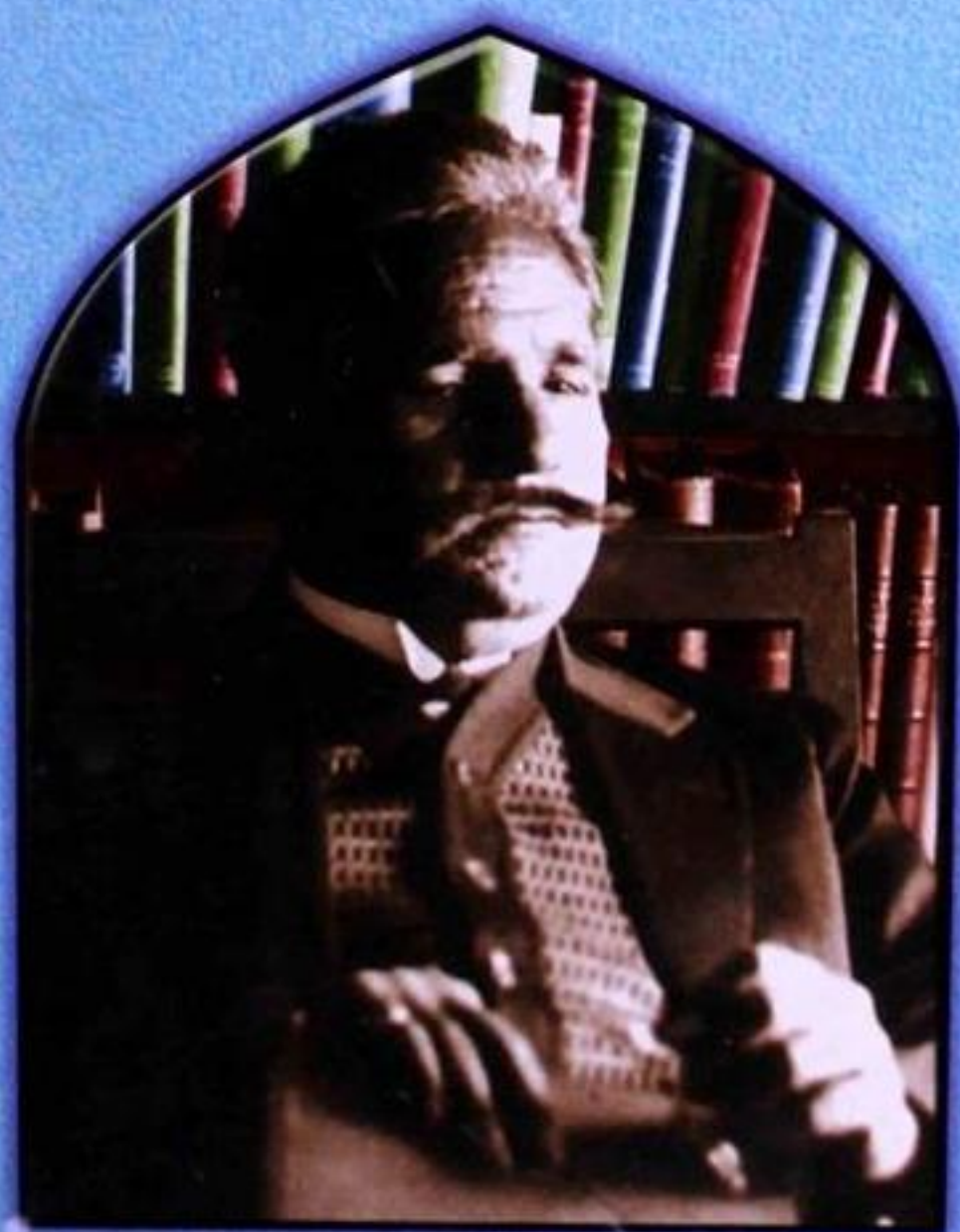


IQBAL

THE POET OF TOMORROW



Khawaja Abdur Rahim

Courtesy: Farhat Ehsas

IQBAL

THE POET OF TOMORROW

EXCHANGE

Edited by

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IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

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January 9, 1938



In the picture are visible: (1) Chaudhry Muhammad Husain and Dr. Hameed Malik; (2) Among those on the chairs Syed Nazeer Niazi; Chaudhry Ghulam Ahmad Parvez; Maulana Aslam Jeirajpuri; Khwaja Ghulam-us-Sayyedein; (3) Raja Hassan Akhtar; Among those seated on the ground: Mian Mohammad Shafi and Dr. Javid Iqbal.

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FOREWORD

By

Khwaja Abdur Rahim

Iqbal's mortal remains lie buried at a befitting spot located between the Darvesh-Emperor Alamgir's Mosque—the symbol of Islam's spiritual power, and the Mughal Fort, the symbol of Islam's temporal power. Iqbal gave the clarion call for the revival of Islamic values, and Muslim Power, and his last resting-place is thus set in appropriate historic environment.

Immortality of Iqbal's Message

Though Iqbal is physically no more with us, his message, delivered in fiery verse and powerful prose, is immortal, and his timeless spirit continues to enlighten, energize, and guide the world of Islam to its destiny beyond the azure firmament:

پرے ہے چرخ نیلی قام سے منزل مسلمان کی
ستارے جس کی گرد راہ ہوں وہ کارواں تو ہے

The destiny of the Mussalman lies beyond the azure firmament,
His is the caravan with stardust flung in its wake.

فرنگ سے بہت آگے ہے منزل مومن
قدم اٹھایہ مقام انتہائے راہ نہیں

The destination of the faithful is far beyond that of Europe,
Awake, quicken thy pace, the end of thy journey is not that.
of the West.

علم کی حد سے پرے بندہ مومن کے لئے
لذت شوق بھی ہے نعمت دیدار بھی ہے

Iqbal stirred the Muslim Nation, injected new life into it.

resuscitated its glorious past, revealed the vision of its future, gave it consciousness of fresh values and new horizons, and, with prophetic fervour, taught it how, with rock-like faith in the unity of God (توحید) and the Prophetic Mission (رسالت) of the Holy Prophet, and its finality, it could establish Islamic solidarity, and thereby save tormented humanity, and create a new world where man will not exploit man, and where, with the liquidation of Imperialism, Capitalism, Territorial Nationalism, and atheistic Socialism, man could live a spiritual life as participant in a Spiritual Democracy, and strive for his ultimate aim, viz., creation of God's attributes in man, and his emergence as a co-worker with God. As Iqbal says:

افرنگ ز خود بے خبرت کرد و گرنه
اے بندہ مومن تو بشیری تو نذیری

جہاں تمام ہے میراث مرد مومن کی
میرے کلام پہ حجت ہے نکتہ لولاک

عروج آدم خاکی کے منتظر ہیں تمام
یہ کہکشاں یہ ستارے یہ نیلگوں افلاک

کوہ شکاف تیری ضرب، تجھ سے کشادشرق وغرب
تیغ ہلال کی طرح عیش نیام سے گذر

Having fulfilled his Mission, Iqbal departed from us, in the physical sense, in 1938, but he continues to rule over our hearts, minds and thoughts. Defying time, space, and death, the outflow of his Immortal Ego, like waves of creative energy, ceaselessly enlivens, enriches, and spiritualizes other striving Egos. Iqbal, thus, is not of yesterday, but is a living force today. Not only that. The spiritual creations of his Ego continue to create new horizons. He is thus the poet of tomorrow.

وہ شعر کہ پیغام حیات ابدی ہے
یا نغمہ جبریل ہے یا بانگ سرافیل

ہمس ازمن شعرمن خوانند و دریا بند و می گویند
جہانے را دگرگون کرد یک مرد خود آگاہ

دم مرا صفت باد فرودین کردند
گیاہ را ز مرشکم چو یاسمین کردند

چراغ خویش بر افروختم کہ دست کلیم
دریں زمانہ نہاں زیر آستین کردند

نغمہ کجا و من کجا ساز سخن بہانہ ایست
سوئے قطار می کشم ناقہ بے زمام را

قلندریم و کرامات ما جہاں بینی است
زما نگاہ طلب کیمیا چہ می جوئی

The Age of Iqbal

The twentieth century may justly be called the Age of Iqbal. No other poet or thinker in any country, in the East or West, during this century, has influenced a larger portion of humanity than Iqbal. There have been and are great poets and thinkers in several countries, but their influence is essentially limited or confined to certain strata of intellectuals. None has rivalled Iqbal in successfully arousing intellectual-cum-emotional response in large masses of humanity, at all levels, and in diverse countries. The response has revolutionized political, cultural, social, literary, and economic concepts. One miracle which flowed from him is the creation of Pakistan, of which he gave the concept, and whose builder, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, he counselled and guided. The creation of Pakistan has changed the whole course of history in Asia. Iqbal's influence reigns supreme in the entire Muslim world from Morocco to Indonesia. In fact, his thought has proved to be a guiding star for the continents of Asia and Africa. Even in other continents, he has influenced and continues to influence an evergrowing number of souls and minds in search of truth and spiritual happiness. His message is for all, his appeal is universal, and so is his acceptability. His poetry bestirs storms, and liberates earth-rooted man to dive into the depths of his own Ego, and equip himself with the pearl of divine energy, and aspire to conquer and absorb the universe.

within himself, his highest and most creative ambition being to achieve direct apprehension of Ultimate Reality:

خودی کی جلوتوں میں مصطفائی
خودی کی خلوتوں میں کبریائی
زمین و آسمان و کرسی و عرش
خودی کی زد میں ہے ساری خدائی

خودی میں گم ہے خدائی تلاش کر غافل
یہی ہے تیرے لئے اب صلاح کار کی راہ

خودی میں ڈوبنے والوں کے عزم و ہمت نے
اس آب جو سے کٹھے بحر بیکراں پیدا

غرق بودم در تماشاے جمال
گم شدم اندر ضمیر کائنات
آنکہ ہر تارش ربائے دیگرے
حق ہویدا باہمہ اسرار خویش
ہر زمان در انقلاب و لا یزال
چوں رباب آمد بچشم من حیات
ہر نوا از دیگرے خونیں ترے
با نگاہ من کند دیدار خویش

مرد حق برندہ چوں شمشیر باش
خود جہان خویش را تقدیر باش

History of Observance of Iqbal Day, and the Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal

The first Iqbal Day was celebrated in the life time of Iqbal on January 9, 1938. The function was organized by the Iqbal Committee of the Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood, Lahore. The celebrations at Lahore were attended by such eminent scholars as Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, Khwaja Ghulam-us-Sayyidain, Chaudhry Mohammad Husain, Raja Hassan Akhtar, Chaudhry Ghulam Ahmad Parvaiz and others. The day was celebrated with tremendous enthusiasm and fervour throughout the Indo-Pak sub-continent. The success of the function was due to the spirited efforts made by Mian Mohammad Shafi, M.A., and a team of faithful workers including Doctor Abdul Hameed Malik and Mr. Altaf Shaukat.

After the demise of Iqbal, the Central Iqbal Day Committee was constituted. The closest disciple of Iqbal and his most sincere



Ch. Muhammad Hussain

The first life-President of the Majlis about whom Iqbal had said :

برون کشید ز پیچاک هست و بود مرا
چه عقده با که مقام رضا کشود مرا

friend Chaudhry Mohammad Husain was elected as President. He continued to be president till his death in July, 1950.

The Iqbal Day in April, 1939,* was presided over by the present Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman, who, at that time, was District and Sessions Judge, Ferozepore.

The Iqbal Day in 1940 was observed on March 24 and 25, only one day after the All-India Muslim League adopted the Pakistan Resolution. The function was presided over by Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the Nation. The speech which he made on this occasion is summarised elsewhere in this Volume.

The Committee continued to observe Iqbal Day year after year. The day which was celebrated in April, 1951, acquired a peculiar import, since it was presided over by Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah, and was attended by over two lacs of people. The Gol Bagh, the venue of the public meeting, overflowed with humanity. Agha Shorish Kashmiri, who had associated himself with the Iqbal Day Movement and, in addition to the writer, had become Secretary of the Committee, gave a rare display of his oratorical powers. The public was in a mood of resentment, since, a few days earlier, the Provincial Government had stopped the publication of the fearless and popular Daily "Nawa-i-Waqt," which then mirrored the patriotic, selfless, and freedom-loving personality of Hameed Nizami. The Khatoon-i-Pakistan called upon the Provincial Government to recall the order. The demand was later honoured.

The Committee was registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860 in January, 1952, under the name "The Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal." A sister body had already been registered in December, 1951, under the name "Majlis-i-Mazar-i-Iqbal." Among the sponsors were such gentlemen as Raja Hassan Akhtar who had drunk deep at the font of Iqbal, and whose sincerity and devotion to the cause were most admirable, Mian Amiruddin who and whose family had the longest association with Iqbal, Sheikh Mahboob Elahi, distinguished for his sincerity, devotion and

* So far as known to the writer, it was the first Iqbal Day observed at Lahore after Iqbal's death.

fearlessness, and Hameed Nizami, Malik Abdul Aziz Advocate, Agha Shorish Kashmiri, Baba Ali Bakhsh, and the writer.

On Chau hry Mohammad Husain's death in July, 1950, Raja Hassan Akhtar was elected as President of Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal and Majlis-i-Mazar-i-Iqbal. Agha Shorish Kashmiri and the writer continued as Secretaries. Mian Amiruddin and Sheikh Mahboob Elahi were elected as Vice-Presidents, and Sheikh Mohammad Amin as Treasurer.

The Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal continued to hold the annual function year after year. Raja Hassan Akhtar died in October, 1964, and then the writer was elected as President of both the Societies. Agha Shorish Kashmiri and Sheikh Mohammad Amin remained in their respective positions. Dr. Javid Iqbal was elected as Vice-President.

Object of Observing Iqbal Day

The Iqbal Day is a day of meditation, reflection and re-dedication to the principles, ideals and values preached by Iqbal. Re-dedication implies fresh resolution to practise his teachings in everyday life.

The day furnishes an opportunity to all who have faith in the message of Iqbal to propagate the same to others, and educate and instruct them.

Iqbal's message is dynamic and revolutionary, and not at all static. Its dynamism has no meaning unless it is constantly applied to the changing conditions of life, and the ever new problems which pose challenge to individual and national life. Scientific Research, while enlarging Man's knowledge, is constantly demolishing or amending old assumptions, premises, and concepts, and opening fresh vistas to Man's eye. In such circumstances, it becomes imperative continuously to re-appraise, and re-evaluate, and to search for new directions, keeping in mind the fundamental principles and the ultimate goal. As Iqbal says:

جس میں نہ ہو انقلاب موت ہے وہ زندگی
روح اسم کی حیات کشمکش انقلاب

ندرت فکر و عمل سے معجزات زندگی
ندرت فکر و عمل سے سنگ خارہ لعل ناب

جہان تازہ کی افکار تازہ سے ہے نمود
کہ سنگ و خشت سے ہوتے نہیں جہاں پیدا

نشان یہی ہے زمانے میں زندہ قوموں کا
کہ صبح و شام بدلتی ہیں ان کی تقدیریں

Policies of the Majlis

The principles and policies which have always guided the Majlis may briefly be mentioned.

Maintenance of Independent Platform

- (a) The first and foremost aim of the Majlis is to function as an independent entity, and to keep up the integrity and independence of its platform. Time and again attempts have been made to browbeat or intimidate the Majlis, so that the ruling classes, out to exploit Iqbal's name and fame, could monopolize Iqbal Day. The Majlis has always stoutly resisted such attempts. The people appreciate the independent attitude of the Majlis, and we take this opportunity of thanking them for the unstinted support which they have always given to it. The Majlis regard public approval as a test of its own sincerity to the sacred cause dear to both, viz., true and faithful projection of Iqbal in accordance with the spirit of his message, un-swayed by selfish or ulterior ends.
- (b) The Majlis, as a rule, only invites personages, known for their loyalty to Pakistan and its ideals, or, independence of mind, to preside over Iqbal Day. It will suffice to mention that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah, Quaid-i-Millat Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, Chief Justice M. R. Kayani, Chief Justice A. R. Cornelius, Chief Justice S. A. Rahman, Mr. Justice Hamood-ur-Rahman, Ex-Chief

Justice Sayyad Mahboob Murshed, Chief Justice Wahiduddin Ahmad, Mr. Justice Anwarul Haq, Mr. A. K. Brohi, Mr. A. T. M. Mustafa, Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi and Mr. Bashir Hashmi—all men of profound learning, lofty ideals and unimpeachable independence, have at one time or another presided over the annual function. The Majlis is grateful to them and to all others who have presided over its functions or read papers or made speeches from its platform.

No financial aid or assistance from Government

(c) The Majlis has never accepted a single pie by way of aid or financial assistance from the Central or Provincial Government or any of their agencies. The Majlis has also refrained from making public appeal for funds.

خودی کونہ دے سیم و زر کے عوض _____ نہیں شعلہ دیتے شرر کے عوض

خودی کے نگہباں کو ہے زہر ناب _____ وہ ناں جس سے جاتی رہے اسکی آب

وہی ناں ہے اس کے لئے ارجمند _____ رہے جس سے دنیا میں گردن بلند

The said policy was adhered to even in the matter of construction of the mausoleum (Mazar) of Iqbal. The sister body, *i.e.*, The Mazar Committee, which accomplished the job, decided, at the very outset, not to accept financial aid from Government or any Governmental agency for the construction of the mausoleum, nor to make any public appeal for funds for the said purpose. The disciples, admirers, and friends of Iqbal voluntarily came forward, and contributed the entire amount required for completing the job. Some persons offered to provide the entire cost of construction on the condition that slabs were fixed at the Mazar showing the identity of the donors, but the Committee declined such offers. The companion Urdu volume contains an article on (مزار اقبال کیوں کر بنا)

The Mazar cost more than a lac of rupees excluding the cost of the *تعویذ*, the sarcophagus, of renowned Lapis Lazuli stone, which was contributed by His Majesty King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan (before Partition) through the courtesy of Sardar Salahuddin Saljuqi, then Afghan Consul-General at New Delhi, who was a

disciple of Iqbal. On Iqbal's death, the Sardar wept as a son would weep on the death of his father. The Majlis and the people of Pakistan are grateful for the graceful gesture shown by the Afghan Ruler.

The verses in which Iqbal has addressed King Zahir Shah are memorable, and may be quoted here:—

<p>در ضمیرش دیده ام آب حیات سے رساند بر مقام لا تخف ہیبت مرد فقیر از لاله ما سو الله را نشان نگذاشتیم اے خنک مردی کہ در عصر من است بعد ازین ناید چو من مرد فقیر شرح رمز صبغه الله گفته ام در شراب من سرور لاله</p>	<p>بر خور از قرآن اگر خواهی ثبات می دهد ما را پیام لا تخف قوت سلطان و میر از لاله تا دو تیغ لا والا داشتیم خاوران از شعله من روشن است از تب و تابم نصیب خود بگیر گوهر دریائے قرآن سفته ام دارم اندر سینه نور لاله</p>
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The Executive Committee

(d) The Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal is a broad-based body, which is manifest from the list of Members of the Executive Committee (for 1967-68) published (at pages 19 and 20) in this volume. The list reflects the diverse and varied interests represented, but they all share fundamental qualifications, viz., their faith in Iqbal's message, its conformity with the *Qur'an*, its universality, and its unfailing efficacy for resolving the ills of tormented humanity.

Annual Restatement

(e) The Majlis considers that an annual re-statement of Iqbal's ideals and principles is necessary. Some agencies, unwittingly or otherwise, project Iqbal on such occasions as the poet of yesterday. It is the opinion of the Majlis that Iqbal is the poet of today and tomorrow. Dr. Javid Iqbal's annual discourse, which is eagerly awaited by the public, has become a feature of the Iqbal Day at Lahore, in the same way as the annual poem of his illustrious father had become a feature of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam's platform.

Javid Iqbal applies the principles and values preached by Iqbal to practical problems as they arise from time to time. The message thus remains a living reality. Javid Iqbal's Urdu speeches delivered at Iqbal Day Sessions have been published separately under the title: *منے لالہ فام*

In the present circumstances, the Muslim national of Pakistan has two obligations to perform:

- (a) to defend the geographical frontiers of Pakistan; and
- (b) to defend the ideological frontiers of Pakistan.

In all ideological States, such as U.S.S.R., Peoples' China, and to a degree even in U.S.A., no mercy is shown to one who is disloyal to the ideology of the State, and the coercive power and apparatus of the State is put into motion for liquidating the offenders. Even in States based on Territorial Nationalism, non-conformity with the foundational principles of the majority inhabiting the State is punished or discouraged in diverse ways.

It would be appropriate to refer here to the development of a trend in Pakistan, which Dr. Javid Iqbal has ably analysed in the introduction to "Stray Reflections"—A Note Book of Allama Iqbal. Referring to the superficiality and insignificance of most of the writings about Iqbal since his death, he asks why should this be so? His answer is:

"One reason seems to be the development of a trend in Pakistan of quoting odd verses of Iqbal or talking about his ideas without having any deeper understanding of what the man actually said or meant.....Another reason seems to be the political significance attached to his name. The left-wing 'intellectuals' of Pakistan have always regarded Iqbal as a stumbling block, an obstinate barrier or a kind of protective wall which has to be demolished before the Muslims could be made to accept their 'progressive' views. The left-wing 'intellectuals', therefore, try to pull Iqbal down whenever they get an opportunity. On the other hand, the right-wing 'intellectuals' of Pakistan, who claim to own Iqbal, have their

own pre-conceived notions about him. They indeed stand for Islam, but, in their zeal to 'protect' Iqbal from the dirty hands of the left-wingers (and from those who attack Iqbal on religious or rather sectarian grounds, or detract him out of provincial or regional considerations), they depict the Muslim Poet as holding such views which they think he should have held. Consequently Iqbal is represented as a 'conservative', and a 'reactionary', and everything that is written on him by this group of 'intellectuals' fails to capture or interpret the exciting, dynamic and forward-looking qualities of his thought. —

. "These scholars generally fail to relate Iqbal's ideals to our contemporary problems in the same way as the Poet related the Islamic past to the struggles of his times. The crux of Iqbal's teaching is his vision of the Muslim society of the future, a society devoted to the full development of individuals in their capacity as co-workers with God. He was, therefore, the first Muslim in the Indian sub-continent to express a coherent demand for the establishment of Islamic socialism. A genuine response to Iqbal would be the development of economic and other structures through which the realisation of his vision could be facilitated. Iqbal stood for passionate action, not scholastic quibbling. Unfortunately, in spite of the many efforts to popularise the ideals of Iqbal, he remains lying as a jewel in the dust."

Subtle ways are employed to disfigure the Image of Iqbal, or to distort or misrepresent his message. At times he is represented as the Poet of Reaction—out to sell Religion—the "opium" of the masses. At other times, he is represented as the Poet of Revolution (Not Islamic). The contradiction in the two projections is patent.

Every one is entitled to read and appreciate Iqbal in accordance with his own lights. The point of objection arises only when, for political or other ends, and with a view to exploit Iqbal's name and fame, and use the same as cover, certain themes or verses of his are singled out, and put forward as representing the soul or whole of Iqbal's message. It then becomes a case of *suggestio falsi*, if not of *suppressio veri*.

The truth is that Iqbal stands for Islamic revolution, and the renaissance of the world of Islam in all spheres—religious, moral, cultural, political, social, economic, etc.

It is his firm conviction that the re-generated Muslim world, armed with unity of purpose, will spiritualize and unify mankind, secure its salvation, and lead it to its spiritual goals. He never contemplated that the Muslims would or could surrender their individuality to any other entity.

The unity of the Muslim world according to him, is based on (رسالت) and (توحید). This unity is not earth-rooted. Iqbal says:

عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود
حکمتش یک ملت گیتی نورد بر اساس کلمہ تعمیر کرد

ملت ما را اساس دیگر است این اساس اندر دل ما مضمراست
ماز نعمت ہائے او اخوان شدیم یک زبان و یک دل و یکجا شدیم

نہ افغانیم و نے ترک و تتاریم
چمن زادیم و از یک شاخساریم
تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است
کہ ما پروردہ یک نو بہاریم

قوت قلب و جگر گردد نبی از خدا محبوب تر گردد نبی
قلب مومن را کتابش قوت است حکمتش جبل الوریذ ملت است
پس خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کرد بر رسول ما رسالت ختم کرد

لا نبی بعدی از احسان خدا است پردہ ناموس دین مصطفیٰ است
قوم را سرمایہ قوت ازو حفظ سر وحدت ملت ازو
حق تعالیٰ نقش ہر دعویٰ شکست تا ابد اسلام را شیرازہ بست

دل ز غیر اللہ مسلمان بر کند
نعرہ لا قوم بعدی سے زند

جوہر ما با مقامے بستہ نیست بادہ تندش بجامے بستہ نیست
قلب ما از ہند و روم و شام نیست مرز بوم او بجز اسلام نیست

Iqbal says in "Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam":

"As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe, and reaches a dynamic view. As an emotional system of unification, it recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and

rejects blood relationship as a basis of human unity. Blood relationship is earth-rootedness. The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible only with the perception that all human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a perception is creative of fresh loyalties without any ceremonial to keep them alive, and makes it possible for man to emancipate himself from the earth.....”

Again,

“.....The new culture finds the foundation of world unity in the principle of “Tauhid.” 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.....”

“.....The Nationalist theory of State, therefore, is misleading inasmuch as it suggests a dualism which does not exist in Islam.....”

“.....The State, according to Islam, is only an effort to realize the spiritual in human organization.”

He further says:

“.....It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism, but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members.....”

“.....Islam is non-territorial in its character, and its aim is to furnish a model for the final combination of humanity by drawing its adherents from a variety of mutually repellent races, and then transforming this atomic aggregate into a *people possessing a self-consciousness of their own*.....”

“In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness, man must finally be thrown back on his own resources.”

Pointing to the needs of humanity, Iqbal says:

“Humanity needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis.”

Iqbal says:

بمصطفیٰ برساں خویش را کہ دین ہمہ اوست
اگر باو نرسیدی تمام بو لہبی ایست

دین فطرت از نبی آسوختیم در ره حق مشعلے افروختیم
از رسالت ہم نوا گشتیم ما ہم نفس ہم مدعا گشتیم ما
حق تعالیٰ پیکر ما آفرید وز رسالت در تن ما جان د مید
از رسالت در جہاں تکوین ما از رسالت دین ما آئین ما

Referring to the Qur'an, he says:

تو ہی دانی کہ آئین تو چیست زیر گردوں سر تمکین تو چیست
آن کتاب زندہ قرآن حکیم حکمت او لایزال است و قدیم
نسخہ اسرار تکوین حیات بے ثبات از قوتش گیرد ثبات
نوع انسان را پیام آخریں حاصل او رحمت للعالمین

I conclude with verses in which Iqbal has exhorted the younger generation:

دل ز غیر اللہ ہر داز ای جوان این جہاں کہنہ در باز ای جوان
تا کجا بے غیرت دیں زیستن ای مسلمان مردن است ایں زیستن
مرد حق باز آفریند خویش را جزبہ نور حق نہ بیند خویش را
بر عیار مصطفیٰ خود را زند
تا جہانے دیگرے پیدا کند

The Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal has the privilege of placing in the hands of the public this collection of addresses and essays in

English, and the companion volume in Urdu, and hopes that these two books, published on the eve of the thirtieth death anniversary of Iqbal, will render useful assistance to those who seek light from him. I would like to place on record the thanks of the Majlis to the publishers, Messrs Ferozsons Limited, and to Dr. A. Waheed personally, whose generous co-operation, and devotion to the cause, have made the public appearance of the books, in the space of about forty-five days, a practical proposition.

8, Dinga Singh Buildings,
Shara-e-Quaid-i-Azam,
(The Mall)
LAHORE
April 3, 1968

Khwaja Abdur Rahim,
Bar-at-Law
President
Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal,
(The Central Iqbal Committee)

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(1967-68)**

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Editor "Chatan",
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25. Raja Zahoor Akhtar, Satellite Town, Rawalpindi.

EXTRACT FROM

Speech of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on
March 25, 1940

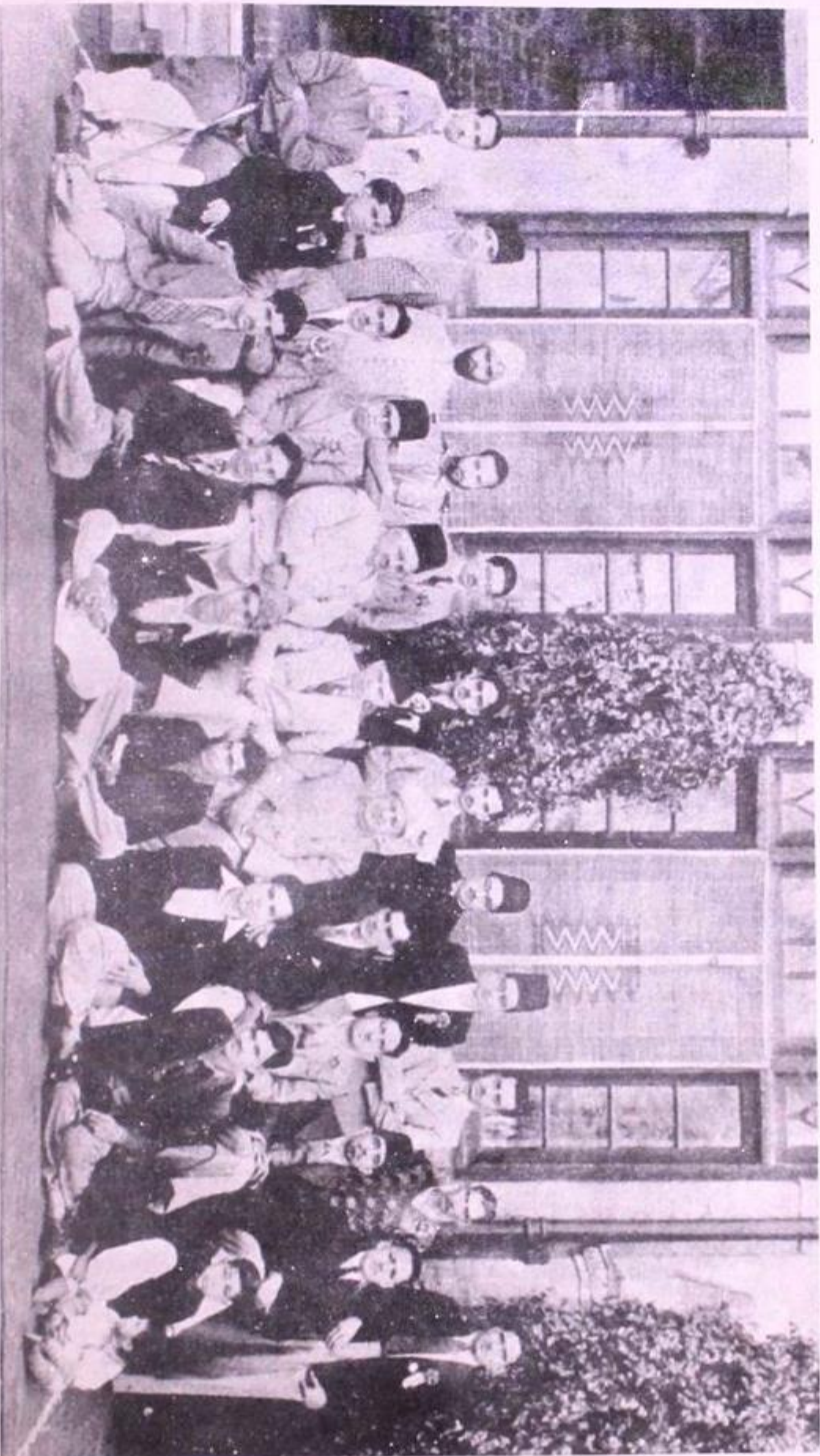
“If I live to see the ideal of a Muslim state being achieved and I were then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the rulership of the Muslim state, I would prefer the former.”

“On April 1931, I thought of transforming the Muslim League, which was then only an academical institution, into a parliament of Muslim India. From that time to the end of his life Iqbal stood like a rock by me”.

“Iqbal was not only a great poet who had a permanent place in the history of the world’s best literature, he was a dynamic personality who, during his life time, made the greatest contribution towards rousing and developing of Muslim national consciousness.”

IQBAL DAY CELEBRATIONS

March 24, 25, 1940



Among those seated on chairs appear (from left to right) Raja Hassan Akhtar; Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, at that time leader of the opposition in NWFP Assembly; Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah; Dr. Niaz Ahmad; and Dr. Malik Abdul Hameed.

To the cherished memory of our National Poet - Iqbal - I pay my homage on this day, which is being celebrated in commemoration of that great poet, sage, Philosopher and thinker, and I pray to God Almighty that his soul may rest in eternal peace. Amen.

Though he is not amongst us, his verse, immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and to inspire us. His poetry, besides being beautiful in form and sweet in language, presents to us a picture of the mind and heart of this great poet, and we find how deeply he was devoted to the teachings of Islam. He was a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), - a Muslim first and a Muslim last. He was the interpreter and voice of Islam.

Iqbal was not merely a preacher and a philosopher. He stood for courage and action, perseverance and self-reliance, and above all faith in God and devotion to Islam. In his person were combined the idealism of the poet and the realism of the man who takes a practical view of things. Faith in God and unceasing and untiring action is the essence of his message. And in this he emerges truly Islamic. He had an unflinching faith in Islamic principles, and success in life meant to him the realization of one's self, and to achieve this end the only means was to follow the teachings of Islam. His message to humanity is action and the realization of one's self.

Although a great poet and philosopher, he was no less a practical politician. With his firm conviction and faith in the ideals of Islam, he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India an Islamic State in the North-West and North-East zones, which are the historical homelands of Muslims.

I wholeheartedly associate myself with the celebration of this Iqbal Day, and pray that we may live up to the ideals preached by our National Poet, so that we may be able to achieve our goal of Pakistan and give a practical shape to these ideals in our sovereign State of Pakistan, when established.

————— 

Facsimile of the message delivered by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation, on Iqbal Day observed at Lahore in 1944.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S MESSAGE*

To the cherished memory of our National Poet Iqbal, I pay my homage on this day, which is being celebrated in commemoration of that great poet, sage, philosopher and thinker, and I pray to God Almighty that his soul may rest in eternal peace. *Amen!*

Though he is not amongst us, his verse, immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and to inspire us. His poetry, besides being beautiful in form and sweet in language, presents to us a picture of the mind and heart of this great poet, and we find how deeply he was devoted to the teachings of Islam. He was a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him),—Muslim first and a Muslim last. He was the interpreter and voice of Islam.

Iqbal was not merely a preacher and a philosopher. He stood for courage and action, perseverance and self-reliance, and above all faith in God and devotion to Islam. In his person were combined the idealism of the poet and the realism of the man who takes a practical view of things. Faith in God and unceasing and untiring action is the essence of his message. And in this he emerges truly Islamic. He had an unflinching faith in Islamic principles, and success in life meant to him the realisation of one's 'self' and to achieve this end the only means was to follow the teachings of Islam. His message to humanity is action and realisation of one's self.

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*The message delivered by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation, on Iqbal Day observed at Lahore in 1944.

Introduction to the Study of Iqbal

By

Dr. Javid Iqbal

- (1) *The Ideology of Iqbal and Its Implementation*, 1951.
- (2) *Early Reflections on the Road to Iqbal*, 1954.
- (3) *Mr. Iqbal, Iqbal's intellectual journey as Iqbal Iqbal read at Iqbal Day sessions (1972-1982)*, 1982.
- (4) *The Legacy of Iqbal*, 1987.
- (5) *Mirza-i-Dilwar-i-Azam* (Iqbal), 1987.

Numerous papers and articles on political and economic analysis published in national and international journals or compilations.

Born at Sialkot on October 5, 1924. Completed his studies at Lahore. In 1949 went to Cambridge and did research in Philosophy. Dissertation: **The Development of Muslim Political Philosophy.** Secured Ph.D. from Cambridge in 1954. Qualified as a Barrister from Lincoln's Inn, London. On return to Lahore in 1956 taught as part-time lecturer at Law College, Lahore as well as practised law. In 1960 participated in a seminar held at Canberra (Australia) on the Future of Constitutionalism in Asia. Paper: **The search for an Islamic State in Pakistan.** From 1960-62 attended United Nations General Assembly sessions at New York as a delegate from Pakistan. In 1962 toured the United States at the invitation of the State Department and delivered lectures on the Future of the U.N. Later, in the same year invited by the Mexican Government to deliver a series of lectures on Islamic Culture and comparative study of the Foreign Policies of the U.A.R., Turkey, Iran and Pakistan at El Colegio de Mexico. Also visited the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montréal and delivered lectures on the Modern Trends in Islam at the Universities of Bonn, Ankara and Istanbul. In 1963 toured Peoples' China as a member of a Parliamentary delegation. In 1964 supported Miss Fatima Jinnah in the Presidential election contest and assisted her in her endeavours for the restoration of complete democracy in Pakistan. Elected President, High Court Bar Association Lahore in February 1968. At present practises law.

Publications:

- (1) *The Ideology of Pakistan and its Implementation*, 1959.
- (2) *Stray Reflections—A Note Book of Allama Iqbal*, 1961.
- (3) *Mai Lalafam* (Urdu) a collection of papers on Allama Iqbal read at Iqbal Day sessions (1957—1966), 1967.
- (4) *The Legacy of Quaid-i-Azam*, 1967.
- (5) *Miras-i-Quaid-i-Azam* (Urdu), 1967.

Numerous papers and articles on political and Islamic subjects published in national and international journals or compilations.

By Dr. Javid Iqbal

Iqbal is essentially a religious poet who expresses the religious aspirations of his age in such a way that it is difficult to enter into the spirit or grasp the significance of his great poems without some acquaintance with the theology and cultural history of Islam. The same is true also of T. S. Eliot who cannot be comprehended fully unless and until one is familiar with the religio-cultural tradition to which he belongs.

Iqbal is a poet gifted with the necessity of utterance. He carries, as it were, the prophet's burden. The message he is to deliver is pressed like lead upon his soul and although the process of telling is an agony, he must tell it. Each word of the message is like a flame which struggles to break forth into speech and will accept no suppression or denial. Such poet-prophets may belong to different religio-cultural traditions, nevertheless they exert fascination over others because it is laid upon them to deliver the message.

There is no denying the fact that poetry can be vigorous and strong while quite indifferent to religion. But poetry cannot long remain parted from religious consciousness if it is to achieve a higher level of expression. Therefore, the bond between religion and poetry is not superficial or accidental. Religion is a power as ancient as the world, and if philosophy—the parent of the sciences, has been universally acknowledged as the child of religion, there is no reason why poetry, which in its higher form, is more philosophical than philosophy itself, should not be considered as the child of religion.

There has always existed a mysterious link between great problems and great poems. The conflict between the experience of men and the religious aspirations of the age has laid the foundations of the greatest poems of the ancient Greeks, Jews, Christians and Muslims. For instance, the structure of such great poems as "Iliad," "Divine Comedy," "Paradise lost," "Faust" and the "Mathnavi," is entirely dependent upon certain current religious conceptions or aspirations. In English literature poets like Langland, Edmund Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson and Browning

* This paper was meant for a foreign audience and was read in October 1966.

among others are most effective when their poetic expression results directly from religious emotion.

In chronological order Iqbal comes after Hali and before a group of writers in modern Urdu literature known as the Progressive Writers. But in terms of the accuracy of his insight into the problems of contemporary Islam, Iqbal ought to be placed much later. Similarly his message must not be interpreted in isolation from the socio-political conditions under which he lived and against which he felt obliged to react.

Iqbal hailed from a Muslim middle class family which was known for its piety and abstinence. He received his early education in Sialkot under Syed Mir Hassan, a devout Muslim and an enthusiastic supporter of Syed Ahmed Khan. He came to study in Lahore in 1895 when he was twenty years old. As a sensitive young Muslim, he realized that the glory of Islam was fast becoming a matter of past history. The Ottoman Empire was in the process of breaking up. The Chinese and Central Asian Islam had already been absorbed in the Chinese Nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. The Muslims were gradually being driven out from Eastern Europe. Iran was collapsing. Egypt was controlled by the British. France was preparing to seize Morocco. The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom after the suppression of 1857 Mutiny. Under the British rule, they had been reduced to a minority of one hundred million people. The Indian National Congress had been formed in 1885 and gradually the Hindu majority was acquiring more and more political power. Initiative had been snatched away from the hands of Islam which, like an old man, lived in the past and was perpetually on the defensive.

In this condition of utter despair the Indian Muslims turned their eyes towards the movement for Islamic solidarity. This movement (also called the Pan-Islamic movement) had been founded by Jamal al Din Afghani. Throughout his life, Afghani preached that the unity of purpose among the Muslims was the only weapon with

which they could defeat European imperialism. Accordingly he endeavoured for the establishment of a federation of Muslim countries under the constitutional leadership of the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph.

Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity. However, in order to trace the development of his ideas it is necessary to divide Iqbal's life into two periods—the Period of Seeking and the Period of Discovery.

The Period of Seeking extends roughly from 1895 to 1912. During this period Iqbal's attention was attracted by numerous subjects. In fact he wrote on whatever moved him. He was fascinated by nature, expressed himself on topics like love, solitude, loneliness etc., or wrote 'Ghazals' in the conventional style of Dagh. Between 1895 and 1905 he also wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. Sometimes the subject-matter of his poems was universal, at other times it exclusively concerned the Muslim community. He experimented in writing satirical verse in the style of Akbar Allahabadi, or wrote poems for children which were Urdu adaptations from Emerson, William Cowper, Longfellow or Tennyson. But the most moving poems which belong to this period are those in which he bewailed the miserable plight of the Indian Muslims or lamented the sorrows of the Muslims of the Middle East involved in their bitter struggle for independence.

Technically this period terminates with the famous poem "Shikwa and Jawab-i-Shikwa" (The Complaint and the Answer) which was written in 1911-12. From the poems belonging to this period a careful selection was made and compiled by Iqbal along with some later ones. This collection appeared in 1924 under the title of "Bang-i-Dara" (The Call of the Road).

Although the message element is non-existent in the poems of this period, the lyricism of Iqbal is captivating. Furthermore, although no systematization is possible of his moods or dominant emotions, this period has certain prominent features.

There is an interesting admission by Iqbal about himself in his note-book entitled "Stray Reflections." He maintained this note-book in 1910. In one of the notes, while reflecting on the poets who had influenced him during this formative period, he remarks that he was saved by Wordsworth from atheism in his student days. An analysis of this remark is important for two reasons; First, it reveals the questioning and searching nature of Iqbal's mind; and second, it indicates that he was not confined to the generally accepted narrowness of his own tradition. Anyway, from this remark, which is more or less a key to the understanding of the early complexity of Iqbal's mind, it can be safely assumed that he drifted from a state of doubt to a pantheistic state. It was during this phase (1895-1905) that he founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy and wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism and patriotism. But side by side with this trend proceeded the love for his own religio-cultural tradition which found expression in numerous exquisite poems, written in the same period, in which he spoke of the Muslims as "Tasvir-i-Dard" (the Portrait of Pain) or as "Nala-i-Yatim" (the Sighing of an Orphan).

It would, therefore, not be wrong to say that Iqbal went to Europe in 1905 as an ardent supporter of pantheism, nationalism, patriotism and at the same time, Islamic solidarity. He stayed there up till 1908 studying philosophy and law at the universities of Cambridge, London, Munich and Hiedelberg.

At that time Europe was in a state of intellectual turmoil. The spell of Hegelianism was holding every intellectual. The emphasis on rationalism and automatic progress through science had resulted in the development of materialistic and atheistic trends. Although there lingered the obscure voice of Soren Kierkegaard (the Danish thinker who died in 1855), no one took any notice of it. Kierkegaard had warned that Hegelianism would eventually lead to the establishment of some form of authoritarianism. He had also attacked European Christianity for its incapability to save Europe from forthcoming spiritual disaster. But Kierkegaard's works were not translated into English until 1930 and obviously Iqbal had never heard of him.

It is a tribute to the quality of Iqbal's mind that it remained unaffected by the materialistic and atheistic trends in the European thought of the early twentieth century. Actually it was during his stay in Europe that Iqbal became disgusted with pantheism, secular nationalism and territorial patriotism, and subsequently referred to his own pantheistic and nationalist period (1895—1905) as "my phase of ignorance and folly."

He had seen the forces of secular nationalism and territorial patriotism active in Europe, and arrived at the conclusion that the construction of human solidarity on the foundations of race, language, colour and territory, or fighting and dying for it was not only inhuman but contrary to the universally accepted spiritual values of equality and brotherhood of man.

A critical study of European Culture had revealed to him that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe had trampled over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity; whereas the forces it had engendered (nationalism, patriotism, imperialism etc.) resulted in the formation of mutually ill-adjusted states, dominated by interests, not human but national. These mutually ill-adjusted European states had been frequently dragged into internecine wars and were at present involved in a dangerous competition which would eventually lead to their destruction.

He felt that secular nationalism and territorial patriotism were idols with which European Christianity had made a compromise at the cost of itself receding into the background of private opinion. But Islam never compromised with idolatry. It destroyed this adversary altogether. Since Islam was complete in itself, it could never tolerate nationalism, patriotism or any 'ism' sundered from it.

This disillusionment from European culture made Iqbal feel the need of seeking inspiration exclusively from his own religio-cultural tradition. A deeper study of Islamic history led him to the conclusion that it was pantheism, among other destructive forces, which had killed the will to act in the Muslim peoples and resulted in the decline of Islamic civilization. Pantheism developed in Islam when decadence had already set in through the establishment of autocratic Sultanate and sterile Mullaism. It was a product of slavish

mentality which extolled passive virtues like humility, submission and obedience. Accordingly the pantheistic God, the creation of such mentality, was very different from the vigorous personality of the original Quranic God.

A deeper study of Islam also made Iqbal arrive at the conclusion that the scientific and technological progress achieved in Europe had in fact been stimulated by and was an advancement on what had been handed over by Islamic culture to Europe through Spain and Italy before the Renaissance. Therefore, adopting the same in the world of Islam amounted to taking back what Islam had originally given to Europe. Of the rest of the European culture he became an adverse critic and remained so all his life. He saw disaster written on the face of Europe. The European civilization appeared to him as "an empty scabbard chased with flowery gilt," and he genuinely believed that it would eventually "commit suicide with its own dagger."

Regarding his attack on European culture Iqbal's sensitive conscience had led him to many conclusions comparable to those European writers who have used even stronger words than Iqbal in condemning the European civilization. For instance, Kierkegaard had believed that European Christianity had largely collapsed. He condemned the secular capitalist democratic order which gave birth to an irresponsible, undisciplined and unscrupulous 'crowd.' The 'crowd' was constantly fed with lies or was manipulated by the anonymous Press. It would not listen to those isolated few who believed that truth is subjectivity and that 'individual before God' is the only final reality. He predicted that the development of materialistic and atheistic trends in Europe would result in the establishment of authoritarianism of Fascism and Communism, and thus the spiritual disaster would reach its completeness. On his death-bed Kierkegaard refused to accept the sacraments from the hands of the ministers of the established Church of Denmark because he believed the 'Official' Christianity of his people was merely a form without substance.

T. S. Eliot also follows Kierkegaard in attacking the 'mass man' of Europe. His great poems such as "The Hollow Men," "The Waste Land" and "Four Quartets," among others, present

a compelling vision of the spiritual emptiness and desolation of modern Europe.

Iqbal returned from Europe in 1908 with an awareness that for the Muslims the realization of Islam was the only destiny. The poems written between 1908 and 1912 indicate the change that had taken place in him. He had ceased to bewail the miserable condition or lament the sorrows of the Muslim world. Instead he either erupted into violent protest to God ("Shikwa"—1911) holding Him responsible for the decadence of the Muslims; or broke into moving prayers ("Du'a"—1912) urging God to guide him in finding a solution of the problems of the Muslim community.

The prayer for guidance was immediately available and the answer came spontaneously. There was a miraculous touch in the turning point, for, on the wondering Iqbal of the Period of Seeking was suddenly revealed the path which led to the destination; and as he proceeded along, his poetry became more and more vigorous and strong. This brings us to his Period of Discovery which commences from 1912 and terminates with his death in 1938.

There are a few basic points which are to be kept in mind before studying this period. First, since Iqbal felt called upon to deliver a message, his poetry attained a prophetic character. Second, as the message was to be delivered to the Muslims of the world, he changed the mode of communication from Urdu to Persian, the language of Islamic culture. Thus most of the works produced during this period are in Persian rather than Urdu. Third, although the forms and imagery employed by him were taken from the Islamic literary tradition, he used them as vehicles for the expression of absolutely new insights. And fourth, since he aimed to bring home his religio-philosophical ideas directly to the hearts of the Muslims, his poetry acquired an element of obscurity or vagueness instead of precision. This is probably the reason why the poetic language of Iqbal of this period strikes as lucid, simple and profound to the emotions, but may appear complex, and difficult to the mind.

The works of Iqbal belonging to the Period of Discovery appeared with the publication in 1915 of "Asrar-i-Khudi" (The Secrets of

the Self). It was followed by "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi" (The Mysteries of Selflessness) in 1918. The two were complementary parts of the same poem. Through this long Persian poem, Iqbal delivered the substance of his message. He denounced pantheism as a negative philosophy and presented his views on the Individual and collective Ego in the light of the teachings of Islam.

In 1922 appeared "Payam-i-Mashriq" (The Message of the East), another Persian work written in reply to Goethe's "West Ostlicher Divan." In the same year was written the famous Urdu Poem "Khizar-i-Rah" (Khizar, the Guide) It was followed by another well-known Urdu poem "Taluhi-Islam" (The Rise of Islam). Both these poems are included in his Urdu collection "Bang-i-Dara" which appeared in 1924.

In 1927, another Persian work "Zabur-i-Ajam" (The Persian Psalms) was published. In 1928-29 Iqbal toured South India delivering a series of lectures on Islam. These lectures are an exposition in the English language of his religio-philosophical ideas and were published in 1930 under the title of "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam."

Iqbal went to England in 1931 to attend the Round Table Conference and revisited Europe. On his return, in 1932 was published "Javid Nama" (The Book of Eternity). It is a long dramatic poem in Persian, describing a spiritual journey through different planetary spheres in the course of which the Poet is introduced to and discusses the problems of contemporary Islam with the souls of numerous eminent and great personalities.

In 1935 an Urdu collection of Iqbal's poems entitled "Bal-i-Jibril" (Gabriel's Wing) appeared. It was followed by another Urdu collection in 1936 called "Zarbi-Kalim" (The Rod of Moses). In the same year appeared a collection of Persian poems entitled "Pas Che Bayad Kard Aye Aqwam-i-Sharq" (So what Should Be Done, O Nations of the East?) Also in the same year was published "Musafir" (The Traveller), another Persian poem, recording the impressions of his journey to Afghanistan (in 1933) and containing a message for the Afghans. In 1938 appeared posthumously his

last poetic work "Armughan-i-Hijaz" (The Gift of Hijaz). This work is partly in Persian and partly in Urdu.

Some collections of Iqbal's prose-writings-letters, notes, papers, articles, addresses, statements and speeches have already been published. His Urdu treatise "Ilm-ul-Iqtisad" (The Science of Economics) originally published in 1900 has been reprinted. His dissertation for the Ph.D. entitled, "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia" is available, and even the collections of his discarded verses have been edited and published.

Some of Iqbal's major Persian works have been translated into European languages by eminent Orientalists like A. J. Arberry, A. Bausani, and Annemarie Schimmel. A selection of his Urdu poems has been rendered into English by V. G. Kiernan. An extensive range of literature has developed out of studies of Iqbal. However, for the English reading public Abdulla Anwar Beg's "The Poet of the East," S. A. Vahid's "Iqbal, his Art and Thought," and Annemarie Schimmel's "Gabriel's Wing" contain a wealth of useful material.

As for the religio-philosophical ideas on which the message of Iqbal is founded, an outline can be attempted. It may also be pointed out here that although the period under consideration has the elements of coherence and consistency, Iqbal as a poet becomes highly intellectual. Therefore, in order to appreciate his ideas properly a comprehensive knowledge of the development of modern philosophy in Europe is required in addition to an understanding of the Islamic religio-cultural tradition.

The metaphysical ideas of Iqbal can be briefly summarised as follows: The existence of God cannot be established by Reason but by Love. God is a personality, vigorously alive and constantly willing. He is the Ultimate Ego whose infinity is intensive and not extensive. He is continuously creative, goes on adding to His creation and is capable of changing His mind.

From God conceived as the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. Therefore, the Universe, from the mechanical movement of the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in human ego, is the

self-revelation of the "Great I am." It is one continuous act of God. There is no distinction between mind and matter except that of the degree of ego-hood.

Man is distinguishable from the Universe because in the process of creation, he, as an act of God, has become self-conscious. He, as a finite ego, is the representative of God on earth. He is essentially a creative activity and has the capability of becoming a co-worker with God in the process of progressive change if he takes the initiative.

Man, as a personality, is unique, distinct from God and free. His desires and aspirations, pains and pleasures, hates and loves, judgments and resolutions are exclusively his, and even God cannot feel, judge or choose for him when more than one course of action are open to him.

Immortality cannot be claimed by man as of right. It is to be earned by him through the fortification of his ego or personality. Hell is not a pit of everlasting torture; nor is Heaven a holiday. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illumination from the Ultimate Ego. Each and every act of man creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

Man and God are highly dynamic personalities, distinct from each other and yet together. The example of the submergence of the drops into the Ocean only applies to those egos which fail to fortify themselves and cannot stand the shock of death. But those personalities which can fortify themselves, live, move and have their being like pearls in the perpetual flow of the Divine Sea. Their existence is not obliterated but they are held by the All-Embracing Ultimate Ego within itself just as the flames of the candles retain their separate and distinct existence in the presence of the overpowering light of the sun.

Life, therefore, is a constant struggle for the candle to keep its flame continuously burning or for the drop to attain pearlhood, because the destination of man is not the emancipation from the limitation of individuality but a more precise definition of it.

Thus, man is essentially a spiritual being realizing himself in space and time. He can be properly apprehended as a living force possessing rights and duties only in the social organism to which he belongs. Unique individuals must constitute a unique society—a society which possesses a well-defined creed and has the capability to enlarge its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to Iqbal, was Islam. Hence his ideas on the Individual and Collective Ego are based on the Quranic conceptions of a Perfect Muslim Individual and the Islamic Society.

The creative activity of God may appear outwardly as a process of change in serial time. But in reality the change is a continuous act of God in durational time. Here Iqbal introduces his conception of what he terms "permanence-in-change." The relativity or objectivity of atomic time has been created deliberately by God as a device to test or measure the creative activity of man. Human acts, if performed by a fortified personality, are creative and live as permanent forces across serial time. All other human efforts ultimately perish by the remorseless rolling on of time.

The ethical values which can be derived from the metaphysics of Iqbal are such attributes as Love, Freedom, Courage and Disinterestedness (or supreme indifference towards the acquisition of material comforts). The cultivation of these attributes results in the fortification of man's personality. The acts of such a man are creative and everlasting for he is a co-worker with God. It may be noted that these attributes are by themselves strong, dynamic and individualistic forces. Even Love, the main key to the world view of Iqbal, is a power of genuine individuality. He defines it as "the desire to assimilate and to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realize them. Love individualizes the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realize the most unique individuality individualizes the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker." Hence the agony of separation (from God) is transformed into man's joy of distinctness (from God) in Iqbal's conception of Love.

The factors which destroy man's personality arise from stagnation, the opposite of creative activity. Stagnation gives birth to

fear, corruption, cowardice, begging or asking (not only for the means of livelihood but also for thoughts, habits etc. from the others), imitating and finally servitude. Servitude annihilates individuals and societies, and the blind and cynically indifferent rolling on of time obliterates even their trace in history.

From this brief survey of Iqbal's religio-philosophical ideas, it can be gathered that he spoke of the ideal Muslim individual and the Islamic society of tomorrow. Since the reconstruction of Islamic society was not possible without a struggle for the political, cultural, social and economic emancipation of the Muslim peoples, he felt obliged also to present his views on these issues.

According to Iqbal, Islam constructed nationality out of a purely abstract idea, i.e. religion. The conception of nationality in Islam had no material basis because a sense of belonging to each other among the Muslim peoples really depended on a sort of mental agreement in a certain view of the world, and a desire to lay down their lives in defence of it. Hence, for a Muslim, Islam was itself nationalism as well as patriotism.

Consequently Iqbal became the exponent of Muslim nationalism in the Indian sub-continent from 1909 onwards, and in 1930, as the President of the Muslim League, suggested that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent should demand territorial specification in the form of a separate state on the basis of a distinct cultural unit. He had, as early as 1910, said: "Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians."

At any rate, he did not only dream of carving out a separate state for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. The realization of this goal was merely a means for achieving the unification of the entire Muslim world. This unification, according to him, was possible either through the establishment of a single Muslim state, or through a league of Muslim nations, or through a combination of several independent Muslim states tied to each other for purely economic and political considerations.

The constitution of a Muslim state could not be secular but Islamic, and its form could be no other than democratic because

the ideal Muslim individual as well as the Islamic society can only be brought up in a spirit of freedom.

Like T. S. Eliot, Iqbal believed that the past contained many treasures of wisdom and understanding of the human soul. But he was not a backward-looking romantic. A return to medievalism was neither possible nor desirable. Since the idea of progressive change had so much significance in his philosophic thought, he took it as normal that an age should end, and that new challenges must be faced with vision and courage. Therefore he was of the opinion that Islamic law should be re-interpreted in the light of contemporary experience and the altered conditions of modern life. He insisted on reform in the system of Islamic legal instruction and was in favour of transferring the power of interpreting the law of Islam from individual representatives of Schools to a Muslim legislative assembly. His ideas on the education of the younger generation of Muslims are also very important, and have been discussed in detail by K. G. Saiyidain, the eminent Indian Muslim Educationist, in his book entitled "Iqbal's Educational Philosophy."

In the opinion of Iqbal, the fine arts which could transform man by assisting him in the fortification of his personality, were yet to be born in Islam. Islamic architecture, however, he regarded as the only exception. He stood for a virile, generous, expansive and strong art; the art which should burst forth as a powerful affirmation of the Muslims' faith in themselves and their future. The works of individuals who passionately believed in God and expressed their faith with unequalled power, vision and sensitivity, always fascinated him because such works instilled in men faith, power, hope and courage.

Iqbal shared the disgust of the Progressive Writers with the imperialism of the Western secular capitalist-democratic order. He was of the view that Asia was bound to rebel against the acquisitive economy which the West had developed and imposed on the nations of the East. In his opinion, Asia could never comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. However, since Iqbal believed in the rebirth of passionate

and creative faith in God. he could never accept the Progressive Writers' communist utopia founded on atheistic socialism.

He believed that land and everything which existed over or under it was the property of God, and that the position of man was merely that of a trustee. Although Islam considered private ownership as a trust, it did not allow capital to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. In his opinion, Islam recognized the worth of the individual, but disciplined the 'haves' to surrender and give away as trustees to the service of the 'have-nots'. Islam could, he maintained: "Still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich; where human society is founded, not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits." The socialistic revolution which Iqbal dreamed of could be achieved only through the promulgation of the Prophet's Law.

From the above it follows that Iqbal had rejected both the secular capitalist-democratic order of the power-elite developed in the West as well as the atheistic socialist-dictatorial order established in the communist countries. The revolution of which he was the prophet was to be realized only by establishing the Islamic socialist-democratic order.

In this respect Iqbal's ideas can be compared not only to those of Keirkegaard and T. S. Eliot, but also to such contemporary Christian socialist-democratic writers as George Orwell, Graham Green, Evelyn Waugh, Ignazio Silone, Bernanos, Bloy, Marcel, Peguy, Claudel, Mauriac and even Boris Pasternak.

Two famous poems of Iqbal, namely, "The Mosque of Cordoba" and "Satan's Parliament," can be analysed for assessing the value of his ideas.

"The Mosque of Cordoba" was written in Spain in 1931 after his visit to Cordova. It is included in his Urdu collection entitled "Bal-i-Jibril." The poem opens with a description of the destructive power of serial time in the face of which all human efforts ultimately perish. But this ambiguity, cynical indifference or

remorselessness of time is a touch-stone by which man's works are measured. If the activity of man is inspired by the courageous power of Love, it cannot be destroyed by time, but lives forever across time. The Mosque of Cordoba is an everlasting example of such activity. The experience of visiting this great mosque affected Iqbal so profoundly that he saw manifest in its tones the inmost self of the ideal Muslim. This vision convinced him that if the Muslim peoples were to realize their ego individually and collectively, they could reach the heights of perfect creativity again. There is of course no returning to the past, but the new challenges must be faced with courage and vigour. The countries of Europe have seen many a revolution in modern history, and now the world of Islam—and here the poem assumes a prophetic character—is also on the verge of a revolution. Life which is untouched by revolution is death, for living nations must breathe the air of revolution. Such people are like a sharp sword in the Hand of God cutting, changing, moulding, shaping and casting history in accordance with their ideals.

The second poem "Satan's Parliament," pictures Satan and his counsellors discussing contemporary history. The poem was written in 1936, two years before Iqbal's death and the commencement of the Second World War. It is the last of the series of Iqbal's great poems on Satan whose personality had attracted his attention as an active force which shatters the spell of paradisaical rest.

Satanology of Iqbal is a subject in itself which requires a detailed study. For an introduction to this field of studies of Iqbal A. Bausani's "Satana nell' opera filosofico-poetica di Muhammad Iqbal" and Annemarie Schimmel's "Gabriel's Wing" can be studied.

Satan drew in Europe's mind the fantasy of imperialism based on a secular capitalist-democratic order of the power elite and thus divided humanity into the groups of the exploiters and the exploited. As a natural consequence thereof atheistic socialism emerged and communism came to be established. In order to destroy communism, Satan revealed the dream of Fascist authoritarianism. Satan alone is capable of dragging the European nations into war because he can seduce them into destroying each other.

He is himself the creator and protector of the secular capitalist-democratic order. Therefore, he is not afraid of the threat of the communist revolution of tomorrow. The only revolution of which he is scared is the possibility of the awakening of the Muslims and the establishment of the Islamic socialist-democratic order. Hence he commands his counsellors to keep the Prophet's path hidden from the sight and mind of the Muslim peoples and to keep their eyes well-bandaged from the theatre of life and activity.

From what has been stated already, it can be safely concluded that the achievement of Pakistan is merely the realization of a fraction of Iqbal's dream. His ideas on the establishment of the Islamic socialist-democratic order in the Muslim countries and the unification of the world of Islam are far from being realized. Therefore, the revolution he dreamed of is yet to come and consequently he continues to remain the poet of tomorrow.

Iqbal's Concept of Time and Space

PART ONE

Dr. M. Raziuddin Siddiqi

Passed Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. Examinations from Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, obtaining First Class First in every examination; passed the Mathematical Tripos from Cambridge University in 1928 and was placed as Senior Optima; admitted to M.A. Degree, Cambridge University; obtained Ph.D. Degree from Leipzig University in 1931 after doing extensive work and research in the Universities of Berlin, Göttingen, Paris and Bonn.

1931-1950 Served as Professor of Mathematics, Director of Research and Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University.

Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space

By

Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi

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*1959-1964 Joint Secretary In-Charge, Scientific and Technological Research Division, Government of Pakistan.
From 1954 Vice-Chancellor, Islamabad University.*

Has won a large number of national and international Honours and Distinctions, including Shams-i-India (Pakistan), Grand Cross of the Federal Order of merit (West Germany), gold medal of the National Academy of Sciences for Mathematical Research. Has been visiting professor of Columbia University, New York, and special consultant for Science, Ugento.

Has held and holds important positions in Academies and Scientific Societies: President, Pakistan Academy of Science, President, Mathematical Society of Pakistan, President, Indian Science Congress, Mathematics—Statistics Section 1942. President, Indian Mathematical Society 1947-1949, Fellow and Council Member, National Institute of Sciences of India, Foundation Fellow and Vice-President, Indian Academy of Sciences, Fellow, Cambridge Fellow.

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phical Society, Member, Society Mathematique de France, Paris, Member, American Mathematical Society, President, Scientific Society of Pakistan, Chairman, Inter-University Board of Pakistan (1957, 1962), Chairman, Commonwealth Universities Association, 1957.

Has been disassociated with a large number of International Conferences, Official Delegations and Commissions, such as the International Congress of Mathematicians, Oslo, British Association for the Advancement of Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Mathematical Conference, Royal Society Empire Scientific Conference, London, Cambridge and Oxford, Unesco General Conference and Unesco Committees of Experts. Several Sessions, International Atomic Energy Agency, Board of Governors and General Conference, Vienna, International Atomic Energy Conference, Geneva, Scientific Commission, Government of Pakistan, Cento Scientific Council, Ankara, United Nations Conference on Science and Applications, Commonwealth Universities Conference, London, and Chairman, Review Committee for Evaluating Scientific and Industrial Research.

Publications

(a) Books

- (1) Lectures on Quantum Mechanics, published by Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan—1937.*
- (2) Boundary problems in non-linear Partial Differential Equations, published by Lucknow University—1938.*
- (3) Theory of Relativity, published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Delhi—1939.*
- (4) Analytical Geometry jointly with Prof. Q. M. Hussain, published by Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan—1935.*
- (5) Differential and Integral Calculus, jointly with Prof. K. Chand, published by Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan—1936.*
- (6) Problems of Education, Lahore—1943.*

(b) *Research Papers*

Numerous research papers on Non-Linear Partial Differential Equations, Non-Linear Integral Equations, Theory of Operators, etc., have been published by leading Scientific Journals of Berlin, Cambridge, France, India, and Pakistan.

(c) *General Scientific, Education and Literary Essays.*

A large number of articles and essays published on educational, scientific and literary subjects in various journals.

من اگر بزرگوار بودم حکمت است
و اگر بزرگوار بودم دل است

Rand is a problemal address to India Day on April 21, 1952 at Y.M.C.A. Hall Lahore.

By "Lectures throughout the year 1952-53 in Tabal's "Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religion" delivered at Multan and Hyderabad in 1952, and Published in 1953.

By Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi¹

It is a well recognised fact that a great genius has the capacity to assimilate ideas from all sources and to make them his own. He does not merely copy or translate them, but weaves them into the texture of his own cognition, fits them into their proper places relative to his own characteristic and independent ideas and judgments, and produces unified and well-ordered system. It is the same with Iqbal. Whether we read his poetical works or his Lectures* and other writings, we are astonished at the magnitude of his intellectual powers, by the wideness of his knowledge, by the broadness of his outlook and by the thoroughness of his grasp of the classical as well as modern principles of philosophy and religion. He had pondered deeply about the highest and most fundamental problems of life and death as a true believer, as a philosopher and as a poet. This combination of all three in one and the same individual is exceedingly rare, and when it does occur we can be sure of some startling results and discoveries. What he thinks as a philosopher and experiences as a devout believer, he can express in a forceful poetic language which finds a ready response in the heart of the reader. There is thus no intrinsic difference between philosophy and poetry: they both express the fundamental truths. The one uses a technical and an analytical method, and the other appeals directly to the inner being:

حق اگر سوزے ندارد حکمت است
شعر می گردد چو سوز از دل گرفت

Iqbal possessed yet another characteristic essential to genius. He always kept an open mind, ready to change his ideas and judgments according to fresh advances in human knowledge. On the very first page of his Lectures he sets it down as the basic principle of all enquiry that "There is no such thing as finality in philosophical

¹ Read as presidential address at Iqbal Day on April 21, 1952 at Y.M.C.A. Hall, Lahore.

* By 'Lectures' throughout this essay will be meant Iqbal's "Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of religious Thought in Islam", delivered at Madras and Hyderabad in 1928, and Published in 1930.

thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views and probably sounder views than those set forth in these Lectures are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it." How refreshingly different from the aggressive dogmatism of our popular leaders who would rather plunge the whole world in an upheaval than admit any defect in their knowledge or any error in their judgement.

No one who reads Iqbal's works carefully can fail to notice that he had always kept himself well-informed of the trend of thought in almost all the important branches of knowledge. It is perhaps not surprising that he was abreast of the current developments in philosophy and literature, as these were, so to speak, his professional spheres of interest. But it comes as an astonishing revelation to most of his readers that he had studied and thought about the fundamental principles and modern ideas of the physical, biological and social sciences in their philosophical implications. He had understood these latest ideas so well that he could use them freely for the purpose of his arguments about philosophical and religious problems. One finds abundant evidence of this in his writings and particularly in his 'Lectures.'

Of all the fundamental categories he has discussed, he has not dealt with any one so fully and so frequently as with the age-old philosophical and scientific problem of the nature of Time and Space. In fact, the major portion of his Lectures is dominated with the notion of Space and Time, under whose light he has tried to discuss the various problems of religious faith. He thinks that the solution of the problem of space and time is a matter of life and death for the Muslims. Thus he says in the Lectures (P. 184).

"In the history of Muslim Culture, on the other hand, we find that both in the realm of pure intellect and religious Psychology, by which term I mean higher Sufism, the ideal revealed is the possession and enjoyment of the Infinite. In a culture with such an

attitude the problem of space and time becomes a question of life and death."

In the course of these discussions he has brought under review all the diverse conceptions of Time and Space held by thinkers from the classical antiquity right up to the present time. It is our task in this essay to analyse these conceptions and to point out the extent of Iqbal's agreement with or difference from them. There will thus emerge a picture of Iqbal's own conception of the nature of these fundamental entities.

Before undertaking this task, however, we must first remove a misunderstanding which a superficial reading of some of Iqbal's verses has created in the minds of many of his readers; It is thought that Iqbal set no value to scientific knowledge, and belittled its importance. No doubt he emphasized the limitations of Science, and the narrow scope of knowledge gained by purely scientific methods. Thus he says in the Lectures: (P. 44).

"Physics, as an empirical science, deals with the facts of experience, i.e. sense-experience. The Physicist begins and ends with sensible phenomena, without which it is impossible for him to verify his theories. Thus Physics studies the material world; that is to say the world revealed by the senses. The mental processes involved in this study, and similarly religious and aesthetic experience, though part of the total range of experience, are excluded from the scope of physics for the obvious reason that physics is restricted to the study of the material world, by which we mean the world of things we perceive."

But no great scientist disputes this limitation today; it is recognised by almost all the leading authorities.

All the same Iqbal did believe that within its limited field, scientific knowledge has an immense importance for humanity. He voices this conviction poetically in 'Javid Nama' (P. 32) and 'Payam-e-Mashriq' and 'Rumooz-e-Bekhudi' (P. 164-168):

گفت حکمت را خدا خیرے کثیر
 هر کجا این خیر را بینی بگیر
 علم اشیا علم الاسما ستی
 هم عصا و هم ید بیضا ستی
 علم اشیا داد مغرب رافروغ
 حکمت او باست می بندد زدوغ
 علم حرف و صوت را شہپر دہد
 پاکتی گوهر بہ نا گوهر دہد
 علم را بر آوج افلاک است رہ
 تاز چشم سہر بر کندد نگہ
 نسخہ' او نسخہ' تفسیر کل
 بستہ' تقدیر او تقدیر کل
 دشت را گوید جابے دہ دہد
 بحر را گوید سرابے دہ دہد
 چشم او بر واردات کائنات
 تابہ بیند بحکمت کائنات
 دل اگر بندد بہ حق پیغمبری است
 ورز حق بیگانہ گردد کافری است

and philosophically in the Lectures (P. 10):

"Since the middle ages, infinite advance has taken place in the domain of human thought and experience. The extension of man's power over nature has given him a new faith and a fresh sense of superiority over the forces that constitute his environment." "It seems as if the intellect of man is outgrowing its own most fundamental categories — time, space and causality. With the advance of scientific thought even our concept of intelligibility is undergoing a change. The theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the universe, and suggests new ways of looking at the problems common to both religion and philosophy". In an other passage, he writes still more emphatically "Thus the view that we have taken gives a fresh spiritual meaning to physical science. The knowledge of nature is the knowledge of God's behaviour. In our observation of Nature, we are virtually seeking a kind of intimacy with the

Absolute Ego; and this is only another form of worship" (Lectures, P. 77). At the same time Iqbal warns us that scientific knowledge alone is not sufficient. It must be supplemented by spiritual experience.

The Common-sense View of Time and Space

We have remarked above that in the course of his lectures Iqbal has passed under review the different theories of space and time held by various thinkers during the ages. We shall give a coherent account of these different views bringing out their salient features, and noticing Iqbal's observations on them.

The common sense conception of Time and Space is something like this. The events that happen in a day do so in a simple order just as the pearls are situated in a necklace in an order one after the other. We can consider the thread as 'Time' and the succession events with respect to each other can be represented by the words 'before and after.' Now just as in the thread there are places between two pearls which are unoccupied, similarly it is quite possible that the instant between two events may pass without the occurrence of any significant event, so that our mind would consider it as an eventless instant. Thus we perceive time as passing, and we estimate the duration between two events as a "short interval" or a "long interval." On talking to other human beings we find that all of them have nearly the same consciousness of the passage of time. We conclude therefore that time is something external to us — something objective — which passes by the consciousness of each individual in the same way as a river flows by the columns of a bridge. Science makes an exact measurement of this 'flow' of time by observing events which occur at equal intervals, such as the passage of the sun or stars over the meridian.

But our conception of space is some what different from that of time. We locate objects in space by seeing them with our eye, and the construction of our eye is such that the rays coming from the same direction converge at the same point in the eye, so that two different objects, one behind the other, appear to us to be situated on the same spot. But we feel that we cannot locate the objects only by their directions, because if we move slightly from our original

position, the directions of the various objects change considerably. The same two objects which appeared formerly to be situated in the same direction are now seen to be in different directions. Now just as two successive events might occur after some interval — in other words just as there can be some eventless duration between two successive events, so there can be a 'distance' between two objects which appear one behind the other. Just as we measure the interval between two events by the ticking of the clock, similarly we measure the distance between two objects by moving a ruler gradually from one object to the other. This method of measuring distance does not depend on our power of vision or on the properties of light. A being deprived of all its faculties except that of touch can still determine an order of various objects in space. But this order may be different from the order determined by another being with the help of its eyesight. Thus, we find that the order of various objects in space is not something absolute and invarient, but is subjective, whereas we saw above that the order-in-time between two events is objective, i.e. does not depend on our personal factor.

The Conception of Time and Space held by the Greeks

The conception of space propounded by the Greeks is referred to by Iqbal in several passages in the lectures. The Philosopher Plato has expressed himself thus in his book 'Timaeus' (P.49-51).

"Space is that in which all objects are situated. It never changes because its characteristics remain unaltered. If it were like anything which is situated in it, then when two objects possessing entirely different characteristics are introduced in it their characteristics should be altered because they would show the characteristic of space also. Hence that which contains all objects must itself be free from all shape or form." "Space is never annihilated; it supplies room for all things created. In short, all existing things must be situated somewhere, and must occupy some space. That which is neither on the earth nor on the sky is nothing."

According to this conception, Nature was considered as an aggregate of solid objects between which there is a void having neither shape nor form nor any other characteristic. Space is nothing

objective or external, it only serves as a medium for the arrangement of objects in an order.

Another Greek Philosopher, Zeno, considered that space is infinitely divisible, and consequently all movement in space is only an illusion, because it is impossible to pass through an infinity of points in a finite time. This unreality of movement implies the unreality of an independent and objective space. Zeno asks: "How can you go from one position at one moment to the next position at the next moment without in the transition being at no position at no moment." This argument is obviously based on the assumption that space and time consist of an infinite number of points and instants. On this assumption it is easy to argue that since between two points the moving body will be out of place, motion is impossible, for there is no place for it to take place.

The classical Greek Philosophy preached that the world was a static world. The highest scientific ideal of the Greeks was the static geometry of points in which motion played no part. It was their firm conviction that movement had no effect whatever on the points, lines or figures that were moved. When in his daily life a Greek Philosopher was obliged to take cognisance of motion, he looked upon it, "as a most unfortunate deviation of the reality from his beautiful world of intellectual abstraction, and as something to be deplored and ignored." Hence they could develop only the sciences of geometry and statics but they did not touch the science of dynamics. Even in their arts, they clung to the ideal of a figure in repose. As one writer has put it, "their statuary stood for things, not for action, just as their geometry stood for points not for events."

Muslim Thinkers

Coming to the Muslim Era, Iqbal discusses the view of different schools of thought like the Ashairah (اشاعره) and the Mu'tazila (معتزله) and particularly of the savants: Al-Ashari (الاشعري), Ibn-i-Hazam, Tusi, and Iraqi.

The Asharia did not believe in the infinite divisibility of space and time, but put forth rather a quantum theory of space and time

in as much as they considered space, time and motion to be made up of points and instants which cannot be further subdivided. They were thus able to refute Zeno's paradox about the impossibility of motion. For if there was a limit to the divisibility of space and time, movement from one point of space to another point is possible in a finite time. Their explanation of the movement of a body was as follows.

The Ashaira regarded space as generated by the aggregation of atoms, and hence they could conceive of motion only as the atom's passage through space. They could not say that a body in its motion passed over all the intervening points in space, as this would be tantamount to the belief in the existence of vacuum as an independent reality. Hence they put forward the notion of "Jumps" which is akin to the modern quantum jumps postulated by Planck and Bohr. This theory says that the changes of state of a dynamical system are not continuous, but discontinuous. A particle appears only at certain discrete orbits, and takes no notice of any intermediate orbits.

Iqbal confesses himself unable to understand this solution of the difficulty about the independent existence of Space. He believes that motion is inconceivable without time, and since time comes from psychic life, the latter is more fundamental than motion. He arranges psychic life, time and motion in a descending order of implication, and argues that there can be no motion without time and no time without psychic life. Thus, with Iqbal also, time loses its absolute character, and becomes dependent on the psychic life. He agrees with the Ashaira and with the modern relativists that time and space are not two distinct and absolutely independent categories, but rather there is one "point-instant" or "space-time continuum" as the scientists say. But he differs from the Ashaira in his view of the mutual relation between the point and the instant. The instant in Iqbal's opinion, is the more fundamental of the two, although the point is inseparable from the instant as being a necessary mode of its manifestation. This is consonant with the ideas promulgated by the theory of relativity.

Iqbal criticises the doctrine of atomic time put forward by the Ashaira, according to whom time is a succession of individual

'nows.' This objective view-point which is akin to that of the Greeks is just as barren, and leads to the absurd conclusion that there is a 'vacuum' between every two individual 'nows' or moments of time. We shall explain later Iqbal's objections to this objective view of time, which Newton also shared along with the Ash'arite.

The Muslim thinker Ibn-i-Hazm refuted this Ash'arite notion of atomic time and atomic space which in his opinion could not logically resolve the paradox of Zeno. For Ibn-i-Hazm space and time are continuous, a view shared by the modern mathematician Cantor and his successors. In the modern theory of numbers and sets of points, it is shown that between any two points, A and B, however close to each other, we can always find an infinite number of points. This 'compactness' of the set of points can be illustrated as follows. You cannot say that a point B is next to a point A, because B is not next to A, nor is any other point C, D etc. We cannot name any position next to a given position, nor any instant next to a given instant. When a body is said to be moving, what we mean is that we observe it at a number of positions at a number of instants. At one instant it is observed at the point P; at a neighbouring instant it is observed at a neighbouring point Q, and so on. Thus to any given instant of time corresponds a position of the body, and to any given position of the body corresponds an instant of time. This mutually unique relation or correspondence between the sequence of positions and the sequence of instants is called movement. This doctrine makes it possible for us to affirm the reality of space, time and movement, and at the same time to avoid the paradox in Zeno's argument. But Iqbal thinks that even this doctrine does not resolve the difficulties arising from the infinite divisibility of space and time. The mathematical conception of a mutually unique correspondence between positions and instants applies not to movement regarded as an act, but rather to the picture of movement as viewed from outside. The act of movement, i.e., movement as lived and not as thought does not admit of any divisibility. The flight of arrow observed as a passage in space is divisible, but its flight regarded as an act, apart from its realisation in space, is one and incapable of partition into a multiplicity. In partition lies its destruction.

Iqbal has described the revolt against the Greek conception

of a static Universe organised for the first time by the Muslims. As remarked before, the Greeks thought that the world was a static world of points. Islam preached the opposite view. It enjoined the people to take interest in the world as it is, not as it ought to be. According to the teachings of the Quran, the Universe is dynamic, and motion being a fundamental part of it, must be included in the scheme of the world:

فریب نظر ہے سکون و ثبات
تڑپتا ہے ہر ذرہ کائنات

Mulla Jalauddin Dawani and the sufi poet Iraqi take a relativistic view of time, having a different stratum for different beings possessing various grades between pure 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 beginning nor end." Thus Divine Time is what the Quran describes as the "Mother of Books" (ام الكتاب) in which the whole of history freed from the net of causal sequence is gathered up in a single super-eternal 'now.'

Iraqi has given in detail his ideas about a similar stratification of space. According to him there are three kinds of space (1) Firstly, there is the space of material bodies in which are included the space of gross ponderable bodies, the space of subtle bodies e.g., that of sound, and the space of light. In view of the close proximity of these spaces, it is not possible to distinguish the one from the other except by purely intellectual analysis and spiritual experience. This space has a metric, i.e. there is a distance associated with it. (2) Secondly, we have the space of immaterial beings, e.g. of the angels. The element of distance is not entirely absent from this space, for immaterial beings, while they can easily

pass through stone walls, cannot altogether dispense with motion. The highest point in the scale of spatial freedom is reached by the human soul. (3) Thirdly, we have the Divine Space, which we reach by passing through the infinite varieties of space, and which is absolutely free from all dimensions and constitutes the meeting point of all infinities.

Iraqi is thus trying vaguely to reach the concept of space as an infinite continuum and as a dynamic appearance.

The Conception of Modern Scientists

Turning now from the Muslim thinkers of the middle ages to the European thinkers of the modern era, we come to Descartes, the French Philosopher and Mathematician of the 17th century. Along with his system of Philosophy he put forward a new conception of space. It is his fundamental proposition that all things belong either to mind or to matter, and there is no relation between matter and mind themselves. The characteristic of mind is thought which does not occupy any space nor is susceptible to any order in space. The characteristic of matter is the occupation of space. Hence Descartes was of opinion that there must be some substance at every point of space, otherwise there will be some useless void left in space, and it will be against the perfection of the Creator, to create something without any purpose. This is the same doctrine as of ancients: "Nature abhors vacuum." Thus although the interstellar space might appear exempt to us, it is in fact filled with a continuous and all pervading substance, which was called 'ether' and which played such an important role in the 19th century Physics. Since Descartes 'time', space became real, external and objective thing instead of being merely a receptacle for other objects.

Newton based his conception of time and space on the doctrine of a fixed universal ether, for his mechanics required that there must be a point in space which is absolutely at rest. For instance, consider his first law of motion, which is called the law of Inertia. According to this law a body on which no force is acting, moves uniformly in a straight line. Now suppose that we let a smooth spherical ball roll on a smooth table. We observe that the ball is moving in a straight line. But an observer, who follows and

measures its path from another planet, say Mars, would assert that the path is not a straight line but a curved line from his point of view, because the earth is going round the Sun. Thus we cannot prove the principle of inertia by experimenting on a moving body. But where are we to get a place which is absolutely at rest, so that we may assert that if we experiment on that place we can prove the principle of Inertia. Such a place cannot be situated on a planet or on the sun or on the stars or on the nebulae either, because all of these are known to be moving with more or less fast speeds. In all our wide world, we are not acquainted with a single body which is absolutely at rest. Hence Newton was obliged to postulate the existence of the ether and along with it the existence of an objective and absolute space. He says: "Absolute space, in virtue of its nature and without reference to any external object whatsoever, always remains immutable and immovable." "Relative space is a measure or a movable part of the absolute space. Our senses designate it by its position with respect to other bodies."

Newton expresses similar views about the nature of time, the flow of which receives expression in the uniform motion due to inertia. Thus he says: "Absolute, true and mathematical time flows in itself and in virtue of its nature uniformly and without reference to any external object whatever. It is also called duration. Relative, apparent and ordinary time is a perceptible and external, either exact or unequal, measure of duration which we customarily use instead of true time, such as hour, day, month, year." He says further: "All motions may be accelerated or retarded. Only the flow of absolute time cannot be changed. The same duration and the same persistence occurs in the existence of all things, whether the motion be rapid, slow or zero."

Iqbal (Lectures P. 102) has serious objections to raise against this objective view of time expressed by Newton. Thus, he says, that if time is "something which in itself and from its own nature flows equally," we cannot understand how a thing is affected on its immersion in this stream of time, and how it differs from things that do not participate in its flow. "Nor can we form", says Iqbal "any idea of the beginning, the end and the boundaries of time if we try to understand it on the analogy of a stream. Moreover, if flow, movement, or passage is the last word as to the nature of time, there

must be another time to time the movement of the first time, and another which times the second time, and so on to infinity.”

Thus, Iqbal thinks that there are serious flaws in the objective conception of time. All the same, he admits that we cannot regard time *as* something unreal like the Greeks. Nor can we deny that even though we possess no sense-organ to perceive time, it is a kind of flow, and has, as such, a genuine objective or atomic aspect, as confirmed by the modern quantum theory.

Iqbal criticises also Nietzsche's views of time and space. Nietzsche expressed these views in connection with his doctrine of Eternal Recurrence or Immortality. This doctrine is based on the principle of conservation of energy formulated in the 19th Century. Nietzsche agrees with Kant and other Philosophers that space is only a subjective form. It is meaningless to say that the world is in space in the sense that it is situated in an absolutely empty void. But Nietzsche's conception of time is opposed to that of Kant and Schopenhauer. He does not think that Time is a subjective form. Rather he believes it to be a real and infinite process which can only be conceived as periodic. There can be no dissipation of energy in an infinite empty space. Since the amount of energy is constant, and consequently finite, the number of energy-centres is limited, and their mutual actions and reactions exactly calculable. There is no beginning or end of this ever-active energy, no equilibrium no first or last change. And since our Universe consist only of the changes of energy, Nietzsche believes that the world has lasted from eternity and will last upto eternity. Now since time is infinite, therefore all possible combination of energy-centres have already been exhausted. Every event repeats itself in a cyclic order over and over again. Whatever happens now has happend before and infinite number of times, and will continue to happen an infinite number of times in the future. The order of events in the Universe is also fixed. Iqbal considers this view of Nietzsche's as only a more rigid kind of mechanism based not on any ascertainable fact but only on the hypothetical constancy of the quantity of energy. In Iqbal's view this perpetual circular movement in time makes immortality absolutely intolerable :

هو نقش اگر باطل تکرار سے کیا حاصل

Similarly Iqbal says elsewhere :

یا جہانے تازہ یا امتحانے تازہ
می کنی تا چند با ما آنچه کردی پیش ازین

Iqbal thinks that this doctrine of Nietzsche is nothing more than a fatalism worse than the one summed up in the word 'Qismat'. We can aspire only for what is absolutely new, and since the absolutely new is unthinkable on Nietzsche's view, it destroys the action—tendencies of the human organism for the fight of life, and relaxes the tension of the ego.

Finally we come to Einstein who has revolutionised the whole conception of time and space from the scientific point of view, and has dealt a death-blow both to the determinism of Newton and to the materialism of the 19th Century. Iqbal has a great admiration and respect for Einstein and dedicates a whole poem to him in the Payam-i-Mashriq :

جلوہ می خواست مانند کلیم نا صبور
تا ضمیر مستنیر او کشود اسرار نور
از فراز آسمان تا چشم آدم یک نفس
زود پروازے کہ پروازش نیاید در شعور
بے تغیر در طلسم چون و چند و پیش و کم
برتر از پست و بلند و دیر و زود و نزد و دور
در نہادش تار و شید و سوز و ساز و مرگ و زیست
اھر من از سوز او و ساز او جبریل و حور
من چہ گویم از مقام آن حکیم نکتہ منج
کردہ زرد شتے ز نسل موسی و ہارون ظہور

Einstein has shown that the conception of an absolute time and an absolute space is untenable both on theoretical as well as experimental grounds. He has analysed the notion of the simultaneity of two events, and has shown that there is no such thing as absolute simultaneity. The events which are simultaneous for

one person, A, need not be simultaneous for another, B, they can happen one after the other for him. Even the rate of the flow of time can differ for A and for B. If A finds from his clock that there is an interval of one hour between two specified events, B, can very well reckon that the interval between the same two events is more or less than an hour. Thus time is not absolute but relative. Every observer carries his own proper and characteristic time which differs from the time of every other observer if they are in relative motion.

Similarly, Einstein shows that space is also relative and not absolute, because the distance between two moving bodies has no meaning unless we specify which observer is measuring this distance, and at what time he is doing it. And since time itself is relative therefore distance which varies with time must also be relative. Moreover, it has been experimentally demonstrated by Michelson and Moreley, and other workers, that the distance between two bodies is different for two observers in relative motion, on account of the Fitz-Gereld-Lorentz contraction.

Thus, according to the theory of relativity, time and space are not absolute and separate from each other, but relative and mutually dependent. The Universe does not consist of two separate categories, time and space, but of single space-time continuum, in which both time and space have the same status. Our three-dimensional world has now become four-dimensional, because we require four elements, e.g. length, breadth, height and time, to determine an event completely. An event does not merely happen somewhere, but it happens somewhere at some time. Thus, for Einstein, the space-time is real but relative to the observer.

The logical consequences of the theory of relativity, which can be deduced by exact mathematical reasoning on the basis of the fundamental postulate of the relativity of time and space are as follows :

(1) There is a mutual and reciprocal contraction in length, dilatation in time and increase in mass for two observers in relative motion. As Iqbal puts it, "The object observed is variable, it is relative to the observer; its mass, shape and size change as the

observer's position and speed change. Movement and rest, too, are relative to the observer." (Lectures P. 51-52).

Iqbal has brought out this relative character of space-time in the description of the angel 'Zarwan' (زروان) who takes him to a journey of the heavens in the book "Javid Nama" (P. 19-22). Rumi explains to Iqbal the secrets of (معراج) (heavenly journey) by saying that Mairaj is just a change in consciousness :

از شعور است این که گوئی نزد و دور
چيست معراج ؟ انقلاب اندر شعور
انقلاب اندر شعور از جذب و شوق
وارهاند جذب و شوق از تحت و فوق
این بدن با جان ما انباز نیست
مشت خاک مانع پرواز نیست

and asks him to proceed on the heavenly journey by stepping on space-time. i.e., by conquering it :

بر مکان و بر زمان رسوا مشو فارغ از پیچاک این زنار شو
چشم بکشا بر زمان و بر مکان این دو یک حال است از احوال جان

Then Zarwan, the spirit of space-time, appears to Iqbal in a dual light, by which Iqbal portrays its relative character :

زان سحاب افرشته آمد فرود
باد و طلعت ، این چو آتش آن چو دود
آن چو شب تاریک و این روشن شهاب
چشم این بیدار و چشم آن بخواب
بال او را رنگهائے سرخ و زرد
سبز و سیمین و کبود و لا جور
چون خیال اندر مزاج او رمے
از زمیں تا کھکشان او را دے
هر زمان او را هوائے دیگرے
پر کشادن در فضائے دیگرے

(2) Energy has also inertia, or 'weight', as it is called in common parlance. In fact Einstein has shown that energy and matter are two different states of one and the same thing, just as water and ice are two different states of the same substance. Energy can be transformed into matter and matter can be transformed into energy according to a certain formula discovered by Einstein. This has been proved experimentally in the laboratory. This is one of the greatest scientific discoveries of the 20th century. The theory of relativity and the quantum theory have combined to show that everything in the Universe has a dual character. It behaves sometimes like a wave and sometimes like a particle. There is no intrinsic difference between matter and energy. This theory has sounded the death-knell of materialism. The stock-in-trade argument of the materialists and atheists, was that matter could not have been created by a Being who is non-material. But now we know that matter is not essentially distinct from energy. The Quran says: *الله نور السموات والارض* i. e. "God is the light of the heavens and the earth". Iqbal recognises this philosophical value of the theory of relativity. He says in the Lectures (P. 52): "There is therefore no such thing as a self-subsistent materiality of the classical physics". "It (the theory of relativity) destroys, not the objectivity of Nature, but the view of substance as simple location in space—a view which led to materialism in classical physics. Substance for modern Relativity-Physics is not a persistent thing with variable states, but a system of inter-related events". In another passage (P. 47) Iqbal says that "The concept of matter has received the greatest blow from the hand of Einstein, whose discoveries have laid the foundation of a far-reaching revolution in the entire domain of human thought".

(3) Another fundamental and far-reaching result in the theory of relativity is that along with time, space and mass, force also becomes relative. As a matter of fact Einstein has demonstrated by a detailed analysis that it is entirely unnecessary and superfluous to introduce the concept of force in science. There is no such thing as force. Bodies move not because they are pulled or pushed, or because there is a gravitational electrical or magnetic attraction, but because the space-time continuum is of such a nature that bodies are obliged to move in their apparent orbits. When the water of a river flows down to the sea, do we say that the river is attracted by the sea? The ground along the course of the river is

such that water is obliged to flow down to the sea. Thus force is reduced to a characteristic of space-time, and the movements of bodies are explained on the principle that they seek the easiest path in their space-time.

Further, the nature of space-time is influenced by the presence of matter. This makes it necessary to abandon the perceptual space of Euclid and Newton which they considered to be flat, i.e. in which the Pythagorean theorem is valid. The 19th Century mathematicians had created various geometries in which different postulates were assumed, and which contained theorems contradictory to Euclid's. Upto the year 1915, these "non-Euclidean" geometries remained merely theoretical abstractions without any practical value. Our physical space was still believed to be the flat space of Euclid. In 1915, however, Einstein showed that both on theoretical as well as experimental grounds it was not possible to adhere any longer to the Euclidean flatness of physical space. The physical space is rather non-Euclidean or 'curved' as it is also called.

This curvature of space is now a universally recognised scientific fact, and Iqbal was perfectly aware of it and its corollary about the finiteness and unboundness of the Universe. At various places in his poems he re-iterates this idea :

کاروان تھک کر فضا کے پیچ و خم میں رہ گیا

Writing about the philosophical value of Einstein's theory, Iqbal says: "Secondly the theory makes space dependent on matter. The Universe, according to Einstein, is not a kind of island in an infinite space; it is finite but boundless, beyond it there is not empty space".

Thus Iqbal is in general agreement with the ideas of the relativity theory. But he raises one objection to it, which, in the opinion of the present writer, is due to a misconception about the theory of relativity. Iqbal, along with other philosophers thinks that Relativity, denies reality to time, and makes it as a fourth dimension of space. This would mean that the future is something already given; it is as indubitably fixed as the past. Time would cease to be a free creative movement. There would prevail a rigid determinism in the

universe. This is not a correct view of the theory of relativity. Time is a fourth dimension, not of space, but of the space-time continuum. Thus Relativity gives as much reality to time as to space. It goes still further. In pure space there is no way of distinguishing between an absolutely backward and an absolutely forward position. But in time there is a way of determining the past and the future. The second law of Thermo-dynamics, viz. the law of a constant increase of entropy, gives us the means of finding out which of the two events is before and which after. The theory of relativity leaves the direction or the sense of flow of time from past to future, unaltered. The chronological order of events is not relative to the observers; it is the same for all of them. Iqbal is right when he objects to the theory of serial time put forward by Ouspensky and other thinkers, that on the basis of this theory, it would be possible, by a careful choice of the velocities of the observer and the system in which a given set of events is happening, to make the effect precede its cause. But this can never happen in the theory of relativity. There is no way of choosing the frame of reference so that the mutual order of cause and effect is inverted. Iqbal confesses that "it is not possible for us laymen to understand what is the real nature of Einstein's time" (P. 53). Had he understood it thoroughly, he would have found that modern science does not leave any possibility, even theoretical, for rigid determinism of the classical physics.* It still leaves ample scope for the creative evolution of the Quran: (كل يوم هو في شان) which has been adopted lately by Bergson.

Iqbal's View about Time and Space

As we have already remarked, Iqbal is in general agreement with the Theory of Relativity about the nature of time and space. He agrees with Whitehead's presentation of Relativity, that "Nature is not a static fact situated in an a-dynamic void, but a structure of events possessing the character of a continuous creative flow". Space and time are both relative and real but Time is the more fundamental of the two. Though space-time is the matrix of all things,

* It is not possible in this essay to explain at length the theory of relativity. The present writer has given full and detailed explanations in non-technical language in his book on Relativity published by the Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu in 1940.

still the relation between space and time is akin to the relation between the body and the mind. Time is the mind of space. Iqbal points out, that Einstein's Theory, which as a scientific theory deals only with the structure of this, throws no light on the ultimate nature of things which possess that structure. It should not be forgotten that the Theory neglects certain characteristics of time as experienced by us, and it is not possible to say that the nature of time is exhausted by the characteristics which the Theory does note in the interests of a systematic account of those aspects of nature which can be mathematically treated.

Iqbal, therefore, proceeds to analyse the further aspects of time which are not included in the physical theory. He says that, "The purely physical point of view is only partially helpful in our understanding of the nature of time. The right course is a careful psychological analysis of our conscious experience which alone reveals the true nature of time. Though space-time is the matrix of all things, still the relation between space and time is akin to the relation between the body and the mind. Time is the mind of space." He quotes a set of verses from the Quarn which indicating the relativity of our reckoning of time, suggest the possibility of unknown levels of consciousness. He agrees with Bergson in his view about the duration in time and in the universal change both in the external world and in our inner life. But the Ego in its inner life had two sides, corresponding to our physical and spiritual existence. Iqbal calls them the 'efficient ego' and "appreciative ego". On its efficient side the ego enters into relation with the physical world of space-time. This ego, while retaining its unity 'as a totality', discloses itself as nothing more than a series of discrete (quantum) states. The time of this efficient ego is just a dimension of the space-time continuum. It is of the serial character postulated by the Ashaira. The Quran recognises this physical time in several verses.

But the Quran also lays down that there is another time, viz, that of the appreciative ego. The appreciative ego lives in pure duration, i.e., change without succession. In the life process of this deeper ego, the states of consciousness melt into each other. The Unity of the appreciative ego is like the unity of a germ in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but

as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole. The time of this appreciative ego is non-serial in character. The changes and movements of the appreciative ego are indivisible their elements inter-penetrate. The multiplicity of these distinct states of this ego is not quantitative but only qualitative. The Quran speaks about this time in the following manner.

“All things we have created with a fixed destiny: our command was but one, swift as the twinkling of an eye” (54:50).

The interval that the efficient ego reckons in millennia and centuries and years, is the same ‘now’ for the appreciative ego. Just as in a single momentary mental act of perception of light we hold together a frequency of wave motion which is practically incalculable, transforming thus succession into duration, similarly, the appreciative ego synthesizes all the here’s and ‘nows’—the small changes of space and time, indispensable to the efficient ego—into the coherent wholeness of personality.

Iqbal points out that nothing is more alien to the Quranic outlook than the idea that the Universe is the temporal working out of the pre-conceived plan. The Universe, according to the Quran, is dynamic. It is a growing Universe and not an already completed product, which left the hands of its maker ages ago, and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing. A critical interpretation of the sequence of time as revealed in ourselves leads Iqbal to the notion of the ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life and purpose inter-penetrate to form an organic unity. Thus time is an essential element of the ultimate Reality.

Some thinkers, like McTaggart, have been misled in ascribing unreality to time by not keeping in mind the distinction between the serial time of the efficient ego, and the non-serial time, the pure duration of the appreciative ego. They assume that the serial nature of time is final. Says Iqbal, “If we regard past, present, and future as essential to time, then we picture time as a straight line, part of which we have travelled and left behind, and part lies yet untravelled before us. This is taking time, not as a living creative

movement but as a static absolute." His answer to the determinists like McTaggart is that the future exists only as an open possibility and not as a fixed reality. Here the Modern quantum theory supports Iqbal.

A deeper insight into our conscious experiences leads Iqbal to believe that beneath the appearance of serial duration there is true duration. The Ultimate Ego (God) 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.' (لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم).

According to Iqbal, therefore, the life of the ego exists in its movement from appreciation to efficiency, from intuition to intellect, and atomic time is born out of this movement. He uses this concept to reconcile the opposition of permanence and change, of time regarded as an organic whole of eternity and time regarded as atomic. Accepting the guidance of the conscious experience, and conceiving the life of the All-inclusive Ego on the analogy of the finite ego, Iqbal shows that 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. On the one hand, therefore, the ego lives in eternity, i.e., in non-successional change, on the other it lives in serial time, which Iqbal conceives as organically related to eternity in the sense that it is a measure of non-successional change. This explains the relation between Divine Time and serial time which contains in itself the essentially Islamic idea of Creative evolution.

Iqbal believes with Islam in the reality of time. He conceives of life as a continuous movement in time. He believes that man with his body, mind and soul is a single unit. It is a mistake to suppose that man can be bifurcated into two distinct and separate realities which somehow have a point of contact, but which are opposed to each other. The fact is that matter and spirit are not opposed to each other—matter is nothing but spirit in space-time reference. We have already mentioned the fact that according to modern relativistic quantum theory, matter and energy are not opposed to each other, but only two states of one and the same thing. Science has arrived at this result within the last few years. It ought

to cause no surprise, therefore, when Iqbal says that 'the unity called man is body when you look at it as acting in regard to what we call the external world; it is mind or soul when you look at it as acting in regard to the ultimate aim and ideal of such acting.'

Turning from his philosophical lectures to his poetical works, we find that Iqbal has given expression to the Divine character of Time in several beautiful verses. Thus the idea of life being nothing but a continuous movement in time is brought out in the following lines in Bal-e-Jibrael (بال جبریل) page 126.

سلسلہ روز و شب نقش گر حادثات
 سلسلہ روز و شب اصل حیات و سمات
 سلسلہ روز و شب تار حریر دو رنگ
 جس سے بناتی ہے ذات اپنی قبائے حیات
 سلسلہ روز و شب ساز ازل کی فغان
 جس سے دکھاتی ہے ذات زیر و ہم ممکنات
 تیرے شب و روز کی حقیقت ہے کیا
 ایک زمانے کی رو جسمیں نہ دن ہے نہ رات

Zerwan, the spirit of space-time explains to Iqbal in Javid Nama (جاوید نامہ) that Time is the essential element of ultimate reality.

گفت زروانم جہاں را قاہرم
 ہستم ہر تدبیر با تقدیر من
 غنچہ اندر شاخ می بالذ ز من
 من حیاتم من معاتم من نشور
 آدم و افرستہ در بند من است
 ہر گلے کز شاخ می چینی منم
 ہم نہانم از نگہ ہم ظاہرم
 ناطق و صامت ہمہ نخچیر من
 مرغک اندر آشیان نامد زمن
 من حساب و دوزخ و فردوس و حور
 عالم شش روزہ فرزند من است
 ام ہر چیزے کے می بینی منم

The following lines in "Asrar-e-Khudi" (اسرار خودی) are a poetic exposition of the truth that, 'It is time regarded as one organic whole that the Quran describes as 'Taqdir' (تقدیر) or Destiny. Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. It is time free from the net of causal sequence. It is time as felt and not as thought and calculated. One who masters the secret of time masters the destiny.

سبز بادا خاک . پاک شافعی
فکر او کو کب ز گردون چیده است
من چو سگویم سرآین شمشیر چیست
صاجش بالاتر از امید و بیم
عالمی سر خوش ز تاک شافعی
سیف بران ، وقت رانامیده است
آب او سرمایہ دار زندگی است
دست او بیضا تر از دست حکیم

The tragedy of human life is that, instead of mastering time man has become its slave by considering serial time as the final time.

اے اسیر دوش و فردا در نگر
در گل خود تخم ظلمت کاشتی
باز با پیمانہ لیل و نہار
تو کہ از اصل زمان آگہ نہ
تاکی در روز و شب باشی امیر
این و آن پیدا ست از رفتار وقت
وقت را مثل مکان گسترده
اے چو بورم کرده از بستان خویش
وقت ما کو اول و آخر ندید
زنده از عرفان اصلش زنده تر
زندگی از دهر و دهر از زندگی است
'لاتسبو الدھر' فرمان نبی است
درون خود عالم دیگر نگر
وقت را مثل خطے پنداشتی
فکر تو پیمود طول روزگار
از حیات جاودان آگہ نہ
رمز وقت از لی مع الله یادگیر
زندگی سریست از اسرار وقت
امتیاز دوش و فردا کرده
ساختی از دست خود زندان خویش
از خیابان ضمیر ما دید
هستی او از سحر تابندہ تر

The poem (نوائے وقت) in Payam-e-Mashriq epitomizes Iqbal's whole conception of time. Physical time regarded as the fourth dimension of the space-time continuum is realative. But time regarded as destiny, is real and the very essence of things. It is not a mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion. Every movement in the life of Reality is original, producing what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable. To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of the serial time, but to create it from movement to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. All the activities of life are due to the free creative movement in time. Thus time speaks:

خورشید بہ داما نم ، انجم بہ گریبانم
 درمن نگری ہیچم ، در خود نگری جانم
 در شہر و بیابانم در کاخ و شبستا نم
 من دردم و در مانم ، من عیش فرا وانم

من تیغ جہان سوزم ، من چشمہ جوانم

چنگیزی و تیموری ، مشتی ز غبارے من
 ہنگامہ افرنگی ، یک جستہ شرارے من
 انسان و جہاں او ، از نقش و نگار من
 خون جگر مردان ، سامان بہار من

من آتش سوزانم ، من روخہ رضوانم

آسودہ و سیارم ، این طرفہ تعاشا بین
 دربادہ امروزم ، کیفیت فردا بین
 پنہان بہ ضمیر من ، صد عالم رعنا بین
 صد کوکب غلطان بین صد گنبد خضرا بین

من کسوت انسانم ، پیراہن یزدانم

تقدیر فسون من ، تدبیر فسون من
 تو عاشق لیلائی ، من دشت جنون تو
 چون روح رواں پاکم ، از چند و چگون تو
 تو راز درون من ، من راز درون تو

از جان تو پیدایم ، درجان تو پنہانم

من رھرو و تو منزل ، من مزرع و تو حاصل
 تو ساز صد آہنگے ، تو گرمشی این محفل
 آوارہ آب و گل ، دریاب مقام دل
 کنجیدہ بہ جامے بین این قلزم بے ساحل

این موج بلند تو ، سر بر زدہ طوفانم

Born December 24, 1915; education in South and East Africa; passed M.A., LL.B. examinations of Durban University in 1941 and the Bar in 1944.

Appointed Advocate-General of South Africa in 1951. Later Member of the Central Government of Pakistan from April 1957 to December 24, 1958; Deputy Leader of Pakistan Delegation at the 10th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1955; High Commissioner for Pakistan in India from 1958-1961; Member, Law Commission.

An eminent jurist, has represented Pakistan in a large number of important international law events and Conferences, and was invited by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to speak under the auspices of the U.N.O. Has contributed a number of papers on Human Rights to U.N.O.

Iqbal's Concept of an Islamic State

By

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An eminent jurist; has represented Pakistan in a large number of important international law moots and Conferences; was recently invited by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to lecture under the auspices of the U.N.O.; Has contributed a research paper on Human Rights to U.N.O.;

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*By Mr. A. K. Brohi**

Who can deny Iqbal's greatness as a Poet and his originality and profundity as a Philosopher. His greatness in these fields can admit of no controversy. But Iqbal for us in Pakistan is something more than a visionary Poet or merely an academic Philosopher who disdains to dwell in the streets of the Earth. He is the progenitor of the very idea of the State of Pakistan. The State of Pakistan is the historical manifestation of his conception of the way in which Muslims living in undivided India were going to fulfil their Destiny.

The emergence of Pakistan on the map of the world had many causes but none so potent as the one that has reference to the vision which Iqbal had about the political future of the Indian Muslims. Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, while writing about "Pakistan Perspective" in the Foreign Affairs for 1959-60, at P. 547, virtually admitted this contention. He said:

"It is a common fallacy to believe that the concept of Pakistan was formed in a poet's dream. The poet Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, was no idle dreamer. Nor can countries like Pakistan (364,737 square miles; population 80,000,000) spring from the nebulous realm of poetry alone. Iqbal was in fact a philosopher of traditional as well as modern thought who had made a careful study of human affairs, both East and West, and focussed the light of his inquiry on the causes of economic and cultural subjugation to which the Muslims of India had been systematically subjected since their first abortive struggle for independence in 1857. It was, in his presidential address to the annual session of All-India Muslim League in 1930 that he spelt out the broad outlines of a plan under which the Muslims of India were led to aspire to an independent state in which they would be free to follow their own way of life.

The All-India Muslim League based its Charter on this idea

* Was read as presidential address on April 21, 1961 at the morning Session.

and, under the leadership of Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, launched a struggle which culminated in the establishment of Pakistan in August 1947."

The details of his spiritual strategy which undoubtedly became the fountain source of inspiration for those who laboured for the creation of the State of Pakistan are matters of public knowledge. Whatever else may be controverted, I submit, the historian of the future will not be able to deny the all-important fact that the emergence of the State of Pakistan is directly due to the longing with which our poet's heart throbbed for giving to the Muslim peoples "a local habitation and a name."

Nobody has comprehended the nature and the function of a Muslim State more fully than did Iqbal. Neither of his contemporaries, nor those who have since gratuitously proclaimed themselves to be his spiritual descendants, have been able to rival the clarity of thought and the vision of this eagle-eyed sage.

The concept of a State, in the sense in which modern Europe understands it, is totally alien to Muslim civilisation, and is, considered from the point of view of its basic principles, "a heretical innovation" to the Muslim orthodox jurists. As a recent writer, Robert Montagne by name, rightly points out: "The modern nation which we take it as our model in talking to the East is the segment of humanity enclosed in precise frontiers where men live free and equal under the law without distinction of race or creed, legislate for themselves and develop a consciousness of their own historic destiny. Its core is the State, organised according to orderly administrative techniques, which by reason of its structure, is adapted to the economic and social developments necessitated by increases in population and the competition of other nations. Its vitality provides the moral and material forces needed for its internal and external security. All these principles are new to Islamic civilisation. The Muslim Law, the *Shariat*, makes no provision for separation between the Church and the State. For centuries it has held sway over innumerable phases of family,

economic and political life of the faithful. Its authority rests upon the precepts revealed in the Holy Book where the Will of God is clearly expressed. As a result, the only points on which man can legislate freely are those few regarding which the Muslim Law itself is silent."

Iqbal, it would be recalled, in the name of *Ijtehad*, defended his idea of the Muslim State which was close in its approximation to the western conception of the term "state," purely as an *interim* and *transitional* phase of the growth of universal brotherhood of man. Universal brotherhood is an ideal goal for Human Evolution which Islam came to establish, and the symbol of which phenomenon every year is held aloft by Islam for the rest of the world to see on the day of pilgrimage at Mecca, when millions of Muslims coming from distant parts of the world congregate, in the presence of One God and stand shoulder to shoulder in spite of the local loyalties they may owe to the lands whence they come.

In his Sixth lecture in the Series entitled—"Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam," Iqbal advocated, as is well-known, the following approach to the problem of organising the Muslims of the world:

"For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a merely symbolical overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonised by the unifying bond of a common "spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."

I call your attention to the expression "For the *present* every Muslim Nation must sink into her own deeper self...." with which

Iqbal begins his thesis. Is it not apparent that he does not accept the western concept of territorial State unreservedly but does so with the rider that we are, through the establishment of this kind of state, to be integrated in a system of a League of Nations, thanks to the "unifying bond" of a common spiritual aspiration."

I am particularly keen to lay emphasis on this aspect of Iqbal's discourse on the nature of the Islamic State, because if that is not steadily kept in view, we will not be able to appreciate the way in which Iqbal would have us look upon the application of the dynamic principle of *Ijtehad* in the life of the State of Pakistan. If I am permitted to give an answer which, I think, Iqbal would have himself rendered, had he been in our midst today to answer the question, it would run on somewhat the following lines:

The State of Pakistan exists to fulfil higher Muslim destiny in modern world history; to begin with, it must be made to serve as a stepping stone to the final phase of Muslim History, as a sort of a platform from where we are to appeal to the rest of the humanity to listen to the Divine Oracle which says that all Humanity is one and the various communities into which it is divided is merely for the purpose of identification and the division has no other deeper meaning. The authority of the State of Pakistan therefore is to be utilised for the propagation of this mission and that task will have to be undertaken in a spirit of humility, not arrogance, for we are to approach the problem of the propagation of the gospel of Truth with beautiful words and not by using indecent language.

I suggest that if the people of Pakistan could give unconditional loyalty to the State of Pakistan simply because it is an *invaluable historic means for the creation of a universal brotherhood of man*, they will be able to fulfil the Role which History has called upon them to play. Then the State of Pakistan will flourish and its people will be able to register appreciable measure of progress even in the sphere of economic and social well-being. Here, as elsewhere, perspective is everything, and the spirit and the manner in which you do the thing is really what counts the most. On the other hand, if loyalty to the State of Pakistan is to be shown in the sense in which loyalty to the various States is being shown in the non-Muslim world, it will be another species of idolatrous worship

and one with which Islam, rightly understood and applied, cannot conceivably be expected to have anything to do. The state in Islam is an ideological entity and not a territorial one.

Islam violently differs from the communist creed in one essential particular; and that is that Islam enjoins belief in One God who is Immanent and Transcendent to his creation, whereas communism denies His existence and relevance to man's capacity to shape History. But Islam also agrees with communism in one essential particular, and that is that the prevailing concept of State represents an interim phase of Man's historical evolution and the State will one day, when its purposes have been fulfilled, *wither away*. The communists wish to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat because they believe in class war-fare and see in human history the play of the forces of class-conflict in the sphere of production, of wealth, and its distribution. Islam believes in the dictatorship of the *moral Law*, so that the authority of the State can be justifiably invoked only for the support of righteousness until such time as man has been able to regulate himself from within himself and to live with his fellow men in peace. Islam has come to establish the foundations of spiritual democracy where man will be free to worship God in his own way untrammelled by any threat of fear that may stem from any earthly authority.

Nor, again, patriotism, as understood by Islam, is to be confused with that kind of emotion which is connoted by that term as it is known to the modern West. The slogan "My country, right or wrong" can never be accepted by a Muslim. What is wrong is wrong, and can never be accepted in any other sense by a Muslim. We are patriotic in another and a holier sense than the one in which the western humanity considers itself patriotic. We love our country, not as an idol but merely as part of our Faith, because the Prophet of Islam has taught us to say that the love of one's country is justified provided it is integrally related to one's Faith. But supposing one's country stands for values and ideals which are at war with the Teachings of Islam, there would in that case, I submit, be no obligation upon us to love it or be patriotic towards it: we worship not the State but God—and we owe duty to the State only to the extent to which it conforms to God's Law and fulfils His purpose.

Having said this, in order to avoid the possibility of any misunderstanding on this score, I would like to emphasise that the approach I have outlined does not involve the acceptance of what may be termed as the philosophy of colourless cosmopolitanism. In the name of universal brotherhood of mankind, I am not saying that Pakistan should not emphasise the growth of its distinctive national and cultural features: in fact, I am anxious to emphasise that the historical evolution of our national life in all its uniqueness is an important condition precedent for the full realisation of the ideal of brotherhood of man. We have to love Pakistan and develop the distinctive features of Pakistan's culture: we cannot renounce our national traditions or cease being justly proud of our national dignity and national pride, for that would amount to adopting nihilistic attitude by the individual towards his nationality. But, at the same time, what I am anxious to point out is the truth that the fundamental thing for us to do is *to develop our national outlook consistently with the realisation of the ideal of the universal brotherhood of Mankind*. We have to contribute our share in the growth of world culture. Was it not said to the Muslim: You are the best of the *Ummats* who are sent out to transform the life of the people by admonishing them to do the right and avoid the evil. (See Chap. 3 : 109).

Christ said: "Render unto Ceasar the things that are Ceasar's and unto God the things that are God's." Islam does not acknowledge this dichotomy. According to Islam all things belong to God whose is the Kingdom and nothing belongs to Ceasar. And therefore obedience to *constituted* authority as contradistinguished from Ceasar's Authority is enjoined as a religious duty so long as that authority moves within the prescribed limits imposed by the Divine Law. As Iqbal himself says: "In Islam spiritual and temporal are not two distinct domains and the nature of an act, however secular in its import, is determined by the attitude with which the agent does it. It is the invisible mental background of the act which ultimately determines its character. An act is temporal or profane if it is done in a spirit of detachment from the infinite complexity of life behind it; it is spiritual if it is inspired by that complexity."

It is therefore that I say that if we in Pakistan do not con-

centrate upon our tasks from the compulsions wrought upon us by our total religious background and realise our oneness with universal History, we will not be able to make any effective contribution to the progress and prosperity of the people of Pakistan. That is the Law: You serve God and everything would be added unto you. You serve petty gods—those tin gods with clay feet—and even that will be taken away from you which you have. You cannot escape the rigour of this Law: it is inexorable and operates with merciless severity.

The rehabilitation of Muslim history can take place provided we in Pakistan approach our historical tasks for the development of national culture with an eye on the ultimate goal of universal history. In Islam the idea of territorial frontiers has no ultimate juridical significance, because fundamentally the earth belongs to the Lord and is the inheritance of the righteous ones. The tensions and discords which are at present infesting the world order and are threatening to mount up to a point when another war may yet encampass the globe, with consequences too terrible to contemplate, are ultimately traceable to the rigid adherence to the concept of absolute national sovereignty. No nation is prepared to surrender any part of its sovereignty in favour of the creation of the supernational authority; that is so simply because the State in our own Day has become an *idol* which is to be worshipped to the utter neglect of our reverence for that element of transcendence which gives to the human history a universal background.

We in Pakistan are the inheritors of a great tradition and we cannot show reverence to Iqbal who is the finest flower of that tradition, without in the first instance, understanding the tactical principle of that tradition and then endeavouring inwardly to belong to the main currents of modern History and to reinforce it by our sacrifices and by our labours. Of the contributions that Muslim history has made to the redemption of mankind, mention must be made of (a) the achievements of the Muslim Science, especially in Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy and Medicine; (b) the rise of Muslim Philosophy that could produce thinkers of the calibre of Ibn Rushd, Aviceenna, Alghazzali and Ibn Arabi; (c) the reaching of a high-water mark of spiritual flowering of human personality as is represented by a long line of mystics and saints, and (d) the

expression which the spiritual dimension of life has received at the hands of our great artists and poets, the outstanding most of whom are Jalal-ud-Din Rumi and Iqbal. If we would only concentrate on this glorious heritage, get as it were into the spirit of it, we will have anchored ourselves in the nourishing waters of Muslim Tradition. From that high plateau of the past we will be able to survey the total range of Human Destiny and so to perceive effectively the operation of forces that are shaping modern history and thus be able ourselves to give it an impetus which it needs if it is to grow and expand in a direction which is consistent with the dignity of man.

We in Pakistan by remembering the contribution that Iqbal has made to the historical manifestation of the spirit of Islam, will do well to take stock of our situation, to measure up our attainments against the enormous range of all those possibilities that are waiting to be explored and exploited. I suggest that if we were honest to ourselves, we will find that, of late, our national life has moved off at a tangent and parted company with that characteristically orthogenic line of development which is suggested to us when we begin to understand the grammar of its movement. Do not overawe me with the textile mills that you have put up or other manufacturing processes that you have established for the production of economic goods. I am not an enemy of what is called material progress, in fact I believe in economic progress, but I do so with the reservation that the economic prosperity in society must ultimately become the foundation of the moral, intellectual and spiritual regeneration of our people. There can be such a thing as prosperity in a Nation which begets not *culture* but *vulgarity* and the French have a wise proverb which says that prosperous Nations have no History. It is all very well to talk of economic and social advance, but politics and economics will lead us to absolutely nowhere until the divine origin of man is incessantly proclaimed and his destiny to return to that source is steadily kept in view. Let us first of all open up for our people these new horizons and the vistas of human destiny and keep before our people the ideal of plain-living and high thinking, and then they will make all sacrifices to establish and obey God's Law on earth.

Much of the chaos and disorder that one notices in the social, economic and political life in Pakistan ultimately reflects the crisis of

a character which has taken place in our interior consciousness. It is there that an attempt at healing has to be initiated. Ethics and not Economics lay down the primary force for the redemption of man, and all strength, even material strength, is, believe me, ultimately possible and durable only upon a moral basis.

I will conclude by applying the truth of the view I have set forth above to the problem of combating communism in Pakistan. We are often told by responsible persons that our students are infested with the virus of communism; that student strikes, student indiscipline, student apathy to national interests, has something to do with the way in which the forces of communist subversion are being augmented by the enemies of our State. I do not know how far this analysis is correct, and I cannot say whether as a matter of fact there are communist agents who are subverting the ideological foundations of our State. I do not know many things and I am thoroughly ignorant of the way in which agents of world-communism are operating in Pakistan. But on the assumption that this analysis be correct, I see it only too plainly where communist ideology is likely to find a foothold and make an appeal to the younger generation. It is, in my opinion, to be traced to the total absence of our having provided any shining example to the student community of what may be called, living honest and industrious life which is sanctioned by the teachings of Islam. How can we blame the students if we, down these dozen years of so that Pakistan has come to be, have not been able to provide them with a worth-while example of Muslim character in action. They see around them that those who believe in God and those who do not, are equally well placed in the context of our national history and that religious teachings do not seem to have taken possession of the souls of those who call themselves the custodians of our national honour, dignity and self-respect. What is the good of so much preaching about Islam and its teachings which is being heard from the platforms provided by learned societies, centres of learning and academic circles, when we are not able to call the attention of our student community to any heroic examples that may have been furnished in the life of half a dozen of people in Pakistan, that is example of men of whom we could say with truth and justice that they reflect the ideals of Islam and are models of Human excellence. Let us by all means do all we can to fight communism at the national plane by adopting all the methods that Government can adopt,

but I suggest, with all earnestness at my command, that this is no substitute for securing that inner transformation in the life of our students and the members of the rising generations which matters, and this transformation can only come if we can produce half a dozen of men who could be placed as models of excellence before them. All example is infectious: preaching alone is not enough. There is no power of persuasion in the words of a *Munafiq*, an insincere person.

Pakistan is a legacy left to us by Iqbal and the one way to show reverence to him is to safeguard its sanctity, its integrity and to labour for its continued progress and prosperity.

Born on May 11, 1907. Passed B.A. Honours in English in the First Division in 1926, equivalent first position in the Punjab University in the subjects of Economics and Political Science. Passed M.A. in Economics in 1934 from Awami College, Lahore, obtaining first class first, and securing up to one-third for the British University.

Selected for the Indian Civil Service on the basis of the competitive examination held at Delhi in 1934. Served and held at Presidency College, Oxford. Started service as Assistant Commissioner at Ferozpur. Appointed as Secretary of the Punjab and later the Joint Public Service Commission at Lahore August 1948, through July 1950. Before Independence, served as Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Daultabad in Gurdaspur District, Deputy Commissioner and District and Sessions Judge, Gunderpur, and Deputy Commissioner, Multan. In July 1957, appointed Secretary of the Pakistan Council for

Iqbal's Conception of the Human Ego

By

**Mr. Justice Anwarul Haq,
Judge, High Court of West Pakistan, Lahore.**

Appointed as the first P.A. Deputy Commissioner at Ramalpur District in August 1947. Later served as Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, from August 1948 to July 1950. Joined the Ministry of Defence, Government of West Pakistan in January 1951, as Deputy Secretary, and served as such till December 1954. Deputed to attend one year's course at the Imperial Defence College, London, during the year 1955. Visited Defence Establishments in Canada and the U.S.A. as part of the course. On return in January 1956, appointed Deputy Secretary in the same Ministry and promoted as Joint Secretary in August 1956. In February 1957, services transferred to the Federal Branch of the Civil Service of Pakistan at his own request. Served as District and Sessions Judge, Kotachi, and Lahore. In October 1958, appointed as Additional Judge of the High Court of West Pakistan, Lahore. Appointed Permanent Judge on October 26, 1962. Appointed Member of the Law Reform Commission in May 1961.

Attended the Third Commonwealth Law Conference.

Mr. Justice Anwarul Haq

Born on May 11, 1917. Passed B.A. Honours in English in the First Division in 1936, obtaining first position in the Panjab University in the subjects of Economics and Political Science. Passed M.A. in Economics in 1938 from Islamia College, Lahore, obtaining first class first, and setting up a new record for the Panjab University.

Selected for the Indian Civil Service on the result of the competitive examination held at Delhi in 1939. Spent one year at University College, Oxford. Started service as Assistant Commissioner at Ferozepur. Appointed as Secretary of the Punjab and NWFP Joint Public Service Commission at Lahore August 1942, through May 1944. Before Independence, served as Sub Divisional Magistrate, Dalhousie in Gurdaspur District, Deputy Commissioner and District and Sessions Judge, Gurdaspur, and Deputy Commissioner, Hissar. In July 1947, appointed Secretary of the Partition Steering Committee for the Punjab Province at Lahore.

Appointed as the first Pakistani Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi District in August 1947. Later served as Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, and Sialkot districts upto the end of 1951. Joined the Ministry of Defence, Government of Pakistan at Rawalpindi in January 1952, as Deputy Secretary, and served as such till December 1954. Deputed to attend one year's course at the Imperial Defence College, London, during the year 1955. Visited Defence Establishments in Canada and the U.S.A. as part of the course. On return in January 1956, appointed Deputy Secretary in the same Ministry and promoted as Joint Secretary in August 1956. In February 1957, services transferred to the Judicial Branch of the Civil Service of Pakistan at his own request. Served as District and Sessions Judge, Karachi, and Lahore. In October 1959, appointed as Additional Judge of the High Court of West Pakistan, Lahore. Appointed Permanent Judge on October 24, 1962. Appointed Member of the Law Reform Commission in May 1967.

Attended the Third Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference

at Sydney in August-September 1965 as Leader of the Pakistan Delegation. Has travelled widely in Europe, Canada and the United States. Is a Member of the Syndicate of the Panjab University, President of the Islamia Colleges Committee, President of the Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq Education Board, a Member of the Syndicate of the West Pakistan Agricultural University of Lyallpur. Acted as Vice-Cancellor of the Panjab University from time to time.

Selected for the Indian Civil Service on the basis of the competitive examination held at Delhi in 1939. Spent one year at University College, Oxford. Started service as District Commissioner at Ferozpur. Appointed as Secretary of the Punjab and NWFP Joint Public Service Commission at Lahore August 1941, through May 1944. Before independence served as Sub-Divisional Magistrate, District Officer in Gujranwala District, Deputy Commissioner and District and Sessions Judge, Gujranwala, and Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur. In July 1947, appointed Secretary of the Partition Steering Committee for the Punjab Province at Lahore.

Appointed as the first Pakistan Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi District in August 1947. Later served as Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, and Senior District Officer at the end of 1951. Joined the Ministry of Defence, Government of Pakistan at Karachi in January 1952, as Deputy Secretary, and served as such till December 1954. Promoted to attend one year's course at the Imperial Defence College, London, during the year 1955. Visited Defence Attachments in Canada and the U.S.A. as part of the course. On return in January 1955, appointed Deputy Secretary in the same Ministry and promoted as Joint Secretary in August 1956. In February 1957, services transferred to the Judicial Branch of the Civil Service of Pakistan at his own request. Served as District and Sessions Judge, Karachi, and Lahore. In October 1959, appointed as Additional Judge of the High Court of West Pakistan, Lahore. Appointed Permanent Judge in October 28, 1962. Appointed Member of the Law Reform Commission in May 1967.

Attended the Third Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference

By Mr. Justice Anwarul Haq

It is a measure of the greatness of Iqbal that since his death 23 years ago, his admirers, students and disciples have found a new meaning, a new significance and a new inspiration in his writings. We are constantly discovering some new aspects of his philosophy and thought, some new beauty in his poetry or a new depth and dimension in the familiar concepts associated with him. Today, we in Pakistan are experiencing a new urge to live, a new zest for the future and a new faith in our ultimate destiny. The nation is once more on the march, having shed its feelings of despondency and frustration which had unfortunately set in after the formation of Pakistan. At this juncture in our national history, it is befitting and indeed very necessary, that we should drink deeply at the fount of inspiration and draw freely from the storehouse of wisdom and ideals that is embodied in the works of Iqbal.

Iqbal's message was one of action and no homage or tribute by the nation can be complete or effective unless we absorb and assimilate his message and philosophy in our individual as well as national life.

The most vital concept presented by Iqbal was that of *khudi* or ego. A proper understanding of this concept can prove to be an immense source of inspiration, strength and guidance at this juncture. It is, therefore, necessary that special efforts should be made to explain this concept to the coming generations of Pakistan so that the teachings of the great poet can continue to be a living force among us.

According to Iqbal, life is a forward, assimilative process and its essence is the continual creation of desires and ideals. The human ego has a definite mission on earth in two main directions. In the first place, it has to struggle with its environment and to conquer it. By this conquest it attains freedom and approaches God, who is the

* Read as presidential address at the afternoon special Session of Iqbal Day of April 21, 1961.

most free individual. In the second place, the ego has to maintain a constant state of tension and thereby attain immortality. By attaining freedom and immortality the ego conquers space on the one hand and time on the other. The ego has to help in the upward march of humanity by leading to the birth of a higher type of man, namely, the superman or the perfect man, who is the ideal to which all life aspires. According to Iqbal the following factors and forces fortify the human ego or personality, namely:—

- (i) Love
- (ii) Faqr
- (iii) Courage
- (iv) Tolerance
- (v) Kasbe-hilal
- (vi) Original and creative activity.

Iqbal used the word 'love' in a very wide sense and, as he explained in a letter to Professor Nicholson, "it means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavours to realize them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realize the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker." It will be seen that according to Iqbal love in the wider sense is a very important factor in the development of human character and personality as it provides an inexhaustible source of sacrifice and action.

By *faqr*, Iqbal means an attitude of mind which enables a man to strive endlessly, spurning delights and rewards, except the attainment of worthy ends. In other words it connotes selflessness and ascendancy over one's material environment and a sense of complete detachment from worldly rewards. Once an individual is able to achieve this attitude of mind, there is no limit to what he might attain in the way of development of personality and spiritual strength. Allied with *faqr* is the element of courage, both physical and moral. All progress means encountering obstacles which only serve to draw the best out of those possessing courage. Repeatedly Iqbal calls

upon the younger generation to "live dangerously" and courageously. For example he says:—

آئین جوانمردان حق گوئی و بے باکی
اللہ کے شیروں کو آتی نہیں روباہی

By living dangerously, Iqbal does not mean living recklessly, but on the other hand he means having the courage of one's convictions and being prepared to face any consequences for the sake of one's faith and ideals. Without courage no great achievement is possible in human life.

I need not say much about tolerance, but I think a few words about *kasbe-hilal* would be useful. In a world where selfishness and greed are playing an ever-increasing part in human life, Iqbal's insistence on *kasbe-hilal* is of the utmost significance. Here again the term has a wide meaning and is not merely confined to earning one's livelihood by lawful means, but extends to all spheres of human activities. Iqbal insists that the individual should constantly exert himself to acquire things which he wants to enjoy. He even goes to the extent of deprecating inheritance of worldly goods as he feels that it hurts the ego. Even in the field of ideas, Iqbal advises avoidance of borrowing.

Lastly, there is Iqbal's insistence on creative and original activity on the part of the individual. This is really an extension of the principle of *kasbe-hilal*. It is Iqbal's belief that individual is capable of creating something new and original and it is only in this way that he can develop his own personality, instead of becoming a slave of imitation. For instance he says:—

تقلید سے ناکارہ نہ کر اپنی خودی کو
کر اس کی حفاظت کہ یہ گوہر ہے یگانہ

As against these positive factors there are certain negative forces which are constantly at work to weaken the ego and stultify the human personality. These are:

- (1) Fear.
- (2) Beggary or *sawal*.

- (3) Slavery and
- (4) Pride of extraction or *nasab parasti*.

Iqbal is strongly opposed to all these weaknesses in human character. In fact these weaknesses develop due to the failure of the individual to practise or inculcate in him the positive elements already mentioned as essential for the development of character and personality.

I think it is time that these basic elements in Iqbal's concept of *khudi* were explained to the younger generation of this country in whom lies our hope for the future. In fact humanity at large could benefit immensely from the adoption of these ideals. While man has made enormous strides in the development of scientific techniques and is on the verge of conquering space and outer space, I am not so sure whether he has made much progress in conquering the baser elements in his own nature. It is, therefore, imperative for us, who are fortunate to have the precious heritage of Iqbal's philosophy, to understand this philosophy and to try to act upon it in our daily lives. Who knows that the salvation of the world may yet lie with those who imbibe the teachings of Iqbal and of the Quran which is the source of Iqbal's inspiration?

The Late Mr. A. T. M. Mustafa

Educated in Bengal, and Muslim University, Aligarh. Distinguished himself in debating, studies and sports.

Practised law at Dacca, and attained eminence; was Member of Pakistani delegation to the United Nations in 1960; was Minister of the Government of East Pakistan after the 1962 Constitution was effected, subsequently joined the central Government of Pakistan as Minister of Education.

He was a passionate devotee of Islam and Iqbal, and preached and practised the eternal oneness of the Pakistani Nation. The Great Lord of Death struck him while he was in Havana in Cuba, leading a Pakistani Delegation to an important International Conference. In his

The Nature of Ultimate Reality and Tauhid as a Principle of Integration

By

Late Mr. A. T. M. Mustafa Bar-at-Law

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He was a passionate devotee of Islam and Iqbal, and preached and practised the eternal oneness of the Pakistani Nation. The Cruel hand of Death struck him while in harness in Cuba, leading a Pakistani Delegation to an important International Conference. In his death has passed away a great Muslim, a great Pakistani, and a great exponent of love and integration.

By The Late Mr. A. T. M. Mustafa

For Iqbal, life had a meaning and a purpose. He discovered that meaning and that purpose in the system of values, in the regulative principles of life and the institutional doctrines of a self-compact, self-contained monistic philosophy-Islam of which he was the noblest voice in the twentieth Century. Islam came into the sweep of history to change its course and give its own direction to life. It gave the stamp of its own meaning and purpose to life—a vital energy—that saw life as a “single significant whole” and made infinity—Allah—the base of all finite existence and the focus of reference for all value judgments, gave man the dignity of a moral being—“Ashraful Makhluqat”—gave him a cosmic vision—and a universal life view—a world view for a world purpose—in an effort to achieve a goal in life.

Iqbal was born and worked in an age of perturbing dissolution of fundamental beliefs which, according to Professor. Toyenbee, suggested “to weaker spirits that ultimate reality was nothing but chaos” but revealed “to a steadier and a more spiritual vision the truth that the flickering film of the phenomenal world is an illusion which cannot obscure the eternal unity that lies behind it.”

The Nineteenth Century Physics was essentially materialistic. It was dominated by the notion that to be real, a thing must be of the same nature as a piece of matter. To apprehend values or enjoy spiritual experience was to wander in a world of shadows. As Prof. Eddington puts it, “Nineteenth Century science was disposed as soon as it scented a piece of mechanism to exclaim—here we are getting to bedrock. This is what things should resolve themselves into. This is ultimate reality.” The implication was that whatever did not show itself amenable to mechanistic causation—value for example, a feeling of moral obligation—was not quite real.

To them, what could not be weighed and measured became non-existent. God and moral values and the human mind became

* Read as presidential address on April 21, 1963.

imponderable. Consciousness which discovered scientific truths was itself banished, it was called an ephiphenomena and ineffectual by-product of the mechanistic causation of the brain-cells.

The prevailing atmosphere provoked Dr. Huxley to comment that "Unfortunately some scientists, many technicians and most consumers of gadgets have lacked the time and the inclination to examine the philosophical foundation and the background of the sciences."

Today, the foundation for this whole way of thinking, the hard, obvious, simple lump of matter has disappeared. It has become something infinitely attenuated and elusive—it has become a hump in space time, a hush of electricity, a wave of probability undulating into nothingness.

To describe "consciousness," said Iqbal, "As an ephiphenomenon of the process of matter is to deny it as an independent activity, and to deny it as an independent activity is to deny the validity of all knowledge which is only a systematised expression of consciousness. Thus consciousness is a variety of a purely spiritual principle of life which is not a substance but an organising principle, a specific mode of behaviour essentially different to the behaviour of an externally worked machine."

Materialism took from man his significance in the cosmic scheme of things and denied reality to his mind. However, the truth is materialism itself is a product of man's mind. A marked change has characterised the attitude of modern scientists and modern science is no longer inclined to dismiss the deliverances of moral and spiritual consciousness as illusion.

"Science," said Iqbal, "grasps reality piecemeal, religion grasps it in its wholeness. The one fixes its gaze on the eternal and the other on the temporal aspects of reality."

"Where science has progressed the furthest" says Professor Eddington "the mind has but regained from nature that which the

mind has put into nature." Max Plunk, the famous continental scientist in an answer to the question—"Do you think that consciousness can be explained in terms of matter and its laws," said "Consciousness I regard as fundamental. I regard matter as derivative from consciousness. We cannot get behind consciousness. Everything that we talk about, everything that we regard as existing postulates consciousness."

Professor Eddington envisages the background in which the world of physics is embedded as a "Spiritual Sub-stratum."

"All through the physical world runs an unknown content," says Professor Eddington, "which must really be the stuff of our own consciousness."

There is one kind of knowledge, which, as Eddington frequently points out, which escapes the symbolic framework of sensory experience and scientific knowledge. There is the knowledge which we have of ourselves. "Mind," he says, "is the first and the most direct thing in our experience—all else is remote inference."

A philosopher, commenting on the theories of Prof. Eddington remarks, "our own spiritual experience which is the one thing we know otherwise than as a schedule of pointer readings, gives us a clue to the nature of that underlying substratum to which science never penetrates, that is to say, to the inner reality of the universe. Hence, reality is fundamentally spiritual."

As with Professor Eddington, so with James Jeans, the occasion for metaphysical thinking is afforded by the break up of the mechanistic scheme of the physical universe which was drawn up by the scientists of the last century. "Today" says Sir James Jeans, "there is a wide measure of agreement which on the physical side of science approaches almost to unanimity that the stream of knowledge is heading towards a non-mechanical reality." "The Universe" he continues, "looks more like a great thought than like a great machine." He asserts that the universe was "created by a being with a mind" and "the universe is a thought in the mind of such a being." "God,"

said Dr. Whitehead, "is the tangible fact at the base of finite existence."

Sir James Jeans came to the conclusion that "everything points with overwhelming force to a definite event or series of events, of creation, at some time or times, not infinitely remote. The universe cannot have originated by chance out of its present ingredients and neither can it have been always the same as now". He identifies all reality with God's mind and that the universe bears witness to the workings of a mind that has kinship with our own. With Borkely he holds that the apparent objectivity of things is due to their subsisting in the mind of some "Eternal spirit."

"Science without religion," said Einstein, "is lame" and declared that Ecosmic religious feeling is the strongest and the noblest incitement to scientific research, and he goes on to add that, a contemporary has said, not unjustly, that in this materialistic age of ours the serious scientific workers are the only profoundly religious people. He goes on to elucidate this attitude of the scientist. "His religious feeling takes the form of a rapturous amazement at the harmony of the natural law, which reveals an intelligence of such superiority that compared with it all the systematic thinking and acting of human beings is an utterly insignificant reflection."

Recognising with horror that the pillars of civilized human existence have lost their firmness, he goes not to remark "Who can doubt that Moses was a better leader of humanity than Machiavelli?"

In his message to the intellectuals in 1948, Einstein conveyed a feeling of pathos. To the intellectuals of the world he wrote—"By painful experience we have learnt that rational thinking does not suffice to solve the problems of our social life." He goes on to add that inventions which have made life easier and richer have also introduced "a great restlessness into his life, making him a slave to his technological environment, and the most catastrophic of all—creating the means for his own mass destruction. This indeed is a tragedy of overwhelming poignancy."

In his chapter "The Goal of Human Existence" in his book "Out of My Later Years," the great intellectual wrote: "And cer-

tainly we should take care not to make the intellect our God. It has, of course, powerful muscles but no personality. It cannot lead, it can only serve and is not fastidious in its choice of a leader. This characteristic is reflected in the qualities of its priests—the intellectuals. Intellect has sharp eyes for methods and tools, but is blind to ends and values. So, it is no wonder that this fatal blindness is handed on from old to young and today involves a whole generation.”

The mechanist theory which proclaimed life as a by-product of non-living processes and mind and off-shoot of the brain is proving increasingly unsatisfactory and untenable in biology.

“From the standpoint of the physical science,” said Dr. Haldane, “the maintenance and reproduction of a living organism is nothing less than a standing miracle and for the simple reason that co-ordinated maintenance of structure and activity is inconsistent with the physical conception of self-existent matter and energy.”

“If intellect is a product of evolution,” said Weldon Carr, “the whole mechanistic concept of the Nature and origin of life is absurd.” For the biologists who seek a mechanical explanation of life, Iqbal observed, “if he (the biologist) studies life as manifested in himself, i.e., his own mind freely choosing, rejecting, reflecting, surveying the past, the present, and dynamically imagining the future, he is sure to be convinced of the inadequacy of his mechanical concepts.”

One is reminded of Tolstoy after his religious awakening when he wrote “Popular Christian belief bases its religious convictions on the immaculate birth of Christ, but to me every child that is born normally of parents is a sufficient miracle for believing in God.”

In Materialist interpretation of biology, there is causation from non-living to the living, from environment to body, and from body to mind, “but,” asks a philosopher “is this last link in the materialist chain, the step from body to mind, justified”? “No,” says modern science. Mind is assuredly not material.

“The length of the arm can be measured but who can measure” asks the Philosopher “the inspiration which went to the composition of BEETHOVEN’S fifth symphony”?

It is reported about Darwin that the sight of the resplendent feathers of the peacock chilled his spine with the doubt whether all this beauty could really be explained away as the product of natural selection.

In the materialist interpretation of biology, the only motive force in the process of evolution is that of adaptation of the organism to the physical environment upon which Lamarck laid stress.

Why, then asks Bergson, if this account of the matter be correct, did not the process of evolution stop? Considered merely by the standard of the degree of physical adaptation achieved—and on the mechanistic materialist view we are entitled to speak of physical adaptation, since only the physical is real—many of the species which evolution has thrown up in the past are better adapted to their environment than is man.

It is not possible to resist the conclusion, says modern science and philosophy that evolution is the expression of some force which not content with achieving relative physical safety for its creatures by adapting them to their environment, proceeds to complicate itself ever more and more in the endeavour to evolve "Higher" forms of life.

But in using the words "Higher forms of life" and postulating a purposive drive on the part of evolution to achieve them, our treatment is moving "outside the purely physical sphere in which matter alone exists" and introducing the notion of "comparative values and of purposes to realise those which are higher." These conceptions in their turn presuppose the existence of a principle "which is not a material principle," whose operation must be taken into consideration in any satisfactory account of the process of evolution.

"Life is a principle," says modern science, "there is no reason to suppose that "Life's" association with matter must necessarily always persist. If it does not, then we would be justified in regarding individuality, which results from the association not as ultimate but as a temporary device by which life seeks to facilitate its own development."

Dr. Alexis Carrel, a Noble Laureate in Physiology regrets that "Despite the marvels of scientific civilization, human personality tends to dissolve?" He suggests that "Liberation of man from the materialistic creed would transform most of the aspects of our existence."

He goes on to assert that by prayer "human beings seek to augment their finite energy by addressing themselves to the infinite source of all energy. We link ourselves with the inexhaustible motive-power that spins the Universe."

Scientists like Schrodinger, Rhine, Burrts, and a host of others seem to regard science as comparatively less important means of access to ultimate reality. They seem to suggest that religious insight holds the key to the knowledge of reality.

"Religion," says Iqbal, "holds out the prospect of nothing less than a direct vision of reality. Science grasps reality piecemeal. Religion grasps it in its wholeness. The one fixes its gaze on the eternal and the other on the temporal aspects of reality."

"The truth is," says Iqbal, "that the religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are indetical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching the most real. In fact, religion is far more anxious to reach the ultimately real than science."

"We must not forget," says Iqbal, "that what is called science is not a single systematic view of reality—it is a mass of sectional view of Reality—fragments of total experience which do not seem to fit together..... Thus, religion which demands the whole of reality and for this reason occupies a central place in any synthesis of all the data of human experience has no reason to be afraid of any sectional views of Reality."

"Personality is the great central fact of the universe," said the biologist Haldane. This personality in man and in the universe, the Supreme consciousness, we call Allah, is the central thesis of Iqbal.

Today when the nuclear war clouds blanket menacingly the whole

human scene—a searching reappraisal of the fundamentals is a demand upon mankind. Man's progress from the cave to the outer space will become meaningless if he has no adequate moral answer to the challenge of this materialist age.

Man shall need a far greater conscious, spiritual, moral emotional motive power, to obviate the possibility of his own annihilation by the material instruments of his own creation. With every increase in human skill as to means there is corresponding increase in human follies as to ends. Life is hanging insecurely between the prospects of a crushing sky and gaping hell. Man has conquered outer space—he has yet to conquer his worst enemy—his inner being—his own self. The old complacent faith of man about his irresistible progress has given away to doubt—the doubt has passed into alarm—he is in the grip of an acute psychological insecurity—he has a feeling that he has taken a wrong turning in history. The philosophies of Marx and Machiavalle and the vital conflicts that plague a whole materialist civilization has exposed man to fearful prospects. History is to test whether Islam has an answer to this challenge of aggressive materialism—out to destroy its own creator—the mind of man and even Man himself. Whether Islam can evoke the required response from the depths of man's being which would refuse to sacrifice man—the moral being—at the altar of this self—destroying technological civilization which may bury itself in the ruins of its own making—has a mark of interrogation which has yet to be answered.

It seems that if Man's spiritual and moral responses are not adequate to meet the challenge of the times—the vaunted doctrines and the high-sounding slogans may prove to be utterly fruitless—lost in the tangle of intellectual and political conflicts and in the process Man's efforts and even man himself may be buried under the ruins of his own intellectual and material achievements.

We are living at a decisive moment in the history of man. Rapid and dramatic changes too numerous to enumerate, daily defy evaluation on the basis of outmoded Ninteenth Century sectional views of life. At a pace beyond imagination, the whole pattern of existence is being reshaped. Mere guidance from hidebound materialist or sectional doctrines which are incapable of seeing life as a "single significant whole" as I which chose to bifurcate life into painful

opposition between spirit and matter, may not provide firm footholds for the dynamic present and an uncertain future.

Age-old barriers, such as seas and mountains, weather and climate, race and language and even time and space are fading into relative insignificance.

“While knowledge becomes cosmic, will and feeling remain parochial”—says Bertrand Russell “there will be a lack of harmony producing a kind of madness of which the effects cannot but be disastrous.”

“If, with our increased cleverness,” says Russell, “we continue to pursue aims no more lofty than those pursued in the past, we shall doom ourselves to destruction and shall vanish as the dinosaurs vanished”.

“These considerations”, says Russell, “bring us to the sphere of feeling. It is feeling that determines the ends we shall pursue. It is feeling that decides what use we shall make of the enormous increase in human power.”

“Religion has long taught,” says Bertrand Russell, “that it is our duty to love our neighbour and to desire the happiness of others rather than their misery.” “Unfortunately, active men have paid little attention to this teaching. But in the new world which is coming into existence, the kindly feeling towards others which religion has advocated will be not only a moral duty but an indispensable condition of survival.”

As we listen to the roar of current history, everyday that passes, its call seems more clear—that mankind—man and nation—races and colour—must learn to live together on the solid foundations of a universal moral concept or they may have to perish together without it.

This planet has become much too small and it has become much too dangerous for it to be ruled by material power alone. Man has learnt how to destroy the world. He must now learn how to save it. Civilization for its survival needs a more durable base—of vision

and values—to be able to realise the spiritual and the moral in the temporal human organisation. Material Power alone or vision alone cannot produce a lasting culture. Power and vision, said Iqbal, must unite to create a more durable human base.

The painful opposition between the meaning and purpose of life and the spiritual and moral bankruptcy that plague the whole human scene has the tragic effect of depriving man's efforts of organic wholeness and spiritual and moral vitality.

It was Iqbal's conviction that Islam has the inherent capacity of invoking responses from the depths of man's being to rediscover the real meaning and purpose of life and channelise it in the direction of organising a better world.

It was Iqbal's conviction that the universal concepts of Islam may supply the answer to the call for a society of universal concept, based on fundamentals, deeper than the accidents of births, race and language—deeper than the skin man has or the clothes he wears.

“It is our reflective contact with the temporal flux of things” wrote Iqbal, “which trains us for an intellectual vision of the non-temporal. The *Holy Quran* awakens in us the relationship with the immutable laws of nature, through the application and control of which alone it is possible to build a durable civilization.”

“In Islam,” says Iqbal, “the Spiritual and the temporal are not two distinct domains, and the nature of an act, however, secular in its import, is determined by the attitude of mind with which the agent does it. It is the invisible mental background of the act which ultimately determines its character. An act is temporal or profane if it is done in a spirit of detachment from the finite complexity of life behind it; it is spiritual if it is inspired by that complexity. In Islam, it is the same reality which appears as Church looked at from one point of view and State from another.”

“Mistake arose,” says Iqbal “out of the bifurcation of the unity of man into two distinct and separate realities which somehow have a point of contact, but which are in essence opposed to each other. The truth, however, is that matter is spirit in space-time reference.

The unity called man is body when you look at it as acting in regard to what we call the external world; it is mind or soul when you look at it as acting in regard to the ultimate aim and ideal of such acting. The essence of "Tauhid" as a working idea, is equality, solidarity, and freedom. The State, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform those ideal principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realise them in a definite human organisation":

Goethe is quoted by Iqbal as having said to Eckerman, with reference to Islam.

"You see this teaching never fails, with all our systems we cannot go and, generally speaking, no man can go further than that."

Iqbal has offered the confused and deeply baffled twentieth century man—a sense of direction—a practical workable solution—Islam. 'Islam—a single—unanalysable reality,' said Iqbal, "recognising the contact of the ideal with the real says "Yes" to the world of matter and points the way to master it with a view to discover a basis for a realistic regulation of life."

The voice of the Philosopher-Poet of the twentieth Century may yet prove to be the clarion call of our age as the voice of destiny for the salvation and redemption of the human race. His call for the rediscovery of the meaning and purpose of life—the clarion call of Islam—may yet be the voice of hope for mankind.

*Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius, Chief Justice,
Supreme Court of Pakistan*

**Ideological Foundation
for Democracy in Islam**

By

**Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius
Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Pakistan**

*Mr. Justice Alvin Robert Cornelius, Chief Justice,
Supreme Court of Pakistan*

Born on May 1, 1903, at Agra, United Provinces, India, and educated at Indore, Central India, Muir Central College Allahabad, the Allahabad University, and at Selwyn College, Cambridge; he entered the Indian Civil Service in November, 1926, and was posted to the Punjab where he served as Assistant Commissioner and District and Sessions Judge till 1943 when he entered the Law Department of the Punjab Government, and occupied the position of Legal Remembrancer for two years 1944-46 before being elevated to the Bench of the Lahore High Court, being confirmed as a Judge in 1948. In 1950-51, he served at Karachi as Secretary to the Government of Pakistan in the Ministry of Law and Labour. Was first appointed to act as a Judge of the Federal Court in November, 1951, and continued as such, with intervals, till October, 1953 when he took the oath as a permanent Judge; Member of the Committee on the Freedom of Employers and Workers Organizations of the International Labour Office at Geneva 1955-56; Appointed Chief Justice of Pakistan in May, 1960; Chairman, Pay and Services Commission, Government of Pakistan, 1959-62, whose report was submitted to the President on the 1st June, 1962; Hon. LL.D. (Panjab University) 1964. Retired from the office of Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Pakistan, on February 29, 1968.

By Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius

AT the very outset I must make an apology. It is for my apparent inadequacy to fulfil the function which I have undertaken today. Iqbal is par excellence the poet of Pakistan and his published works are clearly such as require for their full understanding a thorough grounding in Muslim Scriptures and traditions and acquaintance with the classical allusions of the literature of the Muslim countries. I do not possess such a grounding, and I regret it. I would therefore seek your indulgence should you find that I speak superficially or that I am guilty of error in my discourse. I am aware of the great extent to which the poet's work has been read and absorbed by a majority of the literate people of Pakistan. But it was a high honour that was offered to me, and a great trust that was displayed, when I was asked to speak to this learned body at their annual celebration of Iqbal Day and I felt quite unable to decline the invitation. What I have to say I say in all sincerity, and to the best of my ability, and I would like to add that I offer my thoughts, as I do my homage, to the poet, in the capacity of a humble citizen of Pakistan. What I shall say has nothing to do with my official position. Freedom of expression is a fundamental right and on a rare occasion such as the present even a person holding an official judicial position may invoke it, with of course the necessary limitations.

To savour to the full the quality of a poet such as Iqbal, it is clearly necessary that one should have an appreciation and acceptance from the heart of the dogma and the ethic of Islam. How then can I, a Christian, attempt to speak of him? It would be of course wholly inappropriate for me merely to repeat what I have read concerning him. It would not be in keeping with the occasion, but there is a factor which has in my case brought about a partial capacity for understanding the meaning and purport of much that the poet thought and wrote. I refer to the fact of my having been bound by oath to serve and protect the interests of the State of Pakistan from its

* Read as inaugural address by Chief Justice A.R. Cornelius on April 21, 1964.

very foundation. It was founded as a Muslim State, and repeatedly, the constitutional objective has been solemnly expressed that principles of democracy, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam were to be the guiding light of the new State. The words of a Constitution have an overpowering effect upon any person who is pledged to work it in letter and in spirit. I have even enjoyed the privilege of being required to interpret the Constitution from time to time. Such an experience cannot fail to rouse an ambition to be of use in fulfilling the requirements of the Constitution which one serves, and thus inevitably one becomes animated by the spirit which has been breathed into it. I am therefore not wholly without qualification to place before you my appreciation of the poet's message in certain aspects, such as are relevant in our present circumstances.

If Iqbal's poetry had anything of the romantic, it was the romance of history. All the references to great events in the history of Islam were loaded with purpose. It was a purpose that was truly revolutionary. At the period when his mind had been filled with knowledge gained at home and abroad in the best academies, and his thought was mature, events had begun to arise which tended to disturb the minds of Muslim subjects of the British Crown, who had till then been living in happy subjection through a long period of peaceful foreign rule. That rule was paternalistic in its impact upon the subjects, but was nevertheless highly charged with politics, and was consequently extremely sensitive to all factors of importance and unimportance, in weighing the claims of rival communities. Iqbal found that his people were living under the weight of a two-tiered subordination. Lack of population strength and of importance in the fields of education, commerce and industry had led to this community of erstwhile rulers being depressed below the majority community under a top layer of foreign rule. Moreover, the prospect of self-rule on the lines of British democracy, namely, the rule of majorities, had been held out at a remarkably early date, although the transfer of power even at subordinate official level was timed at a snail's pace. The scheme of education was designed to produce clerks rather than administrators among the people of the country. As in the army, so on the civil side, the purpose until very late in the day

was to keep the officer class almost wholly free from infiltration by Indians. A settled and inbred feeling of subjection was thereby successfully fostered in the entire population. It could be maintained so long as general contentment was ensured by tried methods of personal rule through trained and competent administrators.

The poet's purpose was revolutionary in this sense that this double subordination was to be overcome not by the Fabian methods of gradualness which the foreign rulers were offering, for that would be to perpetuate the depression of their state. His appeal was to a long-buried self-respect and pride, still smouldering under the ashes of a lost empire. His answer to the question what was to happen when the threatened rule by the majority overcame the country, was a direct appeal to the spark of honour, combined with religious fervour, that he knew still burnt in the heart of each individual member of his community. In words of gentle persuasion and high inspiration, coloured by reference to the gigantic achievements of their forbears, in the fields of military conquest, of administration, in the arts, in the realm of pure thought, his voice reached ears which had long waited for such encouragement. The appeal was not only to the literary or the intellectual classes. He was aware of the power of poetry over the emotions of Muslim peoples at all levels, and he set about providing the music which would stir their blood and steel their courage against the struggle which was already upon them, though for the most part they were unaware of it. Practically all that he wrote carried this urgent appeal to super-human efforts in order to avert the present danger of perpetual subordination, if not extinction. The glories of the past were recounted, some not much more than a century ago, and held out as proof that there were prizes which they could win. Prizes, rather, that were the birth-right for a chosen people to whom the Almighty had been pleased in the past to grant the power of high achievement. Strength of mind and will, pride in the possession of a personality to which servility was obnoxious, and a fire to live for and to serve the Divine purpose—these were the simple requirements. Theirs to realise that they were units in the march of history. The long period of inaction and ineptitude brought on by political subjection was at an end. They were now on the march again. Divine Providence had so ordained it and had blessed them with every quality needed to achieve their destiny. They must march together as their

forbears had marched before, in the way of Almighty God, and success would be their. It is as if in each willing and consenting ear the poet were whispering "Be a hero!" The range of knowledge of events in Muslim history which he displayed, and his command of the language of religious inspiration was such that no believer who read his works could doubt that Iqbal was saying to him, in the words of another poet :—

"Everyman I will go with thee,
and be thy guide,
in thy most need,
to go by thy side."

It became incumbent upon him, who was raising such thoughts in vast numbers of his fellow Muslims, to provide the conditions under which the qualities which he was invoking could find scope for their display, and the way towards which he was guiding them could find extension. Subjection and servility were intolerable. Only from free people could there be expectation of full and free exercise of the powers that were to be let loose when his dream came to be realised. Reading his works one does not get the impression that he realized how soon that fulfilment was to come. Had he been aware that as early as 1947, there would be partition of the territories of the old India, providing areas in which the Muslims would move as free citizens in a Muslim State, I have no doubt that the poet would have included here and there among his writings, indications of the practical problems with which they would be faced when the dream of freedom reached the dawn of realization. Schooled as he was in true concepts of political philosophy, he would have realized that freedom and the extension of rights must necessarily be accompanied by an enormous intensification of responsibilities. He would be aware that his people had been living as communities under foreign rule for a century and a half, and that the intention was to hand them over to the political control of a handful of people, distinguished in their several ways, but as yet insufficiently trained in the art of political organization of a free people. A people, moreover, whom he had encouraged to think of themselves, each in his place as a Divinely grouped band of heroes. But he died before the consummation came. To each one of us, a counted number of moments has been allotted by the Divine power, in which to fulfil his life's work. Iqbal had lived his moments at

an exalted height of literary and philosophical endeavour. The intensity of the thought shining out of his pages is proof enough that he wasted not a moment of his allotted time. But inevitably that time ran out. His wisdom was not available when it was most needed to guide his liberated people in the path of self-rule. I propose with your leave to present to you certain aspects of the problems of independent existence as a free State, upon which the sage would undoubtedly have spoken had he been among us.

At a number of places in his writings you will find the poet complaining of the immobility of religious and political thought in Islam over the preceding 500 years. Yet, he was a firm believer in the eternal and universal quality of the basic principles of Islam such as would enable their adaptation to all changes in human conditions as they came to be. He urged his readers that the time had come, as he put it, to "re-evaluate our intellectual inheritance." Emphasising the force of the integrating principle of *Tauhid* in Islam, the poet had much to say on the subject of *Ijtehad*, which I may perhaps translate as the capacity to take an initiative in the region of fundamental law. He was not a believer in the claim of finality set up by certain schools of law which had ceased to be active some centuries earlier, and we find him welcoming the liberal movement while, at the same time, indicating the danger of disintegration which attends too much liberalism. In one or two places, where the poet speaks of things that are to be, he declares himself in favour of the republican form of Government. He speaks of such a form of Government as being "not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but (it) has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam."

Elsewhere he said :—

"The growth of the republican spirit and the gradual formation of legislative assemblies in the Muslim lands constitutes a great step in time."

It would indeed be a very long step, for it seems that political theory among the thinkers of the Muslim world had not advanced since the days of Ibn Khaldun and Ibn Rushd. On the organisational side, the theory had always involved the concentration of power in a single hand, conceived as an absolute monarchy, operating through a body of persons like minded with the monarch known as

the *asabiyeh*. Philosophical speculation was concerned with questions relating to the succession to the office of the chief executive, and eventually a stage was reached where, after a long insistence upon legitimacy according to the accepted mode, it was finally agreed that even a usurper must be tolerated provided that he does not violate the *Shariah* and works for the integrity and betterment of the community. A well-conceived theory was developed of the rise and fall of dynasties in four generations. The political ethic of the present day will certainly not accept a life of four generations for any Government that is established. The current view is that a Government is of the people by the people and for the people, and it must last so long as the people remain one. A people or a nation is constituted by geographical, historical, economic and last but not least, religious forces of integration, and having a right to admission to the comity of nations, and therefore, the protection of all other nations, it expects to form a permanent institution. The forces of disintegration in a nation so constituted must lie far deeper in the general human character and in the nature of their organisation, than the mere dissolution of an *asabiyeh* or failure of governing capacity in a single family. Today, it is necessary to build the foundations at the level of common humanity, and to build them for all time.

Iqbal in his inclination towards liberalism and his preference for republican Government indicates beyond doubt that his thought was not confined to the rise and fall of dynasties. But it does not seem to me that his thinking had reached the stage of devising practical steps for the inculcation and introduction of the democratic ethic among members of his community. The processes by which among the peoples of the West it had become a settled and unshakeable belief that Government was always to be of the people, by the people and for the people had somehow passed the Muslim peoples by. Royal heads had rolled in Europe under the sword of the common people in more countries than one. The divine right of kings had been thereby laid low and kings were thereafter only to be tolerated in proportion to their utility. In a great shedding of blood, the French nation was baptised into the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity. By a practical demonstration the people had taken power into their own hands. The processes by which in country after country that power was entrusted by them to a chosen leader

to be exercised under the watchful eye of the representatives of the people, for the security and well-being of people, had been set on foot. In the light of after knowledge, these world-shaking events proved to be steps in the march of humanity towards a goal, but undoubtedly at the time when they occurred, they appeared to all as a vast calamity. No such calamity appears to have fallen on any royal head among the Muslim nations. To be sure not all of them died natural deaths, but they never died at the hands of any who were not their equals, or otherwise than in a dynastic disturbance.

Therefore, the poet must have been well aware of the need to provide his choice of the republican form of Government with a respectable heredity, a kind of ideological lineage, drawn from the fundamental principles of Islam. In India, a gradual process of drawing the people into their councils had been carried on by the foreign rulers for a great number of years, and the country had been schooled, in a secular manner, into a settled belief in the excellence of British-style democracy. When the poet selected the republican form of Government, I cannot conceive that he was thinking in terms of a democracy of the British type, since there are radical differences between these two forms. It seems unquestionable that his belief, if not his intention was, that the whole matter would have to be thought out *de novo*. And so situated would not his first thought have been to carry conviction to the individuals in whom he had lit the spark of heroic and faithful endeavour for the realisation of the Divine Will? He must provide for them a rational basis for believing that the selected type of Government, in which power was to be derived from the people; was in its essence dictated by the principles of Islam. He held that to regard religion and the State in a Muslim country as two sides of the same coin was to place them too far apart, for they were in fact completely one. No doubt need be felt that had he survived to see the realization of the dream of vigorous independence which he had conceived for them through his poetry, it would be his duty also to ensure that they exercised the rights and duties of democratic citizens in the spirit of their own faith. For, if the machinery were imposed upon them from without as a kind of foreign system, then its franchises and facilities would be found only too apt for unscrupulous employment. All over the world today we see that when a balance of rights and duties of citizenship has been imposed upon a country from with-

out, under foreign rule, even while that rule subsists, but much more so when it is withdrawn, the first casualty is that of scruple. Politics in the worst sense steps into the scene, and the unrestrained pursuit of personal advantage becomes the order of the day. But it is certain that Iqbal with his great belief in the integrative and corrective effect of Islam in relation to human institutions and the human character, would have been at pains to provide, as I have said, a true religious and ideological foundation for the democracy which was to come.

I suggest that that is a task which his followers and disciples may well consider to be of the first priority for themselves. Their leader and teacher had sought to create a positive character in his community, which in the way of religion was to be productive of great achievements when the day of freedom came. It is theirs to fill the need which clearly arises now that the democratic process has been accepted on all hands, to support and equip these processes with ideological derivation from the ancient and eternal principles. Already in Iqbal's time, Muslim countries had commenced to convert to democracy, and the process is not to be halted. What is necessary is to fill the gap of five centuries, and to provide the citizens, upon whom the burden falls of operating the Government through the democratic process, with a firm foundation of belief that in doing so they are doing no more than following the highest dictates of their religion.

The time is propitious for the commencement of such an effort. An earnest thinker may even feel that the state of our country demands that such an effort should be made. Under a leader of unbounded courage and devotion, the machinery of democracy, according to the ethic transmitted to us through administrative processes by our past foreign rulers, has been revised. The new processes are in actual operation, as a channel for expression of the people's will in the political form. Would Iqbal have been content that the philosophical basis should be, as it is in the secular West, one of mere *political* obligation? Political obligation, in that sense, undoubtedly has a high and noble ancestry. It rests on principles of citizenship, derived from the practice of the Greek city States, which received their first statements in the dim past at the hands of the most famous of philosophers, of Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. The interplay of rights and duties as between the citizen and the State, and as between citizen and citizen has in the course

of two and a half milleniums received consideration and clarification from the greatest minds of each succeeding age. In a country here and a country there, you may find that politics is still practised in that clear and purifying light. But it is no exaggeration to say that the ethic has been almost universally eroded. Putting it in the fewest words, politics is most generally practised as the short road to material advancement for the practitioner. Opportunity lies at the feet of those in a democracy who succeed in gaining representative status, and they are human after all. There is regrettably little hope of survival of conscience where the sanctions of democracy are limited to western-style political obligation.

A thinker of blinding perspicacity and utter honesty, such as Iqbal undoubtedly was could not have remained unmoved by the conditions. He had worked to create a fervour of energy and vigour, in the apprehension of personal and communal obligation, which had nothing to do with merely material things. Every appeal by him to the individual was an appeal to brave endeavour, towards rising to the height of his personality in the light of God, for re-establishment of the institutions of Islam, among which the State occupies the highest place. Would he not then, having declared in favour of a republic, concern himself with the provision of a true foundation, for the relationships of State with citizen and citizen with citizen? There would be no alternative for him but to displace political obligation by the religio-political obligation, that is, to make every act in the democratic process, which he knew was inevitable, an act supported by religious conscience. He was pre-eminently qualified to perform this difficult task, difficult because it involved victory over man's baser passions and material desires, such as the pursuit of politics is universally known to arouse.

It may interest some to learn that in the West, there has in recent years been raised, among honest thinkers, the question—is democracy a religion, or perhaps a quasi-religion? Quite naturally, it has not been raised by the politicians. It is among the most able protagonists of religion that this strange surmise has pricked the cells of understanding. Again quite naturally, their answer has been a very strong and positive "no." It is said dogmatically that religion in each country has a "precisely defined form," it is "pluralistically structured," etc. But are these answers really adequate? Is not a great part of the religious field of activity concerned with human

conduct? Is it that religion has been free of the historical processes by which the appeal to terror as the sanction for human conduct was replaced by the technique of threats and promises, and finally by the concept of the rule of law? The rewards and punishments of religion are no doubt carried over to the after-life, but does it in any way diminish the claim of democracy, enforced by the rule of law, that it provides for such rewards and punishments on earth as well? Does the honest pursuit of democracy involve no act of faith? Is democracy without its martyrs—can the death of Socrates ever be forgotten? The modern technique of formulation of fundamental rights—what is it but a new set of commandments to regulate behaviour between citizen and citizen, as well as, of course, by the State towards the citizen? Superficially these rights are regarded as merely protective of the citizen against the power of the State. But it does not need any very careful reading or profound consideration of the words in which they are set out, to convince the right-minded citizen that each of these restraints applies to him as well. And, are the protagonists of the theory of total separation between religion and democracy aware that a great many matters which are formulated as fundamental rights in various Constitutions have been made the subject of careful examination and precise pronouncement in some of the highest of religious edicts? I refer only to the two famous Encyclicals, the first by Pope Leo XIII going by the name *Rerum Novarum*, and the second by the late Pope John XXIII entitled *Pacem in Terris*. The curious will find in these notable documents much in direct parallel with the fundamental rights with which they are familiar.

But, it will be said that democracy may furnish compensation on earth—what has it to offer in the after life? That is indeed an interesting question, and one might ask: supposing that a people have been true to all the requirements of conscience, and have faithfully followed the law and the Constitution under which they live, what is to be their reward? The rewards of politics they all know, namely, leadership and pre-eminence among their fellowmen, but not all of them can rise to that shining height. Must the common fate then be to cherish virtue as its own reward? Must the noblest prospect remain that of being a well-behaved army under a leader of its own choice? Is the denial of the ego to be the aim and end of all the effort applied to its development?

Perhaps one day, it will be found that such a prospect is lacking in inspiration for the ideal democratic citizen. It is only in the Communistic ethic that I find something of a promise to a people who have been faithful to their kind of democracy that their faith and effort will be rewarded, by something better than merely being contained in a communal unit, organised and operated by someone else. The Communists conceive of the State as a coercive instrument which firstly eliminates its opponents, mostly by processes of re-training in the arts of labour and common living, and then acts to fill them with a consciousness of their civic obligations. All the agencies are supposed to operate in favour of the final goal of equalitarianism among all the citizens, and this end, it is said, is to be achieved by the creation in the *interim* period of a ruling class with a mission to reform the whole people. It may sound strange that one class is created for the suppression of all classes, but it is when the classes finally disappear that the reward is visualised. It is, that when perfection in the elimination of classes is reached, the State will *itself* disappear. It is said that the final disappearance of the State will come when the producers arrive at the controls of industry and true administration of affairs replaces personal rule. That prospect is so conditioned that it is never likely to become proximate in any real sense, but nevertheless it is an attempt at formulation of a goal for righteous ambition, as conceived by the Communists, an end which does differ from the means.

How would the sage have reacted to these ideas? If I attempt an answer, it is in all reverence. I suggest his answer would be that democracy in Islam can never be merely secular, but is essentially an exercise in the organisation of the people in accordance with the fundamental beliefs of their faith. That by itself will furnish the necessary incentive to the people to be true to the dictates of the Constitution and the laws under which they live, in the hope of an eternal reward. Speaking for myself, I would wish that such might indeed be the case in all democracies.

I was never privileged to know the poet, but to live in Lahore is by itself to live in communion with him and under the spell of his thought. His name will live forever. May his message spread and bear fruit among those to whom he handed over the torch to be carried for the good of their fellowmen!

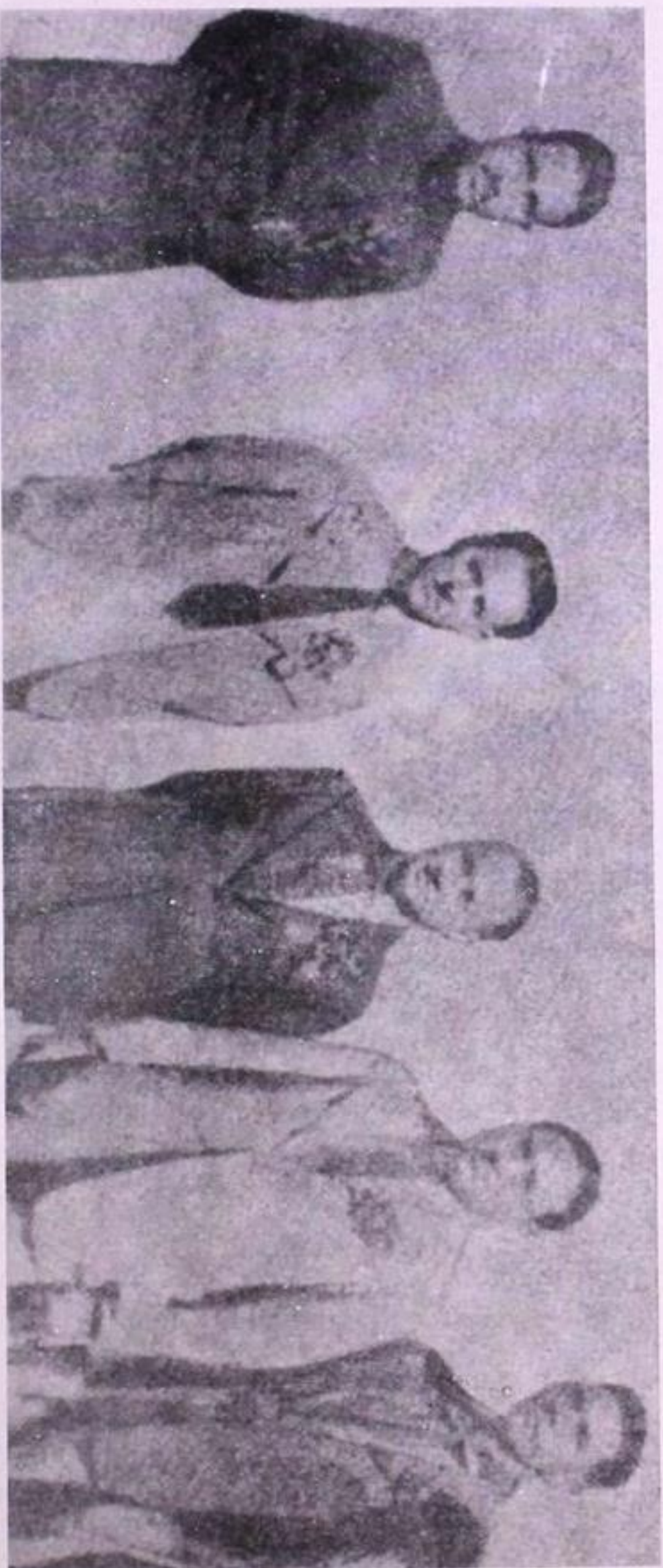
Iqbal, the Apostle of Muslim Renaissance

By

*Dr. Justice S. A. Rahman H. Pk.
Judge, Supreme Court of Pakistan*

IQBAL DAY CELEBRATIONS

April 11, 1939



(From left to right) Raja Hassan Akhtar; Dr. Hameed Malik; Mr. (Now Chief Justice) S. A. Rahman; Khwaja Abdul Rahim, and another.

Shaikh Abdur Rahman, B.A. (Oxon), M.A. (Punjab); date of birth June 4, 1903; educated at Islamia College, Lahore, Government College, Lahore; and Exeter College, Oxford.

Joined Indian Civil Service as Assistant Commissioner in 1928, later District and Sessions Judge and Legal Remembrancer Punjab; Acting Judge, Lahore High Court in 1946; Member Bengal Boundary Commission in 1947; Custodian Evacuee Property in 1948; Additional Judge, Lahore High Court in 1948; Permanent Judge in 1948; Vice-Chancellor Panjab University in 1950-51; Acting Chief Justice, Lahore High Court in 1954; Chief Justice in 1954-55; Permanent Chief Justice of West Pakistan High Court in 1955-58; Judge Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1958; Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Pakistan from March, 1968.

President, Pakistan Arts Council; President, Central Urdu Development Board; Member, Governing Body of Institute of Islamic Culture, Rawalpindi; Director, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore; Vice-President, Board of Advancement of Literature and Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore; Hon. LL.D. (Cairo University and Panjab University).

Publications: *“Tarjuman-i-Asrar” (Urdu translation of Allama Iqbal’s “Secrets of the Self”) (اسرار خوری), “سفر” — a collection of Urdu poems, and “حدیث دل” — a collection of Urdu speeches.*

By Dr. Justice S. A. Rahman

IQBAL was the apostle of Muslim renaissance in the Indian sub-continent. He was also the inspirer of the idea of Pakistan. In him, the aspirations of Muslims of this part of the world became articulate and self-conscious. Through his works, they discovered their national identity and it was he who quickened them to a sense of their high destiny. But his greatness has to be assessed in the wider context of thought and letters.

If acclaim by scholars and savants of countries other than his own is to be adopted as the test of the intrinsic merit of his life's work, Iqbal's exalted position seems secure. The late Malik-ush-Shuara Bahar of Iran paid him a graceful tribute by saying :

عصر حاضر خاصهٔ اقبال گشت

(The present era has become the era of Iqbal). The late Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam of Egypt, himself a poet, rendered some of Iqbal's poems into Arabic verse. In the English-speaking world his works have found translators in the late Dr. R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge, Prof. A. J. Arberry and Mr. Victor G. Kiernan. Dr. Anne Marie Schimmel is engaged in introducing his writings to German readers. Dr. Alesandro Bausani of Rome has published an Italian translation of his *Javid-Nameh* under the title "Il Poema Celeste." Comparing Iqbal's book with Dantes famous poem, Prof. Bausani observes that the Divine Comedy stands "under the sign of redeeming femininity" while "the book of Eternity stands under the heavy and distant omen of the inimitable power of man". I have no doubt that with the passage of time, Iqbal's circle of translators and admirers will grow wider. For, despite or rather because of, the Islamic orientation of his thought, his message has a universal content. The earlier poems of Iqbal reveal him as the ardent exponent of Indian nationalism. The problem of freedom from the foreign yoke absorbed his poetic genius in his younger days. But he soon outgrew the constricting chains of merely territorial nationalism though he retained his hatred of colonialism and imperialism till the end of his life. He discarded race, colour or regionalism as integrating principles for humanity.

* Was read as presidential address at Iqbal Day on April 21, 1964.

To his mature thought, these ideas represented mere earth rootedness and a narrow, underdeveloped socio-political creed. The imperatives for him were a spiritual interpretation of the Universe and fundamental principles of universal import, directing the evolutionary dynamism of human society into idealistic channels. The Schizophrenic separation of religious and political values which the West was forced to adopt under the pressure of historical factors, was abhorrent to him. The Islamic ideology which establishes a universal fraternity by cutting across all geographical, ethnic or other adventitious barriers in the socio-political sphere, combines the conservation of traditional fundamentals with a dynamic view of the life process, harmonises the ideal and the real and strikes a sound balance between individualism and collectivism, could have been ignored by Iqbal only if he had been prepared to sacrifice his rationally-conceived faith for a colourless universalism of a hypocritical hue. The theistic socialism of Islam, which invests property in the hands of owners with the status of a sacred trust, appealed to him as a sound foundation for future reconstruction, in preference to any scheme based on dialectical materialism, involving as it does, a sectional view of humanity and a regimentation of thought and action. He was not, in the narrow sense, an Islamic propagandist but the philosopher of a universal social reconstruction conceived in the spirit of harmony with the Infinite. He has thus given us the sheet-anchor of faith in a world that seems to have lost its moorings.

It is in this context that Iqbal stands in refreshing contrast with some of the modern thinkers and writers whose work seems to bear the mark of Cain—the barren, self-accusing frustration, born of the shattering experiences of the last two world wars. The cult of deliberate distortion and worship of primitiveness in the Arts, the indifferentism of the Bohemian and the Beatnik, the despair of the existentialist, the cynicism of the modern novel and its obsession with the dark forces of the unconscious, appear to me to be so many symptoms of the malady of lack of faith which has afflicted the West. Iqbal's philosophy is affirmative of life, optimistic, exuberant and dynamic. Life is for him a forward assimilative movement, depending for its vitality on the incessant creation of desires and ideals. It is not the linear manifestation of a pre-ordained and pre-determined plan. Life is a becoming rather than a being and man is a sharer in creat-

tion. Due to historic factors, Islamic thought had hitherto moved round the two alternating poles of Omnipotence of the Creator and helplessness of man on one side and the theory of full responsibility for individual action on the other. The orthodox theologians of Islam had overstressed the former to counteract the ideas of the Kharijites and the Mutazala who had, in their anxiety to preserve the concept of a Just God, exalted logic to a pedestal from where Divinity itself seemed bereft of Attributes. Iqbal discarded the ideas of the English New-Hegelians as well as of those pantheistic sufi's in whose thought, the distinction between the Maker and His creation is obliterated and who hold up the absorption of the soul into the Universal Absolute as the acme and goal of life. Pantheistic monism, in the final analysis, implies a moral holiday while Hegelian dialectics reduces life-processes to the plaything of blind socio-economic forces. Both ignore man's intuitional and originating functions on the life plane.

For Iqbal, the material world is real and not a mere illusion. He criticises Plato's theory of ideas which makes the universe a mere pale reflection of a transcendental reality. It was this world view which permeated the strata of Islamic pantheistic sufi's, through the writings of neo-Platonists and diverted the essentially dynamic Islamic conception of life into the dry bed of escapist quietism. The objective reality of the Universe provides for Iqbal the necessary obstructive element to give zest to man's struggle for the conquest of Nature. Ceaseless endeavour alone is the sign and symbol of life. "Life," says he, "like the Arts of Poetry and painting, is wholly expression, and contemplation without action is death."

Every thinker builds his system on the legacy of the past and Iqbal is no exception to this rule. He has drunk deep from western vitalist philosophy but has drawn his inspiration principally from Islamic sources. With Bergson he has a certain amount of affinity but he criticises his theory of a purposeless stream of life. For Iqbal, life is a rationally directed creative force and in its essence individual. It becomes conscious of itself in its highest manifestation—Man who is at present partly determined and partly free but ever seeks greater freedom. By a life of voluntary discipline in accordance with the categorical imperative of revealed religion, man approximates more and more to the most free and the most unique

individual —God. In this process the individual personality gets fortified and man can by persistence in this course, succeed in winning personal immortality.

He equates real time, as contrasted with serial time, with life itself and visualises the possibility of the survival of personality as a state of tension, even after the bodily frame in which it was centred is dissolved. During its mundane existence too, a level of personality can be achieved, which may be properly termed as God's vice-regency on earth. Such an individual is the Perfect Man in whom the highest power is combined with the highest knowledge and in whose personality, thought and action, instinct and reason, become one. Iqbal's "secrets of the self" contains a beautiful invocation to the Perfect Man. He may at present be regarded as an Ideal towards which humanity is moving continually. The kingdom of God on earth will be established when evolutionary process bring into being, a democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible in this world.

In this conception which at first sight bears resemblance to Nietzsche's idea of the Superman, Iqbal has made an original contribution to world thought. The germs of this theory may be seen in his writings long before he could have read or heard of Nietzsche. A reference to his article in the *Indian Antiquary* (1902) and his doctoral thesis on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (1908) would confirm this view. Indeed, Nietzsche's a-moral, power-drunk superman whose eternal recurrence is guaranteed by the blind forces of nature, is easily distinguishable from Iqbal's Perfect Man who is to be "the last fruit of the tree of humanity." Nietzsche's atheism and his aristocratic prejudices had distorted his vision of reality. Nietzsche, according to Iqbal, had the heart of a faithful believer but the mind of an infidel :—

قلب او مومن دماغش کافر است

The idea of personality or the self, then, is the central pivot round which Iqbal's thought moves. He regards personality as the ultimate good and makes it the criterion for assessing the worth of all human activity —art, literature and the way of life itself.

Whatever fortifies the ego ought to be commended, whatever tends towards its dissolution, must be condemned. Hence his exaltation of "Ishq" (love) over "Aql" (intellect), though he by no means despises the latter's achievements. His admiration of "faqr" which may be termed as the idealistic Activist's detachment from the consequences of his action, stems from the same idea. But in his system of thought, a servile humility has no place. Beauty (دلبری) allied with power (قاهری) is his ideal. In his approach to life and its problems, Iqbal feels himself akin to kindred spirits like the German Goethe and the Persian Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Roomi. Indeed he acknowledges the latter as his guide and preceptor in his magnum opus, the Book of Eternity. And Iqbal should be classed in that category of distinguished literary artists to which Goethe and Roomi belong. In this way, he bridges the traditional gulf between the East and the West.

Kingdom of God on Earth

Mr. Justice Barzdar, Bombay

Justice, Supreme Court of Pakistan

*Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman
Judge, Supreme Court of Pakistan, Lahore*

Obtained I.L.B. with Honorary Juris Doctor's Degree in 1929. Called to the Bar in 1932 from the Law College, Lahore. Practised law at Lahore High Court for the next 20 years. Elected member of 1958 Elected Committee, Lahore University. In the same year (1958-59) was elected Deputy Mayor, Lahore University. In the end 1961 was appointed Justice, Lahore High Court, Lahore. Appointed as a member of the Federal Council of Education, Government of Punjab. Awarded the Pakistan Award for Best of Pakistan, Dacca, as Legal Adviser in 1958. Appointed as a member of the East Pakistan Bar Council in 1957. Elected as a member of the Federal High Court in 1954. In 1958 appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University in addition to his duties as Justice. From 1958 to December 1960, joined National Council of Education, Government of Punjab. Chairman of the Punjab Education Commission for the Punjab Province and Welfare in 1964 and Punjab Education Commission in 1967.

Kingdom of God on Earth

By

*Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman
Judge, Supreme Court of Pakistan*

**Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman,
Judge, Supreme Court of Pakistan, Lahore**

Obtained LL.B. with Honours from London University in 1936. Called to the Bar in 1937 from Gray's Inn, London. Started practice at Calcutta High Court in the same year. Joined politics in 1939. Elected Councillor, Calcutta Corporation, in the same year. In 1942-43 was elected Deputy Mayor, Calcutta Corporation. In the end 1943 was appointed Junior Standing Counsel, Government of Bengal. Acted as such till Partition. Joined State Bank of Pakistan, Dacca, as Legal Adviser in 1950. Appointed Advocate-General, East Pakistan, in 1953. Elevated to the Bench of the Dacca High Court in 1954. In 1958 appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University in addition to his duties as High Court Judge. In December 1960, joined Supreme Court of Pakistan. Appointed Chairman of the Presidential Commission on the Students Problems and Welfare in 1964, and Chairman, Law Reform Commission in 1967.

By Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman

The debt which all of us owe to Iqbal is indeed great. But for his stirring words which plucked at our heart strings we might still have been continuing along the erring path of placid acquiescence in the will of the foreign ruler. Iqbal not only gave us the idea of Pakistan but also infused in us the will to achieve Pakistan. It will be a mistake, however, to think that Pakistan was for him an end in itself. It was merely a means to an end. His vision was not confined to any territorial limits. He advised :

هو قيد مقاسی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی

رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی !

His vision was more embracing, more transcendental. He dreamt of a world order of Muslim brotherhood. His message was not for the Muslims of any particular country but for Muslims everywhere. The belief that in Islamic solidarity alone lay the salvation of Muslims, who had reached the limits of degeneration and degradation throughout the world, was an article of faith with him. He was not prepared to accept any political or social concept which came into conflict with Islam or had even a remote tendency to make Islam "cease to be a living factor in the national life." It is this jealous regard for Islam which made him say :

اسلام تیرا دیس ہے تو مصطفوی ہے !

The mission in life of this great poet-philosopher and moralist as far as I have been able to gather, was to reawaken the Muslim nation and to inspire it to reconstruct its "world of sin and misery into a veritable paradise" by returning to the path of *Tauhid* and *Tasdiq*. The fire of Islam burnt in him so intensely that he firmly believed that the only way of survival for Muslims lay in return to the Islamic way of life. His entire philosophy was based upon this belief—He dreamt of a world ruled by religion, not politics, and his ideal was an independent Muslim fraternity welded together by the love of Allah and devotion to the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him).

*Read as presidential address at Iqbal Day on April 21, 1965.

He called us "Back to the Koran!, Back to Muhammad", (Peace be upon Him) and wanted us to revert to that form of vigorous monotheism which had in the past led Muslims on to glory and fame. He wanted each one of us to become a *Mardi-e-Momin* and invoked us thus :

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا عدالت کا شجاعت کا
لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا !

If I am right in understanding the purport of his message then I ask you have we responded to his call?—Let us not lull ourselves in the false belief that by achieving Pakistan we have attained the Utopia that Iqbal visualised for us. The "Kingdom of God upon Earth" that he would have us fashion is still far off and the time has not yet come for us to rest upon our laurels, if any, we have achieved. In his own words :

وقت فرصت ہے کہاں کام ابھی باقی ہے
نور توحید کا اتمام ابھی باقی ہے !

The crux of Iqbal's teachings, in my humble opinion, lies in his conception of a society devoted to the cause of developing its individuals as co-workers with God and His Holy Prophet (Peace be upon Him). In Iqbal's eyes "he who comes nearest to God is the completest person." This is the philosophy of *Khudi* that he preached but since in his view the individual isolated from the community was a mere abstraction the development of the individual was tantamount to the development of the community as well and this was the way his social order was to be evolved.

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں
سوجھے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

Someone has said in Iqbal's praise that his words were like those of Christ which quickened the dead with life. I often wonder if the quickening effect of his words have departed with him. What have we done to adopt his doctrine? Are we content to retain his vision of the Kingdom of God only as a distant vision and

pay mere lip service to those lofty doctrines and utter a few words of praise for him.

He does not need our praise nor are we competent to praise him adequately but if we wish really to pay him homage let us resolve not to make his voice a cry in the wilderness, let us resolve to develop our individuality on the pattern he wanted us to and above all let us resolve to build that Kingdom of God wherein he visualised that each one of us shall so conduct himself as to be worthy of being called a *Mard-e-Momin*. This is the highest respect that we can show to his departed soul (May it rest in peace).

To him I shall remain eternally indebted for the fire that his words have kindled in me and I hope and pray will sustain me in attaining that state of perfection which he would have liked to see us all attain.

By
Mr. E. M. Marshall

Ex-Chief Justice of East Pakistan High Court

Ex-Chief Justice East Pakistan High Court

Born in 1912, SYED SAJJAD KHAN was one of the most distinguished and distinguished members of the legal profession in East Pakistan. He was called to the Bar in 1938 and served as a Judge in the High Court of East Pakistan from 1951 to 1962. He was the first Chief Justice of East Pakistan in 1962.

He took his B.A. degree from the University of London in 1934 and his LL.B. degree from the University of London in 1938. He was a member of the Council of the University of London and a member of the Council of the University of East London. He was also a member of the Council of the University of East London. He was also a member of the Council of the University of East London.

The Pebbled Shore

By

Mr. S. M. Murshid

Ex-Chief Justice of East Pakistan High Court

In the year 1934 he was called to the Bar and was admitted to the Bar of Lincoln's Inn. He was a member of the Council of the University of London and a member of the Council of the University of East London. He was also a member of the Council of the University of East London. He was also a member of the Council of the University of East London.

After Partition he came to East Pakistan and was called to the Bar in 1951 and was appointed as a Judge in the High Court of East Pakistan. He was the first Chief Justice of East Pakistan in 1962. He was also a member of the Council of the University of East London. He was also a member of the Council of the University of East London.

Mr. S. M. Murshid

Ex-Chief Justice, East Pakistan High Court

Born in 1912, SYED MAHBUB MURSHID comes of a scholarly and distinguished family of Murshidabad, where his ancestors were settled by the Emperor Shahjahan in a village called Shahpur in a renowned Pergana known as "Pergana-e-Sharifabad." Is the third son of the late Mr. Syed Abdus Salek who had entered the statutory Civil Service of Bengal in 1893.

He took his B.A. degree from the Calcutta University with Honours in Economics and Political Science. He was the Captain of the University Hockey Team as well as the Editor of the College Magazine. He led the University Debating Team for several years. Thereafter, he took his M.A. and LL.B. degrees from the same University.

In the year 1934 he was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court. He then went to England to qualify himself for the Bar and was called to the Bar of England by the Hon'ble Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1939. While studying law in England, he also prosecuted his post-graduate studies in Economics and Political Science under the late Harold Laski in the University of London. He was leader of the University Debating Team in England. He distinguished himself as a law student and was placed first in First Class in Roman-Dutch law. He won special prizes in Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law. From 1936 to 1939 he worked in the Chamber of Sir Stafford Cripps. Was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and a regular contributor to its scholarly journal.

After Partition he went to Dacca and joined the Dacca High Court Bar in 1951 and soon thereafter he became a Senior Advocate of the Federal (now Supreme) Court of Pakistan. He was elevated to the Bench of the Dacca High Court in 1955. He had for some time acted as an Ad hoc Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1962. Was sworn in as Chief Justice of the High Court of East Pakistan in May 1964.

He has been a former President of the Bulbul Academy of Fine Arts and of the Dacca Club. He was for a long period of time President of the Governing Body of the Madrassah-e-Alia, Dacca. He was for some time the Chairman of the Red Cross Society, East Pakistan. He is the President of the Anjuman-i-Tarraqui-e-Urdu, East Pakistan.

He has addressed the Harvard Law School, the American Bar Association at Chicago and the International Commission of Jurists in Latin America and other places. He has presided over or inaugurated a large number of national and international seminars during the past decade.

He resigned from the office of the Chief Justice, East Pakistan High Court in November 1967.

By *Ex-Chief Justice Sayyad Mahboob Murshid*

I

THE GOLDEN LINKS

My theme, though local, in topic, is universal in its sweep. And truly has Saadi said :

سخن کز بہر دین گوئی چہ عبرانی چہ سریانی
مکان کز بہر حق جوئی چہ جابلقا چہ جابلسا

“What does it matter whether the words thou utterest in the way of righteousness are in Hebrew or Syrian, or whether the place in which thou seekest God is Jabalka or Jabalsa.”

Iqbal's effulgence shall never be dimmed. It was a life of pure flame. While the drums of destiny are incessantly beating to summon him to higher and yet higher glory, across echoing leagues and resounding years, he has abolished death and has brought eternity to light. Amid the war of elements and dissolution of matter, he has joined the invisible choir of the immortals. This is Iqbal, the seer, the singer, the thinker, the philosopher, the poet, the dreamer of dreams, and, above all, the prophet and teacher whose life, like a multi-coloured dome stains the white radiance of time and space. Age cannot wither nor time efface this perennial spring of eddying and ebullient life. From the tumult of life's fitful fever and the thundering chariot-wheel of time, his voice rises above his fellow-men, speaking the language and rhetoric of eternity. When the winds are blowing and the stars are shining we shall greet and salute him. Thus he spoke about himself :

پس من شعر من خوانند و دریا بند و می گویند
جہانے راد برگون کرد یک مرد خود آگاہے

“After me they will read my poetry, grasp it and say
A man who knew his self has revolutionised the world.”

* Read as presidential address on April, 21, 1966.

We estimate a poet's work absolutely, but, his genius relatively. When a country has produced not a few poets of great stature and yet one of them towers above the rest, it must be acknowledged, that such a one has transcended the limitations of mortal minds. And when one recalls his sweep of epic measure, his range of lyric songs, his depth of thought, his loftiness of idealism, his luxuriance of images, his sincerity of purpose and lucidity of expression, he takes a pride of place amid the canonised votaries of the Muses. It has been truly said :

در دیدہ معنی نگران حضرت اقبال
پیغمبری کرد و پیغمبر نتوان گفت

“In the eye of those who know the secret of things Iqbal fulfilled a prophet's mission, but he cannot be called a prophet.”

It is impossible to put in words the overwhelming upsurge of emotions that have filled my heart and it is equally difficult to express all that one might say within the short compass of a presidential address. This is a hymn of homage and an offering of the heart, not an appraisal of his vast literary and philosophical output. Indeed, he eludes classification and one cannot imprison or contain him in any standardised straight-jacket of arbitrary adjudication. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the barest outlines of some of the unbounded dimensions of his varied work.

Thus he speaks :

کثرت میں ہو گیا ہے . وحدت کا راز مخفی
جگنو میں جو چمک ہے پنہولوں میں وہ مہک ہے

“The secret of the individual is submerged in the multitude, The radiance of the glow-worm is reflected in the fragrance of the flowers.”

II

THE PEBBLED SHORE

We see him lonelier than ever with his eyes peering in the vastness of infinity. His poetry has much of the open space and very

little of the fireside. The untiring energy of his mind hardly allowed him to sink on the silken pillows of indolence. His profundity of thought and enquiry, his consummate mastery of expression, his impeccable metrical accomplishments, embroidered with flowers of loveliness and filled with a wealth of imagination, reveal his superb artistry and workmanship. The man who was familiar with the flux of existence was ever in search of unrevealed Beauty. He felt his way towards a realisation of perfect Beauty in his own life. He maintained that the qualities of the Infinite are not in extension but in perfection. It is this ceaseless quest which kept him from the captive enchantment of the visible world or a passive acquiescence in its snares. He says :

سرود رفتہ باز آید کہ ناید نسیمے از حجاز آید کہ ناید
 سر آمد روزگار ایس فقیرے دگر دانائے راز آید کہ ناید

“The melody that is silenced may or may not be heard again,
 A breeze from Hedjaz may or may not blow again,
 The end of the days of this Faqir has come,
 Another knower of secrets may or may not come.”

I was taught to think and, I believe, that genius is not eccentricity, that virtue is not a mask, that love has a seat in the human breast and that life is not a mere mockery and a dream. This is also the lesson which Iqbal teaches.

In every human heart there lies a longing for immortality which inclines one first to hope and then to believe that God has implanted within him something which blossoms in the dust. As Hasrat Mohani says :

رائیگان حسرت نہ جائیگا مرا مشت غبار
 کچھ زمیں لیجائیگی کچھ آسمان لیجائیگا

“O Hasrat, no particle of my dust shall be wasted,
 some would be taken by earth, and
 some would rise to the heavens”

God created man to be immortal and made him the image of His own eternity. Such is man's origin and such is his mission. This is Iqbal's faith. It was his belief that the immortal parts of our lives shall endure and shall rise, like the sun, from the prostration of death. He taught us to breathe the sweet air of futurity and to hope beyond the shadow of dreams. He maintains that to him who believes in an eternal life this mortal intermission is only a waiting ground and that, although, the sands are numbered in our allotted span of life, our journey, in fact, begins from the pebbled shore in the great beyond which is a suburb of Elysian life. Viewed thus, life is not a map of misery or a bridge of groans across a stream of tears. Such was the hopeful anticipation with which Iqbal had ever looked forward.

III

LYRIC POEMS

Iqbal's entry into the enchanted land of poets began with his lyric outpourings in *ghazals* and poems of exquisite charm and beauty. No translation can recapture the sound and surge of the verses in which he uses his magic gift to the full. Lines swell and crash like waves. Not a word falters and not a line lags. An undertone of wistfulness pervades them like the soft and sweet sadness of the flute. While they exude the vigour of a verile spirit, they are mellowed by the mournfulness of subdued tears and the pensive beauty of the moonlight. He attains a pitch which throbs and glows in words whose beauty makes them immortal. One hears the notes which are to become familiar in later verses while thought and action move through a mist of dreams. His mood escapes from morbidity and glides into the heart of things. Flawless, magical in expression and knit together by glowing links, the verses melt into ecstasy. Packed with the perfumes of spring, the sweetness of scented blossoms, the enchantment of languorous days, the melody of singing birds and the ballet of gliding butterflies, they are sustained by an ever-flowing fountain of impassioned out-pourings. The effervescence of ideas is never strained and the balance is perfect. The lamp flickers in the wind of dawn and the flame of longing is unsurpassed for its intense brightness and ardour.

In spite of the piling stock of well-worn metaphors and languid rhymes, and notwithstanding his adherence to old forms and meters, he had a very clear measure of the road before him. It is impossible not to be transported when contemplating the beauties which the magic hand of the poet raises with all the enchantment of creative power. From the cares of gain, the toils of ambition, the noise, the hurry and vexation of a weary world, we rise, on the wings of poetry, to an ethereal elevation where all is tranquil. They are superb in their human appeal. Their arresting beauty exudes a restlessness of passion. They emerge from the sap of life and recapture its grand symphony. They lift the soul by their elegance and cadence.

IV

HIS PHILOSOPHY

Iqbal's absorption in religious philosophy, his unabated and unbending theism and his flaming faith reveal his inner self. In these he had discovered not a mere undercurrent but the main streams of expression. Much of his lasting fame will rest on them. Philosophy is the art of arts and Iqbal's life is not measured by the time he lived. It is pure fire and fervour. He believed that we live by an invisible light which dwells within us. His language is the archive of history. His references to Cordova and Granada and allusions to Muslim history quiver with anticipations rather than with a longing, lingering look behind. His mind never lay fallow. He sought for his fellowmen a lofty aspiration and combined with a puritan austerity a catholic understanding of literature and philosophy. As a moulder of the nation's thought he never compromised with his ethics.

All mental links seem present in the written words. From lyric songs to philosophical meditation the transit is so light that the reader is hardly conscious of the change of mood. He fully explores the flights of the soul which he mirrors so splendidly in a wealth of fervid imagery and fancy. They find in the poet a nobility of purpose which contrasts with the stock-in-trade of lesser minds. His work is singularly rich in intuition. His genius was born of a deep-seated religious faith. The world is not possessed of a plethora of such poetry and there is by no means, an abundance of literature

which exhibits such intensity of passion and peace and such power of revelation.

Iqbal's philosophy is religious but he is not averse to spiritual speculations. He, however, turns to the moral fervour of Jalaluddin Rumi rather than to Platonic contemplation and abstract dissertations. He thus refers to Rumi:

پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد
از غبارم جلوہ ہا تعمیر کرد

"The pir of Rum turned earth into Elixir
From the particles of my dust he raised heavenly visions".

The influence of Jalaluddin Rumi, whom he calls, his master, permeates his thought and mind. He describes himself as a disciple of this great teacher.

مرشد رومی حکیم پاک زاد
سر مرگ و زندگی بر ما کشاد

"My murshid, Rumi, the philosopher of pure descent
Revealed to me the hidden secret of life and death."

In the prologue to *Asrar-e-Khudi* he relates how Rumi appeared in a vision and bade him rise and sing. Though he rejects the doctrine of renunciation as practised and preached by those who are described as mystics, he interdicts self-indulgence and pursuits of creature-comfort. But, his belief in selflessness is not the same thing as advocating self-renunciation. It would not, however, be quite correct to say that he rejects "Tasawwuff" or the philosophy of the Sufis. It is true that his mind revolts from popular extensions of Sufi doctrines which lead to complete renunciation of self and unrelieved asceticism, but the goal which he sets for himself is the same.

Iqbal's philosophy is not inconsistent with the views of the great masters of Sufi doctrines. It is not opposed to them, as propounded by its highest exponents. For instance, he says :

بر مقام خود رسیدن زندگی است
ذات را بے پردہ دیدن زندگی است

“To reach one’s destination is the mission of life
To see ‘unveiled’ one’s Self is the mission of life.”

Some of the popular professors of Sufi philosophy have, however, descended to undiluted self-renunciation, self-annihilation and to a profane pantheism. Iqbal strenuously resisted these innovations. His insistence is on self-realisation. In repudiating self-renunciation his goal is the same as that of the Sufis, namely, union of Self with the Absolute. In the ultimate analysis, it would be apparent that the final goal can be reached by two different paths. The clash is in the methods that are adopted and not in the objective. There is no divergence in the goal, and indeed, Iqbal has a genuine admiration for the Sufis. He speaks of them in glowing terms and refers to them with reverence. Thus he speaks:

چھپایا حسن کو اپنے کلیم اللہ سے جس نے
وہی ناز آفریں ہے جلوہ پیرا نازنینوں میں
جلا سکتی ہے شمع کشتہ کو موج نفس ان کی
اللہی کیا چھپا ہوتا ہے اہل دل کے سینوں میں
تمنا درد دل کی ہو تو کر خدمت فقیروں کی
نہیں ملتا ہے یہ گوہر بادشاہوں کے خزینوں میں
نہ پوچھ ان خرقہ پوشوں کو ارادت ہو تو دیکھ آنکو
بد بیضا لئے بیٹھے ہیں اپنی آستینوں میں

What, then is the goal on which his journey is set? What is the objective on which his eyes are fixed? He holds that the purpose of life is self-realisation. Absorption in the Ultimate is the final objective of the individual. To him life is real. It is no desert mirage. It is no illusion, “full of sound and fury, signifying nothing”. He disowns Vedantic formalism and dialecticism and rejects the pantheism of the pseudo-mystical poets who consider life to be a pure illusion or a *maya*, which has no real existence. He denounces renunciation of self, which is regarded in other schools of philosophy as a veil to Reality. His thesis is that the individual must attain perfection by realising ultimate Reality within oneself and not by annihilating Self. The end seems to be the same Whether it is to be achieved by being absorbed in the Eternal or by absorbing the Eternal within oneself is a question which in the end resolves itself

into a pure question of method. But, the divergence in the courses which are followed by adherents of different schools of thought constitute, by itself, a vital distinction. He throws his weight against the forces of self-annihilation and argues that it is only by self-development and self-realisation that one can absorb the Eternal in the individual. This is the *Khudi* of Iqbal.

He believes that the development of the individual presupposes a society and in that faith he finds the ideal society of his vision in the Prophet's conception of Islam. He epitomises this concept in the following reference to Hazrat Bilal, the Ethiopian devotee of the Master :

ہے تازہ آج تک وہ نوائے جگر گداز
 صدیوں سے سن رہا ہے جسے گوش چرخ پیر
 اقبال کس کے عشق کا یہ فیض عام ہے
 روسی فنا ہوا حبشی کو دوام ہے

'That heart-piercing cry is still alive
 Heard for centuries by the ears of this old revolving sky.
 Iqbal from whose love all these generous bounties proceed
 Because Alexander of Rum has perished but the Ethiopian
 has become immortal.'

In striving to make the individual achieve Perfection, he seeks to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. His philosophy permeates all his work but it finds its fullest play and greatest concentration in the famous poems collected under the titles, "Asrar-i-Khudi" and "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi", which means 'The Secret of Self' and "The Mysteries of Selflessness". The principles and fundamentals of his philosophy are expounded in "Asrari-i-Khudi" and, as reflected in social context, they find expression in "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi". He holds that the individual who loses himself in the community transcends mortality and enters eternal life, that is, Islam. He emphasises the value of history as a formative factor in maintaining the sense of personal entity in a people.

According to Iqbal the universe is not a completed act: it is still in course of formation. The process of creation is still going

on, and, man too takes his share in it. The moral and religious ideal of man is self-realisation. Its highest form is the Ego (Khudi) in which the individual becomes a self-contained and exclusive centre. The greater his distance from God, the less his individuality. He who comes nearest to God is the completest person. He is not absorbed in God: he absorbs God into himself. Life is therefore an assimilative process.

It would be readily acknowledged that Asrar-i-Khudi is striking enough to command attention. Its audacity of thought and expression and its logical brilliance dissolve in the glow of feeling and imagination and it wins the heart before taking possession of the mind. Its artistic quality is remarkable in its excellence. To him life postulates a perpetual motion: to be static is to die. Therefore, the quest is eternal and the chase is unceasing. To him life means movement. He says :

فریب نظر ہے سکون و ثبات

“To be perpetually static is nothing but illusion.”

Such is the dynamism of Iqbal's philosophy.

V

POLITICAL THOUGHT

His perennial philosophy has influenced his political thought. He views the individual in a corporate text. His political thought is imbued with his philosophy, which again, wells out of his religious outlook. It is a social manifestation of an inward faith. He asserts that man is not a citizen of a profane world which has to be renounced in the interests of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. In accordance with his Islamic principles he co-relates matter and spirit. His political philosophy is pragmatic though elevating and lofty. His emancipated soul believes that loss of freedom is death and enjoins us to live in freedom and to die in freedom.

In this behalf he asks us to emulate the virtues of the Prophet. He says :

هر که عشق مصطفیٰ سامان اوست
بحر و بر در گوشهٔ دامان اوست

“Whoever is possessed of the love of the prophet
Contains in the folds of his skirt land and sea.”

He believes that the life of the individual is embedded in the life of the community. He further holds that the unity of the nation must be projected in religion and religious faith. To him religion is not divorced from politics and he thus expresses himself :

جلال بادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو
جدا ہو دین سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

“Whether in the majesty of monarchy or in the display of
democracy,
If religion is separated from politics then the regime of
Chengis only remains.”

It has been rightly said that the aspirations of a people must spring from a sense of its nationality, and it is Iqbal's faith that nationality is impossible without faith and religious belief. The poet is steeped in a pervasive spiritual presence. His poetry lifts the veil from hidden beauty. To him the essence of life is love. He speaks significantly and fervently through a serene vehicle of words and phrases. Indeed, the soul has a thousand ways of communicating itself.

Iqbal is not a mere sainted Aristotle but a devout seeker of light. He does not look at the heavens in silence but stretches his hand in perpetual quest and unceasing search. He maintains that atheism, which is blasphemy towards mankind, is the vice of the few and that its two great apostles are wealth and power. He sets the love of meditation against the crash of wealth. When the dusk of evening begins to gather and the shadows of twilight grow deeper, the mind instinctively turns towards the Creator.

As to the political direction of the sub-continent, he exhibited, in his youth, a burning faith, which was dimmed in later years, in a

united India under a unified sovereign state. He also strongly felt that differences in religious persuasions need not lead to animosities between their respective adherents. He says, in his oft-quoted verse :

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا
ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا

But, he drank his bitterest cup of venom in militant Hinduism. The trends of political intolerance gave him the rudest shock. He was broken-hearted. He expresses himself thus in a cry of grief :

اقبال کوئی محرم اپنا نہیں جہاں میں
معلوم کیا کسی کو درد نہاں ہمارا

“Iqbal there is no co-sharer of my grief in this world;
Who is there to fathom my secret sorrow.”

Impelled by the compulsion of his faith he turned towards a vision of a separate state for the Muslims.

I have indicated how he wove his deep religious faith in the warp and woof of his political thinking. To the political deliberations of his countrymen his contribution was considerable. But, above all, his was the most potent influence in effecting a moral and intellectual revolution among the Muslims of the sub-continent. He delivered a series of lectures on “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”. In these lectures he has tried to re-formulate and re-state his religious philosophy in the context of the dynamics and stresses of the times.

Following the Round Table Conference which met in London in 1930, he demanded, at the annual session of the Muslim League, over which he presided, at Allahabad, the formation of a consolidated Muslim State. He said :

“I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power. For Islam an opportunity to . . . mobilize its law, its education, its culture and to

bring it into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times."

The dream of Pakistan, took shape in the ivory tower of the poet. His vision came to flower and fruit although he did not live to see its fulfilment. The political plan which he had propounded at that Sybilline session of the Muslim League led to the creation of Pakistan. He gave, to use a prosaic phrase, the blue print for Pakistan, when he gave to "airy nothingness, a local habitation and a name". It would not be a mere poetic licence to say that Pakistan is Iqbal and Iqbal is Pakistan for, in his receptive and hospitable breast flushed the pre-natal heart of Pakistan.

VI

THE MAN

A philosopher, a poet, a preacher, a seer, a teacher and a reformer, he was one of the profoundest thinkers of the age. He had drunk deep into the stream of humanity, and there was hardly anybody who so shared the problems, the afflictions, the struggles, the despairs and the triumphs of his fellowmen. He was filled with an all-embracing love which governed his thought and mind. He was claimed by the Muses in his early youth. His fruitful life and his restless spirit never allowed him to rest. He expresses his perpetual quest of the Infinite in the following verse :

موج ز خود رفته تیز خرابیده گفت
هستم اگر بروم گر نه روم نیستم

"A wild wave rolled fastly and said :

I exist if I move, I do not exist, if I do not."

I have had the privilege of meeting him, a number of times, after he had passed the meridian of his life, that is, his middle forties. It was a sublime prerogative. Like a silken thread in a rich tapestry, his mind ran through the varying fabric of human thought and, again, like a great river, it meandered through many a land, imparting life and luxuriance in its career of redemption. To know him was to

love him. To see him, in the white attire of grace, was to look at the beautiful face of the Perfect. How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! If manners are the shadows of virtues, he was a paragon of virtuous manhood. Time and space ceased to exist in his presence. He looked like an Iranian sage with his mind re-oriented, rejuvenated and re-vitalised with the life-giving impact of Islam.

The alchemy of his genius had transformed the humblest regions of society into a kingdom of romance. It illuminated the commonest paths of life and filled its open spaces with fresh air. In the lowly dwellings of men, which poverty surrounds, he discovered the throbs of fluttering hearts and heard the sad music of humanity. His mind was a vast cathedral through whose colored windows the sunlight streamed in. A soft and tranquil spirit, his great influence, like the scented flame of an alabaster lamp, filled the mind with warmth and fragrance. He had a tenderness of feeling and a warmth of affection which welled out the depths of the great love which had steeped his soul. Such was the man and such was the unsullied grace of his regal grandeur.

VII

AND THE BELLS TOLL

The writer of lyrics, epic poetry, hymns, songs, mathnavis, satires, elegies, quartrains, chronograms, essays, political and philosophical dissertations would easily constitute an encyclopaedia. He was himself, what he had been searching for, a "perfect man". Although deeply wedded to the sober philosophy of the East, he did not spurn the knowledge that he gained in the West. What invests his work with universal appeal is its teeming catholicity. The main springs of his patriotism strengthened his faith in Islam, with its gospel of brotherhood, as a force for the regeneration of the world.

His exquisite poems had cast their magic spell on me in my boyhood and I wrote, in my middle teens, critical appreciations of his poetry and literary composition. I said, in an article, written in my college days, that everything which he touched was coloured

by the rich hues of his refreshing philosophy. One does not picture him as a school-master although his poems are didactic. He makes one see and feel the Beautiful and yet his eyes are on the subject itself. Of his poem, entitled, "Himalaya": I wrote; "It is Iqbal all over and Iqbal when he was young. He stands in awe before the rugged beauty of the mountains. He gazes and gazes on the snowy peaks till his eyes, in a fine frenzy rolling, glancing from the mountains to the heavens and from the heavens to the mountains, caught a glimpse of the sublime amid the eternal snows." I further said: "Iqbal combines the vision of a prophet with the imagination of a poet. There is nothing of the wailing and weeping philosopher in him. He is a Sufi and, although, a golden thread of symbolism runs through his poetry, he is not a 'mystic'. His poetry is marked by sincerity of purpose, clarity of diction and lucidity of thought and expression. His rhythmic flow is like the rippling of a brook. He soars like the lark, glides like the swallow and sings like the nightingale." In the mellow-autumnal glow of retreating youth I still hold the same view which I had formed in my juvenile mind. In spite of the classical draperies in which his ideas are shrouded he is sweet and soft; sweet as the smiles when lovers meet and soft as the parting tear.

How far the stream of Iqbal's thought has influenced the currents of contemporary thought, it is difficult to say. But, it cannot be contested that he had achieved his object in no modest manner. Few poets have had such a large audience as Iqbal has. Some of his works, though not all, have been translated into English, Bengali, Hindi and German. His abiding charm lies in those depths of personal experience from which hymns and prayers arise. They emerge from the sap of life and secrete the garden-scents of Eden. He is not a wandering mendicant chanting his complaints in a toss of rhymes. In his "Shikwa" there is nothing of the suffocating incense of a malarial eroticism which, occasionally, contaminates the songs of the Vaishnava. He has taught us that life is not a gust of wind which is scarcely felt before it is gone.

It was no lamentation or threnode of despair; his thoughts were tinged with a wistful mournfulness when he surveyed the crumbling minarets of Islam. His vision is, however, beginning to take shape and there is a new life pulsating in the world of Islam. It is not easy for the average mind to understand his other-worldi-

ness which did not have the asceticism usually associated with it. His detachment from the common stream of life was a puzzle to many, but he was no hermit, no recluse in a monk-cell. He received, in his life-time, the homage of Kings and peasants. When the bells began to toll for him, his fellow-citizens in Lahore could not have given him a better proof of their esteem and reverence and of their deep devotion than by selecting, for his last resting place, a sanctified sepulchre by the steps of the great Badshahi Mosque, a symbol of the soul of Islam.

When the grass shall grow over the remains of what is trivial and transitory and when the ephemeral and the transient shall choke in its own tangles, his undying fame shall flower in an eternal sunshine. His has been the mightiest of national voices, but, in the final assessment, his place would be in the pantheon of the world's elite. In the midst of the awakening peals of clanging trumpet-sounds, our hymn of love will overleap the tomb and shall strike a chord which will never be out of tune. While sending up our prayers in remembrance well may we say unto death :

“You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.”

By Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman

Iqbal's idealism and transcendentalism were not mere philosophical exercises. They were rooted in the social and political conditions of his time. He was a man who was not only "in touch with the pulse of the age" but also "in touch with the pulse of the human spirit." His idealism was not a mere dream, but a vision of a better world. He was a man who was not only "in touch with the pulse of the age" but also "in touch with the pulse of the human spirit." His idealism was not a mere dream, but a vision of a better world. He was a man who was not only "in touch with the pulse of the age" but also "in touch with the pulse of the human spirit." His idealism was not a mere dream, but a vision of a better world.

Iqbal's Ideal

By

Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman

Judge, Supreme Court of Pakistan

By Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rahman

Iqbal's profound and transcendental thoughts are not often understood even by those who claim to be well-versed in the languages in which he expressed his thoughts. As has often been said, he was a man who was not only "in advance of his age but also a man in disagreement with his age." In his bosom he nursed a hundred dreams, which he wove into such enchanting but enigmatic kaleidoscopes running with life and vitality that even to his comrades his song was often strange. He "smote the heart strings of the universe" and re-inspired every living soul. I too, as a lost wanderer, was stirred by his quick-silver and imbued with restless impatience to follow the lead of this Champion of the new Spirit.

His sensitive nature was so deeply moved by the progressive decadence and degeneration of Muslims who had once not only ruled the world but had also enriched it with wisdom and learning that he became impatient to urge them on to "put aside the passionate melancholy of old" and set his feet on the path of rediscovering themselves. This was the "new quest" to which he invited us to "advance hotly." His antidote for the debasing stupour into which the Muslim race had drifted was to rekindle the blazing fire of the ideal that had once made it extirpate the race of kings and trample upon the crowns of Chosroes. That ideal was a "free and independent Muslim society with the Ka'ba as its centre and knit together by the love of Allah and devotion to his Prophet (peace be upon Him)." To attain this society, he believed, that the full development of the individual was a condition precedent and the first stage of this development was self-expression and self-affirmation. The next was self-development and finally perfection through self-control which, according to Iqbal himself, was the highest form of Ego-hood or self-consciousness. In so striving to make himself perfect, he thought, the Muslim would inevitably be helping to establish the Kingdom of God on Earth, for the most perfect human being was the Holy Prophet himself and the ideal society His conception of Islam.

* Read as presidential address on April 23, 1967.

In his belief in Islamic solidarity alone lay the salvation of the Muslims. His vision was, however, not confined within the narrow limits of any territorial division but embraced the Muslims of the world. He dreamt of a world order of Muslim brotherhood, for according to him:

ما کہ از قید وطن بیگانه ایم چون نگہ نور دو چشمیم و یکیم
از حجاز و چین و ایرانیم ما شبیم یک صبح خندانیم ما
مست چشم ساقی بطحا ستیم در جہاں مثل مے و مینا ستیم

"We who know not the bounds of country Resemble sight,
which is one though it be the light of two eyes.

We belong to the Hijaz and China and Persia.

Yet we are the dew of one smiling dawn.

We are all under the spell of the eye of the cup-bearer of Mecca.

We are united as wine and cup."

Of the hundred dawns he dreamt of, Pakistan was only one. What about the others? Is his voice stilled by death? Do his tumultuous strains no longer pluck at our heart strings? Does his fire no longer consume us?

If the spark he lit even now flickers in our hearts, if the embers of his fire are still smouldering beneath the ashes of our forgetfulness then let us again shed our wretched pampered ease and make the blood once again leap in our veins and resolve to falsify his rebuke that:—

غافل ترے ز مرد مسلمان ندیدہ ام
دل درمیان سینہ و بیگانه دل است !

Do not delude yourself into the false belief that having achieved Pakistan we have achieved the millennium. We have yet to fortify it and to make it an impregnable citadel of Islam. The dangers that threaten to overwhelm us are no longer unreal. We have already had a taste of it when a treacherous infidel sought to defile our homeland by stealing in like a thief in the darkness of the night. Praise be to Allah that though out-numbered and out-matched in weapons we

humbled the enemy's pride and not only thwarted his nefarious design but also proved once again to the world, in the words of Iqbal that:—

توحید کی امانت سینوں میں ہے ہمارے
آسان نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا

In that hour of calamity we rose as a united mass against the foe quickened by the Takbir and the hallowed name of the Lion of God and encamped in field of *لا اله الا الله* to manifest His glory. Each individual fought like a host, for, he wielded the sword of prayer and held life cheaper than the wind. Victory was his, for, he exalted God by his sword.

For that brief span of time we had been given a glimpse of our ability to soar to the heights Iqbal invokes us to attain and to demonstrate the truth of his wisdom that we can become impregnable only if Islam be strong and we hold fast to the staff:

تا عصائے لا اله' داری بدست ہر طلسم خوف را خواہی شکست

But are we going to be content to remain a sleeping force to be awakened only when a dire calamity befalls us. The calamity is hardly past, for, darker clouds are gathering on our horizon. There is no time to sleep. The infidel is already mocking at us. Arise, therefore, to fashion by your own strength the new world that Iqbal dreamt of where every Muslim's being would be one of the signs of God. To attain this state he advises us to:—

نور حق بر ظلمت اعمال زن قال را بگذار و باب حال زن
درقبائے خسروی درویشی زی دیدہ بیدار و خدا اندیشی زی
قرب حق از هر عمل مقصود دار تا ز تو گردد جلالش آشکار

“Shed the light of God o'er the darkness of thy deeds!

Albeit clad in kingly robe, live as a dervish, live wakeful and
meditating in God!

Whatever thou doest, let it be thine aim therein to draw nigh to
God,

That His glory may be made
manifest by thee.”

Let us strive, therefore, to learn this lesson and fortify ourselves with the strength of the perfect men into which he wanted to transform us. This state has, according to him, to be attained a by process of

self development and not by the assistance of others for "by asking poverty is made more abject" and "by begging the beggar is made poorer."

Such was Iqbal's solution of our maladies and the best tribute that we can pay him is to strive to attain the ideal he set before us. By doing this we will not only be honouring him but will also be working for our own salvation.

Let me now conclude by repeating a little prayer in Iqbal's own words:—

ز آتش ما سوز غیر الله را	کوه آتش خیز کن این گاه را
صد گره بر رومی کار ما فتاد	رشته* وحدت چو قوم از دست داد
همدم و بیگانه از یک دیگریم	ما پریشان در جهان چون اختریم
باز آئین محبت تازه کن	باز این اوراق را شیرازه کن
کار خود با عاشقان خود سپار	باز ما را بر همان خدمت گمار
قوت ایمان ابراهیم بخش	رهروان را منزل تسلیم بختن
آشنائے رزمی الا الله کن	عشق را از شغل لا آگاه کن

The Book of PART TWO

Dr. Annemarie Schimmel

Born on April 7, 1922, in Erfurt (Germany) married Dr. Walter
Schimmel when fifteen years old. Got her Ph.D. in Islamic Studies and
Turkish when nineteen years old, the Islamic Studies Professor of
Oriental Languages at the age of twenty-three years at Münster
University and her second doctorate from the University of Bonn in
1951, in Comparative Religion.

Was appointed Professor of Islamic Studies at the University
of Ankara when she left from 1954 to 1971 and 1972 she moved
to Münster University, on May 1, 1976, she became Honorary Professor
(West Germany) in Professor of the Subject of Islamic Studies.

Publications

(1) *Wolfs by Mustafa Kemal*

The Idea of Prayer in the thought of Iqbal

(2) *Edited Collected Letters of Iqbal*

By

(3) *Has translated Iqbal's poems into English, Urdu, and German
poetry.*

Dr. Annemarie Schimmel

(4) *Has translated Iqbal's poems in Turkish poetry.*

(5) *Has written a book on Iqbal in German language.*

(6) *Has translated *Musings of the Khalifa* in German.*

(7) *Has written Iqbal's *Prayer* in German and the
idea of Iqbal.*

Has also written a number of other books on Iqbal, *Islam, Mysticism,
Mullah, and Fanaticism.*

Has been read much in all countries and the speeches of
Mehmetiyas, Mustafa Kemal, Gandhi, etc. have been translated into
and read in all countries. Has also written a number of other books.

Born on April 7, 1922, in Erfurt (Germany); started learning Arabic when fifteen years old; got her Ph.D. in Persian, Arabic and Turkish when nineteen years old; she became Assistant Professor of Oriental Languages at the age of twenty-three years in Morburg University; got her second Doctorate from the University of Morburg in 1951 in Comparative Religions.

Was appointed Professor of History of Religions in the University of Ankara which post she held from 1954 to 1959; in 1959 she returned to Morburg University; on May 1, 1961, she joined Bonn University (West Germany) as Professor in the School of Oriental Studies.

Publications

- (1) *History of Memluk Egypt.*
- (2) *Edited Critical Edition of Sirat Ibn-i-Khafif.*
- (3) *Has translated Javid Namah and Payam-i-Mashriq in German poetry.*
- (4) *Has translated Javid Namah in Turkish prose.*
- (5) *Has written a book on Rumi in German language.*
- (6) *Has translated Muqaddama of Ibn-i-Khaldun in German.*
- (7) *Has written Jabriel's Wing — a study into the religious ideas of Iqbal.*

Has also written a number of articles on aspects of Iqbal, Rumi, Hallaj, and Tasawwuf.

Has been kind enough to visit Lahore, on the invitation of Markaziyya Majlis-i-Iqbal, Lahore on three different occasions, and read papers at Iqbal Day Sessions.

By Dr. Annemarie Schimmel

According to a familiar Tradition of the Prophet, prayer is the essence of worship. To understand the deepest feeling and the most lofty ideas of any great religious genius or poet we must discover the role that prayer plays in his life and how he conceives of it. Not least is this true in respect of the spiritual father of Pakistan, the philosopher-poet of the Muslim sub-continent, Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938). Prayer was the keystone of all his ideas.¹

In his great book on Prayer (*Das Gebet*, 1923) Professor Friedrich Heiler distinguishes between the 'prophetic' and 'mystic' as recognisable and sharply contrasted types of religious expression. The goal of mystic prayer, after ascetic preliminaries, is the preparation of the soul for full union with God, the meditation of God's transcendent beauty and the contemplation of his unchanging eternity. A wide variety of religious truths may be the themes of this mystical regulation of meditation. It may be sin and grace, the Cross of Christ and the Eucharist, in Christian mysticism, or the endless repetition of the holy Name or a short prayer-formula, as in Islamic dervish orders (and also some Christian monasteries like Athos). But mystical prayer ends at the moment when union with God is attained. For then even prayer, the most intimate speech of the soul, becomes a veil between God and the loving, longing heart. In union, there remains nothing but the 'clear darkness' and the

* Reprinted from "The Muslim World", Hartford Seminary Foundation Vol. XLVIII, to whom the Majlis expresses its gratitude.

1 Among the works quoted here are: *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, O.U.P. reprinted 1954; *Payam-i-Mashriq* (in Persian). 1923; *Asrar-i-Khudi*, (Persian) 1915; (Translation by R.A. Nicholson. "The Secrets of the Self," 1920) *Javidnama* (Persian) 1932 (German translation by Annemarie Schimmel, 1957 *Buch der Ewigkeit*): *Bal-i-Jibril* (Urdu) 1935; *Darb-i-Kalim*, (Urdu) 1937; *Armagan-i-Hijaz* (Persian and Urdu) 1938: Books on Iqbal are, e.g. A. J. Arberry, *Persian Psalms*, 1948; *Iqbal as a Thinker*, Essays by eminent scholars, 1944; Raziuddin Siddiqi, *Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space*; K. G. Sayidain, *Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought*; M. M. Sharif, *Iqbal's Concept of God*; Khalifa Abdul Hakim, *Rumi, Nietzsche and Iqbal*; Fazlur Rahman, *Iqbal and Mysticism*; Aziz Ahmad, *Iqbal's Political Theory*; Kalim ud-Din Ahmad, *Iqbal's Conception of Art*; F. Mahmud, *Iqbal's Attitude towards God*; E. H. Enver, *The Metaphysics of Iqbal*.

inexhaustible Godhead, where silence becomes the true essence of prayer. This both Muslim and Christian writers aver.

The mystic seeks from God only His nearness and union with Him. He despises worldly affairs. The beatific vision, the sweet ecstasy, these are all. The decrees of the eternal Beloved the mystic gladly, gratefully, uncomplainingly, accepts. "Whatever the beloved sends is good." Such surrender and resignation from all that is not God demands great spiritual energy. It is no vocation for idle dreamers. The God of the mystics can be described either as a Neutrum a spiritualized force, the Godhead beyond the personal God, or as the essence of eternal beauty, the Beloved.

In 'prophetic' religion, however, God is active, creative personality, the strong Lord, or the loving Father. He is, as N. Soderblom has pointed out,² a living God, felt from the first moment as a personal power, to Whom men dare to come, as they might to a king or a father, with all the tale of their griefs and sorrows. The last goal of prayer here in the 'prophetic' type of experience, is the realization of the Kingdom of God. Man asks, not only for heavenly bliss and the *visio beatifica*, but also for health and life, for worldly goods. His aim, amid these, is to subdue his thoughts to God and find an identity of will with the will of God. It is this contact of the soul with the living God that forms the central emphasis of Chapter III in Iqbal's wellknown *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Referring to "The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer" 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 and association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is 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

² N. Soderblom, *Der Lebendige Gott*. Nachgelassene Gifford Vorlesungen, hrsg. von F. Heiler, 1938.

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 as 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 of life.

.. The quest after 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 complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature..” (pp. 89-91.)

From these sentences, we understand the deep importance Iqbal ascribes to prayer. Furthermore, he takes prayer as proof of two of the most central themes in his whole philosophy, namely the Ego and the two levels of time. As we have seen in the above quoted words, the Indo-Muslim thinker holds that only through prayer (in the widest sense of the word) can the individual soul come in touch with the greatest Ego called God. Iqbal, beginning with his *Mathnavi: Asrar-i-Khudi* (published 1915), tried to show that man must not, as the mystics of all times and religions had thought, extinguish the candle of personality in the boundless ocean of God's light. Each must, on the contrary, strengthen his Ego and enlarge its possibilities. Iqbal always preached—against the resistance of so-called mystics—that man, instead of seeing sweet dreams of union and melting love, must use all his hidden powers, and try to embrace and appropriate all that makes him stronger, thus winning the possibility of infinite development. For man, as the Qur'an teaches, is the Khalifah of God in this world, and has been created in order to work and to develop.

Though we may find in Iqbal's conception of the Ego, the development of man, and the final, spiritual station of Superman, some traces of Nietzsche's philosophy (as well as from the Islamic conception of the Perfect Man, as it is found in the works of Ibn Arabi, Jili, and other mystics), the difference between the Nietzschean superman and the ideal man of Muhammad Iqbal is enormous. For Iqbal's ideal personality, the true *faqir*, lives in close touch with God who is shown—in the same way the great prophets had seen Him—as the greatest Ego of all, the Personality *kat' exochen*, to whom man can speak, and Who has promised to answer, "Call upon Me and I will answer thee." It is especially on this verse of the Qur'an that the Muslim thinker builds his proofs of God's Egohood. For only an Ego can speak to another Ego. Man, who is yearning not for perfection but for a direct contact with the Ultimate Reality, tries to pray, asks for a companion, a being to whom he can open these inmost mysteries of his heart: "Prayer," says Iqbal,³ "is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the Universe." 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:

"Either open this veil of mysteries,
Or take away this soul that has no vision."

as we read in the opening prayer of the *Javidnam^a*, where most of the poet's ideas are to be found. Only this living contact with God grants real life:

"Too old are those stars, over consumed the firmament:
I need a fresh, new born world.
Who knows the end of the world, the judgement?
As for me when Thou lookest once, that is resurrection."

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:

3 *Reconstruction, op. cit. p. 92.*

"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."⁴

When Iqbal finds proof of God's Egohood in this possibility of man's coming in touch with Him and speaking to Him, he shares the view of one of the leading philosophers of modern Germany, Heinrich Scholz (died 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."⁵

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.

According to Iqbal, God's answer to the seeking and yearning soul, far from extinguishing, strengthens the Ego:

"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."⁶

We may question whether this does not stand in opposition both to the teachings of the Qur'an and modern philosophical theories.

4 R. Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, p. 81.

5 Heinrich Scholz, *Religionsphilosophie*, 2nd edition, p. 138.

6 *Reconstruction*, *op. cit.* p. 110.

Though it seems strange to one who is acquainted with the famous teaching of Islamic mysticism that: "None saith 'I' except God," and that real personality belongs to God alone, we can find the foundations of Iqbal's thought in some Traditions attributed to the Prophet, especially in the famous Hadith *qudsi* when God says: "Heaven and earth do not contain Me, but the heart of my faithful servant contains Me."

And Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273), the spiritual teacher of Muhammad Iqbal, often praises in his mystical poetry the mysterious fact that He, Whom the universe can not bound, dwells, like a secret treasure, in the lover's heart. And in a chapter of the *Mathnavi*, Rumi's poetical legacy to generations of Persian-reading Muslims, he tells how Muhammad, when he was a child, got lost in the desert. But a heavenly voice consoled his nurse Halimah: "Do not grieve, he will not be lost to thee—nay, the whole world will be lost in him"—a story quoted by Iqbal in his *Asrar-i-Khudi* (xiv). Neither the infinite universe nor churches or mosques can bear the Divine presence:

"Thou hast no room in the haram of Mecca nor comest into the
temple of the idol-worshippers—
But how quickly comest Thou, longing to longing people!"⁷

This Divine presence, dwelling in the human heart, strengthens man's Ego by his nearness:

"The end of the Ego's search is not emancipation from the
limitations of individuality; it is on the contrary more precise
definition of it."⁸

The same idea is to be found in the German vitalist philosopher Lotze, to whose works Iqbal sometimes refers in his thesis, and Lotze's ideas have been enlarged and deepened by the great English catholic philosopher, Friedrich von Hugel who writes in an essay on *Religion and Reality* lines that could be a commentary on Iqbal's philosophy of the Ego and its prayer-life:

7 *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 207.

8 *Reconstruction*, *op. cit.* p. 198.

“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 because of their finitude, and hence that perfect Personality is compatible only with the conception of an Infinite Being; finite beings can only achieve an approximation to it.” (Grundzuge der Religionsphilosophie, ed. 1884).

The experience of God in prayer is, according to Iqbal, the deepest experience of the Ego as Ego. “Man’s perfection can be determined in proportion to the degree of his self-possession in the presence of God”.⁹

This is the truth which the poet expresses in one of his last short poems:

“If you want to see God openly,
Learn to see your Ego more openly!”¹⁰

This experience, the standing of man in face of God, as it is beautifully described in the great closing scene of Iqbal’s *Javidname*, can not be expressed in ordinary symbols:

“Neither do I know myself nor Him,
But I know that my I is in His embrace”.¹¹

Only so can one indicate the ineffable speech between man and God.

Iqbal’s philosophy of prayer (if we may use this term) not only tries to prove the reality of Egohood but also the thinker’s theory of Time. According to him, there exist two completely different types of time. One of them (comparable to the dur’ee of Bergson, under whose influence Iqbal lived for some time) is the time in God, the non-serial time, that means “the intensive but not extensive infinity of God that involves an infinite series but is not that series”¹².

9 *Iqbal as a Thinker, op. cit.* p. 60, cf. *Zabur-i-Ajam*, 1929, p. 32.

10 *Armagan-i-Hijaz*, p. 15.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

12 *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 64.

Serial time is only brought into existence by the very act of creation. Our daily life is bound into serial time, which the poet-philosopher compares to the magian's girdle, the zunnar that must be loosed by the true believer when he succeeds in reaching the Divine time¹³. Divine time is an eternal Now, and here, "God's eye sees all the visibles and His ear hears all the audibles in an indivisible act of perception"¹⁴. Now, the experience of prayer that brings into close contact the inmost being of man and God lifts man to such a level that he, in a single moment of intuition, can grasp reality in its wholeness. This act of intuition is the fruit of love. It can not be analyzed by any scientific method, and is beyond the experiences of reason. It is the sole prerogative of the loving heart. Here, Iqbal's theory of the Divinity of love (Ishaq), and its opposition to Ilm, dry reasoning of science, finds its highest expression. Only love and longing can set free mankind from the chains of created, serial time, can bring them into touch with the uncreated time, "the reckoning of which is not by years and months"¹⁵. In the great speech of Zurvan, the old Iranian God of (serial) Time in the beginning of the *Javidname*, the poet teaches that man must reach the point of *لى مع الله* ("I have a time with God") before he can evade Time's changes and vicissitudes. Iqbal alludes here, as he does in many other verses¹⁶ to the well-known prophetic word: "I have a time with God where even Gabriel has no access." This Hadith has often been used by mystics in order to express their unitive experiences. Notably Jalaluddin Rumi quoted it both in his *Mathnavi* and in a famous passage of his prose-work *Fihi ma fih*.

Jalaluddin was asked: "Is there any way to God nearer than prayer?" "No," he replied: "but prayer does not consist in forms alone. Formal prayer has a beginning and an end, like all forms and bodies and everything that partakes of speech and sound; but the soul is unconditioned and infinite: it has neither beginning nor end. The prophets have shown the true nature of prayer...Prayer is the drowning and unconsciousness of the soul, so that all these forms remain without. At that time there is no room even for Gabriel who is pure spirit..."¹⁷

13 *Javidname, op. cit.* p. 21: *Asrar-i-Khudi*, verse 1552/55: *Darb*, s.f. 7.

14 *Reconstruction, op. cit.* p. 75.

15 *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 219.

16 *Asrar-i-Khudi*, verse 1564.

17 Cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden, 1955, p. 159 ff.

Since prayer is the most intimate speech of the soul with God, Muslim mystics have always, when describing the ascension of the Prophet to Heaven, laid stress upon the fact that even Gabriel could not join Muhammad's last entry into the Presence of God. "He remained—as a Turkish poet says—at the Sidra-Tree like a nightingale who is separated from the rose." And Iqbal himself, in the last chapter of the *Javidname*, comes lonely—without a mediator-angel, without his spiritual leader Rumi—into the Presence of the Lord. For:

"Between me and the House of God is a secret
That even Gabriel the faithful does not understand"¹⁸.

In this presence of God, as it is poetically described in the last verses of the abovementioned book, there are man and God looking to each other,

"In the solitude where word would be a veil,
I tell the story of the heart with the tongue of my eyes"¹⁹.

Iqbal's expression here reminds one of the paradoxes used by the mystics who tried to tell their ecstatic experience—paradoxes which have their classical form in the great *taiyyah* of Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) when he says:

"My eye conversed whilst my tongue gazed; my ear spoke and
my hand listened,
And whilst my ear was an eye to behold all that was shown, my
eye was an ear listening to song". (v. 580).

The Presence of God, according to Iqbal, is "a growth undiminishing."²⁰ When man has reached the climax of prayer, and stays eye to eye, brow to brow with the Absolute Self, so experiencing the infinite possibilities in God, his word may be heard by God, and he may ask from God the altering of His will and the granting to him of a new life and a new destination.

Here a question arises that has interested the whole world of Islam since the beginning of theological thinking and mystical feeling:

18 *Armagan*, p. 14.

19 *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 173.

20 *Javidname*, p. 223.

the question whether, if prayer is allowed, it is efficient?²¹ How can prayer be compatible with the everlasting decrees of God? In the Qur'an, as is well-known, the ideas of free will and of absolute predestination stand side by side. Some Sufis in the middle ages, like Abdullah ibn Mubarak and Wasiti, boasted of never having asked God for anything. And when Ibrahim ibn Adham, one of the most notorious quietists among the eldest generation 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 for surrender."²² But the greater part not only of Islamic theologians but also of mystics clung to the promise given in the Qur'an ادعوني فاستجب "Call upon me, and I will answer your prayer." So a prophetic Tradition related by Al-Tirmidhi (*qadar* 6) teaches that "nothing wards off the decree (*qada*) but prayer." The greatest Muslim thinkers and saints, like Al Ghazali and Jilani 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.²³ The famous Persian saint, Al-Kazeruni, was asked: "When food and sustenance are provided, why does prayer exist, and why do we ask?" 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 ordained prayer, so that thou shalt call to Me and I shall answer thy calling.'"²⁴ And even more: the greatest religious leaders of "prophetic" type have been sure that prayer can change the world, can alter the decrees of God. Luther often expressed this idea: "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 cxlv. 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

21 Cf. Schimmel, *Some Aspects of Mystical Prayer in Islam*, *Die Welt des Islams*, 1952: Ritter, *Das Meer*, *op. cit.* p. 55.

22 Abu Na'ir al Sarraji, *Kitan al-Luma fi-l-Tasawwuf*, Ed. R. A. Nicholson, 1914, p. 202.

23 *Ihya*, Vol. 1, p. 298 (Bulaq), Cf. Bajuri, quoted by M. Horten, *Die Religion der Gebildeten im Islam*, p. 138; W. Braume, *Die Futuh al-Ghaib des Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani*, p. 142.

24 Cf. Ritter "Muslim. Mystics' Strife with God," *Oriens*, V.

he can come with his prayer into God's presence and prevail upon God."²⁵ The same idea is expressed by Muhammad Iqbal in most of his poetry and prose-works. It is the problem of *jabr*, or predestination. What do predestination, destiny, Divine Decree mean to him? "Destiny is the inward reach of the Ego," he assures us. Every Ego is, of course, limited by its inner possibilities (cf. Enver 44), and free will or changing of destiny can only be imagined within those given limits. The possibilities of a tree are one set, and those of a bee are another, those of a simpleton or an uncivilized pygmy are another and those of a full-grown, well-educated personality yet another. The more man knows himself and his inner richness, the stronger will be the efficiency of his prayers. He stands then as a real personality in the presence of God, and can ask him even the greatest things. It is the level, where man does not ask for earthly goods nor for angelic bliss but for God Himself. Rumi pointed out this truth:

"Under the towers of the Divine Greatness live men,
who hunt the angels, take prophets for prey, and seize God."²⁶

And Iqbal has repeated this bold expression in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*:

"In the wilderness of our madness is Gabriel only a mean prey—
Take God in your snare, ye heroic man!"

The man who has developed his Ego and is aware of his own spiritual wealth, can understand the wisdom of God's decrees, and tries to help Him by realizing His decrees on earth. He stands before God as a kind of second creator who is the more active and efficient the nearer he draws towards God. Sometimes he may revolt in Promethean defiance, but at last he will cry, as the poet does in the *Javidname*:

"We have suited Thee,
now, suit us!"²⁷

This mutual understanding, the revaluation of man's will that has suited to God's will, the creative activity gained in prayer, these are,

25 Cf. Heiler, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

26 Cf. *Iqbal as a Thinker, op. cit.* p. 162.

27 *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

according to Iqbal, the meaning of Islam, which means, a religion of heroes. The *jabr*, or destiny, changes in proportion to the spiritual situation of man, in proportion to his nearness to God. Even Maulana Rumi laid stress on this point:

“*Jabr* is the wing of the Perfect,
Jabr is the prison and chain of the Ignorant.
 Know that *jabr* is like the water of the Nile:
 Water to the Believer, but blood to the Pagan.”²⁸

Only when man develops his interior possibilities, when he becomes aware of his spiritual richness, will he be able to seek another destiny—Iqbal finds that wisdom in a verse of the Qur’an (Surah xiii. 12): “Verily God will not change the condition of men till they change what is in themselves.” And he asserts that “This vital way of appropriating the universe is what the Qur’an calls Iman. Iman 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.”²⁹

The extreme nearness that man feels in this last experience of prayer, leads him sometimes to such a boldness of expression that it comes close to impiety. Iqbal, thus dares 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 in prayer is a fact that is often to be found even in very religious people. Even Junayad al-Baghdadi (d. 910), the leader of the Iraqi Sufis, the “peacock of the poor”—who always preferred mystic sobriety to ecstasy—even he is related to have said: “When love becomes right, the conditions of fine education no longer apply.”³⁰ Attar and Rumi also told many stories of people who spoke angrily, even offensively, and without any respect, to God. Turkish popular mystical poets often criticized God’s decrees and especially the many-coloured conceptions of the Last Judgment, of Paradise and Hell. It is sufficient to recall the interesting, sweet poem of Yunis Emre

28 Jalaluddin Rumi. *The Mathnavi-i- Manavi*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Gibb Memorial Series. New Series, iv. 18.

20 *Reconstruction*, *op. cit.* p. 109.

30 *Ihya. op. cit.* iv. p. 292. Farid al-Din Attar, *Tadhkirat al- auliya*, ed. by R. A. Nicholson, Vol. ii. p. 20.

(d. 1307) "Aye Lord if you once would like to ask me..." or some verses of Kaygusuz Abdal (15th century) or other Bektashi poets. Even to day Turkish popular piety knows the saint who has reached the level of *naz* (coquetry), and can scold God without being punished.

As for Iqbal, his sometimes revolutionary poetical prayers are an expression of his feeling as a strong personality who is able to change the Divine decrees. He is proud to be a human being and to live on the highest level nature affords, proud because he is able to work, and to better by his own work the created nature. This idea has been expressed in one of the most touching poems of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (p. 132), the "Dialogue between God and Man;" ending with man's bold assertion:

"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 forests,
 I produced the orchards, gardens, and the groves;
 It is I who turned stone into a mirror,
 And it is I who turned poison into an antidote!"

For, just as Iqbal has pointed out in another line:

"God decreed: 'It is like this and mention not aught'
 Man said. 'Verily it is like this but it ought to be like that.'"

The world is, after the first act of Creation, incomplete, and needs man for its perfecting, as it is described in the "Prologue in Heaven" of the *Javidname*. Therefore, the poet sometimes taunts God:

"A thousand 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."³¹

Since the whole creation is incomplete, man, its highest goal, is not as he should be. Satan, in the wonderful lines in the *Javidname*,

31 *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 183.

asks for a stronger and more active companion, i.e. a superman, who does not yield feebly to seduction and temptation but grows by his resistance. The poet-philosopher likewise deplors that man is so weak a creature, a plaything of worldly forces:

“Create something new, make a more ripened Adam.
It does not befit a God to make a toy from clay.”³²

Iqbal, who had sung 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.”

urges quite a different theme in his later poetry. Unlike the early wish, plaintively and somewhat more respectfully expressed in the words:

“By Thy glory, I have no other desire in my heart
Except the prayer that Thou mayest grant
The might of an eagle to the pigeons,”

he searches for direct touch with God, not as a poor nightingale or pigeon. He complains in the last scene of the *Javidname* that he cannot understand why man should die and only God be everlasting.

“My madness has a grievance against Thy Divinity:
For Thyself Thou hast the spaceless, for me the four dimension-
ed space,”

wherein man has to remember constantly his first disobedience and his fall from Paradise, and so to fear judgement and hell. How can God, urges Iqbal, be so unjust?

“Thou hast acquainted every thorn with the story of my fall.
Thou hast thrown me in the desert of madness and made me rue.
My sin was (that I tasted) the forbidden corn.
His (Satan's) sin was from a prostration (he did not make)
Thou didst not reconcile him, the wretched, nor didst Thou us.”

³² *Ibid.* p. 192.

Thus the idea of judgement, as conceived by popular theologians, is unacceptable with Iqbal. He never sought after death a static, quiet resting place, but always yearned for an infinite development. He sees judgement as a two sided account.

“When the roll of my deeds is brought upon the day of reckoning,
Look into it, and be ashamed as Thou wilt shame me,”

an idea not too remote from the protests of early Muslim mystics.³³

Man feels himself not responsible for the astrayness of the world—
“When the stars of the heavens go astray, is it my sake or Thine?” he asks, but in the same moment he is ready to adorn the world of phenomena by his work, to embellish the hitherto dark and tasteless earth. In one of his most beautiful prayers, Iqbal summons the Creator:

“Thou art the limitless ocean and I am but a tiny rivulet—
Either make me Thy peer or turn me limitless at least.
Why hadst Thou ordered me to quit the Garden of Eden?
Now there is much to be done here—so just wait for me!”³⁴

The so-called Fall has enabled man to work in this world, and to develop, to reach new spiritual levels. Man is the representative of a world of longing, a longing for perfection, a longing for knowledge. Iqbal once addressed God in this way:

“What hast Thou to do in this world of pain and longing?
Dost thou have my fire or my restlessness?”³⁵

But that may be regarded as only a sudden attack on a quietistic-pantheistic conception of God, Who is only the Beloved but never the Loving. Iqbal's conception of God is quite the contrary of that static, unmoving Being: an active Ego moving and living. And here, we reach another important point of view in Iqbal's attitude toward God, in his philosophy of prayer.

33 Cf. Ritter, “Muslims Mystics' Strife with God.” *Oriens*. V.

34 *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 9.

35 *Zabur*, p. 59.

In the last scene of the *Javidname*, when the poet is standing in God's overwhelming presence, he asks:

"Life is everywhere :earching and seeking—
This delicate question has not yet been solved: am I the prey,
or is He?"

Religious life, according to Muhammad Iqbal, is determined by the strength of love and longing man can bear. Only uninterrupted searching, a never-resting quest for the Divine Nearness can help man to win, one day, intimate knowledge of God. "The sleepless eye and the passionate heart" were requested by the poet in his first great Persian poem, the *Asrar-i-Khudi* (xviii), and the sigh of the longing soul is, to him, more precious than the throne of Jamshid. This longing, ardent heart is the prerogative of man; thanks to it his rank is higher than that of the angels.

"Gabriel does not know this Hay and Hu
For he does not know the place (*maqam*) of searching."³⁶

This longing and searching will never end; every state of life, and even death, is only a short step on the long way of the soul towards God. Man, who is the highest phenomenon in this world, since he contains the possibilities of all lower beings, must transgress even his own worldly limitation, being open to further development in the unseen world. For a soul that is strengthened by love and has completely developed all its possibilities, death is nothing but a little shock, an opening gate towards new possibilities. But only a strong soul can bear this shock. For that reason Iqbal holds that immortality and eternal life cannot be achieved by everybody but only by real personalities. For them, Paradise is not, as people think, an everlasting holiday, but a task: "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."³⁷ Here is an idea that resembles that of the Swedish Lutheran Bishop and Professor, Tor Andrae, who laid down a similar point of view in a very important article.³⁸ Iqbal supports

36 *Armagan*, p. 16.

37 *Reconstruction*, *op. cit.* p. 123, p. 419.

38 Tor Andrae, *Die Letzten Dinge*, deutsch von H. H. Schaedler.

his theory by quoting the famous Tradition of *Rabbi Zidni* in poetical form:

“Though he (Muhammad) has seen the Essence without veil,
Came the cry ‘O God, give me more’ from his tongue!”

For, as all of the great thinkers agree, God is infinite, and therefore every act of knowledge opens new abysses of unknown realities—when the way *to* God is finished the way *in* God beings.³⁹ Al-Ghazali, eight centuries before Iqbal, formulated the question of longing (*shauq*) in his *Ihya Ulumal-Din*:

“Because the Divine things are infinite, and only a small part of them will be unveiled to man, infinite possibilities being always 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 philosopher of 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.” To realize some of those infinite possibilities hidden in the depths of God, is, as we have seen, one of the most important duties of mankind, and does not cease with man’s death but has to be continued on a higher spiritual level. But just as man is in endless quest for God, so is God in quest of man:

“We are gone astray from God,
He is seeking upon the road,
For like us, He is need entire
And the prisoner of desire.”

sings Iqbal in the *Zabur-i-Ajam*.

This idea is not an invention of the modern philosopher; it has, on the contrary, its roots in forgotten centuries, in the dark beginnings of religious feeling and thinking. Just as the Bible tells us that God

39 Cf. Ritter, *Meer. op. cit.* p. 614 Dhu-l-Nun asked a woman: ‘What is the end of love?’ She answered: ‘Oh simpleton, it has no end.’ ‘Why?’ ‘because the Beloved has no end’ cf. *Ihya*, iv. p. 277.

addressed man first by calling: "Adam, where art Thou?" and giving him thus courage to answer, to talk with God who seeks him, so the Qura'n avers that, before the creation, God made manifest for one single moment all coming generations of mankind from the loins of Adam and asked them: "Am I not your Lord?" And they answered: "Yes, we attest it!" (Surah vii.—171) This *ahd bala*, the covenant of the pre-eternity, plays an important role in Islamic mysticism, especially in mystical poetry where it is often symbolized as the first cup of love, presented by the Divine cup-bearer to men, thus intoxicating them from eternity to eternity. In all religions there exists a strong feeling that man never would have prayed, never would have addressed God, if God Himself had not opened the conversation. Great mystics and prophets all over the world have felt themselves inspired by God, or the Holy Ghost. For the weak creature can not approach the presence of the Most Holy, if he is not called. Dust-made man is honoured by this call from God, and in answering it by prayer, he reaches a place unknown to every other creature.⁴⁰

The mystery that God seeks man, has often been expressed in mysticism both Western and Eastern, perhaps in the most charming and simple words by the Persian mystic, Kharraqani, when he tells how one night he saw God Almighty in his dreams and, overflowing with love and joy, cried out: "O my God, for sixty years I hoped to wing 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..!" (Tadk. II p. 253). The finest example of this quest for God in English literature, Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven*, is anticipated by a little known Iraqi-mystic in the middle of the 10th century, Niffary, who heard God say:

"When I make Myself known unto a servant, and he repels Me, I return, as if I had need of him. It is my preventing generosity that does this, as manifested in my favours: while on his part it is the miserliness of his soul towards himself that does this, that soul which I make to rule over him, but which he does not make to rule over Me. And If he repels Me, I return unto

⁴⁰ Cf. Heiler, *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. (oratio infusa). Cf. Al-Hallaj, *Le Divan d'al Hallaj*, ed. L. Massignon, 1931, I, i.

him: I continue to return, and he continues to repel Me; yea, he repels Me, though seeing Me to be the most generous of the generous, and I return unto him, though seeing him to be the most miserly of the miserly, fashioning an excuse for him when he is before Me. Nay, but I make a beginning with forgiveness, before ever the excuse is fashioned, so that I say to him in his secret soul 'I have afflicted thee.' All this I do, that he may depart from the vision of that which estranges him from Me. . . And so, whenever he repels Me, I do not cease to convict him of his repelling, and whenever he says: 'I do not repel Thee' I accept it from him. . . ." (Mav. 11, 16).

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 out the dust, that in each: "O Lord" of the slave are a hundred "I am at your service" from God's side; that not only the thirsty are seeking water but water also is seeking the thirsty (M I 1741) — All those examples are taken only from Jalaluddin Rumi's works, and could easily be multiplied.⁴¹

In a Hadith *qudsi*, 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."⁴² That is just what Muhammad Iqbal wants to indicate: the deepest mystery of prayer is this mutual approach of man and God.—

The mystic becomes silent when he has experienced the union with God through prayer he is not able to explain the mysteries of the boundless ocean of God, and, notwithstanding, often tries to express the ineffable experience in sweet verses, in paradoxes that can give only a shadowlike reflection of the Absolute.⁴³ But the prophetic type not only will but must speak of the overwhelming experience of God's presence (cf. the fine characterization of both types in the Dialogue between Zoroaster and Ahriman in Iqbal's *Javidname*). The great prophetic spirits of all times have always

41 *Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi*, Ed. by R. A. Nicholson, 1898, xxxii, 9 *The Mathnavi*, *op. cit.* iii, 2209, 189 and many other places.

42 *Ihya*, Vol. i, p. 265; Wensinck, *Concordance*, Vol. ii, 176.

43 Mensching, *Das Heilige Schweigen* 1926; Arberry, *Kalabadhi*, p. 95 f.: Attar, *Tadhkirat*, *op. cit.* i, p. 166; Niffari, *Mawaqif*, Nr. 22, 5 and many poems of the *Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabrezi* and *Rubaiyyat*.

been forced to inform people of what they have heard, to tell them that God the Lord is near, and that man is responsible for his deeds. So does Iqbal (using in this poem the refrain of one of Jalaluddin Rumi's ghazels: "that is my wish;" a poem which was a favorite and which he often quoted in his works):

"They said: 'Close thy lips and do not tell our mysteries!'
I said: 'No! My wish is, to cry the Allahu akbar!'"⁴⁴

And in the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal contrasts the two types of believers in a psychologically interesting passage (p. 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, Abd-ul Quddus of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will probably be 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 'unitary 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 it, 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 this prophet"....

This means that the fruit of real prayer, to the prophetic-minded, is action. But on the other hand, it is also action that leads man to prayer. As we have seen above, the process of searching after the Divine Truth, and the never-ending quest for God is, according to Iqbal, a life-giving force. But this searching for truth and knowledge may show itself as well in the daily life, in scientific explorations and philological researches as well as in prayer-life.

"In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature. The scientific

44 *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 186.

observation of Nature keeps us in close touch with the behaviour of Reality, and that sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it....

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."⁴⁵

For scientific reseraches may bring man to a point where he feels the mystery of the Creation, where, at last, ardent quest for knowledge approaches to adoration. That is the point on which Iqbal's interest is concentrated: the point where Ishq, the ardour of love, and Ilm, the ardour of science, may be united; and thus help mankind to reach a higher spiritual and moral 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 greatest action; action the greatest prayer — so we may summarize Iqbal's view. He has expressed this paradox in a famous 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. True to the psychology of mental attitude in prayer, the form of worship in Islam symbolizes both affirmation and negation...."⁴⁶

This last sentence leads us to the question of Islamic prayer as seen by Muhammad Iqbal. He has, of course, attributed a very great importance to the ritual prayer, which is, in his interesting expression, a means to freedom: "The timing of the daily prayer which, according to the Quran 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

45 *Reconstruction, op. cit. p. 91.*

46 *Ibid, p. 92.*

effect of sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is the Ego's escape from mechanism to freedom."⁴⁷ Daily prayer is thus the most important prescription given by the Quran to the believers, and is their most precious property. It is both jewel and weapon:

"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 sin and frowardness and wrong."⁴⁸

Muhammad Iqbal follows strictly the traditional view according to which every prayer is a kind of *miraj*, or ascension to Heaven; for Muhammad, when he longed for the beatitude and bliss he had known in the presence of God, used to ask his Ethiopian muadhhdhin, "Oh Bilal, refresh us with the call to prayer." Though the daily prayer may be said alone, it is to be preferred to perform it in common. 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."⁴⁹

Iqbal thinks that the form of prayer ought not to become a matter of dispute, but 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 worshipper! . . . From

47 *Ibid.* p. 109.

48 *Asrar-i-Khudi*, 87, 4.

49 *Reconstruction*, p. 94.

the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all Egoes follows the essential unity of mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations, and tribes, according to the Quran, 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 this essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man."⁵⁰

Though Iqbal pays attention to the outward congregational form of prayer, he always points out that the most important matter is not a beautiful temple or a richly ornamented church or mosque, but the inner approach to God, wherever it be. In the great scene "Lenin and God,"⁵¹ he puts in the mouth of the Russian leader the question, to which people God belongs, and why he allows himself to be venerated in wonderful buildings, the poor having no home to live in. And God's "Command to the Angles" 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 the harsh words against superabundant offerings and splendid forms of worship that can be found in the Old Testament prophetic books.

In spite of the great importance which Iqbal attributes to the prescribed prayers, he knows that his wishes, his loving and longing words, can find no room in their forms.

"Wherever I bow my head into the dust, roses rise—
My asking will not find room in two rakahs of prayer!"⁵²

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 God. 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 heart-
ache!"

50 *Ibid.* pp. 93-94.

51 From *Bal-i-Jibril*.

52 *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 177.

The rank of the slave of God (*abduhu*) is, in Iqbal's view, the highest point that ever can be reached. To be the servant of the Almighty Lord, a servant who helps his Master in embellishing the world by enfolding all the hidden possibilities of life, must be the most beautiful life:

"In Thy world, I am servant,
In my world, Thou art Sovereign and Lord!"

Every religious poet has symbols and words which he prefers, because they fit best to his teachings. A poet praising the eternal beauty, and its expression, in this world, will prefer the symbol of Yusuf of Egypt who is known in Muslim theology and poetry as the most beautiful of mankind; and the use of symbolic figures may change according to psychological changes. As for Muhammad Iqbal, he has chosen especially the symbolical use of the name of Moses, the *Kalim Allah* "the man with whom God spoke." The name of this prophet occurs not only in the title of one of Iqbal's greatest Urdu poems (*Darb-i-Kalim*) but also elsewhere throughout his verses. For in Moses he found, it would seem, the idea of prayer and of the revelation of God to man, expressed in very adequate form.

"The story of Sinai never grows old,
Because every heart is stirred by the desire of Moses."

Every body longs for the revelation of God's presence. But as the story of the burning bush teaches us, Moses did not lose himself in the flames, but stood before them, receiving from out of them the Divine command to lead his people to new horizons, both earthly and spiritual. Here we may see the very ideal of Iqbal. But the poet-philosopher goes even further. Combining the story of Moses with his own philosophy of the 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."

Only those who have realized the inward powers of personality can partake of the Divine fire, the fire of creating and working, the fire that can change the world completely. Man's destination is that cooperation with God that lies within the capacity of the developing of

the Ego. In prayer — and only in prayer — (if we give the word its largest possible connotation) is such realization feasible.

“Why should I ask the wise about my origin,
I am always wanting to know about my goal.
Develop the self so that before every decree
God will ascertain from thee: ‘What is thy wish?’”

Iqbal's Attitude Towards God

By

Professor Sayyid Kavyat Mahmood, Lahore

Not all poets will fit the concept of God. To Iqbal God is a
vague something, not much beyond the idea of a
His voice may be loud, the thunder that is his voice. The world
is dark and Iqbal is unafraid. He is beyond the
beyond Iqbal's steady work. He is not a
poet the subject of Iqbal's work. He is not a
desert, I am not, I am not. However, God is like a living creature. He is
is visible everywhere. Some call it God. Some call it Iqbal. The
point of this work are examples of Iqbal's work. To these voices and let
their voices be heard by the larger consciousness.

Iqbal's Attitude Towards God

By

Professor Sayyad Fayyaz Mahmood, Lahore

And the blue sky, and the road
A nation and a spirit, that
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts
And rolls through all things

Obviously to Iqbal, God is not a mere name. He is a
a sign of a living creature. He is not a mere name. He is
a sign of a living creature. He is not a mere name. He is
a sign of a living creature. He is not a mere name. He is

In such a way, Iqbal's work is
Of a nation, Iqbal's work is
Thought was not, it is not

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By Professor Sayyad Fayyaz Mahmood

Not all poets walk in the shadow of God. To many He is a vague something, very much removed from the everyday world. His voice may be loud like thunder but it is as remote. The next world is dark and different to understand. Who knows what lies beyond Death's stormy waste. To ordinary mortals, and to most poets the whispers of Eternity sound like the faint murmurings of distant brook; a soft note, conscious but not insistent. To some, however, God is like a living presence. He pervades everything and is visible everywhere. Some call it Nature: others call it God. But poets of this tribe are conscious of those invisible calls, they hearken to these voices and let their hearts be lit up by these beams from a Larger Consciousness.

Wordsworth worships a Being whose,

Dwelling is the light of setting suns

And the round ocean, and the living air

And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.

A motion and a spirit, that impels

All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts.

And rolls through all things.

Obviously to him matter is animated by a soul and in his poetry we catch glimpses of a living personality. When he lends himself to a rapt contemplation of Nature he feels as if his animal self were swallowed up by the spirit of Nature. 'Sensation, soul and Form' melt into him. To quote him :

In such access of mind, in such high hour,

Of visitation from the living God

Thought was nought; in enjoyment it expired.

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Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanks giving to the power,
That made him; it was blessedness and love.

We note here a few things. With Wordsworth it is a still communion. His mind is full of thanks and receives God's favour with a humble and grateful heart. It is more or less a passive relationship. I shall refer to it later. Now I turn for a moment to another great poet; this time of the East. I mean Tagore. Listen to this: "When thou commandest me to sing, it seems that my heart would break with pride, and I look into thy face, and tears come to my eyes".

All that is harsh and dissonant in my life melts into one sweet harmony—and my adoration spreads wings like a glad bird on its flight across the sea.

I know thou takest pleasure in my singing. I know that only
as a singer I come before thy presence.

Drunk with the joy of singing I forget myself and call thee friend,
who art my God".

In this dim world of devotion, Iqbal's voice sounds like the cry of the eagle facing the sun :

"He dares God to show Himself in all his
Beauty and all his splendour", as in :

گیسوئے تابدار کو اور بھی تابدار کر
ہوش و خرد شکار کر قلب و نظر شکار کر

"I am confined and hidden," he says, "But why is Beauty so hidden? Either discover me or reveal thyself."

عشق بھی ہو حجاب میں حسن بھی ہو حجاب میں
یا تو خود آشکار ہو یا مجھے آشکار کر

But I am anticipating. To return. In Tagore we find the flowering of a great tradition, but his is the attitude of a devotee always. He says :

"In thy world I have not work to do; my useless voice, can only break out in times without a purpose.

"When the hour strikes for thy silent worship at the dark temple of midnight, command me my master, to stand before thee, to sing."

I should be the last man to dismiss the deathless poetry of Tagore with a sniff. His passionate prostration at the feet of his Deity is in-itself susceptible of variations, now tender, now revealing. But fundamentally it is the attitude of one who accepts his position as an imperfect vassal of God, before whom he stands always as a suppliant.

He says :

"When I give up the helm I know that the time has come for thee to take it. What there is to do, will be instantly done. Vain is the struggle."

Struggle, on the other hand, is the soul of Iqbal's poetry. He says: 'Life is struggle; it is not asking for things as of right'.

زندگی جہد است و استحقاق نیست

If you want his advice: "Dive into the river of life and battle with the waves. Eternal life is the fruit of ceaseless struggle."

بدر یا غلط و با موجش در آسبز حیات جاوداں اندر ستیز است

For Tagore life is static. It is a beautiful pattern cut by the artist hand of God. His greatest desire is to merge into God's being, to lose himself in God's many—coloured immensity. Therein lies his happiness!

To Iqbal this would be too humiliating. His Man does not seek death and absorption in ultimate Reality. He would reject such a thought with horror. His Adam is heralded with flourish of trumpets. He is to be seer and critic, destroyer and creator. No wonder there is a stir in the heavens when he is born.

“It was a triumph for Love, the Principle of Growth that a feeling heart was given to the world. Beauty trembled, because the seer and critic was born. Nature was worried because out of helpless clay, a self-builder, self destroyer and self-critic had come into existence.”

نعرہ زد عشق کہ خونیں جگرے پیدا شد
حسن لرزید کہ صاحب نظرے پیدا شد
فطرت آشفست کہ از خاک جہان مجبور
خود گرے خود شکنے خود نگرے پیدا شد

And how does this dynamic force, this man deport himself? How does he seek his God? Surprising as it is, he does not seek his God or any God. He seeks himself. He is an active Principle of Life. He seeks danger activity, completeness. For him life is ceaseless endeavour”. He believes in ‘endless quest’: He discovers: “that when man realises himself and all his potentialities he becomes a god.”

خودی کی جلوتوں میں مصطفائی
خودی کی جلوتوں میں کبریائی
خودی کی زد میں ہے ساری خدائی
زمین و آسمان و کرسی و عرش

But Iqbal did not achieve this certainty in a day, nor can man become a god by mere thinking. Through a long and painful process of trial and error, of self-birth, dropping shell after shell of selfish mortality, spurning favours and laughing at fate, Iqbal mounts the rungs of self, and in the final resort has been able to talk with God on equal terms. There is a stage in his development when he can say to God :

“What sort of a raree-show is this wonder-house of today and to-morrow? Give me something new.”

طرح نو افگن کہ ماجدت پسند افتادہ ایم
این چہ حیرت خانہ امروز و فردا داشتی

But, this again is not how he started his spiritual pilgrimage. As a youngman his attitude is one of distant respect. There is

nothing personal far less intimate in his orthodox feelings for God. Some times he is vaguely pantheistic, as many Eastern poets are: for instance he says :

“The unity of things is so evident, that I am sure, a drop of human blood would fall, if you were to prick with the point of a lancet, a petal of the rose”.

کمال وحدت عیان ہے ایسا کہ نوک نشتر سے تو جو چھیڑے
یقین ہے مجھ کو گرے رگ گل سے قطرہ انسان کے لہو کا

All others he calls this world an attempt at self-expression on God's part as in :

عالم ظہور جلوہ ذوق شہود ہے

But the tentative mysticism of one or the hesitant philosophy of the other are not deeply felt. There is no marriage yet, between idea and passion. Thought has not burnt itself into his heart. It is not diversity that he seeks yet; he is after unity in diversity; as in:

“He is in the moon and the stars, and is manifest in the beauty of the dawn. Do not apply to thine eyes the Kohl which teaches you to draw lines and make distinctions.”

تارے میں وہ قمر میں وہ جلوہ گر سحر میں وہ
چشم نظارہ کونہ تو سرمہ امتیاز دے

God reigns supreme in the heavens, and Iqbal finds a pleasure in occasional prostration. His heart is full of passionate fervour. He says: “flowers spring wherever I prostrate myself; conventional prayers cannot express the depth of my devotion.”

رہ دیر تختہ گل ز جبین سجدہ ریزم
کہ نیاز من نہ گنجد بدو رکعت نمازے

He longs to see, to win near to his God. He admits :

“The story of Sinai never gets old, because every heart is stirred by the desire of Moses.”

نمے گردد کہن افسانہ طور کہ در ہر دل تعنائے کلیم است

Then how is man to achieve a closer understanding of, and a more personal approach to, God? The answer is: by developing his individuality. He will thus acquire dignity. He will learn to respect himself. He will not ask anything of God even. For Iqbal says: "Do not beg, even from God, for asking weakens ones individuality."

"How long" he says, 'will you beg for light like Moses on Mount Sinai? Let a flame like that of the Burning Bush leap out of thyself.'

کب تلک طور پہ درپوزہ گری مثل کلیم
اپنی ہستی سے عیان شعلہٴ سینائی کر

Or again he says:

"O bird of the heavens, death is better for thee than the food which checks the flight of thy wings".

اے طائر لاهوتی اس رزق سے موت اچھی
جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی

He can barely suffer to live in a world created by another. "Man", he says, "Must create his own world".

پھونک ڈالے یہ زمین و آسمان مستعار
اور خاکستر سے آپ اپنا جہاں پیدا کرے

Naturally, Iqbal soon leaves behind him, the devotional stage of his relationship with God. 'Ishq or Love, breaks his bonds. 'Ishq first gives him confidence.

"He knows that he is, because of the fire that burns in his heart. Love makes it clear to him that he exists."

در بود نبود من اندیشہ گمانہا داشت
از عشق هویدا شد این نکتہ کہ ہستم من

He seeks to develop his individuality, because, according to him, "to live is to possess a definite outline, a concrete individuality". It is Love, which helps him to build his individuality.

"Love reveals to him the mysteries of self-knowledge and the secrets of Dominion."

جب عشق سکھاتا ہے آداب خود آگاہی
کھلتے ہیں غلاموں پر اسرار شہنشاہی

"Love does not know how to bend; knowledge is mere mental trickery, if it is not inspired by love":

وہ کچھ اور شے ہے محبت نہیں ہے
سکھاتی ہے جو غزنوی کو ایازی
یہ جوہر اگر کارفرما نہیں ہے
تو ہیں علم و حکمت فقط شیشہ بازی
نہ محتاج سلطان نہ مرعوب سلطان
محبت ہے آزادی و بے نیازی

It is love which liberates the Ego. 'Ishq takes man through the evolutionary stages of (خودی), i.e., Ego. Self knowledge and self-realisation reveal man to himself. As Iqbal says: 'In its highest, form, 'Ishq means the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them. Love fortifies the Ego, because Love is the power of assimilative action.'

"So he calls upon Love to help him in this second creation, this rebirth of a new man. The dwellers of this earth, he says have grown too old. Come, Love, make a new Adam with my clay."

یہاں اے عشق اے رمز دل ما یہاں اے کشت ما اے حاصل ما
کہن گشتند این خاکی نہادان دگر آدم بنا کن از گل ما

But what will this new Adam do? Does he know where everything is leading? Is Love enough? No, Love is the means;

the development of the self (خودی), the Ego, is the end: because (خودی) is the secret of life. Through 'Khudi' will man reach the final heights. For as Iqbal says:

“Every atom of this Universe burns to reveal itself; every particle yearns to be a God.”

هر چیز ہے محو خود نمائی هر ذره شهید کبریائی

“In building up one's Ego lies the secret of godhead.”

بے ذوق نمود زندگی موت تعمیر خودی میں ہے خدائی

“The development of the Ego is the awakening of the Universe.”

خودی کیا ہے راز درون حیات خودی کیا ہے بیدارئی کائنات

Armed with this secret, emboldened by this promethean force, he professes to share in God's work. He creates: he improves. He declares: God created the world but man bettered it: thus is man a sharer in God's work. Thus is man His rival. This is his real destiny. Iqbal says to God:

“Thou didst create the night and I made the lamp. Thou didst give to the world deserts and barren hills and I embellished them with flower-beds, gardens and orchards. I am he who makes mirrors out of stones and antidotes out of poisons.”

تو شب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم سفال آفریدی ، ایاغ آفریدم
بیابان و کہسار و راغ آفریدی خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم
من آنم کہ از سنگ آئینہ مازم من آنم کہ از زهر نوشینہ مازم

Therefore, we find, that Love or 'Ishq is the first step towards liberation. The development of the Ego is Man's object. If the essence of life is Love, the essence of Love is 'Ego.'

جوہر زندگی ہے عشق جوہر عشق ہے خودی

How far is Iqbal from that pantheism which he borrowed from the past. Now he has a real philosophy. To quote him: “Life is individual; there is no such thing as Universal Life. God himself

is an individual. Only he is the most unique individual." But man, the individual Ego, is neither part of nor need he be subject to, God the Ultimate Ego. "But every Ego is unique. Only God is the most developed and the most unique Ego."

When man reaches the highest stages of 'Khudi' he realises the kingdom of God on earth. The kingdom of God on earth, according to Iqbal means, "The democracy of more or less unique individuals."

When man achieves this uniqueness he sees more than he has ever seen before. He finds himself to be the critic, that the Universe was waiting for, through aeons of servitude. He is the discoverer now. He subjects God in his turn to an endless catechism. He taunts him, He says:

"A thousand worlds blossom like roses in the meadows of my thought, and thou hast created one world, and that even out of man's wasted hopes."

صد جهان می روید از کشت خیال با چو گل
یک جهان و آن هم از خون تمنا ساختی

His lips now curl in scorn.

"Create, he says, something new and beautiful, make a finer and wiser Adam. To create a China-doll of a man does not befit a God."

نقش دگر طرازده آدم پخته تربیار
لعبت خاک ساختن می نه سزد خدائے را

It is God who is beholden to him now. He says:

"I share in thy light, because I have given my eagerness and my yearning to the sun and the moon."

از تو درون سینه ام برق تجلی که من
بامه و مهر داده ام تلخی انتظار را

He finds God wanting in humanity. He asks:

“What hast thou to do in this world of pain and longing?
Dost thou have my fire or my restlessness?”

بہ جہان درد مندان تو بگوچہ کار داری؟
تب و تاب ما شناسی دل بے قرار داری؟

He refuses to shoulder any responsibility. He cries:

“If the world is away and the stars have crooked courses who
is responsible, Thou or I?”

اگر کجرو ہیں انجم آسمان تیرا ہے یا میرا
مجھے فکر جہان کیوں ہو جہان تیرا ہے یا میرا

He who was for long a play-thing in the hands of Satan is now big enough and generous enough to pity him. He is however pitiless in exposing God's share in the matter.

“Thou,” he says, “acquainted every thorn with the story of my Fall. Thou didst throw me in the desert of madness and made me a by-word.”

آشنا ہر خار را از قصہٴ ما ساختی در بیان جنون بردی و رسوا ساختی

“I was damned because I tasted of the forbidden fruit and He, because, he refused to humble himself in prostrations. Neither dost thou make up with him, poor thing, nor hast thou made any overtures to me.”

جرم ما از دانہٴ تقصیر او بہ سجدہٴ
نے بہ آن بے چارہ می سازی نہ باماساختی

So he counsels God to be loving. He offers him friendship “come into my heart,” he says, “for a moment, and rest therein, after the toils of Godhood, for it is better a thousand times, to walk in the path of friendship than to be merely good.”

خوشر ز ہزار پارسائی گامے بطریق آشنائی
در سینہٴ من دمے بیا ما از محنت و کلفت خدائی

"Tell me all thou knowest about me. Whence do I come? and where dost thou come from?"

مارا از مقام ما خبر کن ما ایم کجا و تو کجائی

He does not look up any more. He is on a level now. He is the sought one. It is God who finds him worthy of attention. He says:

"If I have built Ka'abas and temples in thy search, it is as much because I want to see 'thee,' as that Thou didst desire a sight of my face."

در طلبش دل تپید دیر و حرم آفرید
ما به تمنائے او، او به تماشائے ما ست

It is God who wants to look at this new force in the Universe.

Iqbal says:

"I am hidden from God. He is now ensnared by desire. He seeks me."

ما از خدائے گم شده ایم او بچستجو ست
چون ما نیازمند و گرفتار آرزو ست

"Sometimes he writes his message on the lips of the poppy and at others he expresses his longing through the painful notes of the birds."

گاہے بہ برگ لاله نویسد پیام خویش
گاہے درون سینہ مرغان بہ ہاو ہوست

How far has Iqbal travelled indeed! This worm of a day has leaped beyond the confines of this mortal world. This spark of infinity is blazing in splendour now. Even God acknowledges his stature, and, as sympathetically, as one can expect from His divine Intelligence. He stints, neither his admiration nor his encouragement.

He says:

"Life is eternal, it dies and yet it lives. It is all creation and eagerness. If you are alive, create; seize like myself the heavens with your hands."

زندگی ہم فانی و ہم باقی است این ہمہ خلاقى و مشتاقى است
 زندہ مشتاق شو خلاق شو ہمچو ما گیرندہ آفاق شو

To me an unbeliever is one who has not developed the power of creation.

هر که او را قوت تخایق نیست پیش ما جز کافر و زندیق نیست

‘Lover of Turth.’

‘Be like a shining sword and be the fate of thine own world.’

مرد حق! برندہ چون شمشیر باش خود جہاں خویش را تقدیر باش

Man is now, artist and artificer; he is builder, creator, and judge. He does not ask now for a sight of God’s face. He knows it live by line and shade by shade. How distant indeed is Iqbal from Wordsworth, that pathetically happy man, whose bliss lay in the enlightenment that Nature accorded to him, when all his conscious powers were laid asleep! That passive recipient of Nature’s bounty!

And how different Iqbal is from Tagore. That eternal worshipper whose ears were ever turned to catch the keen call of the masters flute: who raises his beautiful voice just to ask. “O Lord give me strength to surrender my strength to thy will with love.”

Iqbal’s love of God has nothing to do with fetters. He challenges God. He says:

“I complain of thy stinginess O God! Thou has the whole of space and I am bound by the four dimensional world.”

تیری خدائی سے ہے میرے جنون کو گلہ
 اپنے لئے لا مکان میرے لئے چار سو

Iqbal disturbs the placidity, the stillness, the stagnant calm with which God had surrounded Himself. It is only Iqbal who can say:

“The houris and the angels are enthralled by my imaginative daring. I am the cause of unrest in thy world of light.”

حور و فرشتہ ہیں اسیر میرے تغلیات میں
میری نگاہ سے خلل تیری تجلیات میں

Iqbal who thirty years ago could pray abjectly for effect in such a tone:

“I am the plaintive bulbul of a forsaken garden
I ask for effect, O Lord; be generous to one who is in need.”

میں بلبل نالان ہوں اک اجڑے گلستان کا
تائیر کا سائل ہوں محتاج کو داتا دے

Can say now in his prime:

“When the roll of my deeds is brought up on the Day of Reckoning, Look into it and be ashamed as Thou wilt shame me.”

روز حساب جب مرا پیش ہو دفتر عمل
آپ بھی شرمسار ہو مجھ کو بھی شرمسار کر

Man has now come into his own. He has taken a leaf out of God's own book. He is engaged in the work of creation. He can proudly tell God:

“Why didst thou turn me out of Eden? There is so much to do in this world, that thou must wait long for my return.”

باغ بہشت سے مجھے حکم سفر دیا تھا کیوں
کار جہاں دراز ہے اب میرا انتظار کر

This is the apotheosis of Man! It is not a mere mortal daring speech with a sublime being, it is an equal conferring with a Power. There was truth in his words.

تعمیر خودی میں ہے خدائی

“In the development of Khudi lies the secret of Godhood.”

Syed Abdul Wahid was born in Ajmer (India) on January 26, 1898. He started his education at the famous Dargah of Siddeeq ul-Hind Khwaja Muhammad Chishti in 1908, later on moving to the local College from where he obtained the degree of B.Sc. in 1918. After passing some time at Aligarh he went to Oxford for higher studies. He obtained B.A. from Oxford in 1922 and later on took M.A.

On retirement from Government service, where he attained the rank of Inspector-General of Forests, he joined the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations with Headquarters at Rome and Cairo.

Has been a life-long student of Iqbal. His first book on Iqbal was published in 1944. So far six books by him on Iqbal have been published and two more are in press.

Iqbal as a Seer

By

Syed Abdul Wahid

Syed Abdul Wahid was born in Ajmer (India) on January 20, 1898. He started his education in the famous Dargah of Sultan-ul-Hind Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, in that town, later on moving to the local College from where he obtained the degree of B.Sc. in 1919. After passing some time at Aligarh he went to Oxford for higher studies. He obtained B.A. from Oxford in 1922 and later on took M.A.

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By Syed Abdul Wahid

Until the Romans came under the influence of the Greeks they had no word for a poet, and all their poetry was the work of 'vates' who were mainly seers. There is no doubt that there is close connection between poetry and prophecy and poets in various languages of the world have a prophetic element in their utterances.

There are poets in all languages of the world who have actually demonstrated by their utterances that poetry is essentially prophecy. Sir Maurice Bowra, a profound student of world poetry, has stated that "it is at least clear that at a certain stage of its development poetry is largely concerned with the revelation of a special kind of knowledge and is the task of prophets who get their information from the Muses or a god or a familiar spirit or the strange voyages of their own disembodied souls." According to the legends, when the Muses appeared to Hesiod on Mount Helicon they put in his hand a bunch of olive-wood and breathed into him a divine voice that he might read the past as well as foresee the future. According to the Quran the Prophet is told that his mission is:

"That with the revealed Book thou mightest warn the erring" and provide guidance for the Believers."—VII:2.

The Prophet's deep concern for humanity and his work in bringing about its amelioration is shared by the prophetic poets. That is why all poetry whose aim is the uplift of mankind is said to be in direct succession to prophethood.

شعرا را مقصود اگر آدم گری است شاعری هم وارث پیمبری است

If the object of poetry is to invest man with creative qualities, Poetry is in direct succession to prophethood.

A prophetic poet, known in Urdu and Persian as *Ilhami Shair* by means of his inspired poetry, tries to perform the functions of a prophet in a limited way. On the one hand, he warns erring man of the annihilating doom that awaits him if he persists in his erring ways. On the other hand, he provides guidance towards the light which alone can lead him to ultimate felicity. By avoiding the pitfalls against which a poet holds out warnings and by following his guidance we can make our lives rich and beautiful.

To be able to perform the true prophetic role the poet must be a seer. He must be able to foresee the future and to survey the march of events which must happen as a consequence of human actions. But in order to see the future and to be able to diagnose the ailments of suffering humanity long before they become serious and to prescribe the right course of treatment the poet must be gifted with vision. In order that he might foresee the future a poet has to have an insight into the present and to understand the past in its true significance. Blake who had an exalted conception of the poet's mission says:

Hear the voice of the Bard!
Who Present, Past and Future sees,
Whose ears have heard
The Holy Word
That walk'd among the ancient trees.

Iqbal expressed similar feelings in the following lines:

جو بات حق ہو وہ مجھ سے چھپی نہیں رہتی
خدا نے مجھ کو دیا ہے دل خیر و بصیر

Nothing that is true can remain concealed from me
God has blessed me with a heart that knows and sees.

Praying for the gift of deep insight which alone can lead to vision he says:

یا رب درون سینہ دل با خبر بدہ
در بادہ نشہ را نگرم آن نظر بدہ

O God! grant me a heart that can see the inside,
Give me the sight that can see intoxication in the wine.

Prophetic poets who are also seers are very rare. A seer cannot have a vision when he wants it. It comes as a flash of illumination, and the poet has only to put his experience in words when the flash comes. A seer cannot command this illumination when he wants it. Nor is it possible for the seer to suppress the experience. It comes with such compelling force and such urgency that the only way for the seer to get relief is to give his experience an expression. This experience can mould the destiny of mankind distinguishing the poets who are seers from those who are not. Iqbal says in his inimitable way:

مری نوائے پریشان کو شاعری نہ سمجھ
کہ میں ہوں محرم راز درون مے خانہ

Do not consider my frenzied tune as mere attempt at versification,
Forsgoth I am conversant with the secrets of the wineshop.

Although this vision does not come through senses nor is it capable of any logical analysis but it is not a mere illusion. It is even more accurate and reliable than knowledge that comes through the senses. There is no doubt that the inspired insight on which the vision is based comes from the poet's self. By looking inside himself the poet sees the present, and then he sees the future in a flash of illumination. It is his task to catch this flash and to give it a fitting expression. The seer's vision can be compared in a way to a prophet's inspiration. As we know, the prophetic way of approaching things is quite different to the mystic way. As Iqbal says: "The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary 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 controlling the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals." As we know sufis have rendered great services to mankind, but their method of approach to problems is quite different from that of the prophets. Although a prophet depends upon revelation and inspiration, his concern is essentially humanity. The sufi is, on the other hand, all the time absorbed in his search for the Absolute and his work among fellow-

beings is mostly by preaching love and by personal example of a dedicated life.

As it is essential for a seer to be in contact with the present, he is at once in the midst of events which concern mankind and at the same time at some distance from them. The strength of his poetry comes from his being able to take a detached view of events, so that he can judge particular events in their wider implications. Thus it is obvious that his contact with the world is not like that of an ordinary man. This has often led to a good deal of misunderstanding, and very often students have accused poets like Blake and Iqbal of incapacity for action. A little reflection will show that the aim of these poets is to change the current of world events, and if they get themselves involved in the flow they will not be able to exercise any controlling influence on the current. Thus they will fail in their great mission.

The seer's voice is unconstraining, but it is not easy to reject it, except in cases of extreme perversity. By conveying his vision to us in his charming poetry the poet inclines us towards all that is beautiful and noble and to shun all that is ignoble.

The seer's voice is meant for our guidance. It draws attention to neglected truths, but they generally do not make prophecies relating to specific events. Their main concern is humanity and their only interest in future is with impending catastrophes. They are not concerned with anecdotes in human history. But at times the intensity of the vision gains such a pitch that it gives precision to their emotions resulting in a pointed reference to certain events. As early as 1907 Iqbal could foresee the fatal results of materialism, which was thwarting spiritual and moral urges in the West, and he warned the Western nations in these lines:

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی دوکان نہیں ہے
 کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا
 تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خود کشی کریگی
 جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا، ناپائیدار ہوگا

“O residents of the West, God’s earth is not a shop.
The gold you think to be genuine will now prove to be of low
value.
Your civilisation is going to commit suicide with her own
dagger
The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot but be
insecure.”

Iqbal could foresee the resurgence of the Muslims and with prophetic vision he wrote:

نکل کے صحرا سے جس نے روما کی سلطنت کو الٹ دیا تھا
سنا ہے یہ قدسیوں سے میں نے، وہ شیر پھر ہوشیار ہوگا

“The lion who emerging from the desert had destroyed the
Roman Empire.
I have been told by the angels that he is going to get busy
again.”

The blood bath that mankind underwent in the First World War was not enough to make them realise the dangerous consequences of political rivalries and land hunger, with the result that as soon as the War was over European nations started preparations for another. Iqbal could foresee the race for nuclear bombs, death inflicting missiles and other dreadful weapons, so much so that the very future of human race is in danger today. Iqbal could foresee all this and as early as 1923 he said:

ابھی تک آدمی صید زبون شہریاری ہے
قیامت ہے کہ انسان نوع انسان کا شکاری ہے
وہ حکمت ناز تھا جس پر خرد مندان مغرب کو
ہوس کے پنجدہ خونیں میں تیغ کارزاری ہے

“Man is even today a miserable prey to imperialism
How pathetic that mankind is after the blood of mankind.
That knowledge on which the wise men of the West prided
Has turned into a sword for warring in the blood-stained hands
of greed.”

As if this warning was not emphatic enough, with prophetic frenzy he later on burst out into a grave warning:

شفق نہیں مغربی افق پر یہ جوئے خون ہے، یہ جوئے خون ہے
 طلوع فردا کا منتظر رہ کہ دوش و امروز ہے فسانہ
 وہ فکر گستاخ جس نے عرباں کیا ہے فطرت کی طاقتوں کو
 اسی کی بے تاب بجلیوں سے خطر میں ہے اس کا آشیانہ
 جہان نو ہو رہا ہے پیدا وہ عالم پیر مر رہا ہے
 جسے فرنگی مقامروں نے بنا دیا ہے قمار خانہ

“It is not the glow of the moon on the Western horizon, it is a
 river of blood.

Wait for the morrow for both yester and today are of no con-
 sequence.

That bold intellect which has subdued the forces of Nature,
 Its restless lightning is now threatening its very nest.

A new world is being born, the old world is dying

Which the Western gamblers had turned into a gambling den.”

These lines bring to our mind the following of Shelley:

Oh, cease!—must hate and death return?

Cease! must men kill and die?

Cease! drain not to its dregs the run of bitter prophecy.

When Iqbal visited the mosque in Cordova in 1932 there, amidst the glories of Saracenic architecture, with the bells of a Christian chapel ringing in place of the muezzin's call to prayer, he could foresee the emergence of a number of free and independent Muslim Powers. And he described his vision in the following words:

آب روان کبیر تیرے کنارے کوئی

دیکھ رہا ہے کسی اور زمانے کا خواب

عالم نو ہے ابھی پردہ تقدیر میں

میری نگاہوں میں ہے اس کی سحر بے حجاب

پردہ اٹھا دوں اگر چہرہ افکار سے

لا نہ سکے گا فرنگ میری نواؤں کی تلب

“Flowing Quadalquavir here on your bank is one gazing at
things gone by, dreams of another day.
Destiny’s curtain till now muffles the world to be,
Yet already, its dawn stands before me unveiled,
Were I to lift this mask hiding the face of my thoughts,
Europe could never endure songs as burning as mine.”

Very few readers could understand the significance of the above lines at that time and although the prophecy is not wholly fulfilled even today, yet the authenticity of the vision can be seen by one and all. What do we see today in the Muslim world which only a short while ago was dominated, controlled or ruled by the Western Powers — an independent Muslim State has come into existence in the State of Pakistan. Egypt is out of the clutches of the British lion, and is free and independent. Tunis, Algeria and Morocco are free and independent. Sudan, Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia are masters in their houses and even smaller States like Yemen are on the threshold of independence. Indonesia, Nigeria and Malaya with a large number of Muslims amongst their people are also busy organising themselves. It is true that many of these nations have still to go far before they attain a position to which their numbers and past history entitle them, but even the partial fulfilment of Iqbal’s vision gives us hopes that in the near future these nations will be able to hold their own in world’s affairs.

Grierson defines prophetic poetry in these words:

“Sin, moral evil as the sources of all we suffer, righteousness and repentance as the promise of better things; these are the recurring themes of prophetic poetry.” It can be said that in this sense most of Iqbal’s poetry is prophetic, but, as has been shown above in addition to this, Iqbal was a seer. And while he realises the menace that mankind faces from the instruments of destruction that it has forged he tells us, in unmistakable terms, that humanity will be saved eventually.

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

“The evening of misery foretells the morning of joy
In the darkness of night I see a ray of hope!”

He is sure that the clouds of gloom and despondency will eventually disappear and man will march towards a fuller and more beautiful life. He has used his gifts as a poet and seer in the service of mankind. In the history of mankind prophetic poets are rare, but seers are rarer and to this select band Iqbal, as a poet, belongs. That is why the famous poet Giraami said:

در دیدہ معنی نگران حضرت اقبال پیغمبری کرد و پیمبر نتوان گفت

“In the eyes of those who know the secret of things, Iqbal performed a prophet’s mission, though technically not a prophet.”

Only a poet gifted with prophetic vision could have written as early as 1912 the following lines:

سطوت توحید قائم جن نمازوں سے ہوئی
وہ نمازیں ہند میں نذر برہمن ہو گئیں

“The ‘*namaz*’ which established the glory of ‘*tauhid*’
That ‘*namaz*’ in India has been sacrificed to the Brahmin!”

The poignancy of these lines cannot be conveyed in any translation.

Iqbal's Contribution to Liberalism in Modern Islam

By

Dr. Javid Iqbal

By Dr. Javid Iqbal

In the eighteenth century the moral, political and economic deterioration of Islam under the Ottoman, the Russian and the British rule had reached its climax. This general decadence was followed by the growth of 'puritanic' reform movements in Arabia, North Africa, South Russia and India.

Although these movements were not linked with one another and it was a mere coincidence that they existed in numerous parts of the Muslim world more or less at the same time, they were identical with regard to their object which was to purify Islam from the corruptions introduced by Sufism, Mullaism and the arbitrary Ottoman Sultanate. The Muslims were influenced everywhere by these 'puritanic' reform movements, for the reformers preached a return to the original simplicity of Islam by laying emphasis on God's Unity, the sufficiency of the Quran and the Tradition as precedents for the Muslims, and the complete rejection of all innovations or heresies. Notwithstanding that these movements encouraged communal tendencies among the Muslims particularly of those countries where they constituted a minority, these movements remained, generally speaking, internal in character, because Islam, at that stage, had not become fully conscious of the threat of European expansion.

By the close of the eighteenth century the economic considerations of the European Colonial Powers necessitated a penetration in the world of Islam. This penetration resulted in some cases, in the occupation, and in other, the economic exploitation of the Muslim countries on the part of the European Powers. The contact with the West led to the infiltration of such new ideas as constitutionalism, secularism, nationalism and radicalism into the world of Islam. But by the time the Muslims abandoned their passive role the outer 'fringe' of the Islamic world had fallen into the hands of the Great Powers. The Muslims of the 'heart' or the 'core' of the world of Islam at any rate, looked forward to holding their own at least in those territories where they predominated. Accordingly Islamic 'puritanism' of the later half of the eighteenth century culminated in

*This address was read on 21, April 1957.

the condemnation of Western civilisation. The followers of Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab in Arabia, Muhammad al-Sanusi in North Africa, and Syed Ahmad of Bareilly in India were violently anti-Western.

However, within a generation or two, the 'puritanic' beginning of the Muslim revival broadened into what has been termed 'liberalism', and the work of Islamicizing the Western ideas was taken up by Medhat Pasha in Turkey, Mufti Alam Jan in South Russia, Sheikh Muhammad Abduh in Egypt and Syed Ahmad Khan in India. For a time it appeared that the two groups (the 'puritans' and the 'liberals') would develop in opposition to one another. But as both the groups were still apprehensive of external European threat, they contributed jointly towards the religious and territorial defence of Islam. In connection with the reconciliation of these two seemingly antagonistic trends of 'puritanism' and 'liberalism' within Modern Islam, the name of Jamal-al-Din Afghani has been frequently mentioned. He laid stress on the acquisition of the technique of European progress and exhorted the Muslims to grasp the secret of Western powers. Actually it was due to the Influence of Jamal-al-Din Afghani that 'liberalism' together with 'puritanism' developed into 'Pan-Islamism', and shortly after the 1914-1918 War, when the Ottoman Empire was being dismembered, 'Pan-Islamism' further developed into 'Muslim nationalism'. 'Liberalism', 'Pan-Islamism' and 'Muslim nationalism' therefore, were movements which were stimulated by external European pressure.

In the Indian sub-continent 'liberalism' seems to have developed hand in hand with 'political conservatism'. Perhaps with the exception of Muhammad Shibli and his followers who had 'radical' tendencies and who found no objection to joining the Indian national movement, the 'liberalism' of all the other reformers of the Indian sub-continent was based on the Muslim separatist policy, and was confined to the uplift of the Muslims generally and particularly of the Indian sub-continent.

A glance at the works of Muhammad Iqbal, the last of the great 'liberal' reformers, from 1907 onwards, reveals that all his ethico-philosophical teachings, e.g, his stress on the importance of the Individual and the Community, his vigorous optimism, his emphasis

on creative activity, his constant striving for the absolutely new—were motivated by one permeating desire, the consolidation of Islam generally and particularly of the Indian sub-continent. In his 'liberalism' were blended the 'political conservatism' of Syed Ahmad Khan (like Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal was opposed to the idea of the Muslims joining the Indian National movement, and consequently was not in favour of surrendering separate electorates), 'radicalism' of Muhammad Shibli (like Muhammad Shibli, Iqbal was aware of the need of economic uplift of the Muslim agriculturists), and the 'Pan-Islamism' of Jamal-al-Din Afghani. This synthesis made it possible for Iqbal to interpret 'Muslim nationalism' as the political emancipation of numerous races, speaking different languages, but professing Islam and inhabiting those territories which comprise the world of Islam, without that emancipation coming into conflict with the general principles of equality, fraternity and solidarity among the Muslims as established by their religious usage and cultural coherence.

Islam, he asserted, is hostile to nationalism when nationalism isolates itself from Islam and as a political creed based exclusively on race, colour, language or territory puts forth rival claims in opposition to those of Islam. However, patriotism or a readiness to lay down one's life for one's country, belief, historical traditions or culture is, according to him, an integral part of a Muslim's faith.

Iqbal envisaged an international Islam when he preached that Islam was neither 'nationalism' nor 'imperialism' but a 'commonwealth of nations' which accepted the racial diversity and the ever-changing geographical demarcations only for the facility of reference and not for limiting the social horizon of its members.

Life viewed from the standpoint of Islam was his principal theme and a philosophical foundation was provided for that basic theme. Iqbal, unlike his predecessors, was neither polemical nor apologetic. He boldly attempted a socio-political reconstruction of the Muslims by insisting on the development of 'Self' through which the Muslims could achieve freedom and power once again. He preached that the Muslims should endeavour to cultivate Islamic character and thereby become perfect as individuals. Islamic community, in his opinion, was a unique community composed of unique

individuals. Thus through Islam he provided an 'ego' of their own particularly to the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent.

In replacing nationalism by Islam as a nation-building force, Iqbal helped the growth of 'Muslim nationalism' which in its turn led to the secession of Islam from the Indian Sub-continent. A nation was constituted out of the Indian Muslims on the lines of Islam as a culture or a civilisation, and this nation eventually managed to secure self-determination as well as territorial specification.

As for an Islamic interpretation of 'constitutionalism', Iqbal regarded the Turks' decision to abolish the Caliphate as perfectly sound. He approved of the growth of a republican spirit in the Muslim countries, which was, in his opinion, a return to the original purity of Islam. He was likewise pleased at the establishment of legislative assemblies in the Muslim lands. These developments, he maintained, necessitated the revision of old Muslim institutions in the light of modern experience. Accordingly he laid emphasis on the need for a reform in Muslim Law as well as Muslim legal education, and recommended the revival of 'Ijtihad' for a re-interpretation of Islamic Law in the light of modern experience, but in such a way that the original spirit of that Law was not lost.

Iqbal denounced 'secularism' which had resulted from the fundamental duality of spirit and matter in Christianity, and which led to the exclusion of religion from the life of the Western states. But he found no objection to the separation of the department of religion from the other departments of an Islamic state for the purposes of functional efficiency. Generally speaking, he seems to have held the view that any constitution which served the interests of the Muslim community could be justifiably described as 'Islamic constitution' so long as it did not violate the principles of Islamic teachings.

Iqbal even provided the Muslims with an Islamic interpretation of 'socialism'. He was greatly impressed by the economic implications of the Muslim Law of Inheritance, and believed that Islam could create a new world where the social rank of man would be determined not by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earned, but by the kind of life he lived. From the standpoint of

Islam human society was founded on 'the equality of spirits' not on 'the equality of stomachs'; and notwithstanding private ownership was regarded as a trust, Islam did not allow capital, to accumulate in such a way that it should dominate the real producer of wealth.

Iqbal influenced the course of events in Muslim India through the force of his poetry and writings, and although he died before Pakistan actually came into being, the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is based on some of the 'liberal' principles enunciated by Iqbal.

It is necessary that the 'liberal' spirit to which Iqbal and his predecessors contributed, should be kept alive in Pakistan, and also that 'liberalism' should be safeguarded and protected from being abused at the hands of those who are not acquainted with the sources, history and limitations of this movement. If an atmosphere and facilities were provided so that our community could produce thinkers, theologians, lawyers, poets, writers and journalists on the model of the 'Aligarh Group,' it would mean activity and progress in all the fields of our community's life. Islam is good for all times. It tends to look forward with the help and under the guidance of its past experience, therefore we must be always ready and prepared to adapt our ways of life to changing conditions without losing our ideality.

Dr. Late Professor Taj Mohammad Khayal

The modern psychology views man and his mind and soul as merely important objects of study. The sciences of psychology, sociology, economics, etc. which deal with man in his various capacities, do not mention his spiritual relationship to his Creator. It is believed that Satan is the incarnation of evil and all you have to do about him is that, when he comes in manifestation, you curse him and he will run away. In such a verbal curse there is no harm. The religious control of man's inner part is completely lost before the curse, perhaps more so. The Iqbal, with his spiritual part of man's nature, is a fellow that moves him to actively seek Satan as a wicked imitator with such magnification and grandeur as to make him appear the major hero of the drama of man's life.

Iqbal's Conception of Satan and his Place in Ideal Society

By

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The problem of evil is an integral part of every philosophical system and anyone who tries to solve this vice, has to consider a number of very important philosophical questions. What is evil? What is its cause? What is its nature? What is its relation to the scheme of things? What purpose, if any, does it serve? How is it related to human personality? How far is man responsible for the presence of evil and human misery and how can it be removed? In fact, a complete devaluation of the problem of evil will result in an almost complete metaphysical negation of these questions which can be answered without always referring to the source of evil, its nature, its course of development and the manner in which it is progressed.

(With a foreword by Iqbal Das and Iqbal Jinnah)

The Late Professor Taj Mohammad Khayal was a distinguished scholar of philosophy and religion. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab, Lahore, from 1954 to 1960. He was also a member of the Council of the University of the Panjab. He was a well-known philosopher and theologian.

By Late Professor Taj Mohammad Khayal¹

For modern psychology virtue and vice and good and bad are equally important objects of study. The attitude of traditional theology, according to which evil is simply to be detested and all its mention to be considered indecent, and so to be avoided, is not scientific. It believes that Satan is the personification of evil and all you have to do about him is that, when his name is mentioned, you curse him and he will run away. In fact a verbal curse does Satan no harm. He retains control of man's heart just as much as he did before the curse, perhaps more so. For Iqbal, evil, as an integral part of man's nature, is a force that moves him to activity and Satan is vested by Iqbal with such magnificence and grandeur as to make him appear the tragic hero of the cosmic drama of man's creation. In his usual forceful way, Iqbal treats this problem from a scientific and philosophic point of view.

The problem of evil is an integral part of every philosophic system and anyone, who tries to give a world-view, has to consider a number of very important and fundamental questions about it. What is evil? What is its nature? Is evil real or only an unreal appearance, due to man's narrow vision and lack of understanding of ultimate reality. If evil is real, what is its source? What is its value in the scheme of things? What purpose, if any, does it serve? How is it related to human personality? How far is man responsible for the presence of evil and human society and how can it be removed? In fact, a complete discussion of the problem of evil will extend to an almost complete metaphysical system, for these questions cannot be answered without clearly understanding the nature of reality, its source, its course of development and the ultimate end to which it is progressing.

* Was Read at Iqbal Day on April 21, 1952.

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Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal is, undoubtedly, one of the greatest thinkers that the world has known. Even though his thoughts are mostly expressed in poetry, which can not be expected to be a consistent presentation of a world view, he will, I believe, go down in history as the propounder of a great religio-philosophic system of thought. In his "Lectures" in particular, and poetic compositions in general, he has made a superb effort to bring about a reconciliation between the fundamental ideas of religion and the basic demands of modern scientific knowledge. He says in the Preface to his Lectures that he has tried to meet "the demand for a scientific form of religious knowledge." His writings impress one as a scientific interpretation of religion or a religious humanisation of science. To a superficial observer Iqbal seems to be a strong supporter of blind faith in religious dogmas and an adverse critic of modern science. I do not deny that Iqbal has strongly criticised the limitations of modern civilisation and sometimes modern science but I must assert that he has equally strongly, or perhaps more so, criticised dogmatic religion, supine mysticism and ineffectual theoretical theology. The truth is that Iqbal wants to combine the highest reason with the highest faith and tries to bring about an harmonious amalgamation of the two into a single whole. He says:

زیرکی از عشق گردد حق شناس
 کار عشق از زیرکی محکم اساس
 عشق چون با زیرکی هم بر بود
 نقش بند عالم دیگر شود
 خیز و نقش عالم دیگر بنه
 عشق را با زیرکی آمیز ده

I have no hesitation in saying that the world has seldom known a greater supporter than Iqbal of a rationalistic faith that is neither blind like the religious dogmas of a prescientific age nor cold like mere logic nor ultra intellectual like the narrow empirical theories of the 18th century English philosophers whose enthusiasm for the importance and reliability of human experience led them to ignore its limitations. In reading Iqbal, one is immediately struck by the thoroughly inductive spirit in which he tries to investigate the nature of reality as well as by the deep concern that he has for fundamental

moral values. He ignores the age-long theories of the theologians about the miracles of the prophets and puts on them an interpretation so exactly fitting in which the present day moral and psychological tendencies that even the most scientific of sociologists cannot help being convinced. Iqbal's views about legends in the Quran as given in his Lectures is—"The object of the Quran in dealing with these legends is seldom historical. It nearly always aims at giving them a Universal, moral or philosophical import". The co-existence of the 'the Rod' and 'the Shining Hand' in the miracles of the Prophet Moses is, for Iqbal, a proof of the necessity of the combination of physical power and spiritual light in human personality. The Prophet Mohammad's visit to the Heavens signifies, to Iqbal, the infinitude of the powers of man and the possibility of their extending over the Heavens.

سبق ملا ہے یہ معراج مصطفیٰ سے مجھے
کہ عالم بشریت کی زد میں ہے گردوں

Though Iqbal may be convinced that science and reason, in their narrow sense, cannot, by themselves, succeed in giving to man a complete way of living, the spirit of Iqbal's thought is through and through scientific. He never loses touch with the realities of life and never makes religion a mysterious entity that cannot be understood and practised in the natural world by the common man. Iqbal's interpretation of the finality of Prophethood in Mohammad leaves no doubt that, according to him, the emancipation of man lies in the full development and proper use of his intellect which will give him complete control of the powers of nature. In his 'Lectures' he says "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. The birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen preception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources."

The Prophet Mohammad is, in fact, the originator of the modern scientific spirit and Iqbal is its greatest exponent in the East. The

greatest fruit of scientific knowledge is man's confidence in himself. It immensely extends man's powers and thereby makes him depend entirely on himself, instead of looking to super-natural agencies for guidance. This spirit of independence and self-confidence is misunderstood by the religious dogmatist who condemns Science because it seems to make man irreligious. This tendency of scientific thought finds its culmination in Iqbal's conception of self-hood, the full development and manifestation of which is, for him, the ultimate end of life. This is the fundamental basis of all his philosophy and, in reaching it, he has made use of the most recent findings of the various branches of scientific knowledge, especially Physics and Psychology. His conception of the self, as developing in direct and close relationship to the environment yet maintaining a uniqueness of its own in the midst of and in spite of, all the changes around it, is in consonance with the view of the scientific school of Psychology represented by Shand, McDougall and Stout. It was in fact the leading school of psychology in the first quarter of the present century—a time when Iqbal was thinking furiously and trying to be at grips with the fundamentals of life. It is because of the psychological background of his views that Iqbal emphasises the importance of the role of action in human life. Modern psychology has exploded the ancient theory, to which most theologians still subscribe, that reason, thought or intellect is the guiding light of man's life. It is, at best, one of the many aspects of man's life and certainly not the strongest. The Psychologists have shown that the conative tendency is definitely stronger than the cognitive. Experience is born of an interaction between the subjective tendencies of an individual and his objective environment. Without the inner urge of life in the individual there can be no experience and no knowledge. Intellect develops in the course of and in the service of activity and all activity is the expression of an individuality in relation to an object. All life is dynamic. It means continuous change and, in the course of this change, the individual leaves an impress of his own personality on his surroundings. In the interaction between the individual's subjective tendencies and the objective conditions, the relatively stronger controls the weaker which has to yield to and be absorbed in the former. Human personality is to be perfected through continuous effort, a life of action and ceaseless change. To this view, Iqbal has given the most beautiful and impressive expression that any mortal could and, by his masterly talents,

has impressed it on the minds of millions of people in a measure that could hardly be reached by scores of psychologists, writing for generations together. In numerous vigorous verses he pours out his heart and exhorts the weak to gain strength, to be masters of their destiny by developing their own powers and, thereby, defying the forces outside, whether social or physical. The stronger a personality is the more free it is from the subjugation of others and, as its strength increases, it goes on becoming, more and more, a determining factor for the decisions of others instead of being determined by external forces, Iqbal wants every man to acquire complete independence through his own self development and his ideal society is composed of absolutely free individuals.

با توانائی صداقت توام است
 گر خود آگاہی ہمیں جام جم است
 زندگی کشت است حاصل قوت است
 شرح رمز حق و باطل قوت است
 مدعی گر صاحب قوت بود
 دعویٰش مستغنی از حجت است

To Iqbal divinity and lordship lie in the growth and consolidation of self-hood.

تعمیر خودی میں ہے خدائی

How great is the value that Iqbal attaches to this effort at self-manifestation and self-development is evident from the following verse in which he is not prepared to give up the human level of existence for the divine, since the former includes the pangs and burning of desire.

متاع بے بہا ہے درد و سوز آرزو مندی
 مقام بندگی دے کر نہ لوں شان خداوندی

To Iqbal, the highest value lies in eternal search, and everlasting growth. Man's greatest value and happiness lie in ceaseless effort. The contemplative life, even if it may give the so called calm of emancipation, is not of much value.

All this is in tune with the modern scientific spirit with its emphasis on man as the central figure and the controller of nature's forces. Iqbal believes in the value of strength, power and self-confidence. He expects man to be a law unto himself. A true man revolts against all authority and submits to no power other than his own. It is only the strong who can, by work and action, defy false gods and give practical expression to the spirit of the Islamic Kalima that starts with the denial of all gods, لا اله الا الله 'there is no god.' A man, who gives such a view of life with a background of scientific psychology, cannot consider "evil" to be devoid of all value, for evil is, after all, a defiance of the established traditions and customs. It needs strength to do evil and it also needs strength to defy the false gods. Strength is, in reality, the basic condition for doing good as well as evil. It needs courage to think and do what people do not approve of and ordinarily do not do. The man who never does anything wrong is usually one who never deviates from the path approved by society. He has the courage neither to pass a judgement of his own nor to face public criticism and censure. Such a man has no strength. If the current standards of society change, he changes along with them. He believes in adjusting himself to the demands of the times. He is in fact "faultily faultless".

Iqbal, who is the prophet of power and self-confidence, cannot regard such a man of any value to society. To him, a wide-awake and alert non-believer, or one who sincerely worships the idols, is better than a weak Muslim who doses in the Kaaba. "Act, act and manifest yourself" is Iqbal's clarion call and he represents Satan, who is the embodiment of evil in traditional theology, to have given a lead in revolting against authority, passing an independent judgement of his own as against accepting what is given to him as right, and thereby initiating a struggle between the inner tendencies of living individuals and their external environment. He (Satan) of all the angels, did not submit to god's order to prostrate before Adam. To God's query as to why he (Satan) did not prostrate himself before Adam, Satan's answer as given in the Quran, is "I am better than him. Thou hast created me out of fire and thou has created him out of clay." In *Taskhir-i-Fitrat*, Iqbal gives a forceful interpretation to this verse of the Quran and I refer the reader to the stanza beginning with the lines.

نوری نادان نیم سجدہ بہ آدم برم
او بہ نہاد است خاک من بہ نژاد آذرم

Here Iqbal represents Satan as giving free expression to what is in him—the desire to excel, to be considered better than others and to dominate. Satan is, thus, an allegorical representation of a tendency in living creatures to react, to stand up to and influence the environmental forces. This tendency is the very essence of life and is really responsible for the birth of all desire, longing, effort, and achievement—of suffering and sorrow also, but what a “sweet sorrow” like Romeo’s “parting” without which all life will be colourless and dull.

Any one, who reads Iqbal’s poem, “*Gabriel and Iblis*”, is struck by the grandeur and majesty of Satan who is identified with “the inner fire of existence”, سوز درون کائنات by which Iqbal means the urge for change and development. In fact it sometimes seems questionable whether this “fire” has been derived by man from Satan or by Satan from man, for in اریغان حجاز Iqbal says, addressing Satan,

بغیر از جان ما سوزے کجا بود
ترا از آتش ما آفریدند

Satan does not need the wine, but only the search and the desire for the wine, to intoxicate him. He does not want to have his cup full, for his broken cup has intoxicated him by its very breaking.

کر گیا سر بست مجھ کو ٹوٹ کر میرا سبو

Satan refuses even to consider the question of finding means of going back to Heavens, for they are too dull and lifeless. He sneers at Gabriel for looking at the oceanic storms from the shores, safe and without any danger. Satan has found the joy of facing and fighting the storms in the middle of the ocean. He, in fact, claims the credit of creating all the floods—in the rivulets, the rivers and the seas. He goes to the extent of asking Gabriel to inquire of the Almighty, if he ever happens to be alone with Him, “whose blood has given colour to Adam’s story”.

گر کبھی خلوت میسر ہو تو پوچھ اللہ سے
قصہ آدم کو رنگین کر گیا کس کا لہو؟

Here Iqbal implies that all that is of interest in man's life is due to the spirit of independence and revolt initiated in him by Satan without which there will be no life—at least no life worth living. Iqbal says.

مزی اندر جہان کور ذوقے کہ یزداں دارد و شیطان نہ دارد

Satan thus represents the birth of free thought, independent judgement and power of action. Most writers on Iqbal, considering him to be representing the current views of religion, and so of Satan have not done justice to this aspect of his views. They take Satan as a symbol of evil and nothing else and do not find in Satan anything commendable and worthy of respect whereas Satan, as represented by Iqbal is almost a hero who claims to create all movement and initiate all change. In مجلس شوریٰ Satan claims to have full control of the material world and to hold unlimited sway over men's hearts.

ہے میرے دست تصرف میں جہان رنگ و بو
کیا زمیں ، کیا مہر و ماہ ، کیا آسمان تو بتو
کیا امامان سیاست ، کیا کلیسا کے شیوخ
سب کو دیوانہ بنا سکتی ہے میری ایک ہو

In the world, as conceived by Iqbal such a personality or force is not without its value. Similarly most students of Iqbal's poetry find nothing but evil in European civilization which view is so very common among such Muslims in the East as are proud of their past glory and religion and have perhaps, not yet fully understood the rational orientation of Islam with its scientific and natural background as presented by Iqbal.

All change, all progress and all that makes life worth living springs from action. Iqbal wants man to be a creator. His conception of man is that of a free agent who cooperates with God in the creation, progress, and ultimate realisation of values. Even if man cannot create something out of nothing, he does improve upon the world as created by God. Reference may be made to محاورہ - مابین - پیام مشرق in خدا و انسان. How can this be possible if man has to lead a life of passivity, in-action and helpless servility to God's

wishes. Iqbal wants man not only to be a master of his own destiny but to be so strong that his voice may be God's voice; his actions may be God's actions; and he may be determining the destiny of others. Iqbal seems to me to be supporting the view that even God functions through human agency. He says.

صف جنگاہ میں مردان خدا کی تکبیر
جوش کردار سے بتی ہے خدا کی آواز

As the life of action is so very important, and Satan symbolises all independence, effort, desire and action, he must occupy a very high place in the scheme of things. And so he does.

If the only thing of value in human life were unqualified, self-assertion and unhindered self-manifestation, as some European thinkers believe and, in fact, all modern nationalistic states, moved by these and economic considerations, do practise, Satan will be un-mixed goodness and all distinction between good and bad will vanish. There is no doubt that, according to Iqbal, Satan is the symbol of لا, the denial of gods, in human society and he thinks لا to be an absolutely necessary constituent of a perfect and ideal social order. In fact Iqbal believes that لا and الا imply each other. As every negation implies the affirmation of its opposite and both the contradictories cannot be false, the denial of gods is really the acceptance and affirmation of God. Even Satan's disobedience is but a form of acceptance. In Javed Nama, Satan is made to say as follows:

از وجود حق مرا منکر مگیر دیدہ بر باطن کشا ظاہر مگیر
من بلی در پردہ لا گفته ام گفته بن خوشتر از نا گفته ام

And in Iqbal brings out the interdependence of لا and الا in the following verses.

نکتہ سی گویم از مردان حال امتان را لا جلال الا جمال
در جہاں آغاز کار از حرف لاست این نخستین منزل مرد خداست
لا و الا ساز و برگ امتان نفی بے اثبات مرگ امتان

All change and all progress is the result of this tendency to revolt against authority.

پیش غیر اللہ لا گفتن حیات تازہ از ہنگامہ او کائنات

I would like to give here Iqbal's interpretation of the Quranic legend of the fall of man which according to him, "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 state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable 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. Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice."

All this is true, but Iqbal is too great and too wise a thinker to give a lop-sided view of life. He is conscious of the presence of moral values as well as of the need of propagating and creating them in the world. He knows full well that if man may aim merely at the possession and enhancement of power, the existence of a just and stable social order will become impossible. Man will remain a mere brute and the fruit of his knowledge and intellect will be the destructive powers placed in his hands by scientific advancement. Just as Iqbal is bold enough to say that a world in which there is only God, to the exclusion of Satan, is not worth living in, similarly a world in which there is only Satan, power, self-confidence and dominance, to the exclusion of goodness, toleration and order, cannot find approval at his hands. However different his view of Satan may be from that of traditional theology, Satan is after all Satan. However grand his personality, and however important his role in human life, if the tendencies, represented by Satan are to be followed by man in their entirety, the result will be nothing but chaos, eternal conflict, misery and ruin. A social structure that is raised on such foundations will be satanic. It will have 'power' without vision.

The opposite extreme of having 'vision' without 'power' is, to Iqbal equally objectionable because it is equally satanic. The tendency to justify one's weakness by ascribing it to fate is described by Iqbal as having been created by Satan.

ہم نے ناداروں کو سکھلایا سبق تقدیر کا
ہم نے منعم کو دیا سرمایہ داری کا جنوز

Satan represents two tendencies to dominate and to yield to domination. It is the presence of people who can submit to others

that makes domination possible. The willingness to give up the struggle and leave the world to the strong is the essential counterpart of the will to excel, to construct and dominate. The development of merely intellectual and aesthetic life of man, whether individually or socially, without the power of effort and action is not acceptable to Iqbal. The poet who believes in art for art's sake, the mystic who is sunk in contemplation and leaves the worldly affairs to the management of others, the poor man who submits to and serves the rich because he believes that "God's will is such," are all misled by Satan. They are all indirect props to exploitation, injustice and inequality. For Iqbal, selfish supremacy of man over man as well as submission to it are both evil and satanic.

This is admirably expressed by Iqbal in Javed Nama when Ahraman tries to persuade Zoroaster to sit in seclusion, worshipping God, sunk in spiritual meditation and to give up the struggle for the good because it will save him from the necessity of facing persecution and death. Ahraman says that this is the way of the mystic which Ahraman wants Zoroaster to adopt as against the way of the Prophet who faces danger and even death. Ahraman tries to terrify Zoroaster from the Prophet's way of life by saying

زهرها در بادۀ گلغام اوست اره و کرم و صلیب انعام اوست

If Zoroaster had accepted Ahraman's advice, he would have fallen into Satan's snares. He refuses to do so and instead prefers to lead the life of action and goodness which will need the blood of Ahraman for decoration. A Prophet combines spiritual values with practical values, vision with power. The man of vision just lives only for himself and goes alone to Heavens. The prophet takes others along with him.

چیست آن ؟ بگذشتن از دیر و کنشت
چیست این ؟ تنها نه رفتن در بهشت
راه حق با کاروان رفتن خوش است
همچو جان اندر جهان رفتن خوش است

He condemns western civilization, with its unlimited control of material forces, its political domination and economic exploitation, because it has ignored moral values and aims at nothing but aggran-

disement. The possession of material power, its use for narrow sectarian interests at the express cost of the poorer and backward countries, the blind worship of Mammon, the unscrupulous and selfish exercise of intellect in the press, on the platform, and over the radio, for duping the simple and credulous backward races, the efforts to divide the people in the sacred name of democracy and freedom are all severely criticized by Iqbal as the various ways in which Satan is working in the West. In all the institutions of Europe, democratic, socialistic or otherwise, Iqbal finds "the spirit of monarchy" alive and that is the creation of Satan. The West represents power and knowledge. It believes in and practises لا, the denial of all gods, which is, no doubt essential for man's recognition of his own powers and position on earth but which, if left uncontrolled, is the source of trouble, misery and corruption. It leads man to ignore all moral values and creates a godless society like the one in modern Europe.

Iqbal says;

بنایا ایک ہی ابلیس آگ سے تو نے
بنائے خاک سے یورپ نے صد ہزار ابلیس

Iqbal assails the East for its weakness, for its puerile satisfaction of having 'the next world' by becoming indifferent to this one, for its acceptance of slavery and for its supine mysticism that has led eastern nations to economic poverty and political degradation. In the East, religion yet holds the minds of the masses but it is the religion of the weakling who shuns the responsibilities of practical life. It is the religion in which worship is reduced to the level of ritual and God is worshipped in words without denying the worldly gods in practice. Addressing the worshipper Iqbal says.

اے کہ اندر حجرہ ها سازی سخن نعرہ لا پیش نمرودے بزن

A society, with such a background, makes a virtue of necessity and its claims of moral superiority, as compared with its stronger masters, are, as explained by modern psychology, but examples of "rationalisation," which is another name for self-deception. Such people only seem to worship God. They seem to stand for the second half of the Islamic Kalima, الا الله but their belief in God is meaningless and hypocritical because it is not preceded by the denial of all gods—wealth, social status, fear of the rulers, love of ease and comfort

and what not. Without worldly power, contentment and spiritual eminence (Faqr) degrades human personality and Iqbal has written hundred of verses deriding such contentment and sublimity. Iqbal scoffs at such Faqr which is very common in the east, and, which does, in fact, form the essential psychological basis of the present day Eastern culture. To Iqbal all this is satanic. Satan directs his disciples to keep the Muslim lost in prayer and speculation of this kind and to strengthen his adulation of the Mausoleums of the Saints.

مست رکھو ذکر و فکر صبحگاہی میں اسے
پختہ تر کر دو مزاج خانقاہی میں اسے

Both these tendencies, the will to dominate and the acceptance of domination—have to be chastened by avoiding the extremes and having a society of free individuals who are strong enough to defy all powers—deny all gods—but are sensible and good enough willingly to impose restrictions on themselves for the sake of leading moral lives. He believes in the morality of the free man who is self-sufficient but respects the law of the God of his own accord. Iqbal attaches no value to the morality that is born of fear, may be of God or society. True morality is that of the free man, who does the good and suffers for it, because he himself, and none else, has decided to do so. His power is meant for service and not for suppression. His obedience is given to the law of God and to no external worldly power or inner temptation. Such a man considers himself to be neither inferior to anybody nor superior to anyone. He is the living symbol of perfect human equality. It is such men over whom Satan has no influence and of whom he is afraid. It is such men who truly imbibe the spirit of لا اله الا الله “there is no god except God” and are the living embodiments of God’s will. Such a man believes in and submits to God’s law because it is also the law of his own nature. He combines in his person power, wisdom and vision. His morality is born not of fear, but of love. Hence Iqbal lays great emphasis on love, عشق. Both the negative and positive aspects of the good life, لا and الا are living realities in such a man’s personality. He is a law unto himself and determines the trends of events in history. Iqbal expresses it thus.

لا والا احتساب کائنات لا والا فتح باب کائنات

Satan himself longs to meet a foe who combines power with moral elevation and his own desire to find a man worthy of respect, to whom he may surrender, finds beautiful expression in ناله ابلیس. In جاوید نامہ Satan complains to God that he has not found in man an adversary worthy of himself and that man is too weak to say No to him. He is fed up with the sort of prey who follows and is himself in Search of the hunter. Satan reminds God of his past long worship and, in return, requests God to be given the joy of meeting a man, capable of catching Satan by the neck and giving him the pleasure of crushing defeat.

Before I conclude, I may mention that Iqbal does not try to explain the 'why' and 'wherefrom' of evil or Satan nor does he bring out the ultimate purpose for which evil or Satan was created by God. Addressing God, he writes the following verse :—

اسے صبح ازل انکار کی جرات ہوئی کیونکر
مجھے معلوم کیا وہ راز داں تیرا ہے یا میرا

This shows that Iqbal does not try to answer the question of the cause of Satan's refusal to carry out God's behest to prostrate before Adam. He seems quite indifferent to this question. He just accepts evil and Satan as facts that lie before him and have to be understood.

In another poem a selfrespecting poor man, who does not mind his poverty asks of God whether the angels give riches and leadership to the worthless with His permission or without it.

اک مفلس خوددار یہ کہتا تھا خدا سے
میں کر نہیں سکتا گلہ درد فقیری
لیکن یہ بتا تیری اجازت سے فرشتے
کرتے ہیں عطا مرد فرومایہ کو میری

The question expresses a doubt whether the presence of injustice or evil is according to God's wishes and directions or it is due to some other agency. Iqbal does not seem to be sure about the source of evil nor does he definitely assign responsibility for it to man or God. He says :—

روز حساب جب مرا پیش ہو دفتر عمل
آپ بھی شرمسار ہو مجھ کو بھی شرمسار کر

This shows that man's evil actions are partly God's doing, partly man's.

There are only two places where Iqbal seems to explain, very briefly, the purpose of the creation of Satan—the existence of evil. In Jawed Nama, he enquires from Syed Ali Hamdani about the nature of Good and Evil and as to why Evil was created. Syed Hamdani replies that association with Satan leads to man's fall but struggle with Satan leads to man's perfection. Human personality is a sword that needs a whet-stone to be sharpened. This whet-stone is Satan and Evil without which human personality will not find its full growth and expansion.

بزم با دیواست آدم را وبال
رزم با دیو است آدم را جمال
خویش را براهر من باید زدن
تو همه تیغ آن همه سنگِ فسن
تیزتر شو تا فتد ضرب تو سخت
ورنه باشی دردو گیتی تیره بخت

Secondly in the last stanza of *تسخیر فطرت* man is face to face with God and, presenting his apology for being led astray by Satan, tries to justify his action by saying that this was necessary in order to develop power, essential for controlling and directing nature's forces.

وام نگرود جهان تا نه فسو نش خوریم
جز بکمند نیاز ناز نه گردد اسیر
تا شود از آہ گرم این بت سنگین گداز
بستن زنار او بود مرا ناگزیر
عقل بدام آورد فطرت چالاک را
اھر من شعلہ زاد سجده کند خاک را

I draw particular attention of the readers to the word intellect in the last verse. It is the power of knowledge that is needed for

controlling nature and so Satan, because the foundations of blind faith once shaken by reason, can never be laid again. The only cure for the ills of thought is more and more thought till one reaches the stage of a rationalistic faith in which reason, intuition and love become a unity and form a harmonious whole.

I feel that in assigning this end to the drama of life, Iqbal has been a little sentimental. • This is inconsistent with the whole trend of his thought. To a thinker for whom life is endless struggle, with infinite possibilities of development for human personality and for whom the fundamental reality is just change and growth, the question of finding a suitable end for this process is quite insignificant and I think Iqbal is indifferent to it.

Without bothering for the source or the ultimate end of Evil or Satan, he just tries to elucidate the part that he (Satan) plays in the world. Iqbal has done a great service to philosophic and religious thought by resolving the dualism of mind and body. Qualitatively considered, reality is, to Iqbal, a unity. It seems to me that though he has succeeded to a considerable extent, in resolving the traditional dualism of mind and body he has not been able to resolve the other equally important dualism—that of good and evil. Iqbal is not inclined to be unduly optimistic or pessimistic. In his Lectures he says.

“The issue thus raised between optimism and pessimism cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the universe. Our intellectual constitution is such that we can take only a piecemeal view of things. We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc, and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism”.

Iqbal does not conceive the world to be either entirely good or entirely Evil. Good and Evil are both undeniable facts of human life. He does not try to prove whether the nature of reality is ultimately Good or Evil; nor does he seem to be sure whether at any stage one will merge into the other and disappear. The only place at which he seems to hint at the ultimate defeat of Satan and his prostration

before the Ideal man as the climax of this drama of existence is in the last verse of the poem *تسخیرِ خطرت* that has been quoted above. Throughout his writings, poetic or prose, I have not been able to find any support for the idea that, according to him, goodwill ultimately and necessarily triumph. It is so because Iqbal believes that ultimate reality is neither good nor Evil. It simply is

چه گویم نکته زشت و نکو چیست
 زبان سرزد که معنی پیچدار است
 برون از شاخ بینی خار و گل را
 درون او نه گل پیدا نه خار است

The distinction of good and evil appears merely in the process of struggle and growth which are the peculiar characteristics of life. In this process of struggle, power is the standard of value but power is not, for Iqbal, merely brute force or physical power. It springs from a full growth of human personality and, in this growth, mental and moral elements are equally assential and important.

Iqbal's approach to the problem is purely scientific. I hold Iqbal as a great propounder of the scientific spirit in the East. May his spirit live long !

By Mr. A. K. M. Kabir Chaudry

Some Aspects of Iqbal's Poetry

By

Mr. A. K. M. Kabir Chaudry

Dacca

Indeed we have not been treated well, although we have been
serving all these years. What is more, the British have
not yet made proper use of the resources of this country
for its uplifting.

Iqbal's poetry is vigorous, dynamic and powerful. It is the
product of a lyrical writer who pours out his feelings of indignation
and passionate feelings. It is not in vain that he has not written
only lyrics but also a series of essays and criticisms. I only want to
emphasize the importance of Iqbal's content, of a great responsibility
of what he has written. Iqbal's poetry is not only a masterpiece in his
poetry. Iqbal's poetry is not only a masterpiece in his poetry, it is
also a masterpiece in his poetry. Iqbal's poetry is not only a masterpiece
in his poetry, it is also a masterpiece in his poetry.

Mr. A. K. M. Kabir Chaudry, who is now the Director of the
East Pakistan, read this paper at Iqbal Day at Lahore on April 21, 1952.

By Mr. A. K. M. Kabir Chaudry

Allama Iqbal is a world poet, and when studying his inspired and inspiring verse it is not possible to tear his work out of himself and treat of the two as two separate subjects in watertight compartments. It simply cannot be done. Apart from the universal validity of a statement like 'Style is the man', such a distinction is impossible and highly fallacious in the case of a person like Iqbal whose life philosophy and poetical utterances are inextricably intertwined. Iqbal was a great man and a great poet, one of the greatest produced by any age in any country. A quarter of a century ago he breathed his last and a few minutes before his death he had recited the following lines :

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

"The melody that has gone may, or may not, come,
A breeze from the Hejaz may, or may not, come.
This is the end of the earthly days of this Faqir,
Another wise one may, or may not, come."

Indeed we have not been blessed with another wise one like him during all these years. What is more to be regretted is that we have not yet made proper use of the wise guidance that he has left for us in his inspiring poetry.

Iqbal's poetry is vigorous, dynamic and powerful. He is not primarily a lyricist writing his heart out in an effusion of emotion or passionate feelings. This is not to say that he has not written admirable lyrics or that his poetry lacks in sentiments. I only want to emphasise the element of thought-content, of a vital purposefulness, of what Mathew Arnold characterised as high seriousness in his poetry. Iqbal like all truly great poets had, in the last analysis, written presumably because he felt that he had to write but this com-

* Mr. A. K. M. Kabir Chaudry, who is among the intellectual leaders of East Pakistan, read this paper at Iqbal Day at Lahore on April 21, 1963.

elling urge had nothing to do with surface emotions while it certainly had a lot to do with an alert mind and a keen intellect. Iqbal was truly a poet-Philosopher, one of the few great ones the world has produced up to now. This is no small distinction. Poetry and Philosophy do not often go together very happily. Often the frail wings of Poesy are not strong enough to bear the weight of lofty philosophical ideas, but Iqbal was able to make this possible. His poetry has a rich philosophical content and yet it is deeply moving. This has been possible because Iqbal was a great artist. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, Tagore's private Secretary for many years, currently Professor of Comparative Literature and Religion in Boston University, USA and a prominent Bengali poet in his own right, said more than a couple of decades ago:

"Iqbal was a great artist and a careful craftsman. In the choice of his diction he showed a remarkable sense of beauty and proportion ...The combination of hard-earned simplicity of expression and limitless depth of feeling endowed his later mature poetry with a sense of completeness and totality not easily found even in the best poetry of any literature of the world."

He had further characterised Iqbal as one who showed that poetry and power marched together towards the same goal. Truly, Iqbal was and remains the poet of life and power, of movement and progress, of striving and attainment. For him lethargy, laziness or inaction meant death. One is easily reminded of many beautiful lines in his poetry where he speaks of this constant action and perpetual movement. Remember, for example, the following lines :

Rise like a wave and always keep struggling with the sea.
Dost thou seek the shore,
O the ignorant one,
Where is the shore?

Iqbal always asks man to leave the safe conventional worn-out route and to venture forth on new paths fraught with risk and dangers. Danger is the very essence of life. That is the true religion of a living soul. In giving expression to such stirring ideas and in trying to pull out the decadent Muslims from the lifeless grooves that they had

allowed themselves to fall into. Iqbal is often revolutionary to an extreme degree. Didn't he write :

بکیش زندہ دلاں . زندگی جفا طلبی است
سفر بکعبہ نکردم کہ راہ بے خطر است

Elsewhere, he said that the idolator engaged in dynamic pursuits is better than the faithful gone to deep slumber in the mosque.

Iqbal was a great advocate for the pursuit of knowledge. He serverly distrusted the merely blind acceptance of all conventional values. Largely influenced by his studies of European philosophers, notably of Netsche and Bergson as well as by his deep knowledge of the dynamic philosophy of the Quran and of eminent Muslim poet-philosophers like Ibn-ul-Arabi, Sanaii, Attar and Rumi, Iqbal had developed his own unique attitude towards the problem of self and its development. He believed that the Ego was capable of supreme development and that the goal of man was to develop his personality so that he could grow into a perfect man and attain the viceregency of God on earth. Man was no creature of fate, his life preordained by an indifferent God. In Iqbal's view of life Nirvana, utter self-abnegation, had no place. Instead his emphasis was on self-assertion. In unforgettable lines he said:

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے؟

Again, elsewhere, he wrote:

اپنی دنیا آپ پیدا کر اگر زندوں میں ہے
سر آدم ہے ضمیر کن فکاں۔ ہے زندگی

He had no sympathy for one who was weak, reluctant to march ahead, anxious to stop by the roadside. Without mincing matters he had written:

جنبش سے ہے زندگی جہاں کی یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی
اس راہ میں مقام بے محل ہے پوشیدہ قرار میں اجل ہے
چلنے والے نکل گئے ہیں
جو ٹھہرے ذرا کچل گئے ہیں

But let us not mistake the meaning of Iqbal's emphasis on dynamic movement and the search for knowledge and power. He did not seek power for the purpose of lording it over nor did he want to acquire knowledge for its own sake. He was a deeply religious man whose ideal was *Marde-Momin, Banda-i-Haqq*. This ideal could be achieved by developing one's personality, by acquiring knowledge, by accepting and overcoming the challenges of life and, above all, by making love the guiding principle of one's actions. In *Payame-Mashriq* he advised man to surpass the bounds of mere intellect and to grapple with the seawaves of love for no precious pearl was to be found in the narrow stream of intelligence alone. In *Bale-Jibril* he said:

عقل و دل و نگاہ کا مرشد اولین ہے عشق
عشق نہ ہو تو شرع و دین بتکدہ تصورات

In *Bale-Jibril* he cautioned man not to entertain any erroneous ideas about the role and scope of intellect. Knowledge, wisdom or intelligence was never the ultimate goal of man. It was only a lamp to help the wayfarer on the road. How beautifully Iqbal gives expression to this idea in the following lines:

گذر جا عقل سے آگے کہ یہ نور
چراغ راہ ہے منزل نہیں ہے

Iqbal saw that, in the East, man was too much in the grip of an enervating emotional, so called religious fervour while in the West an over-dependence on mere intellect was undermining the powers of the soul. He felt that this state of affairs could be remedied only by developing the personality to be strong and powerful and yet kind and loving. One of his major conceptions is that the self grows strong through love. To quote from his poetry:

“(The self) becomes more enduring through love
More alive, more zealous, more effulgent.”

or again,

“When the self gains strength through love.
Its power becomes the ruler of the world.”

It must have been apparent from the above rather desultory comments on certain aspects of Iqbal's poetry that he was no traditional poet of the ivory tower category. He indeed looked at the stars but he had his feet firmly planted on the earth. He was of course thoroughly conscious of the inequities in the existing society and he denounced all exploitation in a resonant tone when he sang:

آٹھو میری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو
 کاخ امرا کے در و دیوار ہلا دو
 جس کھیت سے دھقاں کو میسر نہ ہو روزی
 اس کھیت کے ہر خوشہ گندم کو جلا دو

Like Shelley and Nazrul Islam and others imbued with a socialistic ardour, Iqbal too hungered for the birth of a new world. He wrote:

پرانے ہیں یہ ستارے فلک بھی فرسودہ
 جہان چاہئے مجھ کو جو ہو ابھی نوخیز

Umar Khayyam had also wanted to change the world. He had sung:

“Ah love, if thou and I could with fate conspire,
 To grasp the sorry scheme of things entire,
 Would not we shatter it to bits and then
 Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire?”

but we may with profit notice the fundamental difference of approach between the two poets. Umar talks of a conspiracy with Fate to bring about the change, but for Iqbal man truly is the architect of his own destiny. For Iqbal man could and should reach for the sky.

I have so far spoken of some general aspects of Iqbal's poetry, but for us, the Muslims, his poetry has an added special appeal. He revitalized a decaying people with his inspiring messages conveyed through the medium of powerful poetry. He galvanised them by painting before their eyes the picture of the glorious deeds that

they had once performed. He reminded the Muslims that even the sea held no terrors for the onward march of their charges:

دشت تو دشت ہیں دریا بھی نہ چھوڑے ہم نے
بحر ظلمات میں دوڑا دئے گھوڑے ہم نے

He also pointed out the reasons for the subsequent downfall of the Muslims, and indicated the way by which they could again grow strong and powerful. He exhorted them to reread the lessons of justice, equity and courage:

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا ، عدالت کا ، شجاعت کا
لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا

If they did so, the Muslims would once again be the leaders of the world.

We in East Pakistan primarily know Iqbal through translations. His *Asrare-Khudi*, and *Shikwa* and *Jawabe-Shikwa* have been translated by more than one of our leading poets and scholars, both from the original as well as from their English renderings. Besides, large selections from *Bangi-Dara*, *Bali-Jabril*, *Javid-nama*, *Payame-Mashreqi* have also been translated into Bengali. Over a score of books have been published in Bengali on Iqbal, his life, art and thoughts, written for children, adolescents and adults. Among his prose works Iqbal's "Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam," has been translated in full in Bengali. In translations, however, the tone of the original is bound to be somewhat impaired and as the acquaintance of many of us with Iqbal's poetry is on second hand i.e., mainly through translations, we perhaps miss something of the superb poetical excellences of his poetry. But this has not been altogether a total disadvantage. I have a feeling that missing as we do some aspects of Iqbal's art and craftsmanship we feel in a greater degree the impact of his message and philosophy. And in this context we must remember that Iqbal was indeed a guide and a preacher and for him as for any really great artist of any time art was not an end in itself. It would be appropriate to quote here Iqbal's own words regarding Art and its scope and function. He said:

“The ultimate end of all human activity is life — glorious, powerful, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to Reality around, on the mastery of which alone life depends, is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium-eating in art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power.”

Iqbal certainly was no opium-eater in Art. He wrote because he felt that he had something definite to say. And of all his messages the ringing words regarding the development of personality and the need for complete freedom for making that possible would always be cherished by humanity through the ages. Let me conclude by quoting his famous lines:

اے طائر لاہوتی آس رزق سے موت اچھی
جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی

By Late Kavi Ghulam Mustafa

The two great poets of the East that carried international reputation in modern times are undoubtedly Iqbal and Rabindranath Tagore. Both of them are brilliant humanists in the spiritual treatment of Indo-Pak sub-continent. It is however not possible to give a complete picture of these two master-poets in all their subtleties and complexities within the framework of a single article. In the present discussion, I shall, therefore, confine myself only to looking into their respective conceptions of life as revealed in their poetry and thought.

I shall begin with Rabindranath.

Iqbal and Rabindra Nath Tagore

by

Late Kavi Ghulam Mustafa

What was Rabindranath's view of life? I fear he failed to deliver any new message. His poetry and its underlying philosophy was inspired by the teachings of the Vedas and the Upanishads of which he was a life-long votary. Transientness and impermanence of the world and complete identification of the soul with a deity Brahma (God) were the two dominant concepts of his poetry. In other words, his conception of life was perfectly in tune with the Pantheistic idealism of Plato. He was an ardent follower of "Advaitabhad" (Unitarian), as preached in the Upanishads and as expounded in later times by Sankaracharya in his doctrine of "EKAMEBAMDWITVAM" (one-ness). In this theory every phase of the external world, i.e. the Sun, the Moon, the stars, and all other aspects of life and phenomena of nature are manifestations of Brahma. They are part and parcel of God. This is tantamount to saying that there is no distinction between the Creator and the creation. It is only illusion that we see difference in them. If the veil of this illusion is removed, we still

* The late Kavi (Poet) Ghulam Mustafa is regarded as the leader of the group of Sufi poets who have been deeply influenced by the Pantheistic and religious ideas of Iqbal. The paper was read on April 21, 1963 at Lahore.

By late Kavi Ghulam Mustafa

The two great poets of the East that earned international reputation in modern times are undoubtedly Iqbal and Rabindranath Tagore. Both of them are brilliant luminaries in the intellectual firmament of Indo-Pak sub-continent. It is however, not possible to give a complete picture of these two master-minds in all their colours and complexions within the frame-work of a single article. In the present discussion, I shall, therefore, confine myself only to looking into their respective conceptions of life as revealed in their poetry and thought.

I shall begin with Rabindranath.

Rabindranath

What was Rabindranath's view of life? I fear he failed to deliver any new message to mankind. His poetry and its underlying philosophy were inspired by the teachings of the Vedanata or the Upanishads of which he was a life-long votary. Transitoriness and illusiveness (মায়ারাদ) of the world and complete identification of the soul with and unto Brahma (God) were the two dominant key notes of his poetry. In other words, his conception of life was perfectly in tune with the Pantheistic Idealism of Plato. He was a strict follower of "Adwaitabad" (Unityism), as preached in the Upanishads and as expounded in later time by Sankaracharyya in his doctrine of "EKAMEBAMDWITIYAM" (non-dualism). In this theory every phase of the external world i.e. the Sun, the Moon, the stars, and all other aspects of life and phenomena of nature are manifestations of Brahma. They are part and parcel of God. This is tantamount to saying that there is no distinction between the Creator and the creation. It is only illusion that we see difference in them. If the veil of this illusion is removed, we will

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see that we are at one with God. "I am Brahma" (অহম ব্রহ্মান্নি), "this soul is Brahma," (অয়মাত্মা ব্রহ্ম) — These are the fundamental principles of the Upanihsad.

Unfortunately Muslim mind was also vitiated by the perverted philosophy of non-dualism. A new school of philosophy developed under the name of Sufism. It was also based on Pantheism (Wahadatul Wajud) as propounded by the distinguished Muslim Sufi, Ibnul Arabi. A renowned Sufi Mansoor Hallaj also proclaimed: "Anal Huq" (I am God). This view of life is called in philosophic parlance as Pantheistic Idealism or Idealistic Pantheism which means that God is immanent in this universe. Hafiz and other mystic poets of Persia belonged to this school of thought.

Rabindranath's poetry is saturated with this panthestic idealism. He realises his "Jivan dewata" (elan vital) in the external manifestations of the world. He perceives the foot-falls of his beloved in the Sun, the Moon, the clouds, the rivulets and every other aspect of Nature. He expresses a fond desire for liquidating his life and completely merging himself into his beloved. He does not preach the individuality or personality of the soul or its eternal progress in after-life. In a typical Vaisnal fashion, he plays the passive part of Radha who is mad after communion with her beloved Krishna. His ideas are therefore not progressive and have no appeal to this age of inter planetary space flights and limitless potentialities of man.

I quote below some verses from Rabindranath which will bear me out:—

আমার নাথা নত করে দাও হে তোমার

চরণ ধুলার তলে।

সকল অহঙ্কার হে আমার

ডুবাও চোখের জলে ॥--

আমারে না যেন করি প্রচার

আমার আপন কাজে

তোমারি ইচ্ছা করছে পূর্ণ

আমার জীবন মাঝে।---

—(গীতা লি)

Oh my lord,
Bend down my head under the dust of thy feet
Drown my egotism into my tears....
Let me not express myself in my actions
Fulfil thy will in my life.

তুমি আমার আপন
তুমি আছ আমার কাছে
এই কথাটি বলতে দাওগো বলতে দাও ।
এই নিখিল আকাশ ধরা
এ যে তোমায় দিয়ে ভরা
আমার হৃদয় হতে এই কথাটি বলতে দাওগো বলতে দাও ।
—(গীতাঞ্জলি)

Thou art my own, thou art my dear and near
Let me say this, Oh, let me say this.
This universe, this sky, this earth
All are pervaded by thee.
Let me say this, Oh, let me say this.

“আজি যেন ভেদ শহিরয়
আপনার পরে
আমায় যেন এক দেখি হে
বাহিরে ঘরে।”
—(গীতাঞ্জলি)

Let there be no distinction between thee and me
So that I may see myself at one with thee, both in and out.

“আমার নাঝে তোনার লীলা হবে
তাইত আমি এসেছি এই ভবে ।
সব বাসনা যাবে আমার খেমে
নিলে গিয়ে তোমারি এক প্রেমে
দুঃখ-সুখের বিচত্র জীবনে
তুমি ছাড়া আর কেহু না রবে ॥”
—(গীতাঞ্জলি)

I have come to this world only as a pawn of thy sports
 My own desires will die unto thy pleasure and love
 And in weal and woe, none shall survive except thee.

“মনকে আমার কায়াকে ।

আনি একেবারে মিলিয়ে দিতে

চাই এ কালো হায়াকে ॥

তুমি আমার অনুভবে

কোথাও নাহি বাধা পাবে

পূর্ণ-একা দেবে দেখা

সরিয়ে দিয়ে মায়াকে ॥”

—(গীতা লি)

I like to liquidate my mind and my body forever
 So that thou mayst reveal thyself as a complete Whole
 After removing this illusive body and mind of mine.

“রক্ষা করছে ।

আনার কর্ম হইতে আনার রক্ষা করছে ।

আপন ছায়া আতঙ্কে মোরে করিছে কম্পিত হে

আপন চিত্ত প্রালিহে আনায়, বরস করহে ।

প্রতিদিন আনি আপনি রটিয়া জড়াই মিথ্যা জালে

ছলনা-ভোর হইতে মোরে রক্ষা কর হে ॥”

—(ধর্মসঙ্গীত)

Save me from my actions

My own shadow terrifies me

My own mind devours me

I entangle myself everyday with my self-created snares

Protect me from these clutches of illusion.

“যা হবার তাই হোক

যটে যাক্ সর্ব শোক

সর্ব-নরীচিকা ।

নিতে যাক্ চিরদিনে

পরিশ্রান্ত পরিষ্কীন

মত্যা-জন্মশিখা ॥

সব তর্ক হোক শেষ

সব রাগ সব ঘেঘ

সকল চালাই ।

বল শান্তি বল শান্তি

দেহ কাথে সব ক্লান্তি

পুড়ে হোক ছাই ॥”

— (টিজ্রা)

Let the inevitable come

Let all sorrows and illusions disappear

Let the lamp of this earthly life be extinguished for ever

Let all controversies, passions and jealousies go

And let the mind have the peace of eternal rest.

“সীমার মানে অসীম তুমি

বাজাও আপন সুর ।

আমার মধ্যে তোমার প্রকাশ

তাই এত মধুর ॥”

— (গীতাঞ্জলি)

Thou art Infinite, thou playest thy music in the Finite

This is why thy revelation in me is so sweet.

“পারবি নাকি যোগদিতে এই ছন্দে

ধনে যাবার ভেসে যাবার ভাব্বারই আনন্দে ॥”

— (ধর্মসঙ্গীত)

Won't you be able to join this rhythm of

decay, death, and disappearance?

“ওগো আমার এই জীবনের শেষ পার্ব পূর্ণতা
মরণ, আমার মরণ, তাই কও আমারে কথা।

সারা ছসন তোমার লালি

প্রতিদিক যে সাহি জানি

তোমার তরে ভয়ে বেড়াই সুখ-দুঃখের কথা।

মরণ, আমার মরণ, তুমি কও আমারে কথা ॥”

—(গীতাঞ্জলি)

Death, Oh my Death, speak unto me
Thou art the consummation of my life
I am waiting all the life for thee
Bearing the burden of sorrows and pleasures
Death, Oh my Death, speak unto me.

Innumerable instances can be cited like these wherein Rabindranath's conception of life in relation to God and the World has been revealed. Rabindranath is out and out a mystic poet of Pantheism, bordering, at places, on Paganism.

Against this Idealistic-Pantheistic-Vedantic-Sufistic background of under-estimation of life, Iqbal boldly proclaims the individuality and immortality of the Soul and its never-ending progress and development in our after-life. He says that this visible world is not a baseless fabric of fantasy; it is also real and meaningful. Man is also real and his Ego or Soul will not be absorbed unto God, it will continue to exist as a separate entity by the side of God under his infinite mercy, as has been clearly indicated by our fundamental article of Faith; “LA ILAHA ILALAH MUHAMMAD-UR RASULULLAH”. Here Man has been bracketed with God and given the exalted position of His Viceroy. It also proves that there is no intermediary between God and Man—and that Man has limitless power and potentialities in him.

Indeed Man is destined to rule the Universe as the REPRESENTATIVE of GOD. GOD is no doubt our Creator, but once he has created us, HE will not absorb or annihilate us. It is His pleasure that we live with Him eternally. Iqbal's philosophy

is based on the teachings of the Holy Qur'an which vouchsafes Eternal Life not only to dwellers of Paradise, but also to dwellers of Hell (WA HUM FIHA KHALEDUN). Iqbal has given a beautiful poetic shape to this Eternal verity of Islam. Here lies his credit. I quote below a few lines from Iqbal to corroborate my views:—

“When the mountain loses its self, it turns into sands
And complains that the sea surges over it. . . .
Because the earth is firmly based on itself
The captive Moon goes around it perpetually,
The being of the sun is stronger than that of the earth
Therefore is the earth fascinated by the Sun's eye.”

Build thy clay into a man
Build thy man into a world

Life is preserved by purpose;
Because of its goal its caravan-bell tinkles.
Life is latent in seeking,
Its origin is hidden in desire.
Desire keeps the Self in perpetual uproar.
Negation of life is death to the living.

Abandon self and flee to God
Strengthened by God, return to thy self.

It is sweet to be God's Vicegerent in the world
And exercise sway over the elements.

In this beautiful way, Iqbal narrates the philosophy of life. He gives new values to life and urges upon strengthening the Soul, as he believes that in the scale of being the status of a thing is determined according to the degree of strength it attains. In other words, the degree of “I-am-ness” determines the status of a thing. As God is the perennial source of all power and success, and as man is not yet the completest person, it is essential that he should come in close contact with God for drawing strength from Him. The motivating idea behind this should be not to absorb himself into God, but rather to absorb God unto himself. There is a Hadis in support of this

view. The Holy Prophet has said: "Takhallaqu bi Akhlaqillah" i.e. Imbibe the character of Allah. Indeed, the nearer is a person to God, the greater is his strength and personality. A man full of divine qualities is the perfect man. Iqbal calls him "Insan-i-Kamil" or the Perfect Man, as opposed to Nietzsche's "Superman". Iqbal pays his tributes to a perfect man in these two immortal lines:—

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے؟

"Develop thy self, so that before every decree
God Himself will ascertain from thee "what is thy wish?"

In short, vicegerency of God, eternal life and limitless spiritual progress in after-life are the principal messages of Iqbal.

Rabindranath's view of life is, therefore, out-dated or medieval in character. To Iqbal man is the vicegerent of God, and he will abide for ever with God; but to Rabindranath man is a sad weary pilgrim bound for the valley of eternal death.

Iqbal is the poet of today and also of tomorrow.

By Syed Ali Ahsan

Translation is a difficult job as it involves an absorption into a new language, the knowledge of a foreign language, the translation of words in order to give them a new meaning in the original language. It is not enough to know the meaning of a word but to know the context in which it is used. The translator must try to capture the spirit of the original and not just the letter. He must try to convey the meaning of the original in a way that is understandable to the reader of the target language. He must try to capture the spirit of the original and not just the letter. He must try to convey the meaning of the original in a way that is understandable to the reader of the target language.

The Problem of Translating Iqbal in Bengali

By

Syed Ali Ahsan

Director, Bengali Academy, Dacca

By Syed Ali Ahsan

Translation is a very difficult job as it involves an absorption into a new language, the perception of a different language. The translator attempts to create a new form similar in effect to that of the original, he does not translate word for word but he tries to create something correspondingly new. Those who try to conform to original words but not to the sense and rhythm of the original, translate only the words and forget the sequence of images.

In the history of Bengali literature we come across many important translators during the middle ages. For them translation was never a difficult job. They composed poems of their own by following the contours of the original poems and the translated verse corresponded to the traditions of Bengali poetry. In fact they accommodated the thought of the original to the way they spoke in Bengali. It was not difficult for them for two reasons. Firstly, translations were either from Sanskrit or from Arabic-Persian. When they translated from Sanskrit, they did not bring any new tradition but actually added a new chapter to the continuous mythological tradition of the Hindu race. As the Bengali urban tradition did not significantly differ from the ancient Sanskrit tradition, the poets found it easier and profitable to translate from word to word. When they translated from Arabic-Persian they deviated unhesitatingly from the original poets' sequence of images and accepted the rhythm and the tone of Bengali poetry. Secondly, in the case of large number of translations from Avadhi, difference in time and social settings were mostly insignificant. The poets therefore could conform to the tone of the original at ease by following the traditions of Bengali poetry. In this connection we can refer to Aloal's *Padmavati* which is the translation of Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padumavat*.

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Whenever we talk about the influence of Iqbal on Modern Bengali poetry, we talk about this influence in the most general terms referring it to the ideas and the philosophy of the poet. I shall come to this type of influence later on. Let us first of all think of this influence with reference to the poetic-pattern. There are certain difficulties in assessing such an influence. It will be evident from my argument that poetry, as poetry, can only be judged from the points of view of sense, feeling, tone and intention, and not of thoughts only. This extreme reliance on thought expressed in a poem may sometimes lead us to wrong conclusions. I shall cite an example. Hafiz was rendered into Bengali verse by Krishna Chandra Majumdar, a Bengali poet in the traditional quantitative 'Payar' with the fixed caesura, resulting in an unhappy monotony. Words and images used by the poet were in line with the accepted tradition of Bengali verse. As a result, when we read Krishna Chandra Majumdar's "Sadvaba Sataka," we do not read anything new, we only get an additional book in the set-pattern. Krishna Chandra Majumdar was content to take the Bengali language as he found it without quite knowing what was happening. He had not the vision and resource to make a new form, similar in effect to that of the original. He was not convincing in making the Persian poet's world his own. The original poet's attitude of mind did not pass through his words, that was because he could not understand the sense, feeling, tone and intention of Hafiz. Something correspondingly new was not made to happen. He only added a new book in the already existing stock without giving a new effect.

Similar disturbing examples were repeated in the case of Iqbal also. His 'Shikwah' is written in a style which is perfectly adequate to his experience, it is an instrument of extra-ordinary delicacy in revealing his emotional states. But some of our Bengali poets, without a proper understanding of this style, translated the words of 'Shikwah' in Bengali rigidly following the metrical pattern of the original poem, and created some colourless and inexpressive Bengali poems. Bengali poetry is remarkable for the richness and variety of its vocabulary, whereas Urdu poetry has a conventional vocabulary like Persian poetry, and in 'Shikwah' especially, there is often simply bare statement. But the simple conventional words of 'Shikwah' seem somehow to penetrate into the furthest layers

of the mind. In Bengali, only Ashraf Ali Khan achieved a remarkable success in rendering 'Shikwah' in Bengali verse. Ashraf Ali Khan actually wrote a poem of his own by following the contours of the original poem. In him we get a rendering without deformation of something which he had clearly apprehended and seized in his mind. The success of Ashraf Ali Khan is partly due to the following facts: When Nazrul Islam was extremely popular in Bengal with the younger generation for his revolt against traditional values, Ashraf Ali Khan translated 'Shikwah' in Bengali. He found an echo of revolt against established practices in Iqbal. The initial popularity of Iqbal in Bengal was due to an apparent parallelism of his ideas with Nazrul Islam. Iqbal brought to the people of Bengal a sense of restlessness and questioning. In his 'Kankal' or 'Skeleton', Ashraf Ali Khan was greatly influenced by Iqbal in the sense that Iqbal gave him courage to question the highest authority, and the power to appreciate conflict and turbulence. In his translation of 'Shikwah', Ashraf Ali Khan created a new poem of his own in the Bengali syllabic metre but with significant variations in line with the contour of the original poem.

Other translators of Iqbal's 'Shikwah' who came after Ashraf Ali Khan were moved by Iqbal's religiosity, piety and philosophic magnificence. As a result they created something, not in line with the tradition of Bengali poetry, in an extravagant tedious monotony. These translators unfortunately were men of learning but not poets. Dr. Shahidullah's translation can be cited as an example. There is no accumulation of sense-perceptions, no richness in vocabulary but only a matter-of-fact and word for word rendering of Iqbal. Nothing correspondingly new was made to happen. There is pedagogy in his translation but no reorientation. Besides Mohd. Shahidullah, other translators of 'Shikwah' are Mohd. Sultan, Aminuddin Ahmed and Mizanur Rahman.

Iqbal's ideas gave rise to the Pakistan movement, and in Bengal it gave rise to a significant literary movement. After the adoption of the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League in 1940, Muslim poets and writers of Bengal, specially of Calcutta and Dacca met at two conferences and resolved to create a new Bengali literature compatible with Islamic ideology but deeply rooted in the soil. In poetry three trends were evidenced, firstly, the trend of Islamic

history; secondly, Islamic faith, truth and conviction; and thirdly, the unsophisticated folk-tradition of rural Bengal. Iqbal's influence was noticeable in the first two trends. Here the influence was strongly ideological and not technical, that is, Iqbal's influence had nothing to do with the sense, tone and feeling in Bengali poetry, it was matter as distinct from the poetic pattern. And therefore, not an influence on poetry as such, as on the minds of the poets. It did not matter much because the poets of Bengal felt that the time had come when they should concentrate on directness without a shadow of deflection, on what the poem points at and on what the poet is saying and not on how he says it.

It is true that there was Islamic ideology in Bengali poetry in the Middle ages, but Iqbal's influence brought about a change in approach. Syed Sultan, the sixteenth century poet threw light on Islamic theology in his 'Jnan-Choutisha.' The early seventeenth century poet, Alaol was an authority on Sufism, the evidence of which can significantly be found in his translation of "Tohfa." The eighteenth century poet Ali Raza had demonstrated a very deep insight into the spiritual aspect of life. In other words, the germination of Islamic philosophy and its development had taken place in Bengali poetry much earlier. But it looked as if there was some amount of coarseness about it. In these early treatments, religion had been the regulator of life in crude form, but no connection had been maintained with emotions and feelings of ordinary life. Of course, there is no indication of self-analysis or emotional expression in the pre-nineteenth century Bengali poetry. Its literary value lies in the greatness of story or sometimes in the devotion to natural phenomena, material embodiment of gods, or God Himself. Whatever it might be, we find limitless use of Islamic history as material for poetry in the literary luminaries of the nineteenth century and of the following period, such as Mir Musharraf Hussain, Muzammel Huq, Kaikobad and Ismail Hussain Shirazi. There is evidence of their acquaintance with history in their writings. What appears to be wanting is understanding of history and appreciation of the values thereof. It was left to Nazrul Islam, at a much later period, to prove that the history of Islam was not only the background or material for poetry, but also the nursery of feelings; the nerve-centre of beauty and the dream and realisation of life. But in Nazrul Islam's poetry, there was something which

appeared to be missing, and that was 'Tauhid' and reflection of Islamic beauty and conviction. There is a vivid picture of agony born of misery and there are fiery notes of revolt, but for want of self-analysis there has not been determined an antidote for the sense of wretchedness and frustration. Iqbal has painted the picture of lethargy and disappointment of the Muslims in a very able manner; and for this state of downfall and stagnation, his feelings are very profound. The indication of the route that we find in 'Jawab-i-Shikwah' gives the proof of his deep appreciation of eternal struggle of Islamic values. He has asked every Muslim to hold fast to the eternal truth of Islam and to the never-failing life-giving Sayings of the *Holy Quran*. Thus he has said in one place: "In times of crises in their History it is not Muslims that saved Islam, on the contrary, it is Islam that saved Muslims."

Of course, one should bear in mind that, to Iqbal, the meaning of Islam is not the submission of a dying heart, but mental vigour, justice and devotion all at once. This vigorous emotion of Iqbal stirred the minds of young Muslims violently. Indication of this stir is first visible in the literary field in 1942-43.

But there are others who have no conflict in their minds, they accept, as the quiet-of-mind listener accepts the fable of a short story or a novel, religious or the ethical idea expressed in a poem. For them there is no challenge, no confusion, no symbolism. Words to them seem to convey the meaning and the meaning is the meaning of words only. That is, for them there is not the sensuous and aesthetic continuum which 'connects poetry with music and painting.' They have a philosophic and religious argument. They say that it is not important to know whether poetry organizes a pattern of words through the sequence of image, metaphor symbol and myth, but it is important to know what the poet says. Specially in a poet like Iqbal, one should be moved by his philosophy and religious ardour. Ghulam Mustafa may be considered the leader of this group. There are others in this field, such as, A.F.M. Abdul Huq, Kazi Akram Hussain and Syed Abdul Mannan. In their renderings of Iqbal we do not get projections of the poet's sense-impressions, but only literal reproductions. Of course, it is extremely difficult to achieve an intimacy with the experiencing self of Iqbal. Therefore, these poets are more interested in object-

ive reality. But gradually the limits of investigation will be greatly extended, and, let us hope, that a time will come when there will be, not a mere comprehension, but a full realization of Iqbal's experience.

Translations:

1. Shikwah and the Jawab	12
2. Bang-e-Dara	.. 3
3. Asrar-e-Khudi	.. 2
4. Ramuz-e-Bekhudi	.. 1
5. Armughan-e-Hijaz	.. 1
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By Professor Mohammad Fauzi Hassan Khalil

Great intellects have risen and thinkers great, during the history of mankind. Genuine souls of great sincerity, plodding their arduous way in continuous torture, not for their own sake, but for the sake of others, other less gifted people, who were blindly engrossed, in the darkness of their souls, in their own petty problems. Iqbal was an intellect, and a thinker who devoted his life to the guidance of others. Iqbal made his appearance at a moment when the Islamic World and the Muslim nation stood at the point of utter extinction—just as has always been the case with this nation—a curious enough fact though—for it is a strange fact to observe, that whereas in other nations, great men arise along with the rise of the nation, in Islam great men rise when this nation is in the agonies of death rattle. Iqbal rose at such a moment. He was a man of destiny, and the opposite factors of discouragement and encouragement converged toward a point, in such a proportion that he emerged, out of his difficulties, a success during his life. He left a valuable legacy to his nation in particular, and mankind in general. Iqbal opened his eyes in a particular environment, in a particular set of circumstances, as is always arranged by the hand of fate, and we hear the young Iqbal sounding his first notes in:

مارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا
ہم بابلین ہیں اسکی وہ گلستان ہمارا

That is:

Of all the world, best is our India:

We are her nightingales and she our Garden.

For those were the days of the Indian nationalist struggle, and the aim appeared to be liberation from foreign yoke. The poem, as is to be expected, was much appreciated, and Iqbal achieved country-wide fame overnight. But fate had even a higher destiny in store for Iqbal, her eye was fixed on him and her hand therefore guided him on to Europe, and there his eyes were opened to a fact,

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a formidable fact, that Europe, in her glorious age of renaissance and before that, had vastly borrowed from the light of Islam, and that if the darkening future of mankind was ever to receive illumination, it could only do so by re-exposing itself to the real light of Islam. And there, in Europe, during his stay as a student, we imagine Iqbal sitting in an imposing library, looking at the countless series of books, which were the works of the Muslim scholars of the past ages, and which continued shedding light even to his own times, and we find him engrossed in sad, strangely sad thought, and we hear him repeat the famous verse of the renowned Kashmiri poet, Ghani:

غنی روز سیاہ پیر کنعان را تماشا کن
کہ نور دیدہ اش روشن کند چشم زلیخارا

“Behold, O Ghani, the irony of Jacobs fate, and his darkened day, that it is his light:

the light of his own eyes, that illumines the eyes of Zulekha.”

Awakened and illumined by such a light, and with deep convictions in his mind, Iqbal returned to India, and thereafter faithfully struggled for his Mission to the end. And it is in the light of those convictions, that we hear him changed his note from:—

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا
ہم بلبلیں ہیں اسکی وہ گلستان ہمارا

to

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

That is:—

“China ours, India ours, Arabia ours, we Muslims have one Fatherland, and the whole world is ours.”

Having thus risen, from a lower to a higher horizon, it was quite natural for him to view things in a broadened perspective, and consequently endeavoured to find some secure hearth, where the particular ideology of Islam could be nourished and practised as an example for the rest of mankind. And, therefore, when ultimately the question of freedom for India came, he raised his

voice for a separate home for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent. It was a difficult objective to achieve, but through sheer faith and perseverance, and indeed through the grace of almighty Allah, the objective was realized, to the astonishment of one and all.

Iqbal's share in the long struggle was immense. There would be no exaggeration in saying that Iqbal is Pakistan and Pakistan is Iqbal, inseparably bound to each other. He throughout contributed to the national goal by word and by deed, both directly and indirectly, in the face of greatest difficulties, and if on the one side we see him formulating the political destiny of the Muslims of India, on the other hand we hear him sounding the clarion call, raising the dead out of their graves, and dead those Muslims certainly were, completely dead. And they rose. For the idea of Pakistan served as a magic upon their minds, and through this effective stimulus, awoke, the real image of Islam and God in the eyes of even those luke-warm in their faith. This ideal gave them unity, faith and spirit of sacrifice, they rose as one man and stood ready, determined to achieve, against all odds, their goal, their only goal, Pakistan.

The Miracle was at last achieved, but alas he who had struggled most for it, was not destined, in his own life, to see his ideal achieved, for he died some ten years before the emergence of Pakistan. But imagine for a while, that if the goal of Pakistan had been achieved within his life time, with what joy would he have beheld the rising banner of crescent and star over the Shahi Mosque of Lahore. Perhaps he would not have believed his eyes, perhaps he would have died of joy. But Iqbal was lucky, for they who have known the joy of suffering, prefer suffering to joy. So it was in the tradition of the great renovators of Islam that he died, complaining of heartache, and turning his sides on his painful bed, and thinking to the last, of Islam, and Muslims, and the Prophet. For the Prophet was his *primum mobile*, the entire source of his love and inspiration, and the object of his veneration. In the Prophet's love he lived, and in the Prophet's love he died, a true martyr.