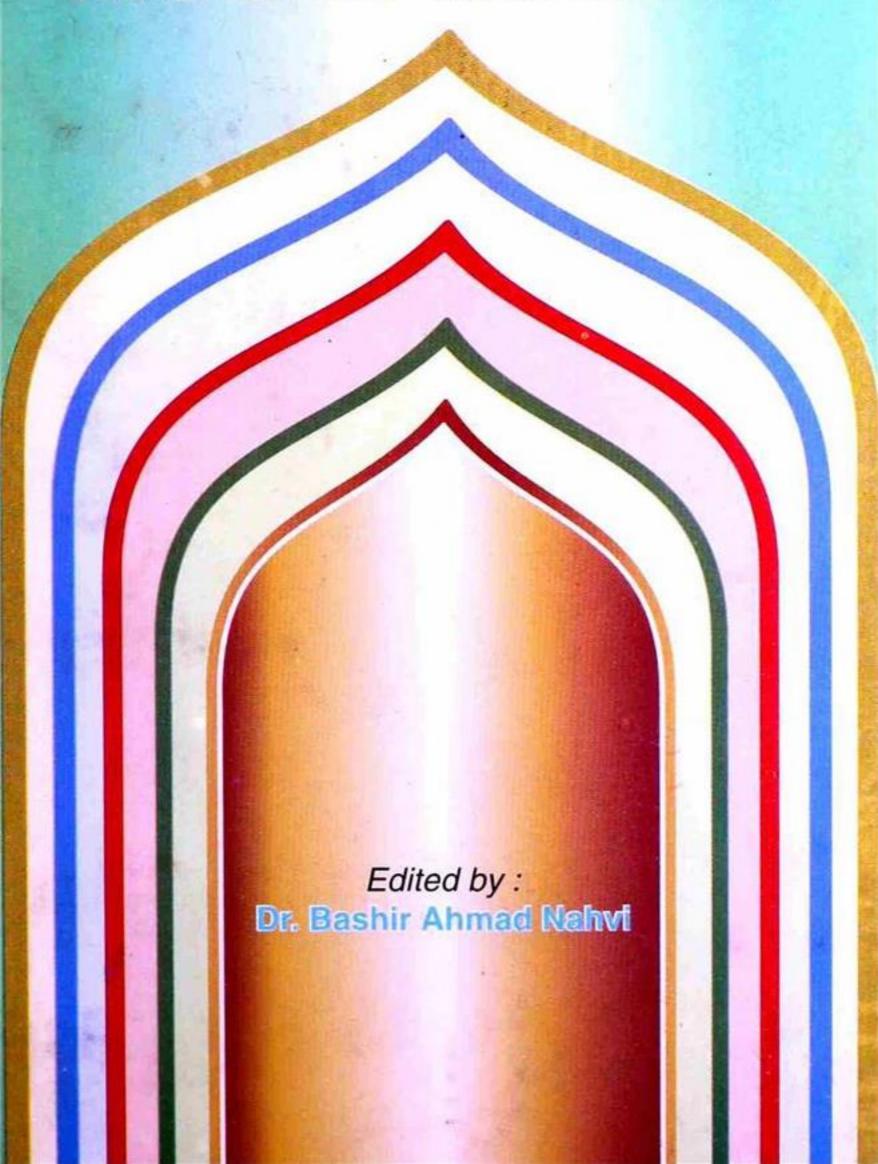
IQBAL!S MULTIFORMITY



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Edited by

Dr. Bashir Ahmad Nahvi

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PREFACE

Iqbal revitalised a decaying people with his inspiring messages conveyed through the medium of powerful poetry.

He thrilled the whole world especially the Eastern mind, which had grown used to only lifting soft melodies and sweet cadences, with a new kind of poetry that was dynamic, vital and thought-provoking. And the wonder and magnificence of it all lay in the fact that in this process, quite and substantial part of his poetry lost none of its beauties and emotional appeal.

Iqbal among all the leading poets of the subcontinent had a privilege of being highly qualified, learned and deeply acquainted with the western and eastern philosophies in the early years of twentieth century he went to Europe and travelled widely and met noted intellectuals of his time. It is true that Iqbal was influenced by Nietzxhe's 'superman theory' but we must not lose sight of the basic difference that existed between Iqbal's conception and that of the German philosopher. In Nietzche's philosophy, there was no place for a higher moral order operating, there was no check by way of a noble, all-pervading influence, exercised by a comprehension of religion and hence his philosophy of the Superman could easily degenerate into a monstrous doctrine where power was not a means to something greater but an end in itself. Iqbal's conception did not provide for the Nietzschean superman but for what may be called the Mardi-Mumin (the true Muslim) the viceregent of God on earth, who always owes his allegiance to Allah but whose soul, through prayers and good deeds, has reached a stage where eve apparently impossible achievements are possible of accomplishment. To Iqbal religion is a force which is everexistent and all embracing and the unique individual he advocates strives to grow powerful and strong, not because he wants to attain a position where he can most effectively serve God and mankind. According to Iqbal the ideal person who contribute a lot to mankind was the holy Prophet (SAW). Friends and foes alike agree that the Prophet of Islam was superior to all others, even before his call at the age of forty. He was the most pious of his people and all virtues were to be found in him. During twenty three years period of prophet-hood he achieved miraculous results in converting the people to Islam. Deep rooted evil customs disappeared and virtues and good morals took their place. Brotherhood, equality and justice replaced murder, selfishness, anarchy and cruelty. Iqbal rightly depicted the situation in a Persian verse:-

Amir Shakaid Arslam of Damascus once remarked that lqbal is the greatest thinker the Muslim world has produced during the last thousand years. Iqbal's merits as a thinker are recognised by all, but what is often overlooked is the fact that he was not only a thinker but also a versatile genius in the wealth of imagery, diction and thought, above all, success in making his verses a suitable and adequate tool for the exposition of his lofty philosophical ideas, Iqbal undeniably demonstrates his greatness as a poet of a very high order. True that sometimes his poetry seems rather heavy, overburdened with ideas and preachings, but that happens only very rarely. And in this context, we must also remember that Iqbal was indeed a guide and for him, as for any really great artist of any time, art was not an absolute and in itself. It would be appropriate to quote here Iqbal's own works regarding art and its scope and functions.

"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 trails 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 was certainly no opium-eater in Art. he wrote because he felt that he had something definite to say. He had firm and strong views on many issues, carefully thought out, intensely rational and yet endowed with an ardent moral fervour, but he was never dogmatic.

Dreams of world-peace and world-unity can never come out true unless all abandon their false ideologies and adopt the right ideology of multidimensional and broad-based spiritual philosophy of Allam Muhammad Iqbal. Peace will come to the world, not because we shall succeed in harmonising conflicting ideologies, but because one ideology with replace the rest and dominate the whole-world.

سبزه ناروئیده زیپ گلشتم گل به شاخ اندر نبال در دامنم بالم از خاور رسید و شب فکست شبنم نوبر گل عالم نشست انظار صبح خیزان می کشم اے خوشا زرد شبتان آتشم نغم ام از زخمه به پرواستم من نوائے شاعر فرداستم نغم من از جہانِ دیگر است آل جرس را کاروانِ دیگر است

My Garden is adorned with a vendure which is yet to sprout from the earth. My skirt is full of flowers which are yet to emerge from the branch. The light of dawn has shone in the east. The flower of world is bedewed afresh. I wait for the early-risers of the morning. How fortunate the worshippers of my fire! I am a note which does not require the hand of a musician to tune. I am the song of the poet of tomorrow.

My song belongs to a different world. My bell is calling a different caravan.

Several collections of critical essays and studies have been edited and published by writers in India as well as in Pakistan. "Muhammad Iqbal" edited by Verinder Grover, Department of Political Science, Delhi University has also contributed in a nice way. For English knowing people it is a dire need to provide them with the best material on Iqbal scattered in the shape of articles and essays published in the literary journals of the subcontinent.

This book "Iqbal Multiformity" is a systematic piecing together of original and creative writings on Iqbal, written by noted Iqbalean scholars of the East and the west. I have taken lot of the material from the "Iqbal Review Pakistan" and it is my moral duty to pay thanks to the

whole-establishment of the reputed journal. I am hopeful that this book will prove meaningful for all those scholars, students and teachers who are eager to know in English about the ideas, concepts and messages of the great philosopher-poet of this subcontinent.

Dr. Bashir Ahmad Nahvi

Dated: 29-10-2001

IQBAL AND TAUHID

Dr. Rifat Burki

"Iqbal begins and ends with the belief in Tauhid." this statement, at first sight, may look like an overamplification but, in fact, it is not. For Iqbal the amplification of the 'Kalima' "Lah illaha illa Allah" (There is no god but God) are very profound and farreaching, and provide a basis both for his theology and his philosophy. As Professor Schimmel observes, "Iqbal has built his system upon the principle of 'Tauhid', the acknowledgement of the absolute uniqueness of God which is reflected in the unity of the individual life, and the unity of religio-political groups." 2

'LA' AND 'ILLA'

The 'Kalima' has two parts- 'la' signifying negation, and 'illa' signifying assertion or affirmation. The contrast between the first party 'There is not god' and the second part 'but God', has, from early times been a subject of interest to many "speculative minds who discovered not only a strictly dogmatic meaning, but also a deeper mystical truth in the confrontation of the 'la' and the 'illa'. Human life advances by means of the dialectical tension between negation and affirmation. It is by saying 'No' to the factors which weaken the Self, and by saying 'Yes' to the factors which strengthen it, that the 'Momin' reaches the highest stage of his spiritual development. Iqbal says:

خودی کا سرِ نہاں لا الدالااللہ خودی ہے تنیخ فسال لا الدالا اللہ (Zarb-e-Kalim p. 7)4

Iqbal's viewpoint

بيش غير الله لا گفتن حيات تازه از بنگامه او كائنات (Pas Cha Bayad Kard Ali Aqwam-e-Sharq? p. 10)⁵ finds support in Soderblom: "But no is also needed. Without No there will be no proper Yes. For then that all that denies and destroys, degrades and delays what is right and good would be allowed to remain unattacked and unabolished. That is why a No is necessary in the moral warfare of the individual, in the evolution of religion and in the history of the race."

By using the sword of 'la' and 'Momin' can resist the worship of the idols of modern civilization. Negation is the first stage in spiritual evolution:

(pas Che Bayad Kard Ali Aqwam-e-Sharq? p.19)⁷
But 'la' must be succeeded by 'illa' or else having broken all the idols one would be left in a world with no God. Iqbal says

According to Iqbal, Russia and Nietzsche have passed the stage of 'la' but not reached 'illa'. Russia has said 'No' to despotism and exploitation in religion and politics but has not yet found a positive foundation to build upon. In his message to the Russia people, Jamaluddin Afghani says in Javid Nama:

(Javid Nama, p. 88)9

Nietzsche too did not pass beyond the 'la' and did not know the deep joy of being the servant of God. That, as Iqbal sees it, was Nietzsche's tragedy. زندگی شرح اشارات خودی است لا و الا از مقامات خودی است او به لا در مانده و تا الا نرفت از مقام عبده بیگانه رفت

(Javid Nama, pp. 177-178)10

For the Faithful, then, both negation and affirmation

لا و الا اختساب كائنات لا و الا فنح باب كائنات بر دو تقدير جهانِ كاف و نون حركت از لا زايد از الا سكون

(Pas Che Bayad Kard Ali Aqwam-e-Sharq? p. 19)11 Tauhid the basis of the Islamic polity

The internationalism which Iqbal finds implicit in Islam and to which he refers untiringly in his writings, derives from the idea of Divine Unity. As Iqbal points out in his Lecturers, Islamic 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. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal. nature."¹²

The implications of the principle of 'Tauhid' when applied to the collective life of the Muslims, are worked

applied to the collective life of the Muslims, are worked out in considerable detail in Rumnuz-e-Bekhudi. Iqbal points out that the unity of the Muslims is not dependent on ties of country or kindship, but on the principle of Divine Unity, which is a "formative factor for the unity of mankind."¹³

He says:

Thus the brother hood of Islam transcending all barriers of race, colour or nationality, is directly derived from the idea of 'Tauhid' " From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all egos," says Iqbal, "follows the essential unity of all mankind." ¹⁵

(Ramuz-e-Bekhudi, p. 107)16

"The essence of 'Tauhid as a working idea, "says Iqbal, is equality, solidarity and freedom." Islam does not recognise the "tyrant over-lordship" of either "the Prophet of Islam translated the principles deriving from God's Unity and Sovereignty into terms of actual living:

Iqbal also applies the idea of the Unity of God to the Unity of the mind and body— and ideal realised in the Sphere of Mars in Javid Nama:²⁰

If body and spirit could be regarded as one then there would be no need to separate Religion from State. The ideal 'millat', in Iqbal's view, beginning from the principle of 'Tauhid' recognises the organic Unity of man's life and does not seek to bifurcate it into mutually exclusive compartments either in individual life or in collective life. Because it preserves the wholeness of life, creative 'Tauhid' produces both outstanding individuals and nations.

(Javid Nama, p. 226)21

IQBAL'S INTERPRETATION OF 'AT-TAUHID'

In Rumuz-e-Bukhudi, Iqbal gives a "Summary of the purpose of the poem," 22 a commentary on Sura CXII entitled "At-Tauhid" which has been called "the essence of the Koran." 23 The Sura reads: "Say, God is one God; the eternal God: He begetteth not, neither is He begotten; and there is not any one like unto Him." 24 Iqbal takes the various parts of this Sura and delineates the philosophical implications of each part in practical terms.

Taking the first part of the Sura, Iqbal exhorts the Muslims to believe in Unity and to translate their belief into action so that their faith becomes a living thing.

(Rumuz-e-Bekhudi, p. 183)25

The Second part of the Sura deals with God's Self-Subsistence Like God, a Muslim must not depend on things or persons outside himself.

The third part of the Sura tells a Muslim that he is not set

store by his lineage since God "begot not, nor was begotten" What binds the Muslims together is Love, not ties of blood:

The last part of the Sura affirms that God has no equal: If the Muslims possess the portified Ego, then they too can become "an unequalised people," 28 able, like the Perfect Man to command all things.

IQBAL AND 'TAUHID'

Iqbal realizes, not without sorrow, "that pure brow of the principle of 'Tauhid' has received more or less an impress of heathenism, and the universal and impersonal character of ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of localization." The fact that in his own career as political thinker Iqbal rejected his "process of localization," shows that for him the ideas, implicit in his creed, were a living force— a practical not just a theoretical necessity. Explaining Iqbal's "hasty retreat from pure Nationalism," Halide Edib observes with insight:

"To whatever political creed the Muslim may belong, his ultimate loyalty must be to the One God who cannot be symbolized by material objects or by ideas. This point was best expressed by the Muslim members of the 'Front Populaire' in the French colonies. They lifted their fists like the rest of their comrades, giving the sign of their political creed, but added to it the lifting of their index finger to the sky. The last is the sign common to all Muslims: 'There is no God but one God.....' is always said with that gesture meaning God to be above and beyond all terrestrial ideas and symbols." ³⁰

Modern civilization does not really understand the meaning of 'Tauhid' says Iqbal. It knows how to destroy but not how to create. It cannot pass beyond its unbelief to positive faith.

Iqbal often complains about the ritualists and theologians who have made the word 'Tauhid' the subject of scholastic hairsplitting and "turned away the interest from Practical Islam." In his view,

As a point of interest it may be mentioned that sometimes Iqbal uses a different formulation of the creed and says "la maujud illa Hu" (There is no existent but God.)³⁴

REFERENCES:

- 1. McCarthy. E. "Ighal as a Poet and Philosopher". p. 18
- 2. Schimmel, A.M. Gabriel's Wing, p.86
- 3. Ibid p. 86
- The hidden Secret of Self-hood is "There is no god but God"; Self-hood is the sword," There is no God but God" is the whetstone.
- To say 'No' to Not-God is life.
 From this strike, creation is made fresh.
- Soderblom, N. quoted by Schimmel, A.M. Gabriel's Wing p.90
- In the world, the beginning is with the word 'No';
 This is the first station of the Man of God.
- Life in its essence, begins with 'la' ends with 'illa'
 It is a message of death when 'la' is separated from 'illa'
- You have finished now with lords;
 pass on from 'no' march onwards to 'but'
 pass on from 'no', if you are a true seeker,
 that you may take the road of living affirmation.
 (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Javid Nama, pp 67-68
- Life is a commentary on the hints of the Self,
 "no and but" are of the stations of the Self;
 he remained fast in "no" and did not reach "but"
 (Translation by Arberry A J. Javid Nama, pp 112-113)
- 'la' and 'illa' are the criterion for evaluating everything in the universe.
 - 'La and illa' open the door of the universe.

 Both of them are the destiny of the created world,

 Motion is born of 'la', rest from 'illa'
- 12. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. p. 147
- 13. Schimmel, A.M. Bariel's Wing, p. 87
- 14. "There is no god but God"; this is the soul
 And body of our Community,
 The pitch that keeps our instrument in tune,

The very substance of mysteries,
The knotted thread that binds our scattered thoughts."
(Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 122)

- The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 93-94
- 16. Well-pointed arrows of one quiver are we;
 One showing, one beholding, one in thought;
 One is our goal and purpose, one the form,
 The fashion and the measure of our dream.
 Thanks to His blessings, we are brothers all
 Sharing one speech, one spirit and one heart.
 (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of selflessness
 p. 13
- 17. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 154
- 18. Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, pp. 21-22
- 19. He shattered every ancient privilege.
 And built new walls to fortify mankind.
 He breathed fresh life in Adam's weary bones,
 Redeemed the slave from bondage, set him free.
 (Translated by Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness
 p. 22)
- For terrestrials, soul and body are bird and cage, Whereas the thought of Martians is unitive.
 (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Javid Nama, p.82)
- 21. The individual through the Unity becomes Divine, the nation through the Unity becomes Omnipotent; Unity produced Ba Yazid, Shibli, Bu Dharr, Unity produced, for the nations, Tughril and Sanjar. (Translation by Arberry A.J. Javid Nama, p. 139)
- 22. Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 69)
- Pickthall, M.M. The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, New York, 1960, p. 454.
- 24. Sale, G. (Translation) The Koran, p. 459.

- 25. Be one; make visible thy Unity; Let action turn the unseen into seen; Activity augments the joy of faith, But faith is dead that issues not in deeds. (Translation by Arberry. A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness p. 70)
- No man to Individuality
 Ever attained, save that he knew himself,
 No nation came to nationhood, except
 It spurned to suit the whims of other men.
 (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 74)
- Love dwells within the spirit, lineage
 The flesh inhabits; stronger far than race
 And common ancestry, is Love's firm cord.
 (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 75)
- 28. Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 76)
- 29. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 156.
- 30. Edib, H. Inside India, London, 1937, pp 37-94.
- 31. The bottle of modern civilization is brimful of the wine of 'la' But the cup of 'illa' is missing from the hands of the cup-bearer.
- 32. Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 13.
- 33. Schimmel, A.M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 88.
- 35. Whoever has tied the knot of 'La illa' in his mind, Passes beyond the fetters of the School and the Mulla.
- For example in Rumuz-e- Bekhudi, p. 163; and Musafir,
 p.7.

IQBAL AND THE ISLAMIC AIMS OF EDUCATION

khurshid Ahmad

The importance of education hardly needs any emphasis. It is the 'knowledge' of things' as such which distinguishes man from the rest of the creation and which, according to the Quran, establishes his superiority over all others1. 'Illm is an essential quality for leadership2 and is one of those factors of prime importance which lead to the rise and growth of civlization3. That is why the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "The acquisition of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim}} and: {{Acquire knowledge, for he who acquireth it is the way of Allah performeth an act of piety; he who speaketh if it, praiseth the Lord; he who seeketh after it, adoreth God; he who dispenseth instruction in it, bestoweth aims, and he who impartent it to others, performeth and act of devotion to Allah."

Such being the importance of knowledge and education, it is very essential that we should clearly understand the nature of education and the principles on which it should be based.

(1)

WHAT IS EDUCATION

Education is not mere public instruction. It is process through which a nation develops its selfconsciousness, through developing the selfconsciousness of the individuals who compose it. It consists in the training of the new generations in the arts and crafts of living and in making them realise their mission and duty in life. Through education a people communicate their culture and intellectual heritage to the future generations and inspires them with their ideas of life. Education is a mental, physical and moral training and its objective is to produce highly cultured mend and women fit to discharge their duties as good human beings and as worthy citizens of a state. This is the nature and purport of education and is borne out by a careful perusal of the views of the leading educationists of all the ages.

Etymologically, 'education' is derived from the Latin e, ex meaning 'to lead'. Literally it means 'pack the information in' and 'draw the talents out.' Fundamentally the word is associated with the concept of giving information and knowledge and of developing latent of the object.

John Sturat Mill was among the western pioneers who tried to give wider frontiers to education. He said:

"Not only does education include whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature; it does more in its largest acceptation: it comprehends even the indirect efforts produced on character, and on the human faculties by things of which the direct purposes are quite different."

John Milton, a recent writer, defines education as follows:

"I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war".

This is the broadcast possible view of education.

The American philosopher John Dewey, regards education as "the process of forming fundamental dispositions, intellectual and emotional, towards nature

and fellow men." Dr. John Park is of the view that: "Education is the art of process of imparting or acquiring knowledge and habit through instructions or study."

Another educationist, Professor Herman H. Horne, writes that:

"Education is the eternal process of superior adjustment of the physically and mentally developed, free, conscious, human being to God, as manifested in the intellectual, emotional and volititional environment of men"9

Professor Niblets asserts that:

"The end of education is not 'happiness' but rather to develop greater capacity for being aware; to deepen human understanding—perhaps inevitably through conflict; struggle and suffering..... to make right action natural." 10

Thus, education is a continuous process through which moral, mental and physical training is imparted to younger generations, who also acquire their ideals and culture through it. Educationists use the world in two senses: in its broader sense it designates all those influences, physical, biological, moral and social, which fashion the course of lives of the individual and the nation

and in its narrower sense it designates only those special influences which are organised and devised by teachers in schools, colleges and other places of education. In any way, however, education is an all-embracing process and influences all aspects of the life of the pupil. That is why the life of a nation depends on its education. A Chinese proverb rightly puts it in this way:

"If you are planning for a year, plant grains;

If you are planning for a decade, plant trees;

If you are planning for a millennium, plant men,"

It is through education that men are 'planted' and millenniums are built.

(II) EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Education is a part and parcel of the culture of a people and is the instrument through which a culture perpetuates itself. The two cannot be separated from each other in just as the flesh cannot be separated from the bone. There is a widespread misconception that a people can emulate without injury the educational system of any country or nation. Unless a people spurn their own culture—something tantamount to national suicide!—

They cannot indiscriminately avail themselves of foreign system of education.

Every system of education basically consists of a set of certain social ideals, norms and values and is based on a specific view of life and culture. It is in this realm that imitation is suicidal. On the other hand, as far as techniques and methods are concerned, One country can safely profit from the experiences of others. But great care should be taken in respect of values, principles and ideals, for a conscious or unconscious adoption of them may destroy the entire fabric of a nation's culture.

Iqbal is very clear on this point. He says:

(Look into thy own clay for the fire that is wanted The light of another is not worth striving for.)

(Seek not the bounty of the glass-blowers of the West Make your own world from the clay of *India*.)

(Seek not thy bread from the bounty of another

Seek not the waves of water from the fountain of the Sun)

(How long wilt thou abide under the wings of other? Learn to wing thy flight freely in the garden breeze.)

And perhaps the clearest statement comes when Iqbal criticizes the generation which has been brought up under the influence of alien education—education which was opposed to our culture, distasteful to our civilization, affronting to our traditions and inulting to our history. He says:

علم غیر آموختی اندوختی روئے خوایش از غازہ اش افروختی ارجمندی از شعارش می برید من ندائم تو توئی با دیگری عقل تو زنجیری افکار غیر در گلوئے تو نفس از تار غیر بر زبانت گفتگو با مستعار در دل تو آرزو با مستعار قریانت را نواها خواست سروبا از بت قبابا خواست قریانت را نواها خواست سروبا از بت قبابا خواست باد می گیری بدام از دیگرال جام بم گیری بدام از دیگرال جام بم گیری بدام از دیگرال تا بے خبر آناب بستی کے در خود گر از نجوم دیگران تا بے خبر تا کبا طوف چراغ محفلے زآتش خود سوز اگر داری دے تا کبا طوف چراغ محفلے زآتش خود سوز اگر داری دے

(You have learnt and amassed knowledge of others and

brightened your face with rouge borrowed from others, You seek honour by aping the manners of others, I know not, whether you are 'yourself' or just "another's sell"

Your intellect is chained in the thoughts of others; The very breath in your throat comes from the strings of others.

Borrowed speeches are on your tongue;

Borrowed desires in your heart.

Your cypresses are clad in borrowed mantles.

The wine in you cup—you get from others;

The cup, too, you borrow from others.

How long will you dance around the candle of the assembly?

Lit up your own light, if you have heart.)

Thus it is clear that Iqbal was opposed to borrowed education and made a fervent plea for the adoption of that system of education which is the product of our own history and culture and which is in tune with our traditions and ideals. This exactly is the approach which is being advocated by the leading educationists of our day. John Dewy says: "Since education is a social process and there are many kinds of societies, a criterion for educational criticism and construction implies *a particular social ideal*." Prof. Niblett, puts in very beautifully when he says:

"It (education) is a continuation of the process

of growing into a fully human being which took place physically in the nine months before we were born. But now it is the culture of the society which is the womb, and the spirit not the body which is gestered."¹²

Professor Clarke makes this significant observation:

"For, whatever else education may mean, it must mean primarily the self-perpetuation of an accepted culture-a culture which is the life of a determined society." 13

And the America educationist, Dr. J.B. Conant, raises this point in another significant way when he says:

"I do not believe that educational practices are an exportable commodity. I fear the contrary assumption has been implied to some extent in our dealings with Germany and Japan since world war II. At times in our own history, attempts to import a British or European concept have done more harm than good" 14

The above discussion brings home the point that education is inextricably connected with the culture and the social ideals of a people and any attempt to strike a divorce between the two would defeat the very purpose of education. Education must represent the culture of the

Education which poses an neutral attitude towards culture and ideals of the society, will act as a force of disintegration and destroy the social fabric of all society. Education does more harm than good to a society if it does not represent and embody its culture.

(III)

THE FAILURE OF LIBERAL EDUCATION

The modern concept of liberal education is the very antithesis of the approach discussed above. Originally liberal education was the kind of education that was regarded as suitable for freemen as distinguished from the one adequate for the slaves or the serfs. Greeks as well as the Romans regarded artes liberals as studies appropriate for the free citizen. In the Medieval period the same view prevailed. Liberal arts were divided into two groups-Trivium and Quadrivium, consisting of grammar, rhetoric and logic and arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music respectively.

In the modern age liberal education gradually became a purposive and neutral towards ideals. Individuality was emphasised at the cost of all other considerations. Education was divorced from religion and

moral values. Freedom became the catchword, Elective system was introduced in respect of subjects and syllabi. It was asserted that a student should be given ample freedom to grow and develop according to his laten faculties and no external influence be allowed to cast his thinking or character into specific moulds. This kind of education became very common in the United States and gained ground in European countries as well.

The results which liberal education has produced are in no way encouraging. Some of the important results are as follows:

the students. And when a people lack ideals which may in spite them to action and sacrifice, they gradually lose their grip on history and their decline follows. In the words of Iqbal:

(Life of the individual depends on the relationship of the body and the soul Life of the nation depends on the preservation of its tradition and culture Individual dies if the life-flow ceases National dies if the ideal of life is spurned.

b) Such an education fails to instil moral values in the

hearts and souls of the new generations. It deals merely with the demands of the mind and fails to cater to the demands of the soul. A dichotomy occurs between the two and this results in a great national loss. As Iqbal says:

(Knowledge is a snake for your, i.e. your poison) if you use it to increase your (material) body (alone) If knowledge is used for the emancipation of the soul, then it is your best friend.

- c) This kind of education has resulted in the departmentalization of knowledge. Liberal education fails to organize or integrate knowledge into any one consistent whole. Students begin to see life and the world in small, unrelated fragments and fail to develop a sense of their unity and meaning. They only see the trees, not the word!
- d) Liberal education, in the last analysis, produces men who do not have any grip over the basic and living issues of life. In actual practice their knowledge proves too superficial to be of any empiric value. From the national viewpoint, such education fails to deliver the goods.

These basic drawbacks of the modern liberal education are now becoming more and more manifest. Dr. Frank Aydelotte says about American education: "The exclusive preoccupation with techniques, with means as opposed to ends, is depriving the study of literature, or philosophy, of history or religion of any liberal, element." Walter Lippman, the famous social philosopher, in a speech on "The State of Education in This Troubled World" says:—

"schools and colleges have been sending out into the world men who no longer understand the creative principles of the society in which they must live. deprived of their cultural tradition, the newly educated western men no longer possess in the form and substance of their own minds and spirits, the ideas, the premises, the rationale, the logic, the method, the values or the deposited wisdom which are the genius of the development of Western Civilization.... the present education is destined, if it continues, to destroy Western Civilization, and is in fact destroying it." ¹⁶

Dr. Albert G. Sims, Vice-President, Institute of International Education, in a recent article writes:

"The central problem in United States Education to which all others are tangent, is that of defining and giving effect to objectives and philosophy. It is no answer to say to this that the educational system mirrors in these respects the society which it serves. Education is also the means by which a community must deliberately project the image of its future" 17

The recent Rockefeller Report on U.S. Education clearly points out this deficiency:

"They (the students) want meaning in their lives. If their era, and their culture and their leaders do not or cannot offer them great meanings, great objectives, great convictions, then they will settle for shallow and trivial meanings. People who live aimlessly, who allow the search for meaning in their lives to be satisfied by shady and meretricious experiences, have simply not been stirred by any alternative meanings—religious meanings, ethical values, ideas of social and civic responsibility, high standards of self-realisation. This is deficiency for which we all bear a responsibility.

"We must assume that education is a process that should be infused with meaning and purpose; that everyone will have deeply held belief; that every young man will wish to serve the value which have nurtured him and made possible his education and his freedom as an individual."

In a book entitled *The Crisis in the University* which grew out of a series of studies in England, Sir Walter Moberley says:-

"Our predicament is this: Most students go through our universities without ever having been forced to exercise their minds on the issues which are really momentous. Under the influence of academic neutrality they are subtly conditioned to unthinking acquiescence in the social and political status quo and in a secularism on which they have never seriously reflected. Owing to the prevailing fragmentain of studies, they are not challenged to decide responsibility on a life-purpose or equipped to make such a decision wisely...

Fundamentally they are un-educated".18

Professor Harold H. Titus, after reviewing the entire

educational perspective, writes:-

"Even more serious than the lack of a common store of knowledge is the lack of common ideas and convictions. Education too frequently fails to build up any vital affirmations, convictions and disciplines. There has been a dangerous separation of science and research from human values and loyalties.... Education has divorced itself from the spiritual heritage of the past but has failed to supply any adequate substitute. Consequently, even educated persons are left without convictions or sense of values as well as without a consistent worldview". 19

M.V.C Jaffreys complains that:

"The most serious weakness in modern education is the uncertainty about its aims. A glance over history reminds us that the most vital and effective systems of education have envisaged their objectives quite definitely; in terms of personal qualities and social situations. Spartan, Feudal, Jesuit, Nazi, Communist educationists have had this in common. They knew what they wanted to do

and believed in it. By contrast, education in the liberal democracies is distressingly nebulous in its aims."20

These new thought-currents clearly show that the concept of the ideological neutrality of education is on the wane and decidedly this concept is injurious to culture and progress.

(IV)

PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Education should be ideologically oriented. It is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The end is the ideology and the culture of the people it is going to serve.

(Life is full of riches by Ideals. Intellect is one of those which are born from the inside of its body)

(Life is preserved by purpose and idea; Because of the goal its caraven bell tinkles)

Education must instil those beliefs and ideals for

which the nation stands. Preservation and promotion of the Religion and Culture of the people should be the purpose of education.

A.N. Whithead emphasis this point when he says that "the essence of education is that it be religious."21

''علم سے میری مرادوہ علم ہے جس کا دارو مدارحواس پر ہے، عام طور پر میں علم کا لفظ انہی معنوں میں استعال کیا ہے، اس علم کا لفظ انہی معنوں میں استعال کیا ہے، اس علم سے ایک طبعی قوت ہاتھ آئی ہے جس کودین کے ماتحت نہ رہے تو محض شیطنیت ہے۔۔۔۔مسلمان کے لئے لازم ہے کہ علم کو مسلمان کے کے گئے لازم ہے کہ علم کو مسلمان کی کرے۔''بولہب را حیدر کرار بن جائے، یا یوں کہئے کہ اگر اس کی قوت دین کے تابع ہوجائے تو نوع انسانی کے لئے مرامر رحمت ہے''

Iqbal held the view that Islam should be the purpose of our life and education. He writes in a letter to K.G. Saieedain:

"By 'Ilm I mean that knowledge which is based on senses. Usually I have used the world in this very sense. This knowledge yields physical powers which should be subservient

to deen (i.e. the religion of Islam). If it is not subservient to deen then it is demonic, pure and simple.....It is incumpent on Muslims to Islamize knowledge. "Abu Lahab should be metamorphosed into Haiyder". If this Abu Lahab becomes Haider-e-Karrar, or in other words, if it (i.e. knowledge and the power it wields) becomes subservient to deen, then it would be an unmixed blessing unto mankind"

From this observation of Iqbal, it becomes clear that he wanted to give education an ideological orientation and regarded that knowledge and education satanic which is neutral towards religion. In his famous Presidential Address of 1930 he said:

"If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising ideas embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction." 23

He also says:

(Make the imprint of the meaning of *Tawhid* on your heart

Seek solution of your problems by adherence to your traditions.)

Thus the primary purpose of education should be to imbue the student with their religion an ideology. They should be taught the meaning and purpose of life, man's position in the world, the doctrines of *Tawheed* (unity of God), *Risalah* (Prophethood), *Akhirah* (Life hereafter) and their bearing upon individual and social life, the Islamic values of morality, the nature and content of Islamic culture, and the obligations and the mission of a Muslim. Education should produce men with deeply-held convictions about the Islamic ideals of individual and collective life. It should develop in them the *Islamic approach* so that they may carve out their own way in the light of Islamic guidance.

The Qur'an says that the men of knowledge are the witnesses of Truth. Education which is designed to produce 'men of knowledge' should regard the cultivation of the knowledge of Islam as the primary goal. The Qur'an

says:

"Allah (Himself) is witness that there is no God save Him. And the angles and the men of learning (too are witness to this fact)"²⁴

According to the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him):

"Men of learning and Mujahideen are nearest to the prophetic status: for the men of learning direct the people in the ideals and objectives for which the prophet were raised and the Mujahid wields his sword in that cause"

Now, the question is: what is the mission for which the prophets have been raised: a mission which is to be discharged by the men of learning and the academies which are to produce these men of learning? According to the Qur'an, this mission is the propagation of the Message of Islam and the establishment of a just and healthy social order. The Qur'an says:

"He it is who hath sent among the unlettered one a messenge of their own: to recite unto them His revelations and to make them grow and purify, and to teach them the scripture and Wisdom, though heretofore they were indeed in error manifest." 25

And:

"We verily sent our Messengers with clear proofs, and revealed with them the Scripture and the Balance, that mankind may observe justice and right measure."²⁶

Thus, the basic objective of education in the framework of Islamic Culture is to discharge these prophetic functions, to educate the people in the religion and to prepare them for a fully-grown life.

This objective is to be achieved by permeating the entire education with the spirit of the Islamic ideology. Compilation and introduction of new books will have to be done from this viewpoint. An overhauling of the entire curricula and the creation of an atmosphere which is conducive to the achievement of these objectives will also be called for. It will also be necessary that in the teaching of each and every subject—particularly in respect of social studies—the viewpoint of Islam should be explained to the student and at every stage of his education proper care should be taken to arouse his sense moral responsibility. This, in my view, would be the proper purpose of education.

(V)

INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIAL SENSE

A very basic issue of education is: what importance is to be given to the development of individuality of the student? There are conflicting theories about it. Some regard the development of the individuality as the fundamental value and do not give any importance to the growth of social sense and collective responsibility. On the contrary there are some other theories which regard conformity to the social sense and collective responsibility. On the contrary there are some other theories which regard conformity to the social norms as the basic value and do not lay any emphasis upon the growth of the individual personality. Both these extremes are incorrect and unrealistic. A unique feature of Islam is that it establishes a balance between individualism and collectivism. It believes in the individual personality of man and holds everyone personally responsible and accountable to God. It gurantees fundamental rights of the individual and does not permit any one to tamper with them. It makes the proper development of the personality of man as one of the prime objectives of its educational policy. It does not subscribe to the view that man must loose his individuality in the social-collective or in the

state. According to the Qur'an:

- "Man shall have nothing but what he strives for ."27
- "And whatever suffering ye suffer, it is what your hands have wrought" 28
- "God does not change the condition of a people unless they first change that which is in their hearts."²⁹
- "For each is that which it hath earned and against each is only that which it hath deserve." 30

"Unto us are our deeds and unto you are yours."31

Iqbal has laid great emphasis on the proper development of the individuality and uniqueness of man and has a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life" The development of ego is of prime importance in his way of thinking. He condemns imitation because it curbs one's individuality. He is against drama and *Tamtheel* for in them the actor has to adopt the role of someone else and the repetition of it leads to the assassination of one's own personality. His view was that:

(Khudi is the determinant of the entire gamut of existence, All that Thou seest is due to the secrets of Khudi

(It is in the nature of *Khudi* to manifest itself. In every particle lies slubering the prowess of *Khudi*)

Thus the development of the individuality of man should be a basic tent with education.

This is only one aspect of the problem. On the other hand, Islam also awakens a sense of social responsibility in man, organizes human beings in a society and a state and enjoins the individual to subscribe to the social good. Prayer, in Islam, is offered in congregation which inculcates social discipline among the Muslims. Everyone is enjoined to pay *Zakat* and it has been laid down in the Qur'an that: "In their wealth the beggar and the destitute have their due right." (Al-Qur'an li:19). *Jihad* has been made obligatory, which means that the individual should, when the occasion arises, offer even his life for the defence and protection of Islam and the Islamic state. The Holy Prophet said:

"All mankind is a fold every member of which shall be a keeper of shepherd unto every other, and be accountable for the welfare of the entire fold." "Live together, do not turn against each other, make things easy for others and do not put obstacles in each other's way."

"He is not a believer who takes his fill while his neighbour starves."

"The believer in God is he who is not a danger to life and property of any other."

Iqbal emphasis this point when he says:-

(Individual is what he is through his association with the community. He is a nonety without that association. He is like a wave in the river—outside the river the wave has no existence)

A healthy educational policy will always aim at the achievement of balance between the development of the individuality and the social consciousness of the pupil For

(The individual derives his honour from his nation A nation is organised when the individuals are united together)

The development of the individuality can be achieved only if the child is treated with love and affection—even with a certain degree of respect for his individual selfand if his latent faculties are given ample opportunities for self-expression. He should breathe in an atmosphere of freedom. Education should become pupil-centred, giving him all possible opportunities to develop his creative faculties and inherent talents and aptitudes. The teachers should guide him and help him in his pursuit for the development of his personality but should not overshadow him to the extent that he becomes only a reflection of the teacher's personality. There should not be any compulsory drafting in different fields and occupations of the child who should be given the chance to make his own choice. The school atmosphere should be permeated with freedom, then alone can the proper development of the pupil's personality take place.

The primary emphasis on individuality does not mean that there should be any lack of social sense and collective responsibility in the students. The virtues of social consciousness and responsibility should be installed in them from the very beginning and they should be prepared for social service and responsible citizenship. (VI)

THE NEED FOR INTEGRATED KNOWLEDGE

Another principle of education is that students should be imparted balanced and integrate knowledge. They should be able to visualise the unity of the universe and the life in the diversity of the world-phenomena. The Report of the University Education Commission of India asserts that:

"The purpose of all education, it is admitted by thinkers of East and West, is to provide a coherent picture of the universe and an integrated way of life. We must obtain through it a sense of perspective, a synoptic vision, a samanvaya of the different items of knowledge. Man cannot live by a mass of disconnected information. He has a passion for an ordered intellectual vision of the connections of things. Life is one in all its varied manifestations. We may study the factual relations of the different manifestations but we must have knowledge of life as a whole. It cannot be a collection of distracting scraps but should be a harmony of patterns"33

Islam stands for the golden mean and its ideal is the development of a balanced personality. Balance in thought and behaviour is, according to a saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him), one of the characteristics of prophethood. Education, should, therefore, make it a point to see that the student gets a wide perspective of knowledge, and develops a balanced approach to life and its problems before he enters the stage of specialisation.

Moreover, it seems that Islam views knowledge as in integrated and correlated whole. This can be inferred from the fact that the Qur'an is the mainspring of all knowledge and it is this Book which will mould the mind and the approach of all the seekers of knowledge, whatever be their fields of inquiry. Knowledge will not remain split into small, unrelated fragments, but will be integrated into a single whole. This will also eliminate the evils of fragmentation and departmentalisation. Perhaps it would be more in consonance with the approach to start specialisation only at a higher stage of education. In the lower stages education should remain non-specialised. This will go a long way in broadening the outlook of the youth and in cultivating in them the virtues of intellectual tolerance.

(VII)

CHARACTER-BUILDING

Iqbal says:

(Ah! Neither the Mulla nor the Jurist is aware of the fact That unity of thought without unity of character is incomplete and wantiag)

Education must lay prime emphasis upon the character formation of the child. Unless it goes to build up good character as well, it will never achieve its real purpose. "Character-training" says Professor W.O. Lester Smith, "is closely linked with the conception of school as a society". This view is now being emphasised on different hands.

In Islam the importance of good deeds is primary. The Qur'an simultaneously stresses the need of *Imam and 'amal salih*. One of the basic missions of the Prophet is stated to be *tazkiyah*. i.e., the purification of human life.

It is a psychological fact that the fundamental character-traits are laid in the early stages of life and the school and the college can play a significant role in building up the character of man. It is for education to Al-Ghazli said: "Education must not only seek to fill the young mind with knowledge, but must at the same time, stimulate the child's moral character and stimulate him to the properties of social life". The ideal character before us is that of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). As the Qur'an says: "Verily in the life of the Prophet of Allah you have the best example to follow" At all stages of education students should be taught the life-example of the Holy Prophet and his Companions. The teacher, by the example of his own life and the atmosphere of the academic institutions should be able to produce the *mumin* (true-believer) as envisioned in the Book of God.

(VIII)

TOWARDS LIFE-FULFILMENT

Islam stands not for life-denial, but for lifefulfilment. This means that our education must prepare our youngsters for life, train them in the arts and crafts of living an cater to the multifarious needs of the society.

Islam disapproves of life-renunciation and wants men to live with justice and equity in the midst of the rough and tumble of life. The Qur'an teaches us to seek for the best of this world and the best of the Hereafter. Allah strongly censures those who refuse to enjoy His blessings: Says the Holy Qur'an:

"Say (no them) by whose order have your denied yourself those amenities which Allah created for His bondmen and those good things to eat and use (which He made for them)?

Islam's attitude is reflected in the Qur'anic verse: "Eat and drink but exceed not (and become not extravagent)," Islam highly values human labour. It forbids begging and dole-seeking and puts and premium on productive effort so much so that according to a hadith, "God loves the hand that works for the attainment of livelihood". Islam wants to enable every person to earn his living and the Holy Prophet has even said that "hunger comes close to infidelity"

Iqbal says:

(Anybody who conquers the physical world constructs a new world from an atom)

(Lend strength to thy search by practical contrivance Conquer the worlds of the self the cosmos)

Iqbal believes in the education which teaches lifeaffirmation and the conquest of the world and not in the one which leads to life-renunciation. According to him:

"Only that truly exists which can say 'I am'. It is the degree of the intuition of I-am-ness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being." ³⁶

About education he explicitly says:

(Knowledge is an instrument for the preservation of life: Knowledge is a means of establishing the self Science and Art are servants of life.

Slaves born and bred in its house;

From the above discussion we can infer a few other aims of education, viz,:

- Education should enable a man to earn an honest, just and reasonable living:
- Education should cater to the economic, social, scientific and technological needs of the community, It should not only not neglect them in

- any way, but should positively work for their fulfilment; and
- c) There should be a practical and vocational bias in education, so that everyone should be able to attain economic stability and social independence.

An educational system reared in accordance with these aims will embody the aspirations of Iqbal and will prove a blessing to mankind.

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THE POETIC ART OF IQBAL

Dr.Muhammad Ahsan Farooqi

Little attention seems to have been paid to the form of Iqbal's poetry. This is perhaps due to the fact that Iqbal himself always looked down upon and even went to the extent of denying the very existence of the "colour and in his verse. This attitude is ریک وبوئے شاعری "smell of poetry not surprising, for it is entirely in the spirit of the Holy Qur'an wherein too there is the essence of the highest poetry along with the condemnation of the mere poets. The again is the way of all think-poets of the world, that is, the way of all those national poets who came at the time when the poetry of their nation has degenerated into mere sweet expression. Wordsworth, for example, leave the world of "eyes and ear" and the craves for the joy of elevated thought. But this does not mean that they cease to be sensuous artist, makers of pictures and creators of music or the builders of the divine harmony of voice and verse. In fact it is sensipis particularity, the sine quo non of a poet, which is the basis of their personality and their mental make up. What they mean by playing down this gift is that they do not want to rest at it, but want to employ in the service of that highest art in which beauty and truth becomes one. Like them Iqbal has his full share of the "senses" and his basic effort seems to be to make the fullest use of them, but the images he evokes and the music he makes take us to the realm of thought. The total result is the so-called "intellectual fervence" which is the mallmaker of the verse of Rumi, 'Urfi, Goethe, Browning, and Ghalib. Enough has been done to expound his reformist zeal and his philosophical earnestness and thus to prove him a thinker first and a poet afterwards. But the fact remains that in his poem Hour-o-Sha'ir (Houri and the Poet) when the houri characterises him as a poet the most important point that she emphasis, is:

By thy music thou creates such an enhancing world
As makes the Paradise appear a mere magic show.
The creation of a beautiful world through beautiful music
is the primary function of Iqbal an whatever else he
accomplishes he does by fulfilling this first purpose of
an artist in verse.

Iqbal, the philosopher, was the outcome of conscious effort and persistent study, but Iqbal, the poet, was born his earliest poems show the rich life of the senses that he was endowed with. In Ek Arzoo (A wish) we note the keenness of his ear in the melody of the following couplet that reproduces the noises of Nature

There be the pleasure for music in the wobbling of birds,

The rushing of brooks be sounding like the organ or the clearness of his eye in the pictorial effects of the following

Green bushes be arranged in rows on both sides,
The clear water of the brook reflecting the picture
The scene of the hill side be so enchanting

That the waves be rising up to behold them or the particular eye for colours

When the sun colours the bridge of the bride of the evening n red.

The gown of every flower gain a gold-red hue.

In Jugno (The Glow-worm) one of the best poems in this ine, he piles up delicate similes:

Is there the glowworm in the expanse of the meadow?

Or is there a candle in the company of flowers?

Has a star flown down from the sky?

Or a ray of the moon has become alive?

Is it a loop from the gown of the moon?

Or a particle shining from the apparel of the sun?

And then he comes to a remarkable metapnor which is one of the most wonderful translation of natural impressions in Urdu language.

In the little moon there is light as well as darkness Now it comes out of eclipse and again goes into an eclipse.

For sustained pictorial effect accompanied by suitable music expressing tender feeling few poems in Urdu can beat *Sitara* (The Star):

امر کا خوف؟ کہ ہے خطرہ سحر تجھ کو؟

مال حسن کی کیا ملک گئی خبر تجھ کو؟

زمین سے دور دیا آسان نے گھر تجھ کو

مثال ماہ اڑائی قبائے ذر تجھ کو

غضب ہے پھر تری تنھی سی جان ڈرتی ہے

مثام رات تری کانیتے گزرتی ہے

حکینے والے مسافر عجب یہ بہتی ہے جو اوج ایک کا ہے دوسرے کی پستی ہے اجل ہے لاکھوں ستاروں کی ایک ولادت مہر فنا کی نیند مے زندگی کی مستی ہے شکون محال ہے قدرت کے کارخانے میں شابت ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں شابت ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں

Art thou afraid of the moon or of the morn?

Hast thou become aware of the end of beauty?

The sky gave thee a home far from the earth?

Like the crescent it covered thee in dress of gold.

Even then thine little heart is afraid

The whole night thou posseth in trembling

O shining travellers this is a land strange

What is one person's rise is fall for another

The rise of the sun is the death of a thousand stars,

The sleep of death is caused by the intoxication of life

Rest is impossible in the scheme of Nature:

Iqbal is basically a poet and he belongs to that category

Iqbal is basically a poet and he belongs to that category whose limitaries are Spencer, Keats, Tennyson, and Mir Anis. But unlike these poets his development is not towards greater and greater beauty of pictorial and musical effects. He goes beyond the beauty of form and "thought" and gives significance to the pictures he makes and the music he composes. Iqbal is essentially a lyric poet, in the great lyric tradition for which Persian and Urdu poetry stands out as distinguished from the poetry of European nations. Not only is his bent inwards, but also his verses have the spontaneity, the energy, the heart of passion, the quickness of movement which we find in the best lyrical poets of the world. This lyrical force gets attached to Islam as a nation-producing force and to Allah for Whom the nation lives. The most well-known and the most typical of lqbal's early poems are Shikwah and Jawab-i-Shikwan (The Protest and the Reply). They are twin beauties like Milton's L'Allegro and II Penseroso, but in them we do not have a Puritan virtuoso brooding on his own tastes: there is a poetically gifted Muslim who considers himself the representative of a people with remarkable tradition and with special connections with God whose love he calls to question. Iqbal's mood in these poems in entirely original. It is a mood, no doubt, the mood of a poet, but the poet has already become a thinker, a questioner of the ways of God towards the Muslims. He is something of the later Milton in the person of Samson calling the Divine Dispensation into question. But he is more a frustrated lover of Allah Whose great favours on him and his people have somehow come to a stop. The religious people could not at first sympathies with this mood, but now its sincerely and its power have won the heart of every Urdu-knowing Muslim, but high or low, religious or un-religious. Remarkable is the power which sustain the long poem joining every stanza, every verse, every word in a continuum of images an music such as Urdu poetry had not known before, Such complete whole without the slightest hint of a break are not to be found in our Urdu poetry. It is not possible to take out stanzas without breaking the continuity which is essential to its effects. Yet one stanza from Shikwah (the Protest) may be torn off to show something of how the images and the music exist and flow along with the powerful stream of passion:

> محفل کون و مکان میں سحر و شام بھرے مح توحید کو لیکر صفت جام مجرے

کوہ میں دشت میں لیکر ترا پیغام کھرے اور معلوم ہے کچھ کو کبھی ناکام کھرے دشت ہیں دریا بھی نہ چھوڑے ہم نے دشت تو دشت ہیں دریا بھی نہ چھوڑے ہم نے کچر ظلمات میں دوڑا دیئے گھوڑے ہم نے

In the expanse of time and space day and night we wandered

The wine of Unity in hand like a cup we wandered;
Through hills and plains with Thy message we wandered
Knowest thou that we ever returned unsuccessful?

Desert, what to say of, we did not leave even the deep
waters,

In the Black Sea we headlong plunged our horses.

The picture of the Muslim wandering day and night with the cup of *Towheed* in hand, through hills an deserts, always successful, plunging into the dark seas when no land was left to be conquered, is impressed with unique force by the sound value of the words used. The six-line stanza gains a new power in his hand. In Urdu it had been a favourite form of the *marthiya* writes whom it helped in

drawing pictures of happenings in Kerbala: the first four lines thymin in one way gave the details of the picture, while the last couplet gave a touch that illuminated the whole picture. Hali employed it in his famous Mussaddas. Hali's musical gifts were not high. In Iqbal's use of the stanza we see how Hali's material has been given a new power by the combination of the technique of the marthiya writers and the miraculous force of an original genius. The closing couplet of the stanza quoted above produces a sublime sound which takes the er of the reader to the breathless scene which his eye perceives of Muslim conquerors jumping into the Black Sea in search of new lands to conquer. In the first flush our attention does not go towards Iqbal's art as it does towards the art of the poets who are pure artist, for Iqbal's art lie more in power than in technique. But the power has the technique behind it and is so much in harmony with it that the two are one, as they always are one in, the best pieces of art.

In Jawah-i-Shikwah the mood has undergone a change. Here it is Allah Himself Who is speaking. But it is Allah in Iqbal. The frustrated Iqbal of Shiwah has changed into a self-critical individual. The first expresses the divine indignation of the lover, the second turns the divine indignation on the lover. The pictures flash with

the same power. The picture of disturbance caused by the voice of the poet reaching the sky is wonderfully impressive and highly significant. It is Miltonic in its heavenly realism and remains unique in Urdu poetry.

The old Sky hearing it said "There's someone somewhere"

The planets opined: "There's someone one the top of the sky

The Moon declared "No, it is some native of the Earth"
The Milky way shispered: "It is some hidden here"
If any one guessed rightly about my complaint, it was
Rizwan

He took me for the Man who was thrown out of Paradise.

This stanza will serve to illustrate how the images and the rhythms have acquired a thought-content. The Peer-i-Gardoon is a stock image in urdu poetry, but the question that Iqbal puts in his mouth makes him a new person of whom the more we think the more are we taken into the old and the modern conceptions of the Firmament. The picture of the Planets takes us to modern Astronomy, and so does the utterance of the Moon indicating that the moon is after all a satellite of the Earth. The picture of the Milky Way points to its scientific structure as well as to the idea behind the common Muslim myth that when the Prophet was journeying towards heaven the stars came close together to touch his feet. The closing couplet reaches the point, for here the Lord of Paradise is reminded of the story of Adam who was driven out or Paradise. Iqbal, a prersistance in error. But there is the Compassionate and Merciful Preserver to rectify the error and send down Peace. The art of the Jawab-i-Shikwah lies in the gradual settlement of the mind of the poet to divine peace through selfcriticism. In this poem there is also that direct criticism of the ways of the people which we fine in Hali's Mussaddas as in this stanza

علم حاضر بھی پڑھا زائر لندن بھی ہوئے مثل انجم افق قوم پہ روشن بھی ہوئے کے مثل شخے ہی جوال، دین سے برظن بھی ہوئے صفت طائر گم کردہ نشیمن بھی ہوئے حال ان کا مئے نو اور زبوں کرتی ہے حال ان کا مئے نو اور زبوں کرتی ہے شب مہ سایہ کی ظلمت کو فزوں کرتی ہے شب مہ سایہ کی ظلمت کو فزوں کرتی ہے

The Young gained knowledge of the present one even went on pilgrimage to London.

Like stars they shone on the horizon of the nation,
They were lacking in good action, they also became averse
to Faith

They became like the bird that had lost its nest, The new wine makes their condition worse still.

As the moonlit night increases the blackness of the shade.

But we at once realise the brilliance and the supremacy of Iqbal's art as against that of Hali. Here the bare statement of fact in the first line is followed by a colourful expression of the same in the second line, and similarly the third and the fifth lines correspond to the fourth and the sixth. The *mussaddas* form is loose and

calls forth a good deal of repetition. Iqbal controlled this tendency of the form not only by the use of appropriate similes visualising the statements he made, but also by building a pattern of bare statements and corresponding images that with the dance of the verse and the jingle of the rhymes produce and effect in which the images, the melody, the structure work together to bring about a miraculous birth the courtly dance of the *marthiya* writers coming to be harmonised with the movement and the music of the Spheres.

However, he later used stanza rarely, because the bent of his genius in more towards Miltonic condensation than Spenserian looseness, more towards the brevity of Ghalib than towards the sweet repetition of Mir Anis. He is more of a thinker poet than pure poet, and he creates and elaborate stanza pattern of his own bh combining the couplet with the ghazal form to be the more suitable medium for his individual expression. The couplet has had a unique place in the poetry of the world. There appears to be much truth in the assertion of the European neoclassicist that the couplet is the most suitable form for poetry. One can dwell at length on the variety of uses to which it has been put from the times of the Greeks to the present day. In Persian and Urdu it has been used for

narrative by Nizami and Mir Hasan, for epic by Firdawasi and for philosophical and moral poetry by Rumi. Iqbal turns mostly to the last with whose genius he has a good deal in common. But in urdu and Persian, specially for lyrical purposes, the *ghazal* a prosodic form of rare musical powers. Iqbal took the *ghazal* form up at the time when it was going into disfavour and, by adding a powerful couplet with absolutely different rhymes at the end, built a pattern which shows its unique effect in poems like *Khizr-i-Rah* (Khizr, the Guide) and *Tulu-i-Islam* (Rise of Islam) and later in *Mai-i-Baqi* (The Eternal Wine) and in so many other poems. In *Tulu-i-Islam* it is regular sixteen line stanza like this:

یکی مقصود فطرت ہے یہی رمز مسلمانی اخوت کی جہاگیری محبت کی فراوانی بتان رنگ و خوں کو توڑ کر ملت میں گم بوجا نے تورانی رہے باقی نہ ایرانی نہ افغانی میان شاخساراں صحبت مرغ چمن کب تک ترے بازو میں ہے پرواز شاہین کہتانی گاں آباد ہستی میں یقین مرد مسلمان کا گاں آباد ہستی میں یقین مرد مسلمان کا بیابان کی شب تاریک میں قندیل رہبانی مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصر و کسراے کے استبداد کو جس نے مٹایا قیصا کو کیا تھا؟ زورِحیدر اُن فقر بوذر اُن صدق سلمانی کا

ہوئے احرار ملت جادہ پیا کس تجمل سے تماشائی شگاف در سے ہیں صدیوں کے زندانی شبت دندگی ایمان محکم سے ہے دنیا میں کہ المانی سے بھی پائندہ تر نکلا ہے تورانی جب اس انگارہ خاکی میں ہوتا یقین پیدا تو کرلیتا ہے ہیں بال و پر روح الا میں پیدا تو کرلیتا ہے ہیں بال و پر روح الا میں پیدا

(This is the purpose of Nature, this the secret of being a Muslim,

Fraternity reigning superman, love overflowing
Break asunder the idols of colour and race and be lost
in the unity of nations

Let there remain no difference between Turanian, Iranina, of Afghanian

How long will you waste your time in the Garden with the singing birds,

Your arms have the power of flight of the Eagle,
The Faith of a Muslim in the midst of a populous self
Is like the lamp of a hermit in the darkness of the desert.
What finished the tyranny of Qaisar and Qisra
Was the strength of Haider, ascesticism of Bu-Zar, and
truthfulness of Salman.

How the leaders of the Community trod their patient

way,

The decadent men are seeing through the hole of their doorways

The Eternal of life comes out of strong faith in this world,

For the Turanian has proved himself more powerful than the German.

When this man with fire gets a faith within, It grows the feathers and wings of Gabriel

Here the first fourteen lines make a *musalsal* (connected) *ghazal of seven shi'rs*, the various ideas of which are given in each *shi'r*. It becomes a verse-paragraph, announcing the topic in the first couplet, it narrating it in the following *shi'ir* and ending with the most powerful idea put in the last couplet with its unique emphasis. The welding of colour with thought attains a power entirely individual to the poet. The voice of Iqbal now comes with its own, original, powerful, inspired utterance. The most outstanding quality of this voice is inspiration. The last couplet of the piece quoted above, with its image of a live-coal getting impregnated with a Faith and by it acquiring the wings of Gabriel, is the voice of Gabriel himself never before heard so powerfully

through the medium of the Urdu language. It reads like one of Milton's verse-paragraphs dictated by the Heavenly Muse, an eruption of substantial lava poured forth with bewildering violence carrying with it a continuum of images and a persisting rumble of thrilling noise. Milton had to choose bland verse of his medium, for in English as even Chaucer had complained "rhyme hath such scarcity", but Urdu and Persian are specially rich in rhyming words and the *ghazal* form with the couplet came to be the most natural medium for translating the same Miltonic force which Iqbal wanted to communicate to his people to justify the ways of Allah to the degenerate Muslims of India.

The verse of Iqbal has inherent kinship with the verse of the inspired writers of the world. But it is most akin to Milton's casually thrown out sentence that poetry is "simple, sensuous, passionate", made so much of by Hali in his ignorance, does not characterise the unique style which we cannot define otherwise than by calling it Miltonic. It is a heightened, a learned, a highly latinished style, a good deal remote from the common language. It has been said that Milton might have forgotten the English language. It has also been maintained that Iqbal did not know Urdu and that he is primarily a poet of Indianised

Persian. Modern nationalist fanatics insist on purism in language. But people who see mankind as one feel how the interconnected groups of languages mixing together provide suitable colours for the use of unique individuals. They see that modern languages like English and Urdu are too pedestrian in their purity and cannot attain the highest flights without the due support of Latin in one case and Persian in the other. In Urdu we see how the use of Lucknow Urdu idiom by Mir Anis has rendered the sublime heroes of Karbala merely pathetic. Ghalib, the cracking of whose pen was the music of the angel, was the one Urdu poet who showed consistently the effect of Persianisation in raising Urdu poetry to sublime heights. Ghalib's eulogium to Hazrat 'Ali is the norm of the style which with individual changes we fine in Iqbal's Urdu poems. But what is more, a day came when he shifted entirely from Urdu to Persian. The reason for this he gives in Asrar-o-Rumuz

Although Hindi is sugar in its taste,
The way of Persian language is sweeter
My thought got fascinated by its light,
My pen became a branch of the tree of Taurus
Persian is equal to the Height of Thought
Goes into the nature of my thought.

It is the height of his thought that prompted him to employ Persian. In one of his rubai'is Iqbal calls himself the skysoaring Iqbal, and this sky-soaring could not show its full flight and could not reach its due height without the wings of the Persian language in which all sort of high-soaring had had its bright day and compared with which Urdu has only the example of a Ghalib to offer.

The style of Iqbal's Urdu verse is Miltonic because of the presence in it of something like what Keats, giving p the imitation of Milton in despair, called Latin inversion. Persian vocabulary, Persian epithets, Persian combinations, even Persian structure distinguish Iqbal's style as they do the style of Ghalib. This style is at its best in *Bali-i-Jibril* (The Wings of Gabriel). In *Zarb-i-Kalim* (The Stroke of Moses) we have his simpler, more direct, classically restrained manner which reminds us of Goethe. But however, much akin he may be to Geothe in other respects, his is not that divine doggerel verse which is the miracle of *Faust*. Mephistopheles begins with the excuse.

Verzeith, ich kann nicht hohe Wrote machen (Pardon, I cannot make high language)

But with this low idiom he can make such miracles as: Saton is schon lang in Fabelbuch geschrieben: allein die Menschen sind michts besser dran den Bosen sind die los, die Bosen sind geblieben (He is already been written in Fable books, In spite of that Human beings have not become better, The Evil one is lost, Evils prevail)

lqbal's Iblis speaks really hoho Wrote:

From my courage there is Love of Growth in the handful of dust.

My tricks are the warp and woof of the cloth of Mind and Reason

Thou beholdest the fight of good and evil from the Coast,

Who is facing the blast of the tempest, You or I?
Khizr is bewildered and Ilyas is bewildered,
My disturbances range over seas and rivers and
brooks

If ever you be alone with Allah ask Him, Whose blood has made the story of Adam colourful?

I am pricking in the heart of God like a thorn. Thou art all the time singing his halleiluiah.

This takes us to the Fourth Book of *Paradise Lost* where Satan, standing face to face with Gabriel, bursts out thus:

Gabriel, thou hadst in Heav'n th'esteem of Wise, And such I held thee, but tis question askt Puts me in doubt. Lives there loves his pain
Who would not, finding way, break loose from hell.
Though tither doomed? thou souldst thyself, no doubt
And boldly venture to whatever place
Farthest from pain, where thou mightest hope to
change

Torment with ease, and soonest recompense

Dole with delight, which in this place I sought;

To thee no reason; who knowest only good,

But evil hast not tried: and will object

His will who bound us? let him surer bar

His iron gates, if he intends our stay

In that dark durance:

Both Iqbal and Milton employ the same devices, stock epithets, original persianised epithets, verisimilitude, litotes, etc.,—to produce those concentrated effect which grow greater and greater the more we think about them.

In spite of the deep-rooted influence of Latin on English there is a farther cry between English and Latin than there is between Urdu and Persian. It is far more difficult for an English-knowing person to master the inflexions and conjugations and declensions of Latin than it is for an Urdu-knowing man to acquire the extremely simple structure of Persian. Moreover, in spite of the

effort of so many Urdu poets to bring Urdu to the level of common Hindi, Urdu has remained a far more highly Persianised language than English could eve be latinised. Thus there has come to be hardly any difference between Iqbal's Urdu and his Persian, the more so because he scrupulously avoids those dead metaphors which are called idioms of a language. His Persian and his Urdu differ only because of the presence of certain words peculiar to one language or the other. For example the Masjid-i-Qurtuba (The Mosque of Cardova) is an Urdu poem, but we look at it and note that more than 50% lines are absolutely Persian, and of the remaining only 5% may be called pure Urdu and the rest have one or two Urdu words, pronouns, prepositions, etc. It follows that the part which constitutes the poetic expression is the same in all the poems of Iqbal, whether Urdu or Persian. This expression constitutes his style. This has the stamp of his personality. In this lies the art of his verse. This expression has not been given proper attention. People hailing from the areas with which Urdu has come to be associated slur ove his Urdu, and people belonging to the are ain which he himself was born and lived hesitate in putting forward his claim as a master of that language. In any case people refuse to recognise him as a maker of language. One therefore hears

such absurd statements about him as "he is a great poet as far a thought in concerned", as if thought can exist without expression or a poet can at all be great unless brings about that union of thought and language which is the bell-all and end-all of all literary activity. Anyway, the fact is to be emphasised that Iqbal is a maker of language, a master in a unique and individual way of the language and the ways of expression of a people His is the standard language of the high class Muslims of Upper India. This language with slight variations could be either Urdu or Persian, but in temper and character it was a language which was the highest common factor between the language of the Quran, the Persian poets and the Urdu poets. Iqbal's language is above the language of various localities in India, even above the national language of Iran. It is a language which can be understood and enjoyed by "fit audience though few" of the entire Muslim world.

Now, Iqbal's work as a poet-artist lies in exploiting the possibilities of this high-class languages to the full It may be said that he gives a unique weight of thought to this language. But it would be better to say that the words of this language with their infinite associations are used to squeeze the enchanting poetic essence out of a body of thought long accepted by the Muslim thinkers, another body of thought brought from European thinkers, and lastly a body of systematised thought of a keen student of philosophy and a man gifted with imagination of the highest type so much so that he could say:

(Wisdom increased in me study of the sages of the West

My heart was set afire by the company of the seers)

Poets have been philosophers from time immemorial, but it was from the time of Geothe that the poet and the philosopher began to share common ground. Metaphysics of the idealist type made Kant a dreamer and Goethe a philosopher. Coleridge and Wordsworth prided themselves on being philosophers. But in spite of their philosophic earnestness they remained poets first and last. Philosophy made their dreams remained delightful dreams and they remained dreamers all the same. Their language remained the language of dreamers, but it also acquired a power which made its dream-quality enthrallingly real, forcefully reasonable, entirely convincing. Iqbal belongs to the galaxy of such poets and his verse has all the artistic

qualities of what may be called intellectual poetry. His poetry does not stop at giving us beautiful pictures by rhetorical devices and beautiful sounds by the prosodic resources, but in it the pictures and the sounds get equated with thought an serve to build up a philosophical whole. It is in the equation of images with concepts and then of the completed picture with conceptions that Iqbal's kinship with thinker-poets lies. We take the first pat of *Taskheer-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature) from *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East) to show how his art works:

Love cried "The one with blood red heart is born,
Beauty trembled that one with seeing eye is born.

Nature grew wild that from the dust of passive world
Self-maker, self-breaker, self-seer is born.

The news went from the sky to the place of Creation,
Fear O secluded ones! The breaker of seclusion is born.

Desire, unconscious of self in the lap of life,
Opened the eye and an new world war born.

Life said "I had been burning in the dust for ever
Till from his old dome a door opened out.

Here six abstract qualities, Love, Beauty, Nature, Insight.,
Desire, and Life has been converted into poetic entities
and each makes a characteristic utterance. The utterances

evoke images of the various aspects of Man. A word rises before our imagination in which the figure of Man relative to the other figures surrounding him is discerned. So far it is the work of the sensuous poet. But each one of the images is also a concept and the view of man each gives is also a concept. The whole picture brings before us the conception of man. The words strike by their wonderful appropriateness and lie at the foundation of the dream as well as the conception. Besides there is suggestion of a mightily disturbance: crying, trembling, getting bewildered, opening the eyes, etc.,.-bringing to the mind the throes of an important birth. The run of the verse and the repetition of the double rhyme too bring before us these throes. The poem thus remains a poem in all respects, its irrestistible power caries the reader aloft into the highest heaven of philosophy. One can deduce Iqbal's conception of Man from this piece, sort out Iqbal's own contribution to this conception, and end with giving Iqbal a place among philosophers. This is the typical way in which all philosophical poetry works. But this does not mean that one should forget the trees because of the fores. Iqbal's verse takes us to his philosophy, but it is the verse that is the philosophy and without it the philosophy, but it is the verse that is the philosophy and without it the philosophy, but it is the *verse* that it the philosophy and without it the philosophy could not have its existence. The way in which the existence is accomplished, is the eternal way of art to be found in all poetry.

The art of Iqbal thus is the art of all thinker-poets. But his art has qualities of its own connected not only with his personal temperament, not only with his original view of life, but also with his peculiar way of handling words. He does not seem to care about words, but his words take care of themselves. He works by the sheer force of personality which generates high-power current which in turn gives nes life to words, new colour to stock images, and brings into birth new images entirely unknown, unpremediated. Take this:

(Strong faith, pesisten effort, love conquering the world, In the struggle for life these are the swords of men.

No word here is new, no epithet original, but the way they are coming, gives indication of a very high power along with them. Strong Faith (*Yaqin-i-muhkam*) inspires a new faith in Faith and gives new strength to faith. The three

things spoken of, Faith, Action and Love, do not remain the things we have known so long. They have been made to signify entirely new things of Iqbal's own creation. The battle of life has been going on from time immemorial, but the battle of life of which Iqbal speaks is his own, a battle of which we had never heard before reading his verse. Poetry consists in giving new life to words. A great poet not only gives new life to words but also gives them a new life new life which is entirely his own. This is what Iqbal does. The stamp of his life is clearly printed on every one of his verses. For example:

(My madness cannot be held in the expanse of Nature, Perhaps thy estimate of desert was wrong O my frenzy!

The epithet in *pahna-i-fitrat* is entirely Iqbal's. All the Urdu and Persian poets have been speaking of madness but Iqbal's *sauda* is something absolutely his own. Other poets have found satisfaction in a desert but for Iqbal the desert is nothing but a mirage. It becomes a new desert, for it appears to be too limited in space for Iqbal's madness

and the madness too becomes unique, for the expose of the vast desert is too little for it. A new vision, indefinable in prose but clearly perceptible in verse, rises before the mind of the reader. It is always so with Iqbal's verses. It is spontaneous in effect-perhaps the most spontaneous in Urdu after Ghalib, But its effect grows with reading. One can read a verse, for a whole day, for days together, forget and return to it at some other moment and find it giving a yet new meaning. Iqbal's verses have a power to leap out of our memory at the right moment in our life. They come home to our bosom and business. Except Ghalib perhaps none of our poets has such a miraculous power of quotability. In Iqbal's verses there is no delicacy, no fineness of touch, no polish, nothing of the sort we connect with refinement of language or sweetness of expression. The verse is rough as life itself, but it has the power of life, the inexhaustible interest, the infinity of meaning, the irresistible impelling force, the magic that changes the world into something new, the mesmeric Power that makes the reader fall in a trance and go on repeating endlessly what the poet has given. He tells us:

Look from a new point of view, the world becomes new, This earth and this sky become new

His verses "take off} and with them we are taken up into the highest heaven from where the world appears to be new, the heaven and the earth becomes absolutely new things for us. His verse acts like an electric shock, suppress all power within us and immediately after that makes us rise again breathing new life that he gives us. From the critical point of view this is a new aspect of what Aristotle has called *katharsis*. Our should is set aftire and then it re-emerges like the Phoenis out of its ashes.

It is not the meaning and association of words only that create this magic. The music of words and the verses, the melody of words, the rhythm of lines, the strain produced by the stanza pattern, also have their part. Poetry is distinguished from prose specially by its music. The poet is born with a music in the soul. Urdu critics have only a conventional sense of the verse music and can perceive it only in the use of certain set type of words and certain particular meters. The music of our great poets has hardly been written about. It appears to be hardly known that the music of a great poet is the pulse of the life of his age and of the people and the geographical conditions in which he lives. A great poet's music is the music of the

Zeitgeist. Iqbal's music is the music of the age of railway trains, motor cars, and even aeroplanes. In his early poems there is the music of Ravi river:

سکوت شام میں محو سرود ہے راوی نہ پوچھ مجھ سے جو ہے کیفیت مرے دل کی پیام سجدہ کا بیہ زیر و بم ہوا مجھ کو بیام سجدہ کا بیہ زیر و بم ہوا مجھ کو جہال تمام سواد حرم ہوا مجھ کو سر کنارہ آب روال کھڑا ہوں میں خبر نہیں مجھے لیکن کہال کھڑا ہوں میں خبر نہیں مجھے لیکن کہال کھڑا ہوں میں

(In the quiet of the even the Ravi is lost in making music,

Do not ask me what is the state of my heart.

This is the rise and fall of the message for prostration

The whole world has become a holy land for me

I am standing on the bank of the moving river,

Yet I do not know where I am standing)

But soon Iqbal had heard the music of the seven seas and had journeyed over the continents. He was the citizen of the world and the music of the twentieth century, with its divine discordance and yet baffling divine harmony carried along with breathtaking speed, has passed into his verse. No doubt the tempo varies from poem to poem. It is always speed, speed upward, speed forward, speed around. At places there is suggestion of a swift dance at one place, the swiftness remaining all the same:

They made a circle round my grave lamenting,
The lovely ones, the bright, the rose-bodied, the silverplated

In the garden the caravan of flowers lifted the load,
From where have come these bloody hearted lovers.
O ye who searcheth in school manners, sense and taste,
No one buys wine from the shop of glass makers.
The study of the wise men of the West gave me Reason,
My heart was set afire by the company of the seers of
the East.

Raise that cry which is the outcome of your earth and water.

O bewildered one! leave the noise of others cut of account.

None knows that I tool have a price;

I am the treasure which is not recognised by the blind. Iqbal himself characterised his music as the ringing of the caravan bell. The music of the caravan is best expressed in the following shi'r or Sa'di.

O camel driver! drive slow, for the ease of my heart is travelling,

The heart which I had with me is going with the beloved.

The caravan of Iqbal's age is the railway train, and if we compare the music of the above *shi'r* of Sa'di with any of the *shi'r* of Iqbal, we shall see the difference in the slow pace of fourteenth century Iran and the swift progress of the India of the twentieth century.

In Iqbal's collection of *ruba'is* we find an art entirely different. One of the typical Urdu *Ruba'is* is:

Make the hearts the centre of love and faith,
Acquint them with the House of the Lord.
He to whom thou has given the bread of barely,
Give him the powerful arm of Haidr too.

And here is one of the best of his Persian ruba'is:

عجم از نغمه بائم من جوال شد ز سوادیم متاع او گرال شد ججم از نغمه بائم کرده در شت ز آواز درایم کاروال شد

'Ajam became young with my music,
With my madness its power increased.
A crowd of men lost in the desert
On hearing of my bell came to join with the caravan.

These *ruba'is* appear to be points where the swift moving spirit of Iqbal's verse comes to a stop for a few moments in order to take a fresh start. Iqbal is in them undeniably, but he is contemplative. In his *ghazals* we find the best example of his characteristics art in a short compass. The shortness of *ghazal* is no check on the continuum of his imagery nor the swiftness of is music, as can be seen from the following:

متاع ہے بہا ہے درد و سوز آرزو مندی
مقام بندگی دے کر نہ لوں شان خداوندی
ترے آزاد بندوں کی نہ یہ دنیا نہ وہ دنیا
یہاں مرنے کی پابندی وہاں جینے کی پابندی
حجاب آکسیر ہے آوارہ کوئے محبت کو
میری آتش کو کھڑگاتی ہے تیری دیر پوندی

گذر اوقات کرلیتا ہے یہ کوہ و بیاباں میں کہ شاہیں کیلئے ذلت ہے کار آشیاں بندی یہ فیضان نظر تھا یا کہ مکتب کی کرامت تھی سکھائے کس نے اساعیل کو آ داب فرزندی زیارت گاہ اہل عزم و ہمت ہے لحد میر کہ خاک راہ کو میں نے بتائے راز الوندی مری مشاطکی کی کیا ضرورت حسن معنی کو کہ فطرت خود بخود کرتی ہے لالے کی حنابندی

Countless treasure is the pain and burn of desire, I would not exchange the place of worships for that of the worshipped.

For thy free creatures there is neither this world not that,

Veil is elixir for the wanders in love.

Your attention delayed increases my fire.

He can spend his days in hills and deserts,

For the Eagle it is disgraceful to build a nest.

Was it due to the effect of art or the result of schooling,

Who taught Ishmael the manners of a true son?

My grave is visited by men of will and courage,

Because I told the high secrets to the dust of the road.

There is no need of adornment with beauty of meaning for me,

For Nature by herself colours the flowers.

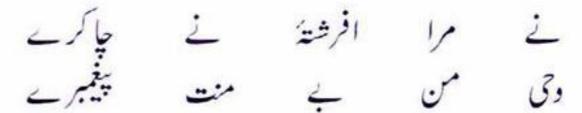
The last shi'r initiates us into the secret of his art which comes into the secret of his art which comes into existence by the sheer force of Nature. In the last analysis we find his verse to be more a product of Nature than of Art. Conservative critics may say about him what Ben Jonson said about Shakespare, "He lacked art". But as now, after about four hundred years, we see that, by being just natural and above all conventions, Shakespare is regarded as the best representative not only of the art of the Elizabeth age but also of the art of all time, so Iqbal, by rejecting conformity to established art of the urdu poets and submitting himself irresistibly to the dictates of the natural gifts with which he was endowed, bids fair to be the best artist of this century and one of the model artists of all times.

In Iqbal's verse we also find that higher art which consists in the creation of personalities and symbolic existences. Iqbal was well-versed in Western philosophy and the opinion goes round that it was the Western philosophy that influenced him, while in the poetic art he kept scrupulously to the Islamic-tradition. If we looked intently at his art we see that he had learnt from the great European poets how to bring forth "creations", "characters" or "symbols" with proper management of

verse. We can see this from the verses Iqbal puts in the mouth of Satan at various places. Iqbal knew well the accents of Shakespare's logo, of Milton's Satan, of Moliere's Tartufe and of Geethe's Mephistopheles, but his Iblis has his own voice. Iqbal's Iblis first appears in the poem Jibril and Iblis were he has the sublime accents of Milton's Satan. He next appears in Iblis ki Majlis-i-Shoora (Council House of Satan): here obviously Iqal has the second and the tenth books of Paradise Lose in his mind, but the verses that he puts in the mouth of his Iblis are nearer modern declamation of a politician disturbed by a revolt in his country. Ibis, however, gains his distinct individuality and characteristic accent in Javid Nama. He is a tragic hero, a sublime picture of sorrow. His speech shows his greatness through a gravity of tone and solidity of pace:

None has been more active than me?
I have managed matters in such a way
That I never left aught for delay

Further on he speaks about himself. He is alone and working like a lonely her:



Nor have I an angel nor a servant, Nor is my message communicated with the mediation of a Prophet

His greatest sin is also sublime:

I refused submission to ignorant man,

And thus created the music of the good and the evil, right and wrong

He is not an atheist:

If I say God is not, it could be foolish

For, after having seen Him I cannot deny his existence.

His connection with Adam is also unique:

When I got attached to the pain of Adam,

I did not become tyrannical for him,

Flames arose from the opening of his secret,

By compulsion he became self-willed.

I showed my force full well,

I gave you the pleasure of freedom of choice.

Like Mephistopheles he hates testing Man:

You free me from my fire,

Open the knot of my work, Adam!

He advises Adam:

In the world live with courage,
O my fellow-sufferer! live without me.

Iqbal asks him if Iblis cannot get peace and he replies:

I do not at all speak of meeting him again, on my lips about meeting no word comes, If we join in accord He will remain nor I.

Above all Iqbal's Satan is a figure of Remorse. His song addressed to God is drowned in regret and has the dadences of the laments of which Urdu poetry from Mir downwards is alas too full. Remorse still continues to be the characteristic of those Muslims of India who are proud of their culture and look with regret on its glory in the

past. The *Nala-i-Iblis* (the Lament of Satan) is its best expression in verse.

O God of the right as well as wrong I have been spoiled by the company of Adam.

PROBLEMS OF ETHICS IN MOHAMMED IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

M.T. Stepanyants

The tendency to the personal interpretation of the relation between God and man eliminating any ecclesiastic or secular meditation, the tendency which is so much typical for the Reformation explains the attentions of the religious reformers to pantheism or mysticism.

Pantheism, which unites God and the world, sometimes identifying them, allows to interpret this unity both ways: as dissolution of nature in God or, just opposite, of God in nature. In the latter case, pantheism contains the elements of naturalistic philosophy. In XVI-XVII centuries these very elements of pantheism made it the most important mythological foundation of the majority of natural-philosophic theories in West Europe (Kampanella, Bruno etc.)

In Islam too mysticism or sufism sometimes served as a form for naturalistic conceptions.

Sufism looks at the prayer as a way to personal contact with God. Muslim mystics believe that it is possible by merging in God not only to contact with Him but even to comprehend the Absolute Truth. The achievement of "fana" is considered to be the aim of "tarikat". "Tarikat" stipulates the culmination of human will, the acknowledgement of personal insignificance, the belief in God as the only real being. Iqbal justly considered that mysticism "suppresses personal initiative" and that is why"... the decadents in all ages tried to seek shelter behind self-mysticism and nihilism". "Having lost the vitality to grapple with the temporal"- Iqbal said, -" these prophets of decay apply themselves to the quest of a supposed eternal, and gradually complete the spiritual impoverishment and physical degeneration of their society by evolving a seemingly charming ideal of the life which reduces the healthy and powerful to death.1

Being critical to mysticism Iqbal at the same time borrowed quite a lot from sufi philosophers and used a number of sufi terms and notions. The sufi doctrine "wahdat-al-wujud" which expresses the pantheistic idea of the unity of God and nature was interpreted by M. Iqbal Islamic mysticism. Sufism laid the emphasis on the distinction of "zahir" and "batin" (Appearance and Reality) where God is Reality and nature is appearance. Accordingly, this world and the human beings are the appearance of the Reality-God. This point of view logically leads to the total ignoring of world problems as temporal, not important, and to the understanding of the role of man as a passive conductor of God's will. The unity, the melting of individual ego in Cosmic ego, Iqbal understood not as the refusal of man from his own ego but rather as participation in the creative activity of Supreme Being.

In his time M. Iqbal by his own way developed the ideas which had been early expressed by "non-orthodox" sufis like Mansur Hallaj and Abdul Qadir Beidil. The name of Hallaj to whom belongs the famous exclamation" "Anal-Haq", which brought him to death, was a number of times mentioned in Iqbal's poems.

Iqbal even called himself "the second Mansur"

A.H. Kamali who acknowledges "departure" of Iqbal "from the traditions of emotionalism and idealism, which reduce human existence to a phenomenal shape in the development of the absolute", considers that this departure was due to the fact that "the radical elements of Beidil's

In contrast to the traditional sufi symbolics, which compare the relation between God and man as that one of ocean and waves, river and bubbles, Beidil used in his poetry metaphors which radically modified the concept of man. "Just like a pearl, which though hardened in the bosom of a river, is thrown ashore I am thrown out, because I could not be absorbed, melted, or dissolved".3 Beidil looked at the man as "the pinnacle of creation, the shaper and the maker, the knower and the doer".4

Mohammad Iqbal continued this line of thinking and developed it in a comprehensive concept of "khudi", in which man was regarded as a creator, as a partner of God and Maker. In his poem "Mahawrah Ma-Bayen Khuda wa Insan" ("God's Conversation with Man"), man speaks to his maker as an equal:

"You made the night, and I the lamp,
And you the clay and I the cup;
You—desert, mountain-peak, and vale;
I- flower-bed, park and orchard; I
Who grind a mirror out of stone,
Who brew from poison honey-drink".

Individual "ego" strives to come closer to the divine "Ego". But Iqbal understood this striving not as a dissolution on account of man's refusal from own "khudi", but to be something.... The end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it".⁵

Approaching to God or to Ideal, was regarded by the poet rather as a vital than a intellectual act. He considered it a vital act which "deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and remade by continuous action.⁶

M. Iqbal in his concept of "ego" tried by his own way to synthesize the ideas of Muslim and European philosophy. His concept of "ego" has much in common with some of the ideas of Fichte. Iqbal was particularly attracted by Fichte's immanent philosophy regarding object and subject in their indissolubility. Like Fichte, the Muslim poet-philosopher affirmed the unity of object and subject, being and thought, organizes and integrates its material from the outside, but as a potency which is formative of the very being of its material. Thus regarded, thought or idea is not alien to the original nature of things; it is their ultimate ground and constitutes the very essence of the being." The real world of "non-ego" is the

of objects is not something different from ourself", it is some part of us. "The world is nothing but the manifestation of ours,"— said Iqbal, — "for without us there would be no scenes of lights and sound".8

Iqbal believed that affirming by this way the unity of object and subject, he solved the problem of free will and found the golden middle way between absolute determinism and voluntarism. But is seems he has failed to solve the problem. One of the weakest points of this dualistic system is: how "non-ego" appears out of "ego". In Fichet's view the theoretical reason cannot give the answer to this question. This can be done only by practical or moral reason, according to which this "creation" is an act of free will. M. Iqbal also considered that ordinary thought cannot appreciate this unity, the essence of which is the creative activity of self.

In "Asrar-i-Khudi" Iqbal says:

"It (the Self) makes from itself the forms of others, Subject, object, means and causes:-

All these are forms which it assumes for the purpose of action."9

In Iqbal's view "In great action alone the self of manebecomes united with God without losing its own identity and transcends the limits of space and time. Action is the highest form of contemplation."

This identification of contemplation with creation reminds Henri Bergon's theses that "the act of cognition coincides with the act which creates reality" and that "the difference between who cognizes of Religious Thought in Islam. M. Iqbal a number of times referred to Bergson's ideas, particularly while interpreting intuition as the highest form of intellect and also when considering the problem of time and space. However, the Muslim poetphilosopher did not accept a number of Bergson's notions, which contradicted the spirit and social trend of his own world outlook Being a mouthpiece of anti-colonial social forces of his society M. Iqbal propagated creative activity and struggle. Bergson's ideas about aimless wave impulses, which are chaotic and non-regulated, lead to the conclusion that it was useless to oppose this play of blind forces. The pessimism of the social conclusions out of Begson's philosophical premises could not be accepted by Iqbal. Opposing Bergson the Muslim philosopher stated: "Reality is not blind vital impulse wholly unilluminated by idea. Its nature is through and through teleological".10

M. Iqbal realized vulnerability of his position as

affirmation of "teleological" character of nature leads to negation of free will. "The world"—Iqbal recognized, — "regarded as a process of realizing a preordained goal is not a world of free, responsible agents. It is only a stage on which puppets are made to move by a kind of pull from behind". 11

Thus iqual did not want to accept voluntarism which liberates from responsibility, leads to pessimism and desire to step away from participation in this life. He also rejected supernaturalistic determinism of orthodox Muslim philosophy which did not recognize free will. Iqbal made an attempt to solve the antimony of freedom and necessity, God's will and man's free-will. Development of the world, the acts of men are not aimless, they are submitted to the teleological purpose. But this purpose is not understood statically, as a predetermined plan of development. "The notion of purpose cannot be understood except in reference to the future."12 There is not rigid aim system, in every period of life, people mould and develop themselves according to the spirit of new ideals. Teleological purpose is understood by Iqbal in the sense that "... there is no far-off distant goal towards which we are moving, there is a progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes, and ideal scales of value as the process

of life grows and expands".13

The Muslim reformer recognized that if "ego" self-develops, it is able to will and act, then freedom and omnipotence of God are doubtful. How man's free will can be reconciled with God's omnipotence? In Iqbal's view God Himself limits His power. This limitation "is born out of His own creative freedom whereby He has chosen finite egos to be participators of His life, power, and freedom". 14 By giving freedom to man God takes risk, for "the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good". 15 God takes this risk because He believes in man and man is to justify this faith.

Iqbal followed the sufi teaching on good and evil. The Quran says, "Whatever good visits thee, it is of God; whatever evil visits thee is of thyself" (4:81). In contradiction to this, the medieval sufis (Abdul Karim al-Jilli and others) said that both the good and the evil of the universe came from God. In their opinion, evil was a necessary objective condition for the realisation of good. Just as the bird must overcome the resistance of the air to fly, so man can only be good by overcoming evil, and, therefore, he has no right to complain about the existence of the latter.

In adopting this sufist principle, Iqbal modified it somewhat. The pessimism and passivity of the medieval mystics had no place in the philosophy of one who spoke for the middle class at a time when it was rousing itself to political action. His affinities were much more with the romanticism and dynamism of 17th and 18th century European philosophy. Himself a poet, his understanding of Western philosophical thought was drawn mostly from literature and poetry. We would even say that his dialectical ideas on good and evil were to a great extent inspired by the works of Goethe and Milton.

Iqbal explained his ideas by interpreting the Biblical legend of man's fall from grace and expulsion from the Garden of Eden (ef. the Quran, 7,10-24) as a manifestation of "free choice", a view entirely out of keeping with religious tradition. "Man's choice", a view entirely out of keeping with religious tradition. "Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice," he said. 16 Furthermore, if good was the result of free choice, one might say that evil created good. Iqbal's Iblis-Satanlike Goethe's Mephistopheles was part of the eternal force that always desired evil but worked only good. Without it life would have no dynamism, and deathly passiveness would triumph in the universe. The figure of Satan in one

of his poems, like in Milton's Paradise Lost, is more attractive than of God, because it symbolises the spirit of creativity. Addressing the Lord, Iblis says:

Thou hast created the starry spheres: I cause them to move I am the life of all in the World, the life latent in everything. Thou givest life to the body: I infuse warmth into life. Thou showest the way to peaceful rest: I lead towards restless strife!

The man of earthly origin, foolish and short-sighted, ls born in Thy lap, but attaineth maturity in mine.¹⁷

The revolutionary spirit of Iqbal's conception suited the mood of the radical intelligentsia at that time of active struggle against colonialism. Its admission of the objective character of evil impressed the intellectuals. It enabled them to account for all social troubles not by any subjective causes, but by the real live evil, which was colonialism and feudalism.

In insisting on such a close relation between the two ethical categories, even on their mutual interchangeability, Iqbal was stressing the necessity and propriety of taking action against the established social order, which had degenerated into an evil Disobedience, protest, even violence, all acts condemned by the prevailing morality, were held up as virtues to those engaged in the anti-

colonial struggle.

According to Iqbal, there are three stages in the development of the ego. These three stages remind the sufi "tarikat" as well as Nietzsce's ideas of the development of superman. However, they are not the same. Opposite to sufis Iqbal saw the purpose of the development of ego not in "fana"- self-negation, but in self-affirmation, in transformation into the perfect man-"Insan-i-kamil", who fulfils the divine will, who is a divine vicegerent. Iqbal's views differ from Nietzche. For the latter, the superman is a man who does not follow any moral norms. For Iqbal, "the perfect man" is a strong personality, who uses his will and energy not for his own desire for power, but for the sake of fulfilment of the divine will. "Insan-i-kamil" is supposed to be able to overcome the vices of the society and to act according to the moral norms ordered by God.

Iqbal undoubtedly felt the influence of Nietzche, but was not one of his followers. His interest in the German philosopher sprang from a desire to create a Muslim philosophy of action that would suit the aims of the national-liberation movement. He was attracted by Nietzche's ideal of a superman, a man of will, capable of heroic living. He was impressed with his rejection of

Christian asceticism, which condemns man to slavish passivity, for he himself strongly denounced the asceticism preached by the Muslim mystics. He borrowed some of Nietzche's imagery, for instance the allusions to diamond and coal as symbols of firmness and lack of will.

But while he admired the vision and literary gifts of the German philosopher, Iqbal rejected the basic premises of his philosophy. In his opinion, despite his "vision of the divine", thanks to which he might have become a prophet, Nietzsche never became one because, firstly, he relied entirely on his own faculties without seeking :external guidance in his spiritual life", and secondly, because he entrusted the realisation of his philosophical principles only to the elite, whom he contrasted to the common "herd". This atheism and cynical aristocratism made Nietzscheism unacceptable to Iqbal, whose philosophy was inspired by belief in an indivisible bond between man and God, man and society.

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IQBAL'S THEORY OF BEAUTY

M. M. Sharief

Iqbal was undoubtedly a genius, and one of the greatest poets of the world. This, however, does not mean that he received nothing from the environment in which his genius developed. A gifted man, like a healthy seed, has to depend for its development on the soiled and the moisture from which it draws its elements of growth. The tallest oak, no less than the tiny seedling, is rooted in the soiled from which it springs. Like every other thinker, Iqbal was a child of his age, and his thought grew out of the thoughts of previous thinkers. He gathered the entire harvest of Eastern and Western philosophy and art. But this does not mean that he left the thought of his predecessors where he found it. What he gathered from others became the foundation upon which he built the

stately edifice of his own system. Just as in the case of other great thinkers, so in his, "All previous thoughts became transfigured under the light of his genius"

The artist's personality, like all personality, develops in a society embodying the accumulated heritage of the past, and it bears the stamp of that society; consequently, its expression in his works of art also bears that stamp. If society in a certain age of peace and prosperity is satisfied with its intellectual, moral and social achievements and has fixed beliefs, set ideals, clear coes of behaviour and decorum, the artists of that society will, as a rule, develop the formal side of their personalities at some sacrifice and to the comparative exclusion of their content sice. And since the formal side of their lives will dominate their personalities, their art will be classical. They will "look to the past", to the balanced, the stable, the standard, the typical and the commonly accepted and felt, with confidence and respect; and this outlook will find expression in their works.

But after a time society becomes rigid. Its convictions become conventions and dogmas and prejudices, and its rules becomes chains. The delicate, dynamic social equilibrium gets jammed. Spirit changes into form and form into abstraction. Life becomes stagnant

and art becomes empty, commonplace, repetitive, mechanical.

Yet this state does not last very long. Life also has its autumn and spring. From within the stagnated society rises the spirit of revolt, and history takes a new turn. The frozen gods are shattered; customs and conventions are shed, and fresh thoughts and basic emotions sprout forth in al their freshness. The shell of dead form breaks, and a new spirit issue forth. The old rules and technique and standards are discarded, and a sense of freedom prevails. There is a bustle and struggle in life, and a shaking of the social balance. New ventures are undertaken, some destined to succeed and others doomed to fail. The artist being more sensitive than and average man, becomes the first embodiment of new spirit. The formal side of his nature, leaves of conventional and the customary, and retains only the instinctive and the natural. The content side of his personality—the assemblage of his sentiments and impulses— bursts froth into violent emotionality, natural sensibility, romantic thrill, substler, though vaguer, thoughts, wild dreams, new ideals, new forms and new visions, and he produces romantic works.

During the glorious period of the Mughal empire our literature was classical. From the later part of the thirteenth Century onward, Muslim thought had gradually become more and more mystical Basic principles of this mysticism were platonic as modified by Plotius and the Muslim thinkers like Ibn-Sina, Ibn-Arabi, Al-Jili, and others. Plato identifies God with Good and Beauty. It is the desire to perceive the loveliness of God's Eternal Beauty, which wets in motion the dynamic of Eros or Love. Eros fills the human heart with longing and enthusiasm, inspires youth with invicinble courage, and breathes in the poet's songs. There are stages of beauty, but the ultimate Beauty is the source of them all. All particular beauties are changeable and perishable, but Divine Beauty is eternal Every beautiful object is so because it participates in Divine Beauty—because Divine Beauty reveals itself in it. Nature is beautiful because it paticipates in the One Eternal Beauty. The sight of every beautiful object reminds one of the Eternal Beauty and this accounts for the mystic rapture, the emotion, the joy, with which we greet the sight of the beautiful. Eternal Beauty reveals itself suddenly as a "wondrous vision" to those who love Him and perceive with courage and understanding and hold fast to the last.

Plotimus accepts this theory of Divine Beauty and lover's pursuit as given in the *Symposium* and the

Phaedrus. He recalls, in fresh phrases, the ladder of love of the Symposium upon which the lover has to climb, to have a glimpse of Beauty above the beauties of the earth. It is the beauty of incorporate things which creates in us a love for them. The beauty of the should consists in becoming the image of God who is the Supreme Beauty. It is the aspiring and burning love which gives one the intuitive power of apprehending Supreme Beauty. Spirit in thinking of Him only knows Him; spirit in love becomes one with Him. The experience of the soul, when it becomes one with God is too immediate to be described. It is then an indescribable vision—the beatific vision. The Supreme Beauty makes those who love Him with a might longing also beautiful.

For Ibn-Sina, everything in the world is imperfect and striving for its completion. The willing of or striving for perfection is the secret of growth and is named love. The perfection it aims at is beauty. The entire universe is moving by the power of love to the one Supreme Beauty, the most perfect and best. Just a iron-filings are attracted by a magnet, so also are all things attracted by God. Eternal Beauty is the source, the essence, and the ideal of everything and brings into existence all movements of things—force in physical objects, growth in plants,

instincts in beasts and will in man.

These Neoplatonic ideas were further developed by the mystics of Islam. Some of them like Ibn-Arabi, gave them a pantheistic turn. This theory of Beauty and Love became traditional in the classical poetry of the East.

Towards the end of the Mughal empire society became degenerated and fossilized and its literature became extremely formal, sex-ridden, repetitive, opioating, sombre and depressing. Though not failing to express the wails and travails of the times in a symbolic garb, it had on the whole become artificial and conventional and consisted chiefly of ornate prose and lyrical verse called the Ghazal.

When Iqbal was passing through the school and the college, the romantic movement had already begun under the pioneering spirit of Ghalib, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Shibli, Hali, Charagh Ali and others. They started a revolt against the conventional modes of life and literature, and thus attempted to infuse warmth in the chilled and frozen body of Muslim Society in India. When a society begins to emerge from the period of its stagnation, new wine is poured into old bottles, old forms are used to express new content, and thus there is a fusion of classicism and romanticism, till romanticism grown into full vigour.

While the Sir Syed group were transforming Urdu literature, they were doing so within the framework of the classical theory of beauty and love.

Almost a century before the dawn of romanticism in Muslim India, the romantic movement in arts and general aesthetic theory had started in the West. From the last years of the 18th to the middle of the 19th Century, its influence was widespread. It was represented in France by Rousseau, Chateaubraind, Hugo, Lamartine; in Germany by Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Herder and the Schlegals; and in England by Blake, Scott, Wordsworth, Browing, Shelly, Keats, Ruskin and Byron. Western Romanticism was a revolt against the primacy of reason, the tyranny of oppressive institutions, and the fetters of artificial forms, rules, manners, social and religious conventions, and set ideas, attitudes and traditions. It gave intuiting and imagination, surcharged with emotion, the place of reason; and held in high esteem hew ideas, new forms, sincerity and emotionality in expression, love of nature, and a keen sense of beauty. Therefore, no wonder that Neo-platonism, as also the ideas and forms of foreign literature, has a strong appeal for these romantics. Translation were made from Sanskrit and Persian literature, and poets like Hafiz and Umar-Khayyam who represented classical literature for us became the favourites of Romanticism in the West. How Ghazal attracted the Schelgals and Goethe is well-known. The influence of Neo-Platonism was, however, more marked on the British romantics. Like all Neolatonists, they rose from the admiration of nature to belief in the Absolute; like them, they made imagination the vessel of wisdom and intuition the source of true knowledge. The poetic genius was, for the, Spirit of Prophecy, and the poet was a diviner of events. Thus we see that the Neoplatonic elements of our classical literature were also the elements of British Romanticism. Old bottles of the East were new wine for the West.

Owing to our political connections with England and the fact, that, since Macaulays' time, English had become the medium of instructions in our country, it was, naturally, British Romanticism, which could influence our literature in the first instance. During Iqbal's school and college days, English Romanticism decorated the syllabus of the University of the Punjab, as well as those of other Universities; and, a result, a wave of Romanticism ran over the whole of the country. Its poetry of nature and its Neoplatonic theory of aesthetics, which was, to a large extent, identical with what had become, in practice,

traditional in Persian and Urdu poetry, had a deep influence on him. In this latter respect, the denouncer of Plato for his metaphysics was in his theory of Beauty his disciples.

If, like all Romantics of the Makhzan group, Nazir, Yaldrm, Nazir Ahmad, Muhammad Ismail, Ejaz, Haider Ali Tabatabai, Hali, Saroor, Chakbast, and a host of others, he sing in praise of nature, it is because of his admiration for nature; but more so, because in everything in nature he finds the one Eternal Beauty revealed.

حسن ازل ہے پیدا تاروں کی دلبری میں جس طرح عکس گل ہو شبنم کی آری میں حسل حسن ازل کی پیدا ہر چیز میں جسک ہے انسان میں وہ خن ہے، غنچ میں وہ چنک ہے یہ چاند آساں کا، شاعر کا دل ہے گویا وال چاندنی ہے جو کچھ، یاں درد کی کک ہے انداز گفتگو نے دھوکے دیے ہیں ورنہ نغمہ ہے بوئے بلبل، بو کچول کی چک ہے کشتہ ہے بوئے بلبل، بو کچول کی چک ہے کشتہ ہے بوئے بلبل، بو کچول کی چک ہے کشت میں ہوگیا ہے وصدت کا راز مخفی جگنو میں جو چک ہے، وہ کچول میں مہک ہے جگنو میں جو چک ہے، وہ کچول میں مہک ہے جگنو میں جو چک ہے، وہ کچول میں مہک ہے

again

But nowhere does Iqbal express his Neoplatonism at beautifully as in

جس کی نمود دیکھی چیٹم ستارہ بیں بیں خورشید بیں، قمر میں تاروں کی المجن بیں ضوفی نے کس کو دل کے، ظلمت کدے بیں پایا شاعر نے جس کو دیکھا، قدرت کے بانکین بیں جس کی چیک ہے پیدا، جس کی مہک ہویدا شبنم کے موتوں بیں، پھولوں کے پیرہن بیں ضحرا کو ہے بیایا، جس نے سکوت بن کر ہنگامۂ جس کے دم ہے، کا شانہ چمن بیں ہر شئے بیں ہے دم ہے نمایاں، یوں تو جمال اس کا آکھوں بیں ہے سلیمی، تیری کمال اس کا

There is a flood of natural beauty all around us, and yet our souls have an unquenchable thirst for something higher:

محفل قدرت ہے اک دریائے بے پایان حسن آنکھا گرد کیھے تو ہر قطرے میں ہے طوفان حسن حسن کو ہستان کی بیبتناک خاموشی میں ہے مہر کی ضو گستری، شب کی سیہ پوشی میں ہے مہر کی ضو گستری، شب کی سیہ پوشی میں ہے

آ ہان صبح کی آئینہ پوشی میں ہے یہ شام کی ظلمت، شفق کی گل فروشی میں ہے یہ عظمت دریرینہ کے مفتے ہوئے آثار میں طفلک ناآثنا کی کوشش گفتار میں ساکنان صحن گشن کی ہم آوازی میں ہے ننھے ننھے طائروں کی آشیاں سازی میں ہے فشمہ کہ سار میں، دریا کی آزادی میں حسن چشمہ کہ سار میں، دریا کی آزادی میں حسن شہر میں صحرا میں وریانے میں آبادی میں حسن شہر میں صحرا میں وریانے میں آبادی میں حسن

In the next two lines, Iqbal gives expression, even to the metaphysical theory of Plato that the soul before birth enjoyed the presence of Eternal Beauty, and its yearning for beauty in this life, is a yearning for regaining that loss. He says:

Later on, in the Introduction of Asrar-i-Khudi and in the Lectures, Iqbal condemned the pantheistic mystics for their wrong metaphysics, but, during the period we are considering he was not only a Neoplatonist, but also a full-fledged pantheist. The verses I have so far quoted. may or may not be interpreted pantheistically, but there are other s which can be understood in that sense alone, e.g.,

And Iqbal is fully conscious that he is treading on

dangerous ground, for he ends one of his pantheistic poems, in these words:

The Neoplatonic thesis, that it is Beauty that stimulates all love and desire, is expounded in this line:

and Ibn-Sina's version of this theory is reflected in a dialogue between the moon and the stars:

Beauty is all pervasive and is immanent even in the love that it excites.

Now, everyone knows that the subject of these verses is by no means original. All their freshness lies in the Romantic modes of presentation. A hoary doctrine has been so dressed up as to appear in the prime of life. There is nothing new in the doctrine, for it came to Iqbal as a legacy from the past. But this is not the journey's end. For that we have yet to go a long way.

Iqbal's theory of beauty so far relates only to the first period of his poetic career, which ended in about 1908. There is a time in one's life when one accepts the wisdom of the ages uncritically, but it is often succeeded by a period of scepticism or doubt. Iqbal's period of complacency was also followed by a short period of doubt about the existence of the One Eternal Beauty. He gave expression to this doubt in some exquisitive verse. Take, for example, the question he raises in

خدا ہے حسن نے اک روز یہ سوال کیا جہاں میں کیوں نہ مجھے تو نے لازوال کیا ملا جواب کہ تصویر خانہ ہے دنیا شب درازِ عدم کا فسانہ ہے دنیا ہوئی ہے رنگ تغیر سے جب نمود اس کی وہی حسین ہے، حقیقت زوال ہے جس کی کہیں قریب تھا، یہ گفتگو قمر نے سی فلک یہ عام ہوئی، اختر سحر نے سی سحر نے تارے سے س کر سائی شبنم کو فلک کی بات بتادی زمین کے محرم کو جر آئے پھول کے آنسو پیام شبنم سے کلی کا نضا سا دل خون ہوگیا عم سے چمن سے روتا ہوا موسم بہار گیا شاب سیر کو آتھا تھا، سوگوار گیا

Before I go further I should like to remove one possible misunderstanding. It may be said that in this connection I have ignored the influence of religion on Iqbal. But that is no so. Iqbal was a staunch Muslim and yet a philosopher Muslim. Like every Musalman, he believed that Jamal was one of the ninety-nine names of God which denoted the different shades of Divine attributes. The Muslim philosopher, however, speculated about he nature or the

essence of God. Those who were under Aristotle's influence thought he was in essence Reason; another class held the he was the Highest Good, the *Summun Bonum*; and yet another group regarded Him as the One Supreme Beauty. The Neoplatonic mystics belonged to the last group, and Iqbal in this period of his development was entirely under their influence, thought the concept of Jamal as a Divine attribute must have played its role in moulding his thought as much as theirs. All that I have held is that his theory as well as theirs was basically Neoplatonic.

We have noticed that to begin with, Iqbal, following the Neoplatonic tradition, regarded beauty as eternal and as the efficient and final cause of all love, all desire, all movement. But later on there was a change in his position. First a doubt and then a kind of pessimism crept into his mind about the significance of beauty in this world, and with this began the second period of his metal development which extended from 1908 to 1920.

Iqbal's stay in Europe and his visits to Spain and Sicily brought before his mind the pat glory of Islam and made him deeply his mind the past glory of Islam and made him deeply conscious of the present dark and dismal state in which the Muslim world had fallen. It also aroused in

him a burning desire to reinvogorate the Musalmans. Immediately after his return from Europe he gave expression to this burning desire in the well-known poem which he addressed to Sir Abdul Qadir:

> آٹھ کہ ظلمت ہوئی پیدا افق خاور پر برم میں شعلہ نوائی سے احالا کردی ایک فریاد ہے مانند سیند این بساط ای منگامے سے تحفل تہ و بالا کردیں اہل محفل کو دکھادی اثر صیقل عشق سنگ امروز کو آئمنه فردا کردس جلوهٔ بوسف هم گشته دکھاکر ان کو تیش آماده تر از خون زلیخا کردس رخت حال بتكده چيں سے اٹھاليس اينا سب کو محورخ سعدی اوسلیمیٰ کردس د مکھ یثرب میں ہوا ناقۂ کیلی بیکار فیس کو آرزوئے نو سے شناسا کردس باده درینه مو اور گرم مو ایبا که گداز جگر شیشه و پیانه و مینا کردیں گرم رکھتا تھاہمیں سردی مغرب میں جو داغ چیر کر سینہ اسے وقف تماثا کردیں

One who wanted to put life into the dead body of the Muslim world could do so only by replacing the otherworldliness of mysticism by the philosophy of power, force, movement, and superhuman effort.

There are always some historical forces which prepare the ground for a change in the thought and life of men and nations. The same forces conspired to drive pantheism out of Iqbal's mind and put his thought into a new mould.

After the middle of the 19th Century, the Romantic movement in the West had taken a new turn. In England Browning had written verse surcharged with force, and Carlyle had published several works in admiration of the heroes of the world in which he included our Holy Prophet. The latter's Heroes and Hero Wroship/ Sartor Resartus, The French Revolution and Frederick were all written in the spirit of her-worship and admiration of the heroic will This vitalistic position was reinforced by The Emergent Evolution of the Vitalist Biologist, Lloyed Morgan. It was further spurred by Macdougall's Social Psychlogy and Outlines of Psychology, published several works in admiration of the heroes of the world in which he included our Holy Prophet. The latter's Heroes and Hero Worship, Sartor Resartus, The French Revolution and Fredrick were all written in the spirit of hero-worship and admiration of the heroic will This vitalistic position was reinforce by The Emergent Evolution of the vitalist Biologist. Looyed Morgan. It was further spurred by Macdougall's Social Psychology and Outlines of Psychology, published in 1908 and 1910 respectively, in which works heroic energy was taken to be the essence of the life and the sentiment of egohood or self-regard as the core of human personality. H.G. Well's imagination was inspiring men to conquer time and space, and the scientists were busy, as they still are, in making that conquest. Among other literary men Bernard Shaw was a great believer in life force. His high admiration for Caesar, Napleon, Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin is enough to prove his deep interest in Vitalism and Heroism.

In Germany the Romantic philosopher, Kant, had already drawn attention to the freedom of the will a factor in determining our appreciation of beauty; and Schophehauer to the will as a constituent of the world. But Goethe went further. It has been said about him that his search for the nature of beauty culminated and ended in praise of the divine power of love, 'love' which eternalises the image of the beloved search for the nature of beauty was also destined to end in praise of the power

of love. And for the Goethe, so for Iqbal, love eternalized the image of the beloved every moments afresh:

Later on Marx developed a doctrine of dialectrical activism—a philosophy of history, according to which the dialectical driving force of history is man's relation to the means of production, man for whom objects have no meaning without reference to action and whose chief task is not know the world, but to later it. Engels extended this dialectical activism to the whole of reality.

When Iqbal was in Germany, Nietzsche's philosophy of the will-to-power was having a old on the minds of the Germans people. Stefan George, Richard Wagner and Oswald Spengler continued Nietzsche's worked of the cult of the superman. Driesch in his work described the activities of living organism to entelechy, a vital force.

At the same time France came under the influence of Bergson's philosophy of *elen vital*, movement and change.

In Austra Freud mades sex-love the source of all fine arts and Adler identified the ego-energy with the will-to-superiority.

This vitalistic philosophy rising simultaneously in so many countries of the West greatly appealed to Iqbal. It had affinity with the idea of the perfect man which had a long history in our own literature. The Plantonic conception of the Philosopher like al-Ghazzali, ibn-Sina, ibn-Arabi, Rumi, al-Jili, and others. The subject of the Perfect Man takes more space in Rumi's Mathnawi than any other topic except the saying of the Holy Prophet. Rumi, like Nietzche and other heroic vitalists, believed in evolution, in the freedom, possibilities and eternity of the self, in the will-to-power and the value of the superegos, and in the destruction of old forms for the construction of new modes. Like Bergson, he believed in movement as the essence of reality and in intuition a the source of knowledge.

In his metaphysics, Iqbal was now a heroic vitalist inspired by the desire of reviving Islam, and of making it a nation of heroes. He adopted Rumi as his guide and master, ignoring all those passages of his *Mathnawi* which could be interpreted pantheistically. But he was not yet a full-fledged heroic vitalist. In his thought in this period beauty still retained its high position as the creator of love. Indeed, it is now that Iqbal gave the clearest expression to that idea:

In his metaphysics Iqbal never was a Platonic Idealist. Now he is more a heroic vitalist than a Neoplatonist. God is beauty, bu He is also the Supreme Ego, the Supreme Centre of Energy. Man too is an ego and a life-centre. His goal is conquest even the conquest or capture of God—the capture of divine attributes—for his own enrichment and that is possible by a burning love of God. He emphasise of role of desire in life and goes even so far as to call poor Plato and old shep whose false philosophy of inaction turned lions into goats, who has no taste for action, and loved only the nonexistent.

Desire is now regarded as the fire of life, the wine of life, the spur of life or the music of the organ of life. He owes allegiance to both beauty and desire. Beauty was his first love, but desire or the will-to-power which is the essence of the ego is his second love, and, therefore, the more favoured of the two. Iqbal is now a heroic vitalist in philosophy, a reformer in religion and is at the half-way

house from Neoplatonism to heroic vitalism in his theory of Aesthetics. These three elements have not yet entered into organic relationship within his personality, and consequently in his poetic imagination. Religious and social reform is still external to his poetry, though not outside his philosophy. That is why during this period his reformative poems, موز بيخو دى الما المراز فودى، جواب شكوه are the least poetic of all his works. All three are didactic. Poetry is subordinated to an external goal—the reform of the Musalmans, and the awakening of their talent energies.

But this was only a transitory phase. This was still a period of Iqbal's development and in a genius like him was bound to lead to a period of maturity. The concept of the One Eternal Beauty was gradually becoming weal It was essentially Neoplatonic and was inevitably destined to lose its privileged place in the mind of one who was now an avowed enemy of Plato.

Psychologically aesthetic vitalism had already taken root in his mind. If two equally strong ideas govern a man's mind and one of them is weakened, the other rules supreme. When beauty lost its place in Iqbal's speculation, it was natural that love should take its place.

It the first and the second period of Iqbal's thought, as I have explained at some length, beauty created love. Now in the ensuing period, extending from 1920 to the last day of his life, the process of creation is reversed. Now will-to-power or ego-energy becomes the creator of beauty. The essence of Reality is no longer beauty, but love or the will of the ego. God, the Supreme Ego or Eternal Will is the ultimate Reality. He is the Creator of the Universe. Man is also a free ego and like Him the creator of things. God has made nature, but it is God's vicegerent, man, who has made it beautiful. In this capacity man can face his Creator with pride and say:

All the beauties of nature are the creation of the will "Desire crease them, not they, desire"

Beauty is perishable, but love is eternal

حسن می گفت کہ شامے نہ پزیرہ سحرم عشق می گفت تب و تا ب دوا مے دارم اسے عالم رنگ و بو! این صحبت ما تا چند مرگ است دوام تو، عشق است دوام من

The secrets of life which beauty cannot disclose, love can:

غمیں مشو کہ جہاں راز خود بروں ندھد کہ آنچہ گل نتوا نست مرغ نالاں گفت

Beauty is only a quality of the ego in action, of the will-to-power, when it climbs to its heights. Ungliness appears when the will-to-power, the fountain of all life and all growth, runs dry:

نمود جس کی فراز خوری سے ہے وہ جمیل جو ہو نشیب میں پیدا فہیج و نا محبوب مری نظر میں یہی ہے جمال و زیبائی

Bodies, no less than their beauty, are the expression of the ego's will-to-achievement:

For the Neoplatonist Iqbal, beauty was the creator and the goal of love; for the budding vitalist Iqbal, it was the creator of love, but not its goal; now for the fullfledged heroic vitalist Iqbal love is everything, the sea, the sailing vessel and the sea-shore:

Iqbal's position now comes very near Heine's who treated *reason* scornfully, regarded life as the source of all beauty; and did not shrink from admiring even the great despots. Provided they expressed the fierce vigour of untrammelled life-force.

It was during this period that heroic vitalism, the

spirit of reform and the sense of beauty, got fully integrated in lqbal's personality and, consequently, in his poetry. He intuited beautiful images and beautifully executed them in immortal songs. For now he did not, starting with a story, exhort the poor, for example, to rise against the rich, but his personality roused his imagination to the production of an image in which God ordered his angles to awaken the poor and to destroy the palaces of the rich and burn their farms:

Such poems do involve a purpose, but the purpose is not external to them. They do not lead on to it. They involves it as their integral, irreducible and irremovable parts. It is such poetry that ha made Iqbal one of the greatest poets of the world.

Iqbal's theory of beauty is essentially a theory of expression. For it is the life-force of the ego which expresses itself in the realisation of beauty.

Now there are several aesthetical theories of expression. Four of them are subjectivistic and two objectivists. The first one of the subjectivitic theories is that of Freud, according to whom beauty is the expression of the contemplator's ex-desire. The second is that of

Robber Vischer, Lipps, and Volkelt who hold that beauty consists in empathy or the contemplator's subconscious sympathetic feelings projected into objects. The third is the theory of Schiller, Herbert Spencer, Karl Groos, Conrad Lange and others for whom beauty is the expression of the contemplator's activity of play. The fifth and the best knows of all is the doctrine of Croce, who hold that beauty is the full expression of the contemplator's emotions.

Iqbal has nothing in common with any of these written in his theory of beauty, though a great deal in his theory of art. They are all psychological and Iqbals's theory is essentially metaphysical. He explains beauty not in terms of the contemplator's mind, but in terms of a universal principle, a vital impulse working behind life in all its aspects, including the aesthetic aspect.

Of the objectivistic theories on Iqbal's own, which I have just explained, and by which beauty is a quality of things created by the expression of their own egos. For their loveliness they owe nothing to the contemplator's mind, but everything to their own inner life-force.

The second objectivitic theory is also metaphysical and is that of Platinus. According to him the visible world is beautiful, because it expresses the life of the Universal Spirit, and the bodies of all living beings are beautiful, because they express their lives. The difference between Iqbal's position and his lies only in the conception of life itself. For Plotinus as for Plato, life is essentially ratina; for Iqbal it is essentially volitional. That is why the former's theory, in spite of its kinship even with Iqbal's vitalism, is idealistic, while Iqbal's is activistic. This shows that even when Iqbal considers himself farthest from that despicable man, Plato, he is still closely related to him through Plotinus One would not be far wrong, if one said that Iqbal is a vitalist Plato and Plato an ideal is Iqbal. Of course, there is a great difference between their position, but there is also a great deal of resemblance.

If one were to choose between the objectivistic theories, one would prefer Iqbal's because it is more a keeping with the basis of life as generally accepted today.

But the most significant question before us is whether Iqbal's theory fares well against all the subjectivistic theories or not. It is a bold thing to criticise the thought of the greatest genuis that Islam has produced during the last seven centuries. But to accept the absolute validity of Iqbal's seven centuries. But to accept the absolute validity of iqbal's doctrine is to accept a dead stop on thought. According to his own teachings, life is

an eternal flow and its possibilities are infinite. It is the duty of everyone to make an endeavour to know the truth. It is that endeavour which has led me to the view that neither Iqbal nor any of the subjectivists gives us the whole truth about the nature of beauty. I have two arguments to advance. First, that unless there are some characteristics in the objects which act as stimuli on the contemplator's mind, there is no reason why certain objects should look beautiful to us and certain others ugly or indifferent. Neither sex-desire, nor play-activity, nor the projection into objects of the sympathetic feeling, nor a group of emotions s a whole, expresses itself in relation to all objects without distinction. There are always some particular objects with certain specific characteristics which stimulate the sex-desire, play or emotions in us. In other words there must be some peculiar characteristics in the sol-called objective world by virtue of which objects arouse subjective expression. These peculiarities of the objective world cannot be entirely set aside in tan adequate theory of beauty.

Secondly, each one of these aestheticians emphasises only one aspect of personal life, the expression of which he regards as the real source of beauty. Actually human personality cannot be dissected

into parts. Mental structure is an organic whole and it always function as a whole. Beauty does involve expression, but not the expression of only one part or only one aspect of our personality. It involves the expression of personality as a whole.

Iqbal has given us immortal poetry, but I wish I could say the same about his theory of beauty. If beauty is only the expression of the life of the ego, and according to Iqbal there is, life in everything, then why is it that all things do not seem to us beautiful in different degrees? Why is it that generally the females are attracted by the males and the males by the females? Why is it that the moon, which is almost dead earth, looks so beautiful? Why is that the energy of the light rays from the moon called moonlight, and of those reflected through water vapours called the rainbow looks so beautiful, and the energy passing through us in an electric shock does not? Why again do the feathers of the peacock look so beautiful and its legs so ugly? Why is not a murderer in action more beautiful than a sleeping child? Why is it that even a dead butterfly looks beautiful, but not a charging buffalo, pig or ass? And again why is it that if vitalistic is superb, no less superb are Ghalib's pessimistic lines:

and such couples of Mir as:

It seems to me that Iqbal's vitalistic theory fails to answer these questions satisfactorily, and a complete theory of beauty cannot leave them unanswered.

I think subjectivism is incomplete without objectivism, and objectivism without subjectivism. Some characteristics of the object world seem to be essential for an object to become beautiful for us, and it cannot become so, unless our personality as a whole plays upon them, and our impulses, desires, ideas, images and feelings dye them with their own hues. As Jigar has said:

Objects having certain specific characteristics arouse emotions, desires, ideals and images in our minds, and, when these mingle with our sensuous experience of these objects, we call them beautiful. It is not one desire, like the sex-desire, not one instinctive impulse, like play or sympathy, nor the whole group of emotions, which thus becomes one with the specific qualities of our experience of objects to make them beautiful for us. Actually, incontemplation or whole personality comes into play. On the other hand, it is not only one objective quality—call it its inner life-force, vital impulse, love, or whatever you will—that makes an object beautiful. The object must posses some other qualities as well; and again these must pass through the seive of the contemplating mind before it can be called beautiful or ugly. Even if inner vital force is the only quality that is essential for an object to be beautiful, I shall say with Asghar:

Here I should like to quote a passage or two from one of my own writings:-

"Beauty of the phenomenal objects is neither purely objective nor purely subjective. It arises out of a synthesis or construction made possible by the interrelation of objects of a certain sort and a subject in a certain condition. The object must in its own right possess one or more of the characteristics of unity, harmony, rhythm, sex-indication, class indication, etc., and the subject must have, apart from other things, a dynamic equilibrium of

impulses. In the elementary forms of beauty, impression plays a prominent part; in the more complex forms of it, expression. If, after Kant, bare objects be called phenomena, then these aesthetic facts are born of a union between the objective and subjective phenomena; and beauty is a unique quality of these aesthetic facts. Union between the object, possessing one or more of the characteristics, of unity, harmony, rhythm and other forms that touch the attraction group of instincts, and the subject, with impulses in a state of dynamic equilibrium, is necessary to bring to life this fair child. One this view if an object, instead of presenting a harmonious system of relations, lacks unity, contains irregularities or is too large or too small to be smoothly apprehended, and arouses and is fused with discordant impulses and purely unpleasant feelings, we have the experience of ugliness."

"I regard human knowledge, good, and beauty, as incident to human nature. Man is finite and these are finite. We are not in possession of completely self-consistent knowledge, perfect good or beauty, but only relatively consistent knowledge, relative good and relatively abiding beauty.

"But, in spite of our finitude, we have a vague conception of an infinite self-subsistent, self-consistant and perfect whole of reality which is at once an Individual embracing all individuals. A Universal enveloping all universals and a Value embodying all values in their completion—an Absolute, in itself Perfect Knowledge, Perfect Goodness and Perfect Beauty. Beyond this conception neither our thought nor our imagination can go. It is the highest ideal of our will and in its contemplation our feelings are fully appeared.

"No doubt we also have the opposite conception of a being which is all ignorance, all inconsistency, all evil and all ugliness: but the idea of the actual existence of such a being is painful and repulsive to our minds.

"The testimony of the whole of our soul—the criteria of the intellect, clarity and consistency; the criterion of our emotions, satisfaction; the criteria of our will, our highest hopes—all lead no to the knowledge (for finite cannot know the infinite), but to the faith that such an infinite Absolute which is Perfect knowledge, Perfect Beauty and Perfect Good, does exist. This faith involves the corollary that the human subject is a part of that Infinite Reality; It is subsumed in it and does not stand over against it; and thus, within this higher sphere the distinction between he subject and its object, the finite ego and the non-ego, remains no longer valid. There is nothing outside

the great all-enveloping Unity that may be supposed to be the subject apprehending it. Therefore, while the beauty for man, the phenomenal beauty, is both objective and subjective, the Absolute Beauty which is no known to us finite beings, but in which the finite beings must have faith, can be neither objective nor subjective. It is an all-embracing Unity in which all objects and subjects and all values are subsumed.

"Love, hope, sense, imagination and intellect, working in unison, create in us the vision and the faith the Reality in which the 'knower', 'knowledge' and the 'knows' are one, is a dynamic force, creating in us, its parts, an ever-changing, ever-growing series of phenomena, the physical world, and at times exciting in us emotions that blend with a certain type of environment and thus envelope the seer, the sight and the seen, yielding, at moments of contemplating and art-creation, the microcosmic union of these. It is at such sublime moments that we, the parts, feel that we are one with the whole."

During his period of maturity Iqbal gave us a correct view of reality and of the basis of all our experience. The ultimate reality is a free dynamic creative Ego and the finite-egos, inorganic or living, are also free dynamic creative forces indifferent stages of development. Both the object contemplated and the subject contemplating are ultimately free dynamic ego-forces; and whatever is produced by the subject contemplating or by the object a expression of its own inner urge, or by the interaction of both, or again by the One Supreme Reality above the subject-object distinction, is ultimately the expression of a free dynamic force or such forces in interaction. So far all should agree with Iqbal whether they are subjectivists, objectivists, or like me, subjective-objectivists. But that is an explanation of all reality and all experience—not of beauty in particular. For the appearance of beauty in this world some further analysis is needed and that Iqbal has left to his successors.

In the end, I must clear one possible misunderstanding. It might be said that Iqbal was writing poetry and not theorising about beauty. That is perfectly true, and the theories of aesthetic that we have attributed to Iqbal in the different stages of his development are nowhere given by him as philosophical doctrines. They are implicit in his poetry and we have extracted them from it. He was essentially creating beauty and not writing a thesis on aesthetics, and in doing the task he had assigned to himself, he achieved unparalleled success.

Nevertheless, it would be most misleading, indeed most despairing to Iqbal, to think that he had no theory of beauty as a foundation for the sublime edifice that his great genius built. It must always be borne in mind that he was not a mere poet, but a philosopher-poet.

IQBAL'S THEORY OF ART

M.M. Sharief

The theories of beauty which I have elsewhere attributed to Iqbal in the different stages of his development are nowhere given by him as philosophical doctrine. They are only implicit in his poetry and one has to extract them from it. Such is not the case with this theory of art. On this part of aesthetics he is very explicit. He has something definite to say in criticism of some other hypotheses and has made positive observations even about individual arts.

The question what determined his views on art, is closely related to the question what determined his personality, fir it is the personality of an individual and his experiences within a certain environment that find expression in his art. Towards the end of the last century. Taine held that at is the product of its environment and

nothing else. As the plant is determined by climate and the quality of the soil; so, according to him is a poem determined by the social 'temperature'. The Marxist critics further restrict this social temperature in urging that the determining factors in history are ultimately the economic forces of production and reproduction, and the artists reflect their class and time. One may not accept this extreme and yet narros relativism, for the simple reason that it ignores the geographical, biological and psychological factors which also go towards the making of a personality; it is, nevertheless, true that all minds, and more so the highly sensitive minds of the artist, are greatly affected, negatively or positively, by the society in which they live. Their art is the expression of their response to their impression of the social environment an expression which shapes the impressions and caries them along a parts of its textures. Iqbal's poetry and his view of art are greatly determined by the social conditions prevalent in his country during his lifetime. His literary art is the most significant art of a society emerging out of a period of decadence. A society's period of decedence is a period of ebb in social life, and, unless the stream is wholly dried up, it is followed by a period of flow. The artists who appear at the rise of the tide have force of rushing waters—a force which is at the same time destroying and conservating—destroying of || and conservating of |||:

This is true of Iqbal and true of his art and his doctrine of art which both reflects his personality. His reactions to his society are of the nature of a revolt against decadence and slave mentality which crept into it as the inevitable consequence of a foreign rule; and are, therefore, saturated with an emotionally surcharged apprehension of valuesvalues that belonged to the society's past and those which he visions for its future. If a times he appears to be a reactionary, it is so because he sees in the pat some eternal values and wants them to be seen actively pursued by those whom decadence has made blind to them. There is much in the past which is sheer rubbish and it is well that the present is rid of it, but there is something at least which is pure gold and which a new society can ignore only at its own peril. If he seems to be revolutionary, it is so because he sees the future pregnant with new values. It is this view of the past and the future which is distinctive of Iqbal's poetry and which has greatly moulded his theory of art.

Most writers on art regard art as functional, as having some purpose. But in the beginning of the 19th century a movement was vigorously started against functionalism in France by Flaubert, Gautier and Baudelaire, in Russia by Pushkin and in England by Walter Peter, Oscar Wilde and the American writer, Edgar Allan Poe. Actually this group received this movement as a legacy from Romanticism. Is germs are found in such Romantics as Friedrich Schlegel and Heinrich Heine, both of whom believed in the freedom of art. The slogan of this movement was "Art for art's sake." By this it was meant that beauty is a specific quality of art. It is the whole or the supreme and absolute insrinstic value, other values like truth and goodness being either subordinate to it or irrelevant to it. With this supreme value art exists for its own sake. Within life it has a domain of its own, independent, autonomous and complete-in-itself. It has no goal and serves no ends beyond itself, "no mission to fulfil other than that of exciting in the soul" of the contemplator "the sensations of supreme beauty." It is its own purpose and fulfils this purpose rather itself by just being beautiful. It is worth having on its own account.

An ulterior end of a work of art—morality, instruction, money, or fame—are from determining its artistic worth, is, on the other hand, hostile to that worth. Ulterior ends lower artistic value rather than raise it. "We believe," says Gautier, "in the autonomy of art; for us art is not a means but a goal; an artist who pursues an object other than the beautiful, is not an artist." For Oscar Wilde, "the first condition of creation is that the critics should be able to recognise that the sphere of art and the sphere of ethics are absolutely distinct and separate".

about nature? Is it not beautiful in its mountains, woods and streams? The artists of the school generally regard nature as "hostile or even mean and despicable." Flaubert detests reality, and the beauty of the Alps has no appeal for him. Baudelaire finds nature "in its native hues monotonous and boring." As art has to deal with the highest and absolute values, it is made to replace philosophy and religion. Sociologically, the movement of art for art's sake was movement of extreme individualism that appeared as a result of decadence —a period of art which was destructive of all aesthetic values of the previous age.

There is one thing in favour of the protagonists of

art for art's sake that they do not confine beauty to any regions within the domain of art, but there was an analogous movement initiated about half a century earlier by the psychologist Johann Friedrich Herbart and his followers, and it was taken up a few decades later by Hanslick, Fielder, and, in our own time, by Clive Bell and Roer Fry. This group makes a distinction within art between simple elements and their relations, i.e., between the content of art and the form of art, between the story, the characters, the senses, sentiments, sensations, images and meanings, on the one hand, and language, metre, rhyme. cadence and style, on the other. The content, according to them, has no aesthetic value, It is a mere accident or a mere vehicle for the artistic effect. What you convey through art does not matter; what counts is how you convey it. What you convey may be good or bad, true or false. right or wrong; it does not affect the value of art, for that depends entirely on the form you give it. All aesthetic value is exclusively concerned with form or relations. Thus the formula "art for art's sake". For these formalists, in music, for example, beauty resides in none of the individual notes. None of the single notes whose relation makes, say, the fifth interval "has by itself in the least that character which attaches to it when they sound

together." These experimental psychologists undoubtedly succeeded in discovering a fes aesthetially pleasing relations. Adlof Zeising discovered the "Golden Section", a division of a geometrical figure in which the proportions of the parts divided are about 3:5. Zimmermann attempted to determine the pleasing relations and ratios in the ideas and images in a poem. Wilhelm Unger found some harmonious relations of colours. Nevertheless, the endeavour of this group to explain the whole field of aesthetic experience on formalistic lines completely failed. Their failure to solve the aesthetic riddle was due to their complete neglect of content-colours, sounds, ideas, images, emotions an sentiments. They did not realise that a work of art is an organised whole, an indivisible unity, the aesthetic value of which cannot be ascribed to any one factor. As A.C. Bradley observes, when we are reading and enjoying a poem, we do not see substance and form apart. The distinction between substance and form is valid, but not relevant in connection with aesthetic value. The aesthetic value of a poem lies in the whole poem and not in any part of it. "The end, substance and form of poetry"-and so of all art- "art all so blended in real art that it is difficult to extricate one of them without injury to the others".

While the movement of "art for art's sake" suffered from excess by making art supreme in the realm of life, and thus extending its domain too far, the formalist movement suffered from defect in ignoring the content of art and attributing all aesthetic values to mere form.

These two movements were strong when Iqbal began writing poetry. But the first one remained entirely unnoticed by him. Perhaps the chief reason was that it was mainly a continental movement and Iqbal has not extensively studied any of the continental languages. Besides, the writings of its English representatives could not get entrance into India. A movement for the freedom of art from the alleged foreign influences, was after all a freedom movement. How could its entry into a slave country be allowed by the influential professors of our colleges who were all Englishmen in Iqbal's student days? When he started seriously thinking about aesthetic problems, this movement had already spent its force and, therefore, did not deserve much notice. But had he taken notice of it, he would have been definitely hostile to it, for he is a confirmed functionalist and functionalism is its logical contradictory. To the second movement he is explicitly opposed. He lays great stress on content which the formalists completely ignore. For him, muxid, for example without the content of volition, emotions and ides is not better than fire.

when he writes,

he is an emphatic on the significance of emotions and sentiments for art as Ghalib, when he said:

In consequence with his general theory of life, he makes the will the ultimate source of the artistic effect, for, in the last analysis, the whole content of art-sensations, feelings, sentiments, ideas and ideals—arise from this source. He says:

Of the many theories of art the oldest, perhaps, is the theory of art is imitation. It was held both by Plato and Aristotle. Plato disapproves of art, because it emulates natural objects which are themselves faulty appearances of shadows of reality. He speaks disparagingly of poets whose false statements about gods and men have baneful effect on imitating strong emotions, it stimulates and strengthens emotional tendencies in us and makes them difficult to control.

Iqbal agrees with Plato in condemning poets of a certain type on similar grounds. Quite like Plato, he disapproves of drama in his poem 'Tiatar' because it kills our personality or ego-hood. Personality is the centre of life. If you remove that, nothing will be fell in art.

He also agrees with Aristotle in approving poetry in so far as it is human creativeness and creativeness, is a divine quality. But unlike both, he does not conceive of art as imitation. Although as a romantic he is a great admirer of nature, yet, according to him art is not the imitation even of nature, for the artist creates and imitation is not the same thing as creation. In fact he regards nature as an obstacle in the way of our creativeness. He declares that "Resistance of what is with a view to create what *ought* to be, is health and life. All else is decay and death." He is anxious to have art freed from the shackles of nature, for he says:

According to him, the artist who imitates nature is a

beggar at nature's door and the one who builds upon nature or recreates nature unfolds to us the secrets of his own being. His creations possess eternal beauty. Denying the gods his genius makes, is denying God Himself.

In a beautiful dialogue between God and man, Iqbal shows how man by his aesthetic activity in the sphere arts, has not imitated nature but has improved upon it. This is own man addresses the Creator:

تو شب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم سفال آفریدی ایاغ آفریدم سفال آفریدی ایاغ آفریدی بیابان و کهسار و راغ آفریدی خیابان و گزار و باغ آفریدم من آنم که از سنگ آئینه سازم من آنم که از را برنوشینه سازم

In rejecting imitation as the genus of art, Iqbal is at

one with most modern writers on art. But this outright rejection of the imitation theory of art is not quite consistent with his own doctrine, for there is a type of imitation of which he is himself an advocate. It is the imitation of Divine attributes in our own personalities. He uses the word assimilation, but as this assimilation makes no reduction in the attributes of God, it is hardly different from imitation.

Opposed to those who hold the doctrine of art for art's sake or form for form's sake are the Functionalists, that is, those for whom art has a goal or a purpose. These functionalists are divided into two main groups, each of which has its own view of the function of art. According to one group, the purpose of art is to give pleasure. Aristotle himself is a functionalist of this group. According to him, art is imitation, but it is an imitation which has a certain psychological and sociological goal. This goal is the pleasure that results from the purgation of pent-up emotions. During the medieval period, Stl. Augustine held that the function of art is to create beauty and beauty is that which, having been seen, pleases. Catelvetro, a writer of the Renaissance, was of the view that poetry is "to be distinguished by its aim of giving pleasure from science which aims at truth."3 Likewise,

Fracastoro and other radical critics of the Renaissance said that the only thing to be considered in a work of art is the pleasure it gives. Its truth, its power of teaching, its balance of its own wit are to be thrust back to let stand in accented isolation the one end of pleasure.4. In the eighteenth century, Lord kame and David Hume, two British scholars, took more or less the same position, Coming down to our own time, among literary men, George Santayana holds that the function of art is to please, but to do so, not as Aristotle held by purgation of emotion but by objectification. Among psychologists, Freud is a full-fledged Aristotelian, as the function of art for him is not only pleasure but pleasure by the purgation of emotions, or, to use his own words, by wish-fulfilment. Art relieves the minds of the artists and the contemplator of all tensions by indirectly satisfying their pent-up desires. Iqbal is himself a functionalist. But, very rightly, he does not subscribe to this view of the goal of art. Had he done so, he would not have denounced classical Persian poetry, the pleasure-giving qualities of which he concedes:

> ہے شعر مجم گر چہ طربناک و دل آویز اس شعر ہے ہوتی نہیں شمشیر خودی تیز

But this relief by release of emotions is not the purpose of art. Sometimes, it may even kill desire and when it does so, it is of no significance for Iqbal:

And, on the other hand, when the should is welling up with new desires, its yearning for new ideals does not decrease even by the release of emotions through art:

Let us now come to the second group of functionalists. The most noted of those who belong to this group, are Plato, Ruskin, Gayau, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Shaw and Iqbal. For Ruskin, the artist is a prophet and a teacher.

For Gayau, "the principle of art is life itself." Art is a "methodical whole of means chosen to create... the feeling of beauty" and this feeling of beauty " is the consciousness of society in our individual life". " The highest aim of art is to make the human heart throb and, as the heart is very centre of life, art must fine itself interlaced with the whole moral and material existence of mankind." According to Tolstoy, art has for its purpose "the transmission to others of the highest and best feelings." For Ibsen, the purpose of art is criticism of life, Shaw says about his Pygmalion, "It is so intensely and deliberately didactic that I take delight in growing it at the head of the wiseacres who repeat the parrot cry that art should never be didactic. Its success in Europe and America goes to prove my contention that art should never be anything else."5 Broadly speaking, for all these writers the function of art is social reform. But the father of functionalism in art is really Plato. According to him, both in respect of its content and its form, art must serve ethical and instructional ends. The magic of art must be used only for the production of good citizenship. In music, for example, only those melodies should be allowed which make the listeners warlike and brave, and it spire them to valorous deeds, or those which would mak thom sober, temperate, orderly, just and reverent to the gods. The pleasure-giving quality of art is a useful accompaniment of reason for placing men on the right path. Plato strongly condemns those whose art is a source of moral corruption. He even recommends their expulsion from the state. Iqbal, though and avowed antagonist of Plato in his metaphysics, is his disciple in is theory of art. The purpose of art is the same for both.

No great write within my knowledge has pleaded the cause of didactic art more eloquently and censured the poetry of decadence more strongly than Iqbal. According to him, art has no meaning without reference to life, man and society. The first aim of art is life itself. Art must create in minds a yearning for eternal life.

The verse which brings a message of eternal life furthers the divine purpose like words of the archangel, and his voice announces the day of judgement. Poetry keeps the field of life green, and bestows upon humanity the recipe for life everlasting.

وہ شعر کہ پیغام حیات ابدی ہے
یا نغمۂ جبرئیل ہے یا بانگ سرافیل
شاعر دل نواز بھی بات اگر کھے کھری
ہوتی ہے اس کے فیض سے مزرع زندگی ہری
اہل زمیں کو نسخۂ زندگی دوام ہے
خون جگر سے تربیت یاتی ہے جو تخن وری

Art is a valuable means of the achievement of life.

The second aim of art is the making of men. If art does not build up personality it is of little avail:

and if it does, it is next to prophethood:

The artist must infuse spirit, manliness and courage into the chicken-hearted.

and create yearning in the hearts of men for ever-new ends and ideals:

The third aim of art, for Iqbal, is social advance. He exemplifies his view of art and its relation to society in poetry. The poet, according to him is the eye of the nation:

Nay, he is the nation's very heart:

With prophetic powers the artist should rouse nations and lead them to great, greater and yet great heights:

Of what value is the verse which cannot raise an emotional storm in society?

Plato severely criticized Homer and Hesoid for basing their poetry on legends which were fictitious and false, setting thereby wrong ideals before the young and thus corrupting their morals. Tolstoy condemned the art of French Decadence for expressing the views of the degenerate ruling class, catering to the perverted appetites of the well-to-do and for being artificial, obscure, involved in affected. Iqbal denounces the decadent at of this subcontinent in no uncertain terms. In his Foreword to *Muraqqa-i-Dhughtai*, he writes, "The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or picture, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attila or a Changez," The true function of art is vitalisation of life, man and society. An artist should be a harbinger of dawn and should better be silent than sing in dark, dismal, depressing strins:

افردہ اگر اس کی نوا سے ہو گلتان بہتر ہے کہ خاموش رہے مرغ سحر خیز اگر نوا میں ہے پوشیدہ موت کا پیغام حرام میری نگاہوں میں نائے وچنگ ورباب شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنی کا نفس ہو جس سے جمن افسردہ ہو وہ بادسحر کیا؟

In describing the decadent artist of this subcontinent, he says:

عشق و مستی کا جنازہ ہے تخیل ان کا ان کے اندیشۂ تاریک میں قوموں کے مزار

چیم آدم سے چھپاتے ہیں مقامات بلند کرتے ہیں روح کو خوابیدہ، بدن کو بیدار ہند کے شاعر و صورت گر و افسانہ نولیں آہ بیچاروں کے اعصاب پیمورت ہے سوار

In Zabur-i-Ajam, long poems are written on the music and painting of the slave. In Asrar-i-Khudi, there is a poem on poetry, thirty lines of which are devoted to decadent poetry. In the same poem there are a few lines in which he gives expression to his idea of a true poet:

ریزد از بینائے او انوار حسن فطرت از افسون او محبوب تر فازه اش رخیارگل افروخت ست عشق را رنگین از و افسانه با صد جهال تازه مضمر در دلش نا شنیده نغمه ها بم ناله ها زشت را نا آشنا خوب آفرین زنده تر از آب چشمش کائنات

سینهٔ شاعر تجلی زار حسن از نگابش خوب گردد خوب تر از دمس بلبل نوا آموخت است سوز او اندر دل پردانه با بحر و بر پوشیده در آب وگلش در دماغش نا دمیده لاله ها فکر او با ماه و انجم بم نشین خضر و در ظلمات او آب حیات خضر و در ظلمات او آب حیات

In the Foreword of Muraqqa-i-Chughtai, he writes, "The artist who is a blessing to mankind..... is an associate of God. He sees all nature full, large and abundant as opposed to him who sees all things thinner, smaller, emptier than they actually are." Iqbal actually subordinates poetry to morality and makes it "subservient to life and personality." According to him, "Resistance of what is with a view to create what ought to be is health and life; all else is decay and death." The artist must discover the ought within the depths of his own being. True artist is the one who aims at the human assimilation of divine attributes and gives men infinite aspiration.

So far I have spoken of Iqbal's functionalism. But this makes only one side of Iqbal's theory of art. There is another equally important side of it and that is his expressionism.

In the history of aesthetics the first great expressionist was Plotinus. According to him, beauty of a piece of art comes not from the material—sounds, colours, tones or stones—but from the form which operates in the mind of the artist. This form the artist confers upon the material from his own inner resources. This doctrine suffers from the defect that it splits up a work of art into separate entities, material and form,

making material external and form internal to the artist.

The most thorough-going expressionist is, however, one of Iqbal's own contemporaries, Croce—the most famous Italian philosopher of recent times whose theory of art has had great influence in the West since the beginning of the second decade of this century. Briefly stated, his theory is this: Art is a creative activity which has no purpose and serves no end. No criteria of utility. ethics and logic apply to it. It is just the outpouring of the artist's emotions in the form of an image, vision, or intuition. In the intuition, form and content are indivisibly united. It yields direct knowledge of concrete individualities, whereas the intellect which is a postintuitional analytical activity, yields reflective knowledge. In other words, logical activity merely analyses what is already given a intuitional knowledge. Intuition is the selfexpression of the experiencing individual. There is only one quality common to all the intuitions and that is the creative activity of self-expression. If a work of art is appreciated by a contemplator, it is so because it arouses in him the same intuition as belongs to the artist, and that is so because both are kidred spirits. This theory was followed in artistic execution by El Greco, Cezanne, Picsso, Matisse, Gauguin and others.

Now, evidently, there are four main parts of this theory: (1) that art is an activity, completely autonomous and free from all considerations of ethics; (2) that this activity is distinct from the activity of the intellect; (3) that it consists in the unfolding of the artist's personality; and (4) that appreciation is the contemplator's reliving of the artist's experiences.

Out of these four parts of the doctrine, Iqbal is strongly opposed to the first, for he makes art strictly subordinate to morality; but he endorses the second part in so far as it entails the view that the work of the intellect is dissectional; it grasps reality only piecemeal, while intuition grasps it in its wholeness; But he agrees with Bergson rather than Croce in taking intuition as a higher form of the intellect?—as something succeeding rather than preceding thought. It seems to me that actually both parties are right. There is a kid of intuition which precedes thought, and there is another kind which succeeds it.

Regarding the remaining two parts, he is in entire agreement with Croce. He agrees that it is the self-expression of the artist. He expounds this view, when, with special reference to the Taj, he sings in praise of the architects belonging to a free people:

and when he addresses his own poetry in these words:

By he does not mean mere intellectual ideas or the forms of Platinus, but fiery thought surcharged with emotion and capable of shaking men and nations.

Again, he agrees with Croce that appreciation is possible because, broadly speaking, all of us have the same emotions as the artist.

نوائے او بہ ہر دل ساز گار است کہ درد ہر سینہ قاشے از دل اوست This in brief is Iqbal's expressionistic position.

Now we have noticed that, on the side, Iqbal makes art subservient to morality. On the other side, he regards it as self-expression of the artist. As subservient to morality, nothing is to be considered true art, however expressive of the artist's personality, if it does not effect discernment of values and does not create new hopes and new yearnings and aspirations for the advancement of life, man and society. On the other hand, every work which expresses the personality of the artist, whatever the contents of that personality—morally good, bad or indifferent—is a true work of art. Take these few lines of Ghalib:

رگ سنگ سے میکتا وہ اہو کہ پھر نہ تھمتا جسے غم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اگر شرار ہوتا زندگی اپنی جوس شکل سے گذری غالب ہم بھی کیا یاد کریں گ کہ خدا رکھتے تھے کیوش گردش مدام سے گبرا نہ جائے دل انسان ہوں بیالہ و ساغر نہیں ہوں میں ہستی کے تم فریب میں مت آئیو اسد ہائم متام حلقہ دام خیال ہے عالم تمام حلقہ دام خیال ہے عالم تمام حلقہ دام خیال ہے عالم تمام حلقہ دام خیال ہے

These lines are not poetic from the point of view of Iqbal's vitalistic functionalism, but are superb poetry from the point of view of his expressionism as a theory of art.

These are some admirers of Iqbal who hold that he has said the last word on all philosophical problems. These enthusiastic misunderstand lqbal and do a great disservice to him by discouraging a rank examination of his doctrines. His philosophy would be utterly false if his system created a deed stop in thought. He outrightly emphasises that life is dynamic and so is human thought, and there are infinite possibilities in the womb of the future in either sphere. In both these spheres, Iqbal's service are immeasurable, and yet he has a great deal for his successors to achieve. The conflict in his thought to which I have just referred has to be resolved, and as a humble disciple of his, I regard it as my duty to offer a solution. I think nobody would doubt the highly poetic nature of Ghalib's lines, quoted a moment ago, although functionally judged they can be hardly said to be so. Iqbal's expressionism, as a theory of art, however incomplete must be accepted as a basis and his functionalism, which now stands apart, must be subsumed under it to give his system a unity. Purpose, which now lies outside, must be brought with the sphere of expression. Expressionism cannot find a place in functionalism; let his functionalism be brought under his expressionism. There is one form of purpose which can in no case fall within the activity of art and that is conscious purpose like money making or making a living by book-making or racing or a game of cards or even by a poetic competition. This is a purpose completely outside art.

But there are two forms of purpose which fall within the activity of art. These are, firstly, cosmic purpose of which the agent is unconscious, e.g., preparation for reproduction in a doll's marriage in the play of girls, and secondly, cosmic purpose as a part of the content of intuition of which the agent is conscious. The unconscious cosmic purposes which art serves are training for life by a spontaneous pursuit of it on the plane of imagination, and increase of life by affording relief by the release of pent-up emotion or the overflow of energies within the artist's personality. Purpose in this sense is biological. The artist himself is not conscious of it.

There is, however, another form of purpose of which the artist is fully aware. It is the cosmic purpose of an objective ingredient in his intuition of the universe as a whole. His all embracing intuition contains within itself the idea of this cosmic purpose as a content and, therefore, it falls within its expressions. Being an essential part of this expression, it does hot collide with it. The idea of the highest good which pervades through the dialogues of Plato or the whole poetry of Iqbal is not external, but internal to their art. Art can be allowed to be didactic only in this sense. It is only when the artist's personality is wholly dominated and coloured by an ethical conception of such vast magnitude that purpose becomes internal to his spontaneous intuitions. If the art is conceived as expression of the artists impression of reality, then purpose may or may not form a part of the artist's intuitions, and whether it does or does not, his worker can yet be beautiful. And that is why some verses of Mir, Ghalib and Fani possess supreme beauty, even though they are pessimistic and non-didactic, After the suggested modification, both, works embodying a purpose and those without any purpose, can find a place in true art, and all kinds of experiences and ideals can fall within its ambit. Some such modification in Iqbal's theory of art is essential to make it self-consistent and comprehensive enough to cover all types of art.

Iqbal put us on the right path to the highest reaches of life and thought. He took us a long way on that path under his own leadership. Then he felt us saying: Do not halt; go on. You will reach many stages. Do not stop at any of them, taking git to be the last. Work you way up and up to greater and yet greater heights. There will be no limit to you achievements, provided you persevere. This is what he said in effect and his void still rings in our ears. Let each of us heed his advice and go on persevering in search of life and truth unflinchingly, and improve our thoughts as well as our deeds unceasingly. May God help us!

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IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF POWER

Reyazur Rahman

For Russell 'the intoxication of power... is the greatest danger of our time¹'. Lust of power being the most potent danger of the present day, if appears to be worthwhile, to analyse Iqbal's treatment of power, who is claimed to be a political thinker of some position.

Power has been eulogized by Iqbal without any reservations. Since 1907, he seems to have realized the importance of power as it is evident from the poem 'March 1907', wherein the aspiration and the ambition is to overcome the more powerful tide, the small ants will become stronger and the 'tiger' will awaken to senses.²

It is evident from his letter written in 1915 that it was since 1906 that he was deeply concerned to determine the relation of power with religion. It is also asserted that religion without the support of power is mere Philosophy.

And his assertion in this letter that he wrote his Asrar-e-Khudiwith the purpose to make the Muslims realize the importance of power for religion³ is borne out in clearest possible terms by some of his poems in this very work.

Here Iqbal is critical of Plato for his escapism, which he believes, to have largely influenced the thinking of the Muslims.

"Our recluse had no remedy but flight: He could not edure the noise of this world4"

To counter the impact of such sufism which teaches other worldliness and makes the Muslims morbid and inactive, Iqbal wishes to make them conscious of their own-selves and of their ideals and mission in the world.

"The moral and religious ideal of man is not selfnegation but self-affirmation...."

"My criticism of Plato is directed against those philosophical system which hold up death rather than life as their ideal....."

Iqbal's criticism of Plato's thought and his argument about a life of action and expression of power has been interpreted differently. In this regard Iqbal himself has taken a stand, which in the first glance, looks too brutish and radical. Thus, in the *Asrar* he talks about truth and strength as going hand in hand. They appear to be two sides

of the same coin.

Strength is the twin of truth.

'Falsehood derives from power the authority of truth.

And by falsifying truth deems itself true.'6

Here it has been emphasized that physical power also is of great importance, because without power nothing could be achieved. It is true that power is declared to be the sustainer of truth, but not the creator of truth. But admiration for power is so unreserved that his commentators ascribe it to the influence of Nietzshe.

- (a) Aziz Ahmad in his *Nai Tashkil* emphasises that Iqbal in spite of his difference in detail with Nietzshe had accepted his influence in the concept of power.⁷
- (b) Very recently, a political scientific in a Doctoral dissertation asserts "that Iqbal was subject to a certain amount of Nietzshean influence. It was Nietzshe's great emphasis on power which was a matter of constant attractions"
- (c) By ascribing Nitzhche's influence on Iqbal's concept of power, it is quite logical to involve the latter also in Fascism and as it actually happened. The assertions are made about Iqbal that "his national ideal for Islam must make the fascist leap for joy9"

he was looking for "a dictator saviour" and ultimately to his satisfaction he declared.

"In Germany Hitler has found a new era"10

lqbal was acquainted with Nietzshe, But to assert that he was influenced by the latter in his concept of power with all of its implications does not appear to be tenable. It is contended so on the ground that the two not only differ in the vital aspects of the problem. But they face each other from hostile camps, although there might appear some resemblance here and there superficially.

The following will show that there is neither any validity (1) in ascribing Nietzshe's influence on Iqbal's concept of power, not (2) in the assertion that Iqbal was pro-fascism.

Power is declared to be the deciding factor between right and wrong. The emphasis on the decisive role of power in matters of right and wrong or even victory and defeat is the result of Iqbal's study of History. The gist of a poem given below will show that it is his study of History which has enabled him to recognize the importance of power and which in no way is Nietzsche inspired. The very caption of the poem apart from its contents is significant: *Quwwat aur Din* (Power and religion).

In this poem it is pointed out that humanity so many

like Alexander and Changez. And that it is the verdict of Hisotyr that lust for power has catastrophic implications. Power without religion is most poisonous, whereas power for the sake of religion is the panacea of all ills.¹¹

Here it may be pointed out that had Iqbal been inspired by Nietzshe, instead of warning against dangers of lust for power he would have sung in praise of the Conquerors.

Before proceeding further to examine the relation between Iqbal and Nietzsche in the context of power, it will not be out of place to say a few words about power as understood by Iqbal.

Power may be taken as the capacity to achieve the desired object. Thus two elements compose it (1) Capacity (2) Desire. Both the capacity and the desire' may have two aspects each:

'Capacity' may be created either through love, affection, sympathy, unity, or through falsehood, deceit, terror; unity through terror, support through fear by exploiting and sacrificing the weak as suggested by Machiavelli and Nietzsche.

So also 'desire' may be of two types: Material, personal and selfish again, conquest and personal glory or moral, impersonal and selfless.

The two stand poles apart both in the capacity or means and Desire or end of Power. Nietzsche aims to achieve power by sacrificing the society (believed in 'individual power' and exercise his power for personal glory and self aggrandizement.

To Iqbal the source of power is radically different from that of Nietzshe. In the case of Iqbal power comes through unity based on religion. Iqbal's emphasis on unity is of vital importance in the context of power which has been generally neglected by his commentators. Power, unity and religion are inter-related. It is unity which creates power and it is religion or *Tauhid* which creates the unique sense of unity. Unity based on *Tauhid* brings power. Iqbal emphasises the importance of religion in forging a unique sense of unity. Religion based on sincerity and truth forges unity of thought among them. The loss and gain for one becomes so for all. It creates common outlook among them. Thus they are bound together firmly for the purpose of achieving common goal.

In the case of Nietzsche, neither unity, nor religion has got anything to do with power, as it is with Iqbal. Nietzsche was no believer either in unity or in religion or God. He rejects both.

A "good and healthy aristocracy" in the words of Nietzsche must "accept with a good conscience the sacrifice of a legion of individuals, who for its own sake, must be suppressed and reduced to imperfect men, to slaves and instruments. Its fundamental belief must be precisely that society is not allowed to exist for its own sake, but only as a foundation and scaffolding, by means of which a select class of beings may be able to elevate themselves to their high duties"¹⁴

Thus for Nietzsche power is to be achieved by sacrificing the society—whereas for Iqbal unity (or millat or society) is not to be sacrificed for the sake of the individual. Society or Millat is the source of Power.

"In his striving for power, Nietzsche *ubermensch* Cynically tramples all the generally accepted moral and ethical values, and the people for him are a mere crowd, a herd above which he must proudly tise and regain. Iqbal on the contrary wants the entire people to be made up of strong. Wilful personalities united by common ideals of friendship, fraternity, and mutual service. In his works Iqbal repeatedly disassociated himself outright from Nietzsche's cynical aristocratism". 15

Nietzsche declares of God was the greatest

blasphemy! but God died, and therewith also those blasphemous"16

The two face each other

lt is not only in the source of power that they oppose each other, the opposition between the two in assigning the role to power is still more pronounced. Without going into the details it may be said that it is not a question of difference between the two rather the two face each other from hostile camps. Iqbal desires power to protect the weak from exploitation and oppression. Besides in the poem 'Quwwat Aur Deen' as noted earlier, Iqbal tells it in unequivocal terms that power for religion is panacea, whereas power without religion is poison, Nietzsche, on the other hand has a different attitude towards power. Power is to be used for exploitation.

"Exploitation" does not belong to a depraved, or imperfect and primitive society: It belongs to the nature of the living being as a primary organic function; it is a consequence of the intrinsic will to power, which is precisely the will of life" 18

FASCISM

Now an attempt should be made to analysis briefly how far it is tenable to hold that Iqbal has fascist leanings. A dispassionate and also extensive study of Iqbal's political ideas will not encourage one to link him with this creed of destruction and barbarism. In this regard an analysis of the key fascist concepts will throw the whole discussion in proper perspective.

a) Individual and the State

The individual in the Fascist state does not have his own will. He is to act according to the will of the state. According to Mussoloni he is "deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential; the deciding power in this question cannot be the individual, but the state alone" 19

"The Fascist state" he (Mussoloni) writes "is itself conscious, and has itself a will and a personality—thus it may be called the 'ethic' state" 20,

b) The State

State according to Mussolini has a personality and a will of its own which is superior to the wills of individuals. It must be obeyed by all. Obedience is to be tacit so much so that it becomes an object of worship. The state is all pervading:

"Nothing outside of the state, nothing against the

state, nothing above the state"21.

c) The Leader and the State

As a matter of fact State itself is something abstract.

It is the Leader who 'emerges' in the fascist society and identifies his own will with the will of the State.

"The function of the course of justice was openly asserted to be to serve the interest of the state: and the state could be bound by no law, laws was the will of the state formulated by the Fuerer²².

d) Law and the will of the leader

The position of a fascist leader is quite different from that in a democracy. His will is supreme. He is both the creator of Law and its interpreter. He is himself above the law. He is infallible and is always just. This is what Hitler's Lieutenants used to preach; "Justice and Hitler's will are one and the same thing" (Goering) "since Hitler has been presented to us by God—those who do not place themselves at his side are evil willed" Under fascism as noted earlier the state is worshipped and on behalf of the state the leader is worshipped.

This brief analysis of fascist thought shows that Iqbal can hardly be said to echo it. Inspired by Islam Iqbal is a

firm believer in the rule of Law. It is for this reason that he eulogizes Khilafat. He refers to it again and again that Khilafat is based on the Supremacy of Law. The ruler and the ruled both are equally bound by the same Law.

The Law of God is absolutely supreme... Islam has a honor for personal authority"24

"The Caliph.... is fallible like other men and is subjected like very Muslim, to the impersonal authority of the same law".25

"From a legal standpoint, the Caliph does not occupy and any privileged position. In theory, he is like other members of the commonwealth. He can be directly used in an ordinary law court". 26

In this context Iqbal mentions the role of Judiciary for maintaining its independence without fear and favour of the Chief Executive. It did not hesitate in summoning the Head of the State to the Court of Law and impose punishment on him if found responsible for the violation of the law.²⁷

So far as the state is concerned, in Iqbal's scheme it

is necessary no doubt. But its necessity does not lie in itself, because to him it is a means and not an end itself. And the means for the implementation of the law. In his letter to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1933 he writes that enforcement and development of Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states"2.

Apart from state worshipping under fascism, war is no less adored. All problems are solved with the help of brute force. Mussolini believed in the importance of state but attached greater importance to war, rejecting peace in human society. Willian Ebenstein points out: "More important than Mussolini's plea for a strong state is his frank rejection of the ideal of peace among nations". War is eulogized because 'war along' in the words of Mussolini 'puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it.²⁹

"Though words are very beautiful things", Mussolini declared "rifles, machineguns, ships, aeroplanes and cannons are more beautiful things still". 30

"For Fascism" Mussolini writes, "the growth of empire, that is to say, the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality and its opposite a sign of decadence" 31

Iqbal emphatically denounces the war of conquest in the name of religion.

"That the Muslim peoples have fought and conquered like other peoples, and that some of their leaders have screened their personal ambition behind the veil of religion. I do not deny; but I am absolutely sure that territorial conquest was no part of the original programme of Islam. As a matter of fact, I consider it is great loss that the progress of Islam as a conquering faith stultified the growth of those germs of an economic and democratic organization of society which I find scattered up and down the pages of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet". 32

There is no place for war of aggression in Iqbal's scheme of things. He considers the aggressors as robbers. The dialogue between Alexander and the Sea Pirate, shows the hatred that Iqbal had for war of aggresions, when he identifies, the great conqueror, Alexander with a Sea Pirate. The profession of both is the same, to plunder, one does it on land and the other on seas.³³

This show that Iqbal would admire only those generals who fight for the right and would brand those as plunderers and tyrants who faith not for the right, rather to establish the supremacy of their might.

In a letter in 1936 he asserts that for territorial gain was in Islam is forbidden so also for preaching religion.³⁴

Iqbal's Contribution to International Peace

As a believer in peace, Iqbal rejects the idea of war both on economic as well as on religious grounds. Also some of his ides may be conducive to international peace. One of the basic needs for international order is the existence of international community which unfortunately does not exist and so also the international peace.

Laski emphasizes the point that the nations of the world with their own sovereignties defied the League of Nations and violated the international Law, because they do not possess the sense of being an 'Organic community guided by some superior law. "There is no organic community of its own to which their own law is subordinate". In absence of international community with a sense of unity there cannot be peace in human society. There is international society but no such community.

"International Society lacks the Solidarity without which an effective political order is unthinkable". 36 Referring to the League of Nations, in the Zarb-e-Kalim Iqbal points out that although the nations, have formed an association, but even they have failed to conceive the idea

of unity of mankind, or international community hence the League of Nations is not human association, rather an association of the different nations of the world³⁷. Believing and believing firmly in the unity of mankind, Iqbal asserts:

In the interest of a universal unification of mankind the Quran ignores their minor difference and says, "Come let us unite on what is common to us all"³⁸

Khudi and War

Through Khudi and Khilafat Iqbal aims at improving the tragic human situation. He emphasizes upon the Muslim the need to establish Khilafat to serve the interest of humanity. Khudi is recommended to create "Unique" individuals. After passing through the two stages of the development of Khudi, the individual becomes 'Unique' and attains Divine vicegerency and in that capacity, Iqbal exhorts him to see that peace and harmony prevails in human society.

"Silence the noise of the nations, Imparadise our ears with the music, Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood, Give us back the cup of the wine of love" 39

Besides, in a letter⁴⁰ Iqbal himself points out that

peace in human society is not possible unless the nations of the world develop their Khudi, i.e. completely subordinate themselves to the Divine Command, and power will be exercised only for the law and not for self aggrandisement.

It must always be kept in mind that Iqbal is well aware of the rule or moral law in the affairs of man. This, in fact, is the differentia which distinguishes Iqbal's thought from those of Nietzsche. Iqbal has insisted on the moral and spiritual elements and has identified them with self-restraint. In this regard he mentions Hazrat Ali.

Immediately after the section describing the stages for the development of *Khudi* leading to establishment of Divine Vicegerency or *Khilafat* about *Khilafat* he wrote in so many places before mentioning it here in the *Asrar*), follows the section wherein he comes to eulogize Ali—the symbol of Power both Moral and Physical.

He is the symbol of moral power because he could control the physical desires. Body is considered by Iqbal as 'dark clay'. It is held responsible for debasing the ideas and thoughts of man and also for making him the slave of his lust⁴¹. But this physical power could be converted into moral power by means of subduing the 'body's clay'. By achieving this, Ali, the Lion of God could change the

darkness of the earth into brilliance.42

It is pointed out, that man with the help of his physical power can win territorial war. However, his greatest or brightest possession is not territory but victory over himself.

"Man wins territory by prowess in battle, but his brightest jewel is mastery of himself". 43

Thus, Iqbal not only talks about power in terms of brute force but links power with moral checks, and self-restraint.

Taken into the context of societies or nations the concept of restraint would imply that to satisfy one's own hunger at the cost of others is the sign of the barbarians. They are barbarians in the sense that they do not hesitate in doing harm to other nations, for their own national interest. And those nations which have the capacity of committing aggression against the smaller nations, do not hesitate in doing so. So far as the society envisaged by Iqbal is concerned, there is no question of aggression of the powerful against the weak either at national or at international level. The use of coercive power largely remains idle, because the individuals possess self control. If at all occasions arise for its use the man in authority will not misuse his it. He will not exercise it for self

interest. Through 'self control' he becomes master or als desires.

A person with self control will obey the law out of his own inner conviction and not under coercion. This is the mark of civilized person, which distinguishes him from a barbarian who believes in force coercion. If the members of society obey the law not because it appeals to their moral sense, not because of their conviction, rather they obey only to avoid coercion, force and punishment, they are not civilized. Once the fear of coercion and punishment is removed they will turn barbarians as depicted by Hobbes—they will be thrown back to the state of nature where there is "continual fear, and danger of violent death; And the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short".44 And through his theory of Khudi Iqbal aims at producing such individuals in the society who obey the law out of their own inner urge and where the chances of going back to the state of nature do not arise.

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DIOTIMA, TAHIRA AND IQBAL

Shahheer Niazi

Iqbal was not only outstanding poet of the East but an eminent thinker and scholar of great erudition. Like his predecessors Sadi, Rumi and Ibn Arabi, Iqbal has adopted deliberately the language of the verse for the expression of his thought and the hard facts of life which seldom gives vent to a harsh criticism and many controversial subjects are easily dealt with in a poetic manner. Every student of Islamic mysticism knows it very well that whatever Rumi and Ibn Arobi uttered in the language of the verse, would not have been possible in prose at all. One of the major characteristics of Iqbal's poetry is that he frequently refers to such personalities of the pas which are not knows to his readers generally and the main reason is that Iqbal as a scholar had surveyed some remote corners of the world of learning extending

beyond the range of average scholars. His book, 'Jawid Namah' (The Everlasting Epistle), is full of such allusions to, for instance Qurratul-Ain Tahira1 (Zarrim Taj), Sharafun Nisa2, Jahan Dost3, Sa'id Halim Pasha4, Syed Ali Hamadani⁵ and Bhartatri Hari⁶, a great Sanskrit poet, who is referred to by him first time in Urdu poetry. There is no doubt that the names of these people are known to almost all the educated persons but they are not fully acquainted with the background on which basis in importance is attached to them by Iqbal. For instance Iqbal fully understands what he is writing but the readers are denerally at a loss to understand what 'tawasin' طواسين means to him and how Tawasin-i-Hallaj and 'Tawasin' (one of the abbreviations of the Holy Quran) are interrelated.

In this short note I cannot naturally accommodate all the personalities mentioned above; therefore. I will simply deal with his verses about Qurratul-Ain Tahira of Iran and Diotima of Greece, whose name is not mentioned. This fact should be borne in mine that Iqbal has name used the name of Sharafun-Nisa a symbol of piety; the name of Diotima as a symbol of wisdom and the name of Tahira as a symbol of evil, abnegation and rebellion due to her antinomianism.

Iqbal has not mentioned the name of Diotima but simply referred to her calibre in relation to the erudition of Plato. Diotima, an outstanding teacher of the art of love, was a citizen of Mantineia in Greece. Many people have been of the opinion hat Diotima⁷ is not a historical person but a legendary figure while others insist that had it been the case, the place of her dwelling would not have been mentioned because all the deities and imaginary heroes are always Olympians or Cosmopolitan and belong to no place particularly. Iqbal has referred to Diotima in the following verse:

'That Though a woman could not write dialogues like Plato but still it was her flame that extinguished the sparks of Plato's wisdom'.

What Iqbal implies in this verse is that though a woman has never been occupying a place equal to Plato but it does not mean necessarily that no woman can be wise or wity enough to rule out the conclusion arrived at by an eminent thinker, philosopher or a scholar. In my

opinion it is imperative to give a brief account of Diotima's life and thought. Due to the fact that there is very scanty information about Diotima at hand; therefore we shall have to depend upon Plato along for the dialogue between her and the great Socrates. At this point we should bear in mind that Plato has ascribed everything to his great teacher Socrates whether it was befitting or not. For instance Socrates was a perfect monotheist and he had nothing to do with the Greek deities and the stories woven about them. His crime in fact was that he had diverted the attention of the young generation towards the realities and the meaning of 'Divine' in its true sense. His disregard for the traditional deities was enough to arouse the feelings of the infidels against him and to take his life which they did at last.

Plato in one of his marvellous dialogues⁹, entitled 'Symposium' has referred to a conversation¹⁰ between Diotima and Socrates, though according to Plato himself, it seems that Diotima was neither a contemporary of Plato nor of Socrates and the dialogue is actually based on the teachings of Diotoma in general and her ideas about he art of love in particular. Iqbal seems to be very careful about it and he simply refers to he without mentioning her name. However, a brief summary of the great dialogue

on which his verse was based, is as follows:-

'Diotima of Mantineia was a very wise woman and a great expert not in the art of love alone but in other subjects also' says Plato. 'She was the woman who in the days of old, when the Athenians were suffering from fear of an epidemic, had delayed the disease for ten years by her spiritual powers! Then Plato says;

Plato= In my opinion and in the opinion of others, the deity of love is fair and good.

Diotoma= It is absolutely wrong. He is neither fair nor good.

Plato= Is love then evil or foul?

Diotima= Hush! Must that be fould which is not fair? Is there nothing between the two extremes?

Plato= Yes, there is, but I still insist that 'Love' is a great god.

Diotoma= But how he can be acknowledged as a great god by those who say that he is not a god at all?

Plato= Who are they?

Diotima= You and I, are two of them.

Plato= How?

Diotima= Since it is clear that 'love' is always for something that we do not possess, as the 'love'

for 'beauty' indicates that the god of love is to beautiful and when he is not beautiful, he is not good also, because 'Beauty' is 'Good' and thus a deit who is not fair and good cannot be a god at all.

Plato= Your are perfectly right Diotima, but you please tell me what is 'love' then?

Diotima= 'Love' is not a deity but an instrument of relation between man and god. Those who are saintly, want to embrace the divine beauty, so that they may become immortal but others who are involved in the charm of flesh lose their seed of procreation for a temporal pleasure.

Plato= Do you mean Diotima that we should no love beautiful bodies of our opposite sex?

Diotima No! I do not mean so. What I mean to say is that we should procreate in good for the sake of good and not for the sake of physical pleasure alone. You know that the physical pleasure alone. You know that the physical beauty is the image of the real beauty; therefore you should shift from this 'unreal love' to the 'real love' which is the destination of our soul.

Plato= I do not understand fully what you mean by procreation.

Diotima= I will make my meaning clear. I mean to say that all men are desirous for procreation in their bodies and souls. At a certain age all the human beings need procreation, which must be in beauty and not in deformity; and this procreation is the union of man and woman and it is of course divine thing; for conception and generation are an immortal principle in the mortal creature. Since beauty represents 'good' and deformity represent 'evil', one should try to procreate in the good and not evil. We are anxious to procreate because we wan to be immortal thorough generation after generation. Don't you see how all the animals, birds, as well as beasts in their desire of procreation, are in agony when they take the infection of love, which begins with the desire of union; where to is added the care of offspring, on whose behalf the weakest are ready to battle against the strongest even to the uttermost and to die for them, and let themselves be tormented with hunger or suffer

anything in order to maintain their young. Man is more conscious about it because he is always prepared to sacrifice everything for his children and for his fame or prestinge, which to his belief are the real sources of immortality. But those who are pregnant in the body, only be take themselves to women and beget children. This is the character of their love, their offspring, and they hope that they will preserve their memory in future, while the souls which are pregnant in themselves, create the same outwardly and more and more they proceed from unreal to the real. To them the concept of beauty is not physical or relative but absolute. These stages serve them as the stepping-stones from earth to heaven. This world of absolute Wisdom and beauty is above all other beauties in this universe. Consequently the love of the 'Real' is the real immortality.

So this is the summary of the discussion between Socrates and Diotima, according to Plato. Before we scrutinize this statement and separate the facts from

fallacies, it is essential to note down some more remarks passed by Plato about Diotima. On one occasion he says the Diotima was a stranger to Athens from Mantineia. She talked like a great Sophist and she taught him time to time but at the same time he regards her a venerated lady of the old days. What we gather from the statement already noted above, is as following:

- That Diotima was not an Athenia like Socrates and Plato but she had come here from Mantineia, to staty there for a while. It is not certain 'when she came to Athens and how long she stayed there'.
- That she was a saintly woman of mature age certainly, who had protected Athens for then years against an epidemic plague, in the old days.
- 3. That she taught Plato time to time and not in one sitting. What he learnt from her apart from the art of love is not knows. From the world 'time to time' it seems that Plato had been studying her teachings time to time, because she was no his contemporary.
- That she talked with certainly but like a Sophist.
 When she returned to Mantineia or when she died is not known.

The aggregate that leads us to some conclusion is

that though the biographical data about Diotima is not complete but it is evident that she was not a legendary figure but a real person. Moreover, she was not a polytheist like Socrates who believed in one God. Most probably she was not a contemporary of even Socrates because no writer of that age including Aristotle and Xenophon has referred to her presence. Iqbal rightly ascribes the dialogue to Plato because Socrates was never defeated by any human being and had never been a disciple of any academic person. He was a God-gifted person like the prophets.

TAHIRA

Qurratu-'Ain Tahira whose real name was Zarrin Taj was the beautiful and learned¹ daughter of Haji Mullah Muhammad Sualeh of Qazwin (Iran). In her youth when she was married, she came into contact of Haji Syed Kazim, by chance, who was a leader of Sheikhi Sect, founded by Sheikh Ahmad. The followers of this sect were antinomians in the opinion of Sha'iah Sect to which Tahira belonged by birth. In the meantime Mullah Hussain, a disciple of Syed Kazim, showed her a letter from Babi¹², the founder of the newly formed Babi group, who seemed to be interested in Tahira. Soon she became his follower

and he very kindly called her 'Janab-i-Tahira' (Her Excellency the pure) and, Qurratul-Am' (Lustre of the eye) was the title that she received from Bahaullah, the successor of Babi. Bahaullah not only claimed to be a prophet but the Incarnation of God also. He abrogated the Holy Quran and Islamic Shari'ah after introducing his own book 'Al-Aqdas' (The Holy Scripture) wherein he has sanctioned sex liberty to a great extent. For a long time this book was not available but now its English translation is published from London. The copy is very authentic because it is signed by the son of Bahaullah. Tahira was an excellent Arabic Scholar and a poetess. She was very pretty, possessed of high intellectual gifts, eloquent, devoted and fearless. She was so dauntless that she made an attempt13 to take the life of the King of Iran who was opposed to the Babi and then Bahai movement.14 Consequently she was imprisoned and then killed. Iqbal seems to be one of the admirers of her poetry and talent when he reproduces her poem under the caption of 'Nawai-Tahira' in his 'Jawid Namah (pp. 137) but at the same time he refers to her in a most derogatory manner when she appears as prophetess on the Sphere of Mars, in the same book, What he says about her is following:

"We passed by thousands of streets and mansions. On the

edge of the city was a broad square and in that waure a swarm of men and women was hearing a woman of the radiant face but without the light of the soul. Whose words had no meanings. She lacked the fire of desire and tears. Her breast was void of the ardour or youth. She knew nothing of love and the doctrine of love. Rumi discloses further 'This damsel is not of the Martians but farzmarz (Satan) has kidnapped her from Europe and has made her perfect in the craft of prophethood and then smuggled to this planet and now what she proclaims is -'I have come down from heaven. My message is final.' She speaks of the secrets of the male and female bodies more frankly. She induces women to become free and not to live as darling of menfolk because in her opinion 'to be a darling' is to be a victim, to be dominated and to be deprived of freedom of action and thought. To be the consort of a man is a torment of life for a woman. His union is like poison and separation from him is sweet. Man is a twisting serpent; therefore flee from his coils. Do not pour his poison into your blood by becoming the mother of his child.15

She proclaims further 'The divine revelation comes to me continuously. It is revealed on me that the time has come now when it is possible to see the foetus within the

woman and now you can have male and female child of your choice. After his age another age will come when all the secrets of nature will be revealed. The foetus will be nourished outside the womb of a woman also but such creatures will not survive. The secrets of life will emerge themselves. The melody without string will be possible. Woman's unitarianism is to escape from the union of two bodies (i.e. the male and female). Be on your guard and tangle not with men. ¹⁶

In the light of the passages noted above it becomes clear that Iqbal by no means insults Tahira but rather he takes shelter in her name to prophesy about the time to come after him. Now we find that all the movements of women's emancipation throughout the world have similar slogans to shout against menfolk, They demand equality of sex also. The most remarkable thing is that Iqbal has predicted almost the trends of sexology in modern times , the permissive society and even the test-tube babies which is a recent experiment and which was not practicable in Iqbal's life time. This power of prediction is also one of the main characteristics of Iqbal's poetry.

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IQBAL AS A POET WITH A MESSAGE TO THE MODERN WORLD

Jaliludin Ahmad Khan

Allama Iqbal's works are so enormous in their scope, so rich in their diversity and so profound in their implication that it is no possible to sum up his teaching in the short period of time which is here at my disposal. Allama Iqbal's writings equally defy classifications. They refuse to surrender themselves to a specific or a defite form of literary nomenclature. Iqbal is at one and the same time a poet of nature and a poet of thuman emotions, a poet of the self and a poet of the cosmos, a poet of the inner world of man and a poet of civilisaion, a national poet of Pakistan and an international and humanitarian poet, a poet of tradition and a poet of progress, a poet of the East, who neverthless ceases not to address himself to the West, a poet of Islam and accordingly a universal

vision, a lyric poet and a poet of dramatic dialogues. It is therefore, impossible to invite attentin to all these aspects within the limits of a single paper. Consequently I shall confine my attentin to Iqbal's relevance to the modern world. Iqbal's relevance to the modern world can be studied in what, for want of a better word, can be called his message. But in order to bring out the significance of this message. I shall start by treating Iqbal as an ordinary poet, as a poet, say, of nature and human feelings. This would show that even if Iqbal did not have a message to propogate, a lesson to teach, an attitude to develop, he still could be valued for the sperb artistic skill with which he manipulates his impressions and experiences of life.

In his early as well as his later poetry we can see Iqbal's concern with Nature. But Nature in Iqbal, howsoever fascinating and realistic the description, is never studied for its own sake. It is always associated with emotional overtones or with moral and philosophical implications. Somehow the human world has the greater relevance in his poetry. He would not let the sould of man submerge and drown itself in the apprehension of Nature. Instead, he uses Nature to develp and kindl the sould of man:

Nevertheless, Nature is delineated with a perfect realistic objective concretness. Writing an ode on a evening which he spent near the river Neeke close to Heidelberg, he says:

This is an objective description of Nature. But a single couplet which ends the poem invites attention to the soul of the poet and brings Nature in harmony with his mood.

Sometimes Nature is employed as a scenic background to intensify the emotional intensity of the meanings of the philosophical and political dialogues which are to follow: as when the poem Khizr-i-Rah starts with the following lines:

ماطل دریا پہ میں اک رات تھا محو نظر گوشئہ دل میں چھپائے اک جہال اضطراب شب سکوت افزا ہوا آسودہ دریا نرم سیر تھی نظر جیراں کہ بیہ دریا ہے یا تصویر آب جیسے گہوارے میں سوجاتا ہے طفل شیر خوار موج مضطر تھی کہیں گہرائیوں میں مست خواب رات کے افسوں سے طائر آشیانوں میں اسیر انجم کم ضو گرفتار طلسم ماہتاب

But very commonly, natural imagery itself is employed for an elucidation of philosophical meanings. If the early poetry of Iqbal would invite the attention of children towards a mountain and a squirrel مناورگاری or towards a spider and a bee مرااورگای the very objects of nature seem to be loaded with an intense realisation of the philosophical meaning of existence, in a poem like where one becomes aware of the necessar decay of beauty in this life. p. 116-117 (Bang-i-Dara)

خدا ہے حسن نے اک روز یہ سوال کیا جہاں میں کیوں نہ مجھے تونے اازوال کیا ملا جواب کہ تصویر خانہ ہے دنیا شب دراز عدم کا فسانہ ہے دنیا ہوئی ہے رنگ تغیر ہے جب نمود اس کی وہی حسیس ہے حقیقت زوال ہو جس کی کہیں قریب تھا یہ گفتگو قمر نے سی فلک پہ عام ہوئی اختر سحر نے سی فلک پہ عام ہوئی اختر سحر نے سی فلک کی بات بنادی زمین کے محروم کو فلک کی بات بنادی زمین کے محروم کو مجر آئے پھول کے آنسو پیام شبنم ہے کی کا نخیا سا دل خون ہوگیا غم سے کی کا نخیا سا دل خون ہوگیا غم سے جبن سے روتا ہوا موسم بہار گیا شباب سیر کو آیا تھا سوگوا گیا شاہ سیر کو آیا تھا سوگوا گیا

Sometimes Nature becomes an obvious link with the supernatural and the natural and the supernatural are visualised within a single perspective. The Shair-i-Falak is a very good illustraion of the point. p. 192-193 Bang-i-Dara.

تھا تخیل جو ہم سفر میرا آسال پر ہوا گذر میرا ارتا جاتا تھا اور نہ تھا کوئی جانے والا چرخ پر میرا راز س بسته تھا سفر میرا ال یرانے نظام سے نکار ختم آرزوئے دیدہ و گوش ہے تحامانہ حور جلوہ فروش یینے والوں میں شور نوشا نوش ایک تاریک خانه سردد خموش اس کی تاریکیوں ہے دوش ہروش کرهٔ زمیریی ہو روبوش جيرت انگيز تھا جواب سروش نار سے نور سے تھی آغوش جس ہے لرزال ہے مردعبرت کوش ایے انگار ساتھ لاتے ہیں

تارے چرت ہے دیکھتے تھے مجھے حلقهٔ صبح و شام سے نکلا کیا سناؤں تنہیں ارم کیا ہے شاخ طوبیٰ یہ نغمہ ریز طیور ساقیان جمیل جام بدست دور جنت ہے آنکھ نے دیکھا طالع قیس و گیسوئے کیل خنک ایبا کہ جس سے شرما کر میں نے پوچھی جو کیفیت اس کی یہ مقام ننک جہنم ہے شعلے ہوتے ہیں مستعار اس کے ابل دنیا یہاں جو آتے ہی

It shall be seen, therefore, tht Iqbal as a poet is a superb and skiful artist and yet all the time he remains supreme moralist. In his search for meanings in life, he becomes a great idealst, and in his concern with nature, he continues to be a positive realist. The contrast between Idealism and Realism is resolved through Islam, which as the Din-i-Fitrat is a revealed religion in accordance with the laws of Nature. The growth of self in accordance with these laws is then developed in the doctrine of . It is thus through Islam that Iqbal's idealism is brought in perfect harmony with realism. He makes the real approximate itself to the ideal and the ideal to embrace and infold the real. It is here that the message of Iqbal directs itself in its several ramifications. He has been writing amongst a people who, owing to a hundred years of slavery, have gradually allowed themselves to be influenced by an extremely painful form of inferiority complex, Iqbal, therefore, finds it necessary to emancipate the minds of Muslims from an easy surrender to foreign values. He stries to rehabilitate the confidence of Muslims in their own selves, so that they may be prepared for the great task of leadeship that lies ahead of them.

A glance at the writings of lqbal would reassure us

how great is the significance lqbal attaches to this message. The very titles of his books would indicate the importance lqbal gives to the quality of his message. He presented the traditional attitude of the spiritual East a a remedy for the was the suffering of the materialistic West. As a counterpat to Goeth's West-Ostlischer Divan, Iqbal addresses his Payam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East to the West. The lyrical fervour in the quality of this message embraces itself in the sacred song of the زبورعجم. He knows how the East itself has been distingerating under the colonila exploitation of the West and in order to resist the corroding influence of the West, he writes his Pas Che Bayad Kard ay Aqwam-i-Sharq (What Then Should The Eastern Nations Do?) But the full flowring of his message takes place in the way lqbal interprets the role of Islam within the context of the present day world. Its final consummation, ofcourse, is presented in his Armughan-i-Hljaz. But he preceed to this final phawe through a systematic formulation of his intellectual, imaginative and aesthetic attitudes. He builds up a philosophy of the progress of human destiny within the cosmos and writes his Asrar-i-Khudi and Rumuz-i-Bekhudi. He directs the attention of the Muslims towards the realisation of the responsibility that they owe to the Bang-i-Dara calls to mind the picture of a caravan which has already gone before and the strayed travellers have to be directed towards their destination through the echoes of the bells ringing amongst poeple who have already left. It is here in this book that the poet announces (p. 306-307)

خدائے کم یزل کا دست قدرت تو زبان تو ہے یقین پیدا کر اے غافل کہ مغلوب گماں تو ہے یرے سے چرخ نیلی فام سے منزل مسلماں کی ستارے جس کی گرد راہ ہوں وہ کارواں تو ہے مكان فائي مكيس فائي ازل تيرا ابد تيرا خدا کا آخری یغام ہے تو جاوداں تو ہے حنابند عروس لالہ ہے خون جگر تیرا تری نبیت براہیمی ہے معمار جہاں تو ہے تری فطرت امیں ہے ممکنات زندگانی کی جہاں کے جوہر مضمر کا گویا امتحان تو ہے جہان آب و گل سے عالم جاوید کی خاطر نبوت ساتھ جس کو لے گئی وہ ارمغان تو ہے یہ نکتہ ہر گذشت ملت بیضا ہے ہے پیدا کہ اقوام زمین ایشیا کا پاسباں تو ہے The *Bal-i-Jibril* would lead the Muslims on the wings of spiritual inspiration offered by the Islamic revelation:

It announces

The Zarb-i-Kalim will strike with the force of a Moses against the tyranny of the modern Pharaohs of mankind. All the shibboleths of modern civilization (whether they refer to education, woman arts or politics) are examined in turn, only in order to point out the enfusion that is characteristics of a society which has taken too many things for granted. One by one Iqbal brings down the idols of a sophisticated culture which is already decaying and which needs to be rejuvenated by a spiritual form of art.

The spiritual form of art, therefore, becomes relevant to the modern world not only in terms of Iqbal's philosophical message, but also in terms of his political vision of a disintegrating Europe which is waiting to be led by Islam, if along with the rest of the world, it is to be directed towards a progressive humanitarian destiny:

The way in which the Western nations, in order to develop themselves economically and politically. Undertake vast schemes of colonial exploitation of the nations of the East and thus come into confilict among themselves in illustrated in the critical comments of Mussolini which he makes when he advances his forces against Abyssinia:

کیا زمانے سے زالا ہے مسولینی کا جرم بے محل گرا ہے معصومان یورپ کا مزاج میں بھٹلتا ہوں تو چھلنی کو برا لگتا ہے کیوں ہیں جھلتی ہوں ہے اوزار تو چھلنی میں جھاج

These instruments of civilization who conspire together to rob the colonies of their resources are ultimately responsible for bringin about a cultural disintegration of the people of the East. That is why in order to perpertuate this tyranny, the devil instructs his political children: (p. 148 Zarh-i-Kalim until AAhu)

لاکر برہمنوں کو سیاست کے پیج میں زناریوں کو دیر کہن سے نکال دو وہ فاقہ کش کہ موت سے ڈرتا نہیں ذرا روح محمد اس کے بدن سے نکال دو فکر عرب کو دے کے فرنگی تخیلات اسلام کو حجاز و یمن سے نکال دو افغانیوں کی غیرت دیں کا ہے بیہ علاج ملا کو ان کے کوہ ذمن سے نکال دو اللہ کو ان کے کوہ ذمن سے نکال دو اللہ کو ان کے کوہ ذمن سے نکال دو اللہ حرم سے ان کی روایات چین لو اللہ حرم سے ان کی روایات چین لو آہو کو مرغزار ختن سے نکال دو

lqbal shows how education has been employed by the English to weaken the force of the character that belonged to the Muslims of the past. An English Lord when he is sending his son for administration in India says:

Iqbal shows, how as a result of this kind of education, there has been a transformation in the standard of values of the Muslims:

He, therefore, reasserts the value of the traditional Muslim culture and rehabilities it within a society which has been fast succumbing to a slavish imitation of the West:

The art of the actor, who in his habitual role in playing other peoples' parts gradually denies the course of his own actions, is a negation of the self:

Art, than, is not to be just an instrument for provididing some particular kind of pleasure, Its purpose is to produce a strong and effective soul: p.13

آیا کہاں سے نالہ نے میں سرور سے اصل اس کی نے نواز کا دل ہے کہ چوب نے دل کیا ہے اس کی مستی و قوت کہاں سے ہو کیوں اس کی اگ نگاہ الٹتی ہے تخت کے کیوں اس کی اگ نگاہ الٹتی ہے اقوام میں حیات کیوں اس کی زندگی سے ہے اقوام میں حیات کیوں اس کے واردات بدلتے ہیں ہے ہے ہے کہ صاحب دل کی نگاہ میں کیا بات ہے کہ صاحب دل کی نگاہ میں ججتی نہیں ہے سلطنت روم و شام رّ سے ججتی نہیں ہے سلطنت روم و شام رّ سے جسمجھو تمام مرحلہ ہائے ہنر ہیں طے سمجھو تمام مرحلہ ہائے ہنر ہیں طے

A slavish imitation of the West therefore cannot be encouraged.

Similarly, when he comes to the problem of the emanicipation of women, Iqbal is very direct and straightforward in posing the problem: p. 93

ال بحث کا کچھ فیصلہ میں کر نہیں سکتا گو خوب سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ زہر ہے وہ قند کیا فائدہ کچھ کہہ کے بنوں اور بھی معتوب پہلے ہی خفا مجھ سے ہیں تہذیب کے فرزند اس راز کوعورت کی بصیرت ہی کرے فاش مجبور ہیں معذور ہیں مردان خرد مند کیا چیز ہے آرائش و قیمت میں زیادہ آزادی نبواں کے زمرد کا گلو بند

Iqbal is neverthelss convinced that it is not through any set conventions that the real of womanhood can be safeguarded:

But in his resistance to the West, Iqbal is particularly keen to repudiate the political instituions of the West:

When Edward VIII abdicated because he could not be allowed to marry previously married woman, Iqbal analysed the meaning of monarchy in England:

ہو مبارک اس شہنشاہ نکو فرجام کو جس کی قربانی ہے اسرار ملوکیت ہیں فاش شاہ ہے برطانوی مندر میں اک مٹی کا بت جس کو کرکتے ہیں جب چاہیں پجاری پاش پاش ہے یہ مشک آمیز افیون ہم غلاموں کے لئے ساحر انگلیس مارا خواجہ دیگر تراش ساحر انگلیس مارا خواجہ دیگر تراش

Monarchy is only a sacred institution amongst the English people to perpetuate a foreign tyranny over the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent. In his devoted love for his country, he, therefore, brings up a complaint against his own people to allow themselves to submit to a foreign yoke:

معلوم کے ہند کی تقدیر کہ اب تک بیچارہ کسی تاج کا تابندہ نگیں ہے دہقان ہے کسی قبر کا اکھڑا ہوا مردہ بوسیدہ کفن جس کا ابھی زیر زمیں ہے جال بھی گرو غیر بدن بھی گرو غیر اللہ السوس کہ باقی نہ مکان ہے نہ مکیں ہے بورپ کی غلامی پہر رضامند ہوا تو بھی کو گلہ تجھ سے ہے یورپ سے نہیں ہے بھی کو گلہ تجھ سے ہے یورپ سے نہیں ہے

This extreme love of liberty finds itself best illustrated in the poem where even the hell is not prepared to accept the dead body of a slave so that the grave which has held him for so long comes out with a complaint:

آہ ظالم تو جہاں میں بندؤ محکوم تھا
میں نہ مجھی تھی کہ ہے کیوں خاک میری سوز ناک
تیری میت سے مری تاریکیاں تاریک تر
تیری میت سے زمین کا پردہ ناموس چاک
ایکرر محکوم کی میت سے سوبار الحذر
الحذر محکوم کی میت سے سوبار الحذر

We can very well imagine hwo with this terrible yearning for independece, Iqbal would have welcomed the actual birth of Pakistan. It was not given to him for himself to see, however, the realisation of the dream of his life. He, therefore, ends on a note of regret when in a quatrian he almost sums up all the qualitites of his poetry:

We, however, who have been blessed with the fruits of independence, should stop to ask outselves whther at a moment when our *kismat* has become *ghazawi*, is it not tht our *tabit* has become *ayazi*?

CHINESE ALCHEMY AND A FEW OF ITS TERMS AS USED BY IQBAL

S. Mehdi Hsan

It is well established that alchemy existed in Alexandria, in India, in China, but recent research shows that it started in China and went as far as Alexandria. In China, alchemy is divisible into two phases, an esoteric or a spiritual system of acquiring immorality, and an exoteric or materialistic one which became the earliest form of pharmaceutical chemistry. The aim of alchemy in both these phases has been immorality. This specifies Chinese alchemy. Alchemy was founded by ascetics. In ancient times struggle for life was founded by ascetics. In ancient times struggle for life was most severe and every male member of the community has to partake in hunting and exert physically as an active worker. The aged, being infirm, could not justify himself as a bread-earner and was excommunicated as a solitary denizen of a forest. Living alone the ascetic had to be his own grocer, his own cook and his own doctor. He needed, in the first instance, and energiser to be able to over-expert himself and keep himself alive. The Aryan ascetic discovered the ephedra plant of which the juice is Soma Whitney,1 who was a famous Indologist, writes that "the Aryans perceived that Soma has power to elevate the spirits under the influence of which the individual was prompted to and capable of deeds beyond his natural powers; then they found in it something divine." Pharmacology of ephedrine2 shows that as a typical energiser, it is antisomnolent and also an euphoriant. There is a similar energiser, still in use with its euphoriant properties to make it popular and it is Khat of Yemeni Arabs, or Catha edulis. While Soma became god Soma, the god of herbalism among the Aryans, Khat became the Flower of Paradise among the Muslims since they could not deify the plant.

The original drugs the Chinese ascetics used as energisers are unknown to me. But their god of immortality emerges from a Peach, while a corresponding deity, called the Red Pine Master, is depicted covered with leaves to substitute a coat as thought he personifies herbalism. Such an illustration is reproduced in Needham's classic on Science and Civilization in China.³ Then living

on an energiser the aged ascetic could support himself single-handed. He felt as thought youth has returned and this led him to imagine further that he could retain youth for ever. But behind all such dreaming was the actual feeling of well-being conferred by the energiser. Later on plants were substituted by minerals, above all arsenic and mercury, and in China both herbalmagic and mineral magic were exploited by scetics needing rejuvenation and dreaming of immorality. Realising what the solitary old ascetic needed most we can conceive with what objective he must have founded alchemy. To quote Nicholson,4"Let us begin at the end. What is the far-off goal on which this eyes are fixed? The answer to that question will discover the true character" of alchemy, with both its bases. The founder was physically weak, yet he had to over-exert. This clearly meant that his ideal would be the robust health of youth with no hesitation to discharge any work needing physical energy. At the same time his appearance should reveal no wringle on the face as indicative of infirmity of old age. Naturally, if he can regain youth he can retain it for ever, and knowing no deility, disease or death, he would be immortal to become the ideal Man, A synonym of Ideal Man would be True Man, since a man living for ever would be true to his life, whereas a mortal, with ephemeral

existence, could be looked upon as not having lived at all. Now, there is in Chinese also the term, Chen-Jen, True Man for one who has acquitted immorality. I ancient civlization Real Citizen was the free man who was also adult; minors and slaves had no civil rights and were therefore no real citizens. Thus Real Man would be another synonyms of True Man, one sociologically consider, the other biologically. Let us now turn to the denizen of Heaven as conceived in Islam as also in other religions. He must be perfect in all respects to be able to live as an immortal in heaven. The True Man or Real Man spiritually considered becomes Perfect Man. The word "perfection" is often used in the literature on alchemy but always axiomatically and thus left vague. Perfection signifies a quality or stage of immunity to any change for the worse. Taking an example, copper, as metal, is imperfect, since it rusts and can ultimately disintegrate into dust. On the contrary, gold is perfect being rustproof. even fireproof. In fact, we do use terms like "golden words" of a sage when we understand that they deserve to be remembered for ever and by every man. We mean they are to be everlasting. In the light of the above discussionwe can form the series of equivalent terms as: Ideal Man=True Man= Perfect Man= Golden Man. Of these

synonyms in Chinese there are the terms *chen-jen*=True Man or Perfect Man, and *Chin-Jen*=Golden Man.

Then if we are to select one of these two terms, Golden Man appeals as the more impressive being akin to Golden Words. Now, the term "Golden Man" was trauslated into Greek as *Chrusanthropos* and is found in the literature which nevertheless has been totally ignored and, where recorded, its significance has been declared unknown, as by Waley.⁵ Thus the goal of alchemy had immorality and the mortal who has acquired immorality was designated Golden Man, in Chinse as also in Greek.

Now comes the question how he could acquire immortality. We shall first discuss the easier or the exorteric system of Chinese alchemy. Man conceived Life=Growth, and could easily differentiate between perennial plants and minerals. He concluded that the life-essence, according to its quantity, increases the life-span. Now, in Animism even plants and minerals carried should or life donating principle and this was common to the forms of existence, be it a herb or a mineral. In this light plants became stores of should with herbal-juice as a life-prolonging agent. Moreover, some plants were so rich in Soul-content that their juice could donate perfect growth or maximum possible growth to its acceptor. If man

consumed it, his life-span would go on increasing for every and herbal magic all over the world has offered some such herb of immortality. There is, however, a weak point which has been overlooked. The human body, as the container of life-essence, has been ignored. Hence came to suggestion of taking a metal and calcining it with some magical herb. The herbal soul would reincarnate in a despititated metal, on calcining both, and give rise to an Incarnation Body, a herbal soul in a metallic body, as a herb-metallic complex. Since the herbal juice is a growth donor, the metal complex, containing it, could be induced to grow to perfection, which means it would become gold. Then the calcined metal would grow into gold. In the light of its impressive effect, the herbal juice, which was used, could be called gold-making juice. Then the juice-made gold, or synthetic gold, as metal, would make the human body as strong and everlasting as gold as a substance is, and further, being juice-incoporate, it would keep on increasing life-span just as the herbal should does in a perennial plant. Accordingly, better than any plant and better than gold itself, synthetic gold, as herbo-auriferous complex, would be the ideal drug of immorality. Thus arose alchemy as an offshoot of herbalism and at once explain why metallic god, already available, was not preferred. The drug of immorality has to be dual-natured thereby independently making the corporeal system of man strong and everlasting, as also the life-essence or should ever-growing. Making synthetic gold was to prepare no metallic god but a herbo-auroferic complex. Here the more importing item was naturally the herb, or rather its juice, as the gold making juice.

In Chinese there is the term ('hin-1, dialectic Kim-Iva, literally Gold-Juice, signifying Gold-making Juice. This was Arabicised as Kimiya and was translated into Greek as Chrusozomion. Like the term Chusanthropos nearly all histories of alchemy further ignore the term Chusozomion. Waley6 alone, who records it, does not do justice to herbalism as the prescursor of alchemy. By now we can recognise gold-making juice as perfect juice and this because it can make a base metal perfect gold, when ordinary gold itself is not perfect. This requires realising the difference between freshly prepared gold, saturated with growth force, and bullion god, as fossil gold, buried thousands of years beneath the earth. When ordinary gold is mixed with mercury an amalgam is formed which, when heated, separates into the two substances. On the contrary, when alchemical gold is inoculated into mercury, the former donates its power of growth to mercury and this,

in turn, begins to grow to perfection, thereby becoming gold. Such gold behaves like a ferment, making its substrata like itself, on account of which alchemist prefers to call his gold ferment gold. A Buddhist-Chinese Text dated A.D.659 as quoted by Waley⁷ states that "a speck of gold not larger than a grain of corn was produced after twelve years. However, there is nothing now to prevent making a mountain of gold." This makes ferment gold=perfect gold. A ferment is a living substance and to realise this we have to compare two formulae, (1) Life=Growth, (2) Life=Growth + Reproductivity.

A plant grows by itself and has life, but a ferment reveals more than vegetative growth; it can induce something else also to grow and such power is reproductivity. We have learnt how an amalgam with ferment gold, became all gold, and above all that ferment gold itself is seed of gold. We accordingly find that gold-making juice was mono-elemental, or only a herbal should, prolonging life, but ferment gold was perfect gold, dual-natured, making the body young and strong, and life ever-increasing, like that of a pernennial plant or like a ferment. Above all it can reproduce its kind. Now, the consumer of perfect gold would also imbibe perfection, which it could not primarily do from a herb, even though

this could make gold. Perfect Man, we have already discussed, was the aim of alchemy. To be perfect he had to assimilate ferment gold or perfect gold. Then if a juice could be called gold-making juice, the gold-made immortal man could be called golden man. Thus arose the more popular synonym of Perfect Man as Golden Man. Admitting what perfect gold signifies, its consumer becomes Perfect Man. There is an entity growing more and more as growth-incorporate. There is another which confers growth upon an acceptor who thereby reproduces its kind. Briefly, instead of a single hideous giant, with all growth, we have more than one entity, each deservant of being called Perfect Man. Perfect gold was ferment gold, no mountain of gold; Perfect Man is a be hefactor, the makes of others equally perfect. If God created man, the Perfect Man creates another as Perfect Man. Iqbal uses this term and its synonyms precisely in this sense.

It has been maintained by many historians of alchemy that alchemy arose at Alexandria and the Greek word Chemeia for alchemy signifies "Egyptian Art". Hopkins⁸ in his book, Alchemy Child of Greek Philosophy, has done more than justice to alchemy as "Egyptian Art." He imagines that by technique it is Egyptian and by theory Greek. Now, the one technique

which alchemy can boast of having developed most is distillation and, as far as I know, Egyptology reveals no case where even perfumes represent distillates. This point is perhaps the seakest link in the chain of reasoning which takes alchemy to Egypt, be it to Alesandria. Further, the theories supporting alchemy have been animism, dualism and monism, All these are as much Chinse as Greek so that altogether there is neither any special Egyptian technique nor incorporation of any special Greek doctrine In fact, the Greek work Chemeia is the Greek transliteration of the Arabic word, Kimiya, undertaken by a Bucharic-speaking Copt, as explained in detail previously.9 Finally there is a brief but positive method of showing the Chinse origin of Alexandrian alchemy. If the entire vocabulary of alchemy were to be reduced to just two terms, one would be the gold-making juice or Kimiya. This would prepare Perfect Gold. And Perfect Gold is the drug that changes a mortal into an immortal, one deservant of being called Perfect Man or Golden Man. Then the two terms would be Chin-I, gold-making juice, and Chin-Jen, Golden Man, or Chenjen, True Man or Perfect Man .10 Both terms, exist in Chinese and in Greek.

We now turn to the esoteric side of alchemy. These are breathing exercises and others similar to the Indian

Yoga system. It has been explained that the Chinse look upon such a system as a branch of alchemy and this because the two re parallel paths leading to the same goal, or immortality. Now, the impact of Chinse dual-natured alchemy upon the Arabs, before Islam, produced a differential effect, the materialistic system was adopted first. Later came esoteric alchemy.

We have now to discuss the terms equivalent to Perfect Man. Hussaini11 has published a monograph on Ibn al-Arabi whose sufism culminates in the conception of al-Insan al-kamil, the Perfect Man. Ibn al-Arabi equates, Perfect Man=Prophet Muhammad. Unless this is explained we cannot understand what Perfect Man actually signifies in esoteric alchemy. Any agency that makes Perfect Gold, in the first instance, is a powerful donor of life force, or should-power and when matter receives impacts of a powerful should it becomes soullike. A man assimilating elixir, best as Perfect Gold, becomes sublime, Jildaki¹² who is a renowned authority on Islamic alchemy, writes that elixir can confer the power of being able to fly about, as though man had become an angle. What this sublimity, applied to the human body, means is best visualised by the case of Jesus. He can be looked upon as Sublimity-incorporate. After his

resurrection he could keep company with travellers who had gone far ahead. Yet he could eat with his disciples and show the wounds on his body to convince them that his flesh was the same as before, but naturally now so sublime that he could finally ascend to heaven in broad daylight. Schep¹³ has best explained the nature of Resurrection Body which is not to be taken for a ghost or a gaseous residuum of the body of Jesus. Likewise Mirij signifies ascension by the Holy Prophet, with his original body, which was sublime enough to ascent to heave. Where as Jesus left the world after ascension, the Prophet returned to earth. The moment we interpret Meraj as ascension, Muhammad becomes Perfect Man, as Ibn al-Arabi would have it. Now this conception of flesh becoming sublime enough to acquire the power of ascension existed in Chinse alchemy even before Jesus. In an article on Elixir,14 I have reproduced before a scene depicted by the Chinese showing the ascension of an immortal. Needham15 adds another equally revealing ascension. Enough has been discussed to constitute the series of equivalents as, Chin-Jen (Golden Man)=Chen-Jen (True Man)= Insan al-Kamil=Perfect Man. Iqbal ha two further equivalent terms in Persian, Mard-Haqq (True Man)= Mard-i-Mumin (The Believing Man).

Considering esoteric alchemy a little deeper we fine it was adopted as sufism of which the earliest phase existed previous to Islam, like alchemy proper. The original two phases went almost together because their aim was identical Even sufis of repute, like Ibn al-'Arabi and Dhun-Nun Misti, trid both, alchemy and sufism but found the latter as the surer method. We have then to establish the Chinse origin of the worked Kimiya. With regard to the origin of sufism, Siddiquid16 mentions that foreign authorities on Sufism "Dozy and Nicholson," among others, pronounce sufism to be "purely non-Islamic" in origin. He, however, pleads to the contrary stating that "it is not necessary to go outside the Quran and Hadith to look for the frame of mind which produced the ascetic movement in Islam culminating gin the birth of Sufism. There are verses in the Quran (such as): Obey not him who followeth his own lust and whose case has been abandoned (XVIII:29)." If such passages incorporate "Sufism in the Quran" no wonder others have discovered enough to ocer Science in the Quran in three volumes. However, one is called upon here to respect zeal but not erudition. In trying to show the origin of alchemy I focused attention on its two indispensable terms, Gold-making juice and Golden Man or Perfect Man. A similar procedure

will reduce discussion on the subject to its minimum. The origin of sufism, as a system of acquiring immoratality, is being ignored in favour of terms, specific to sufism, being taken to their real origin. To begin with, there is the worked sufi itself. Here I cannot imagine a more authentic explanation than that of alQushayri, mainly because Ibn Kahldun¹⁷ endorses it. We read that "No etymology or analogy can be found from this term (sufi) in the Arabic language. Theories deriving the word Al-Safa, purity, or from As-Suffah, Bench, or from As-Saff, Row, are impossible from the point of view of linguistic analogy. The same applies to the derivation from Al-Suf, Wool, because the Sufis were not the only ones who wore wool (Qushayari: Kitabur Risalah)." The sufis use a term fana' fil-shaikh, impliying that if you respect and love the teacher there lies the road to salvation. Identical is the position in Chinse Taosim where the candidate of immortality has to call out the name of his teacher to finally identify himself with him. The teacher was addressed as Shih-Fu Shih is character 9909 in Giles18 and mens "a Teacher, a Model, to be taken as a pattern," a benefactor in the person of a teacher. Fu is character 3736 and means Father. The Shih-Fu=Master-Father. The Hindus would call him Guru. Now, in Ningpo dialect ShihFuh becomes Sz-Fu, which was Arabicised as *Tsuf* or *Suf*. The term of endearment is the suffix "I," in Arabic. Brother would be Akhu, but My Brother=Akhui. According, My=Tsuf would be Tsuf-i=Sufi=My Guru. This etymology has been discussed in more details before. ¹⁹

Next comes the word Dervish. Its Chinse original connotes " a scholar who lives in retirement," devoted to contemplation rather than to teaching and guiding, like the Guru or Sufi, Then the actual Chinse term would be Tao-Lu-Yin-Shih. Tao is character 10780 and means righteous Path, or madhhab in Arabic. Lu is 7365, a synonym of Tae, and thus duplicates the sense. Yin, 13276, is translated as "retired, to keep out of sigh (of public)". Shih, another word here, as character 9992, means a scholar. Then the four words mean, Tao (Religion)-Lu (Religion)—Yin (Retired)—Shih (Sholar), and signify, "religious scholar living in retirement". In Szechwan dialect these words would sound as follows: Tau-Lu-Yin-Shi. On becoming a loan-term the words underwent mutation and abbreviation yielding: Dau-Ru-Yi-Shi, which can be condensed into Darveshi. Here the suffix "i," meaning "one," in Persian, being dropped finally produced the word, Darvish, also explained before.20

Thirdly comes the word Qalandar. The Chinese

alchemist, Ko-Hung,21 wrote that "among those who acquired)the right Path), Tao (madhhab), the mediocre among them will (not go to Heaven) but congrate on the Khun-Lun mountain," the most elevated spot on earth itself. Thus Khun-Lun could be conceived as "Magicians" Mountain" where they can obtain herbs of immortality and remain as immortals. They would obviously occupy a lower status than other spiritual elites. To the term Khun-Lun we have to add another a Tao-Erh. Tao is righteous Path, or madhhab as before, and Erch, is such, is giv with character Erh,, on p. 1968, as "Your reverence, the Taoist-Priest". Then Khun-Lun (Magicians' Mountain) Tao Erh (Your Reverence) would signify, "a priest-like individual launching himself on a magic-mountain". Now Khun-Lun-Tao-Erch in the Szechwan dialect would be pronounced Khun-Lwen-Tao-Erh. Persian preferring Qaf and abbreviating the long term made it Qa-Lan-D-Er or Qalander. In contrast to Dervish, a recluse who prefers to live unnoticed in an "ascetic's corner," the Qalandar is a wandering ascetic, a vagabond among the ascetics. And Qalandar correspondingly in sufi literature always ranks lower than a Dervish, Usually, Qalandar is not a complementary term, whereas Dervish and Qalandar used by Iqbal are traceable to Chinese. Sufism is the Chinse

system of acquiring salvation where reverence to the preceptor is the cardinal doctrine. Sufism in Islam rightly began when Ibn al'-Arabi equate, Muhammad=Perfect Man=Preceptor.

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THE LIFE AND THE WORKS OF IQBAL

Alessandro Bausani

Note: Professor Alesendro Bausani, and Italian Orientalist.

published an Italian translation in prose of Javid Nama of
Iqbal from Rome in 1952. The poem was entitled "II Poems
Celeste". Prof. Bausani also wrote an introduction to his
translation of which an English rendering is given below.

We present to the Italian public, for the first time, a poem of Iqbal who was a profound Muslim and who at the same time knew profoundly the philosophy and the spiritual life of the West. These two qualities which are certainly very rarely found in a single person form the main interest of his personality, perhaps unique in the opinion of the writer, in the modern and perhaps in somebody a full acceptance in modern West.

This introduction may, however, serve to give an account of the fact that his art so closely and consciously allied to theory, to the thesis and to the "Content", is not the essential and more important thing in him. Iqbal had severe critics by theside of the most fervent admirers of his poetry even in his own country and still more in the neighbouring Persia. He employed Persian—not his own language- as the vehicle of his poetry. Even his real and profound Islamic religiosity and rather his pan-Islamism, dyed in boldly anti-European colours, have been criticised by many of his co-religionists who, being completely detached from the traditional religious world, do not follow methods of western atheism, but believe at least in certain absolute divorce between religion and a sort of life still inconceivable more in Islam than in Christianity.

The society in which Iqbal was born and in which he lived was British Indian of the first half of the present century. He was born in 1873¹ and died in 1938. Three elements contributed to form the atmosphere so singular and so interesting of that region at this period. They were the English culture, Islam and Hinduism.

In the preface to his interesting Letters sur I' Inde (Letters on India), written in 1888, James Darmesteter, a French Orientalist, thus wrote about the British officials in India, "I do not believe that it is possible to find in a foreign Government more conscience and more professional honesty and more sincere desire to do their duty and to do good than the British officials show in general in India..... In spite of some scandals which notoriously appear from time to time, there has never been in Roman provinces even under Antonius the Pious, so much power and so much temptating with so little abuse. But these honest masters lack the supreme gift of sympathy that leads to overlooking the fault of overwhelming superiority." 2 Perhaps less honesty and more brotherly feeling ignoring the racial divisions would have made more sympathetic the dominating element so rigidly separated from the "indigenous" population. And this dominant element succeeded only in forming a cultivated class of Indians speaking English but at the same time deprived of real participation in the profoundly vital elements which the English culture forged: i.e. Christianity³ and the sense of humanity.

Indian Islam having a population between 70 and 100 million souls and productive of modern and newfangled sects did not forget, in its certain circles, the generous and universalistic attempt of pacification by an Akbar and a Dara Shikoh between different religions, but made some

others particularly fanatical by living side by side with the Hindu "pagans" and the bellicose Sikhs. Furhter, it did not forget its role of having remained for centuries. the governing class of India from the conquest of Babar (1526) to the coming of the British. It has also been the enemy of the "caste system". It also provided the element of political unity, the unique form of a unitary and relatively modern state that India, so rich "in profound thinkers and metaphysicians and ascetics but ignorant of the spiritually organised worldliness of Islam, has ever had. And further there is the great sea of Hinduism with its mass of pagan and superstitious rites at the base, of deepest pantheistic meditations among its highest votaries, perhaps of more religiosity than religion, of its inhuman system of caste and the most ardent nihilistic affirmation of its certain philosophical systems and a little abstract evangelism of Ghandhi.

In this society Iqbal was born on February 22, 1873⁴ at Sialkote in the North Punjab in an old Brahimin family of Kashmir, converted to Islam about three centuries earlier. After his early studies made in his native city, he went to Lahore, a very important centre of Indo-Muslim culture, to complete his education at the local University. He has already commenced to write poetry at a very young

age in his native city but at Lahore in a society more developed and more cultivated he developed more and more his innate passion for writing poetry, entering even into contact with one of the most famous Urdu poets of the time, Dagh of Delhi. He also participated in literary gathering where poems were recited. His poem Himala (Himalayas) recited in 1899 at a literary gathering of Lahore was so much appreciated that Iqbal overcoming his instinctive reserve for publicity had to give permission to publish it in 1901 in the Urdu review 'Makhzan' to which later on the contributed regularly. At Lahor Iqbal felt much the influence of Sir Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy at the Government College, who introduced him to Western culture. He studied Islam with Sir Thomas, who encouraged him to continue writing poetry. It was at Lahore that Iqbal published his first book "Ilmul Iqtisad" (The Science of Economics, Lahore, 1901). It was the first book on Economics written in Urdu. After having obtained his M.A degree in Literature, he left for England in 1905, on the advice of Sir Thomas Arnold, for further studies. There he remained for three years and read voraciously all what he could in the rich library of Cambridge where he studied philosophy with the noted Hegelia, Prof. McTaggart of Cambridge and London.

That his period of assimilation of European culture did not pass in vain is provided by the acuteness of some of his judgements expressed in his lectures on the "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" of which we shall speak later on. This work demonstrated a knowledge, certainly not superficial, of European thought. In 1908 after having taken a law degree in England, he took a degree in Philosophy and Literature from the University of Munich in Bavaria with a thesis, published later on in London and entitled "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia". The same year he returned to India.

by two things. He developed a great antipathy for narrow-minded and imperialistic nationalism. And the other thing was his admiration for a more active and more deserving life worth the name. On return from London, Iqbal taught Philosophy and English Literature at the Government College, Lahore, and at the same time began his practice as an advocate to which he gave his full time professionally. Later on he resigned his chair of professorship at the University. The legal profession, however, did not deter him from his poetic activity.

In 1915 at the age of 38 he published his first Poem in Persian, Asrar-i-Khudi, (The Secrets of Self). This

Nicholson, gave rise to a very strong criticism of the author, specially in the traditional Muslim Society of India, for its doctrine of Self or certain Nietzschian aspect or still more for his severe criticism of a great Classical Persian poet, Hafiz, so dear to all the lovers of the Persian language. Iqbal criticized Hafiz a personification of a world drunk with decadent mysticism of the Muslim society of his time, a mysticism that leads to the destruction of Self, to weakness before the invader and to surrender to injustice under the pretext of universal love. Some of his criticism and such attitude may remind one of the violent protests of a Marxist.

Hardly two years after, another poem Rumuz-e-Bekhudi (The Secrets of non-Self) was published in 1918, a recently translated in English by Prof. Arberry. It was thinking to narrate the story of Ramayana in Urdu verses but the project could not materialise. Instead, in 1923 came out a collection of beautiful poems in Persian, entitled in "Payam-e-Mashriq" (The Message of the Orient) in reply to the West—Oestlicher Divan of Goethe for whom Iqbal like many other Indian Muslims had a particular admiration. Payam-i-Mashriq was translated in Arabic by A.W. Azzam, cousin of the President of the

Arab League, and now ambassador of Egypt in Pakistan. The collection contains poems of extreme cultural interests. There are description of Einstein, Nietzsche, etc., with very acute judgments on the West, expressed in Persian in an elegant poetic style. A part of the collection, entitled "Lala-i-Tur" (The Tulip of Sinai) was translated in English in 1947 by Prof. Arberry. It contains splendid Rubaiyat that express, in the language and style of Omar Khayyam, ideas and passions typically modern. A year later in 1924 was published Bang-i-Dara (The Tolling of Caravan Bell). It contains a collection of long and short poems in Urdu already published before.

The esteem and fame that he acquired with his art was never considered by him an end itself but he just looked to them as a means to wake up his co-religionists from a deep slumber of centuries. They also carried significant political meaning. In 1922 he was knighted by the Government. He was member of the Provincial Legislative Council of the Punjab from 1924 to 1927 and in 1930 was called to preside over the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad.

In 1931-32 Iqbal was present at the Round Table Conference, held in London for the solution of the Indian problem. After returning from London and before participation in the Muslim Congress of Jerusalem which selected him its Vice President, he stopped for a brief visit in Italy. At Rome he visited the Academy of Italy where he made a discourse on an ethico-religious subject. He, however, continued his poetic activity. In 1929 he published Zabur-e-Ajam, a collection of poems in Persian, published at Lahore and translated partly in English by Prof. Arberry. And in 1930 he also published at Lahore a series of six lectures given at Madras, Hyderabad, and Aligarh on the request of the Madras Muslim Association on the religious thought of Islam, Six Lecturers on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought Islam was published in a revised edition also from Oxford in 1934. It is a very important book, an acute and dispassionate apology of genuine and renovated Islam. In the opinion of this writer, it is the best philosophical apology and defence of Islam that has ever been written. In 1933 Iqbal was invited to Kabul to advise the Afghan Government on cultural affairs.

During this period he stayed briefly at Bhopal with whose Maharaj⁵ he was on terms of profound friendship and mutual esteem. Some have compared this friendly relation with that of Goethe and Duke Karl August of Weimer. Although his health was in a bad condition so as

to prevent him from writing the critical works of high importance which he intended, for example, "The Reconstruction of Muslim Jurisprudence", yet this could not exhaust his poetic inspiration which during the last period of his life preferred Urdu to Persian. After the publication in 1934 of the Persian poem *Musafir* (The Traveller), there came out two collections of Urdu, poems, Bal-i-Jibril (1935) (The Wings of Gabriel) and Zarb-i-Kalim (The Stroke of Moses).

In 1937 another Persian poem Pas Che Bayad Kard (What to Do) came out from his pen. Another collection of beautiful poems, brief in general, specially in the form of Rubaiyat, in Persian and Urdu came out posthumously, entitled Armaghan-i-Hijaz (The Gift of Hedjaz). A little before his death Iqbal foresaw in verses the realisation of his dream of performing pilgrimage to Mecca. The verses full of this desire expressed.

At this advanced age, I have taken the way
To Madina, singing the song of love.....
Like the bird, in the desert when the
Evening shadows fall, which
Lowers down its wings to the sweet
thought for the nest.

But perhaps in an involuntary manner he meant another kind of nest. Iqbal died on April 21, 1938 at the age of 62 years. A few minutes before breathing his last, he recited the following verses:

The songs sung in the past may or may not return, Thus may or may not come a breath of zypher to me from the Hedjaz,

The mortal life of this fakir is at an end,

There may or may not come another knower of
mystery.

He died with a smile on his lips as if to realise one of his favourite ideas:

To you I say the sign of the faithful,

When death comes to him, there is a smile on his lips.

Whatever we said about the art of Iqbal, the same holds good for his philosophy. He was a renovator but not an anarchical rebel. And in his art he sticks solidly without an irritatingly rebellious and sterile attitude to the classical mould of artistic technique of that Arabo-Persian Traditional poetry which the revolutionaries of Persian

call today with contempt, the "Gul-o-bulbul" poetry, i.e. Rose and Nightingale theme. He introduced in it new and disturbing concepts. So also in his religious philosophy he never cut himself away from Islam, even when putting forward propositions of arden nature bordering on heresy. "A revolutionary who knew how to express his enthusiasm within the framework of harmony of Form". This is a definition which can well be applied to the art and philosophy of Iqbal.

The evolution of his spirit that passed from elementary orthodoxy of adolescence to a more or less vague pantheism during his stay in England and later on matured in an originally profound reinterpretation of old dogma, can be understood only in the light of Islam. In simple words we reproduce here with pleasure the contents of the first verses of the second chapter of the Quran that define clearly the "faithful".

"This is the Book; in its guidance, sure, without doubt, to those who fear God; who believe in the unseen, are steadfast in prayer, and spend out of what we have provided for them" (II-1-3).

It is a robust faith in beyond, understood as a transcendent personality; a realisation of this faith in practical institutions of extreme simplicity but of precise and normative (by worship, Salat, here is meant the religious worship with its determined movements and not personal prayer) organisation of wealth on the basis of common contribution under the obligatory form of taxes, on the one side, on the capital and, on the other, on the property of each faithful. Islam is not a religion that imposes a too much complicated dogma on its believers. It requires its followers to believe in the unity of God and His capacity to reveal Himself to humanity through chosen great Men and through Prophets, the last of them being (Prophet) Muhammad, and to believe also in its rituals, devoid of any traces of sacrament, which are a simple system of prostrating and movement in the course of religious worship five times a day. Its ideal government is a kind of great democratic theocracy in which all are equal before the unique and absolute sovereignty of God, understood in a manner more similar to Jehova of the old Testment than to the Father of the Bible. Within these limits the theoretical and practical liberty of the faithful is rather great and there is not the same facility of technical classification to declare on as a "heretic" which is found in theological system so well connected and precisely formulated as, for example, in the Cathlic system.

The oscillation and eventual contradiction found in

the thought of lqbal which his various critics have pointed out are such as to enable them to forget his fundamental fact that Iqbal was always a believing Muslim. To a young student of modernist tendency who, with a certain stupor asked Iqbal how it was possible for a person so cultivated like him to believe still in God, he replied " I see God, and I feel Him, and He is for me a matter of practical experience." Iqbal never withdrew from this faith and his oscillations and evolutions are of a secondary nature. He has ever been attached to "the solid rope" of God, to use a Quranic expression. He made excursions even upto the edge of most dangerous depths. But the affirmations and the propositions apparently Nietzschian that came out from his pen have always been subordinate to that "Lord of Justice and Injustice" who was always the true Lord of his spirit.

The religious philosophy of Iqbal is based on his particular emphasis on the idea of Self. In a letter that his teacher in Cambridge, Prof. McTaggart, the great Hegelian, wrote to him in 1920 after reading the English translation of his *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of Self), the following interesting passage appears there: "Have you not much change your position? Certainly at the time in which we discussed together the problems of philosophy

you were more of a pantheist and a mystic and this attitude you don't show at present." In fact his emphasis on Self is a reaction, adopted from a most noble "practical motive" It is love for his decadent co-religionists oppressed by the foreigner. It is a creation against the ascetic otherworldly and fatalistic mysticism in which the people of the Orient and particularly the Muslims have fallen. Particularly the Muslims because- and it is the discovery of Iqbal as a result of his reading of the Quran- the early spirit of Islam is altogether different from asceticism and other-worldliness. "The Quran", - it is the first sentence of his Lectures on the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam-*" is a book that puts emphasis on deed rather than on idea."

This is the *leit-motif* from which his religious reform proceeds. The "true" religions are Semitic, theistic, Hebre, Christian and crowning all these, is Islam, which conceives the Divine as the vortex of "personality", i.e. the summit of "Self" and from this connection flow forth the ideas of activism, liberty, and personality, ignoring pantheistic fatalism. In Quran we read:-

"Soon will God produce a people whom He will love as they will love Him-lowly with the believers, mighty against the rejecters, fighting in the way of God, and never afraid of the reproaches." (V-57)

However, quite early in its career Islam fell under the influence of Greek thought, of Platonic and neo-Platonic ideas according to which this world is pure illusion and no field for struggle. Here is the enemy, the cause of all decadence and debility of great Semitic religions. It is also the case pointing to the actual impotence of the Muslim peoples i.e. mystic Platonism of a pantheistic nature. In a letter to Prof. Nicholson, translator in English of his "Secrets of Self", there is an interesting passage as follows: "The man, physically or spiritually, is a self-contained centre but he is not yet a complete individual. The greater is his distance from God, the less is his individuality. The person nearer to God has a complete personality in a greater degree. Although he is definitely absorbed in god yet it is he who absorbs God in himself. The true 'person' not only absorbs the world of matter, dominating it, but he absorbs also God in his Self. Lige is a progressive movement of assimilation. It clears all obstacles that oppose its march forwards and at the same time assimilates them. Its essence is the continuous creating of desire and ideals, with the object of preserving and expanding itself; it has invented and developed certain instruments from within, i.e. the senses,

the intellect, etc. that help it in the assimilation of obstacles. The great obstacle in the way of life is matter, the Nature. However, the Nature is not bad, because it makes possible for internal powers of life to develop themselves. The Self attains liberty, removing all the obstacles that lie in its way. And partly free and partly determined, it reaches nearer the Most Free of All Individuals. i.e. God."

The idea of God as "the most free individual that can be called" is typically Quranic and, if one likes to call it, also biblical God from whom "it is not possible to demand the reason for what He does". He is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob. Certainly not the God-Principle, the God-Being, the God-Original Force of different pantheistic schools. Iqbal is one of the small number of modern philosophers, Oriental or Western, who has understood deeply and who has very elegantly expressed in his various works the modern and liberating value of a correct revaluation of the Semitic anti-classical and anti-pantheistic concept of the Divine-Being. The interesting side of Iqbal is his defence of this type of religiosity even from practical and pragmatic point of view. Iqbal demonstrates through all his works that God of all the mystics like that of Ibn Arabi (1240) who wrote:

"There is none else but God; nothing exists except through Him. There is not even one here and one there from which the essence of all things is One," is that type of "God" that many modern Europeans see as a suppression of the biblical God, but who is radically rather anti-progressive, fatalistic, slave driving than God understood in the light of the Quran as a perfect, and absolute and infinite individual taken not spatially but in His unlimited and most liberal creative activity. According to Iqbal God so understood with whom man can enter in a dialogue in prayer is a great giver of power to human Self. The modern world is still unaware of the great potential energy pent up in the heart of man who declares it in contact with this Supreme Individual and further calls himself as "the slave of God". One such individual and further calls himself as "the slave of God". One such individual comes out of the chain of time and space and becomes immortal and unrepeatable and thus unique. There are two ways of struggle of the human Self. The one is the struggle against the social set-up and the hostile Nature (which nestles itself in the intimate part of his being). This struggle carries him to the realisation of maximum liberty in going near God. The other is the struggle for maintaining that state of tension which leads us to immorality. From this

double-sided struggle there will be born on earth a new type of man who, to use a Nietzschain phrase, could be called "Superman". But Iqbal, and here it is very interesting to point out, translates him with the word "Mumin", i.e. a faithful believer. The perfect believer of this type of God-personality-perfection (and hence potentiater of any personality) has not yet existed. All such believers have finished by reinterpreting God in neo-Platonic terms. And thus the great religious communities have fallen into a form of religiosity which the Marxists have described as "opium of the people". Iqbal's criticism of the decadent conditions of actual Islam in relation to his co-citizens and co-religionists has been particularly hard and sever. Because Iqbal was a practical and a political person, he felt this valuation of his as genuine Islam as a political mission also. Let me add here that his revaluation of Islam coincides with genuine Hebraism and genuine Christianity.8 It is to wake up his co-religionists from the dream of Non-Self and slavery to an active and struggling life of prophetic Self.

In this struggle Iqbal for practical considerations is evidently anti European or perhaps too much anti-European. In my opinion a weakness occurs in his thought when he yields to the very facile and unreal generalization

which makes the Orient (one may ask what Orient)? A symbol of heart and the West a symbol of intellect and thus sees in the Orient even a renuciatory spiritualism and mysticism and in the West absolute materialistic pragmatism. Again he sees in the Orient religion and in the West reason; in the Orient dreaming and in the Occident realism. It is certainly a little hazardous, if not otherwise, to consider as materialist a cultural cycle which gave a St. Augustine, and a Saint John of the Cross and to talk of the worked that gave a Tamerlane and a Changez Khan as dreaming and spiritualistic. And when he indulges in thinking that in Europe "the banks are more beautiful and better kept than the churches", I think it is due to his very noble motive that inspire him to a struggle against the deteriorating West. But this makes him forget the infinite number of religious and spiritual movements that sprout now in the present so "materialist" a century from the inexhaustible source of European religiosity even in the most westernised America.

Iqbal in reality is profoundly attached to Oriental culture and if in his reconstruction of religious thought he had taken much from Nietzsche, Bergson and McTaggart¹⁰ and other Europeans, his mind is still more linked to the Quran, and to his anti-Greek and anti-

classical interpretations like those of Ibn Taimiya and Sheikh Ahmad Sirhinid of India, on the one hand, and to the great personality of Persian mystic Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, on the other, whom he has repeatedly called his more important and more fundamental teacher. Rumi is considered by many superficial observers as a *tout court*, a kind of great master of that type of vague mysticism which has inspired all the poetry (but for Iqbal it is decadent) of post-Mongolian Persia, and which has penetrated more or less even in certain European circles which adore it as "sufi" poetry.

It is not one of the minor merits of Iqbal to have acutely understood the differences between true and proper pantheism and the complicated religious philosophy of that great master. The greatest European student of Rumi, Prof. Nicholson, who has translated and commented upon the immense *masnavi* in English, wrote in 1923... 'I know well whatever concerns Jalaluddin. This judgement (i.e negation of his pantheism) may appear to be questionable to those who have read certain pages of the *Divan-i Shams-i-Tabriz* where he described his union with God in terms which at first sight appear to be pantheistic. And that I myself understood them in the pantheistic sense at a time when I knew the history of

Sufisim less that what I know now." Rumi was a Muslim and his God is the God of Quran who, according to the verse کل یوم هو فی شان ("He is busy every day in creating new things") said that for man in search for Him even " a useless trial is better than a sleep of inaction" (Rumi).

It is true that a person who has understood the Quran and Rumi may well understand the philosophy of Iqbal. Even our poet expresses himself in forms and in view of modern exisgencies in a manner that may have raised doubts if the Islam of Iqbal is genuine and original Islam. Besides, he wants and he explicitly admits not to return to the past but "to reconstruct" in the modern spirit the religious thought of Islam due to the present exigency. If in fact Islam, as we said in the beginning, has in its essence its simple dogma and simple rituals, the traditions growing with time have made it painfully heavy and corrupt. In his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal tries to remove what is old and anti-Quranic in the traditions. However, he sticks to the genuine spirit of the Quran which he attempts to revive. His struggle is above all against the conceptions which have made religion "a body of doctrine" rather than a vital fact. Therefore he is severely critical of the Grecising thought of Averroes and of similar other great philosophers of Islam, and tends to revalue the more interesting and certain sense the more modern sides of the orthodox which became the palladium of Aristotle's philosophy, always maintained a strong diffidence towards Greek thought, attaching itself strictly to the conception of personal God of the Quran.

"Man We did create from a quit essence (of clay); then We placed him as (a drop of) sperm in a place of rest, firmly fixed. Then We made the sperm into a clot of congealed blood; then of that clot We made a (foetus) lump; then We made out of that lump bones and clothed the bones with flesh; then We developed out of it another creature....... (XXIII, 12-14)

signifies the organic evolution and the announcement of future race of superman who will possess the highest sense of Self, i.e. perfect "individuals". However, if sometimes the literal sense of the Quran is given a forced interpretation, the spirit is never distorted as sometimes happens in the neo-Platonic

"tawil" of various heterodox currents. Iqbal knew how to make acute and substantially and religiously exact interpretations, having potentially of further development even from simple poetic images which were perhaps in the beginning not different from this.

For Iqbal the following is the practical means for fortifying and deepening the sense of Self so as to become always more "individual" hence always going nearer God, (here I follow the enunciation of a learned Indian student of Iqbal, Sayyid Abdul Vahid:-

- a) Love (Ishq), understood in its simple terms,
 is "the spirit regenerating the world".
- b) Disinterestedness (faqr) a term which does not mean asceticism (Faqr literally means poverty) but stoical domination of the things of the world that are used for our advantage without becoming slaves to them.
- c) Courage- Iqbal wrote more than once and made the famous pharas his own that " is is better to live as a lion for a day than to live 100 years as a goat.
- d) Toleration- "The basic principle of action sustaining the Self", wrote Iqbal, "is the respect of self in me as in other".

- earning", but Iqbal means by it knowledge and virtue acquired through personal study and effort and not simply from traditions. This virtue is typically Quranic (in the Quran the polythesis complained to Prophet Muhammad for his having taken away their old habit inherited from their forefathers).
- already mentioned in the late part of his

 Development of Metaphysics in Persia) Iqbal

 points out that in the Quran God has been

 styled as "Ahsanul Khaliqin" (The best of

 Creators). Thus he concludes that the creative

 activity of pure and perfect men and of men

 tout court, and of "individuals" is just and

 proper but in certain ways and forms less

 precise and less perfect than that of God. God

 loves creative and "original" man and it is for

 this that He has created man, according to

 the Quran, as his vicegerent:

Now it is easy to see the philosophy of Iqbal from this brief summary but his philosophy is far from being a precise and decisive system. Expressed in a poetical and fragmentary form, changing through the slow process of the mental evolution of the author who is not always perfectly coherent from one point of view but strictly logical from the other, his philosophy works all the more on a clear and precise centre i.e. action is superior to contemplation. God is the source of the force of action. Man is the receptacle of this transforming force.

The faith in God is essential in the vitalism of Iqbal which is apparently near certain expects of contemporary European Existentialism but let me point out here that this vitalism is elaborated by a person who prostrated himself five times a day for Muslim canonical prayers and who put among his highest desires the desire to go to Mecca as a pilgrim. The question here is of an *organised* faith, placated and powered by simple but robust theoretical institutions completely lacking even as a vague aspiration in the Western existentialists.

Parallel to this, one can speak of his art. Iqbal the renovatory, uses the Persian classical quantitative metre and follows imitatively the more typical and traditional forms of poetic art. Iqbal put this artistic technique at service of ideas, repudiating the decadent concept of "art for the sake of art". This is least for those who cannot

read the original text.

In our Western culture what can be said perhaps similar to it is the artistic technique of rhymes of Provence or 'dolce stil nuovo' (sweet new style) of some writers. Here the idea immediately expressed is depreciated without any veregated veil of the poetic concept of "art for art": and if the enduring equilibrium between form and content destroys every emotive ferment, it reaches the highest peak of refined grace and solemn majesty. Iqbal partly breaks but in no way liberates himself completely from the clearest and most elegant chilliness. There is something "romantic" in him. However, the habit of having a full and rarefied view of things which may be due to artistic technique or his Islamic religiosity (in my view both are joined together) has gone into his blood and prevented him—and it was fortunate from exploding into disordered poetic expressions typical of a tipsy turfy world. And certainly Iqbal's revolutionary content, his classical equilibrium, constructive and balanced even in his most fervid invectives against ideas inimical to him, are a matter of great value and originally. The precise long and short rhythm, and the regulated harmony of rhymes canalise the flow of his discourse towards an objective just as the tumult of his most ardent

philosophical thought leads to the peaceful shore of his prayers five times a day, the strong pillar of his faith. The river has an end and that is God. Both art and life of Iqbal were of a religious man. On this account his art in the eyes of many critics, even oriental, is incomplete and lacks something. And also his philosophy for this is too much mixed with life and God. But seen from a height on a general view from the point of view of God, the personality of iqual has an accomplishment which after the Middle Ages, our world has forgotten. The accomplishment of those who believe that Evolution and History have a meaning and a direction beyond man and the world has an objective to whose attainment we all contribute. It is a Divine work for which all of us are responsible.

REFERENCE:

- The date is now considered wrong by competent Pakistani Scholars. The actual date was 9th November, 1877. (A.K.M.)
- The French Orientalist was blissfully ignorant of the sinister role played by British officials in India. (A.K.M)
- 3. It is imperialism that creates colour prejudices. A recent example may be cited of a cultural attache of a European country who married a talented Christian but brown girl in an eastern country. The poor attache was turned out of his job and on return to his country he was almost ostracised. Further, Christianity in spite of supreme British efforts has never been a vital element in India. Lord Curzon, a former Viceroy of India, in his rectoanial address at the Edinburgh University in 1910 said that Christianity had failed in Asia. Also India civilization in pre-British days not lack humanism. (A.K.M)
- 4. The correct date is 9-XI/1877 (A.K.M)
- Except in one case, the title of Maharaj was always bestowed on a Hindu ruler. The ruler of Bhopal who was a Muslim was, however, designated as Nawab. (A.K.M)
- According to this date birth now considered to be authorised that is 9.XI,77, he was 61 years old at his death.
- There is no dogma in Islam except the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (A.K.M)
- 8. If the spirit of Islam is anti-classical and if Christian theology, as Prof. Bausani points out elsewhere in this article, has become the palladium of Aristotle's philosophy, how could Islam coincide with genuine Christianity? There appears to be something contradictory in Prof. Bausani's statement unless genuine Christianity and Aristotle's philosophy are two things radically different. If so, how could one become the palladium of the other? (A.K.M)
- It may be a paradox to say yet it is true that there are no European in Europe. There are Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Italians, Poles, Dutch, etc. Even some of the

top thinkers in Europe like Heine, Nietzsche, Max Nordau, etc. have severely criticised some aspects of thought and civilisation of the people living in Europe. But nobody styled them as anti-European. Similarly a considerable number of Americans consider the people of Europe as very narrowminded and given to the adoration and idealisation of remote past and traditions of their individual countries. But none in Europe calls them anti-European. On the other hand they are every ready to take millions of dollars as loans from U.S.A. But when Iqbal makes his criticism of thought and institutions in Europe, which is certainly not so severe as that of Heine or Nietzsche, he is at one dubbed as anti-European. Why? The reason is not far to seek. It is because some weaker nations constantly harp on the idea of Europe and anti-Europe, especially in matters of colonial and Afro-Asian matters in order to claim equality of status with stronger powers in Europe in those Afro-Asian matters. They even whip up sometimes hate campaigns in a very subtle and indirect way by trying to revive the spirit of the Crusades. then creating prejudices among the people of Europe against non-Europeans. Further, Iqbal's criticism of foreign domination was no something new. In the past the French wrote against the German occupation of Alsace-Loraine: the Italians against Spanish, French and Austrian domination: the Poles against the Russian, but none of them was styled as anti-European. Why should Iqbal be so styled then as anti-European? (A.K.M)

10. When Prof. Bausani penned down these lines, probably he has not all the writings of Iqbal before him. It is commonly but erroneously supposed by western critics of Iqbal that he was indebted, in his idea of Superman, to Nietzsche or that in his philosophy he was influenced by McTaart. In reality nothing could be farther from truth. There is a greater deal of difference between the Superman of Nietzsche and the Superman or "Insan-i-Kamil" of Iqbal. Nietzache's view is political without any religious basis while Iqbal's view is

ethical and religious. Also Iqbal's view of God is wholly different from that of McTaggart. (See Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal-edited with notes by Syed Abdul Vahid, p. 238-244; 116-127—Lahore 1964)

MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S SOCIAL THOUGHT

(Madam) L.R. Gordon-Polonscaya

Iqbal was the originator of the new trends in the reinterpretation of Islam. By the reconstruction of the religious thought he tried to form not only the philosophical background of the anticolonial liberation ideas but also a new social philosophy, which reflected not only the anti-imperialistic feelings of the Muslim middle class but also its anti-capitalistic aspirations. It reflected also people's utopian ideas of social equality of men not only before God but on earth.

The formation of Iqbal's social views was greatly influenced by the philosophy of three prominent Muslim thinkers: Shah Waliullah, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Jamal al-Din Afghani. Their philosophy attracted Iqbal first of

all a an attempt to reconstruct Islam in a sense specific to their people and their time.

The social principles of Iqbal's philosophy were based on the main ideas of Waliullah's philosophy about the difference between the essence of religion and its dogmas, between a set of spiritual principles formulated on a definite pattern, and local religious laws interpreted in terms of time and place. Iqbal shared Waliullah's interpretation of the difference between *Khass* (particular) and 'Amm (general), between Nass (a word having only one definite meaning, and no other possible meaning) and Zahir (outward meaning).

"The prophetic method of teaching, according to Shah Waliullah,"—said lqbal,—"is that, generally speaking, the law revealed by prophet takes especial notice of the habits, ways and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specifically sent."

Waliullah's ideas on Ijtihad, Ijma and Tavazun exercised a great influence on Iqbal's social philosophy. Waliullah's teaching on Ijtihad reflected the dissatisfaction of the intelligentsia of the day with the stagnation and ignorance of the orthodox, who denied the Muslim right of independent judgement. Waliullah's teaching of Ijma brought out as the most important human virtue, i.e. the

feeling of responsibility vis-a-vis society. His teaching on *Tavazum*, or economic equilibrium was sterile on its advocacy not of qualitative change, but of a utopian balance of what is.

These ideas of Waliullah had received its further implementation in Iqbal's philosophy of reinterpretation of Islam, and his social ideas of equality and freedom.

Iqbal developed Waliullah's idea that Islamic social laws were specific to Arabic people, and pointed out that these laws cannot be strictly enforced in the case of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. His main idea was that law of Islam was capable of evolution and every people and every new generation have the right of reinterpretation of Islam. "Perhaps the first Muslim, who felt the urge of new spirit in him was Shah Waliullah of Delhi," said Iqbal.²

lqbal's social views were also greatly influenced by philosophy of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the head of Muslim Enlightenment in colonial India in XIX century. Sayyid Ahmad 's teaching on the common good roused the mind of Muslim educated society from its torpor. As we know, he was the coin or of two expressions: apni madad ap (self-help) and qaumi ham-dardi (national fellowship); the former, as he asserted, was operative from ancient

days, the other the product of the age. Like Walliullah's teaching on Ijma' it was based on the idea of the responsibility of the men vis-a-vis the society, but contrary to Walliullah, Sayyid Ahmad Khan's concept of national fellowship had not a religious but a secular interpretation, for instance his ideas about reconciliation of Islam with nature. If religion, he argued, corresponds to nature it is true; if it contradicts nature it cannot claim to be God-given. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, said Iqbal, "was the first modern Muslim to catch a glimpse of the positive character of the age which was coming......he was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it."

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's ideas of national fellowship were developed later in Iqbal's social philosophy of active man. Iqbal highly appreciated also the *nechari* philosophy, as a fresh orientation of Islam, although his own philosophy greatly differs from Sayyid Ahmad Khan's religious views.

Iqbal never shared also the pro-British orientation of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Iqbal's social philosophy even at the early stage of its development was entirely free from pro-British illusion and was directly opposed to all form of foreign oppression. This attitude reflected in Iqbal's

"Tasvir-e-Dard" and others). In Iqbal's poetic thinking India was "the bird in the snare" and none must rest until it be freed.

In the development of lqbal's social thought the period before the First World War was of great importance. He was closely connected with the political activities of the radical Muslim intellectuals, who represented the interests of the Muslim middle strata. In this time Muslim progressive public thinking largely assumed the Pan-Islamic forms. Jamal al-Din Afghani and his followers among the Egyptian educators and the member of the Young Turk movement exercised a strong influence on the emergence of the Pan-Islamic views of Iqbal. First of all Iqbal was attracted by Jamal al-Din's ideas of the revivalism of Islamic traditions and their new interpretation in order to turn them into an impulse of the independent progressive development of the colonial people and a mean of consolidation of the Muslims of the World against the oppression of the West. Iqbal had given a very high appreciation of the role of Jamal-al-Din Afghani in the development of Muslim social thought. "If his indefatigable, but divided energy, could have devoted itself entirely to Islam as a system of human belief and

conduct," said Iqbal, "the world of Islam, intellectually speaking would have been on a much more solid ground today."

Iqbal's own social philosophy was also based on the ideas of the reconstruction of the religious thought. He wanted to revive such traditions of Islam, which were dear to the hearts of the Muslim masses. The goal of his new interpretation of this tradition was to awake national consciousness and political activities of the Muslim masses and to give a philosophical basis to his social ideals.

Of great interest, from this point of view, is Iqbal's poetic message to the students of the Aligarh University, written at the time of the awakening of the liberation movement during the years 1905-1908. At a time when the chiefs of the Aligarh University tried to isolate the students from the revolutionary movement and revolutionary ideas, Iqbal called for the political activities of the Muslim intellectuals. At the same time he recognised that the new consciousness was not yet formed and the moment did not come to throw away the tradition of the past. But he was sure that such a moment will come. The awakening of the masses was, from his point of view, the sacred duty of the intellectuals.

Iqbal was the first philosopher, who speaks about the civic duty of the poet. The poet, he said, must be the "all-seeing eye of the people", closely linked with his body—the masses of the people. The intellectuals were, after Iqbal's social concept, the natural leaders of the people, and the working masses—"people's hands and feet."

At the same time Iqbal's social philosophy was based on the ideas of social equality and utopian socialistic ideals. The formation of this ideal was greatly influenced by the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, by the broad participation of the masses in the liberation movement in colonial India, and last but not least by the inception of organised working class struggle in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Iqbal greeted the October Socialist Revolution, which set, as he said, the beginning of new era, the era of the workers, the era of the ruin of the old orders, the end of the old World. Iqbal's poetic symbol of this chance is Kuhkan—stone mason who wanted to rise to the place of Parwiz, the place of a ruler.

The idea of the inevitability of the revolution was symbolized in Iqbal's social philosophy. It received a concrete form in his poem "Inqilab"⁸

The hearts are throbbing with a yearning for revolution.

Perhaps the days of the old world are numbered.

He pointed out that after the October Revolution the peoples of the East cannot suffer further the colonial yoke. Their psychology is changing, their national consciousness must inevitably rise.

Open your eyes; if you have a discerning look,

See, Life is planning a New World.

-he said in one of his best poems "Payam"9

In the foreword of *Payam-e-Mashriq* Iqbal wrote, that "the East, especially the Muslim East after a long-lasting somnolency had opened her eyes," Yet, while writing so, he preferred the way of evolution.

He pointed out, that to be able to create a new World, the man must change his own nature. From his point of view, the moral perfection of Man was an indispensable conditions of the social changes and the only effective way of this change was the way of Islam.

At the same time Iqbal never shared the idea of the divine predetermination of the destiny of Man and of the passive attitude of Man in the world.

In one of his best philosophical poems Asrar-i-Khud he wrote:

The pith of life is contained in action,

The delight of creation is the life of life. 11

His social philosophy was a philosophy of an active man. As one of the Pakistani scholars, Hafeez Malik, pointed out in his book, Iqbal "sees his mission in stimulating creative activity among the Muslims and imbuing the idle looker-on with restless impatience." He calls to action in the name of Islam. He considers the chief remedy against the deterioration of Muslim society self-recognition of the man (*Athbat-i-Khudi*) and self-recognition of the edut of Man before society.

Life must not be contemplated but changed. "The final act," said lqbal " is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and re-made by continuous

action."13

Iqbal's social philosophy was based on the idea of the active fight against the social evil.

In Asrar-i-Khudi Iqbal contrasted the soft coal (symbol of passive Man) to the diamond (symbol of active Man). The demand said to the coal:

Be void of fea, grief, and anxiety;
Be hard as a stone, be a diamond,
In solidity consists the glory of Life;
Weakness is worthlessness and Immaturity
11.1221-2, 1229-30

Only the activity, the self-recognition of his active possibilities can transfer a coal into a diamond.

To Descartes' interpretation of the true being: "I think so I am" ("cogito ergo sum") Iqbal opposed his own interpretation: "I act so I am." The activity of Man was, from Iqbal's point of view, the manifestation of his free will. Iqbal tried to reconciliate Kant's interpretation of the "free will" with the Sufian interpretation of an "Ideal Man". He saw the direct connection between the

immorality of Man and his activity on the earth. But not all forms of activity can be recognised as true but only such a form, which is useful to society, which can aid the progressive development of society. Iqbal's interpretation of social progress was based on the idea of the struggle between the two original principles: the good and the evil. This concept was quite dialectic and was based on the realisation of the possibility of the Man to change evil into good.

On the collective activity of man depends the progress of the society.

On the thorny question of man's relationship to society he admitted the conflict, but in common with so many utopian and even reactionary theorists, he found it resolved in service to God.

But he was not a religious chaunivist. After his concept of Islamic democracy, society and state must eschew every type of religious prejudice and defend the interests of the Muslim and the unbeliever with scrupulous impartiality.

At the same time Iqbal interpreted "service of God" as the fulfilment of the moral principles and social ideals of Islam. From his point of view Man has the attributes of God and so he must be the viceregent of God on earth.

The main idea of Iqbal's social concept was, that he social order in Islam is founded on the principle of tawhid—unity of God—the essence of which is equality, solidarity and freedom.

Equality was first of all the equality of men before God. At the same time he calls also for just distribution of material wealth and social rights in the society. He was sympathetic to all the economic aspects of Socialism and shared an utopian idea that Islam and socialism can supplement each other.

Iqbal's idea of solidarity was an idea of Muslim solidarity. But his ideal of freedom included the condemnation of Western imperialism and captalistic exploitation.

In his poetic and philosophic works Iqbal condemned the exploitation of the peoples of the East by the imperialism of the West, the exploitation of the peasant by the landlord, of the worker by the capitalist. He ridiculed and condemned the Western democracy and denied the right of the landlord to exploit the peasant and the right of the capitalist to misappropriate the fruit of the labour.

In Iqbal, philosophy and the poetry were not always of one piece. Notwithstanding such duality and weakness, his social philosophy was redolent of deep humanism. His own social duty Iqbal saw in the service to his people. In this service he saw the criteria of the truth of his philosophy and of the success of political activity. 14

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IQBAL — AS A SEER

A.D. Azhar

Most of you have heard of lqbal with epithets such as 'a great Thinker', 'a great Philosopher'. It is not my purpose to wean you from these popular appellations, but I am going to put before you a proposition that might appear novel to some of you:

If Iqbal was a Thinker is anything derogatory. Only, a Seer is the rarer phenomenon.

This brings us to the important question: what is the difference between a Seer and a Thinker? A Thinker thinks things out. He tries to go to their roots. He explains their causes and points to the result of those causes, so that men's actions are rationalized. This rationalized, critical thinking is admittedly a great factor in the progress of civilization. Civilisation is admittedly at its highest where thinking is critical, untrammelled and rationalized. Yet civilizations seldom *spring* up merely as a result of such

thinking. They are more often brought about by a Seer whose actions and musings at the moment do not seem rational and understandable. Civilizations have often been brought about by dreamers. Well might Alexandre Kuprin say in the words of his prototype Platonov in YAMA:

"......There will come a writer of genius..... who will absorb within himself all the burdens.... of his life and will cast them forth to us in the form of simple, fine and deathlessly-caustic images. And we shall all say: Why. now we, ourselves, have seen and known all this, but we could not even suppose that this is so horrible! In this coming artist I believe with all my heart'

Kuprin is here of course speaking of a particular social evil but the thesis applies in the case of any writer of genius, any artist, any seer,

The world needs that Leader of Truth whose eye would rock the world-thought like an earthquake.

High vision: Heart-bracing speech; Life full of fire; this is all the equipage for the Leader of the caravan.

It is in this sense that I use the world Seer, You can call him an artist, but you will have to conceive this word not in the ordinary, routine sense of today, but as an artist who has the rare gift of seeing through glasses which have not been worn out by use: to see things in their original, pristine glory, and to have the ability, I should say, the genius, to depict those things, whether through words or through line and colour, so that the same images of things are conjured up in the mind of his (the Seer's) reader, (or viewer), as the Seer saw himself. It is in that sense that Iqbal was an artist. And it is in that sense that he was a poet. Not in the ordinary sense in which the world poet is understood today. The Qur'an speaks in a derogatory sense of only those poets who used this powerful vehicle of expression for ends that were not meant to ennoble humanity that were rather meant to debase human passions by inciting human nature to indulge too much in the debasing sensuousness: for, although the Qur'an says it is only the غاوون, the strayers from the true path, who follow the poets, it also follows this up by singling out only those poets who did not pursue a straight path. It is not a condemnation of *all* poets. It is therefore, to the *excepted* category to whom my poet, or Seer, would belong.

True, Iqbal has decried being a poet, as he says:

Do not take my distressed voice as mere verse, for I am the knower of the innermost secret of the wine-shop.

But we must not forget that it is through verse that he conveys the message which he "saw"; in which, in other words, he played the role of a Seer. For he says:

When I am gone, they will read my verse and discover that a self-knowing man transformed a whole world.

Renun, the famous biographer of Jesus says that there is poetry in the words of a Prophet. So also is there poetry in the words of a Seer and it was naturally poetry (albeit technical poetry) that Iqbal used as a vehicle of expressing his message. Therefore, if Iqbal decried poetry it was the debased kind of poetry, the commonplace and the humdrum kind of poetry.

He wants from me the tale of heart-stealing. He wants from me the colour and sheen of verse.

Hope nought from that low-hearted man who blames me with verse.

From song to me is a far cry. The instrument of verse is just excuse: with verse I only call the straying camel back to the caravan.

I therefore, maintain that Iqbal was not so much Philosopher and a Thinker as a Seer. A Thinker reaches results, may be after eternities of rationalizing and thinking; a Seer sees those results. He does not have to reach them: he is there.

Wisdom has nothing except Knowledge; thy cure is nothing but Vision.

The Philosopher could not attain the secret of the oneness of God. To know that secret needs a seeing eye.

Wisdom gave me the eye of the scholar; it is Love that taught me the language of the fear-nought, the rind.

Was it is blessing of Vision or the Miracle of the school of Wisdom: Which taught Ismail the high manners of sonship?

The Philosopher admittedly flow high but he was not a

man of courage or a respecter of self; he remained luckless in the secret of love.

Although the two fly in the same atmosphere, the worlds of the hawk and the vulture are worlds apart.

At times may keen eye (of the Seer) broke into the heart of Being itself, while at other times it (of the Philosopher) got entangled in my own superstitions.

I have no truck with either the Philosopher or the Theologian. The Theologian is the death of the heart and the Philosopher is the conflict between fear and vision.

The world takes Wisdom as the Light of Life: who knows that it is also the Soul's Fire that burns its way in things?

Wisdom is also Love and is not totally deprived of the taste of Vision; only, poor wisdom does not have that fearnought courage.

See through the eye of Love, that thou mayst find track of Him; the world seen through the eye of Wisdom is nothing but a Mirage.

At this I cannot do better than quote an excellent criticism on ART, by the great French Philosopher. HENRI BERGSON, who, in a digression on Art, has said in his book LAUGHTER:

"..... Could reality come into direct contact with sense and consciousness, could we enter into immediate communion with things and with ourselves, probably art would be useless, or rather we should all be artists, for then our soul would continually vibrate in perfect accord with nature..... Between nature and ourselves, nay, between ourselves and our own

consciousness a veil is interposed: a veil that is dense and opaque for the common herd—thin, almost transparent, for the artist and the poet"

Life weeps ages in the House of God and in the House of Idols; it is only then that from this House of Love one knower of secrets emerges.

He alone will see this world of yesterday and tomorrow, who happens to possess my keenness of vision.

Paradise, Houri and Gabriel are here on this earth: only the eye does not have the keeness of vision.

The Houri and Angles are prisoners of my imagination:

my eye pierces Thy Light.

What is truth is not hidden from me: God has given me a heart which is knowing and seeing.

The secular politics in my ken—a hand-maid to the god of evil, mean of nature and dead of conscience.

I have pierced the very veil of secrets but thy disease of blindness is too ancient to cure.

I see this world transformed: I do not know what thine eye sees.

O God! bless my breast with a heart that knows: give me an eye that sees intoxication in the wine.

Both the worlds can be seen through the wine-jar that I have: where is the eye that sees the spectacle that I have.

According to Bergson, we do not see things as they are in reality. We only see what is useful for us to remember things by. In other words we do not see actual, individual things themselves: in most cases we confine ourselves to reading, so to speak, the labels affixed to them. Then comes along an Artist between whom and his consciousness the veil interposed is thin and almost transparent. He not only sees reality in its individually, in the original harmony of line and colour in which it is exists in reality, irrespective of our utility recognition; he depicts it, if he is a poet, in words which bring the original image of reality to our consciousness, and we perceive ourselves transported to a different world from that which we see around us. The sense of wonder comes upon us, though the Creator was saying to us: "What has happened to your senses? Why have they been dulled? Why are they receiving blurred images of the things of beauty which I

created for you to see and wonder at, and exalt My name?"
this is the sense of wonder that, for instance, the Qur'an
arouses when it says:

"And do they not see how the camel has been created, and how the skies have been raised, and the mountains have been stood, and how the earth has been spread!

This is also the sense of wonder which Ghalib tries to arouse in us. Albeit for a fleeting moment, when he says:

When there is no one but Thee, then what is all this fuss, O God?

Who are these fairies and what is blandishments?

Why are these amber locks curled: What is this gazelle like eye?

Whence the rose and the greenery; what are the clouds and the air?

Not only does a Seer see reality in its original. Pristine shape; he even fills out, for the clarity and effectiveness of his images, details which were originally not perhaps there; and for this a Seer does not have to be a man experienced in the ways of the world. He only looks within himself. Ex hypotheist, if he had to look out for seeing reality, he would be a Thinker not a Seer, He only looks within himself and sees what he sees. Here again I should like to quote Bergson:

"Poetic imagination is but a fuller view of reality. If the characters created by a poet give us the impression of life, it is only because they are poet himself—a multiplication or division of the poet,—the pot plubing the depths of his own nature in so powerful and effort of inner observation that he lays hold of the potential in the real, and takes up what nature has left as a mere cutline or sketch in his should in order to make of it a finished

work of art."

This is Iqbal's خورى or self, or Ego. This is an important element in the system of reality which Iqbal saw and rendered into verse.

Verse upon verse can be quoted in support of this seeing, this نظر and I am only contenting myself with quoting a few more:-

Vision is not that which knows the red from the yellow: Vision is that which is independent even of the sun and the moon

Until thy eye sees the truths of life, they mirror will not be able to stand the blow of the stone.

The world does not hide its happenings: it is the uncleanliness of thy heart and of thy eye which is the veil.

Is this the bell-all and end-all of the new world: a bright brain, an insolent eye, but a black heart?

Row the boat of thy heart and thy eye safely; the moon and the starts are whirlpools in the sea of Being.

The affairs of the world are seen transformed, if the seeing is accompanied by the vision of life.

With this eye my fear-free love is teaching every particle the manners of desert-roaming.

If thou hast not the vision of love, then they being is

merely a dissipation of the heart and the eye.

If thy eye is clean, they heart is clean: for God has made the heart the follower of the eye.

Universe-conquering passion does not arise in the heart if the eye does not first produce the manner universal.

If I am a beggar, it is the Thee that I beg whatever I want: touch thou the heart of a mountain with the leaf of my being:

The lesson of the Philosopher has given me a headache, for I have been brought up only in the lap of the eye that sees.

From a man who knew, this secret came into my heart: from the beloved, a loving blandishments is more effective than a loving word.

See me because thou seest not the like of me in India—descended from the line of Brahmins but the knower of the secret of Rum and Tabriz.

What is this world but the idol-place of my vanity. Its brilliance is naught but the product of my own wakeful eye.

Being and non-Being is from my seeing and from my nonseeing. Whether it is Time or Space, all is but the result of my own perception.

I see the old dust the diamond of life. I see every atom looking upon us like a star.

The grain which is yet in the lap of the earth, I see it youthful and bearing fruit on every branch

I see the mountain as a straw, saif-like and rootless, and I see the straw like a mountain. heavy and rooted.

A revolution that cannot be contained in the heart of the Heavens, I see and do not know why I see it.

Love is all seeing, from the deliciousness of seeing, Beauty wishes to be known and known it shall be.

The spring has only put the scattered leaves together. It is my eye which has given the poppy colour and sheen.

Look into yourself: why dost thou complain against the world? If thy eye becomes different, thy world will become different.

Seer knows that he is a Seer. Why is he able to answer all questions put to him without thinking and rationalizing? Because he is seeing the reality. He is seeing it in its pristine glory. He has seen the original outline of colour and line which the Creator created to charm and enchant mankind. He sees God's signs. He does not have to think. He has the sixth sense. A Philosopher, even if he eventually knows as much as a Seer knows to start with, will still fall short of the role of the Seer: the Philosopher will not be able to arouse in his hearers the same image which the Seer will, through his beautiful words, through his spectacles. The Philosopher will take long to explain things to his hearers in commonplace language, and the

images he will create will still be images of the things blurred and not of the things original and pristine. A Philosopher will not convince the way a Seer will.

In the end I must re-emphasize what I said in the beginning. I do not wish to deny that Iqbal was a great Thinker. Indeed he was. The personality of even a Seer is a multiple one. No one is Seer twenty four hours, or a Thinker twenty four hours. A Seer sees and this very act leads him to ponder, and pondering, he further sees. Seeing and thinking are not mutually exclusive. All I say is that Seeing in Iqbal outweighed his Thinking—he was in his essence a Seer, not a Thinker.

While on this point, I must, refer to something which is sometimes averred in certain quarters: namely, that Iqbal got his philosophy from the aggressive Philosophers of the West, like Nietzsche. Admittedly he learnt much in the West. He certainly learnt the modern way of thinking, wherever he has done thinking. And why not? Knowledge is not Eastern or Western, and in any case, the West itself had, on a few centuries back, borrowed, not only the way of thinking but the *content* of that thinking, from the Eastern Arabs, all ready-made.

But can the following verses for instances, ever have been taken from Nietzsche.

If thou canst not pardon, rise and have it out with thy enemy.

Do not make thy breast a battle-ground of grudge: do not pour vinegar into the honey of the being.

And, again, those who say that the concept of "hawk" has been taken from the West, should remember that the شابین which Iqbal held up as a model was not every but only that which has the freedom of the Aerial atmosphere.

Take it from me that the crow of the wilderness is better than the hawk which has been trained on the hand of a King.

Iqbal indeed was the knower of the innermost secret of the wine-shop of nature, څرم راز دورون عفانه, and it is the light with which he saw this secret that he wished to be universal.

O God! give the youths my sigh of the morning; give these young hawks my wings.

My wish is merely this: make the light of my eye universe!

I have merely thrown up an idea to those who have devoted their lives to the study of a great mind and it is for them to work on this aspect of Iqbal an test the truth of this idea—or throw it away.

I must now close on Iqbal's own idea of the coming of the Seer.

The dropping (self-seeing) narcissus weeps thousands of years on its lightlessness: it is only then that the garden produces a Seer.



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