is why Iqbal holds that

> . . . prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of nature. The scientific observation of nature keeps us in close touch with the behaviour of Reality, and thus sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it . . .

And he continues:

> The truth is, that all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer (L 91).

167) ʿAṭṭār, *o.c.*, II 253.
168) Niffarī, *mawāqif*, 11/16.
169) Cf. *Mathnawī*, I 1741, III 2209, 4393, 189 (the most famous story) etc.; also *Divan*, ed. Nicholson No. XXXII.
170) Wensinck, *Concordance*, 2/176a (*ḥadīth ad-dirā*).
171) In: James, *Way of Mysticism*, p. 195 (from: *Speculum Animae*).

For scientific research may bring man to a point where he feels the mystery of Creation, where eventually his ardent quest for knowledge approaches to adoration. That is the point on which Iqbal's interest is concentrated: the point where *ʿishq*, the ardour of love, and *ʿilm*, the ardour of science, may be united, and thus help mankind to reach a higher spiritual level. Since Iqbal includes all kinds of searching in his conception of prayer, it is not astonishing to find the statement that

> . . . in great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing his own identity, and transcends the limits of time and space. Action is the highest form of contemplation.

Prayer is the highest form of action, action the highest form of prayer—they complete each other as, to quote Dean Inge once more, "the spiralstair by which man may ascend to heaven' [172])—thus we can summarize Iqbal's view, too. He has expressed this paradox in a key-passage of his *Lectures*:

> Prayer . . . is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching Ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the Universe (L 92).

d) Fasting, Zakāt (obligatory alms), Pilgrimage and Jihād

It is a strange fact that Iqbal who possessed such a keen sense for wide implications and the importance of the first two "Pillars of Islam"—i.e. the witness to God's Unity, plus Muhammad's messengership, and Prayer—has utilized the last three Pillars comparatively rarely in his poetical and philosophical work both in their essence and as symbols for spiritual states. This is all the more surprising as he has praised highly the importance of the unchangeable Divine Law in many a poem [173]) and was himself as faithful as possible to the injunctions of the Qurʾān. He kept, f.i., the fasting during the month of Ramaḍān regularly, and has sometimes mentioned it in his letters [174])—though fasting belongs to the hardest duties for the Muslim who has to abstain during the whole month from the moment

173) Pas 36 f.
174) M I 41 (1916).

when a black and a white thread can be discerned to sunset from eating, drinking, smoking and whatever occurs (even from an injection which would bring something from outside into the body).

In the *Lectures*, the problem of fasting has not been touched at all, nor has Iqbal tried to explain its deeper meaning as a spiritual purification (that would have been, in his view, probably too close to the customary interpretations of the ascetics). Only in the *Jawāb-i Shikwah*, i.e. in a very early period of his spiritual formation, the Divine voice is reported to have addressed the Muslims

> Ramadan is too oppressive for your tempers free to bear (45).
> Now, if any stand to worship in the mosque it is the poor,
> And if any bear the pains of holy fasting, it is they... (51),

but besides a short notice in the *Asrār* about fasting as an important side of Islam (879 f.) there is no more mention made of this duty.

Only the *ʿīd-ul fiṭr*, the Feast of Fastbreaking has inspired the poet to a few lyrics which, however, do not provide the reader with a fresh interpretation of the traditional motif.

As to the *zakāt*, an obligatory alms which has to be paid by every Muslim, it has been in the Qurʾān frequently linked with prayer as the most confirming obligations of the Muslim—'to perform prayer and pay the poor-rate'—which shows its paramount importance. It is, as Kenneth Cragg phrased it—

> a main support in the Islamic case against the evils of both capitalism and communism. It renders the first innocuous and the second unnecessary. It draws the sting of both by depriving Marxism of any legitimate argument against property and property of any scandalous features. [175])

The institution of *zakāt* gives the Muslim—to quote L. Massignon [176])—the chance of occupying an intermediate position between the doctrines of bourgeois capitalism and Bolshevist communism, an idea which is an outstanding feature in many modern Islamic ideologies which had to define Islam's unique position in the present worldsituation. [177])

[175]) Cragg, *Call*, p. 153 ff.

[176]) *Whither Islam*, p. 37.

[177]) W. Braune, *o.c.*, 177; cf. also the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-ikhwan al-mûslimûn) who hold that Qurʾān and tradition had established the perfect guidance for individual and society, and that the Islamic State, while allowing

Iqbal is one of the fervent advocates of this theory, and aimed at showing with stringent arguments that Islam with its divinely inspired system of alms-regulation be the only remedy against the corrupt system of Western capitalism as well as of Russian communism. In the latter he saw primarily the social ideals of equality which were reminiscent, for him, of the tenets of Islam; though destitute of the faith in God, and utterly disregardful of religion, Russian communism was regarded by him as a kind of preparatory stage for Islam, and he entertained for long time the hope that Russia would leave her "state of negation" and embrace the true faith—"Bolshevism plus God is almost Islam" he wrote once to Sir Francis Younghusband (SS 167). That is why he has put one of his revolutionary hymns in the mouth of Lenin (whom he confronts, in another poem, with Kaiser Wilhelm II, PM 249). [178]) The Russian leader addresses God (BJ 144).

> ... With Thy permission I desire to ask a question,
> To which the philosophers' theses could provide no answer.
> Where is the man whose God Thou art?
> Is it the man of clay who lives beneath the skies?
> For the East, gods are the whites of Europe,
> For the West, gods are the shining dollars ...
> ... the lot of the hapless labourer is very hard—
> When will this boat of Capitalism be wretched?

However the materialist outlook of both opposed powers was, for Iqbal, enough reason for not accepting them, and his ideals for which he found Qurʾānic support were crystallized in a kind of theistic socialism as vouchsafed by the tenets of Islam (and opposed to the 'atheistic socialism' of Jawaharlal Nehru, Letters to Jinnah). The poet's attitude towards property is the old Islamic one: the conviction that the earth belongs to God which Iqbal has expressed in his poetry at several occasions is repugnant of every feudalism: [179]) the landlord should not boast of his territories which he has to give back, at the moment of his death, into the hands of the Creator. The soil is but lent to him for a certain period during which he has to work

modern scientific research work, would keep aloof equally from capitalism and communism. Cf. I. M. Husaini *al-ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, Beirut 1955 2.

[178]) Cf. the article by M. Hamidullah, *Ce que pensait Lénine de Muhammad*; cf. also *Tanq.*, p. 72; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam*, p. 156 f.

[179]) PM 150; J 640.

on it and try to ameliorate it, without being emotionally bound to it. Not that, as in old mystic traditions, the earth and this world are to be despised or considered chiefly as necessary evils, but they are given to man for embellishing them, and to make use of the gifts of God. Thus Iqbal tried to prepare the ground for social justice relying on the implementation of Qurʾānic injunctions. It must be left to the sociologists and politicians to decide in how far these 'utopian' ideas which Iqbal has preached with unflinching energy are realisable in the modern society; the point which is important for the historian of religion is how the poet strives to rescue Islam from the clutches of capitalism and communism by an actualization of the fundamentals of Islam.

As to the Pilgrimage to Mecca which is religious obligation for the Muslim once in life—if his circumstances allow it—Ilse Lichtenstädter writes in her study *Islam and the Modern Age*:

> Iqbal . . . does not devote a sentence of his Lectures . . . to this central rite which unites the Muslim world as nothing else does in Islam. In his philosophic poem The Secrets of the Self and in others of his poetic works the Kaaba is used as a symbol but not viewed in its actuality (p. 50).

Indeed, Pilgrimage is not mentioned in the Lectures but, as I take it, this is rather because this institution—like the other Pillars of Islam—was so natural and so central for Iqbal that he did not think it necessary to talk in extenso about it in the same manner as about those crucial problems which needed a fresh interpretation and re-evaluation.[180]) Iqbal himself was very keen on performing the pilgrimage and visiting simultaneously the Prophet's tomb in Medina, and one must not be mistaken by the ironical lines

> I have not made the journey towards the Kaaba,
> since the way is not dangerous (PM 172).

That is a poetical licence by which he over-emphazises the importange of danger and struggle for life, an attitude which is lacking in those who tread the path unto the sanctuary as a mere formality. The older the poet grew the more intense became his wish for pilgrimage,

[180]) But cf. BJ 111.

but his worsening health prevented him from the tiresome journey: financial difficulties added to that as well as some differences with persons who wanted to accompany him (M I 225).[181])

The Kaaba as a symbol of Muslim unity belongs to Iqbal's favorite topics—this sanctuary whose story has been written with blood:

> Strange and simple and colourful is the story of the Kaaba:
> its end is Husain, its beginning Ismail (BJ 92),

that is to say that the Kaaba which was founded (Qurʾān 2/119) by Abraham and his son Ismail witnessed in its very beginning the presumed offering of Ismail, the perfect surrender of its constructor under the Divine will (in memory of which event to-day sheeps are slaughtered on the second day of the pilgrimage rite, not only in Mecca itself but all over the world in almost every Muslim family which can afford it). And at the end of the spiritual story of this central sanctuary of Islam stands the martyrdom of Husain, the Prophet's grandson, with whose death in the battle-field of Kerbela (680) the ideal state of the early Islamic community was finished, and overthrown by religiously questionable rulers.

For Iqbal, the Arabian desert whence the virile and unsophisticated religion of Islam had sprung like a fountain which gives life to the barren land was the centre of inspiration—

> It behoves thee to go back to Arabia . . .
> Thou hast gathered roses from the garden of Persia,
> And seen the springtide of India and Iran—
> Now taste a little of the heat of the desert (AK 791 ff.).

The Hijaz with its centre Mecca—often called by the poet with its surname al-Baṭḥā—is the hospital for the ills of all and sundry (BD 219). The order that inside the sacred limits of Mecca shooting is illicite during the whole year has provided Iqbal with a very appropriate symbol for the sheltering power of the sanctuary—

> When the deer fled from the sacred territory of Mecca,
> The hunter's arrow pierced its side (AK 1502, cf. PM 143).

[181]) The person intended is Sir Akbar Hydari of Hyderabad/Deccan, against whom Iqbal has written also the concealed attack in J 1316: "an Antar—i.e. a mean black slave—in the dress of a Haydar"—i.e. of Ali, the hero of early Islam; in earlier times, he had been on very friendly terms with Sir Akbar; cf. S. A. Vahid, *Iqbal and Hyderabad*.

That applies exactly to the present situation of the Muslims who have forsaken the sanctuary, i.e. the Islamic way of life, where they would live as secure as a gazelle inside the asylum; now, separated from the centre of their religious life and dispersed in the wilderness they easily fall a prey to the hunters of souls who are lurking behind the dazzling promises of modern civilization.

The rite of pilgrimage is the great occasion for the meeting of Muslims from all over the world, it

> proved in the end a great aid in unification for the men of every tribe and race met at Mecca with a common purpose and in a common worship and a feeling of brotherhood would not but be engendered in the process (SS 160).

With these notes he expressed the same feeling which he had formulated poetically long ago: Pilgrimage

> teaches separation from the one's home and destroys attachment to one's native land.
> It is an act of devotion in which all feel themselves to be one,
> it binds together the leaves of the book of religion (AK 881 f.).

Thus the Kaaba becomes in Iqbal's poetry the symbol of the essential unity of the Islamic peoples—

> The centre of the Islamic nation is the House of God (R 154)
> where all Muslims are brethren (R 77, allusion to Sūra 49/10).

The whole *mathnawī Rumūz-i bēkhūdī* is impressed with this idea, and here the Kaaba is described in most vivid colours: its real secret is the unity, as it collects all members of the society around it. In Iqbals reading, this sanctuary could be compared favourably to the League of Nations in Geneva, the latter one being the storehouse of Western political wisdom of *divide et impera* (ZK 54) whereas the Kaaba personifies the Islamic ideal of the single and indivisible nation of the children of Adam. The Kaaba is the symbol of both international unity and Divine Unity—as opposed to the idol-temples which Abraham destroyed before erecting this building—

> but the thought of the West is destitute of unity,
> since European civilization has got no Kaaba (BJ 117).

European civilization, having separated religion and politics, Church and State, lacks the centre towards which it can be reorient-

ated (that is what the post-war German literature used to style as Verlust der Mitte): here lies, for Iqbal, the main reason for the West's disastrous political situation, and for the dangers of nationalism and racialism which emerged so vigorously just during his lifetime.

> The main endeavour of Islam as a religion has been to solve this very problem (of race) and if modern Asia wishes to avoid the fate of Europe there is no other remedy but to assimilate the ideals of Islam and to think not in terms of race but in terms of mankind (SS 194).

Already shortly after World War I Snouck Hurgronje had attracted the attention of the European colonisators to the truth, that Islam has always given "des chances égales à toutes les races", a fact which can easily be proved from Islamic history. [182])

Iqbal was, as Nicholson points out in his Introduction to the Secrets (P. IX) inspired "by the vision of a New Mecca, a world wide, theocratic, Utopian state in which all Moslems . . . shall be one".

This was his ideal, indeed, and he has often expressed the conviction that the real enemy of Islamic culture and life is not Western science—which can, anyhow, be assimilated and used for a proper end—but the territorial nationalism which burst out after the First World War, raising Turkey against the caliphate and making the Egyptians shout "Egypt for Egyptians" (M II 56), and he continues in the letter which contains this complaint that

> For nations it means death to be separated from the centre—
> If the nation has a centre, what is the place of the Ego then?
> It is Lordship (*khudā'ī*) (ZK 178).

The problem of irreligious nationalism is uppermost in Iqbal's thought and work, and he has stressed over and over again the spiritual unity of the Muslim peoples, preaching that earthrootedness and dependence upon a specific nation or soil would prevent man from spiritual lifting:

> Thy wings are overlaid with the dust of colour and race—
> bird of the sanctuary, shed clean thy wings before soaring high!

It is significant of the great importance in Iqbal's thoughts of this

[182]) Snouck Hurgronje, *L'Islam et le problème des races*. Verspreide Geschriften I, 414 (8.2.1922).

problem that the very last article he published six weeks before his death deals with the problem of Islam and Nationalism, criticizing with unusual sharpness the statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad of Deoband, the anti-Muslim League politician, about whom he had written also a famous and powerful quatrain:

> . . . I have been repudiating the concept of nationalism since the time when it was not well known in India and the Muslim world. At the very start it had become clear to me from the writings of European authors that the imperialistic designs of Europe were in great need of this effective weapon—the propagation of the European conception of nationalism in Muslim countries—to shatter the religious unity of Islam to pieces . . .
> Love of one's native land is a natural instinct and requires no impressions to nourish it. In the present-day political literature, however, the idea of nation is not merely geographical; it is rather a principle of human society and as such it is a political concept . . .
> The history of religions conclusively shows that in ancient times religion was national as in the case of Egyptians, Greeks, and Iranians. Later on, it became racial as that of the Jews. Christianity taught that religion is an individual and private affair. Religion having become synonymous with private beliefs, Europe began to think that the State alone was responsible for the social life of man. It was Islam and Islam alone which, for the first time, gave the message to mankind that religion was neither national and racial, nor individual and private, but purely human and that its purpose was to unite and organize mankind despite all its natural distinctions . . .
> After getting the name of *ummat Muslimah* (cf. Qurʾān 2/178 the prayer of Abraham and Ismail) from the Court of God, was there any room left for merging part of the form of our society into some Arabian, Iranian, Afghani, English, Egyptian or Indian nationality? There is only one *millat* confronting the Muslim community, that of the non-Muslims taken collectively . . . (SS 223 ff.).

It grieved Iqbal deeply that even the religious leaders of Islam were in danger of yielding to the nationalist ideals, that, as he says poetically, even the Kaaba was under the spell of European ideologies—

> It came a cry: This is not less than the morning of resurrection—
> The Chinese have put on the holy garment of pilgrimage, but the inhabitant of Mecca is still sleeping in the sanctuary (BJ 39)—

the Islamic peoples are unaware of the precarious situation of their fundamental religious tenets.

There are, however, besides the very concrete equation Kaaba = unity of the Muslim; pilgrimage = the means of unification, some specimens of poetry from Iqbal's last years in which he has spiritualized the obligation of pilgrimage completely, as he has done sometimes with other fundamental precepts of the Islamic faith (f.i. resurrection). In a completely mystical tune he sings:

> In that ocean which has no border
> The argumentation of the lovers is only by the heart:
> Thou hast ordered, and we have taken the road of Mecca—
> Otherwise we have no station but Thee! (AH 62).

The Kaaba is only an outward symbol of the Divine presence which is beyond all forms, and can be attained through interior pilgrimage. That is why the poet, deprived of the hope that he might kiss one day the threshold of the Prophet and the Black Stone of the Kaaba, finds consolation in the internal meaning of the rites, and in the circumambulation not of the sacred building but of the Divine beloved:

> The sanctuary is not the Qibla of heart and eye,
> Its circumambulation is the going round door and roof—
> Between us and the house of God there is a secret
> Which even Gabriel the faithful does not know (AH 148).

Thus, pilgrimage to Mecca has a twofold aspect in Iqbal's work: the outward one, so to say the political one, and the internal aspect as a symbol of the highest possible experience: that of the direct presence of God. As such it becomes the proper centre of Islam in which the religious experience and its political realization are inseparably united.

Although the *jihād*, the struggle for religion's sake, has never been declared one of the Pillars of Islam, it constitutes at least a *farḍ al-kifāya*, an obligation on such a number of individuals who suffice to avert the immediate danger. Yet the conception—oft-misunderstood—of Holy War has been known outside Islam perhaps better than the other obligations of the faith. For the Muslims themselves the greatest prerogative of partaking in the fight for religion's sake is that those who are killed "in the quest for God and the other world" as a very old traditions runs will immediately enter the heavenly abode without undergoing the examination in the tomb. *Jihād*, however,

covers a much larger field and the classical works on *Jihād* may merely be termed as handbooks of public international law.

By the mystics, the concept of religious struggle has been spiritualized and for them the *jihād akbar*, the Greatest Holy War, is the struggle against one's own baser faculties and instincts, the taming of the flesh, the indefatigable self-control. This spiritualized struggle has formed a favorite subject of mystical poetry, and it is no longer the warrior in his unsparing fight against heavy odds and eventually being killed by his enemies—i.e. the adversaries of his faith—who is glorified but the lover who dies on the path towards the Beloved, killed by the Sweetheart's cruelty and overflowing with joy when feeling the Beloved's knife on his neck.[183]) This transformation of the motif of death in Holy War which was commonplace in later Sufistic poetry seemed intolerable for a reformer like Iqbal, and in one of his letters (M I 36, 1916) he attacks those Persian sufis who have changed the lofty meaning of *jihād* into something mean and enervating.

As a matter of fact Iqbal was against any war—even

> to lift the sword for the sake of propagation of Islam is religiously forbidden (M I 204, 1936, cf. BJ 12),

and he was deeply convinced that no Muslim could be a defender of war for whatever purpose it might be declared (M I 203, 1936), except in defense.

Yet, in his poetry the concept of Holy War, and martyrdom connected with it, is often met with—

> to become a martyr is the goal and wish of the faithful—
> not booty or invasion of a country (BJ 142).

The major issue is not the result of the Holy War, be it victory or defeat, but the hope of winning the glorious rank of martyrdom, to live in the memory as a hero of the faith. Sultan Tipu of Mysore who was killed fighting the British in 1799 appears in the *Jāvīdnāme* as the living model of this noble martyrdom, and teaches the poet the mysteries of gaining life by loosing it for the noble cause of Islam.

Despite his aversion to any violent solution of political problems

[183]) Very typical example in Shāh ʿAbdul Laṭīf, *Risālō*, sur Kalyān, II "Oh Beloved, let Thy knife be blunt, so that I feel the pain caused by Thy hand longer and more intensely" etc.

under the title of Holy War Iqbal was sharply opposed to those who preached that the world has not to be conquered but renounced, and he reminded the faithful oft and anow of the prophetic tradition that the 'Monkery of my community is the Holy War', combating the attitude of renunciation which was signified by certain mystic orders to be the real conquest of the world—

> Since the Prince of faith has called the whole earth his mosque—
> How could the faithful stand that this mosque be now in the hands of foreigners?

Therefore

> the pure-hearted man strives intensely in order to regain the mosque of his Lord (Pas 25).

In his literary condemnation of the tenets of the Qadiani-sect which was, in the thirties, most active in the Panjab, it is one of the points of controversy—besides the problem of the finality of Prophethood—that the Qadianis and Ahmadis advocated a purely spiritual interpretation of *jihād*.[184])

> The shaikh has given a *fetwā*: It is the time of the pen,
> Now there is no more work left for the sword! (ZK 22).

He has even depicted Satan in a poem, composed in 1936, as an advocate of this conviction and has made him declare that Holy War was now forbidden for the Muslims of this age—a hint to the Qadiani doctrine.

For Iqbal, with his staunch belief in the fundamental teachings of the Qurʾān on the one hand, and his revolt against quietistic mysticism with its devaluation of the human personality on the other hand, the classical concept of *jihād* could be utilized in support of his theories: the growth of the individuality through constant struggle, the development of the nation as a collective Ego in never ceasing efforts to promote its ideals all over the world and conquer the world yard for yard, and the conviction that the death for the faithful who is aflame with joyful obedience of the Divine law is nothing but a passage towards higher levels of conscience and eternal life: all these root-ideas of Iqbal are traceable in his interpretation of *jihād*.

[184]) *Munir Report*, p. 191, 193, 222, 225.

CHAPTER THREE

HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE ESSENTIALS OF FAITH

I believe in God, and in His Angels and in His Books and in His Messengers and in the Last Day, and in the Predestination, that good and evil both come from God.

a) I BELIEVE IN GOD . . . AND IN HIS ANGELS . . .

Since the theology proper has already been discussed in Chapter II, the chapter starts with the Angels.

The belief in Angels belongs to the essentials of Muslim creed (cf. Sūra II 285). [1]) Angels are frequently mentioned in the Qurʾān, a whole Sūra (35) being called after them. They are conceived as subtle, luminous bodies, and depicted in their different occupations: some of them carrying the Divine Throne, a pair of them accompanying every human being and noting down his deeds, Munkar and Nakīr questioning the dead in the tomb, Gabriel conveying the Divine Message to the prophets. They never cease glorifying God, each of them performing a special movement of prayer. Some of them, though not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān, are of great importance in theology, popular piety and mysticism, like ʿAzrāʾīl, the horrible angel of death, or Isrāfīl who blows the Trumpet at Doomsday, and numerous other angelic beings, often called by strange and difficult names derived from Syriac and Hebrew roots have intruded upon folklore and even the field of sheer magic.

How firmly the belief in angels is rooted in Muslim theology and piety can be guessed f.i. from the sharp attacks of Indian Muslims against the interpretation of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan according to whom angels and *jinns* are only faculties of the human soul. [2])

[1]) Cf. art. *Malāʾika* in the EI. W. Eickmann, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans.*

[2]) Baljon, *Sir Sayyid*, p. 93. That had been maintained also by early philosophers in Islam. An attack on this idea of the Indian reformer in the *Muʿallim al-Qurʾān* (Sindhi commentary of the first *juzʾ*, Hyderabad, 1947) (cf. Schimmel, *Sindhi translations . . . of the Qurʾān).*

For the Muslim the existence of guardian angels watching over every human being is unquestionable, and thus Iqbal writes to a friend who went on pilgrimage:

> God Almighty may make your journey blessed and the mercy of His angels may be your companion! (M I 228).

That is, as far as I can see, the only time that he mentions angels in his letters; and in his philosophical prose-writing, they are of no importance. One should expect in the work of a scholar who had been interested in the philosophy of Avicenna and especially of Suhrawardī Maqtūl a reflection of the angelology which is so characteristic of these Persian thinkers and is, indeed, of Persian origin. Corbin, [3]) who has analyzed the Suhrawardian and Avicennian angelology has shown that the Angel is seen by these thinkers as the "heavenly counterpart of a pair or a syzygy made up of a fallen, or an angel appointed to govern a body, and of an angel retaining his abode in heaven", that angels are the celestial self of man. This idea, however, important as it may be in Persian thought, is exactly contrary to Iqbal's picture of the angelic world which can be reconstructed from his poems. Eager to go back behind the Persian influences in Islam, he relies directly and completely on the Qurʾānic descriptions of the angels, and his leitmotif is the scene in which God ordered the angels to bow before Adam who had just been created (Sura 7/11). That shows that man is higher than angels, a concept which was well-known to Islamic mysticism rather early and is fully developed in ʿAṭṭār's *manṭiq uṭ-ṭair*; [4]) this idea is not restricted to Islamic mystics but can be found in Christian and Jewish interpretations of the Scripture as well. Man is higher than angels because he has the faculty of loving and longing, because he—to use the Chassidic expression—"is the going one, whereas the angel is static, and through his movement he vouchsafes the movement which renews the world." [5]) Although angels are holy in their constant occupation with worship and adoration, they are not endowed with free will, and therefore, in Iqbalian thought

[3]) H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the visionary recital*, p. 21; the same, *L'imagination créatrice chez Ibn Arabi*, p. 270; A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa.*

[4]) Ritter, *Meer*, p. 624.

[5]) Buber, *Der große Maggid*, p. XXXVIII.

Though the angels are from the magic of the spheres,
Their eyes are always directed towards this handfull of dust
(ZA II 16),

they "are intoxicated by looking at the people of dust" (ibd. 42), since man has given them the unique opportunity to prostrate and to bow in an act of free love. So angels are dependent on man; they are, for Iqbal,

nothing but the prisoners of man's phantasy (BJ)

and even

a mean prey for the faithful who is the falcon of the lord of the *laulākā* (i.e. Muhammad) (BJ 119);

that will say that the faithful (who is bound to Muhammad as much as the falcon—suggestive of the soul already in ʿAṭṭār's and Rūmī's work—is bound to his owner) does not care for "hunting angels and houris": [6]) his only goal is God himself whereas angels—and we may add: every supranatural experience which is available on the way towards this goal—are of no interest to him.

Iqbal has introduced into his work the angelic chorus: the 'Song of the Angels' in the *Jāvīdnāme* shows in a highly poetical and imaginative way the qualities of man, and in its place in the poem, at the end of the Prooem in Heaven, it is reminiscent of the Angelic hymn in Goethe's *Faust*—only with reversed order: Goethe's angels praising the Lord Almighty, Iqbal's angels the Perfect Man.

A second chorus forms part of a scene "God and Lenin" in which the angels complain that

Reason is now unbridled, love is now without proper place (BJ 148).

Isrāfīl, the angel of resurrection, has been transmuted into a mere cipher of the poet himself and, in general, of the Perfect Man who, by the word of love, restores dead souls to life—

That poem which is message of eternal life
Is either the song of Gabriel or the cry of Isrāfīl (ZK 133, Cf. BJ 92),

i.e. according to Iqbal's spiritualized concept of resurrection no special angel is needed for causing the dead corpses to come out of their tomb (as Maulānā Rūmī has depicted it so impressively in one of his

[6]) Cf. J v. 783, ZK 41, PM 198.

poems): [7]) a man who has realized the burning love of God and has awakened people from the death-like slumber of negligence and heedlessness—the famous *khuāb-i gaflet* of Persian poetry—is to be equated with the angel of resurrection; so the poet ventures even to invent the equation Isrāfīl = Love (BJ 92).

The only angelic motif which takes somewhat more room in Iqbal's poetry is that of Gabriel, whose name is given to one of the poet's Urdu *dīwāns*; no doubt under the influence of Suhrawardī's treatise *Le bruissement de l'aile de Gabriel* which had been edited by H. Corbin and P. Kraus in 1935, one year before *Bāl-i Jabrīl*, Gabriel's Wing, was published.

But even this archangel's position is rather restricted. Just as Isrāfīl becomes a cipher for the real lover, so Gabriel is

everyone who has become acquainted with the mystery of the Prophet (Pas 41).

The faithful is alike to that angel since he has direct communion with God and does not know

rival and messenger and doorkeeper (ZA GR 204).

He is even higher than Gabriel [8]) who gets his wings only from the Prophet (J v. 369) and is a pearl from Muhammad's mirror (AH 73); that shows that the whole relation between man and the messenger angel has become reversed. This interpretation can probably be understood from the famous tradition in which Muhammad says "I have a time with God . . . in which even Gabriel has no access" (J 592, 782). That means that in the direct communion of man and God even the highest angel is excluded, that he, as a medieval Turkish poet has said "remained at the Sidra-tree like a nightingale who is separated from the rose" [9]) and, to quote Yunus Emre, that he "is still a veil between the lovers". [10]) Iqbal has taken up this idea more than once and expressed in his last poems that

Between me and the House of God is a secret
That even Gabriel the faithful does not understand (AH 148).

[7]) *Selected poems*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, No. XXI.
[8]) Cf. J v. 31, "the eye is more wakeful than Gabriel".
[9]) In the *Miʿrājiyya* of the Turkish poet Ghanīzāde, in Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Eski şairlerimiz*, p. 356.
[10]) Yunus Emre, *Divan* 202, cf. 334.

The faithful "can bind Gabriel with the hair of the fire of the eye" (PM 190) because the messenger angel, albeit he is the trustworthy interpreter between God and man, is not enraptured by Divine Love and even incapable of standing that nostalgy and intoxication which the children of Adam bear.

> Four you heavenly beings recollection and rosary and circumambulation is better! (BJ 38).

He is, thus, not as high as Adam [11])

> in whose throat is a song which may uproar Gabriel (BJ 74).

The madness of love and unending quest is lacking in Gabriel, as in every angelic being (BJ 43)

> Speak this my message unto Gabriel:
> My body was not made with light aglow;
> Yet see the fervour of us sons of earth,
> This joy-in-grief no Child of Light can know! (Lāle 47).

Yea, if Gabriel could read what the poet has written, he would surely ask God to grant him leave, and give up the bliss of eternal union in order to enjoy the pangs of separation and the sighing at morning-time! (ZA GR 206).

There are some minor allusions to Gabriel which point into a different direction: sometimes he is called, in truely Islamic sense, the *rūḥ al-āmīn* without whom the stage of *yaqīn*, absolute certitude, cannot be reached (AH 205) and from whom the thinker's thought wants ratification (J v. 283). On the one hand, Gabriel is connected with the heart as the organ of gnosis—

> Not every heart is the nest of Gabriel,
> Only God-given ideas are illuminating (BJ 222); [12])

on the other hand he is simply characterized as a symbol of reason (J v 1780, cf. BJ 92): perhaps a faint and far-off remembrance of the identification of Gabriel with the First Intelligence in Suhrawardian philosophy. This equation is, however, rare, and intellect and science

11) Cf. ZA II 5, BJ 100.

12) Cf. H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice*, p. 270 (the quotations from Shāh Niᶜmatullāh).

are rather called the power through which Gabriel is turned into Satan (Pas 57; cf. ZK 71).

Gabriel assumes, as is seen, several aspects in Iqbal's poetical work, one of them being traceable back to the old Iranian religious thought: it is his connection with Sarōsh, the old-Iranian angel of obedience, of hearing and speaking (Sraosha) who was, in later Zoroastrism, the psychopompos who brings the dead to the other world (cf. his rôle in the Arda-Viraf-Nāme). This angel is a wellknown symbol in classical Persian poetry, [13]) be it in *Wīs u Ramīn* or in the lyrics of Hafiz. As inspiring genius he is visible very early in Iqbal's poems [14]) (BD 193, 209, 235), but, as the poet complains

> his melody has turned into false tunes (BJ 108).

The classical passus for the Sarōsh-figure, the introductory chapter of the *Jāvīdnāme*, hints at the relevancy of this angel to Gabriel: Sarōsh appears here at the beginning of the mystical path, in the Heaven of Moon. The initial encounter with the angel is typical of all visionary recitals in Persian Philosophy. [15]) Corbin has proved, that in Suhrawardī's system Sarōsh is equal to Gabriel in his rôle as Angel of Man and, at the same time, the Active Intellect. As such, he constitutes the tenth intellect who is located in the Moon-sphere, exactly there where Iqbal has assigned a place to him. In the other rôle, as doorkeeper of the heavenly world, or celestial guide for the initiated, Sarōsh and Gabriel are used alternatively in Islamic-gnostic literature: but in the place where one would expect this angel, usually depicted with two-coloured wings, Iqbal has used in the *Jāvīdnāme* the old-Iranian Time-deity Zurvān. However, in his first description of a heavenly journey, the Urdu poem *sayr-i falak* (BD 193) Sarōsh appears again as initiator-angel.

The fact that Sarōsh, according to Mazdean cosmology, has sprung out of Ahura Mazdah's head is alluded to (in J v. 338), but in the following lines, Sarōsh is converted—as almost all types which came under the spell of Iqbal's pen—into a spirit who has preferred separa-

13) M. Moᶜīn, *Mazdayasna va taʾthīr-i ān dar adabiyāt-i Pārsī* (Zoroastrim and its influences on Persian poetry), esp. the chapter on Sarōsh, p. 448.

14) One of the names proposed for the *asrār-i khūdī* was "Message of Sarōsh," M II 368.

15) H. Corbin, *Avicenna . . .*, p. 151 about the initial encounter with the angel.

tion to union, and who teaches man in poetical form the philosophy of love and activity: he has done what Gabriel, in Iqbal's term, would like to do.

However, the angels remain rather colourless in Iqbal's picture of life. It needs a Satan who makes life more colourful and who tells his "old comrade" Gabriel

> I prick God's heart like a thorn—
> But thou . . . only Allah Hu, Allah Hu, Allah Hu! (BJ 192 ff.).

Iblis, Satan, is commonly accepted as one of the angels, but according to other verses of the Qurʾān he belongs to the fire-created *jinn*. In the Qurʾān he is mentioned especially in connection with Adams's creation [16]) when all angels obeyed God's command to prostrate before Adam, Iblis, with the pride of one who is created from fire refused to bow before a being made out of clay, and was cursed by God. Then, he induced Adam and Eve to eat from the forbidden tree, becoming thus the cause for their being driven out of Paradise.

Around these simple Qurʾānic facts tradition has gathered many informations about Satan, and the problem of evil, the different aspects of Iblis, have inspired a large amount of stories and legends in Islamic theological and mystical literature. [17])

'Satan sits in the blood of the children of Adam', says a wellknown hadith, that means that he is nearly inseparable from them. Mysticism has often identified him with the *nafs* which we may render by 'flesh', or has made him a partner of the *nafs*—however without absolute power over human thought and actions—

> You have been granted power to refute his lies, but he has not been granted power to force you that what he will (Muḥāsibī). [18])

[16]) Satan is mentioned in the Qurʾān in Sure 2/32, 7/10, 15/31 f., 17/63, 18/48, 20/115, 33/74. On the whole he is reckoned among the jinn, being created from fire; Baiḍāwī ad Sūra 2/32 thinks that he belonged perhaps to the *jinn* concerning his deeds (*fiʿlan*) but to the angels concerning of his species (*nauʿan*). In India he is often called the *muʿallim al-malāʾika*, teacher of the angels, but not regarded as angel himself. A Bengali poet, Sayid Sultān, has even composed an *Iblīs-nāme* in which he shows the disadvantage of pride; but God commands the angels to show reverence to Satan who was their teacher: thus "even if the disciple be an angel and the teacher (*pīr*) a very Satan the disciple should obey him . . . !" E. Haq, *Muslim Bengali Literature*, p. 119.

[17]) Cf. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 536 ff.

[18]) J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārit al-Muḥāsibī*, p. 57.

In some mystical circles Iblis has been transformed into a pure lover and worshipper of God's unity, by others he has been depicted as a symbol of sheer loveless intellect; sometimes he constitutes a merely psychological factor, sometimes the real personificated power of opposition who taunts human race.

In Iqbal, all the different interpretations of Iblis are amalgamated into a new, and most fascinating personality.

A. Bausani has, in his illuminating article *Satana nell'opera filosofico-poetica di Muhammad Iqbal* in which he has translated the great Satanic poems, discerned five different aspects of the Iqbalian Satan: [19])

1) the Promethean element of action and technique, of hubris, in which conception the poet has been influenced by Milton,
2) the hebrew-antique and genuine Islamic idea of Satan as an instrument of God
3) the gnostic-Christian element of the evil as an independent potency, which came from Iran
4) the idea of a Satanic part in God, which is attributed to mysticism and European idealism, and
5) the pragmatic-political personality of Satan who becomes the expression of his anti-European and anti-mystical (rather: antiquietistic) ideology.

On the whole we can accept this system, yet we shall go once more through the different elements constituting this interesting Satan. The Satanic power, Iblis, is a subject on which Iqbal's interest was focused throughout his life, and who takes—next to the Prophet—the largest room in his poetical work. From his first meditation about the nature of evil to the last manifestations of Iblis the Politician in the posthumous poems, the figure of the fallen angel forms a cornerstone of his work. In his thesis, Iqbal had written:

> In darkness—the feminine principle in Nature—were hidden the elements of evil which, in course of time, concentrated and resulted in the composition, so to speak, of the hideous looking devil, the principle of activity. Mani was the first to venture the suggestion that the universe is due to the Activity of the Devil, and hence essentially evil (MP 18).

Here lies the first germ of ideas which Iqbal was to elaborate in

[19]) A. Bausani, *Satana*, p. 101.

his later years: that the movement of the world and the growing of man is possible only through the conquering of the forces of chaos and darkness.

The culmination of the Satanology in Iqbal's poetry is the scene in the *Jāvīdnāme* where the fallen angel appears, called out of his dark and smoky clouds by the word of Ḥallāj who praises him as the true worshipper and lover in the last part of the Jupiter-Sphere:

> Since he is earlier in love and service,
> Adam is not acquainted with his mysteries.
> Rend the garment of imitation,
> that thou mayest learn from him what *tauḥīd* means!

That is exactly in correspondence with Ḥallāj's words in the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn*. Ḥallāj's commentator, Rūzbihān Baqlī, writes in his commentary on Sūra 2/32:

> Ḥallāj says: When Iblis was ordained to prostrate before Adam he said to the Almighty: Has somebody else taken away the honour of the prostration from my heart so that I should prostrate before Adam? If thou hast ordained that, Thou hadst forbidden it first!—God said: I will punish Thee with everlasting punishment!—Satan asked: Whilst Thou art punishing me, wilt Thou not behold me?—God answered: Yes.—And Satan said: Thy beholding me is enough to let me bear the punishment. Do unto me as Thou wilt!—He said: I will make thee *rajīm* (stoned)!—He said: Do unto me as Thou wilt! [20])

In Ḥallāj's *ṭāsīn al-azal wa'l-iltibās* (ch. V) the same problem has been pointed out even clearer and more distinctively. Here Ḥallāj writes expressedly that there is no real *muwaḥḥid* (Unitarian) in the whole world except Iblis and Muhammad. But the latter being the treasurer of Divine Grace, Iblis is the treasurer of Divine Wrath—he remained in himself whereas the Prophet went out of himself. Iblis, in this chapter, goes so far as to declare that his refusing to obey God is the glorification of God (in the quatrain *juḥūdī laka taqdīs*). [21])

But his fault was, that he saw only Adam's outward form, a figure made of clay and water, and did not remark the Divine spark in him, nay, he did not, as the true believer in God's Unity must do, see nothing but God, being unaware of anything besides Him.

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[20]) In *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn*, ed. L. Massignon the commentary of Baqlī on Sura 2/32; cf. R. A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality*, p. 32.

[21]) Cf. Bausani, *Persia Religiosa*, p. 258 about Ibn Azāqir's interesting Satanology.

Iblis, according to Ḥallāj, boasted of his serving God before the creation of man, and because of his pride he prefers everlasting separation to a single prostration. In the continuation of this chapter of the *ṭawāsīn* Iblis meets Moses and tells him that he does not only always recollect his Beloved but is recollected together with Him: both in some verses of the Qur'ān (Sūra 38/78), and at the beginning of every recitation of the Holy Book when the reader takes refuge from the *shaiṭān rajīm* before entering the formula 'In the name of God.'

Therefore Iblis wears the garment of curse proudly, as other people would wear the garment of grace—

> To be cursed by Thee is thousand times dearer to me than to turn my head away from Thee to any other than Thee (ʿAṭṭār). [22])

He becomes the symbol of the true lover who lives in the station of Hope which is a very high rank in love, and Aḥmad Ghazzālī even admits that

> He who does not learn the *tauḥīd* from Satan is an heretic. [23])

From ʿAṭṭār the motif of Satan as the true lover has been inherited by Indo-muslim mystic literature. [24]) As to Iqbal, he has taken the motif—which may have been known to him subconsciously—without intermediary from Ḥallāj, and has introduced it therefore in his discussion with that mystic in the *Jāvīdnāme*.

Mystics and theologians have found also other explanations of Satan's disobedience: although he has not obeyed the precise command of the Lord, he has obeyed His interior will which forbids to prostrate before anybody but Himself. Ḥallāj himself insists:

> that obedience is a sacred duty. The command is eternal whereas the will and foreknowledge of God concerning it, whether it shall be obeyed or disobeyed, is created, and therefore subordinate. [25])

as Abu Saʿīd ibn Abī'l Khair has suggested:

> although sin is an act of obedience to the Divine commandement it is non the less determined by the Divine will. [26])

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[22]) ʿAṭṭār, *Ilāhīname* 3, 4; Ritter, *Meer*, p. 544ff. (cf. the whole chapter 27/15).

[23]) Massignon, *Receuil des textes inédits* (Paris 1929), p. 96.

[24]) F.i. in the Sindhi poet Shāh ʿAbdul Laṭīf, *Shāh jō risālō*, Sur Yaman Kalyān V 29 *"āshiq ʿAzāzīl"*—Satan is lover.

[25]) Nicholson, *o.c.*, p. 33.

[26]) Id. p. 26.

That means to put the whole problem into a wider frame and to interpret the act of Satan's as prototype to every act of sin. Iqbal has used this motif in his poem *Taqdīr*, Predestination, in the form of a discussion between God and Iblis, the latter pretending that

> My prostration was not in Thy will

on which accusation God answers

> Thou hast given the name of *majbūrī* (being forced) to thy own freedom (ZK 42 f.). [27])

Iqbal himself acknowledges that the idea of this poem is taken from Ibn ᶜArabī. It may have also been borrowed from Jīlī who paints the situation in a similar way:

> Iblis has worshipped God for thousands of years before the creation of the world, and God has forbidden him to worship aught else. Therefore, when God created Adam and commanded the angels to bow down before him, Iblis refused for he did not know that to worship by God's command is equivalent to worshipping God. Instead of justifying his disobedience or repenting of it and asking God to forgive him, he silently acknowledged that God will and acts in conformity with the eternal and unchangeable principles of His nature. [28])

Another question is the lot of Satan on Doomsday—does the Qurᵓānic "till Resurrection" mean that Iblis will gain back his angelic rank, or will, then, follow perpetual damnation for him? Iqbal asks with an allusion to Sūra 39/53 "don 't despair of God's grace" (*lā taqnaṭū* . . .) whether for Iblis, from whose hopelessness comes into existence the inner burning of creation, the word "don't despair" be better, or the order "Despair!" because only through this despair the movement of the world is going on (BJ 193). This is one of the most original contributions to the problem of Satan's destiny.

Maulānā Rūmī, Iqbal's spiritual guide, has pointed out that Satan left the prostration out of envy (Math. II 2642 ff.), not of love, and that

> his bad nature was revealed by that act of disobedience just as the foulness and malodourousness of dungs are made manifest by the heat of the sun. Not his overwhelming love prevented him from the prostration but his one-eyedness [29])

he failed to recognize the glory of God in Adam into whom God had breathed (Math. IV 1616). The idea that Satan is jealous of man, is also wellknown to the Christian Fathers, and in Iqbal's work the revolt of the spirit of fire against the dustmade man is repeated several times; yet once, man rebels, asking:

> When they brought forth the world from nonexistence,
> they saw its heart cold and without strife.
> Where was fire but in my heart?
> They have created thee from my fire! (AH 177, cf. BJ 215).

Proceeding from a wrong comparison Iblis concludes that he is superior to man, assuming that fire is better than earth: this motif leads back to the early Islamic discussions about the preferability of earth (of which the Kaaba is made) on fire (the element brought into discussion by admirers of Persian fire-worship) [30]); Satan becomes, thus, the inventor of the misleading comparison of incomparable objects, of erring intellect.

Iqbal depicts Satan in the *Jāvīdnāme* as a sad, old man, never smiling, wrapped in a grey cloak. The sadness of the fallen angel is a recurrent topic in Sufic literature. But Iqbal may have remembered also Nietzsche's description of the devil:

> Und als ich meinen Teufel sah, da fand ich ihn ernst, gründlich tief, feierlich; es war der Geist der Schwere—durch ihn fallen alle Dinge!

In his grand complaint, this Iqbalian Satan utters his heartfelt discontent with man with whom he has to fight without any positive result, i.e. man immediately yields to his seductive words, so that poor Satan is deprived of the pleasure of a real strife. In the *Complaint* the aspect of Iblis as seducer is clearly underlined, but seduction has, in that period of Iqbal's thought, not a purely negative meaning. That is evident from the famous group of five poems which are united as *Taskhīr-i fiṭrat*, the "Conquest of Nature" (PM 97 f.). Here Satan sings a praise of his own active and activating passion:

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27) Cf. Math. I 1480 ff. about Satan's attributing his transgression to God's will, and Commentary p. 332.
28) Cf. MC I, p. 109.
29) MC ad II 2624.
30) Math. I 429, 3216; cf. Bausani, *o.c.*, p. 92-95.

Thou hast created the starry spheres: I cause them to move,
I am the life of all in the world, the life latent in everything.
Thou givest life to the body, I infuse warmth into life.
Thou showest the way to peaceful rest: I lead towards restless strife.
The man of earthly origin, foolish and short-sighted,
Is born in Thy lap, but attaineth maturity in mine!

And, penalised for his disobedience, Satan tries to seduce Adam who is still living in the peaceful meadows of Paradise, and tells him how wonderful a life of burning passion on earth would be—

Thou doest not yet know that union means death of desire?
The secret of eternal life is an incomplete burning!

That is what Satan intends when saying in another poem:

It was through my daring (to say No) that this handfull dust came to possess the ambition of expression,
My activities alone constitute the warp and woof of the garment of reason.

In the above-mentioned *Taskhīr-i fiṭrat*, Adam enjoys the new possibilities of life and admits, when appearing in God's presence, that his life would have lacked a most important experience without the temptation, and that he has even eventually succeeded in ensnaring the seducer himself and made him obedient to himself, thus fulfilling the task which God had started once:

Satan born of fire prostrates before the man of clay!

Satan's personality in this aspect is very close to the Promethean type, and one can apply to him the words Werblowsky writes about Milton's Satan: "Satan is in trespass and thus sinful, but at the same time he represents our aspiration towards new and higher levels of existence, our human battle against heavy and indifferent odds." [31])

The first act of disobedience opened to Adam the hitherto unknown possibilities of unfolding his personality, albeit in a world of sin, and always entangled by the dangers of transgression and error. But

Error which may be described as a kind of intellectual evil is an indispensable factor in the building up of experience (L 87).

The Satanic temptation is eminently important for the development

[31]) R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Lucifer and Prometheus*, p. XIX.

of life, since only through the struggle with Satan man grows more mature and attains higher levels of spiritual life. Iqbal's Iblis, taken in this active and positive character, may also be compared with Goethe's Mephisto who constitutes the element of movement in life:

Drum geb ich gern ihm den Gesellen bei,
der reizt und wirkt und muß als Teufel schaffen.

It is only he "who makes colourful the story of Adam" (BJ 194).

Starting from here, the conception of Satan is likely to develop in two divergent lines: he can be conceived as the radical Evil which has to be subjugated by the constantly striving faithful, or as the spirit of Intelligence who helps in the process of individuation, as has been pointed out f.i. by C. G. Jung, and by R. Pannwitz. [32])

Both sides are existent also in Iqbal's Satanology. The fact that he likes to show Iblis as the active principle in life, and even more as the spirit which is required for man's individuation leads the reader close to the standpoint of modern psychologists.

If Lucifer-Iblis is understood as the Spirit who despises dumb unconsciousness and restricted dullness as non-life, helping the soul to overcome the powers of chaos by leading it to higher levels of consciousness, and becomes thus the real friend of man by making him surpass himself and never giving him rest: then we have exactly the ideal of Satan in many of Iqbal's poems, i.e. the power which throws man out of the inactive, unconscious sweetness of paradisiac life into the dangers of individuation. We may be reminded of Blake's 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell' in which the ingenious formulation occurs that the Messiah formed a Heaven of what he had stolen form the abyss—"after all, every inch of psychic territory occupied by consciousness is conquered from the unconscious". [33])

Iblis, who becomes with Iqbal—as sometimes also with Milton—the spirit of individuation, may be, from another point of view, identified with reason in its negative aspect: the contrast of Satanic intellect and Divine love is recurrent in Iqbal's work who has taken it from Maulānā Rūmī whom he makes tell Goethe in a heavenly discourse:

Cleverness is from Satan, and love from Adam
(PM 247 = Math. IV 1402).

[32]) R. Pannwitz, *Der Aufbau der Natur*, p. 265.
[33]) Cf. Werblowsky, *o.c.*, p. 109; Bausani, *o.c.*, p. 86.

The appropriate symbol of this type of Satan is, as psychology has shown, the serpent which defends itself by its head. The Satanic creative intellect which the poet detected in modern Western civilization has lead him to his aggressive poems against the West in which he confronted this heartless intellect with the Divine reason embedded in the heart (cf. Pas 56). His confrontation of science as a manifestation of the side of God's *jalāl* (the *tremendum*) and love as that of God's *jamāl* (the *fascinans*) can be interpreted in the same way, and reminds of the theories of both Jīlī and Jacob Boehme (whom Iqbal knew rather well) that Satan is the *jalāl*-side, *das Zornfeuer*,[34]) the fire of God's Wrath.

Iblis plays, however, not only the role of Lucifer but is the manifestation of Evil as such which has to be conquered. Constant struggle against his insinuations belongs to the duties of the faithful. He becomes the representative of the unbridled human passions and instincts—the dark feminine world which Iqbal had mentioned in his thesis as typical manichean idea—: and in this quality, he can be educated in the same measure as man educates himself. To this taming of Satan alludes the famous tradition which is as dear to Iqbal as it was to Maulānā Rūmī: *aslama shaiṭānī*—"my Shaiṭān has become Muslim at my hand, and now he does not order me but good things".[35]) That points at the truth that even negative emotions can be utilized in the service of God; the lower instincts shall not be suppressed, or eradicated but converted into faculties serving man in his religious development—that is what Sufism intended with its advice to treat the *nafs*, the lower soul as a vehicle on the spiritual path. And that is what Rūmī says (Math. VI 3648):

> When the bad spirit becomes a lover, he wins the prize,
> he becomes Gabriel, and his satanic side dies.

In this aspect, too, Iblis becomes a friend for man; he makes him reach higher stages of interior purification:

> for the field of man the enemy is like clouds:
> He raises his possibilities out of the slumber (AK 88),

and becomes his faithful servant—had not also Nietzsche said in this

[34]) Pfleiderer, *Religionsphilosophie*, p. 32; cf. Bausani, *l.c.*, p. 88.
[35]) Cf. also Math. IV 94, V 575.

respect: "I do not think that the Devil has carried away Zarathustra, I rather believe that Zarathustra has carried with him the Devil", an idea which is echoed in Valéry's *Faust*-Fragment.

In the work of the same French poet there is a very close parallel to another side of Iqbal's Satan—

> Séduire un imbécile, quel problème, celui qui n'a rien compris mes tentations! (Mauvaises Pensées 95).[36])

In the *Jāvīdnāme*, and in several other poems Iblis complains that the children of Adam do not resist him at all:

> I need a riper companion!

that man in this present age is but a toy of clay with which to play is not worthy of an aged, famous Satan. Not only that man blackens the book of his own deeds by yielding willingly to Satan's temptations, the seducer himself also suffers because every man who has obeyed him becomes a case against him on the Day of Judgment—so, in a different context, Satan can even be called 'he who has taken our sins' (AH 179). He requests from God the creation of a new world with a new man (AH 177), a stronger enemy who breaks him and thus releases him (J, end of Jupiter-Sphere).[37])

Iblis sometimes praises poetry and mysticism which lulls people into sweet slumber of negligence and shuts their eyes from the necessities of life-struggle. He leads a constant strife against the prophetic spirit, symbolized excellently in the 'Meeting of Zarathustra and Ahriman' in the *Jāvīdnāme* where Iblis defends the pure spirituality of mysticism and self-isolated ascetism against the prophetic activity which manifests itself in the community, and

> Satan is far from the community (R 98).

Iqbal remains here faithful to the Zoroastrian, and also Semitic prophetic conception that body or world are nothing bad in them-

[36]) F. W. Müller, *Studien zu Aufbau and Thematik von Paul Valéry's Mon Faust.*
[37]) Cf. the remark of W. A. Bijlefeld in his review of the German translation of the Jāvīdnāme in MW 1960/147: I myself must acknowledge that especially the passages on Iblis—and among them most of all Satan's complaint that he hardly finds a real adversary in this world—have made a more serious appeal to me than many "enlightened" quasi-Christian statements on the Devil, and that these words will remain vivid in my mind for a long, long time.

selves (in contrast to the gnostic-Manichean systems with their condemnation of matter). This Satanic fight against the ideals of prophetic religiosity is also intended in the scene of the Venus-Sphere in *Jāvīdnāme* where—in a meeting of abdicated old gods like Marduk, Jaʿūk, Naṣr, Lāt, Manāt, etc. [38])—Baal uses his persuasive power for defending the pre-prophetic ideals of aristocracy, race-consciousness, nationalism, and becomes thus a forerunner of the Iblis as depicted in Iqbal's last period: Satan as representative of Western civilization, of loveless intellectualism, of nationalism and whatever the poet criticized in the European religio-political concepts.

Most significant of this attitude is that (in the same poem) the heavenly meadows of Mars which no demonic powers have ever entered are trespassed by a 'European lady,' a Satanic power which is going to inform the innocent inhabitants of this sphere of European feminism, its hatred against men, against motherhood, and its philosophy of lovelessness.

The devils of this century are European politicians [39])—so in poetry and in Iqbal's private expressions [40]); already in Cambridge he had called them prophets of Satan. It is as if the medieval Christian polemics against the Antichrist embodied in Islam were echoed here . . .

> Better than them is for the noble that Iblis
> who has seen God and is unalloyed (AH 182).

In the 'Parliament of Iblis,' written in 1936 (AH 213), the political Devil is enchanted to see the powerlessness and meekness of the Muslims who are destitute of all activity, losing themselves in theo-

[38]) One may compare the meeting of the old deities in the Venus sphere to the scene in the beginning of Paradise Lost; even some of the names are the same. Iqbal enumerates, besides the traditional Meccan goddesses Lāt and Manāt who become more or less diagrams for every kind of idolatry in his work, the old Semitic god Baal, the Babylonian deity Marduk, then Jaʿūk, the god of the Kinda, and Naṣr, the deity of the Ḥimyar, both being mentioned in Sura 71/22; Ramḥān is probably the Babylonian god Adad-Ramman. Baal's Song in the Venus-Sphere is an allusion to the Baal's Service of the modern world.

[39]) Cf. a similar statement of Gandhi, in W. Mühlmann, *Gandhi*, p. 232.

[40]) Typical of Iqbal's concept of the "political devil" is the story (Salik, p. 176) of his presiding over Rauf Orbay's Lecture in Delhi where he remarked that "during the First World War some pupils of Iblis came to visit him and found him lazy, smoking a cigarette; asking the reason for this attitude he answered: I have now got holidays because I have transferred all my work to the British Government".

logical hairsplittings, in mystical opium-dreams, "in a prostration without standing upright", and quite a similar picture is drawn in the "Order of Iblis to his political Children" (ZK 148) [41]) where the sub-devils are ordered to take away the spirit of Muhammad fromout of this body, i.e. of the Muslim community. These politicians are 'devils of dust', much worse and more dangerous than the fiery Satan (cf. ZK 144):

> Thou hast built one Iblis from fire,
> But he has made 200 000 Iblis from clay!

(cf. AH 180). This century seemed to be indeed

> the day for the night of Iblis (AH 135)

who had sent his first ambassador once in the figure of Macchiavelli (R 134). The struggle against these dust-devils is more complicated than that against the fire-born Satan who has, at least, a noble nature (AH 183).

Even from this sketchy survey one will reach the view that Iblis in Iqbal's work cannot be described simply as Intellect, materialist, determinist and opposed to Adam, the bearer of intuitional knowledge and advocate of freedom. The figure of Satan is a web of many strands, intricately combined of different aspects: the various doctrines of Muslim theologians and mystics, of classical and modern European writers from Milton and Jacob Boehme to Goethe and Nietzsche are blended in his personality with Iqbal's bitter criticism of Western civilization for which the Satanic intellect became an appropriate symbol. However, it must be maintained that Iblis is never the Absolute Evil but remains, faithful to Jewish and Islamic tradition, not an enemy of God but his creature, an adversary only of man: be it as the dark feminine element of chaos to overcome, or the light masculine element of luciferic intellect helpful for man's individuation, be it as the seducer into idle dreams in fruitless seclusion, or the protector of a civilization which appeared as devoid of divine love—but in all these aspects Satan is still a necessary partner of the Perfect Man, the Prophet, and will be eventually overcome when Prophecy has conquered the world and man has grown into Superman. [42])

[41]) Cf. ZK 154, BJ 215.

[42]) The whole problem of Satan has been dealt with during the last years by numerous writers; the *Etudes Carmelitaines* have even issued a special number

b) . . . AND IN HIS BOOKS . . .

The Muslim creed accepts the existence of revealed books even outside the Islamic community: the sacred books of the Jewish and Christian communities who are distinguished from the mass of unbelievers as *ahl al-kitāb*, People of the Scripture, and enjoy several privileges which were, later on, also conferred upon the adherents of the Zoroastrian religion (who could prove their claims by the compilation of the Avesta and its commentaries), and even the Hindus under Muslim rule who claimed that right by virtue of the Veda and the depending religious literature. Söderblom was right in pointing out that Muhammad was the first to underline the immense importance of the written book, and that it is he who has introduced the concept of book-religion into the history of religions. [43])

The idea underlying that acceptation of a certain group of revealed books—the Torah, the Psalter, and the Gospels—is that of a divine guidance of the ancient peoples; but Islam holds that the contents of those scriptures have in course of time been altered deliberately or otherwise by members of those communities so that they no longer preserve their pristine purity, and that the Qur'ān restitutes the original revelation of Divine will, thus becoming also the last possible expression of the Eternal Law through which God reveals Himself. Even more, orthodoxy holds that it is the uncreated Divine word, coeval with Him—just as Christian theology has seen in Christ the uncreated Divine Logos—; a doctrine which has been fixed after the disputes of the orthodoxy with the Mu'tazila in the 8th and 9th centuries, the latter maintaining that the Qur'ān was, though eternal yet created because no uncreated Divine attribute could be imagined in existence besides the absolute pre-eternity and unity of God. The Qur'ān which must not be touched or recited except by the ritually pure has become the absolute rule of conduct for religious and world-

devoted to Satan, 1948; and the role of the satanic power in literature is too vast for being discussed in this connection; it suffices to mention the names of Baudelaire and Sartre, of Dostojevsky and Bernanos, of Leopardi and Carducci. An interesting introduction is given by G. Papini, *Der Teufel*; from the catholic view-point cf. Winklhofer, *Traktat über den Teufel*. Bausani mentions (Satana, p. 82, note) a series of articles of P. Courtois S. J. *"The Islamic conception of the Devil"* in "Notes on Islam", VII, March 1954, which I could not consult. In general cf. the literature quoted by Werblowsky, *l.c.*

43) N. Söderblom, *Om religionsurkunder*, 1954 [2], on the first pages, and p. 136 ff.

ly behaviour, and has served as well as textbook for the mystics who interpreted it according to their ideas; it has stimulated the study of science and geography, of language and grammar—for the non-Arabs had to learn the language of the Holy Writ or at least keep to memory some of those chapters which are used in daily prayer, and were, thus, obliged to study the Arabic language; Qur'ānic expressions or allusions and references to Qur'ānic stories and sentences are interwoven into all kind of literature and echoed in popular expressions and sayings; the text of the Book has been interpreted and commented according to the requirements of every Muslim sect, or in harmony with philosophical understanding, or for modernist purposes, whereas for the rank and file the Qur'ān has often been regarded—in whole or in part—as an almost magical amulet against every evil.

Little wonder then that in Iqbal's work the Qur'ān plays a dominant role. The other scriptures are mentioned only in some scant and rather insignificant couplets, but the closing revelation of God in the Qur'ān has inspired Iqbal's poetry and philosophy, and has granted him the basis on which he developed his main ideas. [44])

His father had admonished him to read the Qur'ān regularly "as if it was revealed to you", and his old servant tells that "while composing verses he would often ask for the Qur'ān to be brought to him. Even otherwise he called for the Qur'ān a number of times a day". [45]) Besides the text, he used generally the translation by J. M. Rodwell (1861) "which was always on his right hand though he might use in this respect any book which was easily available to him and rightly served his purposes". [46])

The Muslim writers on Iqbal have always laid stress on the fact that he had, in all his writings, [47]) the Qur'ān as leader, and Maulana Maudoodi, the leader of the highly orthodox movement of the *jamā'at-i Islāmī*, writes:

"Whatever Iqbal has thought he has thought through the brains of

44) Iqbal even mentions a visitor who excelled in the art of *jafr*, i.e. of understanding the Qur'ān in a cabbalistic sense relying on the numerical value of letters and words, and their combination (M II 176, 1916). (vd. Handwörterbuch, s.v. *djafr*).

45) Mumtaz Hasan, *A Day in the Life of Muhammad Iqbal*, in: Muhammad Iqbal, Pak-German Forum Karachi, p. 133.

46) Kindly supplied by Dr. A. Chughtay by letter dated 19.10.1961.

47) Tanq., 119.

> the Qurʾān, and whatever he has seen, he has seen through the eye of the Qurʾān. Truth and Qurʾān were, for him, one and the same, and in this one thing he was so absorbed that among the theologians of his century I have never seen any person who may have lived such life of *fanā fi ʾl Qurʾān* (annihilation in the Qurʾān) as this M.A., PhD. Bar-at-Law". [48])

Indeed the poet himself says:

> I have pierced the pearl of the ocean of the Qurʾān,
> I have found the commentary of the symbol of *sibghatullah*
> (Mus 43); (Sūra 2/138).

Iqbal's letters give a vivid impression of his study of the holy book; during the war he deplored that some useful books written by German scholars about the Qurʾān (he refers probably to Nöldeke-Schwally's *Geschichte des Qoran* . . .) were not available due to the prevalent conditions (M II 45, 1915). However, for him the Qurʾān was more than a book which could be studied sufficiently by the help of translations and commentaries:

> The Qurʾān should be read by all and sundry in order to get in relation with the Muhammadan heart (*muḥammadī nisbat*).
> For generating this Muhammadan relationship it is not necessarily implied that the meaning of the Qurʾān should be perfectly clear. It is sufficient to read it with pure devotion and sincerety of the heart (M II 317, 1923).

And he was of the opinion that even the companions of the Prophet would have acted like that and, after the death of the Prophet, would have restored their spiritual relation with him by simple recitation of the Divine word whose bearer he was. This interior relation with Muhammad through the Qurʾān was something he missed in the teachings of the Shiʿa and he therefore regretted that they merely relied upon the word of their religious leaders, the *mujtahids*, without having a direct connection with the Qurʾān. (M II 44, 1915).

Notwithstanding his concept of a kind of unio mystica with the Prophet through the medium of simple recitation of the Holy Book he did not at all deny the importance of the other side, i.e. of scientifical study of the meaning of every sentence. Two years after the quoted sentence he writes:

48) Id., p. 112.

> People . . . have heard since a while that the Qurʾān is a perfect book and that it is claiming of being perfect . . .

and therefore he wants that Muslim papers in India, like *ishāʿat al-Qurʾān* [49]) or *Balāgh* [50]) should publish articles on behalf of the importance of the Qurʾān for daily life, so that people might understand

> that the necessary rules for the ruling of men exist therein and that one can get these rules from this or that verse (M I 49 ff.).

He hoped that such a method of criticizing foreign ideas and customs by proving that they are incompatible with the law of the Qurʾān would impress people more than any other verdict, and aimed at teaching them to see everything—and their own faults—

> in a mirror made of the Qurʾān (AH 102).

When his son was 12 years old, Iqbal was in search of a book in which are employed new methods for teaching children how to read the Qurʾān (M II 340) as it was written by a certain Maulwi Abū [Muhammad] Muṣliḥ. [51])

Iqbal's ardent wish was to compose an 'Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qurʾān':

> as to the little spiritual energy and power which is now left in me I should like to give it to the service (of the Qurʾān) with the purpose that on the Day of Resurrection at the meeting of your most glorious ancestor [the letter is written to a Sayyid] some quietude of mind be granted to me for having rendered some service to that grand religion which that Venerated Person has brought us! (M I 362). [52])

His illness prevented him from doing so as well as from finishing his introduction into Muhammadan Law. When he himself was no

49) The *ishāʿat al-Qurʾān* was a monthly, edited by Abū Muḥammad Muṣliḥ.
50) *al-balāgh*, edited by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, was the greatest Urdu weekly in India after the First World War, founded in 1915, and replacing Azad's paper *al-Hilāl* (founded 1912) which had been closed by the British.
51) Abū Muḥammad Muṣliḥ who is still living in Hyderabad/Deccan, wrote a *tafsīr al-Qurʾān lil-aṭfāl* (Commentary for children) with transliteration, meaning of the compound phrases, short commentary, and moral of the section which was issued in Urdu, Hindi, English, Gujrati and other languages of India. He also published a weekly called *The Qurʾānic World*, and run in Hyderabad a Qurʾānic University with free admittance. Cf. also IC, 1941/128.
52) Cf. *Tanq.*, 38.

longer capable of carrying on this plan he wanted that at least a very well educated, orthodox and wide-sighted theologian from the Theological Academy of Deoband should be found for assisting him in this task—

> I am ready to give him a salary

and with his help he wanted to refute the seducing European influences on the basis of the Qur²ān. [53])

Iqbal was deeply convinced of the highly inspiring character of the Qur²ān,

> the book of the mysteries of the creation of life (R 140)

though he remarks acutely that

> Muslims have always sought the justifications of their varying attitudes in the Qur²ān, even at the expense of its plain meaning (L 111).

In his Lectures he repeats what he had learnt in his childhood—that

> no understanding of the Holy Book is possible until it is actually revealed to the believer just as it was revealed to the Prophet (L 181).

That implies that the understanding of the Qur²ān changes according to the actual situation of the faithful—this is probably what Iqbal intends when he refers to the "dynamic outlook of the Quran" (L 166). He saw in the revelation not, as the jurists and theologians of the past and, to a great extent, of the present age, in first instance a legal code: to him,

> its main purpose . . . is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his relation with God and the Universe (L 165).

Just as the Prophet has received the Divine message of Him who is "nearer than the jugular vein" (Sure 50/16) and yet Creator and Judge, so man has to be lead by the Qur²ān to this immediate experience of Divine will and power and not remain, like the traditional bookish scholar, imprisoned in second-hand informations:

> The preacher is story-teller and tale-collector,
> His meaning is low, and his words are high.

53) Id. 57.

> He talks of Khaṭīb [54]) and Daylamī [55])
> and is interested in traditions "weak" and "irregular" and "interrupted" [56]) (R 142)

that will say that the preacher instead of leading his auditory back to the simple revelation brings forth in bombastic style which nobody can properly understand, explanations which rely upon medieval sources, and is busy with scrutinizing whether a tradition is weak or irregular. And this dust-dry scholarship does not prove helpful for the burning issues of present age—

> When the Book is not revealed to thy heart,
> Then neither Rāzī [57]) nor the author of the Kashshāf [58]) opens the knot! (BJ 112),

and the worst is, that these contemporary spurious commentators often do not know enough Arabic for understanding the exact meaning of a phrase (M I 41, 1916). Taken in this traditionalist form, the Qur²ān turns eventually from a message of life eternal into a message of death—

> Thou art the prisoner of Sufi and molla—
> thou doest not gain life from the wisdom of the Qur²ān—
> thou hast nothing else to do with its verses
> But to die easily by *Yāsīn* (AH 101)— [59])

54) al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdadī (392/1002-463/1071), one of the leading traditionalists who has collected the biographies of the Baghdadian traditionalists in his famous *ta²rīkh Baghdād*.

55) With Daylamī Iqbal probably intends Abū Shujāᶜ Shīrawaih ibn Sharīdāz al-Hamadhānī ad Daylamī (d. 509/1115, GAL S I 586) whose *musnad al-firdaus*, or *firdaus al-akhbār bi-ma²thūr al-khiṭāb ᶜalā kitāb ash-shihāb* is wellknown among traditionarians.

56) Weak, *ḍaᶜīf*: is a tradition because of its contents or because either one or several of the tradents are not regarded as reliable. Irregular, *shādd*, it is in case that the chain of transmission is sound but the contents are strange and not in accordance with other wellknown traditions; interrupted, *mursal*, is a tradition in which the companion of the Prophet is not mentioned as transmittor but only the second generation of transmittors.

57) Fakhraddīn Rāzī (1149-1209), famous commentator of the Qur²ān whose *mafātiḥ al-ghaib*—also called *at-tafsīr al-kabīr*—shows a philosophical approach (cf. esp. Goldziher, *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 123).

58) *Al-kashshāf ᶜan ḥaqā²iq at-tanzīl* is the work of Abū²l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Zamakhsharī (1075-1144), of Muᶜtazilite tinge; is is especially important for the philological approach and the way of defending the *iᶜjāz*, the linguistic unsurpassibility of the Qur²ān. Cf. Goldziher, *o.c.*, p. 117 ff.

59) Cf. AH 101, BJ 33 and others.

Sūra Yāsīn (36) is the chapter which is recited commonly at the deathbed and at the grave, and is therefore wellknown to all Muslims.

As opposed to this popular indifference to the real meaning of the Qurʾān Iqbal has expressed poetically the power of the Holy Book in many a verse, whenever he orders the faithful to reach the place of "Do not fear" (Sūra 20/71) (AH 91, Pas 32), to become a free man through the verses of God's word (Pas 57), to understand this

> capital of the people of truth in which absolute life is hidden (Mus 14).

It has been already mentioned how some of the Qurʾānic persons and events have been transmuted into fixed diagrams in his poetical language. Even the contrast of love and intellect could be expressed in terms of the Qurʾān—

> Science is the son of the book,
> Love is the mother of the book (ZK 14)

i.e. intellectual activity being unable to exist through itself is bound to books, whereas love is the eternal heavenly origin of all revelation —*umm al-kitāb* being a name for the heavenly source of inspiration (Sūra 43,4; 13/39): this couplet, looking like a refined play of words is more than that: it condenses in two lines Iqbal's whole ideology.

As God's own word and being coeval with him, the Qurʾān participates of the Divine nature; that means that it contains infinite new possibilities:

> there are still hundred worlds in the Qurʾān—
> burn thyself once in its verses! (Mus 39).

This concept of the inexhaustible possibilities hidden in the Holy Book is expressed very plainly and in extenso in the *Jāvīdnāme* (570 f.) [60] where Jamāladdīn Afghānī is made to explain the foundations of the Qurʾānic world to the overwhelmed poet; these foundations are Vicegerency of Adam, the Divine regiment, i.e. theocracy as ideal form of state, the acceptance of the truth that the Earth belongs to God, and that Wisdom is great good. On the question of the poet why this mysterious world is still hidden in its veils and has not yet realized itself in full during the 13 centuries of Islamic history

[60]) Cf. Bausani, *Il Poema Celeste*, Note 83.

Afghānī again attacks the convential mollas whose eyes are blinded against the sun of Divine truth, and calls Iqbal himself to preach and practice the interior richness of the Divine Book. In this interpretation the Qurʾān is not merely the single remedy for individuals and nations—

> do you not know: the burning of your reciting of the Qurʾān makes different the destiny of life? (AH 133)

but the eternal leader for humanity:

> its wisdom is the jugular vein of the nation (R 117)

says Iqbal with an open reference to Sūra 50/16 according to which God is nearer to man than his jugular vein—His revelation, too, contains the pulse and lifeblood for the body of nations. It can help the nations which have fallen into the dust (an allusion to the dust-bound earth-rootedness of narrow nationalism as well as to the weakness of the nation concerned) and can teach it to reach heaven, like a drop of dew, instead of remaining in the dust (R 193). The Qurʾān becomes the *āyīn*, [61]) the inward law and the outward form, of the Muhammadan community (R 139 f.).

Every social and religious evil is ascribed to the sad truth that the injunctions of the Qurʾān have fallen into oblivion, that the mystics, instead of reciting the holy verses, prefer listening to the seducing songs of ʿIrāqī which intoxicating musicians play (R 142). The social order is wrong since people do not comprehend that the Qurʾān means death to the capitalist (J 735) and that the implementation of its rules issues in a real equality between master and slave (R 125), acknowledging no superiority but by piety. Everything, the poet holds, would change to the better by a right application of the Qurʾān on the life of individuals and communities—and that would be so easy since

> this capital of our hopes
> finds room in the breast of our children (R 141)

—the memorizing of the Qurʾān starts usually at the age of seven or so, and a little boy can store in his memory all what is necessary for

[61]) Cf. Bausani, Glossary of *Gulšan-i rāz-i ǧadīd* (p. 131), about the different meanings of *āʾīn*: as "legge" and "forma"; it is the form which the conscious Self gives the things, and which becomes, in its turn, the law; it is both interior and exterior power.

bettering the conditions of the race (but, we may add, unfortunately without being aware of its meaning!)

The Qur'ān is, thus, also conceived as the infallible leader in scientific matters, not in the sense as many modernists have interpreted it that every modern science, including atomic bombs, are included explicitely in the words of the Book but as a guide to true scholarly observation.

> The Quran recognizing that the empirical attitude is an indispensable stage in the spiritual life of humanity, attaches equal importance to all regions of human experience as yielding knowledge of the ultimate Reality which reveals its symbols both within and without. One indirect way of establishing connexions with the Reality that confronts us is reflective observation and control of its symbols as they reveal themselves to senseperception; the other way is direct association with that Reality as it reveals itself within . . . In the interests of securing a complete vision of Reality . . . sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of what the Quran describes as . . . heart (L 15).

And somewhat later, Iqbal sees in the Qur'ān the inspirating source for the study of history:

> However, the interest of the Quran in history, regarded as a source of human knowledge, extends farther than mere indication of historical generalizations. It has given us one of the most fundamental principles of historical criticism, since accuracy in recording facts which constitute material of history is an indispensable condition of history as a science, and an accurate knowledge of facts ultimately depends on those who repart them, the very first principle of historical criticism is that the reporter's personal character is an important factor in judging his testimony . . .
> The possibility of a scientific treatment of history means a wider experience, a greater maturity of practical reason, and finally a fuller realization of certain basic ideas regarding the nature of life and time. These ideas are in the main two, and both form the foundation of the Quranic teaching:
> 1. the unity of human origin . . .
> 2. a keen sense of the reality of time, and the concept of life as a continuous movement in time . . . (L 139 ff.).

and from this point of view Iqbal stresses once more the

> true significance of the intellectual revolt of Islam against Greek philosophy... and... the anticlassical spirit of the Quran... (L 142)

In classical oriental poetry one meets the practice of inserting Qur'ānic verses not only in religious and mystical but also in lay literature and folkpoetry. Iqbal has, in his turn, followed the old practice; but in his case it is the choice of verses which matters. The first fact which strikes the reader is that the eschatological Sūras are completely neglected; Iqbal's interest in the last things—in the classical meaning—was rather weak, and his reinterpretation of eschatological ideas lead him to new spiritualized results. Mystics and poets of Islam have always displayed a predilection for one of the deepest verses of the Qur'ān—'Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes . . .' (Sūra 7/171)—the lines pointing to the primordial covenant between God and the not-yet-created posteriority of Adam, a verse which has inspired thousands of poets and has made them glorify the unforgettable intoxication of that cup of Divine love—but also caused libertinists to find in this pre-eternal predestination the excuse for their antinomistic deeds.—This verse is interpreted quite differently in Iqbal's poetry: it is understood as the starting point of the Muslim community which was originating in their response to the Divine call and had acknowledged the supremacy of the Lord (R 137, cf. 121); and it has become a symbol of the creative power of the dialogue between God and man (in the end of the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*; ZA p. 242).

It is noticeable that Iqbal used various verses of the Qur'ān with quite a different interpretation for the purpose of proving his ideals of egohood, spiritual development, dynamism etc. with Qur'ānic support (cf. Sūra 84/17; 17/87; 23/14) which lead him even to a remarkable interpretation of the Light-verse (v.p. 100). This personal interpretation must always be borne in mind when references to Qur'ānic revelations occur in his work.

It is very illuminating that the Sūra which is quoted comparatively most frequently throughout Iqbal's work is the 53. Sūra, an-Najm, 'The Star' which has constituted for centuries a nearly inexhaustible treasure for Islamic mysticism in general, and mystical veneration of the Prophet in particular. In the *Jāvīdnāme,* this Sūra is recited by the two great religious leaders behind whom the poet and his spiritual guide, in the Sphere of Mercury, perform their prayer (v. 506 ff., cf. v. 730). This Sūra which deals with the most sublime prophetic experience, the vision of God, becomes for Iqbal the adequate description of the ideal state of man who is spiritually rooted in the mystery that

the eye did not turn away (J v. 785; cf. R 182).

Standing upright (Sūra 53/6) in the presence of the bewildering Divine vision, the Perfect Man can talk to God without being annihilated. This is intended when the poet addresses his reader

> If thou hast not understood the meaning of 'The Star'
> Then it is small wonder if thy ebb and flood still require the moon (ZK 9),

that the changing tides of human life are still under the rule of something besides God. The Lord of 'Not blurred the eye' (i.e. the Prophet or the Perfect Man) protects the Muslims against the dazzling glitter and fallacious beauty of the Western civilization to which the eye of so many a heedless Muslim has turned erroneously (ZK 84, cf. R 162).

The Sūra of 'The Star' is quoted only in Iqbal's poetry but in different periods of his life; other Qur'ānic verses are mentioned either only in the *Lectures* or in the *Rumūz* which is the poem that contains a large stock of quotations, with a special stress on the legal and social aspects. It is, again, interesting to compare the use of the same verses in its poetical context and in the philosophy of Iqbal. A few examples will illustrate the point:

The verse 7/32: 'Every people has its *ajal*', i.e. a certain limit of time, which is quoted in the *Rumūz* (137) as the sign of the changes occurring in nations as well as in individuals, forms in the *Lectures* (p. 139)

> an instance of a more specific historical generalization which, in its epigrammatic formulation, suggests the possibility of a scientific treatment of the life of human societies regarded as organisms. It is, therefore, a gross error to think that the Quran has no germs of a historical doctrine.

The verse Sura 55/33—*illā bisulṭān*, only by power, is introduced in the imagery of the *Jāvīdnāme* as an allusion to the power which is required for guiding human beings to the immediate experience of reality:

> If *sulṭān*, Power, comes into thy hand,
> thou canst break the spheres immediately (J 137),

but is given in the *Lectures* (p. 131) in quite a different context:

> Knowledge must begin with the concrete. It is the intellectual capture and *power* over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete. As the Quran says:
> O company of jinn and men, if you can overpass the bounds of Heaven and Earth, then overpass them. But by power alone shall ye overpass them.

The idea of a new birth, and of steady development as the interior pulse of life which goes through innumerable deaths is found by Iqbal in Sūra 29/19:

> It is not a block universe, a finished product, immobile and incapable of change. Deep in its inner being lies, perhaps, the dream of a new birth: Say—go through the earth and see how God has brought forth all creation: hereafter will He give it another birth. (L 10).

In *Jāvīdnāme* (v. 1506) an interesting interpretation is given to the *ūlū'l-amr*, those who have the power to order (Sūra 4/62)—Iqbal overemphasizes here the obedience to God, his Prophets, and those *from among you* who have the power and have to order, and understands that this line involves those rulers who are choosen by and from within the Muslim nation.

The creative activity of man is deduced from an eschatological Sūra, 84 v. 17 ff. which means, according to the traditional interpretation that man shall be brought from life to death and from death to life, but which has been isolated from its context and now forms a basis for the spiritual growth of man:

> Thus in his inmost being man, as conceived by the Quran, is a creative activity, an ascending spirit who, in his onward march, rises from one state of being to another.
> "It needs not that I swear by the sunset redness and by the night and its gatherings and by the moon when at her full, that from state to state ye be surely carried onward."
> It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own ends and purposes (L 12).

It is, regarding Iqbal's way of interpretation, little surprising to read in a letter of his that Sūra 49/9 ("and when two parties of faithful are combatting with each other, so make peace among them") has explained in simplicity and eloquence that what Sir Samuel Hoare calls Collective Security (M I 204, 1936).

But even for the reader used to Iqbal's highly personal method of commenting Qur'ānic ideas it is something surprising to see that the *sūrat al-ikhlāṣ* (Sūra 112), the attestation of God's absolute Unity, is explained ficticiously by and put in the mouth of the Caliph Abū Bakr to say that it is a symbol of the ideal nation which, in its unity, is the manifestation of Divine Oneness.

It would be worth while for a specialist in Qur'ānic exegesis to examine the ways of Iqbal's re-interpretation of the Holy Writ,[62]) and to compare it with the classical use of the verses in question: J M. S. Baljon has already shown in his booklet on Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation different currents of interpretation methods, and has underlined the importance which modern commentaries ascribe to the social injunctions and political directions as laid down by the Holy Book. Incidentically a line in one of Iqbal's letters proves that he was not prone to accept f.i. the methods of Mr. Mashriqi[63]) who had published his thought-provoking *Tadhkira* in 1924, but who had—according to Iqbal—"only a superficial knowledge of Western thought" (M I 136, 138).

Iqbal has once shown the connection between the Qur'ān as Divine revelation and man—(God and man are likened once to the Qur'ān and its chapter, Lāle 72)—in a verse which may sound blasphemous but must be understood in the light of his theory of the self:

> Whosoever eats (lives on) straw and corn, becomes an offering (i.e. a sheep which is slaughtered at the Feast of Pilgrimage),
> Whosoever eats (lives on) the light of God, becomes the Qur'ān (BJ 200)

and:

> This mystery is known to none but the faithful:
> He looks like a reader, but is himself the Qur'ān (ZK 57).

In Iqbal's imaginative language these couplets point out that the Perfect Man through his actualization of God's presence in every moment and through his uninterrupted contact with the Almighty becomes himself a revelation of the infinite Divine possibilities.

N. J. Coulson has remarked in an article on Islamic Law that there

62) A. Jeffery, OM XIV, 1934, 505 ff. against Iqbal's way of interpreting the Qur'ān.

63) About Mashriqi, cf. Ch. Ia note 51.

are two diametrically opposed attitudes in which the essence of the modernist-traditionalist tension lies: these can be summed up in two sentences:

> The injunctions of the Qur'ān, objectively interpreted, are eternally valid criterions of conduct

and:

> Islam commands time and is not commanded by it.[64])

The conflict between these two ideas is not only to be witnessed in separate ideological groups of theologians and reformers but in the person of Iqbal himself.

As an ardent advocate of the infinite possibilities of the Qur'ān as Iqbal was, he was, however, strictly convinced that the legal injunctions once laid down in the Holy Book—f.i. heritage, polygamy etc.—were not to be changed, and that these rules were of eternal validity.

> According to my creed, and perhaps according to the creed of every Muslim, is it the cause of prosperity (*falāḥ*) to remain inside the limits of the *sharī'a*, and is unhappiness to transgress them (M II 240, 1937).

These rules are not only totalitarian, the true form of the family, of the state, of economies, and worship being discoverable through them—they are everlasting and eternally valid:

> Prayer and fasting and offering and pilgrimage—
> All these are everlasting, but thou art not everlasting (BJ 130).

Since God has revealed His will once for all in the Qur'ān, man cannot but try to fulfill this will, in order to obtain God's satisfaction. Iqbal has expressed what he thought the ideal for the suffering Muslim community:

> When ye are nearly dying from separation,
> Do not seek His union, seek His satisfaction.
> Mustafa has given information about His satisfaction—
> There is nothing else in the injunctions of the religion (Pas 39).

That sounds like a recent echo of the classical orthodox definition that love of God is essentially obedience. It seems that Iqbal has

64) Cf. N. J. Coulson, *Reform of Family Law in Pakistan*, Stud. Isl. VII, 1957, p. 153.

stressed this problem especially in the last years of his life (in spite of the glorification of the *sharīᶜa* in the *Rumūz* which are completely built upon a new evaluation of the Divine Law): the poem which contains the most poignant formulations in this respect is *Musāfir*, and from the letters of his last years one can feel how Iqbal strived at putting the frame of *sharīᶜa* around his burning and ardent poems of the middle period. His Philosophy of Self is restricted in 1936 by the remarks:

> In any case the name of the limitation of Self is *sharīᶜa* and the name of the realization of the *sharīᶜa* in the depth of your heart is *ṭarīqa* (the mystical path) (M I 202).

That will say that, though the development of the Ego is conceivable in any direction it must not transgress the limits imposed by Divine Law—and this statement marks the distinction between Iqbal's Perfect Man and the Nietzschean superman. Obedience to the Divine law is indispensable for the Self which must not refuse the burden of duty, knowing that

> Law makes everything strong within (AK 842 f.).

Sharīᶜa is the secret of Islam, 'the alpha and omega of everything' as the poet has put it in his great glorification of Divine Law in the *Rumūz* (146 ff.);—it is—and here is it again organically joined with the philosophy of self—

> the commentary of the ritual (*āyīn*) of life (R 148).

About twenty years later, nearly the same epithets are used in the chapter on Mysteries of the *sharīᶜa* (Pas 36 ff.)—the Divine Law

> rises out of the depths of life,
> thanks to its light is the darkness of life radiant (Pas 39).

It is the infallible measure of everything in life which enables man to control his movements in every moment and which guides him into the right direction unless trespass occur. Just as the innate Divine law does not allow transgression in organism and balances against the overdevelopment of one part by the weakening of another part, so the *sharīᶜa*, in Iqbalian interpretation, is at the same time the internal measure of human behaviour and vouchsafes the greatest possible organic development for the faculties of individuals and nations.

Iqbal wrote in 1937 about the difference of *taᶜaṣṣub*, fanaticism "a psychological illness" and *ᶜaṣabīya* "a biological concept" (which had been introduced by Ibn Khaldun as a socio-religious phenomenon active in historical processes) that

> in Islam the limits of both individual and social *ᶜaṣabīya* are fixed, and the name (of their limit) is *sharīᶜa* (M II 240).

Being a lawyer by profession the modernization of Islamic law through a fresh interpretation which was required now-a-days in the Islamic world, attracted his interest (the first attempts in India had been made by Khudabakhsh Khan of Calcutta in the beginning of this century); but he regretted that such an attempt was impossible as long as the Indian Muslims were not free to determine their own destiny. Thus he writes to Mr. Jinnah:

> . . . after a long and careful study of Islamic law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India . . .
> It is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a resolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus . . . [65])

This problem of the application of the freshly interpreted *sharīᶜa* on modern life has puzzled his mind no sooner than he had come back from Europe, and the disastrous results of the First World War urged him to rethink the possibilities of doing so. The more he pondered upon this crucial question the stauncher grew his belief in the *sharīᶜa* as only remedy left for the world. In 1922 he writes:

> Though Europe has given me the taste for innovation (*bidᶜa*) my way of conduct is still that of the Qurᵓān and what it has ordered in its verses (MI 130).

Iqbal tried to combine both sides, and explain Qurᵓānic sentences

[65]) Letters to Jinnah, p. 18, 1937.

by means of European science, European science and jurisprudence by means of the Qur²ān. He was in search of a scholar who should scrutinize the Holy Book critically in the light of modern jurisprudence and prove again the everlasting validity of the Qur²ānic law: such a person, he was sure, would be the greatest benefactor of human race (M I 50, 1925). It is the same wish which he has uttered poetically:

> How long will you sit in the corner?
> Make the secrets of religion wellknown in the world,
> Make the fine point of the lucid *sharī*ᶜ*a* wellknown in the world! (Pas 41).

This led him to the composition of an article on *ijtihād*—but

> this subject is not so easy as I had imagined in the beginning (M I 46, 1925).

For this purpose he was in constant touch with Maulana Sulayman Nadwi whom he inquired about different legal and traditional questions. He thought of publishing, eventually, not only an article but the results of his investigations in an English book 'Islam as I understand it' in which he wanted to explain his personal view "which may prove wrong" (M. id.).

Iqbal's correspondence with Maulana Nadwi is a most interesting part of the history of his ideologies. One year after he had started preparing the proposed article on *ijtihād* he says:

> I have not seen any modifications or changements in connection with the *ᶜibādāt*; [66]) on the contrary I try to put arguments for their pre-eternity and eternity in my article on *ijtihād* (M I 146).

Explaining the practical injunctions of the *sharī*ᶜ*a* in the light of modern jurisprudence he has f.i. tried to prove that it is perfectly justified and logical that, in the law of inheritance, the share of the girl is half that of the son (M I 147), a question which he has taken up later on when discussing the reformist ideas of Ziya Gökalp in his Lectures (L 169 f.):

> From the inequality of their legal shares it must not be supposed that the rule assumes the superiority of males over females. Such an assumption would be contrary to the spirit of Islam... The share of the daughter is determined not by any inferiority inherent in her, but in view of her economic opportunities, and the place she occupies in the social structure of which she is a part and parcel... while the daughter, according to Muhammadan Law, is held to be full owner of

[66]) The forms of worship, like prayer, fasting, etc.

> the property given to her both by the father and the husband at the time of her marriage; while . . . further she absolutely owns her dower-money which may be prompt or deferred according to her own choice, and in lieu of which she can hold possession of the whole of her husband's property till payment, the responsibility of maintaining her throughout her life is wholly thrown on the husband. [67])

Iqbal's special interest in the problem of the foundations of Islamic law—which are, according to the classical interpretation, the Qur²ān, the tradition, the analogy, and the *ijmā*ᶜ, i.e. the consensus of the learned—seems to have arosen in 1924 when he studied the book Muslim theory of Finance by I. Aghnides, graduate of the University of Istanbul, a publication of Columbia University (New York 1916), in which the author has stated that *ijmā*ᶜ can repel the text of the Qur²ān. [68]) He immediately asked Maulana Nadwi about this problem and got a negative answer (M I 132)—*ijmā*ᶜ can never be a substitute for a Qur²ānic text. This answer has been embodied in the Lectures in the form that

> there is not the slightest justification for such a statement in the legal literature of Islam. Not even a tradition of the Prophet can have any such effect (L 174).

This is only one illuminating example of the influence of Maulana Nadwi on the formation of some important thoughts of Iqbal; among them is also the problem of the election of the *imām* as leader of the community (M I 149, 1926—cf. L 157), the state of children which are born after the legal period after the husband's death (M I 154, not used in the *Lectures*), and many other problems which may be of interest for the historian of Islamic Law. [69]) But even after the

[67]) That is true as long as women are regarded as married or going to be married. In case of unmarried daughters who have not to expect any *mahr* from the side of a husband, the case is quite different, and then the girl is indeed injured. That would, for the non-Muslim, hint at an imperfection of the Qur²ānic law; for Iqbal, on the contrary, it proves that a society which leaves girls unmarried acts in the wrong way.

[68]) Dr. A. Chughtay assured us in Lahore, April 1961, that the lecture of the book of Dr. Aghnides had inspired Iqbal to write the notes which were developed into the 6 Lectures on The Reconstruction of Religious Thought.

[69]) Thus, several of his letters discuss in detail the problem of *ᶜaul*, i.e. of diminution of the legal shares of heritage in case that the number of heirs is too great for getting the full legal shares each. (M I 29 d., 1935). Iqbal has also inserted legal problems into his poetry, cf. R. 124 about *qaṣāṣ*, talio with application of Sura 2/175 and 4/61.

publication of the *Lectures* Iqbal submitted many legal problems which he could not solve himself, to his friend (cf. M I 183, 1934) since he still had in mind to write his work on the Reconstruction of Islamic Jurisprudence.

But whilst he was very strict in keeping the Qurʾānic injunctions in most cases, he would allow some change in practice, f.i. in the punishments—he had found out that the Prophet himself had not cut the hands of a thief during wartime (M I 404, 1936) and thought therefore that this would not be essential in a modern legislation on Qurʾānic basis. He was of the opinion that a Prophet is sent for training one peculiar people

> and to use them as a nucleus for the building up a universal *sharīʿa*. In doing so he accentuates the principles underlying the social life of all mankind, and applies them to concrete cases in the light of the specific habit of the people immediately before him. The Shariʿat values (*aḥkām*) resulting from this application (e.g. rules relating to penalties for crimes) are in a sense specific to that people, and since their observance is not an end in itself, they cannot be strictly in the case of future generations . . .
>
> On the whole the attitude of Abu Hanifa towards the traditions of a purely legal import is to my mind perfectly sound, and if modern liberalism considers it sager not to make any indiscriminate use of them as a source of law, it will be only following one of the greatest exponents of Muhammadan Law in Sunni Islam. It is, however, impossible to deny the fact that the traditionists by insisting on the value of the concrete case as against the tendency to abstract thinking in law, have done the greatest service to the Law of Islam . . . (L 172 f.).

Iqbal has never ceased emphasizing the assimilative spirit of Islam (he quotes M. Horten in this respect), and especially of the wide and still unexplored field of Islamic Law (L 164) a careful examination of which would prove that Islamic Law is not at all incapable of development. This he wanted to lay down in his proposed book on the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the Roots of Law which had to be published in English, but was never finished (Letters from 1936 and 1937).

For the reformers, the problem of *ijtihād*, the fresh investigation in the sources of Law was the issue at stake, and already before Iqbal the modernists of the Egyptian group, like Muḥammad ʿAbdūh and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā had, i.a. in their journal *al-Manār*, sharply criticized the *taqlīd*, the blind and uncritical acceptance of traditional views, and had challenged the lifeless traditionalists. Iqbal with his

dynamic outlook has underlined the importance of this fresh attempt even more than the Egyptian scholars since imitation formed, for him, a hindrance for a free development of the Ego, and in spite of his faithful clinging to the Divine Law he was sure that

> conservatism is as bad in religion as in any other department of human activity. It destroys the ego's creative freedom and closes up the paths of fresh spiritual enterprise (L 183)

or, more poetically expressed—

> Had imitation been a nice manner,
> the Prophet would have also walked on the way of his ancestors
> (PM last verse).

Though Iqbal has glorified highly those who had reminded the Muslims of the large possibilities of *ijtihād*, like Ibn Taimiyya (d. 1328) and the Wahhabis in the 18th century, he was not consequent in his attitude towards this moving and dynamic principle in life: he was alive to the dangers which might arise from a new interpretation of the Law in times when the political and social situation was instable, and so he wrote in the *Rumūz* that in times of decadence *taqlīd* might be better than *ijtihād* (R 143). As an example for this preserving and life-giving power of traditional thinking he mentions the Jewish people who have conserved their identity only thanks to the strongest possible clinging to the law of their ancestors. The thread of to-day is bound to the thread of yesterday, and it would be dangerous to cut off these relations (R 102), an opinion which he has repeated in the Lectures

> While enjoying his creative activity, and always focusing his energies on the discovery of new vistas of life, man has a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of his own unfoldment . . . No people can afford to reject their past entirely: for it is their past that has made their personal identity. And in a society like Islam the problem of a revision of old institutions becomes still more delicate, and the responsibility of the reformer assumes a far more serious aspect. Islam is non-territorial in its character, and its aim is to furnish the model for the final combination of humanity by drawing its adherents from a variety of mutually repellent races, and the transforming this atomic aggregate into a people possessing a self-consciousness of their own . . . In the evolution of such a society even the immutability of socially harmless rules relating to eating and drinking . . . has a life-value of its own . . . The critic of these institutions must therefore try to secure, before he

> undertakes to handle them, a clear insight into the ultimate significance of the social experiment embodied in Islam ... (L 167).

In these lines, Iqbal has shown with all the necessary lucidity the difficult situation of the Islamic civilization which he and all reformers had to face.

This must be borne in mind when one reads his recurrent advocations

> for *ijtihād* as the principle of movement in Islam (L 148),

and it was not a simple modernisation which he aimed at but wished to awaken the scholars to the insight that the Qurʾān, with its

> intensive breadth of ... principles virtually acts as an awakener of human thought (L 168).

The problem in which his both modernist and traditionalist attitudes towards Islamic Law can be studied best is his reference to Turkey and the experiments made in this country after the First World War.

The interest for the development in Turkey had been always great in Muslim India. Iqbal himself had written early poems in praise of Istanbul (BD 156) or the siege of Adrianopel (BD 242), and the great complaint *Shikwā* has been composed after the first Balkan-War in which the Ottoman Empire was beaten aback once more. The *khilāfat*-movement united even Muslims and Hindus, but the abolition of the institution of the caliphate through the Grand National Assembly on March 3, 1924 resulted in a deep disappointment all over the Muslim world and especially in India which had identified herself with this claim. The weak attempts of forming a caliphate in some other Muslim countries failed, none of the Arab princes—neither the Hashimites nor Ibn Saʿud—being willing or capable of taking over this spiritual burden.

It was in this very situation that Iqbal proclaimed the very original idea that the caliphate was not necessarily embodied in a single person:

> Turkey's ijtihād is that according to the spirit of Islam the caliphate or imamate can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected assembly (L 157).

This means that the Grand National Assembly forms a legal substitute for the Caliph, and

> The truth is that among the Muslim nations of to-day Turkey alone has shaken off her dogmatic slumber, and attained to self-consciousness. She alone has claimed her right of intellectual freedom; she alone has passed from the ideal to the real—a transition which entails keen intellectual and moral struggle ... (The muslim countries) are mechanically repeating old values whereas the Turk is on the way to creating new values. He has passed through great experiences which have revealed his deeper self to him (L 162).

From Iqbal's point of view Turkey's *ijtihād* was indeed perfectly sound, since the whole muslim community, the Islamic nation was with him in a certain sense the successor and representative of the prophetic spirit, and there was consequently no difficulty in making a body of representatives the *imām* or successor of the Prophet, and leader of the community.

However, Iqbal's attitude towards the Turkish experiment was rather oscillating. He had welcomed Mustafa Kemal's victory, the conquest of Izmir from the Greek, with greatest joy and pride, and had even composed a chronogram with the word *ismi aʿẓam Muṣṭafā* —the Greatest Name Mustafa—which gives the date 1342, i.e. 1922. But three years later he was reluctant as to the result of the separation of state and church which had been introduced by Ataturk through the new constitution.

> The results of this step are extremely far-reaching and nobody can say whether this separation will be a cause of blessing or of unhappiness for the Islamic nations (M I 49).

Yet he continued hoping for the best, and his long and informative letter to Khalil Khalid—approximately 1927 (M II 272 ff.)—gives evidence of the great interest and love he displayed in the spiritual development of the Turkish nation. Khalil Khalid was, then, professor at the Faculty of Divinity at Istanbul University which issued an interesting quarterly where some of his articles on Indian Islam, Ismailiya etc. are published (but nothing concerning Iqbal's propositions).[70] Iqbal highly appreciated the attempts of this new faculty

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70) Khalil Khalid (Halil Halid) came from the family of the Çerkeşeyhizadeler near Çankīrī; he had made his studies in Oxford and was professor at the old Faculty of Divinity of Istanbul which existed between 1923 and 1932. Cf. G. Jäschke, Der Islam in der neuen Türkei, Howard A. Reed, The Faculty of Divinity at Ankara, MW 46, p. 299; his articles are: *Ismailiyeler, Aga Han, Hint Müslümanları* (Darülfünun Ilâhiyat Fak. Mecmuasī, Febr. 1930, No. 14 and *Hindistanʾda*

(which, however, was closed some years later) and projected a professorship of *dīnīyāt*, of religious history with a professor who should have studied both European and Islamic ideologies and be acquainted with Eastern and Western thought (ibd. 281); he imagined that only by the institution of such a chair in which Islam was taught by all methods of modern scholarship

> the new growing generation of the Turks could be protected against and saved from the irreligion of Europe.

This letter belongs to the most interesting documents of Iqbal's attitude towards religious instruction in a country which was, on the one hand, luckier than India, in possession of freedom and selfgovernment, and, on the other hand, more prone than any other country to fall a prey to the seducing Western ideologies.

From his Lectures it becomes clear how intensely Iqbal had examined the Turkish situation and especially the ideals of Ziya Gökalp, the leading Turkish sociologist who had, in the beginning of the century, launched the ideas of Turkification, Islamisation, Modernization, and had deeply influenced the generation from which the leader of Turkish freedom movement emerged. Iqbal who did not know Turkish has studied his work through the German translation of August Fischer, and it is of interest to see how he, sometimes, changes or omits some words of the translation when reproducing the verses in his Lectures (L 159 ff.).

Besides this great evaluation of the Turkish efforts in the Lectures, another, less known, passage which points at the same goal is found in Iqbal's 'Open Letter to Pandit Nehru' where he writes i.a.:

> It is the development of a general materialist outlook in Turkey which seems inimical to Islam. Islam has had too much of renunciation; it is time for the Muslims to look to realities. Materialism is a bad weapon against religion; but it is quite an effective one against mulla-craft and Sufi-craft which deliberately mystify the people with a view to exploit their ignorance and credulity ... Is it then the abolition of the old dress or the introduction of the Latin script? Islam as a religion has no country, as a society it has no specific language nor specific dress. Even the recitation of the Quran in Turkish is not without some precedent in Muslim history. Personally I regard it as a

Müslüman Halk, id. May 1930, No. 15). He did, however, not mention his correspondence with Iqbal in these articles.

> serious error of judgment ... Is it then the abolition of polygamy or the licentiate ulama? ... To the inventions of the myth-making mulla is largely due the stupidity of the average Muslim. In excluding him from the religious life of the people Atatürk has done what would have delighted the heart of an Ibn Taimiyya or Shah Waliullah ... (SS 135 ff).

Nevertheless, in the same years as he highly praised the efforts of Turkey to shake off the centuries' old fetters, he wrote words of hard criticism against this country: in the *Jāvīdnāme*, the former Grand Wazir Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha scolds his countrymen for leaving Islam and introducing new idols from Europe instead of repairing the Kaaba. Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha had written in French a fairly interesting booklet *Islamisation* which had been translated by the reformist poet Mehmet Akif into Turkish (*Islamlaşmak*) and had been republished and examined by August Fischer by whom Iqbal came to know about the Islamic ideals of this Turkish statesman (who has, however, exerted only little influence on Turkish thought).[71] Iqbal calls him an exponent of the Religious Reform Party in Turkey and confronts him with the leaders of the Nationalist movement whose theories are

> misleading inasmuch as it suggests a dualism which does not exist in Islam (L 156),

whereas Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha

> following a line of thought more in tune with the spirit of Islam, he reaches practically the same conclusion as the Nationalist Party, that is to say the freedom of *ijtihād* with a view to rebuild the law of *sharīʿat* in the light of modern thought and experience (L 157).

In the *Jāvīdnāme*, this very statesman is made the spokesman of Iqbal's criticism of Turkey's accepting the Western ideologies, and that is not the only party of the book in which the Turkish attitude is criticized in the sharpest possible terms. During the following years, i.e. after 1932, when in Turkey the process of Turkification was going

[71]) Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha (1863-1921), one of the Egyptian princes and grandson of Mehmet Ali Kavallalī was Grand Wezir in 1913; he was later on sent to Malta by the British and murdered by an Armenian in Rome. In 1337/1917 he published a booklet *buḥrān-i fikrimiz* (The Crisis of our Thought), and in 1918 Mehmet Akif published his article *Islamlaşmak* in his journal *sebil ür-reşad*. Cf. also Dar 250, Salik 165; Grunebaum, *Attempts of Self-Interpretation* ... His pamphlet was again issued by the *anjuman-i khuddāmud-dīn* Lahore (founded in 1921), under the title Reform of Muslim Society, together with Iqbal's article on Islam and Ahmadism.

on and Islam was suppressed more than before, one feels in Iqbal's private letters as well as in his poetry a growing aversion to this process of Westernization of an Islamic country. The expanding nationalism, and, even worse, the race-bound ideology of Turanism is regarded as a paramount danger (M I 406, 1936) and Iqbal, basing his views on Sir Arthur Keith's book 'The Problem of Race' thinks that

> it is clear that if the Ataturk is inspired by Pan-Turanism he is going not so much against the spirit of Islam as against the spirit of the time. And if he is a believer in the absoluteness of races he is sure to be defeated by the spirit of modern time which is wholly in keeping with the spirit of Islam. Personally, however, I do not think that the Ataturk is inspired by Pan-Turanism as I believe that his Pan-Turanism is only a political retort to Pan-Slavonism, or Pan-Germanism, or Pan-Anglo-Saxonism (SS 141).

However, in his personal utterances Iqbal has quoted with approval the words of an Arabic scholar who, referring to a wellknown prophetical tradition has written *utrukū'l-atrāk*, leave the Turks! (M I 405), and yet, personal friendship existed between him and the noted Admiral Rauf Orbay, and also with Halide Edib who both had lectured in Delhi. [72])

The danger of westernization in Turkey is already touched in the *Payām-i Mashriq* (197), and in the *Zabūr* the unsolved tension between nationalism and religion in Turkey has been sharply attacked (ZA GR 217), and this problem becomes the clue to all poems written after 1932. In 1937, he writes rather full of despair:

> If a nation gives up the Islamic fanaticism and chooses a national fanaticism as principle of order—for instance like the Turks—then is for that nation the preaching of Islam (*tablīgh*) meaningless, and it has no longer interest in the preaching of Islam (M II 240).

But in the same year he says in his article on the Palestine problem:

> We hear now and then that the Turks are repudiating Islam. A greater lie was never told (SS 217).

[72]) Iqbal presided the lecture of Rauf Orbay, the famous Turkish navy officer and commander of the Hamidiye when he came to Delhi in the Jāmi'a Milliya; as to Halide Elip she had given a lecture in Delhi in January 1935 (cf. Salik 194); through Dr. A. Chughtay he sends her many many regards (M II 345) in Paris.

This was the last word on the question of Turkey—an admiration of her free interpretation of Islamic law; but he was aware of the dangers which are lurking behind the abusively liberal attitude towards religion, and he also rejected her external westernization. Indeed is the tension between these two poles—European way of life, and the deeply religious consciousness of the simple common people—still a very grave problem in the political and social life of modern Turkey even 25 years after Iqbal's death. His wavering attitude towards this country can be compared to that of a mother who sees her beloved child on unexpected ways: upbraiding it, repeating indefatigably the warning against the dangers of life, but defending it against every outside aggression or attack: the most positive evaluation of Turkey's attitude is found in Iqbal's 'Open Letter to Pandit Nehru'.

One of the points in which he disagreed with the Turkish reformers' view was, as already mentioned, the question of inheritance of daughters. This touches the problem of Iqbal's ideas on womanhood and feminism. Perhaps there is no better summary of his thought than the sentence he wrote in 1917 to somebody who had asked his opinion concerning feminism:

> For these questions the best book is the Qur'ān . . . In it all these problems are contained, even all the questions of modern eugenics exist therein (M I 254).

However dynamic his outlook on life might have been, in the female question he remained bound to a very narrow interpretation of the Qur'ān and not even shared the modernist view according to which f.i. polygamy is regarded as permitted only under the condition that the man treats his wives with complete equality, i.e. as an implicit order for monogamy; nor has he ever mentioned the view launched by Syed Ameer Ali and his followers that Islam has freed the weaker sex and has given her a most exquisite rank in the society which could be proved by the long lists of ladies who had played a leading role in the religious or cultural life since the beginnings of Islam. [73])

For Iqbal, Fatima was the model of the ideal woman—threefold

[73]) About the publications in order to prove the high rank of women in Islam cf. W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam*, p. 78 f.

dear to the Muslim's heart: as daughter of the Prophet, as wife of the beloved cousin of the Prophet, and as mother of Hasan and of Husain, the idealistic martyr for religion's sake (R 177). Islam was, with Iqbal, the ideal religion not for the outwardly working woman but for the protection of womanhood, inclined to a high consideration already thanks to the example of the Prophet himself who had called perfume and woman his joy, and prayer his highest bliss (R 174). The secret of womanhood, however, is maternity: to give birth to the future heroes. Maternity, as glorified in a long chapter of the *Rumūz*, is as much Divine mercy as prophecy; the love and tenderness of a mother are equal to that of the Prophet; mothers are the preservers of the mystery of fraternity—all that is only an interpretation of the tradition that Paradise is under the feet of the mothers (R 174 ff.). Together with the heartfelt Elegy on the death of his own mother, these lines in praise of the mothers and their virtues belong to the most personal and pathetic parts of Iqbal's work. That he is with these couplets a true interpreter of the common Muslim high estimation of the mother who plays almost ever the leading rôle inside the family, cannot be doubted.

It was, however, unquestionable for Iqbal that women have to live in seclusion, and freedom from *purdah* he refused energically, though segregation in the present form cannot be proved from the Qur'ān. In the group of quatrains which is collected under the title 'The Daughters of the Nation' (AH 130 ff.), he compares the lady in *purdah* to God who is, hidden behind hundred veils, yet giving all splendour to the world. In another connection he avers that men are rather living in *purdah* since they have not yet learnt to show their Self openly (ZK 91). Woman has, in herself, no importance nor worth—only through man (and of course through children) she becomes herself (BJ 94); but also man is incomplete without the wife which is proved from the Qur'ānic verse "and they—your wives—are dresses for you" (Sūra 2/183) which Iqbal uses in the lines

> woman is the covering of the nakedness of man (R 173)

i.e. but by her he is imperfect.

Woman is it, too, from whom the children learn the first articles of faith drinking the words of the creed with mother's milk (R 175). For this reason, Iqbal has advocated a religious education for girls. In his early reflections he had noted down:

> Who is the principal depositary of religion in a community?
> It is the woman. The Musulman woman ought to receive sound religious education, for she is virtually the maker of the community . . .
> For our purposes religious education is quite sufficient for the Muslim girl. All subjects which have a tendency to de-womanise and to de-Muslimise her must be carefully excluded from her education (SR 21).

A few years later, he praises in a letter a book on geography which is useful for both girls and boys, and regrets that most of the Muslim ladies are lacking a sound knowledge of geography (M II 261, 1913). He once even advocated

> the establishment of male and female cultural institutes in all big towns of India . . . to mobilize the dormant spiritual energies of the younger generation (SS 58).

But in spite of his connection with learned European ladies during his stay in Europe, and especially in Heidelberg where he took German lessons even from some "lady-professors", and in spite of his friendship with Atiya Begum, the active advocate of education for Indian Muslim girls, Iqbal saw in the Western methods of female education a great danger for his dream of Muslim womanhood.

> Our young prophets of social reform think that a few doses of education on Western lines will revitalize the dead Musulman woman, and make her tear her ancient shrouds. This is perhaps true. But I fear, finding herself naked, she will have once more to hide her body from the eyes of these young prophets (SR 93).

And, 25 years later he sighs:

> If European education is the death of maternity,
> Then death is its fruit for the human race.
> If schools of women are foreign to religion,
> Then science and technique are death for love and affection (ZK 95).

He regarded European feminism as a perfectly perverse way of life —it was the time of the suffragettes in London when he came first to Europe—and advocates polygamy as a remedy for unnatural developments like this:

> . . . Perhaps the greatest criticism on monogamy is the existence of the superfluous women in several European countries where various forces of a social and political nature are tending to enhance the number of women who cannot secure husbands. They cannot become mothers, and consequently they are driven to seek interests other than

> the bringing up of children. They are compelled to 'conceive' ideas instead of children. Recently they have the inspiring idea of 'votes for women' ... The Suffragist movement in Europe is at bottom a cry for husbands rather than votes ... (SR 43).

This negative attitude towards the growing activity of women outside their homes continues throughout Iqbal's life. In a Statement on the constitution in 1933, he notes that

> the allotation of 9 seats to women as a 'special interest' is another undesirable feature of the Federal Legislature. The electorate for these seats will be predominantly non-Muslim and it will be impossible for Muslim women to be elected. Muslim women ought to have been considered part of their community (SS 191).

This was at a time when leading Indian Muslim Ladies like Begum Shahnawaz, Begum Abdul Qadir and others were already actively working in the political field.

Iqbal has never praised the advantages of a female education on broad lines which meant for him but the denial of love and maternity, and from here emerges his bitterest criticism of European civilization. Thus he has introduced in the *Jāvīdnāme* the European girl who intrudes the peaceful realms of Mars with the purpose of teaching women there the advantages of sheer feminism which means hatred for man, avoiding of procreation, and freedom from all bondage and from the fetters of "this old snake, man" (J 1014 f.). Wherever this criticism occurs, the accusation of propagating the "empty lap", the denial of maternity is implicitely or explicitely contained in it. [74]) As much as Iqbal has advocated creative productivity on the material and spiritual sector for man, as much has he advocated it for woman in the form of bringing forth and bringing up children—the difference is, in his words , that man's creative power emerges from the brains whereas woman creates with her womb; both complete each other, but the true creativity of woman cannot be realized except by the cooperation of man (ZK 96).

Man attains higher levels by spiritual creation; however woman

> cannot write the dialogues of Plato but
> Plato's sparks are from her fire (ZK 92).

The European suffragette as appearing in the Mars-Sphere of *Jāvīdnāme*, and her counterpart, Miss Ifrangīn, in her encounter with

[74]) Cf. ZK 90, AH 130, R 175.

Judas Ischariot in the same epic, is, if the term is allowed, for Iqbal something like the Babylonian whore of the Christian apology: loveless, irreliable, devouring, dangerous, not creative—in short, the exact Gegenbild of Iqbal's ideal human being. The fact that Islam has, in its pristine form, not alleged a place to the concept of virginity and its spiritually fruits as Christianity has done, lies at the root of Iqbal's attitude towards the unmarried woman.

However, besides the ideal of maternity there are scant apparitions of other types of women in Iqbal's poetry who, though not representing the loving mother, can be easily recognized as embodiments of the poet's Islamic ideals: there is one Fatima, a young North-African girl who died when carrying water to the Muslim soldiers; a touching elegy shows deeply he was moved by the death of this young brave girl. (BD 239).

Besides her, there is Sharaf un-Nisā, the young princess whose modest tomb is still visible in Lahore, behind the former Gardens of Gulabi Bagh—the daughter of the governor of Lahore in the first decades of the 18th century; she died still young and is told to have carried with her always the Qurʾān and the sword, and had ordered these two to be buried with her. She is glorified as a heroic fighter against the encroachment of the Sikhs whose armies at that time attacked the Panjab and were to intrude Lahore shortly after her death, and has found a lofty place in a wonderful paradisic castle (*Jāvīdnāme*, first scene of Paradise).

And there is Ṭāhira Qurrat ulʿain, the young amiable poetess of the Babi-movement in Persia who was executed in 1852, who is glorified as a personification of never resting love. [75]) Iqbal had shown in his thesis (p. 187) a predilection for the Babi-Bahai-movement though its main tenet, that of the uninterrupted continuous revelation through a chain of Prophets, was directly opposed to his unflinching obedience to the dogma of the finality of Prophethood. But the conception of the Real as Will and Love, and the idea that love is concealed in every atom of being, attracted him, and he admired the first martyrs of this "wonderful sect", making the young Ṭāhira one of the rare female figures in his poetical work, and locating her in the Jupiter-Sphere where the spirits of the loving heretics Ḥallāj and

[75]) Qurratulʿain Ṭāhira, a talented poetess, joined the Babi-movement in Iran in 1847. Cf. Martha Root, *Tahirih the Pure*; Bausani, *Persia religiosa*.

Ghālib are moving in eternal restlessness, animated by the spirit of heroic love. That hints at the fact that Iqbal was capable of acknowledging women even outside the realms of maternity, provided that did not lack divinely inspired love. On the other hand, his correspondence with Miss Margret Farqharson, the British friend of Gandhi whose house in London was one of the centres of Indian freedom movement proves that he did not hesitate to accept gladly the activity of emancipated European ladies inasmuch as it proved useful for his ideals of Muslim revival; and it was a German lady on whom he conferred the education of his children after the death of their mother. Here, theory and practice are rather widely differing.

Yet, one will scarcely agree with W. C. Smith's view who has, in his chapter about the reactionary forces inside Indian Islam, collected a whole bundle of inconsistencies from Iqbal's writings (some of which may easily be attributed to the critic's very peculiar standpoint) and closes his paragraph with the remark:

> There remains yet one damning aspect of Iqbal. Even at his most poetic, his most progressive, his most inclusively utopian, he never wished that the new values should apply to more than half the human race. He never understood, and he constantly fought against, those who deem that women too might share in the brave new world... he wanted to keep women pure and in subjection. For women he wanted no activism, no freedom, no vicegerency of God. The glory of struggle and of self-contained individuality is apparently for man alone. Woman should remain, as she has always been in Islam, confined, aquiescent to man, and achieving nothing in herself but only through others... (p. 165 f.).

Iqbal's view is, as a matter of fact, confined by the Islamic background of his education, and he has lacked a deeper insight into the problems which led to the emergence of European feminine emancipation. And there may be psychological reasons, too,—there is no Beatrice in his *Jāvīdnāme* to carry him into the lofty heights of Paradisical bliss, nor a Sulaika in his answer to Goethe's 'West-Östlicher Divan'; he has neither symbolized the human soul as the longing and loving wife who waits for the visitation of her Divine beloved or husband, as Indian and Indo-Muslim mysticism has done so frequently, nor has he seen in the female the most sublime reflection of the Divine, as Ibn 'Arabī did, or felt that

> das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.

His respect for maternity is on the traditional lines of Islamic ethics, and on the whole, one may admit that in his attitude towards the woman problem Iqbal was more traditional than in other aspects of his life, and even more traditional than many of the contemporary Islamic reformers. He comprehended perhaps that a solution of these most complicated social problems was of vital importance for the moulding of the Islamic society to come. When he was asked whether or not his little daughter (who was sent to a Mission school) should live in purdah after being grown up, he answered that until that time things would have changed so much that she would have to decide for herself. But he himself had nothing to contribute to this question and therefore maintained his above mentioned standpoint that in crucial situations traditionalism may be safer than an unripe attempt at innovation at all costs. Yet he was conscious of the problem as well:

> I too am very sorrowful at the oppression of women—
> But it is not possible to solve this intricate knot (ZK 96).

... AND IN HIS MESSENGERS ...

The belief that God has never ceased sending, since the creation of the human race, messengers, prophets who had to lead different peoples and call them back to the simple faith in the One Lord and a life according to His eternal laws—this belief is firmly rooted in the Qur'ān, and forms part of the Muslim creed. Though in the Qur'ān only a limited number of prophets are cited by name, nothing hinders the faithful from reckoning the leading religious personalities of other religious communities among these God-sent messengers (since it is mentioned Sūra 34/25 that they have been sent to all peoples), provided that they have appeared on earth before Muhammad, the seal and end of Prophecy.

Iqbal describes the prophetical revelation thus:

> The world-life intuitively sees its own needs, and at critical moments it defines its own direction. This is what in the language of religion, we call prophetic revelation (L 147).

That would be almost the same conclusion which Söderblom has reached in his simple and unsophisticated sentence:

> The Prophet is an effect of God's activity. [76])

[76]) Söderblom, *The living God*, p. 224.

As a matter of fact the prophets—from Adam to Muhammad—have always been honoured in Islamic theology and popular piety as representatives of the will of the living God; but their personalities have also been transmuted rather early into ciphers for different sides of Divine revelation. It suffices to remind of Joseph, who has become, in Persian and persianizing poetry the symbol of radiant Divine Beauty, attracting the loving hearts; he has enraptured all those mystics who believed in the Eternal Beauty manifestating itself in human form. It is characteristic of Iqbal's use of traditional symbols that in his work Joseph plays a rather unimportant role, and is mentioned not as the manifestation of Beauty, but as "he before whom sun and moon bowed down" (ZA II 3, cf. I), or he whose perfume helps the development of subconscious Ego, alluding to the famous 'scent of Joseph's garment' which cured Jacob's blindness (ZA GR). And once Iqbal says, pointing to the hopeless situation of the Muslim:

> It would be better that a wolve carries away our Joseph
> Than that an unworthy person should buy him (Pas 7)

—death is better than slavery.

Salomo has, like Joseph, been a wellknown and often used symbolical figure in Oriental poetry: the marvels he performed with the help of subjugated spirits, his majesty contrasted with the little ant, his ring which enabled him to rule the demons—all these features are contained in the traditional picture of Sulaymān/Salomo which has been used, however, in Iqbal's work but rarely (PM 159, 218). Iqbal's main interest is centred around the great Old-Testament prophets Adam, Abraham, and Moses. Each of them becomes, in his poetical work, the representative of the Ideal Man, and a model for the real Muslim.

Adam's place in Islamic tradition is extraordinary: being created from clay, he has been destined by God as His *khalīfa*, His vicegerent on earth (Sūra 2/28), since God has breathed His breath into him. [77]) He taught him the names (Sūra 2/29), i.e. endowed him with the capacity for grasping things; name being identical with the thing itself, to name them means to master them. It is to be observed that the Qur'ān gives the verb here in the acting form, God being the

[77]) Cf. the chapter on Adam and his rank as *khalīfa* in Ibn ᶜArabi's *fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

teacher and originator of Adam's wisdom, whereas the Biblical narration (Gen. 2, 20) makes Adam give the names, a sentence which has led Christian thinkers to the assumption that Adam—emerging from the hand of God—was endowed with supranatural knowledge which he lost in the Fall: an idea which is completely unknown to Muslim thinkers. [78]) Iqbal's Adam remains the model of the Perfect Man, even—and especially—after the fall. Here lies the fundamental difference between the Biblical and the Islamic anthropology.

All the angels were ordered to bow before Adam, and they obeyed the Divine command; only Iblīs refused, and became cursed—Iqbal dares compare the first man to an idol:

> And if the Brahman, preacher, biddeth us
> Bow down to idols, furrow not thy brow:
> But God Himself, who shaped an image fair
> Bade Cherubim before an idol bow (Lāle 118),

because essentially naught but God is worthy that one prostrates before Him. But it is the Divine spark in man before which the heavenly beings bow down, as Maulānā Rumi says:

> When the angel saw the lights of Divine truth in him,
> He prostrated before him and hurried into his service (Math. I 1247).

Satan's temptation of Adam which led to man's fall is not conceived as an act entailing an aboriginal sin for all the generations to come, but is only disobedience of his individual self. [79]) Iqbal has summed up the Qur'ānic doctrines of Adam's fall contrasted with the Biblical report and explains it in terms of psychology:

> . . . I am . . . inclined that the Jannat (Paradise) in the Qur'ānic narration is the conception of a primitive state in which man is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants, the birth of which alone marks the beginning of human culture. Thus we see that the Qur'ānic legend of the fall has nothing to do with the first appearance of man on this planet. Its purpose is rather to indicate man's rise from a primitive stage of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable

[78]) Allusions to Adam and his being taught the names, R. 168, PM 6, J 17.

[79]) For the *iṣyān al-anbiyā*, the inobedience of the Prophets cf. Dailamī, *sīrat Ibn al-Khafīf*; f. 305 in Khafif's *muᶜtaqad*; cf. Sūra 20/119; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*.

of doubt and disobedience. The Fall does not mean any moral depravity: it is man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self consciousness . . .
. . . to permit the emergence of a finite Ego who has the power to choose, after considering the relative values of several courses of action open to him, is really to take a great risk; for the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith . . . (L 84 f.).

He has reflected these ideas in his poetry, and f.i. in his great poem *taskhīr-i fiṭrat,* [80]) The Conquest of Nature (PM 97 f.) he shows that

Adam's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice, and that is why, according to the Qur²ānic narration, Adam's first transgression was forgiven (L 85).

He praises in many a poem the greatness of the Father of Men, who had awoken from the innocent slumber of pre-logic thought and entered the world of discrimination, development, and creative experience, him, before whom angels have bowed down, and who is higher than the angels, since he has free choice and freedom for love.

Love exclaimed: That one with a bloody heart was born,
Beauty trembled: That one who has a vision was born,
Nature grew disturbed: From the clay of the pre-determined world
A Self-maker, a Self-breaker, a Self-preserver was born! (PM 97)

The cosmic powers are trembling at Adam's birth, and when he is thrown out of Paradise, angels bid him farewell:

Thou hast got the restlessness of day and night,
Thy song is without veils the heart of life! (BJ 177),

and earth welcomes him, remembering the Divine word that earth will be subjugated to Adam—

In thy possession are now these clouds, these cloudings . . .
Invisible the shores of the ocean of thy imagination . . .
Since pre-eternity the string of thy lute was complaining,
Since pre-eternity thou hast been the buyer of love,
Since pre-eternity thou art the priest of the idol-temple,
hard working, bloodshedding, causing but little trouble,

[80]) Cf. also J v 16 allusion to Sūra 31/19.

since pre-eternity the rider of the destiny of the world is moving according to thy consent . . . (BJ 179).

or:

Man is a star neither Western nor Eastern [81])
His fate is the word "I am making" (2/28)
The commentary of which is from Heaven to Earth.
Death, tomb, resurrection are his states,
The light and fire of the other world are his deeds . . .
The rank of Man is higher than Heaven—
The root of education is to show reverence to man.

Adam, thus hailed by the entire creation, sings in never ending diatribes his joy and his "incomplete burning", the longing and craving which makes him happy—

I give absolute certitude for doubt, for I am the martyr of searching (PM 100).

Since Adam has been designed as vicegerent and coworker of God, he will fulfill his work on earth with pleasure: the new world in which he has been sent gives him opportunity for unfolding all his powers and to embellish the raw-material of creation by his craftmanship:

Thou hast created night, and I have created the lamp . . . (PM 132).

Man, working untiringly, does even not long home for the calmness of his Paradise lost:

Why hast Thou ordered me to quit Paradise?
Now there is much to do in this world—so Thou wait for me! (BJ 9).

B. A. Dar concludes from this concept that Adam should not get any occult knowledge; "he needed a type of knowledge that required of him patient labour of observation and inference and sifting of truth from error after constant trials and errors" [82]) This description as a whole is right. Yet it seems that Iqbal did not ponder as much upon the philosophical implications of his Adam's-portrait but upon its practical results: that means by emphasizing the qualities of the

[81]) That means that man is called with words which the Qur²ān applies to God in the Light-verse (Sūra 24/35).
[82]) Dar 191, acc. to L 86.

co-worker of God, the poet gave a new leitbild for his people who had forgotten since long these aspirations of the Father of the race. He admonishes his correligionists not to forget that

> Whatever is besides God, is only for Adam's subjection,
> Adam became the vicegerent of God in the world,
> His judgment became firm on the elements (R 90; cf. J 581, AK IX).

What Adam was ordered, was continued by Abraham whose importance in Muslim piety in general is even greater than that of Adam, since, in the Medinean period of Qur'ānic revelations the patriarch had been designed as the spiritual father of the Muslims, and the founder of the central sanctuary of the Kaaba. L. Massignon has, in several studies, underlined the importance of Abraham, ancestor of the Arabs through Hagar and Ismail, and included in the first covenant between God and the Children of Israel. [83])

The aspect of Abraham—surnamed *Khalīl Allah*, the friend of God—as the spiritual father of the Muslim community is a salient feature of Iqbal's poetry, and especially of the *Rumūz-i Bēkhūdī* which contains a whole philosophy of the Muslim nation. Here, Abraham is alluded to in the very first line, and also later in many places:

> Our nation is the glory (*shān*) of Abraham,
> Our honey is the faith of Abraham (R 189).

He who has made the desert a dwelling-place for his community (Sure 14/40 = R 115) becomes the symbol of spiritual unity of the faithful as contrasted to the threats of nationalism (cf. R 115 ff., R 107), and the community of the believers is compared to a sword which

> God has brought forth from the sheath of Abrahams desire (R 137),

i.e. it has been given its outward form, poignant and cutting off every evil, like a sword, a weapon against the infidels, by the desires of the founder of the Kaaba (cf. R 116.157.163).

The most important side of this new faith of Abraham is the introduction of the pure monotheistic religion: symbolized by Abraham's struggle against the idols and polytheistic customs of his father Azar. He is the Prophet who does not care for "those which set", the *āfilīn*

[83]) Cf. Massignon, *Les trois prières d'Abraham*.

(Sūra 6/76), [84]) and for whom the phenomenal world is nothing but the evidence of the moving and dominating power of God. Abraham is the sincere worshipper who has experienced the exclusive power of God, and gave prove of it by his destruction of the idols; thus he becomes the outstanding model for the Muslim for whom there exists no greater sin than *shirk*, worship of others than God.

Iqbal spiritualizes the war against the idols: nationalism, imperialism, communism are alike not simple ideologies but idols against which the self-conscious Muslim should struggle day and night (Pas 5), and if he fails in this constant fight he becomes an

> Abraham's son with Azar's qualities (PM 211).

Yea, the whole world is an idol-temple, and the Man of God is Khalīl—

> This is the meaning which is hidden in the *Lā Ilāh* (BJ 99, cf. ZK 7).

Iqbal enlarges the circle of idols; they are not simply the outward seducing and deverting forces in daily life but as much inner weakness, fear, hatred, and whatever hinders human Self from its free development

> The son of Azar has repaired the Kaaba,
> With one glance he has turned clay into elixir.
> Thou repair the Self in thy body,
> Turn the handfull of dust (which thou art) into elixir (Mus. 11.).

This comparison of the human Ego with the central sanctuary of Islam is not rare in Iqbal's poetry (cf. AH 90, Lāle 30).

Just as bad qualities are conceived as idols which avert man from his service of the One God, so can even intellect prove dangerous if isolated from its Divine origin and worshipped for its own sake. Here again occurs the favorite contrast of intellect and love:

> Intellect has set into my head an idol-temple,
> But the Khalīl of Love has turned my monastery into a sanctuary
> (Lāle 43) [85])

[84]) About the *āfilīn* cf. Bausani, Glossary to *Gulshan-i Rāz-i ǧadīd*; R 115, AK 1457; cf. the fine remark of R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Lucifer*, p. 65 about the rabbinical legend of Abraham, destroying his father's idols, influenced by the 'revolutionary', 'prophetic', 'calling' God.

[85]) Cf. PM 142; R 197; J 780.

—*dair*, originally the Greek church, has become in Persian poetry due to its many icons the symbol of the many-coloured outward world. Thus, the verse will say that only love can give man his goal and centre in the adoration of the Unity of God that is manifested in the sanctuary of Mecca which is not stained by any picture.

The main weakness of the present age is, in Iqbal's ciphered expression, that it lacks an Abraham who could break the idols (as it is symbolized in the Venus-Heaven in *Jāvīdnāme* 800 ff.), that there is dearth of real unitarians. The East which is now like Azar, busy with carving new idols and even borrowing them from the West, should rather carve its Self and develop it (J 304).

It is significant of Iqbal's refutation of some sides of the modern Western civilization that f.i. cinema is for him a typical manifestation of the art of Azar (BJ 210), idols of which the true worshipper has to refrain. Even the ambivalent situation of the artist has been expressed in the same simile

> He is Abraham and he is Azar,
> His hand is both idol-making and idol-breaking (ZA 257)—

by the work which his hand—or his pen—creates he can become a seducer of people and turn them off the way of worship; he can, also, become a leader towards truth if his art breaks the spell of sensuality and becomes a prophetic herald of the Divine Will.

The third symbol-circle in which Abraham is mentioned is that of his struggle with Nimrud, the king of unbelievers who had thrown him, according to the traditions, into a fire which turned into a rose-garden for this prophet. [86]) That is a classical image of Persian poetry, and Iqbal, too, has used it in all periods of his poetical activity.

For this fire of Nimrud was not only in one time (PM 168), it burns in every place, in every time, wherever faith and unbelief, love and lovelessness meet.

Abraham becomes again a symbol of the perfect Muslim who, thrown into the fire of temptations of this modern age, must try to make the best out of them, to "turn their fire into roses" (R 138). Modern science and civilization are compared to the holocaust of the heathen ruler—

[86]) About the development of the Abraham-Nimrud-Legend cf. H. Schützinger, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der arabischen Abraham-Nimrod-Legende*. Bonn, 1961.

> I am acquainted with the pain of modern knowledge,
> I have entered this fire like Khalīl (BJ 92, cf. AH 70).

Even the simple equation Nimrud = intellect, Abraham = heart, i.e. place of intuitive knowledge of God, is used (cf. Lāle 53). Love is the magic which transforms flames into roses—that love which is coupled with the faith in the One God; for Abraham could perform the miracle only after having escaped the bondage of "that which sets" (AK 1457). Hujwīrī, the medieval mystic of Lahore, had likened Abraham to the perfect mystic, the possessor of *ḥāl* (mystical state):

> he was not conscious of separation, that he should be stricken with grief nor of union, that he should be filled with joy. The sun and moon and stars contributed to his *ḥāl*, but he, while he gazed, was independent of them: whatever he looked on, he saw only God . . . (370)

The perfect faithful does not fear the pyre

> because fire is the assay of the rough aloe (AH 201)—

aloe, when burnt, exudes a certain perfume—likewise the faithful, when thrown in the fire of afflictions, do not complain but are capable of turning pain into bliss.

Thus, Iqbal symbolizes in the person of the patriarch the threefold power which the Muslims of this age were in need of: the concentration on the religious centre of their being, the destruction of the exterior and interior "idols" which jeopardize their faith, and the unshakable trust in God and love which enable them to live inmidst of the most horrible situations without being harmed—

> Ah but if the faith of Abraham again would brightly show
> Where the flames are at their fiercest, there a garden fair would grow
> (Jawāb 61).

And in this secret of Abraham's faith, Iqbal saw the secret of his own message:

> Muslims! I have a word within my heart
> More radiant than the soul of Gabriel;
> I keep it hidden from the Sons of Fire,
> It is a secret Abraham knew well. (Lāle 22)

Abraham's son Ismail, the father of the Arabs who is often referred to by Islamic mystics as the symbol of perfect love and obedience

(because he, and not Isaac as in the Jewish tradition, is going to be sacrificed by his father), is mentioned in Iqbal's poetry only at random, like his father, in connection with the Kaaba the story of which started with him (cf. R 128)

Among the great Prophets, the figure of Moses is preferably used in Iqbal's work, and has given even his name to his last collection of Urdu poems, the *Ẓarb-i Kalīm*, The stroke of Moses—it seems that Moses in his aspect as *Kalīm*, "He to whom God spoke" personifies Iqbal's own ideal of the Perfect Man who is God's interlocutor. [87])

Moses has, similarly to Abraham, a threefold significance in Iqbal's work: he is the prophet who by his wonderful stroke divided the Red Sea into two, thus securing the life of his community; he is the *Kalīm* whom God addressed through the burning bush on Sinai, and he is the prophet with the White hand, alluding to the miracle told in both Genesis (4/6) and Qurʾān (Sura 20). And just as Abraham is opposed in poetry to Azar and to Nimrud, so, again, Moses fights against Pharao and Sāmirī. He is, like the Patriarch Abraham, sometimes contrasted as manifestation of love to the *fikr-i ḥākimāne*, the philosophical discerning which can never reach the *jadhb-i kalīmāne*, the loving attraction that he has witnessed (BJ 98, cf. ZK 48, Pas 12). The miracles of Moses are, again, underlying the same laws as those of Abraham: they are manifestations of the power of faith:

> When Kalīm went out of himself, his hand was dark,
> and his stick was a rope (ZA 256).

The stroke of Moses and his stick have become, with Iqbal (who remains again faithful to the classical tradition) symbols of every kind of creative work, and at the same time are proofs of the fact that without power miracles and works of faith are impossible: deprived of his stick, Moses would neither have been able to frighten the magicians nor to split the sea (BJ 102). Everybody is in need of this "stick": the psychologist for entering into the unfathomable depths of the self (BJ 221), and the simple faithful for passing safely and unhurt through the dangers of the present age (BJ 88).

It is, however, not enough to split the ocean: without the following Divine Epiphany in the burning bush it would be meaningless.

87) ZK 134. 161, 146.

> Learn a lesson from Kalīm: the learned man of Europe
> Has cut the liver of the sea, but not reached the Sinai! (ZA II 26).

The burning bush and the earthquake which followed the Divine revelation—"when Sinai started dancing", as the mystics have put it—is a favorite topic in mystical poetry. Iqbal too has used it in different contexts as the appropriate symbol for the *naẓar*, the longed-for vision of the Divinity:

> Though the preacher talks of Moses and Sinai,
> He has not the fire of that revelation in the mirror of his speach (PM 211).

—the pulpiteers and bookish religious men live only on second-hand informations, and never experience the wonder of Moses and his personal intercourse with the Lord; nobody burns at present in this Divine fire (J 614). Moses is, especially in the mystical tradition, the man who asked God to unveil His face before him (Sure 7/139), but got the answer "You will not behold Me!"—yet

> It grows not old, the tale of Sinai,
> And every heart yet whispers Moses' prayer (Lāle 39).

—the human heart is always craving for the direct vision of the Divine Beauty and Power, from which experience it may return, like Moses, as an interpreter of the Divine commands and lead a whole people to new horizons.

But Iqbal goes even further. Combining the story of Moses with his own philosophy of Ego, he asks:

> How long will you beg for light like Moses on Mount Sinai?
> Let a flame like that of the burning bush leap out from the self!

He holds that a person whose whole being has been transformed through this Sinai-experience, becomes in his turn a "flame of Sinai", an ardent witness of God. However

> This mountain and bank are void of Moses—
> Otherwise thou art a flame of Sinai, and I am a flame of Sinai (BJ 164)

The title of the collection of quatrains in the *Payām-i Mashriq* "Tulip of Sinai" is, with Iqbal's beloved symbol of the tulip, an allusion to the burning heart of the poet who attests, in poetical hyperbolism but with some inner authority

My pen became a twig of the burning bush (AK 182).

In the moment of revelation the seer not only experiences the overwhelming presence of Reality but hears also from inmidst of the fire the consolating word

lā takhaf, do not fear (BJ 61, Sūra 20/71).

The way of longing is endless, its darkness being lit only by successive flashes of reality:

Every moment new Sinais, new lightnings of revelation—
May God grant that the path of nostalgy may never been travelled (ZK 126).

It must, in spite of this high evaluation of Moses' experience, not be overlooked that the illumination of the Bush was not the last possible stage in the experience of Reality. Iqbal has often used the symbol simply in the sense of "vision, experience". But in his Lectures he points out—and is perfectly in harmony with the mystic tradition since the times of al-Ḥallāj—that Moses swooned down already in the moment of an illumination through an outward medium, whereas Muhammad, as proved in Sūra 53/17 "His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander", saw "the very substance of Reality with a smile". The Prophet of Islam alone, he holds, was capable of standing eye-to-eye with the Ultimate Ego (L 118).

Moses is, in several passages of the Qurʾān, depicted as the adversary of Pharao whose wisdom consists of nothing but narrow nationalist ideas which are opposed to the world-wide prophetic message (Pas 16). This story—the strife between the supranational and world-embracing message of the prophets and the earth-rooted primitive (Iqbal says: polytheistic) religion which is manifested (in the poet's view) in our century by nationalism and imperialism—this story is in every age renewed (ZK 24). Pharao becomes, in the *Jāvīdnāme*, the narrow-minded ruler of this world; in a very ingenious manner he is confronted with Lord Kitchener of Omdurman in the Venus-Sphere of the said book. Iqbal might have been inspired for this comparison by the chronogram which was written in India at Lord Kitchener's death in 1916: *Firʿaun gharq-i baḥr*— "Pharao drowned in the sea." Both are called back by the recitation of the Sūra *Ṭaha* (which deals with Moses' story) from the depths of the

ocean in which they both have found their graves—Pharao has failed to recognize the prophetic light which was offered to him, Kitchener has turned deaf ears to the appeal of the religious forces manifested in the movement of the Mahdi of Omdurman. The personifications of nationalist and imperialist tendencies in old and new times which were unwilling to accept the Divine revelation, have suffered the same lot by the stroke of Moses, being drowned in a merciless sea. [88])

The typical miracle, however, by which Pharao is overcome and which has become in Persian poetry since early times a symbol of prophetic power, is the White hand (Exodus 4/6, Qurʾān Sūra 20). It is the diagram for every creative work, not only for that of the prophet but also the artist, and Iqbal states the deplorable fact that artists now are lacking the White hand, are without real creative fervour (J 1167). [89]) The whiteness and brilliance of this hand is comparable only to that of the sun (Pas 9), and everyone who experiences the contact with God, can gain this White hand, can become even more lucid than Moses (AK 1538). But the poet complains that nowadays those from whom miracles of faith are expected keep their White hand secret in their bosom, or they have on empty sleeves, with no White hand in them (Pas 42, ZA II 58).

Exactly as in the symbol of Abraham it was Divine love which enables the prophet to turn flames into a garden, love is also the transforming power in the case of Moses: [90])

In the way of love, N. son of N. means nothing
Love gives the White hand to the black man (PM 206, cf. J 276),

that will say that in the religion of Islam which is always intended as the Way of Love in Iqbal's poetry, no pedigree or genealogy is of importance: the transforming power of Divine love can be seen as well in non-Arabs of unknown origin. We may take this verse—if we do not confine us to the word-play Black and White—as reference to the slogan launched by the Khārijites in early Islam that the most pious of the community should be the *imām* "and even if he be a black slave".

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88) Cf. J 168 where Love is called the cause for Pharao's and Nimrud's death, because none of them was killed by war. Cf. Sūra 21/68.

89) BJ 40; J 875; ZK 117.

90) The Shepheard Story in Mathnawī II, 1720 ff. is alluded to in BJ 125, ZK 74.

The seductor of the Israilians after Pharao's death is called Sāmiri (Sure 20/87), probably "the Samaritan", [91]) and he has in poetry often been confronted with Moses as symbol either of outward power and wealth, or of loveless magical science (J 39 f.), the prophet being, again, the symbol of Divine power which conquers the world with a single glance (J 231 f.).

In the threefold aspect of Moses, one scene which has been allegorized so often in Islamic tradition, is nearly missing: it is the meeting of Moses and his spiritual guide Khiẓr, the mysterious leader towards the dark valley of the fountain of life and the meeting-place of the two seas. Maulānā Rūmī has been symbolized in Iqbal's great poem as *Khiẓr-i Rāh*, and in the *Asrār*, the poet has called

> Desire: the Khiẓr to the Moses of perception (AK 277)

putting Moses here in a lower stage than in his other poems. [92])

The figures of Adam, Abraham and Moses are used, in Iqbal's poetry, with more or less important variations, as models of life and behaviour for every faithful Muslim. But the figure of Jesus Christ is handled quite differently in his work, and the picture of Christianity is dark and full of bitter criticism.

There is no doubt that Iqbal shared with every Muslim the veneration of Jesus as the last of the prophets before Muhammad, and—no doubt in connection with the Qadiani problem—he asked Sulayman Nadwi:

> Was there anyone of the great scholars in Islam who has denied the life and the descent of Christ the son of Mary? And if they are sure of his life, have they denied his descent? (M I 196),

But the person of Christ takes no important place in his religious symbolism. Whosoever has read Oriental poetry knows how widely spread the symbol of the life-giving breath of Christ is. In Iqbal it is scarcely mentioned, and in a typical strain, turned against the Europeans:

> It is not astonishing that you have the miraculous power of Christ;

91) M. Hamidullah, in his *Traduction intégrale du Coran*, brings in his note to Sūra 20/85 (87) the Sāmirī in connection with Indian groups, not with the Samaritans.

92) About Saintship and the role of Khiḍr cf. *Mathnawī Commentary*, vol. I, p. 27.

> What is astonishing is that (in spite that fact) your sick people are still more ill (PM 226).

Although Iqbal says in the *Bāng-i Darā* that

> the pulse of the sick must be in the hand of Jesus (219),

he had not such a relation to him as he had to Abraham or Moses, the powerful prophets, Jesus being regarded, since the times of early Sufism, as a model of that ascetism and renunciation of which Iqbal wanted to rid his people. Iqbal saw in the religion which had developed around his name only

> a feeble translation of ancient paganism in the language of Semitic theology (SR 27).

No sooner he had returned from Europe than he noted down his impressions on Christianity and Western thought. He acknowledged Christ as the greatest man Jewish race had produced:

> The Jewish race has produced only two great men: Christ and Spinoza. The former was God incarnated in the Son, the latter in the Universe. Spinoza was only a completion of the greatest teacher of his race (SR 28).

We may add here that Iqbal had no special sympathy for the Jews, and was outspokenly anti-Zionist as is clear from his correspondence with Miss Farqharson about the Palestine-problem, but he admired the Jewish nation as model of a community with a centre and a firm ideology which has kept it alive through centuries.

The "ethical idealism" in the teachings of Christ as well as of Buddha was, for Iqbal, admirable but not acceptable as a principle of national morality; he agrees with both of them in their perception of the nature of love which is more than elixir—

> but it is too much to expect of man to love his enemies (SR 45).

The side he admired most in Christ was his art to explain the deepest truths of life in form of homely parables, and he thought that

> Shakespeare, Maulānā Rūmī, and Jesus Christ are probably the only illustrations of this rare type of genius (SR 37).

In his own system of thought, Iqbal has often stressed the importance of suffering for the development of Self, and he states that

> no religious system can ignore the moral value of suffering. The error of the builders of Christianity was that they based their religion on the fact of suffering alone, and ignored the moral value of other factors. Yet such a religious system was a necessity to the European mind in order to supplement the beautiful but one-sided Hellenic ideal. The Greek dream of life was certainly the best, as Goethe says, but it was wanting in the colour element of suffering which was supplied by Christianity (SR 87).

This was Iqbal's idea on Christian religion at least in his period of formation, and he did not doubt that

> Muhammad, Buddha and Christ are the great embodiments of the idea of equality, yet Islam is the only force in the world which is still working in the direction of equality (SR 60).

Christianity seemed to be for him the longer the more a religion of monkery and ascetism, which has nothing to supply for the growth of personality:

> The most advisable thing in our religion is struggle and power,
> The most advisable thing in the religion of Jesus is the cave and the mountain (i.e. the life of hermits) (BJ 186).

The situation of the Church has deteriorated due to the fact that it was erected on the fundament of monkery, and that there is no sovereignty in its poverty (it is the favorite word-play of the poet who contrasts the *faqr*, poverty of Islam which leads to the realization of sovereignty, with that ascetic poverty which has no practical result and is, therefore, wrong—BJ 160), since the Church is interested only in telling the beads of the rosary of Petrus (ZA GR 217). It is possible that Nietzsche's criticism of the customary form of Christianity has influenced Iqbal's verdict to some extent. The separation of Church and State, or better: of religious and worldly affairs—found by Muslim thinkers in Christ's order: "Give unto God what is God's and unto Caesar what is Caesar's"—seems to him to entail the greatest dangers for Christianity (BJ 160), since both sides of life are related to each other as inseparably as body and soul. He confronts with this continuous tension in the Christian world the uniformity of Islam which is concerned with the regulation of both mundane and otherworldly affairs—

> It is the same reality which appears as Church looked at from one point of view and State from another—nay, it is a single unanalysable reality (L 154).

The essential unity of Islam in every sphere of life is, for him, its greatest advantage in comparison with the dualistic Christianity. That he has misinterpreted here the basic doctrine of Christianity which was far away from admitting a duality of soul and body, must be taken for granted, and he could not be aware of the attempts of modern Christian theology and psychology to restore again this original anti-dualism.

Iqbal saw that this religion, though originally a religion of suffering, had been spoiled by its connection with Western civilization. He once told his son, that Islam and Christianity are essentially the same; the difference consisting in the way how Christianity is professed by the peoples of Europe. In the *Jāvīdnāme*, he appeals to the spirit of Tolstoy who, for him as for many other Oriental thinkers, was the exponent of an unpollluted Christian view of life and had been quoted in the same rôle as critic of European life in *Payām-i Mashriq*. In a hellish scene, inspired by Dante's *Divina Commedia,* the Russian poet beholds in his vision a man, half buried in ice: Judas Ischariot, whilst Europe, a young and attractive lady, "in her eyes the spell of Sāmirī", walks on the banks of the ice-stream and scolds him who has been traiterous to the Son of Mary, the light of creation. But the suffering Judas is made answer that Europe has sold and is still selling not only one prophet but whole nations, that she is devoid of Christ's healing breath but involved in murder and treason, and

> what we have done unto his humanity, thou doest every day
> unto his spirit.

This scene may be understood as quintessence of hundreds of verses which Iqbal has written against the loveless Christian West, where the lore of Christ seemed to have fallen into oblivion. And what he witnessed in Bethlehem on his visit was like a confirmation of his criticism:

> . . . I was very much affected by (the holy places), particularly by the birthplace of Christ.
> I discovered, however, that the altar of the Church of Bethlehem was divided into three parts which were allotted to the Armenian, Greek and Catholic Churches respectively. These sects continuously fight among themselves, sometimes indulging in bloodshed and defiling one another's altars and—contrary to the state of affairs in India—it is two Muslim policemen who have to keep the peace among them. (SS 170).

In contrast to many Muslim students who are ardent admirers of Luther who "freed the German nation from the fetters of the Church", Iqbal was a critic of the Protestant movement and has expressed this negative view in his poetry (cf. BJ 134) and in his Lectures:

> We are to-day passing through a period similar to that of the Protestant revolution in Europe, and the lesson which the rise and outcome of Luther's movement teaches should not be lost on us. A careful reading of history shows that the Reformation was essentially a political movement, and the net result of it in Europe was a gradual displacement of the universal ethics of Christianity by systems of national ethic. The result of this tendency we have seen with our own eyes in the Great European War... (L 163).

Quoting Naumann's 'Briefe über Religion', Iqbal stresses the difficulty of forming a state, or creating social relations on the foundations of pure Christian doctrine:

> By setting up an ideal of other-worldliness it no doubt succeeded in spiritualizing life, but its individualism could see no spiritual value in the complexity of human social relations.

And contrasting the spiritual Christian ideal with the practical Islamic thought he avers in the beginning of his Lectures (9 f.) that

> the great point in Christianity is the search for an independent content for spiritual life which, according to the insight of its founder, could be elevated, not by the forces of a world external to the soul of man, but by the revelation of a new world within his soul. Islam fully agrees with this insight that the illumination of the new world thus revealed is not something foreign to the world of matter but permeates it through and through.
> Thus the affirmation of spirit sought by Christianity would come not by the renunciation of external forces which are already permeated by the illumination of the spirit, but by a proper adjustment of man's relation to these forces in view of the light received from the world within...

This is his criticism of Christianity: too much spirituality and otherwordliness in its essential doctrine, too little realization of the ideals of all-embracing love and mercy which its founder preached, and an intolerable tension between spirit and matter, which is manifested on the socio-political field in the separation of State and Church.

Iqbal has introduced into the group of Prophets which are of importance in his poetico-philosophical system, two extra-Qurʾānic Messengers: in the scene of the *Jāvīdnāme* where he has invented the so-called *ṭawāsīn* of the Prophets, the reader meets not only with Christ and Muhammad, but also with Gotama Buddha and Zarathustra.[93] The poet was familiar with their teachings since long; it has been already mentioned that he compared the Buddha to Christ in connection with the ideal of love and equality.

It is, however, amazing to meet the Buddha in changed form in the *Jāvīdnāme* (v. 383 ff.). As each prophet is confronted in these scenes with his adversaries or powers opposed to him, Buddha's words are followed by the song of a dancing girl, and one may find here a reminiscence of the *Therigata,* the Songs of the Nuns in which converted ladies have expressed the happiness of being rescued from unrest and trouble, from delusions and temptations as they had suffered in their former lives, and of having attained the sweet calmness of peace. Both the poems—that of the Buddha and that of the dancing girl—are taken from the *Zabūr-i ʿAjam* (II 52, I 58). They express the eternal change in the world of outward appearances behind which is no reality, and admit, quite in accordance with the Buddhist teaching, that philosophy and religion are of no use for attaining the highest goal (albeit Iqbal, of course, does not see this goal in the untouched quietude of an impersonal Nirvana). The only thing which matters is the deed which causes again its fruit in never ending, inevitable succession—as the Buddha says in the Angutta Nikāya:

> But I—I teach the deed, the doing, the will-power,

or, in the same classic:

> As sure as a die which is thrown into the air will stand firmly again, as sure beings find a new existence according to their deeds.

But it is not as much the work as such but the mere will and striving the importance of which is underlined in the teachings of the Buddha. Iqbal has alluded to the mechanical Indian *karma*-doctrine which is preached by Buddhism once more in the same book in the

93) Modern commentators of the Qurʾān have not hesitated to accept extra-Qurʾānic prophets even if they do not belong to the People of the Book, f.i. Ṭanṭawī Jauhari, *al-Jawāhir* III, 45, mentions the Buddha and Confucius; ʿAbdulqādir al-Maghribī, *tafsīr juzʾ tabāraka* 95, Zoroaster (Baljon, *o.c.*, p. 74 note 3); cf. the above-mentioned translation of M. Hamidullah.

verses of Bhartrihari in which he again shifts the accent on human responsibility for future development, however not in a mechanical sense but as a free choice. That the poet, though no stranger to Buddhistic philosophy, has put the concept of Self in the mouth of the Buddha is incorrect, since Buddhism denies the reality of a self in our—Western—sense, the ever changing *dharmas* not constituting a real self. But the poet's allusion to the all-embracing sympathy and mercy which Buddha teaches is again perfectly to the point.

Whereas the person of Buddha in the *Jāvīdnāme* suffers from a certain lack of colour, the second prophet whom Iqbal introduces is all the more full of life. One may guess that in his outspoken sympathy with Zarathustra a slight reminiscence of Nietzsche's super-man Zarathustra is traceable. In any case, the influence of Zoroastrian ideas and symbols on the imagery of classical Persian poetry (albeit sometimes in strange disguise) cannot be underrated. [94])

Iqbal had studied Zarathustrian religion rather intensely, and has characterized the Persian prophet in the first paragraph of his thesis:

> The problem before him was to reconcile the existence of evil with the eternal goodness of God . . . He seems to have perceived what the mystic shoemaker of Germany perceived long after him, that the diversity of nature could not be explained without postulating a principle of negativity or self-differentiation in the very nature of God (MP 7).

In the *ṭawāsīn* of the *Jāvīdnāme* the great Iranian is represented as an embodiment of the prophetic spirit in its purest form. He is confronted with Ahriman who tries to withdraw him from his prophetic mission, and displays thus a typical feature in the history of religions: the critical moment in the life of the Prophets, or founders of religions, when they are tempted to refrain from preaching their doctrine and to yield to the temptations of a more comfortable life; is suffices to mention the discussion of Buddha and Mara, or the apparition of Satan to Christ. The temptation of Zarathustra is probably given on the authority of the Vendidad, if Iqbal has not simply invented it for preaching purposes. Anyhow, it fits exactly into the life-scheme of prophetic personalities. In the scene, Ahriman complains of Zarathustra's activity, compares him to Moses whose White hand annihilates

[94]) Cf. the examples in M. Moᶜīn, *Mazdayasnan*.

the power of Satan, and advices him to retreat into seclusion and to perform the miracles of saints:

> for sainthood is higher than prophethood.

Here Iqbal touches a problem which has been discussed in the theological schools of Islam for centuries, and though orthodoxy has always defended the superiority of the prophet over the saint, in mystic environment the superiority of the saint has been, in certain cases, acknowledged. But even leading mystics, like Ibn ᶜArabī, have asserted the superiority of the prophets. [95])

> Saintship, i.e. mystical realisation of oneness with God, is the inward aspect of prophecy, and therefore every prophet is a saint, though every saint is not a prophet (MC 27).

In his article about the Qadiānis, Iqbal has referred to Ibn ᶜArabī's doctrine which had been transformed into the idea

> that it is possible for a Muslim saint to attain in his spiritual evolution to the kind of experience characteristic of the prophetic consciousness.

He seems to bear in mind the doctrine of certain mystics that man, in the course of his spiritual development, realizes in himself the stages of the different prophets, until he reaches at last union with the *ḥaqīqa Muhammadīya*. And he continues:

> . . . there may be more than one saint, living in the same age or country, who may attain to prophetic consciousness. The point to be seized is that while it is psychologically possible for a saint to attain to prophetic experience, his experience will have no socio-political significance making him the centre of a new organization and entitling him to declare this organization to be the criterion of the faith or disbelief of the followers of Muhammad (SS 122 f.).

Here is the focal point of Iqbal's concept of prophethood and saintship, or mysticism: For Zarathustra, the ideal of a lofty mysticism which cares only for man's own salvation is outweighted by the ideal of the Prophet who comes out of the corner of intimate dialogue with

[95]) About the relation of Saint and Prophet cf. the remarks of Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 739; *Sarrāj, kitab-al-luma*ᶜ, p. 422 f.; van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie*, p. 262, 768; cf. J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārit al-Muḥāsibī*, p. 226; *ḥadīth al-ġibṭa* according to which martyrs and prophets will envy the saints in the world to come because they are so close to God.

God and, though first lonely, will form a new community and preach a new way of life for all. (cf. Math. I 2505). Iqbal has contrasted the mystical and the prophetical types of the religious soul in a famous passage of his Lectures (L 124):

> Muhammad of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should never have returned. These are the words of a great Muslim Saint, Abdul Quddus of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will be probably difficult to find words which, in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitarian experience', and even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of 'unitary experience' is something final; for the prophet it is the awakening, within him, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world. The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the prophet. Thus his return amounts to a kind of pragmatic test of the value of his religious experience. In its creative act the prophet's will judges both itself and the world of concrete fact in which it endeavours to objectify itself. In penetrating the impervious material before him the prophet discovers himself for himself, and unveils himself to the eye of history . . .
> A prophet may be defined as a type of mystic consciousness in which unitary experience tends to overflow its boundaries and seeks opportunity 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 spring up again, with fresh vigour to destroy the old and to disclose the new directions of life (L 124, 125). [96])

In a word-play of *khalvat*, seclusion, and *jalvat*, manifestation, Zarathustra explains this very secret of prophethood in poetical form to his adversary—

> love, in seclusion, is like Moses to whom God spoke,
> as soon as it reaches manifestation, it becomes a king (J 425).

[96]) For the problem cf. F. Heiler, *Weltabkehr und Weltrückkehr außerchristlicher Mystiker*, EHK 1939; the same, *Das Gebet*, p. 270 f., 591; The confrontation of vita contemplativa and vita activa exists in Christian mysticism since Augustin (cf. *De trinitate*, I 20, Serm. 104,4). About the Saint cf. I. H. Quddūsī, *ʿAbdūlquddūs Gangōhī*, Karachi 1962.

The Prophet of Old Iran becomes, thus, the real representative of the prophetic spirit, advocating the necessity of public work, and gauging the scattered human beings into a living community, leading their caravan towards their spiritual goal (R 103)—as Ibn Khaldun had described the Prophets as such who are

> a means of access between Him and His creatures, that they may instruct men as to what is best for them, and may exhort them to accept their guidance, and may keep them from the Fire, and guide them in the way of salvation. [97])

But this way of salvation is, in Iqbalian sense, given only where love and power, the manifestations of Divine Beauty and Divine Majesty are united (ZA 264); as long as prophecy is without power and does not teach the strengthening of men, it is opium for the people—

> That prophecy is for the Muslims a leaf of *ḥashīsh*,
> In which there is no message of power and strength (ZK 53).

Therefore his predilection for Adam, the first free man, for Abraham, the destroyer of idols, for Moses, the lord of the miraculous stroke,—and for Zarathustra, the founder of a new anti-mystic community in Persia. Each of these traditional prophets—conceived as Perfect Man—is a model for the muslim who should "realize in himself the essence of the nature of Moses and Abraham" (M I 13).

. . . AND IN THE LAST DAY . . .

A characteristic feature of the Qurʾānic revelation is the importance given to the Day of Judgment. Perhaps Islam stresses in its beginnings more than any other religion the coming of the Doomsday which is painted, with its different names, in the most vivid colours in the early Sūras of the Qurʾān, and the concept of the Lord of Power and Justice is inseparably connected with the idea of the Judgment in which every sin and every good deed will find its recompense. Heaven and Hell are described in burning words, and it is well-known that medieval polemics has given its verdict against Islam i.a. because of the too sensualistic idea of Paradise with its houris—but has not the highest bliss of union been symbolized in terms of love-union by pure mystics like Plotin or the thinkers of the Upanishads?

[97]) Macdonald, *Religious Attitude*, p. 43.

Yet it cannot be denied that later piety has never ceased in adding new details about life in Paradise and Hell, taking them in a very compact sense.

The piety of early Islamic ascetics emerges from the horror of the Hour of Judgment, and "it was as if the fire of Hell had been created only for them". [98]) The eschatological instruments—scales, bridge, the book of deeds, the questioning in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr, the problem of the eternity of Heaven and Hell—all of them are common stock in dogmatics as well as in popular literature—"we confess that the balance is a reality since the scripture says: (21/48) 'And we will appoint balances for the day of Resurrection' ", affirms the so-called *Waṣīya* of Abū Ḥanīfa. [99]) The same can be applied to the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad and other important eschatological matters.

But the more these ideas developed and grew more massive, the more mystics and philosophers tried to spiritualize them—

> The philosophers deny the resurrection of the bodies and that paradise be material, asserting that these are parables which the uneducated construct in order to understand the spiritual punishment and retribution. [100])

Sceptics like Maᶜarrī (d. 1057) might even deny the whole idea of resurrection and hold paradise up to derision. [101])

Mystics, in their turn, have not as much dwelled upon corporeal

98) About this early Islamic ascetism cf. esp. H. Ritter, *Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, Islam 21/1933; Tor Andrae, *I myrtenträdgården*, Uppsala, 1947; German translation: *Islamische Mystiker*, by H. H. Kanus, Stuttgart, 1960.

99) A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 21.

100) Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection*, Uppsala, 1941, p. 143; Islamic eschatology has interested already G. Sale in his *Preliminary Discourse* (1734); cf. the books of M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig, 1872, and R. Lesczinsky, *Muhammedanische Traditionen über das Jüngste Gericht*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1909, and esp. Asín Palacios, *La Escatologia musulmana*; an account of popular beliefs in Jonas Meyer, *Die Hölle im Islam*, Diss. Basel, 1901; also M. Horten, *Die religiöse Vorstellungswelt des Volkes im Islam* (1917); al-Ghazzālī, *al-durra al-fākhira*, German translation: *Die kostbare Perle im Wissen des Jenseits* by Mohammad Brugsch, Hannover, 1924. Almost every Islamic theological work, collections of traditions, and commentaries of the Qurᵓān deal with the eschatological problems.

101) Cf. his *luzūmiyāt* (Philosophische Gedichte des Abūᵓl ᶜAlāᵓal-Maᶜarrī, by A. von Kremer, ZDMG 29-31, 38); *risālat al-ghufrān*, cf. R. A. Nicholson in JRAS, 1900, 1902.

resurrection and the horrors of Doomsday as upon the possibility of meeting God, the Beloved, in the other world and have reached a stage in which death was considered beautiful since it brings the friend to his Friend. From the time of Rābiᶜa (d. 801) onward, death ceased to be considered the enemy of man, in these mystic circles, and among them an intense longing for death developed as is proved by the most touching specimens of Islamic lyrics. [102]) Ghazzālī has later on, in the last book of his *Iḥyāᵓ*—which may be called the goal and quintessence of his teaching—described the different attitudes of man towards this insoluble problem. [103]) Mystics have also, inspired by the wellknown tradition *an-nās niyām* "Mankind are asleep, and when they die, they awake", considered death as the awakening to a higher stage of life—thus Ibn ᶜArabī, thus also sometimes Rūmī:

> . . . until unexspectedly comes the morning of death and saves him from darkness (Math. IV 3654).

Maulānā Rūmī has expressed the meaning of death and resurrection in different symbols, and Iqbal is very close to some of his ideas which he, however, elaborated somewhat more.

Death, says Rūmī, is exactly corresponding to life: just as people go to the market partly happy, partly sad, so they enter the market of death for good or bad bargain (Math. III 3512); for death is *hamrang*, of the same colour with man: it is the mirror where the Turk sees his own beautiful white face whereas the Hindu beholds his black countenance (ibd. 3439). And even more: death is the fruit of life—just as Rückert and later on Rilke have expressed it in German

102) ᶜAṭṭār, *tadhkirat al-auliyā*, I 300 (Yaḥyā b. Muᶜādh); cf. Abū Nuᶜaim, *ḥilyat al auliyā*, X 9, al-Makkī, *qūt al-qulūb*, II 51. In Niffarī's *mawāqif* No. 48/6 death is compared to a wedding, an expression which has remained common in Islam where the anniversary of a Saint's death is called ᶜurs, wedding; one may compare also the famous ghazal of al-Ḥallāj (Dīwān, ed. L. Massignon); No. X *uqtulūnī ya thiqātī*, 'O, killed me, o my friends' which has been inserted by Maulānā Rūmī into his Mathnawī; later Persian, Turkish, and Indian mystical poetry often compares the gibbet of Ḥallāj to the nuptial bed. A very fine description of the death of a lover is given in *Tadhkirat al-auliyāᵓ* II 181, i.e. the death of Shiblī (d. 945).

103) Cf. Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā*, last chapter (IV, ch. 10) about death, and the significant story of Abraham and the angel of death: Abraham asked the angel: Have you ever seen that the Beloved kills his lover? Whereupon God revealed to him: Have you ever seen a lover who would refrain of coming in the presence of his Beloved? And Abraham said to the angel: Now take my soul away!—a story which reflects the different attitudes of the faithful towards the problem of death (IV 253).

poetry; [104]) death is the most personal act which man bears in himself from the very beginning of his life, and which he ripens and forms according to his faculties: an idea which has been elaborated in Europe excellently by Swedenborg, who considered Judgment the unveiling of the form which the inner self has taken during life-time, and according to which it will develop continuously in eternity. [105]).

This highly personal conception of death is combined in Maulānā Rūmī's work with the tradition so dear to mystics: *mūtū qabla an tamūtū*, die before ye die: the first death, the dying from this world as it was taught and practised by the mystics of all times, involves a spiritual resurrection which changes heaven and earth in the consciousness of those who have experienced it; and only those who have realized this personal interior resurrection when still in the body, will be secure at the Day of Judgment. [106])

Iqbal was very well aware of the importance of creation and resurrection in Islamic thought; but it is significant of his way of thinking that references to the beginning of the universe are very scant, much less than to the innumerable possibilities which, according to the poet, are still open to the human personality, and to the Universe.

He concentrates his ideas on the problem of life, and more than this, of eternal life. Thus death becomes for him, just as it had been for many Sufis of old, a moment of bliss, not of horror. In his Elegies he has expressed his feelings at the death of beloved persons very eloquently, and has, from his student's days onward, always found the consolation that the moment of passing away marks the beginning of a real eternal life.

> What is the sign of the faithful man?
> When death comes, he has a smile on his lips (AH 165).

So he had written shortly before his death, approximately at the same time when he wrote to his friend Dr. Abdullah Chughtay:

> Inshā ʾAllāh when death comes it will find me smiling (M II 340).

[104]) F. Rückert, *Kindertotenlieder*:
Es ist der Tod des Lebens Kern, als wie die Frucht der Kern der Blüte;
Er war vom Anfang drin verhüllt und ist nun aus dem Flor getreten,
and R. M. Rilke in the 3. part of the *Stundenbuch* as well as in '*Malte Laurids Brigge*'.

[105]) E. Benz, *Swedenborg*, p. 427.

[106]) Cf. H. Plessner, *Das Verhältnis der Zeit zum Tode*, Eranos-Jahrbuch XX. 1951.

The angel of death is hidden only from the eye of the unbeliever; as to the Muslim, he sees and expects him willingly (BJ 220).

Not the so-called material death is to be feared but the spiritual death, i.e. to die in the fetters of money, family, and other worldly things (J 55), and to loose the state of a free man, to become a slave of thousands of "idols" besides God (cf. ZA the description of the slaves in the *bandagīname*). [107])

> Death means: life without honour (BJ 60)

and he admonishes those who are spiritually dead:

> The angel of death has touched your body,
> He has carried away your being from its centre (ZK 63).

For the faithful in Iqbal's sense death is nothing but a door opening towards new possibilities, and is even something in which man surpasses God: only man can suffer death and gain this most precious experience:

> Although we are birds without wing and feather,
> We are more than God in the knowledge of Death (J 317). [108])

Why should the faithful be grieved—

> What sorrow if one world the less I see:
> An hundred worlds within my brain repose (Lāle 112).

Nay, death

> if present action has sufficiently fortified the ego against the shock that physical dissolution brings, is only a kind of passage to what the Qurʾān describes as *barzakh* (L 119).

The concept of *barzakh* (Sūra 25/55; 55/19) which has been described by Muslim theologians and mystics partly as a temporary partly (starting from Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, d. 898) as a spatial waiting period or -room between death and resurrection, and which later on developed into a kind of purgatory [109])—this concept has interested Iqbal during his whole life, and already in the Introduction of the *Asrār-i Khūdī* which he sent to Prof. Nicholson, he writes that

[107]) ZA, p. 230.

[108]) This sounds blasphemous; but one may compare the popular riddle from Erzerum: *Herkes görür—Allah görmez*, "Everybody sees it, only God does not see it" (i.e. the dream) L. S. Akalin, *Erzerum Bilmeceleri*.

[109]) Cf. Eklund, *o.c.*, p. 80 ff.

after death there may be an interval of relaxation, *barzakh*. Only those Egos will survive this state of relaxation who have taken good care during the present life (Intr. XVI).

This *barzakh*, he adds in the Notes,

in the case of some individuals will last until the Day of Resurrection. Since personality is a state of tension it can continue only if that state is maintained (Intr. XV).

Eventually he takes up this idea in one of his last verses:

In every death the claim for resurrection is concealed,
But to stand up is only the work of the free man. (AH 234 ff.).

Yet, in a letter of 1934 he confesses that

I have understood the words death, *barzakh*, resurrection etc. as biological terms whose reality cannot be understood except by the honoured mystics who have written according to their revelations (M I 244).

The popular vocabulary of death and resurrection is used by Iqbal (as by many other mystics, f.i. Yunus Emre and his followers in Turkey) more or less with an ironical comment. From his highly individualistic point of view he interpretes even the two angels who ask the death his deed, and whose awful presence has been a favorite topic in tradition, more or less as states of our mind (ZA GR v. 234). Similarly he mocks at the idea of the balance which may be fitting neither for God nor for Man at the Doomsday (AH 175), and is of the opinion that man should rather put his own deeds before himself as a balance, and thus excite a premordial resurrection for himself (AH 102). In the same strain of thought the poet—like many of the Turkish Bektashi poets and innumerable mystics before him—[110] fears that

When the book of my deeds is brought on the Day of Reckoning
Thou wilt be as ashamed—then make me ashamed! (BJ 9).

The *aʿrāf*, the wall between Heaven and Hell (Sūra 7/44), interpreted by Ghazzālī as a kind of limbo, is the place

of the men of reason—
just as Plato was palpitating between absence and Presence (BJ 122)

110) Cf. S. N. Ergin, *Bektaşi şiirleri*.

i.e. of those who have tried to approach to the Divine Presence by sheer intellect, without being enraptured by love which breaks all barriers. The whole idea of Resurrection is changed completely in Iqbal's philosophical and poetical work, and he found his ideas supported by modern European philosophy.

In his Study Notes (SS 156 f., no date) he holds, basing on a book 'The Emergence of Life' that the Qurʾānīc view, taking resurrection as a universal property of living organisms contrasted to the Christian view which had based its belief in resurrection on the supposed fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ

is quite in tune with modern scientific results—i.e. that the same time and tune which brought the monads together the first time and caused his creation may once more summon together after death the same monads and cause the second creation of man (cf. Qurʾān 29/19).

But Iqbal underlines that this may not be taken in the sense of Eternal Return [111] (which would be its logical consequence, for, the possibility of summoning together the monads once more in the same way, involves that the same constellation can recur more than twice and that would inevitably lead to an Eternal Recurrence) but he will understand it "as a forward movement". Here Iqbal is close to the classical Qurʾānic thesis that the proof for the bodily resurrection is the first creation ex nihilo after which a second creation from the already existent material is much easier; [112]) a view with which his concept of the free and infinite possibilities in God seems scarcely to be compatible.

The traditional picture of Resurrection as man's being called in the Presence of the Most Supreme Judge is maintained in the last part of the poem *taskhīr-i fiṭrat*, 'Conquest of Nature', where Adam brings his achievements before his Creator and Lord (PM 100).

But in most cases Iqbal applies the word resurrection—and connects with it the name of the Angel Isrāfīl—to a psychological experience: the transmutation of man by love and by the immediate communion with God. R. A. Nicholson has, in his commentary to Rūmī's *Math-*

111) Cf. M. Eliade, *Der Mythus der ewigen Wiederkehr*.

112) Cf. E. Lehmann-J. Pedersen, *Der Beweis für die Auferstehung im Koran*, Islam, 1914.

nawī, described exactly this concept of resurrection which Iqbal has taken over from his spiritual guide:

> The Divine word, of which the prophets and saints are the mediators, is the origin of all created things and infinitely more powerful in its effects than the blast of the trumpet that will be blown by Isrāfīl at the Resurrection. The latter will only bring bodies to life, but the voice of the Perfect Man can revive the hearts of the spiritually dead. [113])

Iqbal has used, in emphasizing this spiritual resurrection, sometimes the word *qum* which was wellknown to the mystics of India taken probably from a story of Christ's quickening the dead, and then applied to the life-giving word and deeds of the Perfect Man. [114]) From the *Asrār-i Khūdī* onwards he has expressed the conviction that the Perfect Man with his message of love and life

> raises the dead spirits in their bodily tomb, like pines in the world (AK 92[5]),

and he calls himself, comparing his work with that of Ḥallāj (J 1133)

> a lover: loud shouting is my faith,
> The clamour of the Judgment day is one of my minions (AK 49 f.).

Those who accused him of not singing in soft and charming melodies, are informed that

> the roar of the trumpet of Isrāfīl is not gracious (BJ 59).

In a somewhat humorous mood he even writes:

> Isrāfīl has complained about me in the presence of God:
> This human being has caused resurrection before time! (BJ 39).

It is always the same prayer for

> a new fever of resurrection in the handfull of dust (ZA I 23)

for

> the look of a faithful which is resurrection on a smaller scale (Pas 4, cf. BJ 25)

113) Math. Comm. I, 140.

114) Cf. ZK 64, AK 140 "Say Arise, and by that word quicken the living!" Allusions to this miraculous power of the word *qum* are very often found in the Panjabi and Sindhi mystical folk poetry, f.i. with Bullhē Shāh and Sachal Sarmast.

and there have not lacked eulogists who have compared Iqbal himself to a Messiah who has stirred the dead with life. [115])

He himself sometimes mocks at the mollas who preach the awe of resurrection and faithfully give a detailed description of the scales and the book etc. without having experienced the 'resurrection of the time being', i.e. the spiritual transformation of man by love (ZA II 50).

> Perchance, grave minister, thou knowest not
> Love too shall have its judgment after death,
> But in that hall nor book nor balance is,
> nor sin nor infidelity nor faith (Lāle 57).

Iqbal, however, never goes so far as to interpret this spiritual resurrection as "freedom from law" [116]) but understands it rather as a revaluation of the revealed religion and its implications through the experience of Divine love. And it is typical of his method of interpretation that, in his poetry, resurrection for peoples and nations is equated to the coming of Islam (J v. 1620): the life of the ancient civilisations, Roman and Iranian, was terminating and these nations were on the point of collapsing for cold and dearth of spiritual light—

> until there came to them a new resurrection from the desert which gave them new life—
> Days of Resurrection like that are Divine Grace.
> Iran is still alive—but where is the Great Rome? (J 1620 f.)

that means that the spirit of Islam is the life-giving divine breath for those nations which have come into contact with it, and we may conclude, for those peoples who have slumbered too long in agony albeit they once had possessed this life-giving breath: for them, and in first line for the Indian Muslims, a new spiritual resurrection, a Doomsday of their sins, their idolatry, is required in this very time by virtue of the eternally valid Qurʾān.

On the whole, Iqbal is more interested in the individual resurrection, a resurrection which is—like Maulānā's symbolization of death as fruit of man—"brought up in man's own arms" (*baghalparwarda*, ZA GR). [117]) His intensely personal attitude towards resurrection

115) Secrets of the Self, Intr. p. XX.

116) Cf. G. Scholem, *Die krypto-jüdische Sekte der Dönme (Sabbatianer) in der Türkei*, p. 118.

117) Cf. Bausani, *Gulšan-i Rāz-i ǧadīd*, p. 17.

was far away from a sheer philosophical examination of this central problem. Iqbal has, in his Lectures (III), scrutinized the different ways of approaching this question:

> No age has produced so much literature on the question of immortality as our own, and this literature is continually increasing in spite of the victories of modern materialism. Purely metaphysical arguments, however, cannot give us a positive belief in personal immortality. In the history of Muslim thought Ibn-i Rushd approached the question of immortality from a purely metaphysical point of view, and, I venture to think, achieved no results . . .
> In modern times the line of argument for personal immortality is on the whole ethical. But ethical arguments, such as that of Kant, and the modern revisions of his arguments, depend on a kind of faith in the fulfilment of the claims of justice, or in the irreplaceable work of man as an individual pursuer of infinite ideals. With Kant immortality is beyond the scope of speculative reason: it is a postulate of practical reason, an axiom of man's moral consciousness . . .
> There is, however, in the history of modern thought one positive view of immortality—I mean Nietzsche's doctrine of Eternal Recurrence . . .

After having criticized all these doctrines, Iqbal turns to the Qurʾānic doctrine of personal immortality which he finds based on three Qurʾānic propositions:

1) that the ego has a beginning in time, and did not pre-exist in the spatio-temporal order . . .
2) that according to the Qurʾānic view, there is no possibility of return to this earth (proved from Sūra 23/101 f.; 84/19, and 56/59 ff.)
3) that finitude is not a misfortune (Sūra 19/95 f.).

There must be, no doubt, something like immortality or eternal life—

> If our death would be a permanent death,
> God would be ashamed of His deed (ZA II 20).

But notwithstanding the traditional acceptation of immortality as the normal state for everybody, Heaven and Hell being prepared respectively for every faithful or unbeliever, Iqbal has concentrated on the idea that

> Personal immortality is not a state, it is a process—:

already in his Note-book of 1910 (SR 15), when he meditates upon

the problem of the preservation of energy in nature. It is remarkable that not the philosophical concept of the eternity of the spirit—which was maintained not only by the medieval Islamic and Jewish philosophers but also by Spinoza—has inspired Iqbal's theory of eternal life, but the feeling of the indestructibility of energy; just as Goethe, to whom Iqbal owes so much, had once said to Eckermann (4.2.1829):

> Die Uberzeugung unserer Fortdauer entspringt mir aus dem Begriff der Tätigkeit, denn wenn ich bis an mein Ende rastlos wirke, so ist die Natur verpflichtet, mir eine andere Form des Daseins anzuweisen, wenn die jetzige meinen Geist nicht auszuhalten vermag.

Personal immortality is, according to Iqbal,

> only an aspiration; you can have it if you make an effort to achieve it (Secr. Intr. XVI),

or, as he puts it many years later in his memorial article on Mc Taggart's philosophy (SS 151): immortality is only a hope, an inspiration, a duty, but not an eternal fact.

> I sow myself like a grain, and watch and watch the self . . .
> If Self is alive then death is but a stage in life,
> For love tests its immortality by death—

thus he writes in his elegy on his beloved friend Sir Ross Masood (cf. ZK 66).

This idea forms the centre of his discussion on immortality in the Lectures which culminates in the words

> Personal immortality is not ours by right, it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it (L 118).

Although his readers may have been first shocked by this seemingly heretic idea—Iqbal is here quite in accordance with many philosophers of the Western world. The wonderful words of Fichte who expressed in his diathribe on death the feeling that it is impossible that soul and energy should be annihilated, as well as the idea of Lotze that existence after death is dependent on moral development could be quoted in this connection. Heinrich Scholz has, in his fine Essay on Immortality, shown that

> the mediating link between religion—as experience of the living God—and belief in immortality is the idea of perfection. [118])

[118]) H. Scholz, *Der Unsterblichkeitsgedanke als philosophisches Problem*, p. 77.

The craving and longing of every higher soul to outgrow itself and to develop into loftier spheres, combined with the experience of Divine Life is, according to Scholz, of decisive importance for the belief in eternal life. He concludes that

> belief in immortality in so far as it can become a philosophical problem, is the belief in the eternity of the personal soul which is based on the experiences and speculations of high standing and high thinking personalities. People who do not know such experiences and do not care for these speculations are off the circle in which these discussions move. They have, in our opinion, not even the right to believe in immortality.—If immortality is equal to the preservation of what is eternal in man, then it is unthinkable that men should be immortal in the same manner. In many of them there may be nothing eternal which would be worth of immortality . . . and no finite is pure enough that we might not imagine an enhancement by which it becomes more worthy of eternity. [119])

It seems that the German philosopher has exactly expressed what Iqbal intended, and what is, by the way, also involved in some ideas of R. Pannwitz [120]) concerning the survival and raising of only the fully developed Egos.

> Fear not, take thou a Selfhood more nature,
> which grasping, after death thou shalt not die (Lāle 50).

From this idea the whole philosophy of Self may be interpreted, and the acceptance of what the Qurʾān calls Last Judgment, when everything in this world will perish but the soul, is transformed into a triumph of the soul which will not die, though all the horizons die (ZA GR 209).

With this highly personal interpretation of death and resurrection Iqbal could not, of course, accept the traditional picture of otherworldy joys and pains in Paradise and Hell. He follows in this respect the opinions of the mystics who had never cared for paradise nor for houris—the idea that paradise is only a prison and a veil for the true lovers, can be traced back to Yaḥyā ibn Muʿādh (d. 910) and his contemporaries, and has been repeated by hundreds of mystical poets all

[119]) Id. p. 91.
[120]) R. Pannwitz, *Der Aufbau der Natur*, p. 153.

over the Islamic world. [121]) Mirzā Ghālib, the last great representative of classical Persian and Urdu poetry in India had even joked:

> What interests me a paradise full with houris thousands of years old? [122])

Iqbal, too, hold up to ridicule the molla and his longing for beautiful heavenly maiden, or proved that he was not even fit for such a Paradise:

> I was present there and could not hold my tongue
> When God ordained the molla to Paradise.
> Submissingly I uttered: Forgive me,
> He will not care for houris, wine, and verdant fields.
> Paradise is not the place to bicker, argue, and quarrel, and quiling and wrangling form the very nature of this man.
> Throwing mud upon people and faiths is his vocation,
> And in Paradise there is no mosque, no church, no firetemple (BJ 159).

Heaven and Hell are not localities, but states of the spirit, and the descriptions in the Qurʾān are visual representations of an inner fact i.e.

> Hell is the painful realization of one's failure as a man,
> Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of desintegration (L 123, cf. AH 103)

That is not too far from Ibn ʿArabī's conception that Hell is the realization of the individual self as slave, whereas Heaven means the realization of the self in the state of *rubūbīya*, the Lordship. [123]) For the ego which has strengthened itself throughout his life, death is only

> one of the stages of life (Pas 33)

and life itself is merely a passage through a series of deaths (L 54), each of them being a door into hitherto unknown possibilities, just as Fichte remarks:

[121]) Cf. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 523 f. As Yunus Emre sings—to quote only one of the numberless examples: "One house and a few houris—I do not feel like sitting there" (Divan, p. 260).
[122]) Quoted in A. Bausani, *Poesie di M. Iqbal*, p. 12.
[123]) A. Affifi, *Ibn Arabi*, p. 163.

Not death kills, but the more living life, which, hidden behind the former one, starts and develops. [124])

That is also the mystic interpretation of the Qurʾānic verses that Paradise and Hell are consisting of stages which are conceived as stages of development. The most poetical description of death in this sense has been inserted into the *Jāvīdnāme* in the scene in Paradise where Sultan Tipu of Mysore sends his greetings to the river Cauvery and teaches him the mystery of life and death (J 1706 ff.). After having talked of the river-like flow of life of the faithful who ought to live like a lion (a quotation of an Indian proverb according to which one day of lion's life is better than 1000 years of oxenhood), the Martyr-Sultan continues:

The servant of God is a lion, death is a gazelle
Death is only one of his hundred stations. [125])
That man throws himself completely before the death,
Like a falcon who attacks the pigeon.
The slave dies from fear of death,
Due to fear of death life is forbidden for him.
The free man has another privilege:
Death gives him a new soul.
He thinks of himself, not of death—
The death of the free man lasts only one moment.
Leave that death which is concerned with the coffin,
For that is only the death of animals.
The faithful asks from God the other death,
Which saves him from the dust.
That other death, the end of the way of longing,
The last Allāhu Akbar in the battlefield of nostalgia!

This death is the bridge which leads to the Vision of God, to the Divine Presence without veils, without anything created (and even Paradise is created) in between.

But already ʿAṭṭār had stated: "When the way towards God is finished, the way in God begins". [126]) Iqbal expresses the same idea

[124]) Scholz, *o.c.*, p. 25.

[125]) These verses are again very close to Rūmī's words in Math. I 3965 ff.
The lion of the world seeks prey and success,
The lion of the Lord seeks freedom and death.
Since he sees a hundred lifes in death,
He burns his life like a moth ... etc. Cf. also I 3926 ff.

[126]) Cf. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 614. Dhūʾn-Nūn asked a woman: What is the end of love? She answered: 'Oh simpleton, it has no end!' Why? 'Because the Beloved has no end!'

with intense ardour. He takes Hell as a corrective experience, i.e. as a kind of purgatory, whereas he believes that

Heaven is no Holiday. 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 (L 123).

That means that the ego which has endured successfully the shock of physical death has won by this very act a higher level of freedom, and will therefore not cease unfolding new modes of life. That what has been called paradisical joy does not interest the faithful any more—

The angels had said: The faithful is gracious.
But the houris complain: the faithful does not mix with us (ZK 41).

That is the classical sufistic idea that "the ascets are strangers in this world, the gnostics (or lovers) strangers even in the world to come" as an early mystic had put it so beautifully. [127]) Iqbal has made wide use of this idea in his poetry: as he had answered Goethe's *Huri und Dichter* in the *Payām-i Mashriq* (147 ff.), and has expressed here how the poet refuses to stay too long with the heavenly beauties

because the heart of the lover dies from eternal paradise;

he has taken up the same motif in the Paradise-scene of *Jāvīdnāme* where Rūmī carries him from stage to stage, introducing him to more and more important personalities and eventually to the houris; he leaves them, however, as quickly as possible, longing for the Divine Presence. Yet it is not only the concept of the houris which he criticises, it is the whole complex of a static paradise which his dynamic mind could not probably bear:

If our salvation means to be free from searching and longing,
Then the tomb is better than a colourful and scenting paradise (J 244)

and even more poignant:

Do not live in a world of blind taste,
Which has only a God and not a devil (PM 154), [128])

[127]) Abū Nuʿaim, *Ḥilya* X, 60.

[128]) Cf. "Hell would be better than Paradise if in Paradise is not the affliction of the Beloved" (Rājī, in Mīr ʿAlishīr Qāni, *Maqālāt ash-shuʿarā*, p. 223).

Inner burning and never-ending longing, that is paradise and eternal life (ZA II 63). With this conception that immortality is not rest, but the continuation of the growing and unfolding of the ego, and that every act of knowledge opens new abysses of realities in the Divine Life, Iqbal is a good interpreter of the words Ghazzālī wrote more than eight centuries before him in his chapter of longing in the *Iḥyā* (IV 277):

> Because the Divine things are infinite, and only a small part of them will be unveiled to man, infinite possibilities always being hidden from him, though he knows their existence and though he knows that more things are hidden from his knowledge than those that he knows —therefore he never ceases longing . . .

The great mystical thinker of medieval Islam has expressed the same truth that Iqbal sings in his most ardent verses—the truth that the way in God has no end because

> the creative power of God is intensively infinite

or, as Meister Eckhart has put it, that

> the depths of God are for ever unfathomable, and however far the deification may go, it can never reach the end. [129])
>
> Und es kann die ew'ge Schönheit
> Nur die ew'ge Sehnsucht nähren. [130])

As a parallel to the Iqbalian idea that even "a devil" would be necessary if eternal life is supposed to be real in its proper meaning, one can easily quote the deep essay of Tor Andrae in his book *Die letzten Dinge*, [131]) where the Swedish theologian, too, stresses the importance of change and even suffering as a *conditio sine qua non* for life, in this world as well as in the future world:

> If the future life is real life, then it is impossible that it could be eternally unchangeable, happy bliss. Pain belongs to life as well as joy . . . If the future life is real life, then it cannot be a life finished and perfect one for all times. To live means to grow. Life means that in every moment something new, not foreseen or anticipated by anybody can possibly grow out of the eternal depths of the source of life. [132])

129) Zaehner, *Mysticism*, p. 182.
130) *Rückert-Nachlese*, I, p. 191.
131) *Die letzten Dinge*, deutsch von H. H. Schaeder, 1938, p. 92-95.
132) Id., p. 99.

Real eternal life has as its goal the never ending vision of God—to behold the Friend without the pain of seeing, as Maulānā Rūmī says— [133]) vision taken in the widest possible meaning, as the great Egyptian mystic Dhū-n'Nūn (d. 859) has said so pointedly:

> Nobody has seen God without dying, and nobody has seen God without being alive; for His life is eternal, and whosoever sees Him, lives in His life. [134])

This participation in the Divine life means, as Iqbal has seen,

> growth without diminishing (J 1791), [135])

it means to partake of the creative activity of the Supreme Ego, which is completing the Universe from moment to moment, and whose intensive infinity contains infinite creative possibilities. But it does not mean a perfect union of "the drop with the ocean" as mystics have longed for; theistic systems have still the moment of Faith [136]) which continues even in the moment of the *visio beatifica*, [137]) and which is connected with the element of longing which alone makes life worth living—

> Ich möchte Dir nimmer so nah sein,
> daß ich mich nach Dir nicht sehnte,

says a contemporary German Protestant poet, R. A. Schröder, and expresses excellently this attitude which is significant of the "prophetic" type of religion.

Nobody can imagine or adequately describe how this union in separation, this mutual movement of growing personality and its

133) Maulānā Rūmī, *rubāᶜiyāt*, Ms. Esat efendi No. 2693, fol. 227 b.
134) Abū Nuᶜaim, *Ḥilya* IX, 373.
135) Cf. Goethe: Steight hinauf zu höheren Kreisen.
136) Cf. L. Gardet's interesting article about the problem of Faith: *Les noms et les statuts*. Stud. Isl. V. The Fathers of the Church have also maintained that vision and faith continue in eternity (Ireneus) and that longing continues even during the highest bliss of the visio beatifica (Gregor of Nyssa).
137) The problem of *ruʾyā* properly has been delt with in extenso by Muslim Theologians. *Fiqh Akbar* II holds that "Allah will be seen in the world to come. The faithful will see him, being in paradise, with their bodily eyes, without comparison of modality" (Wensinck, *l.c.*). The Muᶜtazila, on the other hand, maintained the impossibility of the *ruʾyā* since "views do not reach him" (Sura 6/103), cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 103 ff. Iqbal has discussed the problem in connection with Einstein's theory of relativity in some of his letters during the year of 1922.

participation in the infinite Divine life is to be understood. Iqbal feels that here new fields for the human ego are open, in which it can grow until it reaches its limits. This idea, so often repeated in his poetical work, is perhaps put in the shortest possible form in a quatrain of the *Tulip of Sinai*—

> Long is the story of our burning passion—
> this world is nothing but the prelude of our eternal story (Lāle 134).

Theologically he proves the idea by the Qurʾānic verse that God adds to his creation what He will (Sure 35/1, L 10). Yet it cannot be denied—and as far as I am aware this danger has been mentioned first by A. Bausani [138])—that from this interpretation of the eternally fresh possibilities of life there could emerge a contradiction to the Islamic dogma of the finality of prophethood which Iqbal has maintained otherwise so strictly. But it seems that the poet-philosopher has not thought of these possible implications of his theory of an eternal development.

One may ask how Iqbal imagines eternity, and what role plays the problem of Time and Eternity in his system of thought.

The problem of time is indeed one of the central issues in Iqbal's whole work, and has, therefore, been discussed by almost every writer who has studied Iqbal's philosophy. It was a problem which has puzzled the thinker's mind for decades, and even in the latest period of his life he never got tired of searching new ways into the mystery of time and its relation with space: inspired by Einstein's theories he asks his friend Sulayman Nadwi whether any Muslim thinker has possibly accepted the view that space could have more than three dimensions (M I 247, 1933).

The tradition *lā tasubbū ad-dahr* [139]) "Don't vilify Time, for Time is God" has accompanied Iqbal throughout his life (M I 156), and he has even surprised Henri Bergson with this quotation during his visit of the philosopher whom he estimated highly. He took this

[138]) A. Bausani, *The concept of Time*, WJ. 1953, p. 165 f.

[139]) This tradition is found as early as in the *ṣaḥīfa* of Ḥammām ibn Munabbih. A parallel tradition runs "Don't vilify time, for I am time (*dahr*), I turn days and nights", i.e. all events are happening through God who is the moving element of time. About the problem of time, cf. L. Massignon, *Le Temps dans la Pensée Islamique*. Cf. also L 73. AK 1580 ff.

prophetical word for a designation of that overwhelming reality of which time and space are only aspects:

> If *dahr* is continuous and extended, and if it is Allah himself—what, then, is space? Just as if time is a kind of reflection of *dahr*, so space must also be a kind of reflection of *dahr* (M I 180, 1933). [140])

Iqbal has, in numerous letters, sought the authorities of the Islamic concept of time, and his main sources are, in this respect, mystics like ʿIrāqī (d. 1274) whom he quotes in extenso in his Lectures (L 75):

> He conceives infinite varieties of time, relative to the varying grades of being intervening between materiality and pure spirituality. The time of gross bodies which arises from the revolution of the heavens is divisible into past, present, and future, and its nature is such that as long as one day does not pass away the succeeding day does not come. The time of immaterial beings is also serial in character, but its passage is such that a whole year in the time of gross bodies is not more than a day in the time of an immaterial being. Rising higher and higher in the scale of immaterial beings, we reach Divine time—time which is absolutely free from the quality of passage, and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence, and change, it is above eternity; it has neither beginnings nor end . . .

This conception, of which, unfortunately, the exact sources are not given, corresponds to a great extent to Iqbal's own idea on serial and non-serial time, and it is just the subjective experience of time as held by the great mystics—he even quotes Ibn ʿArabī in this respect several times with approval—which Iqbal himself wanted to underline. [141]) That is why he criticised the Ashʿarite school in Islamic theology because of their atomic view of time—as much as he, in other cases, has stressed the originality of Ashʿarite thought and its importance for a revaluation of Islamic philosophy and theology as contrasted to the hellenistic thought.

> The point, however, is, that the constructive endeavour of the Ashʿarite, as of the moderns, was wholly lacking in psychological analysis, and the result of this shortcoming was that they altogether failed to perceive the subjective aspect of time. It is due to this failure that in their theory the systems of material atoms and time-atoms lie apart, with no organic relation between them. It is clear that if we look at time from a purely objective point of view serious difficulties arise;

[140]) Cf. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 43.

[141]) M I 122 (1922), I 164 (1934).

> for we cannot apply atomic time to God and conceive Him as a life in the making, as Professor Alexander appears to have done in his Lectures on Space, Time, and Deity (L 74 f.).

Iqbal was deeply influenced by the Bergsonian conception of duration which he has, with slight modifications, taken into his own system, because it enabled him to solve by the distinction of serial and nonserial time difficulties which might arise in the religious sphere.[142]) Combining this idea with the atomism of the Ashʿarites he concludes:

> The Time of the Ultimate Ego is revealed as change without succession, i.e. an organic whole which appears atomic because of the creative movement of the ego. This is what Mir Damad and Mulla Baqir mean when they say that time is born with the act of creation by which the Ultimate Ego realizes and measures, so to speak, the infinite wealth of His own undetermined creative possibilities. On the one hand, therefore, the ego lives in eternity; by which term I mean non-successional change; on the other, it lives in serial time, which I conceive as organically related to eternity in the sense that it is a measure of non-successional change (L 77).

That means: serial time, as we are used to, comes into existence only by the very act of creation, and so Iqbal can interpret logically the two contrasting statements on creation in the Qurʾān: in Sūra 54/50 that creation was finished as quickly as the twinkling of an eye—which will hint at the creation in Divine time which cannot be measured, and in Sūra 25/60 that creation took place in six days—which will say: the appearance of things in serial time.

> If we look at the movement embodied in creation from the outside, that is to say if we apprehend it intellectually, it is a process lasting thousands of years ... From another point of view the process of creation ... is a single indivisible act ... It is, however, impossible to express this inner experience of pure duration in words, for language is shaped on the serial time of our daily efficient-self (L 48).

As an illustration, Iqbal then quotes the frequency of Red with 400 billions per second which yet is received by the eye as a single indivisible impression of a certain colour.

In order to support his idea of God who is endowed with intensive but not extensive infinity, which

142) Cf. M I 156 (1928).

> involves an infinite series but is not that series,

of God

> whose eye sees all the visibles and His ear hears all the audibles in one indivisible act of perception—

in order to support this idea he even quotes in one of his letters the philosophy of Maimonides about whom he had read that according to his view

> for God there is no future, but he makes time existent moment for moment (M I 156 f., 1927).

Many poems of Iqbal are devoted to the problem of time, and he has always shown this serial time as the moving power in human life. Perhaps the finest expression of this idea is the *Nawā-yi waqt*, the Song of Time (PM 102), where time manifests itself as ruler and destinator of everything created:

> I am the world-burning sword, I am the fountain of life,
> I am the cloak of man, I am the dress of God ...
> I am the wanderer, thou the station, I am the seed, the harvest thou...

a poem which has been praised by Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi, Pakistan's wellknown authority on atom-physics, as a perfect commentary on Einstein's theory of relativity. It looks, however, rather like a poetical version of the old Persian Zurvanistic view which has been quoted by R. C. Zaehner—

> ... through time the vine and the garden can be cultivated, and through time do the trees grow, and through time do they yield up fruit, and through time can one practice trade, and all things in existence are perfected through time. It cannot be said that there was a creator when time did not exist.[143])

Time, as the power which enables life in the created world, in another beautiful poem is again described as 'webend der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid'—

> The chain of day and night is the painter of events,

143) R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, A Zoroastrian Dilemma, p. 237 (Riv. Hormuzyar). Cf. J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion*, Stuttgart, 1929; G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, 1938; H. H. Schaeder, *Der iranische Zeitgott und sein Mythos*. ZDMG 95/1941.

The chain of day and night is the silk yarn of two colours,
Of which Essence has made its cloak of attributes... (BJ 126).

Space and time are brought into existence by the very act of creation, and then are broken into moments—

from my bottle new events fall down drop and drop,
I count my rosary of day and night bead by bead! (BJ 175),

sings Serial Time. Human beings are deceived by this constant movement of time which advances irretrievably like the hand of a clock, and

so we spatialize it and then find difficulties in getting over it. Real time is life itself,

had Iqbal written as early as in the Introduction to the Secrets of Self (XVII) and in the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*, one decade later, he renders the same sentence poetically:

The innermost heart of Life is eternity—
Thou lookest at it by the outward eye—then it is time (ZA 228).

Space and time are even described by Iqbal as

possibilities of the Ego, only partially realized in the shape of our mathematical space and time (L 64).

Hence this serial time provides us only with a limited approach to the Ultimate Ego, and its perception depends more or less on our individual faculties [144])—as I take it Iqbal would have agreed with the definition of R. Pannwitz that time and space are determined from the respective point of view, that they are not relative but perspective. [145])

Iqbal points out in the *Gulshan-i rāz* this highly personal character of the experience of time by quoting the story of the Seven Sleepers—

Kam labithtum, How long have you remained (Sura 18/19).

in the same way as Tor Andrae has quoted the medieval legend of the monk of Heisterbach for showing that "Time is the content which fills our perception". [146]) The mystery of eternity, which can be realized already on earth (Secr. XVII), has been touched in many of

144) Cf. B. A. Dar, p. 26.
145) R. Pannwitz, *Der Nihilismus und die werdende Welt*, p. 127.
146) Tor Andrae, *o.c.*, p. 99.

Iqbal's poetical works, and its locus classicus is the Introduction of the *Jāvīdnāme*.

Here, serial time is represented by the old Iranian Time-God Zurvan, and we have already noticed that the 'Song of Time' and similar poems bear a Zurvanitic character. This angelic being is located at the beginning of the Heavenly path, where, in traditional visionary recitals, either Gabriel or Sarōsh is met with as psychopompos or as heavenly guide. The fact that he is spreading his two-coloured wings is true as well of the Suhrawardian Gabriel-tradition as of the Zurvanitic tradition—

The Creator dyed time with two different colours.

But the same conception is also found in pre-Islamic poetry, [147]) and the idea of the two aspects of time was so familiar to the poet that even in his correspondence he mentioned that

time is indeed a great blessing and grace; if it may bring on the one hand destruction and misery, so is it, on the other, the source of cultivation and verdure (M I 316, 1936).

In his speech in the *Jāvīdnāme*, Zurvan, the almost almighty God of serial time, instructs the adept how to conquer him and to reach the Eternal Now, the divine world where no more succession and division is left. Teaching him his wisdom, Zurvan uses the symbol of *zunnār*, which is wellknown in classical Persian literature as the Magian's thread, the symbol of the infidel, but which, in Iqbal's poetry, becomes the key-word for serial time and for those who adhere to it.

Thou hast imagined Time as a line—
Thou makest this line a girdle on thy infidel waist (AK 1552 f.),

had he written already in 1915. To imagine time as a linear or a circular movement—in any case as something that involves succession—and to ignore its "created character", was for Iqbal the typical sign of unbelief, of the 'Magian' mind; we would say: of the pre-prophetic stage of mind which is "the old order of things" (BJ 192). In his article against the Qadiani movement which advocated a pe-

147) H. Ringgren, *Fatalism in Persian Epics*, p. 25; the same, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, p. 36; W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, London, 1948.

riodical apparition of prophetic inspirations even after Muhammad, Iqbal writes

> Magian mind regarded time as a circular movement (SS 96),

and he has defined his main purpose as

> an attempt to divert Islam of its magian incrustations (SS 106); to secure a vision of the spirit of Islam as emancipated from its magian overlaying which ... might have misled Spengler (L 143).

This refusal of the concept of time as a ready made line—(he would prefer to take it as a line in the drawing)—is one of the main reasons of his rejection of Nietzsche's Eternal Return which seemed to be, in his view, the most cruel idea which human mind had ever invented, and which appeared as diametrically opposed to the free creative energy of the Living God (cf. L 55).

The use of the *zunnār*-symbol for serial time shows Iqbal's fine psychological insight—he could not yet foresee what H. Corbin proved many years later that the *zunnār* is the typical zurvanistic symbol. [148])

But what is to do, asks the poet, for freeing logic and reason from that *zunnār* which has made them infidels, and ignorant of the fathomless Divine time? (ZK 7, cf. ZA GR 216).

> Love means freedom from the idol-temple of the days (M II 187),

he wrote in 1917, and Zurvan himself teaches, in the *Jāvīdnāme*, the secret how to break his spell. It is the world *lī maʿa Allāh waqt*, i.e. the famous tradition according to which Muhammad said once:

> I have a time with God where even Gabriel has no access—

a word which has often been used by mystics in order to express their unitive experiences. Notably Maulānā Rūmī has quoted it several times, [149]) and already the early mystics have built upon this statement a whole edifice of mystical meanings of the word *waqt*, time, as Hujwīrī sums up:

> *Waqt* is that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future ... he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come ...

[148]) Eranos-Jahrbuch XX p. 181, *Le temps cyclique dans le Mazdéisme et dans l'Ismaelisme.*

[149]) Cf. Furūzanfar, *aḥādīth-i Mathnawi*, also Nicholson's commentary to the Mathnawī; Ritter, *Meer*, p. 159 ff.

> No man can attain to the reality of 'time' by exorting his choice, for 'time' is a thing that does not come within the scope of human acquisition that it should be gained by effort, nor is it sold in the market, that any one should give his life in exchange for it, and the will has no power either to attract or to repel it ... [150])

This prophetic saying 'I have a time with God' has become, in more or less explicite form, a leitmotif of Iqbal's whole thinking, beginning from the *Asrār* (v. 1563), for in it lies hidden, as an earlier Indian mystic had said "the secret of *rubūbīya*, Lordship". [151])

Real life is only possible on this still point of time; it means to know

> that true living is to break the days' talisman (ZA II 5);

it is the moment, when the loving soul, reaching the time

> the reckoning of which it not by years and months [152])

may speak with Angelus Silesius:

> Ich selbst bin Ewigkeit, wenn ich die Zeit verlasse
> Und mich in Gott und Gott in mich zusammenfasse.

In this moment which is—according to the Prophet's example—likened to the ascension, the *miʿrāj*, man finds himself united with the infinite inmidst of finiteness, and eternal in every moment; it is the 'hour without hours', which Maulānā Rūmī has described in so wonderful verses (Math. III 2072). This communion with the living source of Time and Eternity makes man himself eternal; he is no longer subject to outward serial time but, as seven centuries ago Ibn al-Fārid has said:

> Though thy intoxication will have but the life of a moment,
> Thou wilt regard time as a slave to thy command. [153])

He then sees everything sub specie aeternitatis, after having witnessed the "new birth" (J 142 ff.) and the spiritual resurrection which is the content of this conscious participation of the Fullness of Divine life. [154]) So he is no longer the vehicle of the day, but the rider of time (ZK 36), and since, according to Iqbal,

[150]) Hujwīrī, *kashf al-maḥjūb*, transl. by R. A. Nicholson, p. 368, 369.

[151]) Diwan of Bēdil Rohriwari, p. 328.

[152]) PM 219.

[153]) R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 188.

[154]) E. Underhill, *o.c.*, p. 34

it is time as an organic whole that the Qur'ān describes as *taqdīr* (L 49), i.e. as destiny, man can even deal freely with destiny, can use the possibilities which are hidden in God where there is no net of causal consequence but every moment and eternally open possibilities (L 49). In this connection the saying "Time is a cutting sword" may be used (AK 1531), which had been applied by Hujwīrī to the moment of reaching Divine time, which

> cuts the root of the future and the past, and obliterates care of yesterday and to-morrow from the heart. The sword is a dangerous companion: either it makes its master a king or it destroys him . . . [155])

Though Iqbal has not quoted this word of his medieval compatriote, nor even alluded to it, his concept of Time as fullness of destiny in which man may choose the rank he wants, could be derived easily from Hujwīrī's statement.

Until now, many attempts have been made in order to systematize Iqbal's theory of Time, to show its roots in Bergsonian philosophy, or to relate it with Einsteinian thoughts, and no doubt there are many interesting problems for the historian of philosophy. Personally, I would rather prefer to stress the religious importance of his ideas about time; for what he wanted was surely not to add a new system of scientific explanations to this most difficult problem, but to draw the attention of the Muslim world back to the contact with the Living God. Through a revaluation of the twofold aspect of time he aimed at an actualization of this burning but long forgotten issue for Muslim religious life.

The poetical connection between Iqbal's concept of eternal growing and development as well as the never-ending craving for higher spiritual stages and closer connection with the Divine life on the one hand, and his philosophy of time on the other, is given in the old motif of the Road, the path, and, perfectly true to the tradition of Islamic mysticism, in the motif of Ascension, of Heavenly journey—it is not an accident that he has expressed his deepest thoughts in the *Jāvīdnāme*, where all the divergent lines of his thought are brought into one perfect whole.

155) Ḥujwīrī, *o.c.*, p. 369; cf. the comparison of time to the sword of Moses in AK I. 1541. About the interrelation of time and human destiny cf. the closing remarks of S. G. F. Brandon in his book on *Man and his Destiny*, p. 383 ff.

This symbolization of man's craving for Divine Presence as a journey, a way is as old as mankind. Evelyn Underhill [156]) has devoted a special paragraph to the mystical symbolism in which she contrasts the symbol of love, and that of alchemy—the sublimation of the copper of the human soul into pure spiritual gold — with that of the journey which has been preferred by all those mystics and poets who lay stress on the dynamic character of religious life. The poets of the Hebrew psalms have expressed their longing for the holy centre of their religion, for Jerusalem, which has been transformed later on into the symbol of Divine Presence, the everlasting goal of Pilgrim's Progress, who lives in

> the hope of the City of God at the other end of the road, [157])

or for Mount Carmel where the difficult steps of renunciation, meditation, and prayer lead. This pilgrimage towards the never reached goal has found its most famous expression in Islamic literature in the works of Farīdaddīn ʿAṭṭār, whose *Manṭiq uṭ-ṭair*, the journey of the 30 birds through the seven valleys unto Divine Union, has become, since long, a favorite model in the phenomonology of religions, especially because of its combination of the ancient soul-bird-motif with that of the journey. ʿAṭṭār's *Muṣībatnāme*, however, which has been examined by H. Ritter in his monumental work, is the perfect expression of this eternal journey of which everything created partakes,—stars and streets and man and animal are moved only by the search for God. [158])

ʿAṭṭār's ideas have been taken over by Maulānā Rūmī who has praised in hymnical verses the miraculous effects of this spiritual way—

> If a tree would move with foot and wing,
> he would not feel the blows of the axe nor the wound of the saw [159])

The Persian epics which deal with the tragical figure of Majnūn in search of his beloved Lailā, and, in India herself, the story of Sasui wandering through the mountains, seeking her lost beloved—a story which culminates in the words

156) Cf. Underhill, *o.c.*, p. 129 ff.

157) John Masefield, *The Seekers* (Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse, p. 551).

158) Ritter, *Meer*, p. 23 ff.

159) *Selected Poems*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, No. XXVII; the comparison of pawn and queen in chess M III 535.

Let me run, let me run, and never find . . ., [160])

and numberless other examples show how familiar the Islamic world was with this motif of eternal journey which is a means, and the single one, for unceasing spiritual development—not in vain was the mystical order called *ṭarīqa*, the Path.

For Iqbal, with his strong vitalistic tendencies, the unceasing movement was the proper symbol: therefore his nom-de-plume *Zinderūd*, Living Stream, in the *Jāvīdnāme*, therefore the title 'Bell of the Caravan' for his first collection of Urdu poetry.

I would even assert that the most beautiful verses in Iqbal's poetry are those in which he sings the delight of movement—

I do not sit in the nest because of the joy of flight—
Sometimes I am on the rose-twig, sometimes on the bank of the canal (PM 174).

This idea of eternal wandering makes him say that

the station is nothing but a milestone of the road (Lāle 62),

that even

the crooked road is better than the station (Lāle 72)—

he would surely have agreed with Blake's sentence "Expect poison from the standing water". [161]) For every moment of standstill means a drawback and since man has to unfold his inner possibilities through untiring activity (the word taken in the widest possible meaning), Iqbal says in a Heraklitian strain [162])

Journey is reality, stillness only symbolic,
the secret of life is nothing but taste of flight (BJ 171),

and he avers, taunting the traditionalist:

They have made me acquainted with the joy of flight—
Thou seekest a nest in the space of the garden (ZA II 4).

Behind every station new surprises, new possibilities are open (BJ 70), just as the human heart with its unfathomable depths cannot be explored at all (ZA GR 231). Like ᶜAṭṭār, Iqbal, too, holds that

160) Shāh ᶜAbdul Laṭīf of Bhit, *Shāh jō risālō*, Sur Ḥusainī VII 3 ff.
161) Blake, *Proverbs of Hell*, 126.
162) Underhill, *o.c.*, p. 28.

everything is in movement, and that the road is a traveller even as the wayfarer (J 1720); but it is only man who is able to enjoy this wandering and the change and growth of consciousness which is caused by the journey towards God—and into God.

I am as long as I move—not moving, I am not (PM 150)

that is the Iqbalian—and one may say perhaps: vitalist—transformation of the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum*.

The ardent pilgrimage is the privilege of man—the angels are excluded from it, being perfect in their own right; they do not know the never-ending burning with which the human soul is entrusted (AH 16). To the divine bird which human soul is, there is one thing more awful than death: that is the food which ensnares it and hinders it from the flight to Heaven (BJ 83)—a sentence which sounds alike to the sighs of mystics who complained of the emprisonment of the poor soul-bird in the cage of body; but what is intended in Iqbal's verse is the constant call to reach higher levels, which does not include a contempt of the material world but rather a verdict on those who are blind against the endless open ways before the personality.

E. Underhill has pointed out that

through all these metaphors of pilgrimage to a goal there runs the definite idea that the travelling self in undertaking the journey is fulfilling a destiny, a law of the transcendental life . . . [163])

and that holds true also for Iqbal, though he probably would not agree with the mystics' statement that this journey must be made "against nature". For him, it is, in spite of the struggle which is implied in it, the only true way of nature—towards its most perfect entelechy. The poet has used, albeit rarely, the old symbol of the way into one's self which is so significant of the mystic interpretation of the road-symbol. This journey into one's own depths means

to be born without father and mother,
and to pick the pleiads from the corner of the roof (ZA GR 225).

Through this interior journey which brings man into contact with the deeper layer of his own personality which he has to sublimate, he can become the spiritual ruler of the world "from the Fish up to the Moon" (ZA GR 232), and reach new spaces beyond the Galaxy

163) id., p. 132.

(ZA II 34). This motif of descent into the depths of one's own heart has often been described—in Islamic and non-Islamic literature—as a kind of Heavenly Journey, of Ascension; but on the whole the religious types which prefer the one to the other motif can be distinguished rather well. The motif of ascension proper has been preferred by those who wish to stress the personality and transcendence of God Who can be addressed by human words, and can be witnessed through His work in His creation (*via eminentiae*)—whereas the motif of descent has been more frequently used by those mystics who see in God the immanent, impersonal power which cannot be described but by negations and through silence (*via negativa*). [164])

And though Iqbal has never used the ascent-motif in its elaborate form—as an ascent in fixed grades and steps (as systematizing mystical thought liked to do)—he is, on the whole, a very fine representative of the ascension-type.

The motif of ascension and Heavenly journeys has been treated by specialists so intensely during the last years that it is not necessary to underline the extreme importance which this religious experience—and symbol—has had since time immemorial in both primitive and high religions. [165]) The motif may be interpreted both in a cosmological as in a psychological sense: it can express the fact that the spirit in the moment of ecstasy can see and understand the different attributes of the created Universe before reaching the Creator beyond the attributes; or the psychological truth that man has to pass through different stages of spiritual preparation which may be compared to the seven spheres. In Islamic thought, the ascension gets its special importance due to its connection with the Prophet's *miᶜrāj*, his Heavenly journey, during which he "stood upright" (Sūra 53/6) before the Almighty, without mediator angel. This journey has become the prototype of the spiritual journeys of the mystics, beginning from Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 874) [166]) to Avicenna and Suhrawardī, to Ibn

[164]) K. Goldammer, *Wege aufwärts und Wege abwärts*, p. 51.

[165]) Cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie*, p. 148, 289 f.; M. Eliade, *Le vol magique*, Numen 1956; W. Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*, ARW IV 152; R. Holland, *Zur Typik der Himmelfahrt*, AR XXIII 1925/207; G. van der Leeuw, *Unsterblichkeit*, Eranos-Jahrbuch XVIII/1950; ᶜAbdalkarīm Gīlī, *Das Buch der 40 Stufen*. G. Widengren, *The Ascension to Heaven and the Heavenly Book*, 1950.

[166]) Aṭṭār, *Tadhk* I 154, 172 f.; H. Ritter, *Bayezid Bistami*.

ᶜArabī—who describes his autobiography in the form of a *miᶜrāj-nāme* [167]) and ᶜAbdulkarīm Jīlī: [168]) these mystics, whose visionary recitals have been studied most carefully during the last years esp. by H. Corbin, have systematized the spiritual way, [169]) whereas Maulānā Rūmī, far from imprisoning the heavenly experience into the system of reason, has never ceased praising the enrapture of the loving heart which does not care for the difficulties and stations of the road but spreads its wings and sings, animated by longing:

> That is love: to fly heavenward,
> To rend, every instant, a hundred veils! [170])

Rūmī has, however, put his finger on the fact that this ascension is a psychological experience (Math. III 4512 ff.)—

> the nearness of God is beyond reckoning . . . [171])

and Iqbal is therefore perfectly right in introducing him in the *Jāvīd-nāme* as explaining the mystery of *miᶜrāj* as "new birth" and "change of consciousness". It is exactly what Sarmad has expressed in a quatrain, which was one of the causes of his execution as an heretic:

> Not Ahmad went into Heaven, but Heaven came into Ahmad!

Iqbal, though persevering in his spiritual interpreting of the flight towards heaven, has nevertheless made use of a classical motif connected with these Heavenly journeys. Not that he has—in a beautifully arranged epic—dwelt upon the astronomical peculiarities of the single spheres, their colours, their scents, their influences on human mind (as f.i. Niẓāmī did in the *Haft Paikar*), but he took over the motif of other-worldly discussions, and of a visit in the Other World as means of political or literary criticism. From the Zoroastrian Arda-

[167]) F. Meier, *Der Geistmensch bei dem persischen Dichter ᶜAṭṭār*, Eranos Jahrbuch 1945, p. 287.

[168]) R. A. Nicholson, *Studies*, chapter I (about Jīlī's system).

[169]) H. Corbin, *The visionary recital*, p. 93, 167; R. Hartmann, *Die Himmelsreise Muhammads und ihre Bedeutung in der Religion des Islam*, 1929; B. Schrieke, *Die Himmelsreise Muhammads*, Islam VI/19; A. Bevan, *Muhammad's Ascension to Heaven* (Wellhausen-Festschrift); A. E. Affifi, *The Story of the Prophet's Ascent (miᶜrāj) in Sufi Thought and Literature* (Isl. Quart. 2/23 ff.); Ibn ᶜArabī, *al futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, ch. 167 vol. II 355 ff.; cf. Ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 2901/2.

[170]) *Dīwān*, sel. Nicholson, No. XXX.

[171]) Cf. Buber, *Der große Maggid*, p. XVI: Haj Gaon: Dann öffnet sich der Himmel vor ihm—nicht daß er in ihn aufstiege, sondern es geschieht etwas in seinem Herzen, wodurch er in das Schauen der göttlichen Dinge eintritt.

Viraf-Name to even Chinese literature this motif is found everywhere, and when Lukian, in the 2. century AD, regarded the Other World as a suitable place for learning something about the Homeric question, so in the 11. century the blind Arab poet al-Maᶜarrī has made, as his interpreter Prof. Nicholson remarked wittily, "paradise a haunt of immoral but immortal poets" [172]) who discuss difficult verses and crucial questions of Arabic grammar: the *risālat al-ghufrān* is one of the most ingenious travesties ever written, though lacking completely in religious feeling. One year before Iqbal published his *Jāvīdnāme*, in which he has combined the ascension-motif with that of the Heavenly discourses (—no doubt under Dante's influence, as can be proved from some details—) [173]) the Iraqian poet Jamīl Ṣidqī az-Zahāwī has written his satire 'Rebellion in Hell' in which he makes the well-bred and highly sophisticated inhabitants of Hell discuss all the issues at stake of this time—yet, again, without any religious feeling. [174])

It is worth mentioning that even up to the 18th century, great scientists and philosophers like Kepler, Huygens, Kant and Swedenborg were inclined to the hypothesis that the planets may be inhabited by beings of different form, and Kant assumed that the perfection of those heavenly creatures might grow in proportion to their distance from the sun, that, for instance, the inhabitants of Jupiter would live on a very high spiritual level. And the Swedenborgian visions show, in some respect, similarity to Iqbal's qualification of the inhabitants of the spheres: the Poet has shown, in the Heaven of Mercury, a beautiful specimen of "specialization of spiritual energies", as Swedenborg calls the peculiarity of this sphere, and in the Heaven of Mars—completely contrasted to the traditional, occidental and oriental conception—the "unity of thinking and speaking, of spirit and body" which the Swedish visionary had witnessed in that sphere. [175])

These may be accidents, but, in any case, significant ones: the reader will observe how much Iqbal's description of his way through the spheres diverges from the traditional picture of the other world. In his dealing with this age-old motif his method of working and

172) Cf. Nicholson, JRAS, 1900.
173) E. Cerulli, *Il Libro della Scala*, 1950.
174) in *ad-Duhūr*, Beirut 1931, I No. 6, cf. WI 17/1935, p. 50 ff.
175) E. Benz, *Swedenborg*, p. 472 ff.

THE SPHERES AND THEIR PECULIARITIES

	Ibn ᶜArabī	Jīlī	Marifetnāme	Iqbal
Moon	ADAM	ADAM created from nature of the spirit Has the same relation to earth as spirit to body. Silver	cool moisty. middle fortune weakness, ignorance, hurry, movement	Indian Sage SAROṢ PROPHETS' tablets
Mercury	JESUS, YAḤYĀ	NOAH (40 mart.) from the nature of reflection. Angels who help craftsmen. Grey	cold dry. Understanding, writing, painting, all talents and craftmanship	JAMĀLADDĪN AFGHANI, SAID ḤALĪM PASHA,
Venus	JOSEPH (because of his interpretation of dreams). Heaven of Phantasy, for poets, painters, ingeneers	JOSEPH, Angels. from the nature of phantasy, locality of the world of similitudes. Yellow (40 mart.: Green)	warm wet, *fortuna minor* Play, pleasure, sensuality	Gods of Old; PHARAO, KITCHENER, MAHDI of Omdurman Moschus-black
SUN	IDRIS	IDRIS heart of the spheres		
Mars	HĀRŪN Fear, violence, strength	YAḤYĀ (40 mart.) AZRAEL presides over it. Created from the light of judgment. Blood-red	hot dry. *infortuna minor*. strength, power, resistence, hardness	Ideal World without soldiers and no factories The European emancipated Lady
Jupiter	MOSES and his VEZIR	MOSES from the light of meditation. MICHAEL and angels of blessing and mercy in different shapes. Blue	warm dry. *fortuna major* religion, science mercy, knowledge	The Lovers: ḤALLĀJ, GHĀLIB, ṬĀHIRA, IBLIS
Saturn	ABRAHAM	First Heaven to be created, from the light of the First intelligence. Black (7. substance) ABRAHAM	cold dry. *infortuna major* violent death, misfortune, prison criminals, slaves	JAᶜFAR of Bengal and ṢĀDIQ of Deccan (traitors to their nations)
				NIETZSCHE Beyond the Spheres
			PARADISE	SHARAF UN-NISĀ ᶜALI HAMADĀNĪ BHARTṚIHARI TIPU SULTĀN NĀṢIR-I KHOSRAU NADIR-SHAH—
				The Houris Divine Presence

writing becomes once more visible: interpreting traditional symbols in a new way, changing them and transforming them according to his own system, and combining the deepest religious experience—every prayer is an ascension—with the exposition of his socio-political ideals.

The ascension, the never-ending journey during this life and after death, unto God and into God's abysses, the growing without diminishing: that is one of the central notions in Iqbal's poetry. His philosophy of the steadily growing human ego, of the attraction of the all-embracing Divine Ego, of unceasing quest and unsatisfied love as condition for this growth, the importance of prayer in which the prophetical ascension is repeated again and again: all these factors contribute to his predilection for this motif, and the fact that even in his only attempt of leading his reader through different steps of the heavenly regions his description differs notably from those of his predecessors, show that a systematization of the upward movement was not intended, and would have been opposed to his doctrine of free creative possibilities throughout the world. One may be reminded of Rūmī's verse:

> Love is the ascension towards the roof of the King of Beauty,
> Read the story of the ascension from the cheek of the lover! [176])

e) ... AND IN THE PREDESTINATION, THAT GOOD AND EVIL BOTH COME FROM GOD ...

Islam has been regarded by most of its critics as a religion of absolute fatalism with a fixed system of predestination which does not give any room for free action but leaves everything to the will and whim of an Almighty Power whose ways are unquestionable, and to whose overwhelming sovereignty mankind are bound since pre-eternity. Traditions like the often quoted "Those to Paradise, and I do not care for, and those to Hell, and I do not care for"—which is even attested by Ghazzālī—were likely to sustain the impression that fatalism is prevalent in Islam, and the quietistic way of life which could be witnessed in many of the Islamic countries seemed again a proof for this conviction. It is small wonder that this problem has puzzled the minds of Islamic theologians for centuries. For it is difficult to find the clear-cut idea of an absolute predestination in the

[176]) *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* ed. Mushfiq, p. 23.

Qurʾānic text which, on the contrary, in many of its verses calls man to work and to prepare his own destiny at the Doomsday by his deeds. Daud Rahbar has just tried to elaborate the idea of Divine Justice in the Qurʾānic revelations albeit with a slight restriction of God's power [177])—but that has been always the dilemma (f.i. in the Muʿtazilite movement of the 9th century) whenever God's justice was given the priority over His will and power. For, as Rudolf Otto has observed quite well, the theory of predestination is only an inadequate means for expressing the irrational numinous side in God ("Verlegenheitsausdrücke"). [178])

The emergence in early Islam of the Qadarīya group—who accepted free will and human responsibility—and the Jabrīya—who held strict predestination—is wellknown in history, as well as the continuing strife for finding a middle way by inventing a theory of *iktisāb*, the appropriation of pre-created acts through man. [179]) The large bulk of the pious muslims, however, were not concerned with these fine dogmatic differences but developed—not without the influence of mystical ideas—a tendency towards a merely passive acceptance of the Divine decrees, a kind of passivity which was, in the storms of times, perhaps the only chance for survival: when there is no medicine to save one's children from plague it is surely nobler to accept the bitter facts calmly and without complaint than to rebel against God's decree; for it is often overlooked that the Muslim does not feel in the machinery of a cruel and impersonal fate but, whatever may happen, sees the sign of God's will "who knows what is good for me."

For Iqbal, however, the traditional interpretation of predestination seemed to be incompatible with a modern way of life, and he thought that it was nothing but the "lightlessness of the breast" in the "old men of the Church and the Kaaba" (BJ 27) which caused this misinterpretation. More than that, fatalism was also directly opposed to his concept of the Self as a growing force which craves for direct communion with God. Iqbal, too—though in his ways of interpreting the Qurʾān as remote as possible from Rahbar's methods— has reached the conclusion that the Qurʾān does not preach predestination.

[177]) D. Rahbar, *God of Justice.*
[178]) R. Otto, *Das Heilige*, 26. ed., p. 120.
[179]) W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam.*

But his refutation of this idea does not root in the more or less abstract idea of Divine justice but in that of Divine life of which human life, at its best, is able to partake. As we have already mentioned he has taken *taqdīr*, destination, in the sense of the Divine time that contains in itself innumerable possibilities which are only waiting for realisation, so that future is always open.

Iqbal has taught already in the *Asrār* that man should dig up the fundaments of the Universe (AK 1024) and continues in the *Lāle-yi Ṭūr* (67)

> Set not the chain of Fate upon thy foot—
> There is a way beyond this rolling sphere.

i.e. fate and predestination in the traditional meaning are considered a prison which should be broken by the free man (BJ 32). It is only the lower potencies of life which are restricted in their life by the eternal rules:

> Plants and minerals are bound to predestination—
> The faithful is only bound to the Divine orders (ZK 62),

i.e. only the lower stages in the gamut of life which have not yet developed their individualities nor reached the place which man—thanks to the transgression of Adam—holds, and which are deprived of the free choice between good and evil: these potencies are confined by destiny; therefore Iqbal has always confronted in his poetical language the stars in their eternally fixed movement to the children of Adam whose freedom of choice they envy. [180])

For Iqbal, a man who has not realized these inner possibilities is an unbeliever:

> Unbeliever is he who follows predestination even if he be Muslim,
> Faithful is he, if he himself is the Divine destiny (BJ 55)—

that is why he shows once, relying on old sources, Satan as adherent of predestinarian views because the Fiend wants to avoid responsibility by recurring to this doctrine; he is thus a typical *munāfiq*, a hypocrite. [181])

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180) The stars as symbols of the destiny-bound lower potencies: PM 109, 100; ZA I 58; J 223 ff.; BJ 158.

181) ZK 42. Cf. H. Ritter, Islam 21/62: Nur der *munāfiq* drückt sich mit der Prädestination um die Verantwortlichkeit.

The old symbols of the Preserved Tablet and the Divine Pen are no longer valid for the poet; and the popular idea that everything is *maktūb*, written, or—as Turks use to say—*alīn yazīsī*, written on the forehead, is reversed by him:

> Thou write thy own writing with thy own pen,
> The Divine Pen has left blank thy forehead (ZK 180, cf. AH 91)
> The man of God becomes himself the star of his destiny (Mus. 37).

But how can this rank be attained? Iqbal gives two possible explanations which do not exclude each other:

> Destiny is another name for the recompense of deeds (AH 274)

which means, differently expressed, that every action and thought is followed consequently by its results so that man through his actions and intentions prepares his own future, an idea which recurs once more in the *Jāvīdnāme*, when the Hindu wise Bhartrihari is introduced and preaches the *karma*-concept: action as mechanically determining one's future.

The higher form of action is, to change oneself. Iqbal has always preached the strengthening and hardening of personality, and parables like that of the 'drop which can be swallowed', of the 'meek coal which is burnt' whilst the 'hard diamond is honoured' fill his work. It behoves man to develop his ego in such a way that it cannot be taken by anybody else but is able to incorporate others. The best exposition of this doctrine of self in connection with destiny is found in the Sphere of Mars in the *Jāvīdnāme* where the poet, in traditional oriental manner, says that

> Poor and beggar are God's destiny,
> Ruled and ruler are God's destiny

but is informed by the Wise Man of this planet:

> If your liver becomes blood through this your destiny,
> then ask God for another destiny
> It is possible that you request from God another destiny—
> God's destinies have no end . . .
> The fine wink is hidden in one word:
> If thou becomest different, it will also become different
> (Cf. ZA II 28).
> Become dust—and they will throw thee into the air—
> Become stone—they will throw thee on glass . . .

Here, Iqbal's theory of destiny is contained in nuce. His Qur'ānic support is the verse Sūra 13/12:

> Verily God does not change the destiny of a people until they change themselves—

a verse which had been used already in the same meaning by Jamāl-addīn Afghānī [182]) which was very dear to him and which he has elaborated in full in his Lectures (L 12):

> It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to his own ends and purposes. And in this process of progressive change God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative: Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves. If he does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inner push of advancing life, then the spirit within him hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter . . .

Change of destiny, we may conclude, comes into existence by change of feeling and acting (cf. ZA GR 236), and man can form it according to his own intentions.

Iqbal is, with these opinions, not very far from his spiritual master Maulānā Rūmī who writes

> O young man, do not use destiny as an excuse—
> How can you load your own sin on something else? (Math. VI 493)

—we remember the same argumentation in the case of Satan who attributed his refusal of bowing before Adam to the hidden destiny of God—and Maulānā Rūmī has also maintained:

> If the king sends thee back from his treshold then know
> That thou hast done something wrong and hast attracted this destiny through thy ignorance.
> By thy ignorance thou hast cut thy own destiny,
> But the capable man increases his own destiny (Math. II 2821 ff.).

It is therefore not simply a poetical licence when Iqbal addresses, in the great dialogue between him and Rūmī (BJ 186) his guide and

182) H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, p. 390, about the verse Sūra 13/12; cf. also E. G. von Grunebaum, *Islam*, p. 189.

asks him to solve the enigma of predestination and free will; he gets the short answer:

> The wing of the falcon brings to the king,
> the wing of the crow brings him to the cimetery

a quotation from Mathnawi (VI 1444) where the discourse is found according to which destiny is wing and feather of the perfect—

> Destiny is the prison and chain of the ignorant.
> Understand that destiny like the water of the Nile:
> Water before the faithful, blood before the unbeliever.

That is what Iqbal has asserted when writing

> This vital way of appropriating the universe is what the Qur'ān calls *Imān*. *Imān* is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind, it is living assurance begotten of a rare experience. Strong personalities alone are capable of rising to this experience and the higher fatalism implied in it (L 109).

However, this concept of destiny does not involve a complete freedom which may lead to chaos, but is the realization of the innate possibilities of the ego:

> Thou doest not know thy own destiny and doest not know that it gets its worth from thee—
> Otherwise the luminous ruby is only a piece of stone (PM 179).

When in the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd* (ZA 229) the prophetic tradition is quoted that 'faith is between predestination and freedom' we may find here an allusion to the partly determined situation of man of which Iqbal had written in the Introduction of the *Asrār* (XV):

> The Ego is partly free, partly determined, and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the Individual who is most free: God.

The chord which he touched by these words was more typical for his way of arguing than the simple and somewhat mechanical equation: action + recompense = future destiny. The feeling that man is the freer the nearer he comes to God leads him to a solution of this problem from the point of view of his Ego-philosophy. To evolve the ego, to break the spell of serial time, and to stand, like the Prophet, in the Divine presence, to ask, then, one of the infinite destinies which are still available—that is Iqbal's ideal:

As long as man does not see God openly,
He does not come out of predestination and free choice (Pas 40).

Thus, he reaches something similar to the old mystical doctrine of the union of human and Divine will:

When he becomes annihilated in the satisfaction of God,
The faithful man becomes the destiny of God (Pas 14).

It is that state of mind which the great religious heroes of all times and religions have described as the highest and most paradoxal experience: that the complete surrender into God's will is creative, and that religion if understood thus, is far from being the 'opium for the people' but is rather a heroic deed. It is the rank which the Qur'ān expresses, according to mystical interpretation, by the words *mā ramayta*, 'Thou didst not throw when thou threwest, but it was God who threw' (Sūra 8/17, cf. J v. 1130, 1184).

The distance between man and God can be overcome not by substantial union but by the dialogue in prayer: and this loving and daring dialogue in the depths of human soul is destiny-creating. The faithful should stand upright (Sūra 53/6) in Divine presence, and

it is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the infinite Ego to see for himself the consequences of his past action and to judge the possibilities of his future (L 117).

It is the time when man dares utter

We have suited Thee—now suit us! (J 1129).[183]

and when

God asks man before destiny: Art thou satisfied? (BJ 81, cf. 254)

How revolutionary such an expression was, can be understood from the famous story which is contained in ʿAṭṭar's both prose and poetry: that a certain mystic who claimed to have reached the stage of satisfaction (*riḍā*) asked God "O my Lord, art Thou satisfied with me that I am completely satisfied with Thee? And the answer came: Thou liar—if thou werest satisfied with Us thou wouldst not have asked Our satisfaction!"[184]

183) Cf. ZK 8.

184) ʿAṭṭār, *Ilāhināme* ed. Ritter, p. 209; the same story about al-Ḥuṣrī in his *Tadhkira* II 175.

Against this prevalent quietistic strain of thought Iqbal repeated indefatigably that a perfect cooperation between man and God can and will create a new destiny, and has expressed this conviction in his poetical prayers sometimes with such an audacity that a reader who is not used to his way of thinking would see here sheer blasphemy:

God said: It is like that, and do not say anything else—
Adam said: It is like that, but it should be like this! (ZA II 69)

Yet, although man may become so mature that

the event in the womb of time trembles through his thought (Mus. 37),

there is one limit of his activities:

The destiny of a thing is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task master, it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depth of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion (L 50).

The individuation has in its first predisposition itself given the last limit of its development which it cannot surpass without ceasing to be itself.[185] But it can develop certain aspects of its being, just as, in Iqbal's poetical work, the thought is expressed that

Our delight in seeing hath taken visible shape (in our eye),
The partridge's leg is derived from the elegance of its gait,
The nightingale's beak from its endeavour to sing . . . (AK 290 f.).

It is an endogenic development which expresses the highest inward goal of the creature, and that is what he puts clearly in his Lectures (53)

. . . Ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or subconscious tendencies, form the warp and woof of our conscious experience . . . The element of purpose discloses a kind of forward look in consciousness. Purposes colour not only our present state of consciousness but also reveal its future direction—

a sentence which reminds of Goethe's words in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*:

Unsere Wünsche sind Vorgefühle der Fähigkeiten, die in uns liegen, Vorboten desjenigen, was wir zu leisten imstande sein werden. Was

185) Cf. R. Pannwitz, *Aufbau der Natur*, p. 119.

> wir können und möchten, stellt sich unserer Einbildungskraft außer uns und in der Zukunft dar; wir fühlen eine Sehnsucht nach dem, was wir schon im stillen besitzen.

The inward reach of a person or a community is, in its nature, teleological, not in the sense of blind mechanism which would be opposed to the doctrine of free activity—

> Creation is opposed to repetition which is a characteristic of mechanical action (L 50)

but in the sense that the world has been created for a serious end (Sūra 44/38; L 10).

The more man becomes aware of the inward reach of his personality the greater will be the efficiency of his prayers because he will request that what is right for himself. Realizing that the *telos* is hidden in every action just as the soul is hidden in life, and that without this inner destiny man is in danger to fall a prey to outward, transitory stimulants (R 159 f.), man can lead his life in harmony with his interior possibilities. In an everlasting struggle with outward obstacles—be it matter which

> enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves (Secr. XIV)

be it the enemy whose malices, if properly understood, are like the rain for the field of the self: in this everlasting struggle life develops according to its predispositions. It is the same idea which Maulānā Rūmī had expressed (Math. III 4386 ff.) when he compares human life to a tree in which everything contained in the tiny seed and in the deep root has unfolded, whose roots are firmly bound to the maternal earth, the twigs striving heavenward.

But it must not be forgotten that Iqbal, who had exclaimed in the *Payām-i Mashriq* (186)

> I said: My destiny without veil is my wish!

has in the later parts of his life limited this destiny in a very special sense:

> I have lifted the veil from the face of destiny—
> Do not be hopeless, and take Mustafa's way! (AH 93). [186]

That is his last word—the ideal destiny for the Muslim community

[186]) AH 269 for the nation.

is contained in the faithfully accepting of the Divine law which Muhammad has brought, and if the members of his community who have gone astray in the wilderness of Western influences, Greek idealism and lifeless traditionalism want to change their destiny, they have to go back to the very source of life, the Divine Law, and the example of the Prophet. Then, and only then, a new orientation of their destiny would be possible.

This may sound like a limitation, but when we observe carefully what Islam meant for Iqbal, and that he saw in the Prophet the model of individualization, and dwelt upon the infinite possibilities which are still hidden in the depths of the Qur'ān, this limitation becomes intelligible, as Iqbal said:

> The main purpose of the Qur'ān [and we may add: of Islam] is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe. It is in view of this essential aspect of the Qur'ānic teaching that Goethe said while making a general review 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 (L 9).

CHAPTER FOUR

SOME GLIMPSES ON WESTERN AND EASTERN INFLUENCES ON IQBAL THOUGHT, AND ON HIS RELATIONS TO MYSTICS AND MYSTICISM

> I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth.
> The first two led me into the "inside" of things,
> The third and fourth taught me how to remain oriental in spirit and expression after having assimilated foreign ideals, and the last saved me from atheism in my student days (SR 36).

That is what Iqbal felt in 1910, two years after his return from Europe where, as it seems, the healing influence of Wordsworth's world-mysticism had helped him to resist the danger of losing his inherited religion and his faith in a Divine principle in life. [1]) In later times, he has again quoted Goethe as one of the guiding spirits of his life, whereas he withdraw more and more from Hegel's system of thought. But the European formation of his philosophical thought is acknowledged by himself in a letter in 1925:

> My life has been spent mostly in the study of Western philosophy, and this point of thought has become nearly a second nature to me. I can not express well in Urdu what is in my heart (M I 47).

On the one hand he acknowledges his indebtedness to European thought, on the other hand, as has been already mentioned, his poetry is pervaded by hostility to and contempt of the loveless, materialistic West; and at the end of his life he holds that

> I used to sit with the good person of Europe,
> I have not seen a less ardent (*bīsūztar*) day than that! (AH 63). [2])

He had been introduced into this Western world by eminent European scholars, by orientalists and philosophers, to start with Sir Thomas Arnold, his beloved teacher in Lahore (cf. BD 74)—but even

1) Cf. Intr. SR XVIII f.
2) Cf. PM 248.

he is criticized—though slightly—in a letter to an Indian leading Muslim in which Iqbal complains that Arnold—who had written, then, the article 'Saints, Muhammadan, India' for the ERE, and whose 'Preaching of Islam' was being prepared for the second edition—that this scholar was of the opinion that the Indian Muslims had not made substantial endeavours to spread Islam among the Hindus (M II 358, 1908).

Iqbal's attitude towards European orientalism would deserve a special study. He was pupil of F. Hommel in Munich for a very short while, only for submitting his thesis (though I dare say that Hommel, the semitist, did not understand too much of the 'Development of Metaphysics in Persia'). Closer was Iqbal's relation with Professor R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge who had first introduced his work to the English reading public—and yet, Iqbal prefered (or was it only a polite formulation?) an appraisal from the pen of Maulana Sulayman Nadwi to the opinion of R. A. Nicholson (M I 120, 1922, cf. M I 321 about a wrong translation made by R. A. Nicholson). In spite of his admiration for many works of European orientalists and his personal friendship with some of them, he was always afraid that some evil purposes might be concealed behind the surface of their works, and that they were more or less tools of imperialism and of Christian missionary tendencies—

> I am not sure of the European orientalists, because they create their works for ends of political propaganda (M II 96),

he writes in 1930 when discussing some books of I. Goldziher, and shortly before his death he denounces the pernicious influence of Western scholarship even more pointedly:

> The professors have special purposes which they conceal in the exterior talisman of what they investigate and what they prove (*taḥqīq aur iḥqāq*), and the pure tablet of the Muslim student becomes filled by this spell and he is lead astray (M I 398).

That is a view which still widely prevails in Muslim countries. However, Iqbal had himself, in his own studies, at large relied on editions and even second-hand books of European orientalists, and it would be interesting for the history of Oriental studies in Islamic countries to examine carefully the list of books which he recommended for the Faculty of Divinity in Istanbul (M II 275 ff.); he advised,

at that occasion, his Turkish colleague Khalīl Khālid to contact Professor A. Fischer in Leipzig with whom he apparently had rather friendly relations, and whose translations from modern Turkish religious literature have inspired a whole essential paragraph of his Lectures. Again, Iqbal complained of the lack of European scholarly research works on Oriental civilization and philosophy in the widest sense, and added that some interesting books exist in German, some of them being translated into English by S. Khuda Bakhsh (f.i. The Renaissance of Islam by A. Mez),—

but these books too are somewhat superficial (M II 90, 1929).

The orientalist whom he liked and admired most was L. Massignon without whose studies on Ḥallāj parts of his own work are scarcely imaginable, and whom he visited in Paris for discussing with him his personal—Nietzschean—interpretation of the great mystic. He anticipated in Massignon the depth of understanding for Islamic spirit, and the French scholar has understood the religious importance of Iqbal's activities perhaps better than any other European scholar. [3] His few introductory remarks to the French translation of the Lectures can be considered the best summary of Iqbal's thought ever written.

Iqbal had come to know many sides of European life during his studies in Cambridge and his short stay in Germany. One of the causes of his aversion to this civilization seems to be its rootedness in the classical tradition. Iqbal, often underlining the fact that the Qurʾān is completely anti-classic in spirit—as anti-classic as the Hebrew prophets were—saw in the impregnation of a culture with Greek spirit and Greek ideals the greatest danger to this culture's life. [4] That is why large areas of European culture remained alien to him, and that is also the reason for his cleaving to the very roots of prophetic-Islamic culture, trying to rescue it from the Greek crust which has suffocated the dynamic spirit of Islam. [5] He was surely aware of the wide range of Greek civilization and art, but his protest

[3] Waardenburg, *L'Orient*; the chapter about L. Massignon and his deep mystical understanding of Islam; esp. p. 219 f. the remarks about the invasion of Europe in the East: "Nous avons tout ruiné en eux, leur philosophie, leur religion, Ils ne croient plus à rien".

[4] Tanq., 131.

[5] In a letter of 1920 (M II 158), Iqbal recommends the book of W. T. Stace, *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*, as "a very fine book".

was flung against that part of classical tradition which had been inherited by the Arabs: the Platonic and even more the neo-Platonic philosophy and mysticism. Islamic culture has accepted from the Greeks practical science on the one hand, neo-Platonic philosophy on the other, and has transmitted this heritage, enriched and enlarged by its own contribution, to the West, together with the work of Aristoteles; the artistic side of Greek culture, however, had nearly completely been ignored by the Muslims, and the ideals of Greek art were simply unacceptable for the monotheistic and iconoclast Islam with its strong antipathy against the "making of a likeness". The classical humanistic and democratic educational systems, too, have never been transplanted into Islamic countries, being scarcely compatible with the theocentric tenets of Islam.

Iqbal saw in Platonism and its impact on Islamic culture the reason for the decay of this civilization, and therefore he attacks Plato in the notorious passage of the *Asrār* (Ch VI and VII) depicting him as an old sheep which insinuates tigers to eat grass and leads them to the poisonous pastures of idealism, thus spoiling their natural strength. Greek philosophy was, for Iqbal, too abstract, too speculative, not inducing man to fruitful work; it is impracticable and can never bring the human heart into communion with the ultimate reality, since such a communion is possible not through sheer speculation but only through ardent love. The rational side of Plato's philosophy is always attacked in Iqbal's poetry—

One atom of heart-pain is better than the philosophy of Plato
(ZA 18, cf. ZA 11).

For Aristotle, Iqbal had shown a great admiration in his first studies (SR 29), but he, too, is "nothing but a station" on the path towards the Truth (ZA GR 218 III), and the Aristotelian concept of the eternity of the world was exactly opposed to the Islamic belief in *creatio ex nihilo*, as opposed as the static *prima causa* or the immovable mover of philosophy was to the dynamic and ever-active God of the Qurʾān. Iqbal could imagine life only as a vital and volitional process; not merely as harmony and beauty but as act and power, and was in this respect as well as in his advocating of love's primate over intellect indeed far from classical and post-classical Greek thought (yet not from its Dionysic aspect). But his attitude was kindred to that of other Islamic modernists, like Muhammad ʿAbdūh who has

also stressed the anti-classical spirit of the Qur'ān; [6]) and one may find here also one reason for his spiritual affinity with Nietzsche, whose attacks against the Greco-Christian foundations of the West he could fully appreciate.

In his thesis, Iqbal has displayed a wide knowledge of European philosophy, and his interest for this branch of science never ceased, even in his last letters he dwells upon the similarities of Descartes and Ghazzālī (M II 342 ff.), and states that the Sufis have added time and space to the four dimensions already 5 or 6 centuries prior to Kant (M II 344, 1937), and this German philosopher about whom he had noted down once:

> No one can fully understand the significance of Kant's categorical imperative who does not study the political history of the German people. The rigour of Kant's conception of duty finds its full explanation there (SR 69),

is compared later likewise to Ghazzālī, the great reformer of Islam in the 12th century (L 5).

Comparisons like the aforementioned one are very typical for Iqbal's way of arguing, and sometimes one gets the impression that his study of European philosophy leads him, in the course of his life, more and more to the conviction that all the good and appropriate ideas launched by Western philosophers had been expressed centuries ago in a somewhat more ideal form by Islamic thinkers. As he writes in 1916:

> Yesterday I saw the Mathnawī of Maulānā Rūmī:
>
> Every thought devours another thought,
> One idea grazes upon another idea—
>
> God gracious! in a special chapter he has put this idea that every being besides God Almighty is devouring and being devoured and has brought into consideration so beautifully Schopenhauer's philosophy that Schopenhauer's spirit itself would tremble! (M II 65).

This way of interpretation provided him with new possibilities of combining harmoniously Islamic tradition with the most recent scientific research. Only thus, he thinks, Muslims can become interested

[6]) Cf. about this problem esp.: W. Braune, *Die islamische Welt*, p. 133; cf. J. Kraemer, *Das Problem der islamischen Kulturgeschichte* about the different interpretations of Islamic culture; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien* I; H. H. Schaeder, *Der Mensch in Orient und Okzident*.

in Western science and discover that Europe is indebted to Islam, and that therefore the adopting of recent scientific results from the West does not do any harm to the primacy of Islamic thought.

> If Muslim scholars were aware that Einstein's most thrilling ideas are already existent in Islam, they would like to take more interest in them and study them carefully (M II 214, s.d.).

Einstein granted Iqbal the proof for his view concerning the relation of God and universe—that the universe is limitless but finite—, and his theory of relativity has impressed Iqbal's theories of time and space. [7])

Thus, European philosophy and scholarship becomes, in Iqbal's reading, a medium for leading back the Muslims to the sources of their own culture, and giving them the feeling that these conceptions are nothing but their own heritage. Interpreted in this way, European civilization is no longer a danger for the Muslims but a stimulant for their awakening.

It is far beyond our limits to follow the impact left on Iqbal's thought by European philosophers—that has been done by trained students of philosophy; what concerns us is the religious revaluation of European systems of thought in the poet-philosopher's work.

He has tried to answer in poems the claims of the different philosophers and political leaders during the different periods of his life, and the *naqsh-i frang*, 'The Picture of the Europeans', in the fourth part of the *Payām-i Mashriq*, contains short poetical sketches, skilfully characterizing thinkers and poets of the West. [8])

The philosophers whose names occur most in Iqbal's prose and poetry are Hegel, Bergson, and Nietzsche.

As a pupil of McTaggart in Cambridge, he remained under Hegelian influence for a while, and his private library contains a considerable number of Hegel's works. He described, in 1910, Hegel's system of philosophy as

> an epic poem in prose (SR 11).

In the notes to the *Asrār* he still uses Hegelian expressions for ex-

[7]) Cf. PM 239 "Einstein as a Zarathustra from the family of Moses and Aaron". About Einstein in connection with the *ru'yat Allāh*, the possibility of seeing God in the other world cf. M I/130 (1922).

[8]) F.i. PM 251 Locke-Kant-Bergson; id. 247 Bergson, as subjects of poems.

plaining a hemistich (1. 193: by the self the seed of opposition, in the Hegelian phrase: contradiction, is sown in the world). Hegel was, for him, in this period of formation, the greatest philosopher Europe had ever produced:

> The Germans hold him for greater than Plato, and from the point of view of imagination he is indeed greater than Plato (M II 42, 1914).

But the abstract system of Hegel, albeit appealing to Iqbal's structure of mind in its eternal movement of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, has been rejected by him later on (to the great amazement of Dr. McTaggart), and in the *Payām-i Mashriq* he places him in the same range as other loveless philosophers; the boaring lecture of his books is a spiritual sleeping-pill, and the lovesongs of Rūmī are required to awake the poet from the slumber caused by Hegel's work. And even worse, he compares the once admired thinker to

> a hen which lays eggs from sheer phantasy without the presence of the cock (PM 245),

a verdict on the idealistic construction of Hegel's system which is repeated ten years later in somewhat gentler form, averring that

> Hegel's shell was empty of a pearl (ZK 10).

The last fruit of Iqbal's Hegelian period is the fine article on Mc Taggart which he wrote on request of Sir Francis Younghusband (M II 286, 1932, SS 144) and which contains once more his own—not his Hegelian teacher's—philosophy of self and of immortality in a nutshell.

Fichte's influence is also visible in some of Iqbal's ideas, but it was in the first place the vitalist current of philosophy which attracted him, and was more germane to both his psychic formation and the Qurʾānic tradition. The strong "prophetic" element in the vitalist philosophers, their dynamic outlook on life which was considered not something being but becoming, the development of self, the reality of the world being, and the strong belief in eternal development—all these elements were easily and willingly accepted by Iqbal who has, even though sometimes criticizing f.i. Lotze, drunk deep from the fountain of this philosophy which has been described by competent scholars as the preparatory stage of mysticism. Söderblom has, when

dealing with the prophetic Weltanschauung, quoted Henri Bergson as a model of prophetical outlook in philosophy, [9]) and from this remark the affinity of Iqbal with the French thinker—so often mentioned by European and Pakistani scholars—becomes even more understandable; it was, as Massignon has defined it properly, "une affinité spirituelle sémitique". [10]) The Bergsonian concept of the two levels of time is wellknown to every reader of Iqbal's philosophy, and the stress he laid on the principle of intuition is recognizable also in the work of Iqbal who has once discussed the problem of time with Bergson in Paris.

The vitalist movement culminated, in one respect, in Nietzsche, whose tragical figure has occupied Iqbal's mind and his poetical imagination more intensely than any other Western philosopher. [11]) A book "in the style of the Old and New Testament and of Also sprach Zarathustra, called the Book of a Forgotten Prophet" had been planned by Iqbal, but was never carried out. [12]) Perhaps the Nietzschean influence on the *Asrār* has been exaggerated due to the mental shock which followed immediately the publication of this book; its ideas were, for the first moment, too surprising for being taken as development of Islamic germs. Iqbal himself has always maintained that the idea of the Perfect Man was Islamic, not Nietzschean; yet Nietzsche's superman may still have acted as a ferment in the formation of Iqbal's ideals. There are, of course, parables and allusions in the *Asrār* which are traceable back to Nietzsche, like that of Diamond and Coal, Diamond and Dew-drop; perhaps one may also count the "three stages of the ego" among them. [13]) Yet it is rather the brave and heroic will to accept life as it is and to master it which had fascinated Iqbal in the German philosopher. He agrees also with him in the positive evaluation of suffering—

> We must therefore, in the words of Nietzsche, say Yea to the sufferings of life. Schopenhauer did not appraise suffering properly;

he writes in the Notes to the *Asrār* (l. 210) and expresses a similar

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[9]) Söderblom, *The Living God*, p. 300, note 72.
[10]) Introduction of the French translation of the Reconstruction.
[11]) In a letter to M. M. Sharif (M II 235, 1926) he mentions that Nietzsche's *Morgenröte* has been translated into Arabic.
[12]) Tanq., 40.
[13]) Cf. the poem *Europe, ᶜadapted from Nietzsche'*, BJ 221.

statement a few years later in the poem 'Schopenhauer and Nietzsche' contrasting the former one—an always complaining bird—to the hero who teaches him

> Make thy remedy from pain, if thou art ill;
> Become acquainted with the thorn so that thou mayest become
> completely a garden (PM 234).

To live in danger (PM 141 a.o.), to seek risk as a medium for the development of the personality, trying an integration of the whole man [14])—these are Nietzschean ideas deliberately accepted by Iqbal who was, psychologically seen, as much a prophetical philosopher as Nietzsche.

But "in Nietzsche an unmeasurable content and grade of the soul broke at last the vessel", [15]) and Iqbal writes:

> Poor Nietzsche thought that his vision of the ultimate Ego could be realized in the world of space and time (SS 154).

That was the tragical destiny of the German philosopher which Iqbal understood perhaps better than many of his European critics. He calls, in 1910, the behaviour of Europe towards Nietzsche strangely inconsistent—

> The philosophy of Nietzsche—at least in the domain of ethics—is an attempt rationally to justify the conduct of Europe, yet this great prophet of aristocracy is universally condemned in Europe. Only a few have realized the meaning of his madness (SR 30).

Twenty years later he gives a most interesting record of Nietzsche's attempts and—according to him—his ultimate failure:

> ... Nietzsche, whose life and activity form, at least to us Easterns, an exceedingly interesting problem in religious philosophy, was endowed with some sort of a constitutional equipment for such an undertaking (i.e. to bring the finite ego into contact with an eternal life-process). His mental history is not without a parallel in the history of Eastern Sufism. That a really 'imperative' vision of the Divine in man did come to him cannot be denied ... Yet Nietzsche was a failure, and his failure was mainly due to his intellectual progenitors as Schopenhauer, Darwin, and Lange whose influence completely blinded him to the real significance of his vision. Instead of looking for a spiritual

[14]) Pannwitz, *Nietzsche und die Gegenwart* (Der Nihilismus ...) p. 292.
[15]) Id. 290.

> rule which would develop the Divine even in a plebeian and thus open up before him an infinite future, Nietzsche was driven to seek the realization of his vision in such schemes as aristocratic radicalism ... Thus failed a genius whose vision was solely determined by his internal forces, and remained unproductive for want of external guidance in his spiritual life ... (L 194 f.).

Islamic mysticism knows the type of the *majdhūb* who has reached a certain spiritual level through some unknown experiences, and is, at the same time, mentally more or less deranged, living, as the rule, without the guidance of a spiritual master who otherwise would lead the adepts carefully to the higher stages of spiritual life; Nietzsche is comparable, according to Iqbal (J 1359, BJ 82) to such a *majdhūb*; he is not a simple lunatic but a man who has been uplifted without being able to utilize his experience, who was moreover still in need of a teacher, a master who might guide him—Iqbal closes the above-mentioned statement with the citation of the lines from *Zarathustra*: "I need help. I need disciples, I need a master. It would be so sweet to obey". [16])

Nietzsche's fate is, in Iqbal's view, similar to that of Ḥallāj; like the martyr mystic, he too has tried to raise the world from leaden slumber, struggling against heavy odds, fighting against conventional European civilization and Sklavenmoral, against the perverting influences of Christianity, and that is why he too has suffered from the lack of understanding of his contemporaries

> who gave his pulse into the hand of the dòctor (J 1360),

an expression which contains a clear reference to Rūmī's story of the love-sick girl whose illness nobody could find out (Math. I 95). [17]) Nietzsche' strife against European civilization in all its different aspects, and the actions of the

> European madman who entered the glassmaker's shop (PM 238)

touched, in this respect, cognate chords in Iqbal's heart; but he has neither accepted his ideas uncritically nor refused them altogether but did, what Berdjajew once had proposed as right attitude of the faith-

[16]) Cf. Nietzsche's Nachtlied: *Von der großen Sehnsucht der Seele.*
[17]) Cf. also *Math.* VI 1979 ff. about the madness of love which cannot be cured by doctors—a wellknown subject of Oriental poetry.

ful in respect to Nietzsche: he lived through his ideas and overcame them from inside. [18])

What Rudolf Pannwitz has called the "creative value of Nihilism which negates only for the purpose of affirmation" [19]) has Iqbal summarized in the symbol of the Muslim creed: that Nietzsche had remained in the *lā*, There is no God (cf. 93). He has even applied a new version of a prophetic tradition "His heart is faithful but his brains are unbelieving" [20]) to the German thinker (PM 241, cf. ZK 83), since he felt that Nietzsche was still in need of something, that, in the 19th century Christianity, he had not found the God who might have been strong enough for his taste; "the God of the ruling imagination was contrary to his concept of a God. And so he did not bring a new God but has opened the widest possible gap between man and God". [21]) Iqbal was sure that he himself would have taught him the notion of that God he was craving for, the pure, Islamic-Semitic God, unstained by Greek philosophical concepts (cf. ZK 84); just as in another place he regrets that Nietzsche had not lived in the days of Ahmad Sirhindi (J 1377), the great reformer of Indian Islam who has assailed the monistic trends in Muslim mysticism.

But as profound Iqbal's sympathy with Nietzsche was in whom he recognized a distant brother in seeking and quest—albeit cut off from the life-giving fountain of revelation—as strongly has he rejected the idea of Eternal Recurrence. In his very personal way of symbolizing philosophical and religious truths he tells in the *Jāvīdnāme* how Nietzsche is flying between the Heaven of Saturn and Paradise in eternal circles, repeating over and over again a single verse—a simple but acute representation of the Eternal Recurrence. Life is no repetition of ever the same acts (J 1818) but is fresh and surprising in every moment, creative and not bound to any reiteration. The philosophical criticism of the Eternal Recurrence is given in extenso in the Lectures (114 ff.) where it is condemned as

> only a more rigid kind of mechanism, based not on an ascertained fact but only on a working hypothesis of science ... We can aspire only for what is absolutely new, and the absolutely new is unthinkable in Nietzsche's view which is nothing more than a fatalism worse than the one summed up in the word qismat. Such a doctrine, far from keying up the human organism for the fight of life, tends to destroy its action-tendencies and relates the tension of the ego.

18) L. Müller, *Berdjajew und Nietzsche*, Ökumenische Einheit 3 II, 1954.
19) Pannwitz, *Der Aufbau der Natur*, p. 70.
20) The tradition concerning Omayya ibn aṣ-Ṣalṭ runs essentially: 'His tongue is faithful but his heart is unbelieving.'
21) Pannwitz, *Nietzsche und die Gegenwart* (Der Nihilismus ...) p. 297.

Pannwitz has, however, shown that, viewed from the right angle, Eternal Recurrence is meant not as a deadening repetition but should be compared to a scala with the development of its potencies, dominants, and systems of dominants; it would, then, rather be a spiral than an eternal circle in which Nietzsche is confined according to Iqbal's view. [22]) Iqbal has never reached such a view, or invented a system of periodicity which would be opposed to his theory of spontaneous and unpredictable development, which would however have been compatible with the importance he ascribes to polarity and to development: both movements together lead organically—as can be observed excellently in Goethe's thought—to the spiral movement in the largest possible sense.

Besides the philosophical representatives of Western Europe the new apostles of socialism and other emerging political trends attracted Iqbal's interest. He acknowledged the utmost importance of Karl Marx and his teaching which was, then, spreading widely over the world, but could, naturally, not reconcile himself with his materialistic outlook. In an ironical verse he calls him

> the Moses without Divine epiphany, the Christ without Cross—
> He is not a prophet, but he has brought a book (AH 218)

alluding to the phrase of Jāmī in honour of Maulānā Rūmī (cf. J 539). It has already been referred to his utopic hope that out of the atheistic experience of Russia would issue one day the acceptance of the Islamic faith by the Bolshevists: hence some of his seemingly socialistic poems which are apt to misinterpretations only when isolated from the firm religious basis of Iqbal's thought [23])

Like many Oriental thinkers, Iqbal, too, had a certain predilection for Tolstoy who has been considered in the East the spokesman of criticism against the contemporary Christian way of life (cf. PM 236),

22) Pannwitz, *Kritische Kosmologie* (Beiträge p. 251 ff.).
23) Cf. the poems in PM 236: Company of the bygone: Tolstoy - Marx - Hegel - Mazdak - Farhad; PM 249: Lenin and Kaiser Wilhelm, PM 244 August Comte and the workman.

and it is Tolstoy in whose 'vision' in the *Jāvīdnāme* the most pitiless and trenchant words about Europe's treason to the love of Christ are uttered.

Iqbal's private library which is now in Islamia College Lahore gives a cross section through the books he had bought (he mostly borrowed from the University Library or the College libraries those books which where too expensive for his small income). In two book-cases of medium size one finds as the most interesting specimens the *Collected Essays* of R. Eucken, Cumont's *Mithra*; Haeckel, Eddington, Einstein exist besides Lombroso's *Soul of Women*, Cassirer, Vaihinger, Unamuno, Büchner, Höffding, M. Buber, Radhakrishnan (The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy), *Aids to the Study of German Theology* and a *History of German Literature* are also found. The philosophers proper—Plato, Aristoteles, Kant and Hegel—occupy a large space; English and German poetry is also available in numerous volumes; the poems of Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats may belong to Iqbal's early period, whereas Schiller's *Tantalus*, Goethe's *Maximen und Reflektionen* (in English translation) as well as the *Faust* are no doubt reminiscent of his student's days in Germany.

It would be worth while to scrutinize carefully these books and give an account of the whole library which would throw some more light on some peculiar aspects of Iqbal's thought. However, one must not assume that Iqbal was under the spell of this or that philosopher whose writings are found—perhaps accidentally—in those few books. He has surely carefully studied them, but has selected for himself whatever fitted into his religious-philosophical thought and could be reconciled with the Qur'ānic revelation, or has refused its contents expressedly in both poetry and prose (f.i. O. Spengler *Decline of the West*, I. 142 f.; cf. J. 301 where the expression 'Rise of the East' contains an implicit refutation of Spengler's theories). Iqbal had an extraordinary capacity for assimilation which can be seen as well in his dealing with European philosophy as in his correspondence with Maulānā Sulaymān Nadwī whose suggestions he grasped most ingeniously and embedded them into his own philosophical system. On the other hand, his ideas express a tendency which was current in the years after the first world-war, and which is growing even stronger in thinkers of to-day who have not the slightest connection with Iqbal—being unaware even of his name—and yet lay stress on the same crucial points of philosophy and theology (f.i. the Personal God) as Iqbal did years, decades ago.

It would be incorrect to restrict the influence of European thought on Iqbal, or his relation to European culture, only to the field of philosophy. He himself was even more a poet than a philosopher, and therefore it is small wonder that already early are met with in his work adaptions from English, later on also from German poetry; Emerson, Longfellow, Tennyson and other names occur in the *Bāng-i Darā*; Heine, Goethe and unidentified German poets later on (cf. BJ 223).[24])

The English poet whom Iqbal admired most before going to Europe was Milton. In 1903 he wanted to write a poem in the style of Milton, and this wish was then prevalent in him, according to his own words, since five or six years, i.e. since the last years of the 19th century, the first time of his stay in Lahore (M I 21). A few years later, his sympathy has somewhat faded, and in 1910 he remarks:

> The Puritan theology of Milton cannot appeal to the imagination of our age . . . There is, however, one thing in Milton. No poet has been more serious about his task than he. His style—a gigantic architecture consecrated to false deities—will always stand untouched by the palsied hand of time (SR 49).

However he could not escape the overwhelming impression the English poet had once left upon his mind, and when in 1932 the *Jāvīdnāme* was completed, a reader familiar with Milton could detect without difficulty some striking resemblances of persons and imagery. Iqbal and Milton, both deeply involved in the mental struggle with the problem of power and its reconciliation with goodness, have given the figure of Satan very similar features; Satan, endowed with Prometheian virtues, the powerful and wonderful Anti-Christ of the Paradise Lost, is comparable to the Iqbalian Iblis in many respects (cf. p. 209 ff.); Iqbal's demonstration of the meaning of Adam's Fall as a help for the unfolding of creative energy is also not far from Miltonian ideas; and the resemblance between some scenes of the Iqbalian poem and the Miltonian one extends even to details; the meet-

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[24]) Cf. the poems on Lord Byron, Petöfi and Browning and other European poets in the PM; and the important note opening this chapter, according to which Wordsworth had saved the young student at Cambridge from Atheism (SR 36, cf. the fine remarks of Javid Iqbal in his Introduction to the SR, p. XVIII).

ing of the old Deities in the Venus-Sphere of the *Jāvīdnāme* is an exact counterpart—partly even as to the names—to the meeting of the old Gods in the beginning of Paradise Lost. [25])

Not only Milton's but even more Dante's influences are clearly traceable in the *Jāvīdnāme*. Although the idea of a journey through the other world is, essentially, an Oriental one, the classical example in world literature is that of the *Divina Commedia,* and a careful comparison of the two poems shows how much Iqbal owes to the Italian poet-theologian: be it the person of a guide through the heavenly spheres, like Virgil, supplied in the Persian poem by Rūmī; be it the description of Judas as imprisoned in a block of ice (cf. Inferno Canto 32), or the connection of the Jupiter-Heaven—in Dante's poem characterized by the heavenly eagle of the souls—with the bird-motive; other smaller, nearly literary, similarities are found and show that Iqbal had carefully read the English translation of the Divina Commedia. He has also admitted that he desired to compose a similar work in Persian, though otherwise the name of Dante is of no importance in his work. [26])

Among the philosophers, Iqbal had acknowledged the highest rank to German thinkers, like Hegel, Kant, Nietzsche etc., and it was his conviction that:

> The function of the German nation is the organisation of human knowledge (SR 32).

A similar conclusion could be reached when one contemplates the expressions of his admiration for German literature, though he must have read most of it only in translations. It is doubtful whether or not Iqbal had a working knowledge of German; according to Atiya Begum's statement he was able to write German in 1907, and may have continued reading this language in later times, too. His quotations of German studies on Oriental subjects prove that his interest in the language of the country he loved most did not fade until the end of his life. Without a sufficient knowledge of German he would scarcely have been able to enjoy f.i. Heine's poetry, about whom he notes down:

> No nation was so fortunate as the Germans. They gave birth to Heine

[25]) Cf. R. J. Z. Werblowsky, *Lucifer and Prometheus*; S. A. Vahid, *Iqbal*, ch. 12.
[26]) Cf. Bausani's notes on *Dante and Iqbal*.

> at the time when Goethe was singing in full-throated ease.
> Two uninterrupted springs! (SR 118).

He has even included a poetical answer to a Heinean poem in his *Payām* under the title *Su'ālāt,* Questions, and inspirations taken from this poet are visible in some other verses too. But the only Western poet whom he glorified nearly as much as his Oriental spiritual leaders was Goethe. Already to his first Urdu poems belongs a comparison of Goethe with Mirza Ghalib (BD 9 f.) who was, then, his favorite Urdu-Persian poet of India. The "Garden of Weimar" is mentioned for the first time in this ode (cf., later, PM 184). Goethe was, for Iqbal, the unsurpassable model of poetical art—

> It is not until I had realized the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own (SR 2).

The anatomy of human mind, he held, could be studied with the philosophers and psychologists,

> but a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone (SR 108).

More than anything else the *Faust* impressed him, and traces of this spiritual encounter can be found in the beginning of the *Jāvīdnāme,* its Proem in Heaven and Proem on Earth, and the Angelic chorus. Yea, the Faust was considered by him as

> nothing short of Divine workmanship (SR 40)

and as the book which

> reveals the spiritual ideals of the German nation ... not the book supposed to have been written by the Galilean fishermen (SR 44).

Faust thus becomes the symbol of humanity, and is for Iqbal the congenial expression of what he loved most in the German nation.

In an interesting remark, he has compared the respective arts of Goethe and Shakespeare:

> Both Shakespeare and Goethe re-think the Divine thought of creation. There is, however, one important difference between them. The realist Englishman re-thinks the individual—the idealist German, the universal. His Faust is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualized (SR 112).

It is Iqbal's great merit that he has got interested India in the fig-

ure of this genius who was, according to his words, both philosopher and poet. The discovery of Goethe opened new horizons to the Indians who were, of course, almost completely under the influence of English poetry and thought. Iqbal has, out of his love for the German poet, taken active part in introducing Goethe's work into Urdu literature, and was very keen on seeing even the second part of *Faust* translated. [27])

The greatest homage Iqbal paid to his Western spiritual guide is the composition of the *Payām-i Mashriq* which is expressedly called an answer to the *West-Östlicher Diwan,* and in which he has extolled Goethe in highest panegyrics.

> The sage of the West, the German poet who was fascinated by the charms of Persia
> Depicted those coy and winsome beauties and gave the East a greating from Europe.
> In reply to him I have composed the Payam-i Mashriq: I have shed moon-beams over the evening of the East.

But Iqbal has confined his admiration not only to a more or less hymnical praise of the German poet, or some nice remarks about his art—he has adapted freely Goethean poems into Persian, for example the *Mahomets Gesang* as *Jū-yi āb,* The Stream (PM 151 f.), or the lovely scene *Dichter und Huri* (PM 147). In Goethe he discovered the prerogative of love on sheer intellect, he found the idea of development of human personality through the different stages of life.

Goethe's concept of God—

> und alles Drängen, alles Streben
> ist ew'ge Ruh in Gott dem Herrn

is quoted as evidence for his own concept that

> the not-yet of God means unfailing realization of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughout the entire process (L 60).

The Goethean Mephistopheles as the necessary element of activation in life is also met with in Iqbal's colourful picture of Iblīs, for wherever the demonic power turns up it sharpens the contrast of good and evil and makes man real man by initiating him into the

[27]) Sayid Nazir Niazi, in: *Muhammad Iqbal* (German-Pak Forum, p. 112).

strife of good and evil. [28]) Goethe's inclination to the mystery of polarity as well as "die Ehrfucht vor der eigenen Person" (as taught in the 'Pädagogische Provinz' of the Wanderjahre) were very cognate to Iqbal's own ideas.

A sentence like this:

> Purposes colour not only our present states of consciousness but also reveal its future direction (L 53)

sounds like an echo of Goethe's word on anticipation:

> Unsere Wünsche sind Vorgefühle der Fähigkeiten, die in uns liegen, Vorboten desjenigen, das wir zu leisten imstande sein werden. Was wir können und möchten, stellt sich unserer Einbildungskraft außer uns und in der Zukunft dar; wir fühlen eine Sehnsucht nach dem, was wir schon im stillen besitzen (Dichtung und Wahrheit).

Goethe, he has gratefully admitted, has led him into the inside of things. Perhaps Goethean thought and poetry has influenced him more lastingly than Hegelian or Bergsonian philosophy, and he felt in the German poet a kindred soul, only, as he writes, of a much larger spiritual breadth. Iqbal was more of a prophetic spirit, Goethe more of a poet, but both went in the same direction, working in the hope of winning that immortality which is the privilege of fully developed personalities, and convinced that

> Was fruchtbar ist, allein ist wahr.

Iqbal had become acquainted with European civilisation and its expressions in poetry and philosophy rather early, and had been able to enlarge the spiritual horizon of the Indian Muslims by introducing many hitherto unknown names of philosophers and poets from the West and presenting them in a new and original way. But he was in the main firmly rooted in the Oriental tradition and his poetry is scarcely understandable without a thorough knowledge of classical Persian and Urdu poetry. But also the Hindu tradition of his homeland had attracted him already in his early days; among his first poetical attempts one finds a fine Urdu adaptation of the Gāyitri, the sacred prayer of Hinduism. [29]) As a philosopher he was of necessity concerned with Indian philosophy and classical Indian literature, especially with the Upanishads which he mentions now and then; Max

[28]) G. Schaeder, *Gott und Welt,* p. 99.

[29]) As well Salik, p. 49, as Atiya Begum mention that Iqbal has studied Sanskrit.

Müller's *Vedānta Philosophy* belonged to his private library. In his youth, when still inclined to pantheistic speculations, he admired the 'awful sublimity of the Vedānta', and one can guess that allusions to phrases of the Upanishads occur sometimes in his poetry (cf. p. 114 f. also the frog in the dried up well J 177), that even the *ātman* concept may have influenced, to a certain extent, the formation of his ego-conception, though his later opposition against every kind of monistic philosophy must never been lost sight of.

As to the Indian idea of *karma*—the deed which bears its fruit in itself and gives the direction of future development—it has been used in his work several times, though without the implication of perfect mechanism which the original *karma* involves. Iqbal has chosen the Indian sage Bhartrihari whom he even allots a seat in Paradise (J 1556) for expressing his own ideas about action as determinative force in human life; the Indian poet-philosopher recites a ghazal (which is a nearly literary translation of the poem No. 3367 in Böthlingk's edition); and the same Bhartrihari recurs once more as the leading figure in the motto of the *Bāl-i Jibrīl*. The apparition of the Buddha in the *Jāvīdnāme*, where again stress is laid on action and its fruit, belongs to the same group of classical Indian motives in Iqbal's poetry.

Another wellknown figure of Indian mythology, the wise Vishvāmitra [30]) (once derided in a poem of Heine's!) is introduced into the heavenly spheres under the name of Jahāndost (J 266 ff.); he talks with Iqbal, in the dreamy landscape of the moon, about reality and irreality of life and time, pronouncing alternatively purely Vedantic, and purely Iqbalian ideas.

The figure of Vishvāmitra shows that Iqbal had a good knowledge of Indian mythology; it is related that he was a great admirer of the Indian epics, and was interested in a good Urdu translation of the Ramāyana; he knew that a certain poet Masīhī Jahāngīrī had translated the great epics into Persian in the hightime of the Moghul Empire when translations from Sanscrit literature were sponsored by Akbar and his successors. [31])

Some authors have maintained that Iqbal had studied Sanscrit; if that is the case he seems to have no longer practiced it after his return

30) Cf. Ch. IIA note 58.

31) Tanq., 38.

from Europe. And since his main interest was concentrated on Islamic subjects the study of Arabic and Persian was vital to him. It has been mentioned that he had studied Arabic rather well, but was not able to carry it on in the later periods of his life. As to his Persian he was very widely read in this language though he did not speak it fluently. To compose poetry in high-flown Persian was much easier for him than to lead a simple conversation with every-day expressions.

The study of Islamic philosophy—this word taken in the widest possible sense as merely Geisteswissenschaft—was one of the first subjects of Iqbal's studies, with a distinct sympathy for mystically inclined philosophers or pure mystics. In his thesis on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* he gives interesting surveys on some trends in Persian spiritual life which were, partly, nearly unknown in the West. Thinkers like Mollā Sadrā (cf. M II 160, 1922) or Hādī Sabzawārī—in whose work he saw pure neo-Platonism (M I 158, 1920) —have not ceased interesting him even after he had finished his special work in the field of Persian Geistesgeschichte, and the systems of these and other Persian mystical philosophers and theologians served him, partly, as sources of material for his studies into the nature of time (cf. also M I 128, 1924). A careful analysis of his letters in respect to these problems will yield interesting results for the history of Iqbalian thought.

In a fascinating study, *Classical Muslim Philosophy in the Work of a Muslim Modernist*, A. Bausani has examined Iqbal's sentences on different Muslim thinkers as they are found in his thesis and in the Lectures, and has succeeded in manifesting how far Iqbal went in his Umdeutung of similar philosophical ideas by using them in his peculiar apologetic way. He shows that his

> insistence in comparing Jīlī to Hegel, Ghazzāli to Descartes, derives from a tendency to say to us proud Europeans: Here are our philosophers, our shaikh is forerunner of your most boasted modern discoveries! [32])

Bausani has, with full right, pointed out that Iqbal has first reappreciated Ashʿarite thought and

> its dynamic terms for fruitful philosophical evolution along the way of a personalistic idealism. The anti-Greek, anti-classical aspect of

32) A. Bausani, o.c. p. 287.

> Ashᶜarism seems to have fascinated Iqbal's mind; the central point of his reconstructed philosophy of Islam is the discovery (L 70) 'that the Ashᶜarite thought is a genuine effort to develop on the basis of an Ultimate Will or Energy a theory of creation which, with all its shortcomings, is far more true to the spirit of the Qurᵓān than the Aristotelian idea of a fixed Universe'. It is especially Ashᶜarism, I think, that exerted the most fruitful influence on the shaping of the modernistic philosophical system of Iqbal, a system which, with all its contradictions, remains as one of the most outstanding achievements of Muslim modernism.

The sober analysis Bausani gives of the problem at stake is a model for that kind of interpretation of Iqbal's thought which is now required. It reveals the changing attitude of the poet-philosopher to some representatives of Islamic thought—and Iqbal himself was well aware of how much his outlook has changed after publishing the thesis; he prevented his friend from preparing an Urdu translation of the thesis

> because in my ideas has taken place a great revolution (M II 100, 1927)

and because many new German books (probably those of Obermann and Horten) had been published in the meantime.

Philosophy as such—like the works of Averroes, or even the mystically inclined Avicenna—did not attract Iqbal's interest too much; the names of the most famous Islamic philosophers become even, in his poetry, merely ciphers for the narrow-minded work of reason as contrasted to the flight and ardour of passion as embodied in true poetry:

> When truth has no burning, then it is philosophy,
> when it gets burning from the heart, it becomes poetry (PM 122).

He taunts the philosophers who have not even discovered the meaning of man but enter the realms of metaphysics:

> With Adam not yet to the saddle tied,
> Angels, and God, do they presume to take (Lāle 119).

Purely theologian texts like the works of Ibn al-Jauzī or the Ashᶜarite theologians on the one hand, historical works like that of Ibn Khaldun who becomes a crown-witness for his conception of history, belonged to Iqbal's favorite subjects; not to forget all those works

which were concerned with the intricacies of Islamic Law. He had written about Persian philosophy that "it always ends in religion' (MP); the same holds true also for his own philosophy. And his work is written in the same form in which many of the great Persian mystical philosophers had once exposed their ideas: as philosophical poetry. It is very informative to see how Iqbal, though completely different in spirit, has taken as model the *Gulshan-i rāz* of Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 1320), a standard work on monistic philosophy which has been often commented in the Islamic East. Iqbal, in his *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*, the New Rosegarden of Mystery has partly taken up the same questions or questions pertaining to similar problems as Shabistarī had done, but has, in his poetical answers, displayed his Ego-philosophy which is just the contrary of the medieval mystic's theories. [33])

The "wise old men of the East" were more important for Iqbal than

> Europeans who talked about many secrets of Being and Not-Being (AH 157)

and therefore it is small wonder that the classical representatives of Persian and Indian thought are openly or implicitly mentioned or alluded to in his poetry, be it the Ismaili philosopher Nāṣir-i Khosrau (J 1628) whose paramount role for the incorporation of Hellenistic-gnostic thought into the philosophy and theology of the Ismailiya has recently been discovered, [34]) be it Sayyid ᶜAli Hamadhānī, the author of a book on politics and Fürstenspiegel, but also a prolific writer on mysticism with monistic inclinations. [35]) Not to mention the numerous references to classical verses or lines which are well-known to every Indo-Persian reader, among them numerous quotations and allusions to Hafiz and ᶜIrāqī—otherwise condemned because of their debauching poetry—, to Amīr Khusrau (ZA I 16), Bēdil, Ghālib etc.

The last mentioned two poets have been eulogized by Iqbal as his guides back to Oriental style. Mirzā Bēdil is scarcely known to Euro-

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[33]) An allusion to Shabistarī is also found in J 350, the "cataclysm in the dew drop".

[34]) Nāṣir-i Khosrau, 1004-1074, the leading figure in the Ismāᶜīlīya movement, cf. H. Corbin et M. Moin, *k. jāmiᶜul-ḥikmatain*.

[35]) 13-14-1385, settled in Kashmir, he belonged to the Kubrawīya mystical order; cf. F. Meier, *Die Welt der Urbilder bei ᶜAlī Hamadānī*, Eranos XVIII.

pean readers, and his poetry, intrinsically difficult, is more admired in Afghanistan and Central Asia than in Persia. He is the typical exponent of the 'Indian style' which interlaces most complicated similes and unexpected turns; but at the same time Bēdil is more than a player with words, he is a genuine mystical philosopher, as Bausani, the only European who has investigated carefully his writings, was able to prove (cf. ZK 121, M II 326, 1936).[36])

Mirzā Ghālib whom Iqbal in one of his first poems had praised as the 'brother of Goethe', is commonly acknowledged as the greatest Indo-Muslim poet of the first half of the 19th century who, probably for the first time, expressed that feeling of narrowness, of longing for larger spaces, the transcending of a given world (but not in mystical meaning!) which is such a typical feature of Iqbal's poetry. That is why Iqbal has put the poet into the sphere of the passionate heretics, the Heaven of Jupiter in the *Jāvīdnāme*, where he is made to explain the mysteries of prophethood, relying on one of his verses about the problem whether another prophet can be born in newly emerging spheres.

Ṭāhir Ghanī of Kashmir (PM 160, J 1432)[37]) is quoted as well as Naẓīr[38]) (J 1076); the *Bāng-i Darā* contains also some poems on contemporary or just deceased poets, like Dāgh (BD 99),[39]) Shiblī and Ḥālī (BD 248) as well as a comparison between the classical Poet Saʿdī, and Ḥālī, the writer of the Aligarh movement of whom somebody has written that he 'found the nation ailing, Akbar diagnosed the disease and Iqbal prescribed the cure.' Iqbal was, indeed, on very friendly terms with Akbar Allāhabādī,[40]) the great satirical poet who wrote poignant poems against the imitation of Western customs by representatives of the Indo-Muslim intelligentsia, and laughed bitterly at their folly and their religious indifference. Girāmī,[41]) too counted among his friends, and wherever he saw a

[36]) Mirzā Bēdil, d. 1721, a variation (*taḍmīn*) of one of his poems in BD 277. About him cf. A. Bausani, *Note su Mirza Bedil*, and the same, *Letterature del Pakistan*, p. 76 ff.

[37]) Ṭāhir Ghanī, a famous Kashmiri poet, d. 1669.

[38]) Naẓīr, d. 1612, a well-known poet in the so-called Indian style; cf. Dr. Syed Abdullah, *Maqāmāt-i Iqbal*, p. 144 ff.

[39]) d. 1905; cf. Bausani, *o.c.*, 178. Saksena, *Urdu Literature*, p. 186 f.

[40]) Akbar Allāhābādī, d. 1921, id. p. 277 f. Saksena, o.c. 226 f.

[41]) d. 1927, cf. Bausani, *o.c.*, 95.

great talent among the younger generation of poets he tried to promote him, as he did with Josh Malihabadi who still belongs to the leading poets of Pakistan (M II 205, 1925).[42])

Iqbal expected a kind of poetry which might lead people towards a better future, and condemned whatever seemed to be repugnant to the spirit of life and power. That is the reason why he attacked Hafiz in the first edition of the *Asrār*—Hafiz, the poet who incorporated for millions of Persian reading people the genius of Persian language and poetry, whose lyrics had been extolled as unsurpassable models of supreme literary beauty and brilliant style, and had been imitated by thousands of minor poets, an almost legendary personality who was, in the West, the best known Eastern master of lyrics at all, inspiring not only Goethe but many second- and third-class poets of Germany and neighbouring countries.[43]) And had not Iqbal written in 1910:

> In words like cut jewels Hafiz put the sweet unconscious spirituality of the nightingales (SR 119)?

He had studied carefully the different editions of the dīwān of Hafiz and prefered that of H. Brockhaus with the Turkish commentary of Ṣudi (M I 42);[44]) he had also gone through a vast amount of literature about the poet of which he liked the *laṭāʾif-i ghaibī* by Mirza Muḥammad Dārābī (Teheran about 1907) and the English translation of Clarke (M I 38, 1916).[45]) He even did not avoid allusions to verses, rhymes and words of Hafiz, and four years after the first edition of the *Asrār* he could not but admit:

> If literary standard means that beauty is beauty, be its results useful or pernicious, then Hafiz belongs to the best poets of the world (M I 52).

In this sentence lies also the root of his criticism: the *Asrār* had been written as a protest of "Arabic" Islam against the Platonizing and Persianizing philosophy of medieval and largely of modern Is-

[42]) About Jōsh Malīhābādī, b. 1896: Bausani, *Letterature*, p. 226, 232.

[43]) H. H. Schaeder, *Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens*, 1938.

[44]) *Der Diwan des Hafiz mit dem Commentar des Sudi*, ed. H. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1854 ff.

[45]) H. Wilberforce Clarke, *Hafiz*, 3. vo., Calcutta, 1891.

lam, as a challenge against the monism which permeats Persian poetry—

> the wine of Sufi and poet carried away thee from thyself (ZA II 50).

The poetry of Hafiz has been interpreted in the course of time in different ways, either as plain love poetry, or in a pure mystical meaning. It has been considered the very best expression of that oscillating style of Persian lyrics (that never can be translated adequately) which mingles the natural and the supranatural, leaving the reader in doubt whether the sweetheart is of flesh and blood or is the Divine Beloved, whether the wine is "the daugther of the grape" or a symbol of intoxicating Divine love, whether the cupbearer is a lovely young boy, the spiritual master, or the Divine Beloved Himself. This ambiguity of symbolism which leads the reader into always new and unexpected dimensions and provides him with endless kaleidoscopic possibilities of interpreting a poem make Hafiz, read in the original, so attractive. [46]) And Iqbal was alive to the seducing charm of this poetry. There are many poets who have exhibited neo-Platonic or pantheistic ideas more openly than the poet of Shiraz—but Iqbal found the beauty of his style too dangerous, too alluring for the normal reader and has relied in his negative attitude upon a story which tells how even a staunch Muslim like Aurangzeb once had been seduced by Hafiz' poetry to ordering something contrary to Islamic Law. [47]) He saw no creative force, no dynamism in these verses, and the whole work of the Persian poet was considered a narcotic which hinders man from braving the risks and dangers of daily life with clearheadedness (M II No. 11). As an exponent of the state of mystical intoxication, Hafiz became anathema in Iqbal's work.

But what about the influence of the great and beloved mystics of Islam on Iqbal? There seem to be, besides the commonly acknowledged influences of Rūmī, some underground currents which will

[46]) Cf. Rückert's masterly verse:

> Hafiz, wo er scheinet Übersinnliches
> Nur zu reden, redet über Sinnliches,
> Oder redet er, wo über Sinnliches
> Er zu reden scheint, nur Übersinnliches?
> Sein Geheimnis ist unübersinnlich,
> Denn sein Sinnliches ist übersinnlich.

[47]) *Iqbal and the Journal Tareeqat*, IR April, 1961.

never be proved by scientific means but can only be sometimes felt. A verse like:

> In every moment comes a new taste to the *ᶜārifs*
> They are themselves *mujtahids* (possessing originality) and do not belong to the people of imitation
> Lions do not eat except their own prey—
> The Fox eats the fallen and the rotten meat—

would be accepted as a typical product of Iqbalian esprit—the underlining of *ijtihād*, free investigation in the sources and the attack on blind imitation, the symbol of fox and lion so common in Iqbal's verses—: the quatrain is, however, from the pen of the heretic prince Dārā Shikōh whom Iqbal, on the whole, disliked greatly. [48])

And there are other quatrains composed by Sarmad, the friend of Dārā who was executed as an heretic in 1660, which are so Iqbalian in expression and thought that the reader is simply taken aback: like the lines on ascension (cf. p. 303), the allusions to Satan as the perfect worshipper and others [49])—though Sarmad talked from the point of view of essential monism, and Iqbal from that of prophetic religion. But the limits between the two types of devotion are fluent, and the reason for the similarity and resemblance of both is, that these mystical poets have, like Iqbal, felt the Divine presence, have realized the communion with God, and have struggled with the conventional "people of imitation". But the similarities show also clearly—as do some amazing likenesses with Mīr Dard's ideas and expressions—how carefully one must be in interpreting Iqbal's poetry according to our standards, and to our still limited knowledge of the undercurrents in his thought; they prove also how deeply embedded the roots of his feeling and thinking were—consciously or unconsciously—in the great mystical tradition of his country.

Visible become these connections in his dealing with two mystics of old—and no doubt the two most impressive and leading personalities in the field of love-mysticism of highest order: they are Ḥallāj and Jalāladdīn Rūmī.

A very peculiar place is given Ḥusain ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj in the

[48]) Qaniᶜ: *Maqālāt ash-shuᶜarā*, p. 511.

[49]) S. M. Ikram, *Armaghān-i Pāk*, p. 238.

work of Muhammad ʿIqbal; nevertheless, this fact has not attracted the interest of scholars at all. [50])

The name of this mystical lover—often simply called by his father's name Manṣūr "the Victorious One"—was well-known to all poets from the very heart of Anatolia to the borders of India who wanted to express their unity with God, using Ḥallāj's famous word *Anā'l-ḥaqq*, "I am the creative Truth", and who were aware of the danger of telling the secret of Divine love and union to all and sundry: Ḥallāj's execution by the government of Bagdad was interpreted as the due punishment for his having declared publicly the identity of soul and God.

Yet, in the course of time, legends and strange interpretation had transformed the historical mystic into a merely poetical diagram, and it was not until L. Massignon in his indefatigable studies on Ḥallāj and his contemporaries discovered again the centre of this personality, and his original doctrines. [51])

Ḥusain ibn Manṣūr, surnamed al-Ḥallāj, the wool-carder, was born in the same year in which the great Egyptian mystic Dhū'n-Nūn died, in 859. From his native province, Fars, he went to Bagdad, the centre of mystic life and religious instruction in the middle Abbasid period; here, in the Iraq, classical *taṣawwuf* had developed, beginning with the austere ascetic preacher Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), and with Rābiʿa the woman mystic (d. 801), who introduced the idea of desinterested love of God for God's sake into the stern ascetism prevailing in her time, and influenced the following generations; the sober and earnest Muḥāsibī (d. 853) who has been styled as a forerunner of Ghazzālī, then Sarī as-Saqaṭī and his nephew al-Junaid, to mention only the most famous teachers besides whom there lived numberless Sufis trying to reach the level of Love of God, striving for the *fanā fillāh*, the annihilation (which was taken first in its ethical aspects, not as a metaphysical goal), and for the *baqā fillāh*, the "remaining in God", the life of unity when man's will becomes completely transformed into the will of God. Ḥallāj joined this group, but was not on very good terms with his master Junaid who is said to have cursed him. For a year or so, he stayed at Mecca, performing some miracles there;

50) Tanq., 135, denies any relation between Iqbal and Ḥallāj.

51) L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al Ḥosayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj*. 2 vol. Paris, 1922; cf. the bibliography, s.v. Massignon.

then went to the East, embarking for India in order to learn Yogi practices; he is also likely to have visited Turkestan. After his return to Bagdad he was imprisoned in 913; the *'ulamā'* and even most of the mystics accused him of impiety, and of conspiring with the politically dangerous ultra-shiite Qarmatian movement. Most of his fellow-mystics—except the pious Ibn Khafīf of Shiraz and the great Abū ʿAlī Rūdhbārī,—did neither agree with his mystic theory of the *huwa huwa* which means that man becomes through Divine grace the living witness of God, nor did they, consequently, understand the real meaning of his famous utterance 'I am the Creative Truth' which is neither the cry of an intoxicated lover who has lost self-control nor a sentence pointing at monistic-pantheistic inclinations.

Massignon has shown Ḥallāj as the culmination of Islamic mysticism: after the period of deterioration of morality, and the period of introspection in classical *taṣawwuf*, "the third phase consists of the integration of this introspection in the ritual-cultic life, life according to the Divine Law, through the repairing suffering and love-sacrifice of a witness, a *shāhid*, who witnesses God as giving him this love and longing". [52]) Here lies the foundation of the *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, the testimonial monism, as contrary to the *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the essential monism which developed under the influences of Hellenistic philosophy and was crowned by Ibn ʿArabī's system.

Some time after Ḥallāj's death, his personality was transformed by legends, he now "stands out preeminently as a man of sorrows striving with all his heart to fulfill the Divine command, no matter at what cost of suffering to himself". [53]) He becomes the prototype of the lover who sheds his blood in love and who becomes *manṣūr*, victorious, through his death on the gibbet—ʿAṭṭar sees in his being hanged on the impaling stake a kind of *miʿrāj*, of ascension [54]); Maulana Rūmī has once compared the red rose on its bough to Manṣūr,

52) Waardenburg, p. 157.

53) Nicholson, *Personality*.

54) Ritter, *Oriens* XII 47; *Dīwān* p. 177; cf. the poem No. 376 from the Dīwān:

> Don't be so intoxicated as this Hallaj.
> Be either a Ḥusain or a Manṣūr (i.e. victorious)
> If to you belongs "I breathed into him from my spirit" (Sūra 15/29)
> Then be the pure spirit of the blowing of the trumpet (of resurrection).

and in Indian-Muslim mystical poetry the gibbet of Manṣūr is likened to the nuptial bed. [55])

The influence of Ḥallāj's ideas, the impression left by his personality, is clearly felt for the first time in the poetry and prose of Farīdaddīn ʿAṭṭār who considered him his spiritual guide, and through his widely read work the name of Ḥallāj became a symbol of suffering love in the whole Persian, Turkish, and Indo-Islamic poetry. Just as Maulānā Rūmī's work—both the lyrics and the Mathnawī (in which he writes whole paraphrases of Ḥallājian sentences)—contains numerous allusions to the martyr of love, who uttered the cry: *anāʾl-ḥaqq*, so Turkish poetry from its beginnings sings the story of Manṣūr's love and affliction. Details from Ḥallāj's life are quoted by a poet like Nesimi (d. 1417), who, like him, was executed for heterodoxy and, like his admired master, "performed the ablution for prayer with blood". Yunus Emre (d. 1321) is completely familiar with the master's teachings, and often identifies himself with him in his search for the Beloved, and in his comprehensive cosmic consciousness (pantheistic interpretation of the *anāʾl-ḥaqq!*). [56]) The legends which were told about Ḥallāj's life were common stock in the Islamic countries—Pir Sultan Abdal, the Turkish Shiʿa poet in the 16th cty., was, during his imprisonment, "not wounded by the stones thrown at him but by the rose thrown by his friend" [57]) just as Ḥallāj sighed only at the rose which his disciple Shiblī threw at him at his last way—and Iqbal has used the same expression—common in his country—in one of his letters (M II 62, 1918). Still to-day the woolcarders in Turkey tell stories about the spiritual leader of their guild.

Even when Ḥallāj's name is not mentioned explicitely, there is no doubt that the most beloved symbol of medieval and modern Oriental lyrics was borrowed from his work: the symbol of the moth which flies around the candle; it throws itself into the flame and experiences real union—the union from where nobody can return. In Islamic literature, this symbol—which has inspired Goethe's *Selige Sehnsucht*—is found for the first time, as far as we are aware, in Ḥallāj's *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* (*ṭāsīn al-fahm*). [58]) In the *Jāvīdnāme* a verse sung by

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Ṭāhira is reminiscent of the legend of Ḥallāj and the symbol of the moth:

> At last gibbet and rope were his lot—
> He did not return alive from the street of the Beloved.

During the middle-ages Ḥallāj was not only seen as the great lover, but was misinterpreted as the first classical representative of pantheistic currents of thought. His word *anāʾl-ḥaqq* seemed to intend the absolute, substantial, union of man and God, and it is small wonder that this expression became popular in all Sufi circles and was used without discretion by all those poets who had realized—or pretended to have,—the essential unity of Divine and human nature, transgressing all boundaries of orthodox Islamic teaching; the great mystic Shāh Laṭīf of Bhit has made Ḥallāj even—in a rather Manichean way of thinking—the symbol of the inner yearning of the Divine spark which is imprisoned in this material world. [59])

This traditional poetical picture of Ḥallāj was wellknown to Iqbal from his Indian environment, from Urdu, Persian, and Panjabi poetry: [60])—Hujwīrī, the saint of Lahore, had also written a full biography of Hallāj in his *minhāj ad-dīn*. [61]) It is therefore quite natural that the young philosopher—then himself still inclined towards pantheistic ideas—wrote in his thesis in 1907:

> This streaming (i.e. *taṣawwuf*) became measureless pantheistic in Ḥallāj who, in the spirit of the Upanishads, cried *anāʾl-ḥaqq*, that means *aham brahmāsmi* . . .

a statement which is recalled—though more in the negative—in the last verses of the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*, when the poet sings

> Do not speak of Shānkara and Manṣūr—
> Search God always in the way of Ego! [62])

confronting Ḥallāj and the most erudite representative of the pure *advaita* philosophy in India. But he equates *khūdī*, Self, with *ḥaqq*, reality, and writes in the same poem:

[59]) Shāh ʿAbdul Laṭīf, *risālō, Sur Sohnī* IX 1, 2.
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[62]) ZA GR VIII.

Say "I am Truth" and become so a faithful friend of the Self.

The creative truth lies, for him, in the fact that the human Self and Divine Self are realities, each of them creating and growing in an inscrutable way. And even later, Iqbal has tried to show that the path of the true mystic traveller who has strengthened his Ego and therefore has the right to cry *anā'l-ḥaqq* is free from different and difficult stages and stations (i.e. it is the way of loving experience, of intuition), whereas the traveller on the road of pantheism (*hama ōst*: everything is He) remains under the subjection of time and space.

Between writing his thesis and the above-quoted verse of the *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd* Iqbal had become acquainted with the important studies of L. Massignon who had edited the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* in 1914. Iqbal must have read this book in 1916, for on May 17, 1916 he mentions in a letter to Maulānā Aslam Jayrājpūrī that it had been published in France with extremely useful notes, and he adds that the fundamental ideas of Manṣūr had now become clear to him; that the *fuqahā'* were completely right in their verdict against him; that the remarks which Ibn Ḥazm had made about him in the *kitāb al-milal wa'n-nihal* had been confirmed exactly by this booklet. [63]) Iqbal, at that very moment, could not understand "why later generations have become so fond on Ḥallāj" (M I, 54).

We cannot guess at what time Iqbal's understanding of Ḥallāj began to change; we only see his completely different attitude in the *Jāvīdnāme*. Here, the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* has inspired the poet to invent the so-called '*ṭawāsīn* of the Prophets' in the Moon-Sphere, where he is introduced into the secrets of Prophethood; probably relying on the fact that Hallāj's book praises the Prophethood of Muhammad in the most glowing colours.

Massignon had succeeded in showing that in the theology of Ḥallāj God's pure transcendence is maintained. But there is the possibility of God's presence by his grace in the heart of the believer when it has been purified by the observance of spiritual discipline and rites. Man is created in order that the love of God may be apparent in this world; he is an image of God Himself, and God has chosen him from Eternity to Eternity by looking at him in love. So he becomes, endowed with Divine attributes, *huwa huwa*, He He. It is, in this

[63]) Cf. the letter of 13.11.1917 (M I 79) to Maulānā Sulaymān Nadwī.

connection, important that Adam is said to have been created out of Not-Being—as orthodox theology maintains—and is not a mere emanation from the Divine Essence; his spirit, too, is created. And, even more important, Ḥallāj holds, that "the Divine Unity does not result in destroying the personality of the mystic but it makes him more perfect, more sacred, more divine, and makes him its free and living organ" [64])—ideas which are very close to those which Iqbal pointed out.

God, as conceived by Ḥallāj, is Creative Love, Essential Desire—*'ishq*—and tries to draw man nearer and nearer to Him, in a love which showers afflictions to the lover:

> To live without wounds means: not to live—
> one must live with fire under the feet—

these words are quite correctly put into Ḥallāj's mouth by Iqbal in the *Jāvīdnāme*.

One does not know whether Ḥallāj has uttered his famous sentence *anā'l-ḥaqq* in the presence of Junaid or not; it is now preserved in the 6th chapter of the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn*, and is the word of somebody who feels that the *rūḥ nāṭiqa*, the uncreated Divine Spirit, has been united by Grace with the created spirit of man and has transformed him into a living and loving witness of God who realizes the *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, as later reformers have called this experience which preserves and strengthens human nature.

The following generations of Sufis have tried to explain this statement of the martyr mystic in different ways: according to some, Ḥallāj lost his personality in ecstasy, and it was God who spoke through his mouth; Ghazzālī declares this exclamation a delusion and, if announced in public, a dangerous illusion, an exaggerated utterance of the loving heart which does not feel any longer a difference between itself and the Beloved. But it may also be the illumination brought into the heart by the Divine name *al-Ḥaqq* when the believer meditates on this name. In the *mishkāt al-anwār*, however, Ghazzālī thinks that the vision of Divine Beauty may have led Ḥallāj to this expression.

'Abdulqādir Gīlānī, the great Iraqian mystic (d. 1166) and founder of the Qādiriya order to which Iqbal was affiliated, explains the *anā'l-ḥaqq* in the following way:

[64]) Massignon, *La Passion*, p. 117.

> One day the reason of one gnostic flew away from the tree of his outward form and came into Heaven where he broke through the ranks of the angels, it was one of the falcons of the world whose eyes are covered by the hood called Man has been created weak (Sūra 4/32), and he did not find in Heaven anything he could hunt, and when he saw the prey "I have seen my Lord" he was bewildered that his goal might say to him "Wheresoever ye turn there is the Face of God" (Sūra 2/109), and he descended again in order to gain a thing which is more precious than fire in the bottom of the sea, and he turned the eyes of his reason and did not see but His traces, and he turned and did not find in this world another good than his Beloved. And he became glad and said with the intoxication of his heart *anā'l-ḥaqq*, singing tunes which are not allowed to mankind, whistling in the garden of Existence in a way that is not given to the sons of Adam, and he modulated with his voice such a modulation that it brought him to death . . . [65])

Here the motif of the bird is interesting—Iqbal, too, has symbolized Ḥallāj in the Jupiter-Sphere as an always flying heavenly bird, an allusion perhaps to the beautiful passage of Ḥallāj's commentator Rūzbihān Baqlī who had called his master the 'King of the birds of love'.

ᶜAbdulqādir Gīlānī is still faithful to the idea that the vision of God is the real prey for the believer—words which have been often used in Iqbal's poetry too;— Ibn ᶜArabī, however, explains the same expression of Ḥallāj from his pantheistic-monistic doctrine, altering the word *al-ḥaqq* into *ḥaqq* and interpreting it as: "I am Truth, I am the mystery of God's truth in the visible thing", and in this sense the word has been quoted by all his followers. [66])

As to Maulānā Rūmī, Iqbal's spiritual guide, he has compared the situation of him who cries *anā'l-ḥaqq* to that of iron cast into fire (Math. II 1347); "The colour of iron lies in the colour of fire, and the iron calls: I am the fire, you may touch me and understand that I am really fire . . ." That means that there is no substantial union—for iron remains materially and substantially iron, but a union of the attributes: iron takes the heat and the colour of fire. We may remind here the fact that the iron-and-fire symbol for the unio mystica has been used by mystics of all religions, from Greek orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant writers to the Hindu sage Lāl Dās, a friend of Prince Dara Shikoh. [67])

65) ᶜAbdulqādir Gīlānī, quoted in *k. aṭ-ṭawāsīn*, p. 180 (where also the other theories are summed up) from Shaṭṭanaufī, *bahjat al-asrār*, ms. Paris, 2038.

66) Id. p. 182 f. according to *Fuṣuṣ*, 126.

But Rūmī writes still another verse about the same *anā'l-ḥaqq*, a verse which has, no doubt, deeply influenced Iqbal's conception of the Ego:

> To say 'I' am in due time, is divine grace,
> To say 'I' am in undue time is curse—
> The I of Manṣūr became surely grace,
> That of Pharao became curse, look! (Math. II 2522 f.).

It is an allusion to the context of the *anā'l-ḥaqq* in the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* where the mystic sees himself in the company of Pharao and Satan who all three did not want to withdraw from their original pretention: Pharao is, in Muslim tradition, the exponent of selfish pride who wants to be a God.

Iqbal has taken up this kind of interpretation of the *anā'l-ḥaqq* in his Lectures (96) when he writes:

> Devotional Sufism alone tried to understand the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Qurᵓān declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge, the other two being History and Nature. The development of this experience in the religious life of Islam reached its culmination in the wellknown word of Ḥallāj 'I am the creative truth'. The contemporaries of Ḥallāj, as well as his successors, interpreted these words pantheistically, but the Fragments of Ḥallāj, collected and published by the French Orientalist L. Massignon, leave no doubt that the martyr saint could not have meant to deny the transcendence of God. The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not a drop slipping into the sea, but the realization and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality. The phrase of Ḥallāj seems almost a challenge flung against the *mutakallimīn*. The difficulty of modern students of religion, however, is that this type of experience, though perhaps perfectly normal in its beginning, points, in its maturity, to unknown levels of consciousness . . .

From this point of view—that of challenging the existing philosophical and religious systems—it can be understood why he compares even his venerated teacher McTaggart of Cambridge to the Islamic mystic

67) Lāl Dās, *Les Entretiens de Lahore*; Gerlac Petersen (The Way of Mysticism, p. 102).

> One day the reason of one gnostic flew away from the tree of his outward form and came into Heaven where he broke through the ranks of the angels, it was one of the falcons of the world whose eyes are covered by the hood called Man has been created weak (Sūra 4/32), and he did not find in Heaven anything he could hunt, and when he saw the prey "I have seen my Lord" he was bewildered that his goal might say to him "Wheresoever ye turn there is the Face of God" (Sūra 2/109), and he descended again in order to gain a thing which is more precious than fire in the bottom of the sea, and he turned the eyes of his reason and did not see but His traces, and he turned and did not find in this world another good than his Beloved. And he became glad and said with the intoxication of his heart *anāʾl-ḥaqq*, singing tunes which are not allowed to mankind, whistling in the garden of Existence in a way that is not given to the sons of Adam, and he modulated with his voice such a modulation that it brought him to death . . . [65])

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It is an allusion to the context of the *anāʾl-ḥaqq* in the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* where the mystic sees himself in the company of Pharao and Satan who all three did not want to withdraw from their original pretention: Pharao is, in Muslim tradition, the exponent of selfish pride who wants to be a God.

Iqbal has taken up this kind of interpretation of the *anāʾl-ḥaqq* in his Lectures (96) when he writes:

> Devotional Sufism alone tried to understand the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Qurʾān declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge, the other two being History and Nature. The development of this experience in the religious life of Islam reached its culmination in the wellknown word of Ḥallāj 'I am the creative truth'. The contemporaries of Ḥallāj, as well as his successors, interpreted these words pantheistically, but the Fragments of Ḥallāj, collected and published by the French Orientalist L. Massignon, leave no doubt that the martyr saint could not have meant to deny the transcendence of God. The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not a drop slipping into the sea, but the realization and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality. The phrase of Ḥallāj seems almost a challenge flung against the *mutakallimīn*. The difficulty of modern students of religion, however, is that this type of experience, though perhaps perfectly normal in its beginning, points, in its maturity, to unknown levels of consciousness . . .

From this point of view—that of challenging the existing philosophical and religious systems—it can be understood why he compares even his venerated teacher McTaggart of Cambridge to the Islamic mystic

[67]) Lāl Dās, *Les Entretiens de Lahore*; Gerlac Petersen (The Way of Mysticism, p. 102).

> . . . 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. He never ceased to utter what he had personally seen to be the truth until the mollas of Islam prevailed upon the state to imprison him and finally to crucify him.—He met his death with perfect calm (SS 152)—

McTaggart's emphasis on personal immortality "even at the expence of the transcendent God of Christian theology at a time when this important belief was decaying in Europe" forms the tertium comparationis between the modern British philosopher and the medieval Islamic mystic.

In another passage in the Lectures, where Iqbal describes what he calls *īmān*, faith and its "living assurance begotten of a rare experience" he points out that

> . . . This is one way in which unitive experience expresses itself. In the history of religious experience in Islam, which, according to the Prophet, consists in the creation of Divine attributes in man, this experience has found expression in such phrases as I am the creative truth (Ḥallāj), I am Time (Muhammad), I am the speaking Qurʾān (Ali), Glory to me (Bayezid). In the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite ego, it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite (L 110).

Historically, it is more than doubtful whether one is allowed to compare the above mentioned theopatic utterances (the genuineness of two of them being highly questionable); but it is interesting how Iqbal managed in using these ecstatical words for proving his own theories. He goes even farther and applies the sentence *anāʾl-ḥaqq* not only to the individual which preserves its personal life in the union with God, but to the community of faithful. In a group of quatrains in his posthumous work (AH 97 ff.), the ideal nation is that which realizes the *anāʾl-ḥaqq* in its striving, i.e. which proves to be creative truth, a living, active reality which witnesses God's reality by its own national—or supranational—life. Iqbal goes even so far as to say

> If the individual says *anāʾl-ḥaqq*, punishment is better—
> If a nation says it, it is not illicite.

Iqbal has depicted Ḥallāj—after having overcome the first critical stage of traditional misinterpretation—as the great example of living faith, and in the *Jāvīdnāme* the martyr saint becomes nearly a forerunner of Iqbal himself. He has put into his mouth a ghazal which he had published ten years ago in the *Payām-i Mashriq*, and has called him the ardent preacher of free will and desire. That similarity is carried on in other places too, so when, in a heavenly discussion between the great mystical poets ʿAṭṭār and Rūmī, it is mentioned that Ḥallāj had told them that a *qalandar* had openly announced the Secrets of the Self (ZK 116), or when Iqbal sings

> I danced before idols and girded myself with the Magian's girdle
> (Intending) that the Shaikh of our town should become a religious man by declaring me an infidel (ZA II 35),

which is hint to the prayer of Ḥallāj that those who sentenced him to death might be granted Divine grace because they wanted to defend their faith by their action.

It was an ingenious invention of Iqbal to introduce Ḥallāj in the Heaven of Jupiter in the *Jāvīdnāme*, and he has done this without even mentioning the dangerous subject of *anāʾl-ḥaqq* but has concentrated the dialogue upon the subjects of prophetology and the problem of Iblis which both form important parts of Ḥallāj's *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn*.

The marvellous passage in the *Jāvīdnāme* in which Ḥallāj praises the Prophet in sweet and ardent verses (vd. p. 157) and discovers the meaning of *ʿabduhu* "His Slave" is no doubt inspired by the *ṭāsīn al-fahm* and the *ṭāsīn an-nuqṭa* in the quoted work in which Ḥallāj praises the high qualities of the Prophet, alluding to his ascension, and by the *ṭāsīn as-sirāj*, where Muhammad is the Being whose light was created before all things, whose being preceded the not-being, whose name existed before the Divine pen. On the other hand, the *kitāb aṭ-ṭawāsīn* contains, in the *ṭāsīn al-azal waʾl-iltibās* the problem of the disobedience of Iblis—therefore the apparition of Satan as the only true unitarian at the end of the Jupiter-Sphere, called forth by the words of Ḥallāj (cf. III A), and its is possible that Iqbal has interpreted Ḥallāj as "lover of pure love" according to the example of Iblis. [68])

[68]) Cf. the letter of Professor L. Massignon of 30.1.1961: "Quant à Iqbal, il m'écrivit, le 18 févr. 1932, de Lahore, avant son départ pour l'Europe, me disant son désir de me voir pour parler de son interprétation 'nietzschéenne' de Hallaj. Je reçus sa visite le 1er novembre 1932 à Paris, où il était venu pour parler avec Bergson de la tr. angl., assez mauvaise, des données immédiates qui lui avait faire con-

Once more the name of the martyr mystic occurs in the *Jāvīdnāme*. Again a spirit who flies in never ending circles beyond the heavenly spheres is compared to him: the spirit of Nietzsche who is called a Ḥallāj without gibbet, not killed by fanatic and ignorant theologians who were afraid of the living experience of God but by the doctors of the West who did not understand the intoxication of ego-love, and could not help him to breaking the spell of this material world. But both are conceived as fighters against a fossilised and petrified religious system—: yet, this similarity leads them towards the same fate: "Impaling stake and preacher's pulpit are jealous of each other" (cf. BJ 38).

Already in 1917 Iqbal warned some friends not to proclaim his ideas too publicly in quoting the Persian verse which is used in India as a proverb, without pointed reference to Ḥallāj, though taken from his story:

> On the gibbet thou canst say it,
> But on the pulpit thou canst not say it (M II 188);

Two decades later he sums up:

> The mystery is said in two words:
> The place of love is not the pulpit but the gibbet (AH 201).

Iqbal has openly compared himself to Ḥallāj just as generations of mystics have seen in Ḥallāj the prototype of their own suffering love and model of their unitive experience; yet for him, the martyr mystic is the herald of that spiritual love which means in itself resurrection of man—according to Ḥallājian verse:

> By God, the breath of the uncreated spirit breathes into my body
> Like Isrāfīl's blowing into the trumpet. [69])

It is the Ḥallāj, who has written the great threnody on all spiritually dead and who now addresses Iqbal in the *Jāvīdnāme* with the words:

> That what I did, that thou hast also done—be careful!
> Thou hast also brought resurrection to the dead—be careful!
> (J 1144)

naitre Bergson. NB. En souvenir de cette entrevue Bergson-Iqbal, j'ai apporté à l'Univ. de Lahore une adresse du Collège de France fin déc. 1957). Il me dit son admiration pour les Tawasin.

[69]) Ḥallāj, Dīvān, M. No. 21.

While the influence of Ḥusain ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj upon Iqbal had, until now, never been discussed in detail, the literature about his spiritual relations with Jalāluddīn Rūmī, widely known as Maulānā Rūmī, is rather large, and indeed is the impression of this mystical poet on Iqbal so manifest that even a very superficial survey would suffice for convincing the reader that Maulānā Rumi is a key figure in our poet's work.

Jalāluddīn was born in Balkh in Afghanistan in 1207, but his father, a wellknown mystic, left the country because of political difficulties and settled eventually, after long journeys, in Konya, the then centre of the Turkish Seljukid Empire of Anatolia, a place where science and religion, art and literature were flourishing. Jalāluddīn succeeded to his father in the chair of theology, but it was not before 1241 that he was initiated into the profoundest mysteries of Divine love by the wandering derwish Shamsaddīn of Tabrīz, with whom he became so identified that he used his name instead of his own as nom-de-plume in the mystical lyrics which are the fruit of this encounter, and which belong to the most beautiful mystical poetry ever written. After Shamsaddīn had disappeared for the second time (probably murdered by members of Maulānā's own family) a shorter passion connected Rūmī with the goldsmith Salāḥaddīn Zarkūb; his least and most lasting mystical love was that of Ḥusāmaddīn Chalabī who inspired him to the composition of the *Mathnawī*, the spiritual couplets, which constitute a complete encyclopedia of mystical wisdom. All the various strands of Islamic mysticism are woven into the voluminous poem (about 26 000 couplets), interrupted by stories, illustrated by fables, sometimes soaring into the exalted realms of pure pantheism, sometimes emphasizing the personal intimate relation between God and man but ever repeating that love and longing are the key to all wisdom. [70])

Rūmī has, through this Mathnawī, assimilated the literary tradition of Sanā'ī of the 12th, Farīdaddīn ʿAṭṭār of the early 13th centuries to whom he is deeply indebted. But likewise the mystical concepts of

[70]) Cf. art. *Celaladdin Rumi*, Islam Ansikl. 21/1955 (by H. Ritter); H. Ritter, *Maulānā Dschelāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis*, Philologika XI Islam 26/1940; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaladdin*; the same, *Mevlanā dan sonra Mevlevilik*; R. A. Nicholson, *Selected poems from the Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, 1898; the same, Critical edition of the *Mathnawī* (vd. bibliography s.v. Rūmī).

his own father, religious ideas laid down by Imām Ghazzālī, the monistic philosophy of Ibn ᶜArabī's son-in-law Sadruddin Qonawī, who was Maulānā's contemporary and colleague in Konya, and much other traditional wisdom and knowledge is hidden in the nearly inexhaustible work.

When Rūmī had expired on December 17, 1273, his son organized the order of the Mawlawis, known in the West as the Whirling or Dancing Derwishes—an order which gained wide spiritual and material influence in the then rising Ottoman Empire; the development of Turkish classical literature, music, and fine arts is partly due to the activities of the Mawlawis, whose leader had even the privilege to invest the new sultan with the sword.

In Europe the Dancing Derwishes attracted early the interest of travellers to Turkey; the poetry of Rūmī, later on, became translated by the indefatigable J. von Hammer-Purgstall; but the fact that Goethe has pronounced a not very friendly opinion about the mystic has hindered him from becoming as known in Germany as f.i. Hafiz. His lyrics are mostly quoted in the very free rendering of F. Rückert. [71])

In the East, however, the *Mathnawī* has been regarded often as a kind of mystical commentary to the Qurᵓān, and nearly as inspired source of all wisdom. Its stories have been imitated and repeated by hundreds of poets in Turkey, Persia, and India; numberless smaller *mathnawīs* have been composed in its style and meter; there are commentaries and supercommentaries on this work which in general tend to interpret the whole poem in the light of Ibn ᶜArabī's monistic system. [72]) India and Turkey compete in the number of commentaries and translations into the different vernaculars, [73]) and the sources tell how numerous sufis contented themselves with the Qurᵓān and the

[71]) Larger parts of the Divan have been translated first by J. von Hammer-Purgstall in his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*; the poetical ghazals by F. Rückert which are quoted most in German works when Rūmī is discussed, are very free and partly original verse-renderings, but have been translated into English by J. Hastie, *The Festival of Spring*, Edinburgh, 1903. The story III 189 ff. about the oratio infusa has become wellknown in all textbooks of History of Religions.

[72]) For Oriental commentaries cf. the Introduction of the Commentary of R. A. Nicholson; in Turkey the most famous ones are that of Ankaralī Ismāᶜīl Rūsūḫī (d. 1631), and of ᶜĀbidīn Pāshā, Istanbul 1887/88; in Indian the commentary of Baḥr ulᶜUlūm, 1819; for Panjabi translations vd. L. D. Barnett, Panjabi Printed Books p. 39.

[73]) About translations in the same metre vd. Bibliography s.v. Rūmī.

Mathnawī as all-sufficient sources for their spiritual life; [74]) even the stern Emperor Aurangzeb is said to have shed tears when listening to the recitation of this work [75])—similar effects can still be witnessed today, even in Turkey, where Maulānā Rūmī's tomb is a highly venerated and frequently visited place. This centuries long interest in the Mathnawi (more than in the, poetically much superior, dīwān of lyrics) has resulted in the fact that many of Maulānā's memorable verses are common stock in the Persian speaking part of the Muslim world.

It is hence natural that Iqbal was familiar with Rūmī's ideas from his very young days. [76]) But it is as natural that he regarded, first, the great mystic as the exponent of pantheistic Sufism, and writes therefore in his thesis:

> All feeling of separation ... is ignorance; and all 'otherness' is a mere appearence, a dream, a shadow—a differentiation, born of relation essential to the self-recognition of the Absolute.
> The great prophet of this school is 'The excellent Rumi' as Hegel calls him. He took up the old neo-Platonic idea of the Universal soul working through the various spheres of Being, and expressed it in a way so modern in spirit that Clodd introduces the passage in his Story of Creation ... (MP 117).

The verse he then cites—

> first man appeared in the class of inorganic things ...

has become, later on, in his own work the proof for the rising gamut of egohood in all things, surmounting even man in his present stage.

After his return from Europe Iqbal might have felt that this pantheism is only one aspect of Rūmī's thought. I presume that the excellent small study on Rūmī by Maulānā Shiblī [77]) has influenced the

[74]) F.i. the famous Naqshibandi mystic Muḥammad Zamān-i Awwal in the 18th century; cf. Qāsimi, in *Mihrān jā Mōtī*, 309; and also Shāh ᶜAbdul Laṭīf; Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif*, p. 174, 243; already in the 15th century a Bengali author writes: "The holy Brahmin will recite the Mathnawī"; E. Haq, *Muslim Bengali Literature* p. 42, cf. p. 49.

[76]) C. Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 186. An anecdote about a mathnawī-reciter in the presence of Aurangzēb: Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Qāni, *tuḥfat ul-kirām*, p. 557; cf. a story about an author excusing himself before Shāh Jahān by a verse from the Mathnawī, Qanūngo, *Dārā Shikōh*, p. 382.

[76]) Dr. Syed Abdullah, *Mutāleᶜa-i Rumi kī tārīkh mēn Iqbāl kā maqām* (The place of Iqbal in the study of Rumi), in: Maqāmāt-i Iqbal.

[77]) Allama Shiblī Nuᶜmānī, *sawāniḥ-i Maulawī Rūmī*, Persian translation by Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Fakhr Dāᶜī Gīlānī, Teheran, 1332; the poem on p. 156.

new direction of his interpretation of Maulānā Jalāluddīn's work. Shiblī finished his booklet with a comparison of some of Rūmī's ideas to modern theories of evolution, and especially points out similarities with Darwin, quoting again that very passage which was in the work of an outstanding Pakistani scientist to be used as evidence for the high standard of Muslim science in the middle ages:

> I died as mineral and became a plant . . . [78]) (Math. III 3901 ff.).

After 1911, Iqbal starts to reveal Maulānā Rūmī no longer as an exponent of all-embracing pantheism but as the advocate of spiritual development, of love between man and a personal God, and of an infinite quest for God: ideas which are found indeed—among many others—in the *Mathnawī*, and perhaps even more distinctly in the *Dīwān-i Shams-ī Tabrīz* which Iqbal probably studied in Nicholson's fine selection.

His new orientation is visible in the *Asrār* where he relates "how Jalāluddīn Rūmī appeared in a vision and bade him arise and sing" (AK XI, a story confirmed by members of his family), and, as R. A. Nicholson writes in his translation of the work:

> As much as he dislikes the type of Sufism exhibited by Hafiz, he pays homage to the pure and profound genius of Jalāluddīn though he rejects the doctrine of self-abandonment taught by the great Persian mystic and does not accompany him in his pantheistic flights.

The connection thus established—Rūmī becoming Iqbal's *pīr* and *murshid*, his spiritual guide—lasted till the very end of the poet's life: the personality of the great teacher is always palpable behind the most ardent poems of Iqbal. He, too, regarded the Qurʾān and the *Mathnawī* as the two basic and most expedient books for man's spiritual formation (M I 27, 1935); therefore he advised young scholars and poets to read and reread the *Mathnawī* and take inspiration from it (M I 284, 1935). The prose-writings of Rūmī also interested him, and in 1922 he urged ʿAbdul Majīd Daryābādī to prepare a scholarly edition of the so-called Table-talks of Rūmī, the *Fīhī mā Fīhī* (M I 235).

In the *Asrār*, Maulānā Rūmī not only appears at the beginning of the poem as spiritual guide but in chapter XVI his legendary first meeting with Shams-i Tabrīzī in Halab is described: that will say the moment of illumination through love. Rūmī becomes Iqbal's Khizr (Khaḍir), aware of the fountain of life towards which he leads him as the mysterious Khizr did with Moses; he is the *Khizr-i Rāh* in the great dialogue in the *Bāng-i Darā* (p. 300) in which Iqbal's own words are in Urdu, the master's answers in Persian. Similar is the great scene 'Pīr and Disciple' (BJ 180) where the poet again puts his difficulties before his guide, and Rūmī responds with suitably chosen verses from the Mathnawi.

Iqbal never got tired of glorifying the great mystic—thus in the artistic introduction of *Pas* (9 ff.)

> The Pīr Rūmī, the guide with shining heart,
> The leader of the caravan of love and intoxication—
> whose place is higher than moon and sun,
> and who makes the Milky Way the rope of his tent . . .

Rūmī is "the lamp of the way of the free man". (BJ 200); it is he who discloses the secret of life and death (PM 7), because the light of the Qurʾān is shining inmidst of his breast (Pas 5), and one of the finest descriptions of Rūmī's supranatural virtues can be found in the Proem on Earth of the *Jāvīdnāme* when the Persian mystic appears on the call of his yearning disciple, endowed with sublime beauty and splendour, teaching him the mysteries of life and of ascension, and guiding him, even as Virgil lead Dante, through the different regions of Heaven until he disappears in the moment of Divine epiphany.

Thus, when Iqbal says:

> My thought is prostrated on his threshold (ZM 253),

it is more than a simple poetical homage. For his work is completely permeated by the ideas of Rūmī. The fact that he has written all his Persian *mathnawīs* in the meter of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, i.e. in the simple and memorable *ramal musaddas*, enables him to insert without any difficulty verses or distichs from his guide's work, or he just changes a few words and gives to a phrase of Rūmī a new shape. Whosoever has read and extended over a long period study of Rūmī's Mathnawī will agree with the present writer that after a certain while the reader himself is tempted to compose verses in this style. Thus

[78]) L 186 and L 151. Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqui, *The contribution of Muslims to scientific Thought*, IC 1940/35 "Modern Europe had to wait 700 years to formulate the same principle".

Iqbal can quote in full Rūmī's verses in his praise of the Prophet in the *Asrār* (AK 412 ff.), and allusions to well-known lines of the *Mathnawī* are very frequent—take the reed of the Introductory poem of the *Mathnawī* which, with Iqbal, is made productive by yearning and suffering (AK 134 f.); and this very reed

made me acquainted with love and intoxication (AH 104),

as he avers in his posthumously published verses which contain a whole paragraph on Rūmī whose greatness is hinted at by the sublime lines

The beauty of love gets from his reed
a lot of the Majesty of Divine grandeur (AH 106),

contrasting the two Divine aspects, the *tremendum* and the *fascinans*, and at the same time using the classical motive of love and beauty. But for him, as we have mentioned, love without grandeur is imperfect; that is what he has learnt from the singing of Rūmī's reed.

Implicit allusions to Rūmī's Song of the Reed are found elsewhere, and may also be supposed in the beginning of the *Jāvīdnāme* where the poet compares his heart not to this instrument but to the harp

in every moment it is complaining like the harp

which longs as much for a spiritual companion as Rūmī's cut off reed does. It would deserve a careful study to find out not only the plain quotations and borrowings from the Mathnawī but rather the half concealed impressions as f.i. in the twice occurring phrase

One nation grazes upon the other [79])

which is a transformation of Rūmī's verse "one thought grazes upon another thought" which Iqbal had quoted once taking it as an anticipation by Rūmī of Schopenhauerian philosophy (M II 65).

As to the influence of the *Dīwān*, it cannot be traced as easily as that of the *Mathnawī*. The most noted quotation is the famous *ghazal* with the super-rhyme *-m arzūst*, "it is my wish" [80]) which has been inserted in full into the *Jāvīdnāme* and is working there as a kind of magical incantation, but which has been quoted also at several other occasions, [81]) and has been transformed in the *Payām-i Mashriq*

79) Pas 38, J 1455.
80) *Kulliyāt-i Shams*, ed. B. Z. Furūzanfār I 441.
81) Cf. AK 1143, Mus. 9, PM 7.

(PM 185). It is, with its strong expression of wish and quest, most fitting for Iqbal's ideals.

Another poem is cited again in the *Payām*

Murshid Rūmī quoth: Our place is the Divine grandeur (PM 204)

a phrase which belongs to the deepest of all ghazals of Rūmī, in its description of the journey, the ecstatic flight of the soul which has been raised from slumber by the call of love, restless until it reaches the threshold of Divine Majesty. [82])

As teacher of love and yearning, Rūmī becomes, consequently, the counterweight against the forces of cold reason and dry philosophy. His name and that of Avicenna have become mere ciphers for the contrast of heart and brain, of loving meditation and scientific research (cf. ZK 16). Iqbal has given poetry the preference against philosophy and was of the opinion that poetry—in so far as love is embodied in it—can lead man more easily to the living truth than the reasoning of philosophers. Love flies into the Divine presence whereas philosophy still lags slowly on the dusty roads—thus is the contrast between Rūmī and Avicenna (PM 122). Philosophy endeavours to find the origin of world and life but love is concerned with man's spiritual growth—

Abū ʿAlī (Avicenna) is vexed: Whence did I come?
Rūmī thinks: Where will I go? (BJ 199).

It would be the ideal solution of all problems if reason and heart, meditation and analytical research—which are fundamentally offsprings of the same Divine root—could work together—

Reason and heart have become intoxicated by a single cup—
The mingling of meditation and thought of Rūm and Rayy (Pas 52)

the cup out of which both Rūmī and Fakhraddīn Rāzī, the great commentator of the Qurʾān, have drunk, is the Holy Book which inspired the one to deep meditation, the other one to meticulous scrutinization of the sacred text. But more and more, logic and philosophical proofs seemed to be insufficient for a solution of the riddles of life; speculative thinking could no longer help Iqbal to solve the problems which haunted him increasingly during the last years—but

82) Ed. Furūzanfar I, No. 564.

the closed doors before me open
two verses from Pīr Rūmi or from Jāmī (AH 189, cf. PM 192).

There was, in Iqbal's opinion, only one poet which might be compared to Rūmī, and that was Goethe. In a short poem he has confronted Jalāluddīn and Goethe in Paradise (PM 246)—both of them more than poets, both "not prophets but possessing a book" (Jāmī's saying on Rūmī is extended here on Goethe's *Faust*); both of them teaching immortal yearning and the quest for reaching higher and higher levels of the Divine life, advocating spiritual development under inclusion of Satanic powers, and attributing the greatest importance not to cold intellect but to love—here Iqbal quotes he line from the Mathnawi:

From Satan intellect, from Adam love (Math. IV 1402).

The poet, well versed in the history of Persian poetry, and not doubting that Persian literature on the whole is finished with Qāānī (d. 1848) (M I 157, 1920), was convinced that Persian literature would never produce a genius similar to Rūmī—

there will rise no other Rūmī from the tulipgardens of Iran (BJ 7).

Therefore he takes charge from his spiritual guide—

I have learnt the subtleties from Pīr Rūmī,
I have burnt myself in his letters (Pas 36).

Rūmī had lived in the time of the greatest political disastre the Islamic world had to face, when almost every stable rule broke down under the blow of the Mongol hordes, and had yet continued uplifting his people by his message of love. Iqbal found himself in a similar situation; but the dangers he had to face were of a different kind: they consisted mostly of the overwhelming Western influence in all realms of life and thought (cf. AH 77, AH 18). Like his spiritual teacher he endeavoured to rise his voice and preach the secret of love, and of self-respect, of man's shaping of his own destiny—

It is time that I reopen the tavern of Rūmī:
the shaikhs of the Kaaba are lying drunk in the courtyard
of the church (Mus. 30)—

even the spiritual leaders of the Muslim community had fallen under the spell of European concepts, forgetting the genuine wine of Divine

love (cf. ZK 120). In a charming transformation of ʿIrāqī's famous verse

The first wine which they put in the goblet
they must borrow from the cup-bearer's intoxicated eye;

Iqbal—'hot-blooded like Rūmī' (ZA GR 243) sings at the end of his life

From the intoxicated eye of Rūmī I borrowed
Joy from the rank of Divine grandeur! (AH 108)—

where again the motive of the *kibriyā*, the Divine grandeur, occurs which is a peculiar feature in Iqbal's interpretation of Rūmī's thought, since in this concept he discerned the difference between Rūmī's active and activating mysticism and the enervating, debasing sufism of the traditional mystical poets who lack the element of Divine Majesty in their Weltanschauung.

Due to the numerous spiritual relations, and Iqbal's frequent quotations from and allusions to Rūmī's work, his admirers have even extolled himself as the *Rūmī-yi ʿaṣr*, the Rumi of our age. That is, like all comparisons, somewhat dangerous, and can be admitted only in so far as the general direction of thought is concerned. Iqbal has never had experiences comparable to those of Maulānā Rūmī and Shamsaddīn and his poetry therefore lacks this strongly personal element which makes Rūmī's lyrics, and even parts of the *Mathnawī*, so attractive; he is—as he himself acknowledges—not as large in his concepts as Rūmī, but can also not be interpreted in so widely different meanings as his teacher—he has, like a burning glass, focussed the rays of a special frequence out of Rūmī's poetry, has elaborated them and strived at kindling with them the hearts of his countrymen. On the other hand, he has composed poetry for strengthening his people in the struggle of the present age, and has entered the realms of political and social criticism—that is alien to Maulānā Rūmī who was only at random interested in the socio-political events in Middle Anatolia. If these differences are not overlooked—and in comparison, it is just the differences which matter—then the reader can enjoy the clever incorporating of Maulānā's verses as well as the deep and unquestionable veneration Iqbal displays for his master in each of his works.

A problem which has been discussed since Iqbal had published his

Asrār is his relation to mysticism. His first *Mathnawī* could easily suggest that the poet was diametrically opposed to the type of Sufism prevailing in India, and many writers on Iqbal have assumed that he was anti-mystic in every respect.

This verdict depends on how one defines mysticism. Evelyn Underhill has, in a fine article called "What is Mysticism?" [83]) written that

> many people assume that it is merely another name for religious queerness or religious vagueness: for visions, voices, ecstasies and other symptoms of psychic instability, and even far less reputable forms of abnormality.

But she reaches the conclusion—which is, at the same time, the summing up of her decades long research work in this field—that

> Mysticism is the passionate longing of the soul for God, the Unseen Reality, loved, sought, and adored in Himself for Himself alone: It is, to use a favorite phrase of Baron von Hügel, a "metaphysical thirst". A mystic is not a person who practices unusual forms of prayer, but a person whose life is ruled by this thirst. He feels and responds to the overwhelming attraction of God, is sensitive to that attraction . . .

Mysticism has been defined also as

> that form of religion in which, under negation of world and I the complete union with God of the soul is longed for and strived after as Summum Bonum. [84])

Contrary to the generalizations of former generations of scholars who saw in all mysticism the same spiritual movement, some modern psychologists have held that there are types of mysticism basically different from each other, whether we take into consideration the essential monism of the Vedānta School, or the theistic mysticism as found in Christianity and early Islam, or a world-mysticism, etc. [85])

We may, however, agree that the common essence of the phenomenon which is called mysticism, is contained in the passionate longing of the heart for a response from the higher levels of being, and a breaking down of the wall which separates the loving soul

[83]) E. Underhill, *Collected Papers* ch. VI.
[84]) F. Heiler, *Die Mystik der Upanishaden*, p. 9.
[85]) Thus f.i. R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism, sacred and profane.*

from its Divine source. The word source is used here because the idea of God in those religious currents which we are accustomed to call mystical is, as a rule, the neutre, ineffable Godhead whence everything emanates and yearns for turning back; the highest bliss mankind can feel is the moment of union, be it conceived as the person-to-person-encounter of lover and Beloved, be it the annihilation in the bottomless depths of the Godhead.

As a theological movement, mysticism appears rather late in the history of single religions as an opposition of religious feeling against the rule of speculative theology, and wants to go back to the primary experience of God on which that peculiar religion had been founded before theologians prepared and elaborated complicated systems. Yet, in the course of time, mysticism itself has often built complicated systems of thought, of cosmology, and has even transgressed the borders of philosophy on the one hand, of magic on the other, or it has concentrated on feeling instead of giving the religious experience its proper place in all parts of life. The craving for union may, in later stages of development, even lead to antinomistic tendencies (the early mystics, as a rule, being very faithful to the obligations of the religious law), and this "implicit antinomianism" was considered one of the most dangerous features for the—in our case Muslim—civilization, giving

> final approval to that aversion from the political life and from civic education, to that defective, because actionless, humanism which is far and away the most important single cause of the decay of the Islamic civilization. [86])

Thus, different interpretations of mysticism to which could easily be added more examples, stand side by side. Iqbal has confronted the type of mystical religiosity with that of the so-called prophetical type both in his Lectures (p. 124) and in his poetry (Zarathustra and Ahriman, J 402 ff.). The personal God of the prophetic religion was his God, not an undescribable neutrum, [87]) and in his attempts of revitalizing Islam Iqbal went back to the revelation of that personal God in the Qurʾān—in his thesis he had still admired the "awful sublimity of the searching Vedānta" Later on he rediscovered the

[86]) E. G. von Grunebaum, *Islam*, p. 28.
[87]) Cf. F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, ch. F.

personal relation between man and God in the writings of most of the mystics of the classical period whose sayings had been interpreted by the pantheistic followers of Ibn ᶜArabī in their own sense, so that for the rank and file of Muslims the teaching of essential monism constituted the real interpretation of Islam—

> The neighbour and the comrade and the companion of the way
> is all He (*hama ōst*)
> In the patched frock of the beggar and the satin of the king
> it is all He,
> In the crowd separation and in the closet union—
> By God, it is all He, and by God, it is all He.

These verses of Jāmī (d. 1492) express best what the mystically impregnated people felt, and what was reiterated by numberless poets. Iqbal anticipated that this interpretation of the confession of God's unity be something contrary to the real spirit of Islam. That is what he hints at in a letter to Maulana Sulayman Nadwi in 1917 (M I 78) where he quotes the prophetical word according to which in the Muslim community disorder will start after three centuries, and that means, for him, the rise of Sufism under the influence of Persian spirituality and Christian monkery.

In the period of preparation, Iqbal seems to have read a great deal of the writings of Ibn al-Jauzī who was the perspicacious critic of Sufism from the point of view of orthodox Hanbalit theology, and whose poignant and poisonous remarks against the Sufis are of highest interest.[88]) Iqbal then thought of publishing Ibn al-Jauzī's work (probably in an English or Urdu translation), and dreamt even of writing a history of Islamic mysticism which, however, was never been published, nor even sketched (M II 50, 1916, letter to Akbar Allāhābādī). He admitted in a letter in 1919:

> If one intends with *taṣawwuf* the purity of religious work (and that was its meaning in the first centuries), then no Muslim can have any objection against it. But when under the influence of Persian thought Sufism aims at becoming a philosophy, and at hairsplittings about the realities of the formation of the world or the Essence of God Almighty, and lays down theories of spontaneous discovery, then my spirit rebels against it (M I 54).

[88]) Bagdadian scholar and theologian, 1116-1200 (GAL I 502), esp. famous for his *talbīs Iblīs* where he attacks with merciless sharpness the practices of the Sufis (Cairo 1340).

His main objection against the essential monism of the Ibn ᶜArabī-school is that this kind of

> Sufism is not religion, it is philosophy—[89])

indeed the system of Ibn ᶜArabi can be described not as a properly religious but rather as a gnostic-theosophic one. Like other gnostic systems—it suffices to mention Manicheism—the *waḥdat al-wujūd*, too, shows an extraordinary adaptibility, and since currents like that always seem to solve easily every problem at stake and give ready-made answers to the searching mind, they have often succeeded in influencing large parts of the population. The tolerance they preached (like Ibn ᶜArabī's

> I follow the religion of love, wherever its camels wander)

made them more attractive.

Iqbal held that, contrary to the view of essential monism, the opposite of Divine unity is not *kathrat*, the multiciplity of beings and forms which are to be explained by the thinkers of that school as outward manifestations of the unique Divine substance, or, in merely Vedantic strain, as a veil of illusions; the opposite to Divine unity is *shirk*, the admission of other deities associated to the One God,[90]) i.e. he does not deny the reality of beings or eliminates them as a kind of *maya*—his prophetic No is directed against any object of worship besides God, not against the plurality of worldly things, or distinct egos.

Iqbal has attributed the decline of mysticism—as is visible already from the afore-mentioned letter—to the Persian influence on Islam. In accordance with him, L. Massignon has also contrasted the Persian type of mysticism which is prone to essential monism, to the Semitic type, i.e. to what is called *waḥdat as-shuhūd*, testimonial monism.[91]) I may add that one of the leading living Turkish mystics asserts the existence of a third type of mysticism, i.e. of "Turkish mysticism" which does not care as much for the beauty and love of the Divine nor believes in an essential monism, but sees the Divine as the completely Ineffable, the Ganz Andere, and regards the two other

[89]) Salik 251.
[90]) Id. 251.
[91]) L. Massignon, *Monisme existentiel ou monisme testimonial*, cf. Waardenburg, l.c., p. 214; about Persian = essential, Semitic = testimonial id., p. 186.

types of experience only as first steps on the mystical ladder.[92]) Consequently, this presumed Turkish, or Central Asiatic mysticism would correspond approximately to Buddhism in its eldest form, Allah being converted into *al-muṭlaq*, the Absolute in the sense of the Nirvana.

Iqbal writes about the two types which Massignon calls Persian and Semitic, and which one may style as Unendlichkeits- and Persönlichkeitsmystik:

> By Persian Sufism the enchantment of the heart, beauty and glamour have appeared in literature, but in such a way that human nature is debased by it. In Islamic Sufism there appears power in the heart, and the effect of this power also exerts on literature (M II 55, 1918).

The idea of *fanā*, which has been taken in the meaning of "obliteration, annihilation of the Self" is completely unacceptable to Iqbal. He has felt with fine psychological instinct that this notion had, in early Islamic mysticism, not a metaphysical sense but was given that only in the course of time.[93]) Essentially it is the annihilation of human qualities and their substitution by more sublimated, even Divine qualities, according to the prophetical tradition 'Create in yourselves the attributes of God'. This meaning corresponds exactly to what he writes in 1936:

> When the Divine orders have penetrated the Ego so much that private tendencies and inclinations are no more left, and only Divine satisfaction is its goal, then, some great men of the Sufis of Islām have called this state of life *fanā*, and others *baqā* (remaining, survival) (M I 202 f.).

Against the interpretation of *fanā* in the sense of complete annihilation he has not only raised his voice in the Lectures but also in the *Jāvīdnāme* where Ḥallāj is made say:

> O thou who seekest thy goal in annihilation—
> Not-being never finds the Existence! (J 1204).

[92]) Cf. Hasan Lotfi Şuşud, *Islam Tasavvufunda Hâcegân Hânedânî*, Istanbul, 1958 and the same, *Fakir Sözleri*, Istanbul, 1958.

[93]) Cf. Sarrāj, *k. al-luma*ᶜ, ch. CL: Concerning those who err in respect of the doctrine of passing away from their qualities; Hujwīrī, *o.c.*, p. 242 ff.: "In India I had a dispute on this subject with a man who claimed to be versed in Koranic exegesis and theology. When I examined his pretensions I found that he knew nothing of annihilation and subsistence, and that he could not distinguish the eternal from the phenomenal".

Iqbal thought that this aspect of *fanā* had developed under the influence of Buddhistic theories of *nirvana*—an opinion which is now rejected due to a more careful analysis of the sources than was feasible in his time: Buddhist influence can be admitted only in later centuries when the contact of the Muslim communities with Central Asiatic Buddhism grew more intense; as to the Vedānta influences one may ask in how far the personality of Abū ᶜAli as-Sindhī, the mystical teacher of Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī who has first dwelt upon a metaphysical interpretation of *fanā* may have affected *Bāyezīd's ideas*.[94])

Anyhow, Iqbal energetically condemned all doctrines concerning *fanā* which was apt to destroy human personality and therefore

> is much more dangerous than the destruction of Bagdad (M I 203, 1936),

because it led to the stagnation of intellectual life and strife (which may be compared with Grunebaum's germane opinion, v.p. 363) especially after

> they have made annihilation the wine of every goblet (ZA GR 240),

i.e. when this doctrine had become common stock in Persian and Urdu poetry and affected, as a corollary to its leading rôle in lyrics, the life of millions of admirers of this kind of poetry. Thus Iqbal assails the sacred words and institutions of the Sufis because he felt that they had turned into empty façades behind which no longer true religious life, nor genuine communion with the Divine was existing. Take his taunting verse against the mystics' use of the profound Qurʾānic verse (Sūra 7/171) pertaining to the pre-eternal covenant between God and the human race:

> The Sufi has taken the wine of the Day of the Covenant as excuse for doing nothing (ZK 34),

because this word was quoted not only for accepting whatever afflictions came upon man's head, or for excusing the unflinching cleaving to an unattainable Sweetheart, but also for apologizing for one's fondness of liquors or other illicit pleasures (as for instance in the poetry of Hafiz, Omar Khayyam and their imitators).

Typical is also Iqbal's interpretation of the Sufic term *tark*, to give

[94]) About Abū ᶜAli as-Sindī cf. Ritter, *Bayezid*, p. 232, and R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism*, p. 161.

up everything, and especially to leave oneself completely to the hands of God which culminated, later on, in the *tark al-tark*, which means renunciation from everything, even from the will to renounce, a quietism which is similar to that of the French quietists.

Iqbal reverts the term:

> The perfection of *tark* is not to go away from water and clay
> (i.e. from the created world, and man)
> The perfection of *tark* is the subjugation of everything in Heaven and earth (BJ 64)

that will say, in his symbolism, that the personality which has developed his inward possibilities in full, and is united with God in a union of will (which is Iqbal's explanation of *tark*) is able to be the spiritual ruler of the world.

This world is not, as the Vedantists and some Sufis say, a dream—it is

> the dream of wakefulness (ZA II 13),

lines which seem to be directed against the Sufistic interpretation of the often quoted prophetic tradition "People are asleep, and when they die they awake" as well as against the theory of the world as a purposeless play of Divine *maya*. Therefore Iqbal addresses the Sufi:

> In thy view this is the world of marvels,
> In my view this is the world of events! (ZK 27).

As to the classical textbook of the essential monism and the often commented main source of later development inside Sufism, the *fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* of Ibn ᶜArabī, Iqbal writes in 1916:

> In the *fuṣūṣ* there is nothing but impiety and heresy on which I shall write inshā Allah in detail (MII 44).

Nonetheless Iqbal's aversion to this leading authority in the field of essential monism was not as deep as one should expect; he had praised him in his thesis, when he himself was still inclined to pantheistic ideas, as the great teacher

> whose profound teaching stands in strange contrast to the dry-as-dust Islam of his countrymen

but has also, till the end of his life, used Ibn ᶜArabī's works like those of other Sufis (f.i. ᶜIrāqī) as sources of inspiration for his own

theories about the nature of time, [95]) and for the description of the Heavenly spheres.

Iqbal's antipathy against traditional sufism has, however, not led him to reject the possibility of the so-called mystical experience. On the contrary, he has pointed out in several places of his Lectures that the so-called mystical experience is nothing but a quite natural outcome of our normal religious experiences, and that it is, in its results, perfectly sound. That must always be taken into consideration when dealing with Iqbal's attitude towards mysticism.

For him—and he is here in conformity with the recent investigations in the field of history of mysticism—the great Sufis of old, the companions of the Prophet, who are regarded among the faithful as the founders of mystical tradition, like Abū Dharr and Salmān al-Fārisī, [96]) the outstanding figures of the movement like Junaid al-Bagdadī, [97]) or even Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī [98]) have become models of piety, and their names are used invariably as similes of spiritual power, and true poverty, whereas

> the shaikh of the present day has stolen and sold
> the carpet of Abū Dharr, the cloak of Uwais, [99]) and the veil of Fāṭima (BJ 38).

Contrasted with the spiritual poverty of these first representatives of mystical interpretation of Islam is the worldliness of the religious

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[95]) Iqbal's most important letters about the problem of time are M I 442 and 443 (1933), M I 115 (1921), M I 169 (1933).

[96]) Salmān-i Fārisī or Salmān-i Pāk (cf. EI. s.v. Salmān) is said to have invented the ditch at the Meccans siege of Medina; he has become the prototype of the Persians converted to Islam; he is said to have died about 35 h/662; his tomb is near Madain. Cf. L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituels de l'Islam Iranien*.

[97]) Junaid of Baghdad, d. 910, the leader of the Baghdadian School of Sufism, maintained the importance of mystical sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) against those who defended the intoxication (*sukr*). Cf. esp. ᶜAṭṭar, *tadhkira* II 5 ff., Abū Nuᶜaim, *Ḥilya* X 255 ff.; Massignon, *La Passion* . . ., p. 33 ff.

[98]) This may be due to the influence of Rūmī in whose work Bāyezīd is often quoted as an example of living faith, cf. f.i. Math. III 1699, IV 2124, V 3393 ff. etc. However, Bāyezīd belongs to the most popular saints in India, and even in Chittagong a sanctuary of his is found.

[99]) Uwais al-Qaranī, mentioned in the traditions, is said to have been an ascet from Yemen (ᶜAṭṭār, *Tadhk.* I 15-24; Abū Nuᶜaim, *Ḥilya* 2/78-87). The expression *Uwaisī mashrab* means that the mystic concerned has not been initiated by any Pir nor learnt mystical wisdom from any living leader.

leaders of the present age on the one hand, the "monkery" and unhealthy ascetism of some Sufi circles on the other hand. *Sukr*, the state of intoxication, had submerged the sound and life-building state of *ṣaḥw*, sobriety, which had been maintained in old times: Hafiz becomes a model of this perilous spiritual intoxication which destroys the personality by throwing man into the abysses of the Godhead, and thus causes social and political misery [100])—all great poets of Sufis, Iqbal held, have lived and sung in times of political decadence. [101])

Iqbal deeply regretted that the classical Sufistic tradition in India which had won so many converts to Islam in the Middle Ages, had disappeared, that in the Panjab, once a centre of Islamic spirituality

> there are no more left goods of Islamic conduct in the shops of the Sufis (M II 48, 1915; cf. BJ 211)

and that the work of Aurangzeb, of Shāh Walīullāh and others had been abandoned. The poet was all the more interested in a right interpretation of the mystic path as he himself had been initiated in the Qādirī order. For him the *ṭarīqa*, the Path,—as organized from the 12th century onwards in form of regular orders and fraternities—was nothing but a means for the realization of the truths of the divinely inspired law in man's own heart; it means

> to see the Divine Law in the depths of life (Pas 40).

In 1917—that means in a time of sharpest spiritual struggle against the traditional interpretation of mysticism, a period between the publication of the *Asrār* and the *Rumūz*—he writes:

> Khwāja Naqshband and the Mujaddid of Sirhind hold a very high rank in my heart, thought it is deplorable that this order (i.e. the Naqshibandiya) has also come today under the sway of Persianisation, and that holds true even for the Qādiriya order in which I myself have been initiated, though the goal of the venerated Muḥyīuddīn (ᶜAbdulqādir Gīlānī) had been to rescue Islamic mysticism from Persianism (M I 79).

It was, indeed, a strange development that the Naqshbandīya which had been utilized by Aḥmad Sirhindī as a tool against the monistic trend in Indian Islam, had also been influenced by this very trend.

The deep veneration and admiration which Iqbal felt for the generations of great practical mystics thanks to whom India had become

100) Cf. Salik 47.
101) Salik 98.

partly islamized, is palpable in many of his poems, starting with the *Bāng-i Darā* where he glorifies the refuge of the wanderer, the sanctuary of the *maḥbūb-i ilāhī*, the divinely Beloved (i.e. Niẓāmaddīn Auliyā) in Delhi (BD 87), and writes a poem on ᶜAbdulqādir Gīlānī who has been, in India, the object of a whole literature of hymnical praises. [102])

The great saints of the Panjab are addressed in his poetry. About Abū ᶜAlī Hujwīrī, the first Persian writer on mysticism who is buried in Lahore, he writes that

> the dust of the Panjab was brought to life by his breath (AK XI)

and extols the second famous saint of his dwelling-place, Miān Mīr, in the same poem:

> He was a flute for the impassionate music of love;
> His tomb keeps our city safe from harm (AK 1344 f.),

though Miān Mīr was that saint of the Qādirīya order through whose writings and actions Prince Dārā Shikōh, the "heretic", was influenced. Abū ᶜAlī Qalandar of Panipat (d. 1325) is also one of the examples appearing in the *Asrār* (ch. V).

Saints and reformers outside India have been incidentally mentioned by Iqbal in his poetry, f.i. Ahmad Rifāᶜī, one of the four classical initiators of mystical orders [103]) (his followers are known in the West mostly as Hurling Derwishes) he, too, appears as a fighter against the threat of Persian thought in Islamic mysticism (R 149).

Iqbal has changed his opinion on several mystics—as he had condemned Ḥallāj in his earlier works and then discovered in his famous cry the passionate expression of the higher self, or had willingly acceeded to Rūmī's pantheism and then choosen him as spiritual guide due to his personal love-relation with God, so he had regarded Hakīm Sanāᵓī, the first Persian mystic to put down mystical ideas in the form of a *mathnawī*, [104]) in the beginning as a typical exponent

102) ᶜAbdul Qādir Gīlānī, 1088-1166, the founder of the first mystical order in Islam; cf. Braune, *Die Futūḥ al-ghaib*. The hymns composed in honour of the *Pīr-i dastgīr* abound in phantastic praises of high qualities and hope for his spiritual and material help.
103) The second famous founder of a mystical order, d. in 1183.
104) Abūᵓl Majd Majdūd Sanāᵓī was a panegyrist at the court of Ghazna in the 12th century; and then became a mystical poet who composed a beautiful *dīwān* and the mathnawī *ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqat*, he has influenced ᶜAṭṭār and Rūmī (vd. E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* II, 317 f.).

of the highest happiness of bankruptcy which Islam had declared as ignoble (M I 36, 1916)—

and yet, he has composed some beautiful odes when visiting his tomb in 1932 (both in BJ 37, and in the fine description of the visit of his shrine Mus 18 ff.) where he admits:

He draw back the veil from the face of faith,
My thought showed again the destiny of the faithful—
for both of us have taken lesson from the Qurʾān—
He spoke of God, and I of man (Mus 19).

And Sanāʾī's spirit is heard answering from the highest Paradise, teaching how to create a new and more exalted man

in the colour and character of a tulip;
in his heart the *Lā Ilāh*,

a faithful who does not learn the mysteries of faith from books (and especially not from philosophers like Avicenna) but through communion with those who have experienced Divine reality:

Learning and philosophy are from books, religion from vision

—a typical expression of Iqbal's own religious ideals: it is significant that he has always made great mystics express his own ideas, and that, in spite of his admiration of the ardent zeal for purification of Islam as manifested in men like Ibn Taimīya and Ibn al-Jauzī, these theologians are, in his poetry, never made mouth-pieces of his personal opinions, nay, they have not even been mentioned in the lyrics and *mathnawīs*. It seems more than a sheer accident that those problems which were of vital interest for the poet have always been put into the mouth of his idealized mystics, who have attained spiritual sublimity by longing and loving—

Be it ʿAṭṭār, be it Rūmī, Rāzī or Ghazzālī—
They have obtained nothing but by the sigh-in-morning (BJ 83).

Though Iqbal was affiliated to the Qādirī order he was, in his spiritual formation, close to the Naqshbandīya *mujaddidīya*, and his special friendship and devotion belonged to the shrine of the Chishtī saint Niẓāmaddīn Auliyā in Delhi. His correspondence with Khwāja Hasan Niẓāmī, the then successor of the sanctuary, is of special importance for his attitude towards Sufism. His letters display the living

interest he had in this place and his trust in the spiritual powers for resurgence of the Indian Muslims which might emerge thence, as they once had spread over India centuries ago.

Will you kindly believe me to be one of the humblest attendants of your circle of shaikhs,

he writes to the Pir (M II 363, 1909) whom he had also asked, before leaving for Europe, to inform him about all those verses of the Qurʾān which clearly refer to mysticism (M II 353, 1905)—a problem which he has taken up again and again without reaching any satisfactory result.

It is simply touching to see that, in 1912, he sent 12 rupies to the sanctuary, asking Khwāja Ḥasan Niẓāmī to spend them either for sweetmeat (it is an old usage among derwishes to distribute sweets to the sufis, already in very early times),[105] or to give it to the domestics of the *dargāh* (M II 364). One might be inclined to think that this interest in the sanctuary of Niẓāmaddīn would fade away in the course of time, after his harsh and poisonous attacks on traditional mysticism, but the poet's relations with the Niẓāmiya remained very close till the end of his life (cf. M II 194), and he even proposed the Pir to attend the anniversary of Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakar in Pakpathan in May 1931 (M II 389) in order to contact there the mystically inclined Muslims and to get them interested in his ideas, teaching them their duties in the critical time they were facing now. Iqbal's proposal to gather the leaders of the different orders under the presidency of the Niẓāmī Pir for giving them spiritual initiative may sound somewhat utopic, and contradictory to his fight against the laziness and indolence of contemporary Sufis, but must be interpreted in the light of the words he wrote once to Khwāja Hasan Niẓāmī:

May God bless you, for you have kindled the candle of *tauḥīd* in the old idol-temple of India (M II 365, after 1912).

That was his ideal of Sufism: the activity of the mystics as promotors of Islam in non-Islamic countries, and he wanted the mystical leaders to become glowing examples of pure faith and love. For this purpose he had actively partaken in the foundation of the journal 'Tarīqat'

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105) Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p. 275; cf. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* II 102.

which was issued from 1914 onwards until the relations of the editor with the author of the *Asrār-i Khūdī* were suspected by traditional mystical groups, and there was no longer demand for the journal. But he had to complain that:

> Our Shaikh is more infidel than the Brahman,
> For he has a Somnath in his own head (R 194).

And even those mystical leaders who were not fallen a prey to Western or Hindu influences (for Somnath is the great Indian idol-temple conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and hence a synonym for the Hindu impact on Islam) have mostly lacked spiritual energy and have retired into the corner of pure meditation, and unpractical philosophy.

> This heavenly philosophy, this divine gnosis—
> If they are no medicine for the pain of the Kaaba, they are nothing! (ZK 29).

But this medicine need not consist in outward struggle or in the invention of new means for the unification of the Muslims, for the purification of Islam from foreign influences or its protection against the encroachment of anti-Islamic ideas; it can be understood as the simple personal contact between human beings which may lead the searching pupil towards the realization of the Divine presence. *ṣoḥbat*, the contact with the "men of God" is one of the secrets which may lead to a revival of Islam:

> Live through the *ṣoḥbat* of that living men!
> *ṣoḥbat* is better than knowledge from books,
> the company of the free creates men! (Pas 34).

Thanks to such a spiritual company can

> the seed of the heart grow out of the clay and water of the body (Pas 35).

The East has always known and practiced these silent lectures, the serene company of teacher and pupil which is not in need of words but often consist only of common meditation.[106] Such meditation-groups were the nuclei of the later mystical orders, and until today

[106]) *Upanishad* means nothing than the 'close sitting together' of spiritual guide and pupil.

the quest for relation with the "men of experience" is quite common even in widely secularized countries like Turkey. The sweetness of this mystical encounter is a favorite topic of Oriental poetry—to mention only Maulānā Rūmī who, in his famous ghazal

> The Man of God is drunk without wine . . .

has drawn the simplest yet most impressive picture of the spiritual guide, or his younger contemporary Yunus Emre who welcomes in many of his poems the roving lovers who fill the heart with consuming love,[107]) or, on Indian soil, Shāh ʿAbdul Laṭīf of Bhit who sings his yearning for the wandering yogis especially in the highly interesting *Sur Ramakali*—one can add those numberless poets who have, like Hafiz, praised the glance of the mystical teacher (or whatever metaphor they many have used) which can transform the raw copper of the soul into unalloyed gold. This mystery of the contact with the mystical teacher—may it be the *guru* in Hinduism, or the abbot of a Buddhist monastery, the Pir of a Sufi order—this mystery of the personal transmission of a spiritual experience was, for Iqbal, one of the most important, even absolutely necessary aspects of Eastern religious life (although he was well aware of the dangers which may arise from the supremacy of the Shaikh). He complains in 1911:

> Now some day is coming that the *pīrān-i Mashriq* (the spiritual leaders of the Orient) will no longer remain in the world, and the Muslim children of future generations will be extremely unlucky (M II 39, cf. M II 67, 1918).

And 25 years later he advises again a young friend "to meet spiritually ripe personalities". The company of just this kind

> of longing personalities has sometimes produced such results which had not been imagined at all (M I 28, 1935).

Here lies the real importance of mysticism for Iqbal: it means not to build a complicated system of thought, to teach man how to ascend a multistepped spiritual ladder, leading him back into the aboriginal source of universal life, or to undergo a spiritual training according to most carefully observed and differentiated rules of purification and meditation until the individual self is extinguished, at least for the moment of ecstasy, in the all-embracing ocean of the Divine. It is

[107]) Cf. Yunus Emre *Divani*, verses like *'Erenler geldi'* "The men of God have arrived".

rather to make the human heart alive to its longing for God, to bring it, then, into communion with God, to lead it from the blind and fruitless acceptance of inherited truths to a participation in the life eternal.

A simple verse the origin of which Iqbal asked Maulānā Sulayman Nadwi in 1922 (M I 121) contains in a nutshell his whole attitude towards the problem of mysticism, and describes the ideal mystic:

mardān-i khudā khudā nabāshand
līkan zi khudā judā nabāshand
The Men of God do not become God,
but they are never separated from God!

CHAPTER FIVE

TO SUM UP

After having reviewed some of the main currents in Iqbal's thought without entering in a detailed discussion about their philosophical importance or their practical implications, we may ask ourselves once more: what is the outstanding feature in the manisided personality of the philosopher-poet? Is there, at all, a clear line discernible in his theological and philosophical thought? Has he been interpreted in the right way, and has he founded either a theological group of thinkers whose work is based on a firm method of interpreting Islam, or a poetical tradition which has inspired the poets of the Pakistan to come?

Much has been said in praise of Muhammad Iqbal, and we understand the admiration of the Pakistanis—or at least most of them—for the man whom they regard as the spiritual father of their country, whose works are being now translated into the different regional languages of East- and West-Pakistan, and whose memory is celebrated every year at least once, on the anniversary of his death, not only in his homeland but also abroad wherever representatives of Pakistan are found. We understand also that the name of this poet-philosopher means even more for the Pakistanis: that he has become, so to say, a kind of protecting talisman against some dangers resp. disintegrating forces which may threaten the young state—thus, especially against a possible impact of Communist ideas, the recurrence to Iqbal's ideas is considered necessary, and of vital importance. Therefore, Iqbal has been praised—to quote only one instance—by a leading Pakistani as "the triumphant missionary, the high priest of humanity", [1]) and one of the first authors on this field has held that

> if the Peacock throne is cause of pride for Iran, and the Kooh-i noor means glory and dignity for the British crown, then is Iqbal, of necessity, the decoration and ornament of the poetical court of every country. [2])

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[1]) A. K. Brohi, *Iqbal Rev.* April 1961.
[2]) Zulfiqar Ali, *Tanq.*, 66.

There was, on the other hand, of course no dearth of critical voices raised against Iqbal, not only at the time he published the *Asrār-i Khūdī* (which have been styled by a great Italian orientalist as a most dangerous outburst of "panislamic irrenditism") [3]) or at the occasion of the publication of his Lectures. [4]) He has, for instance, been accused of opaqueness of mind and lack of logical capacity—

> Woe bebide a poet who attempts to impart logic and metaphysics into verse—an attempt, by its very nature, predestined to failure! [5])

A Hindu author "who is good enough to confess that he is no scholar of Persian" [6]) has published a voluminous book (470 pp.) with the purpose of proving that Iqbal is neither a philosopher nor a poet nor a politician but only a fanatical Muslim nationalist who has sympathy only with his own nation and his correligionists.

Other writers, too, are of the opinion that the Islamic form of Iqbal's philosophy hinders it from world wide influence. [7])

W. C. Smith has once confronted Iqbal the Progressive and Iqbal the Reactionary, proving both assertions from Iqbal's own words, and from the use his interpreters and followers have made of them, [8]) and somebody else has once made the blunt assertion that "Iqbal represents cultural deadlock". [9])

But it is not the first time in history that the complex work of a thinker or and a poet has been interpreted in diametrically opposed sense by the generations to follow, each of them searching for the justification of their own basic ideas in his words.

Iqbal has been accused of having changed his point of view in some crucial problems, starting from his complete turn from pantheism to theism, but also f.i. in his attitude towards the Aḥmadiyya movement which he had, in an earlier stage of his life, not condemned as harsh as he did in the thirties when his whole outlook on life grew more belligerent. The poet who had ironically addressed himself in the *Bāng-i Darā* (128)

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3) E. Nallino, OM 1922/192.
4) A. Jeffery, OM 1936/
5) IC 1939/150
6) Id. 1949/322
7) *Thinker*, p. 76.
8) In: Modern Islam in India.
9) Marghub Siddiqui Suppl. 21.4.1954 *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore.

> Thou art a curious collection of contrasts, oh Iqbal!

admits in a later speech (SS 104) that

> Only stones do not contradict themselves.

Self-contradiction occurs in almost every living being, and why should not the poet show a certain inconsistency, a development, either deepening some root ideas or throwing away some outlived ideals? The rapid change in the political field during his lifetime may also have caused some changes in his outlook. Thus, one can witness different currents of his thought excellently in the case of Turkey which was both praised and blamed for her modernization, and yet, Iqbal's twofold attitude towards this country emerges quite logically out of his main ideal: that of a reconstruction of Islam on new lines without adapting the surface of the European way of life. On the whole, from 1915 onwards Iqbal's essential direction has remained largely the same.

A certain inconsistency is also visible in his way of using similes: when he, to take an example, condemns the Iranians who are going back to the old Iranian national hero Rustam instead of boasting of their Islamic past—and yet uses the name of the same hero Rustam as a symbol of force and virility, or when he who had once attacked Plato in the hardest possible form writes that the highest virtue of woman consists of giving birth to a Plato though she herself will not be capable of writing Plato's dialogues. These discrepancies occur now and then, but are due merely to the conventional symbolism in which Iqbal indulges at times, not to a mental contradiction—similar oscillations in the use of symbols are common already in Maulānā Rūmī's work, and could easily be found throughout traditional Oriental poetry.

Other critics have regretted that Iqbal's poetry is too difficult for the normal reader, and not comparable to the refined and heart-melting classical songs or to the enrapturing, melancholic folk-poems which abound in all provinces of the country and to which the ear was accustomed since long; that they are too heavy not with beauty but with philosophy whereas, on the other hand, his philosophy has been considered merely as poetical and not as a closed-up fixed system, or, even worse, as a simple outburst of Islamic resentment against Western thought, as apology rather than true philosophy.

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To the first—the difficulty of his way of expression—I may tell a little incident which I have experienced a few years back: Some time after the publication of my Turkish prose-translation of the *Jāvīdnāme* I received a letter, its very bad Turkish orthography manifesting that the writer was an unlearned man: but he expressed his admiration for Iqbal's work, and asked for more books of his in Turkish translation. He was a bearer (he wrote "karson") in a restaurant in a small town of Eastern Anatolia—that seems to be sufficient proof for Iqbal's unquestionable appeal to simple minds too, who do not grasp properly the philosophical implications of his poems but are moved just by the energy they feel, even through the medium of a translation.

As to the question of his philosophy one should not forget that a difference exists between a scientific philosopher and a prophetic philosopher. Iqbal was certainly of the second type, endowed with an extraordinary capacity for assimilation, and for synthesing seemingly divergent facts into a new unity that may look, at the first glance, surprising enough, but has, in any case, proved as stimulating formative of the Weltanschauung of Pakistan.

As to the Islamic background of his philosophy, it is essentially existent but his philosophy can no doubt appeal also to non-Muslims. We may turn to one of the leading philosophers of Germany, Rudolf Pannwitz, with whom I have, in the course of this study, sometimes compared Iqbal. This comparison may sound farfetched, perhaps not legitimately proved by a writer who is not herself a philosopher. Yet, Rudolf Pannwitz himself—influenced in his beginnings by Nietzsche but developing his ideas into an admirable logically closed system—wrote to me (after we had sometimes touched the problem of common ideas):

> I am so sorry that I did not know him (i.e. Iqbal) and that he is no more among the living! It would have been a good and deep mutual understanding (1.11.1961)

and after having studied the Lectures he wrote:

> Noch einmal sehe ich bestätigt, was Sie hervorhoben, daß die übereinstimming beträchtlich ist. Vor allem: die volle erschöpfende realisation des ego durch dessen innere aktivität die nicht mystisch ist . . . er kommt Europa so weit entgegen wie es irgend möglich ist und seine kritik ist zum größten teile auch unsere eigene. entscheidend ist die parallele der beiden methoden mit dem gleichen ziel: der realität/ und die überwachung die er für beide fordert — für die wissenschaft und die religion. mir sehr wichtig die stellung zu Descartes und Kant/ die linie von Hume zu Einstein/ und wo er Nietzsche sieht. da sieht ihn — und es ist richtig so — bei uns kaum einer. [10])

That means that both thinkers agree especially in the full and exhaustive realisation of the ego through its inner activity which is not mystical, in the parallelism of methods as well as in the deep and unusual understanding of Nietzsche.

This evidence of Rudolf Pannwitz is of high interest for the evaluation of Iqbal's philosophical work.

No doubt, Iqbal cannot be understood without the religious background of his homeland. He is firmly rooted in the prophetical tradition of Islam, and in the mystical thought of India. He has struggled against whatever he thought wrong in this mysticism and has rediscovered the personal, dynamic God of the Prophetic revelation who is described best not in the abstract philosophy of the Lectures but in the poet's deep and pathetic prayers. One may classify him as voluntaristic mystic in the sense in which Rudolf Otto has used this word: "Wherever one has struggled for the living God and for voluntarism there irrationalists have struggled against rationalists". [11]) That Iqbal was no rationalist in the negative sense of the word (which includes also conventional acceptance of religious formulas without the inner realization of their original moving and life-changing character) but was a man who felt God as power, as dynamic life is beyond doubt, and this attitude was, perhaps, the necessary reaction against too rationalist or too mystical descriptions of God which prevailed in his lifetime in Indian Islam.

Many authors on Iqbal have laid stress on the paramount importance of the concept of Self, and have seen here the greatest contribution to Islamic revival of the poet-philosopher. In connection with Von Grunebaum's statement in his Studies on Self-Interpretation in Islam —"It is the revaluation of man that has at all times presaged a cultural renewal" [12])—it has been remarked:

> It was the Arab's discovery of God that unlocked some of his potentialities and enabled him to play no mean role in medieval civilization.

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[10]) Letter dated 17.12.1961.
[11]) *Das Heilige* 26.
[12]) Von Grunebaum, *Islam* p. 231.

> The Moslem discovery of MAN—already a conscious desideratum—could perhaps reinstate the Moslem world as a contributory member to a progressive world civilization. [13])

Unquestionably the accentuation of *khūdī*, of Self, is very signifgicant of Iqbal's work. Yet I wonder if he himself would have agreed if he be called a "humanist" as some writers had done. His revaluation of man is not that of man qua man, but of man in relation to God, and Iqbal's anthropology, the whole concept of *khūdī*, of development of Self is understandable only in the larger context of his theology. What he aims at, is not man as measure of all things but as a being that grows the more perfect the closer his connection with God is, it is man neither as an atheistic superman who replaces a God "who has died", nor as the Perfect Man in the sense that he is but a visible aspect of God with whom he is essentially one—but man as realizing the wonderful paradox of freedom in servantship.

The Christian reader will be shocked by the devaluation of nearly everything Christian, and European, in Iqbal's work, and by the lack of understanding of the ethical ideals of Christianity (the dogmatic differences are of no interest to Iqbal and not discussed in his work). He should, then, realize that Iqbal in this respect does not talk with the calmness required of a historian of religions who has to compare ideal with ideal but preaches with the ardent zest of a prophetical critic who wants to exalt his own religion and is deeply convinced that it is the only remedy for all ills of a rotten society, and far superior to a civilization which has left far behind the lore of Christ and has due to its alleged implicit dualism of body and soul, church and state, resulted in either ascetic spiritualism or materialism.

In his attacks on European civilization and on one of its ferments, Greek thought, Iqbal manifests his primarily "prophetic" character—not the careful scholarly examination of facts, nor the mystical all-embracing and all-forgiving unitive love but the prophetic No against whatever seemed opposed to the pure creed. But these attacks of a leading, and widely read modernist reveal more than the so-called resentment of a man who is only interested in painting everything Islamic in most splendid colours by deepening the shadows in the other religions—he has, often and bitterly, criticized the present

[13]) Von Grunebaum, *Attempts* II 183 (by Nabia Abbot).

wretched state of the Muslims and set up his ideal Islam as a remedy for his own society first. His attacks lead to the problem of the situation of the Islamic civilization in its relation to the West. Has Islamic culture indeed grown out of the same roots as European, 'abendländische' culture? No doubt, both civilizations are based on the ancient Oriental tradition, the judaeo-christian—i.e. prophetic—religion, and the Greek culture. The impact of Greek civilization, esp. in the form of Hellenism, i.e. in an already decadent form, is undoubtedly visible in the Near East since the days of Alexander the Great up to the Middle Ages; historians have even held that in the high Middle Ages a common Mediterranean civilization existed and that the Averroist philosophy connected Orient and Occident. Against this latter view one can easily say that Averroism was combated by the Muslim orthodoxy with the same ardour as by the Church, both sides using the same arguments against the "philosophers"; and again, that the reception by Muslims of Greek thought was confined to practical science and philosophy, that never a renaissance similar to that in the Western world took place—and could not occur because of the fundamentally different conception of God and World in Greek tradition which by no means could be brought in accordance with the Islamic dogma. Both the neoplatonist speculations of later mystics and the philosophical attempts of different groups—we may remember the Ismā'īlīya—to reconcile Greek thought and Islamic faith have been regarded by orthodoxy as prone to heterodoxy, and dangerous for the Islamic state. When the Islamic countries from West Africa still seem to constitue a unity in variety—in spite of the growing nationalist tendencies—it is not due to the hellenistic layer in their culture but to those elements which separate them from the European world: the unshakable faith in the Qur'ān as God's word, and the veneration of the Prophet as the perfect model of human conduct.

This is the problem at which Iqbal's criticism points: not more and not less than the restitution of the ideals of pristine Islam which had not yet been infected by Greek ideas, the restitution of the 'Arabic Islam' as he calls it, devoid of all later additions from Hellenistic, Persian, Indian—and now also Western—sources. He has thus put the finger on a problem which had been discussed in Europe several times: whether or not Islam without the whole medieval civilization would remain still Islam; as a writer on Pakistan says:

> Often one wonders whether such drastic revision as some of these modern writers, laymen challenging the religious learned of their own religion wish to promote, is not more in the nature of a contradiction of Islam than an amendement of it. Will Islam after such pruning remain recognizably Islam and command the same loyalty and obedience as before? 14)

Iqbal answers in the affirmative: Islam is the more true the more it shakes off this—what he uses to call "magian"—crust, and the nearer it draws to the ideals set up by the Prophet. That means that he sees in Islam an autonomous cultural structure which has for a time provided Europe with the enlarged Greek heritage and thus granted her the basis of her further development; a way of life which is, in his eyes, much better fitting for the requirements of life than any other religion, putting man into a frame of divinely revealed orders which regulate his temporal life and prepare him for the hereafter, preventing him from the social evils of our age, like Communism, Capitalism, and Nationalism—and which, as such, will extend its territory slowly all over the world. The fact that in Islam it took only the short time of Muhammad's life—and even less: the period from his preaching in Mecca to his statesmanship in Medina—to develop out of a prophetic religion into a Gesetzesreligion, to unite religious and worldly authority—this fact is taken by Iqbal as a proof of the unificative power of Islam which manifests itself in every aspect of life, so-to-say as the practical aspect of the confession of God's unity. To give evidence of this unificative power in personal and socio-political life is, to him—if the expression is allowed—the Muslim s burden. With this opinion Iqbal is a true representative of that current in modern Islam which highlights the cultural autonomy of the Muslim world in contrast to both Europe and—that is important for the advocates of the Pakistan idea—to Hindu India.

Iqbal was well aware of his difficult position as "first Adam of a new world" (ZA I 37), a man who scarcely found a companion whom to tell the Secrets of the Self. The complaint of lonelines permeats his poetry from the beginning to the end, and it must be more than a poetical licence when he uses preferently the simile of the ruby —favorite symbol of classical Persian poetry: jewel made of the heart-

14) J. Sweetman MW 47/238.

blood of the stone: he weeps on the road, and his tears become rubies (PM 232), and he advises the soil to suffer:

> It is not wisdom to flee from the axe,
> How many rubies are still hidden in the heart of the stone (ZA 119),

and he solves this allusion when comparing himself to the mine which does not require any help from outside but produces—as we can add: thanks to the reflection of the Divine Light—rubies in itself (Lāle 93).

The poet, seeing the corn which is still dreaming in the earth, and anticipating the revolution which has no room in the breast of the spheres (PM 231), and hoping against hope because

> the dark blue sky is never empty of new stars (ZK 108)

—the poet has often complained of the difficulty of his position, struggling against heavy odds. Here is right; for he did not belong to the ultra-conservative orthodoxy though his unflinching and unassailable belief in the tenets of the Qurʾānic revelation was worthy of the staunchest orthodox Muslim; and he did not belong either to the modernists for whom Islam was, no doubt, the last revealed and best religion but compatible with wide rationalist interpretations and valid more or less only in its internal, ethical aspects, though Iqbal's interpretation of the Holy Writ is sometimes very personal and influenced by the wish of combining Qurʾānic revelation with the experiences of modern science; he was no adherent of the traditionalist school who rejected everything European and especially British as periculous for the Muslim mind though his criticism of the West sometimes took forms worthy of medieval polemics; nor was he a Westerner for whom European civilization meant everything though his wide knowledge of European Weltanschauung surpasses by far the normal scope of an oriental—and even of many an occidental—scholar and a vital interest in German poetry and philosophy has left deep marks on his creativeness; he was not a stern Wahhābī rejecting every innovation in Islam as unlawful though he has flung challenges against the all-embracing grave-worship, Pirism and pantheistic mysticism which was overshadowing Indian Islam; nor was he a mystic who aimed at attaining the highest bliss of union with the Divine though his piety was tinged by the personalist mysticism, the volun-

tarist mysticism of early Islamic type, and his veneration of the saints of yore was deep and honest—in short, his work and personality contained all the divergent elements of conservatism and liberalism, of prophetical and mystical religious experience, of orthodoxy and heterodoxy—

> ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch—:

each of these elements is there and can be traced in his work if one separates this or that couplet, these or those lines from the context and uses them in isolation. That is why almost every group of commentators can find their own arguments more or less explicitly in Iqbal's work. Iqbal himself did not ignore that he was wandering a dangerous path where one step might lead him to consequences which were better avoided. A Persian couplet (which originally means the sigh of Gabriel in the moment when the Prophet entered the sanctuary of Divine Presence) inserted in the *Bāl-i Jibrīl* hints at that fact:

> If I fly a hair's breadth higher,
> The glory of the Epiphany would burn my wing (BJ 174).

The keenness of his vision of the realisation of the human Ego and its creative dialogue with the Divine Ego, culminating in his idea of immortality as task for chosen personalities could have easily led him into the labyrinths of heterodoxy. He has avoided this danger—it is upon his interpreters to understand the religious significance of his words and to take them as hints for a future direction of religious life, and not as a stable philosophical system, or a ready-made medicine for all social and political ills.

Whether or not the Muslim or non-Muslim readers will approve of Iqbal's ideas, or his way of expressing them, they will have to acknowledge that Iqbal, to quote Kenneth Cragg, was

> the spokesman of something deep within the contemporary soul ... The age then must have felt its need of him. [15])

If we compare this sentence with the words Iqbal himself has used for characterizing the prophetic revelation:

> The world-life intuitively sees its own needs, and at critical moments

[15]) Cragg, *Call* 11.

> defines its own direction. This is what, in the language of religion, we call prophetic revelation (L 147);

the similarity of the two sentences springs in the eyes.

It is this very kind of representing the needs of an age and of a society which can be witnessed in Iqbal whose whole personality tended to a prophetical interpretation of religion.

Nobody will assert that he was a prophet—that would be both wrong from the point of view of history of religions and incompatible with the Islamic dogma of the finality of prophethood—but we may admit that he has been touched by Gabriel's wing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography consists of two parts:

a) Works of Iqbal, together with translations made from, or articles specially written about the respective work.

b) Works on Iqbal, being divided into

a general view on journals, newpapers etc., special numbers of journals, and collections of articles,

general works on Iqbal's life and thought,

books and articles in connection with the special subjects of the present book, arranged alphabetically for each chapter,

general works on literature, modern Islam etc. which contain references to Iqbal, and

some articles about him not belonging to any of the above-mentioned headings.

In many cases, the date of publication was not available.

The first classification of Iqbal's work has been made in Europe by

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Abdul Ghani and Khwaja Nur Ilahi, *Bibliography of Iqbal,* Lahore s.d. (1955) (Bazm).

Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar Junagadhi, *Iqbāliyāt kā tanqidī jā'iza* (A critical study of publications on I). Karachi 1955, a very useful book which, unfortunately, does not always mention the full title of the work in question. It should be continued in the same spirit.

A T behind the title means that the information has been taken exclusively from this book.

A bibliography of Bengali translations of Iqbal's works and books and articles about him in Bengali is being prepared by the Bengali Academy, Dacca, under the supervision of Syed Ali Ahsan.

The Bibliography does not claim to be exhaustive but aims at being a mere leader to further research.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London
IC	Islamic Culture, Hyderabad/Deccan
IR	Iqbal Review, Karachi
Isl. Lit.	Islamic Literature, issued by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore
MW	The Muslim World, Hartford/Conn.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig
OM	Oriente Moderno, Rome
PQ	Pakistan Quarterly, Karachi
REI	Revue des études islamiques, Paris,
RMM	Revue du Monde Musulman, Paris
SI	Studia Islamica, Paris
WI	Die Welt des Islam, Leiden
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, after 1945 Wiesbaden

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b. Publications about Iqbal

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The leading Urdu papers and papers in the regional languages (Sindhi, Bengali, Pashto, Gujrati) also use to publish special articles on this ᶜoccasion.
The Quarterlies published by the Ministery of Information—like the Persian *Hilāl,* the Arabic *al-waᶜy,* the English *Pakistan Quarterly* (PQ) as well as the respective government publications in regional languages contain in a great number of their issues smaller articles on Iqbal, texts and translations of his poems, or poems written in his honour.
Up to 1954, these smaller contributions have been enumerated in *Ghani-Nur Ilahi*; since, their number has increased in almost geometrical progression.
Cf. in this connection f.i.:
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