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INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN IQBAL'S THINKING

The Concept of Self and Selflessness

Dr. G.R. Sabri

In a previous paper of mine, entitled *Iqbal's Relevance to the Present World*¹, I observed that some critics have superficially regarded Iqbal as a mere national poet with dogmatic religious views, while others have tried to link him with the ideas of Nietzsche, Bergson, Goethe and Dante. A close study of Iqbal's writings rejects these extreme views. He was neither a nationalist in the limited meaning of the word, nor a follower of Western philosophers. He was, above all, the product of his social and historical environment. His imagination and philosophy were rooted in his society and culture, and were inspired by his love for the millions of working people who either were unable to speak for themselves or were silenced by social and political oppression.

In this paper I shall attempt to discuss Iqbal's idea of *Asrār-i Khudī* (*The Secrets of the Self*), and *Rumūz-i Bekhudī*, (*The Mysteries of Selflessness*), which were published in 1915 and 1918. Many books and papers by both European and Eastern critics have been written on these works. Some have interpreted the idea of Self in terms of Nietzsche or other philosophers, or have discussed it on an abstract and metaphysical level detached from reality.

It seems more fruitful and imaginative, however, to examine the books in the light of Iqbal's social background and life-experience. In this context it will then be seen that *Asrār-i Khudī* and *Rumūz-i Bekhudī* are neither mere philosophical concepts nor metaphysical speculations. They are rather an extension and expression of Iqbal's deeply-held ideas.

Iqbal's other Persian works, including *Payām-i Mashriq*, *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*, *Jāvid Nāmāh* and *Armaghān-i Hijāz*, express his social and political views. He opposed colonialism and Western imperialism, and challenged the philosophy of Plato and some Western philosophers who, he considered, alienated Man from his creative Self and the world of reality. These ideas, no

¹ "Iqbal International Seminar," New Delhi, 29 October to 3 November, 1977.

doubt, have also been expressed in his Urdu writings. In *Asrār-i Khudī* and *Rumūz-i Bekhudī* Iqbal develops his ideas by giving depth and a sense of universality.

Now we come to the questions: “What is Man as an individual, and what are the secrets of his Self?” and “What is the relationship between the individual or Self and other men or society?”

The Secrets of the Self and The Mysteries of Selflessness are among the most important works of Iqbal. In writing them, Iqbal has attempted to chase away the clouds of mysticism and cast out the spectre of God or gods which has hung over Man for centuries. He believed this was possible only by stressing that Man has a creative self. The basic difference between Man and lower creatures lies in Man’s creativity. Man creates his natural surroundings by giving names to objects.

پیکر ہستی ز آثارِ خودی است پرچہ می بینی ز اسرارِ خودی است

خویشتن را چون خودی بیدار کرد آشکارا عالمِ پندار کرد

در جہاں تخمِ خصومت کاشت است خویشتن را غیرِ خود پنداست است²

[The whole of Existence is the manifestation of Self,

Whatever you see is derived from the secrets of Self.

When Self awakened itself,

It revealed the world of Imagination... .

The seed of enmity is sown in the world

And Man has become alien to himself.]*

² *Asrār-i Khudī*, p. 12.

* All translation are Mine

Here “Self-awakening” and ‘Man’s becoming alien to himself’ are the key points. What does Iqbal mean by “Self-awakening”? Iqbal, among many great thinkers such as Rūmī from the East and Blake from the West, believed that Man is a creative being and that he creates his own surrounding world. In other words, Man by his sense-perception receives impressions from the material world and recreates these worldly objects in his imagination. Being aware of the existence of such creative power in oneself is the beginning of ‘Self-awakening’. This gives Man a sense of self-identity and determination. He brings Nature under his control, and gives meaning, colour and a name to it Iqbal, praising the creative soul of Man, and Nature as a vehicle of its development, writes:

برقها خوابیده در جان من است	کوه و صحرا بابِ جولانِ من است
پنجه کن با بجرم ار صحراستی	برق من در گیر اگر سیناستی
چشمه حیوان براتم کرده اند	محرم رازِ حیاتم کرده اند
ذره از سوزِ نوایم زنده گشت	پرکشود و کرمکِ تابنده گشت ³

[Sparks are hidden in my soul,
Mountains and fields are gateways for my wanderings.
Mingle with my ocean if you are a field,
Catch my sparks if you are Sīnā'ī
I am given the spring of life
And made the confidant of my life.
The particle gained life from my song,
Grew wings and became a firefly.]

³ 3. Ibid., p. 6.

This creative self or imagination is neither the characteristic of a nation nor a literary movement. The difference between ancient and modern writers or between writers from so-called “developed” or “undeveloped” countries is not a difference in the quality of the creative mind or imagination, but the difference of objects and means of creation or production. In other words, ancient Man had an equally creative and powerful mind and used his mind equally well as modern Man; the difference between the two lies only in the use of objects—an axe made from stone or steel. The Creative Self is as old as Man. Men in caves carved or drew pictures of the Nature or world surrounding them. In order to conquer their natural environment, they first conquered it in their imagination. Poets animated mountains, rivers, trees, sun, moon and stars, giving them the power that they themselves desired to have. In his imagination the poet brings water to barren lands, and the barren lands blossom with joy and fruit. His people are being saved from starvation and want. He invites the people to translate his imagination into action within society.

خیز و پا بر جادهٔ دیگر بنه جوش سودامی کهن از سر بنه

حرکتِ اعصابِ گردون دیده ام در رگِ مه‌گردشِ خوان دیده ام

بهر احسان چشمِ من شبها گریست تا دریدم پردهٔ اسرارِ زیست

من که این شب را چو مه آراستم گردِ پای ملتِ بیضاستم

ملنی در باغ و راغ آوازه اش آتشی دلها سرودِ تازه اش⁴

⁴ Ibid., pp. 9-10

[Rise and step on a different road,
 Give up living in the past...
 I have seen the nervous system of the universe
 And the blood circulation in the veins of the moon.
 For humanity I lamented many nights,
 Till I have torn the veil of mysteries...
 Like a moon I have brought light into this dark night
 And have shed my light at the feet of my people.
 I have become their songs in gardens and fields
 And the fire of their hearts and fresh songs.]

Iqbal suggests that, by giving up the past, Man will become a living and creative being rather than a slave to the abstract and passive teachings of the past. This suggestion might raise the question in our minds: Since Iqbal urges us to give up the past and step on a different road, why does he then advise us to follow the path of Muḥammad and Rūmī? By urging us to give up the past, Iqbal in fact tells us not to be idol-worshippers and passive followers: not to worship the objects, images and stories that the creative Self of men like ourselves has created in the past. In other words, he tells us that we should not forget that we have our creative Self and that we are living in the reality of the present, in a different world. This is the principle that Muhammad teaches us in the Qur'an and which Rūmī stresses in his poems. Iqbal, stressing the value of Man as the successor of God on earth, writes:

شمع خود را همچو رومی بر فروز روم را در آتش تبریز سوز

هست معشوقه نهان اندر دلت چشم اگر داری بیا بنائمت

در دلِ مسلم مقامِ مصطفیٰ است آبروی ما ز نامِ مصطفیٰ است

امتیازاتِ نسبِ را پاک سوخت آتش او این خس و خاشاک سوخت

عاشقے؟ محکم شو از تقلیدِ یار تا کمندِ تو شود یزدانِ شکار

اندکے اندر حرّامے دل نشین ترکِ خود کن سوئے حقِ ہجرتِ گزین

محکم از حقِ شو سوئے خود گامِ زن لات و عزّامے ہوس را سر شکن

تا خدائے کعبہ بنواز د ترا شرحِ انیِ جاعلُ ساز د ترا⁵

[Light your candle as Rūmī did

And burn Rome in the fire of Tabriz.

There is a beloved part hidden in your heart,

Let me show it to you if you have the eyes....

The vision of Muṣṭafā (Muhammad) is in the heart of Muslim,

Our reputation stems from the name of Muṣṭafā...

He burned down all family privileges,

His fire burned all this rubbish... .

Then, are you a lover? Be firm on the path of your friend, Till God (sky or supernatural God) is caught in your net. Reside in the free land of the heart,

⁵ Ibid., pp. 19-23.

Give up yourself and depart towards *Haqq* or the “Truth”.

Trust *Haqq* or the “Truth” and step on the way of “self,” rely on your creative self.

Suppress irresponsible and selfish fancies. . . .

Ask the God of the Ka’bah to cherish you,

And make you His vicegerent on earth.]

Iqbal, by telling us to “rise and step on a different road” and “give up living in the past,” is in fact urging us to rise against any sort of social injustice and exploitation of man by man — either physical or spiritual. The elite and the privileged class, while living at leisure amid material wealth, teach the love of Allah and the denial of worldly love. By this negation they thwart the creative and most valuable part of Man, that is to say, the Self. The creative Self can develop only within the material world or society, not in a vacuum. Food and favourable living and social conditions are most essential for the development of Self. The creative Self loses its creativity and fruition in an unfavourable condition.

خستگی ہائے تو از ناداری است اصل درد تو ہمین بیماری است

می رباید رفعت از فکر بلند می کشد شمع خیال ارجمند⁶

[All your tirednesses are the result of poverty,

The main cause of your illness is the same disease.

Poverty or need of wants steals power from great thought,

And kills the candle of creative imagination.]

Iqbal believed that a human being has a creative mind by which he or she can create images of things in the outside world, think over them and recall them whenever he or she wishes. This creative mind or Self is perhaps the most essential difference between animals and human beings. This

⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

creative and dynamic part is potentially in every man and is his true Self. But Man has been alienated from his creative Self in two ways. Firstly, Man has created his own myth and allegory, but, later on, forgetting and ignoring his creative Self, he has allocated these mythological and allegorical tales to God or gods.

دل بتدریج از میانِ سینه رفت جوهرِ آئینه از آئینه رفت

آن جنونِ کوششِ کامل نماند آن تقاضایِ عمل در دل نماند

اقتدار و عزم و استقلال رفت اعتبار و عزت و اقبال رفت

پنجه بائے آهنین بے زور شد مرده شد دلها و تنها گور شد

زورِ تن کاهید و خوفِ جان فزود خوفِ جان سرمایهٔ همت ربود

صد مرض پیدا شد از بے همتی کوته دستی بیدلی دون فطرتی

شیرِ بیدار از فسونِ میش خفت انحطاطِ خویش را تهذیب گفت⁷

[The heart gradually departed from Man's breast,

The lustre of the mirror departed from the mirror.

The mad enthusiasm for full effort is no more,

The demand for action is no more in the heart.

The power, determination and independence have gone,

Reputation, honour, prosperity have gone.

⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

The creative iron hands lost their strength,
The hearts died and became only a graveyard.
The strength of the body wasted away and tee fear of the soul increased,
The mortal fear stole away the reserves of determination.
Hundreds of diseases appeared because of irresoluteness:
Poverty, despair and inferiority.
The alert lion fell asleep under the spell of the ram, And thought his
decline was a great refinement.]

All these have happened because Man forgot his true Self and creativity.
Iqbal, like Rūmī, criticises mullās and priests for using these allegorical tales
for the enslavement of Man:

من از درسِ خردمندان گریبان چاک می آیم!

گهر پیچد جهان بر من، گهر من بر جهان پیچم

نه اینجا چشمکِ ساقی نه آنجا حرفِ مشتاقی

ز بزمِ صوفی و مُلا بسے غم ناک می آیم

وسد وقتے کہ خاصانِ ترا با من فتد کارے

کہ من صحرائیم پیشِ ملکِ بیباک می آیم⁸

⁸ Zabūr-i `Ajam, p. 43.

[I am returning from the lesson of the Wise unhappy and disturbed,
Sometimes the world on top of me and sometimes I on top of the
world.

Here is neither winking of the wine-giver nor is there a word of lover,

I am returning from the feast of *Mullā* and *Ṣūfī* very sad,

A time will come that your Elect will peed me,

Because I am a man front the desert who is coming to visit the king
without fear].

Islam, which originally rose against idol-worshipping and against all sorts of privileges, turned later on to idol-worshipping by ignoring human creativity. Social and philosophical systems have played an important role in this process. The Greek philosophy which kept Europe asleep until the fourteenth century had found its way among Muslim religious thinkers. Plato, for example, negated the world by his metaphysical and abstract teachings. Muslim philosophers and scientists, such as Abū 'Alī Sīnā', Rāzī and al-Bīrūnī, stressed the importance of the material world and human experience, and created scientific and cultural advancement between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries. All this was gradually forgotten, and Muslims turned to the dream-world of Plato and the empty world of passive Sufism. Thus Muslims, whose knowledge had given ideas and inspiration to Western thinkers in the seventeenth century, became beggars of knowledge at the doors of others. Criticising Muslims who lost their identity by following the abstract ideas of others and gathering crumbs of knowledge from other people's doors, Iqbal writes in *Asrār-i Khudī*:

سوزِ عشقِ از دانشِ حاضرِ مجوے کیفِ حقِ از جامِ اینِ کافرِ مجوے

دانشِ حاضرِ حجابِ اکبرِ است بتِ پرست و بتِ فروش و بتگرِ است⁹

⁹ *Asrār-i Khudī*, p. 77.

[Do not seek enthusiasm from ready-made knowledge,
Do not seek of “Truth” from the cup of the faithless...
Ready-made knowledge is the veil of great imagination,
It is idol-worshipper, idol-seller and idol-maker.]

راهبِ دیرینه افلاطون حکیم از گروه گوسفندانِ قدیم

آنچنان افسونِ نا محسوس خورد اعتبار از دست و چشم و گوش برد¹⁰

[The philosopher Plato, the ancient monk,
Was one of the flock of old sheep...
He cast such an invisible spell through his teachings,
Which killed the power of hands, eyes and ears.]

عشق افلاطونِ علتِ هائے عقل به شود از نشترش سودائے عقل¹¹

[Platonic love is based on passive reason,
Your reason will be cured by its destruction.]

اے گدائے ریزه از خوانِ غیر جنسِ خود می جوئی از دکانِ غیر

پیزمِ مسلم از چراغِ غیر سوخت مسجدِ او از شرارِ دیر سوخت

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 78.

کعبه آباد است از اصنامِ ما خنده زن کفر است بر اسلامِ ما
شیخ در عشقِ بتان اسلامِ باخت رشته شیخ از زنار ساخت

دل ز نقشِ لا اله بیگانه از صنمِ های هوس بت خانه
می شود هر مو درازم خرقه پوش آه ازین سودگرانِ دین فروش
با مریدان روز و شب اندر سفر از ضرورتِ های ملت بیخبر¹²

[O beggar of crumbs from the tables of others,
You are seeking your own goods from the shops of others.
The Muslim's feast is lit by the light of others,
His mosque is lit by the flames of the temple...
Ka'bah or Mecca flourishes with our idols,
Non-Muslims are laughing at our Islam.
The Shaikh has lost his Islam by idol-worshipping,
And his beads are made of *ẓunnār*¹³ ...
His heart has become alien to *lā-ilāh*,

¹² Ibid., p. 78-79.

¹³ The Christian's or Jew's girdle, distinguishing him from a Muslim.

And he has created idols from his caprices.

Every man with long hair becomes a *ṣūfī*,

Alas for these traders in religion.

He is travelling with his followers day and night,

But is unaware of the people's needs.]

Iqbal is not against religion, science or learning, but against the use of these in opposition to human values and interests. He believed that religion, science, law, literature and all sorts of learning must be based on the understanding and knowledge of human values. In other words, religion, science, law and literature must have a moral and human commitment. In *Asrār-i Khudī* Iqbal writes:

آگهی از علم و فن مقصود نیست غنچه و گل از چمن مقصود نیست

علم از سامانِ حفظِ زندگی است علم از اسبابِ تقویمِ خودی است

علم و فن از پیش خیزانِ حیات علم و فن از خانه زادانِ حیات

ما ز تخلیقِ مقاصد زنده ایم از شعاعِ آرزو تابنده ایم¹⁴

[Gaining information about knowledge and science is not the only end,
The buds and flowers cannot replace the meadow,
But knowledge ought to be a means for the security of life,
It ought to be the means of self-assertion.

¹⁴ *Asrār-i Khudī*, pp. 17-18.

Knowledge and science grew and rose with life,
They were born and brought up with human existence...
We live by recreation of ends,
We shine by the light of desire.]

Iqbal's desire and aim were to create society and protect its interests rather than to use knowledge for his limited and selfish interests. When he attacks philosophers like Plato, and the elite, he attacks abstract knowledge and the irresponsible nature of the knowledge which is used by the ruling class to teach love, affection, brotherhood, justice and democracy which they do not put into practice.

مُردِ چون شمعِ خودی اندر وجود از خیالِ آسمان پیمای چه سود¹⁵

[The creative Self is extinguished within you like a candle,
What is the use of sky-wandering imagination ?]

علمِ حق را در قفا انداختی بهر نای نقدِ دین در باختی¹⁶

[You have hung the science of truth on your neck,
But you have lost your faith for a piece of bread.]

مسلمی؟ آزادِ این زنار باش شمعِ بزمِ ملتِ احرار¹⁷

[Are you a Muslim? Be free from this *zunnār*

And become a candle in the feast of free people.]

Iqbal believed that Man is not free but that he should be free. This freedom takes place in society and within the individual. Freedom of Self, as we pointed out before, is freedom from intellectual or spiritual enslavement;

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 81.

secondly, freedom from hostility and terror which exist within society:

در جهان تخمِ خصومت کاشت است خویشتن را غیرِ خود پنداشت است¹⁸

[The seed of enmity is sown in the world
And Man has become alien to himself.]

How is it that Man, we might ask, who, according to Iqbal, is originally a creative man, becomes alien to his true Self and others? Iqbal believed that error, enmity, is created within society but that *Haqq* or the creative Self is eternal. In other words, every man is born potentially with a creative self, but not every man is born in the same social condition of life. The Self develops in its own particular social circumstances. In this development and self-awakening there are two possibilities on two kinds of Self: (1) a limited and egoistic Self, (2) an unlimited and prophetic or prolific Self. The limited Self sees only himself, that is to say, only his own limited impressions. He associates self-awakening only with certain individuals who, in terms of Nietzsche, can be supermen. Such a limited Self finally dies in its cocoon of individualism. This is the beginning of alienation from oneself and of tyranny over others.

The unlimited Self, after awakening, casts out its limited and selfish memories or “dead bones” by joining a bigger Self or society. Thus, the Self is formed within society; and one Self is limited and selfish and the other Self unlimited and selfless. We must now act ourselves. To what kind of social Self did Iqbal belong? Iqbal has answered this question in a letter to his son Jāvīd Iqbāl. He writes:

“A rich man’s ways are not mine
I am a fakir,
My advice is: do not sell your selfhood;
Find your fulfilment even in poverty.”

Iqbal’s self-identity is rooted in the *fakir* class rather than in that of the

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

Lords, or *kbāṣṣān* (the ruling class). Iqbal's *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* is the expression of this kind of social outlook, which clearly defines the role of a poet, a prophet and a leader as an individual in society. The people are the source of strength and inspiration for such an individual:

فرد را ربطِ جماعتِ رحمت است جوهرِ او را کمال از ملت است

تا توانی با جماعت یار باش رونقِ پنگامهٔ احرار باش

حرزِ جان کن گفتهٔ خیر البشر هست شیطان از جماعت دور تر¹⁹

[For the individual the bond with the masses is a blessing,

The maturity of his essence is from the people.

Be as close to the masses as you can,

Be a supporter of freedom-fighters.

Give up yourself to the masses as *kbair al-bashar* or Muḥammad has said:

Only Satan is separated from the masses.]

The interests of prophets or true leaders are not separated from the masses. Prophets serve the people but Satan rejects the will or the interests of the people. It is interesting to note that the personality of the prophet and of Satan, which is described in the Qur'ān, should be observed and understood in the social context.

Iqbal's idea of the individual and society is not one of a superficial link. It is based on the essential needs of life and the unity of the interests of the individual and society. The individual cannot be free unless he sees that his interests and freedom are identical with those of the whole of society. Otherwise individual freedom without the whole of society is the freedom of the jungle. In other words, individualism, the ignoring of the interests and love of the masses, leads to chaos in thought and action which eventually can

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 97-98.

turn against the people. Iqbal writes in *Rumūz-i Bekhudī*:

فرد می گیرد ز ملت احترام ملت از افراد می باید نظام
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود قطره وسعت طلب قلزم شود

فرد تنها از مقاصد غافل است قوتش آشفستگی را مائل است²⁰

[The individual gains his respect from the people
And society receives law and order from individuals.
When the individual dissolves himself among the masses,
The expanse-seeking drop becomes a sea... .
The isolated individual is heedless of basic issues,
His power of imagination leads him to chaos.]

Nietzsche is an example of such an individual.

Iqbal believed that if a man is truly aware of *Haqq* or human value, he never rests from giving life and hope to the masses. He destroys their fears and doubts by laying stress on action and human creativity or work:

بیم و شک میرد عمل گیرد حیات چشم می بیند ضمیر کائنات
چون مقام عبده محکم شود کاسه در یوزه جام جم شود²¹

[When fear and doubt die and action gains life,
Then the eyes see the essence of the universe.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 98-99.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 105

When the position of the common man becomes secure,
He turns a clay bowl into Jām-i Jam.]

بندہا از پاکشاید بندہ را از خداوندان ربایید بندہ را

گویدش تو بندہ دیگر نہ زمین بتان بے زبان کمتر نہ

تا سوے یک مدعایش می کشد حلقہ آئین پیایش می کشد

نکتہ توحید باز آموزدش رسم و آئین نیاز آموزدش²²

[He breaks the bonds from the slave's feet,
And rescues him from the cords.
And he tells him, "You are not a slave any longer;
You are no longer looked upon as less than these dumb idols."
Finally he leads him towards his aim
And replaces his bondage by principle or faith.
He teaches him the meaning of *Tamhīd* again,
Teaches him what he needs and how to achieve it.]

Iqbal's nationalism is neither an emotional one in the superficial meaning of the term, nor a limited one. He believed that a nation is formed above all by the unity of material and cultural interests. And when he frees his people from exploitation, this freedom is not the end but a beginning for the freedom of other oppressed nations. For this reason Iqbal is regarded as a revolutionary Muslim poet who believed in one race and one interest, that is, the human race and human interest:

²² Ibid., pp. 103-04.

ملت از یک رنگی دلہاستے روشن از یک جلوہ این سیناستے

قوم را اندیشہ با باید یکے در ضمیرش مدعا باید یکے

جذبہ باید در سرشتِ او یکے ہم عیارِ خوب و زشتِ او یکے

گر بناشد سوزِ حق در سازِ فکر نیست ممکن این چنین اندازِ فکر²³

[A nation is formed by the unity of hearts or of interests,

The light of Sīnā'ī is a manifestation of this.

The people must be united in their vision and thinking,

The essence of their aim must be one.

Their basic interest or desire must be essentially one,

The standard of moral good and bad must be the same.

If there is no desire of *Haqq* or “Truth” in the song of your thought,

Then such a thought is impracticable]

What is the use of seeking the origin of a nation in a home? What is the use of worshipping water and land? In other words, only by the unity of hearts, deeds and interests does a nation become creative, productive and powerful.

ما ز نعمت ہائے او اخوان شدیم یک زبان و یک دل و یک جان شدیم²⁴

[We became brothers because of one natural resources,

We chose one language, one heart and one soul.]

²³ Ibid., pp. 106-07.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 107.

This is realism, this is the social outlook of Iqbal and his true “Self”.

IQBAL, THE HUMANIST

In Memoriam

Dr L. S. May

“He, whose mind is reared by constant adventures, Will rise above
the whirlpool of the blue skies.”

—Jāvīd Nāmāh

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's contributions to the Islamic and universal corpus of thought are enormous. They cover philosophy, psychology, ethics, politics and religion. By putting his ideas in translucent verse, he made great contributions to Urdu and Persian literature.

As a young student, he read voraciously. He became conversant with the English language and culture because of their inter-penetration into (Muslim) India. Arabic, Urdu and Persian, respectively the language of the Qur'an, his mother tongue, and the linguistic inheritances²⁵ of the educated Indo-Muslim elite derived from his Islamic roots. He became acquainted with the alien Greek and Latin, Germanic and French traditions; the complex philosophical thought of such Greek giants as Plato (427-347 B.C.) and his disciple Aristotle (384-322 B.C.); the German philosophers Kant (1724-1804); Hegel (1770-1831); Nietzsche (1844-1900); the Frenchmen Comte (1797-1857²⁶) and Bergson (1859-1941)²⁷; during his European studies (1905-1908) at Cambridge, where he prepared himself for the Bar, and Munich University which gave him his doctorate in philosophy. They and 'many others, including the renowned father of the relativity doctrine, Professor Albert Einstein (1879-1955),²⁸ and Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), the founder of the modern European school of psychology, both contemporary with him — stirred his mind as his famed Lectures published under the title: *The*

²⁵ It was the language of the Moghul court (Muslim) nobles and diplomacy. Relatively few Indian Muslims knew it well by Iqbal's time.

²⁶ Comte died in the year of the "Great Mutiny" (1857-58).

²⁷ Bergson died three years after Iqbal.

²⁸ Professor Einstein published his relativity theory in 1905 and received the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1922.

*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*²⁹ clearly show. His ability to digest this vast two-and-a-half millennia of Western, and thirteen-hundred-years' Islamic, compendium of knowledge attests to his mental porousness and his genius. He, therefore, may be called truly a twentieth-century humanist. How do we define this type of person? The earlier humanists were men of letters and thinkers, grammarians, logicians, and rhetoricians, doctors of philosophy — in contradistinction to the separate discipline of theology — jurists and physicians. Some Muslims, amongst them the celebrated physician-philosopher Ibn Sīnā' (latinised name Avicenna, 980-1036), were experts in almost all these disciplines.³⁰ Their linguistic knowledge in Renaissance³¹ times included Latin and Greek³² and for some, Westerners,³³ Hebrew as well as Arabic.³⁴ It permitted them to read and absorb a wide spectrum of literature and thought and give them an international intellectual perspective. They consequently, unlike the religious groups, no longer fed themselves upon Saints' lives and myths and dogmatic treatises. They accepted Revelation and wished to reform theology by their preferred return to the "Christian Classics, that is, the Bible and the Church Fathers."³⁵ This theme is basic to Modernism³⁶ which Iqbal strongly advocated. His theology in many ways radically departs from the traditional interpretation found in the medieval (Muslim) *tafāsīr* ("exegeses"). Not only did he call Allah by such philosophical epithets as "the all-inclusive Ego," or "the Ultimate Ego,"³⁷ but

²⁹ Iqbal gave these Lectures by invitation of the Madras Muslim Association at Madras, Aligarh and Hyderabad in 1928. They have often been reprinted.

³⁰ Avicenna wrote commentaries on Aristotle ; scientific, including astronomical, treatises, and the "Canon of Medicine" (Qānūn al-Ṭibb) which remained the standard textbook in Europe until the seventeenth century C E.

³¹ It started in Italy during the middle of the twelfth century C.E.—then spread to France, Germany, England, the Netherlands, and Spain ; and reached its zenith during the fifteenth and earlier part of the sixteenth century, by the end of which it had spent its force.

³² The Renaissance also was marked by a revival of ancient Greek.

³³ The well-known Italian Neoplatonist Count Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), whose biography, for instance, Sir Thomas More translated into English, studied Hebrew and Jewish Mysticism (Kabbalah).

³⁴ The great Spanish-born theologian-physician Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (latinised name: Maimonides) (1135-1204 C.E.), wrote in Hebrew and Arabic. He was also versed in Latin.

³⁵ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought* (New York : Harper & Row, Harper Torch Books, 1961), p. 75.

³⁶ A movement which, like Jewish Reform, emerged during the nineteenth century C.E.

³⁷ *Reconstruction* (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962 reprint), pp. 94 and 88, respectively.

he defined Divinity's nature in terms of vital activity or energy modes instead of solid substance.³⁸ He furthermore explained Creation as an endless evolutionary process. He flatly asserted regarding the legal aspects: "The primary source of the Law of Islam is the Qur'an"³⁹ He, in true Modernist fashion, thereby struck out the entire religio-legal medieval corpus considering it as invalid for the Modern Age. If he thereby got into trouble with the '*ulamā*', so did Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) in whom the German Renaissance found its ripest expression. The Dominican brethren in Germany, fearing that his erudite scholarship coupled with the knowledge of Hebrew might undermine their status and power, heartily denounced their eminent countryman. Such fear was the greater because the humanists developed a secular and a critical spirit, with which they scanned and scrutinised every aspect of life; every institution and group. Erasmus in his "Praise of Folly" (*Encomium Moror*)⁴⁰ attacked his people for the way in which they built their houses, the food they ate, their lack of manners, their educational system, ignorance, the scholars' snobbishness, etc., etc. His friend Sir Thomas More (14711-1535) in his *Utopia*⁴¹ indirectly deplored his countrymen's rudeness, lack of pity and charitableness, their war-like tendencies, societal inequalities, for which he held Royalty and Church responsible. Iqbal also harshly denounced the political authorities:

پرائی سیاست گری خوار ہے زمیں
میر و سلطان سے بیزار ہے⁴²

[The hoary arts of politics sink,

In earth's nostrils, kings and sultans stink.]

He, too, deplored poverty aided by taxation which he called the robbing

³⁸ Ibid., p. 72, for instance, also for evolution defined as "the perpetual flow of Divine life".

³⁹ Ibid., p. 105.

⁴⁰ He wrote it in one week (in Latin) while abed at the home of Sir Thomas More, to whom he dedicated this work.

⁴¹ It also was composed in Latin, and published in 1516. The first English edition came out posthumously for the justified fear of royal wrath.

⁴² "Sāqī Nāmāh," *Bāl-i Jibriḷ*, p. 167. English translation by V.G. Kiernan, *Poems for Iqbal* (London : John Murray, 1955), p. 47.

of one's bread,⁴³ and further strengthening inequality. If Erasmus' ideal order was symbolised by any small Dutch town of his time; and for Sir Thomas More, it was "nowhere land" (Utopia's meaning), whose fictional capital was Amaurote⁴⁴; for Iqbal it was the mythical city of Marghadīn set on Mars:

نے قلم در مرغدیں گیرد فروغ
از فنِ تحریر و تشمیرِ دروغ!

نے بیازاراں ز بے کاراں فروش
نے صدا پائے گدایاں دردِ گوش⁴⁵

[In Marghadīn no pen wins lustre
from inscribing and disseminating lies;
in the market-places there is no clamour of the workless,
no whining of beggars afflicts the ear!]

Here,

سخت کش دہقان، چراغش روشن است

از نہابِ دہ خدایاں ایمن است!

کشت و کارش بے نزاعِ آبجوست

حاصلش بے شرکتِ غیرے ازوست!⁴⁶

⁴³ Cf. *Javid Namah* (JN), p. 70, 11. 1093 and 1096.

⁴⁴ French *amour* = "love".

⁴⁵ IN, p. 122, 11. 1945-48.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121, 11. 1939-42.

[The lamp of the hard-toiling farmer is always bright,
he is secure from the plundering of the landlords!

His tillage is not a struggle for water,
his harvest is his own, no other shares in it!]

It is an egalitarian society following the Prophet Muḥammad's precept:

در نگاهِ او یکے بالا و پست
با غلامِ خویش بریکِ خوان نشست⁴⁷

[In his eyes lofty and lowly are the same thing;
he has sat down at the same table with his slave.]

It lastly knows internal and international contentment and peace:

فوج و زندان و سلاسل ریزی است
اوست حاکم کز چنیں سامان غنی است⁴⁸

[Armies, prisons, chains are banditry;
he is the true ruler who needs no such apparatus.]

The humanists clearly were severe critics openly daring to attack Church and State. It cost poor Chancellor More his head.⁴⁹ They regarded their critique as strengthening instead of under-mining society's foundations.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 59, 11. 927-28. The reference undoubtedly is to the Prophet Muḥammad's adopted son Zaid ibn al-Ḥārith.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 108, 11. 1749-50.

⁴⁹ By order of the last Tudor king Henry VIII (1491-1547), because Sir Thomas refused to swear to the Act of Supremacy making England's royalty its Church heads. It was a reform movement and meant a formal break with Rome's Papacy. It also implies a strong feeling of nationalism.

They lastly were not ignorant of contemporary national and even international political developments. Erasmus, for instance, began to realise that West Europe in his time was undergoing a fundamental transition from Nation-States to more modern States. Politically-minded Iqbal similarly felt that, given "Europe's turmoil," "a new world" was dawning in "this whirling of time". His vision comprised another world war which he bemoaned:

زانکہ حق در دلبری پیدا تر است
دلبری اذ قاهرئ اولیٰ تر است!⁵⁰

[Because God is more manifest in love,
love is a better way than violence!]
Yet,

عذرِ ایس اسراف و ایس سنگینِ دلی
خلق و تکمیلِ جمالِ معنوی⁵¹

[The excuse for this wastefulness and cruelty
Is the shaping and perfecting of spiritual beauty].

The post-War era saw his dream's fulfilment: the rise of an independent sovereign Pakistan out of "Islam's ashes, cold and dark"⁵²:

باش تا بینی کہ بے آوازِ صور
ملتی بر خیزد از خاکِ قبور⁵³

[Wait till you see, without the sound of the Trumpet,

⁵⁰ 1N, p. 153, 11. 2395-96.

⁵¹ *Asrar-i Khudi* (AK), p. 13. English translation by R.A. Nicholson, Tr., *Secrets of the Self* (Lahore: Sh Muhammad Ashraf, 1972), p. 17.

⁵² Cf. his Urdu, 'Sāqī Nāmāh" in *Bāl-i Jibril* and *Zabūr-i 'Ajam* (ZA), p. 203.

⁵³ J N, p. 195, 11. 3049-50.

a nation rising out of the dust of the tomb!]

He furthermore foresaw the East's industrialization and its entry into the new Technological Age.

As a humanist, he welcomed the spirit's or self's freedom to rule itself, to think, express itself, follow its own religious and cultural traditions, and unfold itself through time. This he called genuine "self-realisation":

از خود آگاهی ید الّسهی کند

از ید الّسهی شهنشاهی⁵⁴

[Through self-knowledge he acts as God's Hand,

and in virtue of being God's Hand he reigns over all]

The humanists' secular orientation, in conclusion, does not necessarily signify an irreligious outlook. "The view that the humanist movement was essentially pagan or anti-Christian," or anti-Islamic in the case of Muslims, "cannot be sustained".⁵⁵ They did not leave the faith into which they were born.⁵⁶ Sir Thomas More staunchly defended the Catholic Church, which ill-fitted his sovereign's designs.⁵⁷ Erasmus, apparently feeling sympathetic toward the then nascent Protestant Reform hewed by the German malcontent Martin Luter (1483-1546), felt his colleague's animosity,⁵⁸ because he refused to support the Papal cause. "Granted [he wrote] your friends will be disappointed. Yet you will soon find more pleasant and reliable ones. ...If your reputation in the world is not what it was, the friendship of Christ will more than make up for this."⁵⁹

⁵⁴ AK, p 53 : English translation by Nicholson, op. cit., p. 88.

⁵⁵ Kristeller, op. cit., p. 74.

⁵⁶ Presumably by preference, as did Sir Thomas More, although ecclesiastical compulsion may have enforced it in many cases.

⁵⁷ Because of King Henry VII's lust to wield Power also over the Church of England. (CF. also earlier footnote.)

⁵⁸ At Louvain and at Basle which Swiss City he had to leave after eight years' residence. He arrived in April 1529, broken in spirit and health, in Freiburg in Breisgau. He died in Basle on 12 July 1536, having returned hither in 1535 for work on the Latin edition of his work on the Greek Father Origen (d. 254 C.E.)

⁵⁹ Erasmus, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* ("The Handbook of the Militant Christian"), 1503 under

He thus fervently agreed with Luther that Church reforms were essential and that they meant a return to the pristine Christianity. He (unlike the Reformation's founder) nevertheless died a Catholic. Iqbal ardently desired Islam's theologico-legal — apart from its political and socio-economic—rejuvenation. He lashed out against some of the religious leaders (*mullās*) and theologians ('*ulama'*) for refusing to change their traditional (medieval) mould of thought:

دینِ حق از کافری رسوا تر است
زانکه ملا مومنِ کافر گر است!⁶⁰

(The religion of God is more shameful than unbelief,
because the *mullā* is a believer trading in unfaith!]

He held them consequently responsible for political inertia of the Muslim masses during their colonialist subjugation. They rejected his new theology, at first his “Pakistan idea,” meaning their coreligionists', fun her division, his secularist orientation, and his accusations which heightened their animosity toward him. They countered with the charge that he was not true to the faith. He insisted that he was a genuine Muslim, and that Modernism was essential for Islam's survival in a wholly new world. He felt that his love for God and His Prophet(s) would sustain him in his dark days:

از پدر تا نامِ تو آموختم
آتشِ ایس آرزو افروختم⁶¹

[. . . since first I learned Thy [Allah's] name from my sire's lips,
the flame of that desire kindled and glowed in me...]

He, in true humanist fashion, burned with the desire to trans-form the world

“Third Rule”, p. 57 in op cit.

⁶⁰ JN, p. 84, II. 1355-56: cf. Ibid., p. 93,11 1531-32.

⁶¹ AK. (Rumūz), p. 197: English translation by A.J. Arberry (Mysteries of Selflessness [London : John Murray, 1953], p. 82).

so that an element of idealism is inherent in his (as in Erasmus' and More's) thought. They extolled Divine mercy⁶² side by side with human foibles, longed for order and peace,⁶³ while carrying on their vast intellectual labours amidst conflict and disorder. Sharing their great interest in the foundations of knowledge and its processes, or, as Erasmus put it beautifully, “the purer pleasures of the mind,”⁶⁴ they lectured at universities, or held high government posts, and wrote prominently. Iqbal carried on this rich tradition. He, as said, “drank deep of good letters; and as a young man, he applied himself to the study of ... philosophy”⁶⁵ and diverse languages. “Meantime he applied his whole mind to religion....”⁶⁶ “In early youth” and thereafter “his principal compositions were in verse.... It would be difficult to find anyone more successful in speaking extempore.”⁶⁷ He remained loyal to God and humanity teaching them the preciousness of learning and of the freedom to live, think, work, express oneself meaningfully through poetry and art:

گر ہنر میں نہیں تعمیرِ خودی کا جوہر
و اے صورت گری و شاعری و نامے و سرودا!⁶⁸

[If art is devoid of that substance which fosters self,
woe be to such painting, poetry and music.]

“However averse he may be to superstition, he is a steady follower of true piety, with regular hours for his prayer, which are uttered not by rote, but from the heart. He talks with his friends about a future life in such a way as to make you feel that he believes what he says”⁶⁹

⁶² Cf Erasmus, *Enchiridion* in op cit.

⁶³ Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace*. Also. Sir Thomas More’s Utopia and Iqbal’s description of Marghadin.

⁶⁴ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*. In op.cit., p. 57.

⁶⁵ Letter written by “Desiderius Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten,” in about 1519, and quoted as an addendum to Walter J. Black’s edition of the *Utopia* (1947). pp.187 ff. Quotation from p. 194.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 195.

⁶⁷ Ibid. pp. 199-200. |These description well fit Iqbal!

⁶⁸ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 112.

⁶⁹ Erasmus' cited letter to U. von Hutten, in op. cit., p. 201.

Iqbal agreed once more with Erasmus' dictum: "We must be watchful in life."⁷⁰ Otherwise "the inhabitants of earth" lose "the wealth of 'self'."⁷¹ To prevent such a tragedy's recurrence, humanity must continue to improve themselves and their institutions and never forget that the intellect's application will remain arid unless it is warmed by a loving heart nourished by God:

عقلِ تو حاصلِ حیاتِ عشقِ تو سرِ کائنات⁷²

[Your reason is the fruit of life, your love is creation's mystery.]

Iqbal's scholarliness and profound concern with the destiny of his coreligionists' humanity, his continued love for learning and his aim: to illumine the mind and soul, mark him (as shown) as a brilliant modern humanist.

کشودم از رخِ معنیِ نقابِ
بدستِ ذره دادم آفتابِ⁷³

[I lifted the veil from the face of "Reality,"

I handed the sun to the atom.]

SPEECHES, WRITINGS AND STATEMENTS OF IQBAL

Compiled and Edited by

LATIF AHMED SHERWANI

This is the third revised and enlarged edition of the book, previously entitled: *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* and published under the compiler's pseudonym "Shamloo".

⁷⁰ Preface to the *Enchiridion*.

⁷¹ JN, p. 123, 1. 1959.

⁷² Ibid., p. 23, 1 443; cf. p. 83, 1. 1341 ; p. 139, 11. 2201-02, et al.

⁷³ ZA ("Gulsban-i Rāz-i Julie), p. 204. "Atom" signifies the human soul or self, and is borrowed from Einsteinian physics.

These speeches, writings and statements contain matter of great political and cultural importance. Iqbal stands in the front rank of Muslim thinkers of all times and the Muslims cannot afford to ignore or lose sight of anything that the great sage has said.

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IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

90-B/2, Gulberg III, Lahore

Dr MUHAMMAD IQBAL FROM NATIONALISM TO UNIVERSALISM

Dr S. Razi Wasti

The events of 1857 dealt a shattering blow to the political supremacy of the Muslims in India. They seemed to have a bleak and uncertain future. The new rulers treated them as a vanquished enemy. By conscious efforts all avenues of progress and advancement were blocked and they were left to suffer in an atmosphere of depression and frustration. However, there was a ray of hope. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Shibli, Hali and other leaders of the Aligarh school made tireless efforts to keep them aware of their past and endeavoured to keep them together as one religious unit. In the beginning it was not possible to provide a clear picture of future objectives. Sudden infiltration of Western secular nationalism had confused the Western-educated classes. The Hindus accepted the Western concept of nationalism wholeheartedly and strove to merge all religious communities of the subcontinent to form a single secular entity. A section of the Muslim community was also carried away by this idea. But the vast majority listened to Sayyid Ahmad Khan and remained aloof from any political activity and concentrated on acquiring knowledge through Western style education.

Muhammad Iqbal, born in Sialkot in 1877, came to Lahore in 1895, as a sensitive young Muslim and joined Government College, Lahore, for higher studies. At that time it was clear that the glory of Islam was fast becoming a matter of past history. The Ottoman Empire was in the process of breaking up. The Chinese and Central Asian Islam had already been absorbed in the Chinese Nationalist Empire and Tsarist Russia. The Muslims were gradually being driven out from Eastern Europe. Iran was collapsing. Egypt was controlled by the British. France was preparing to seize Morocco.

The Muslims of India had given up all hope of regaining their lost freedom after the events of 1857. Under the British they had been reduced to a minority of one hundred million people. The Indian National Congress had been formed in 1885 and gradually the Hindu majority was acquiring more and more favour with the British. Initiative had been snatched away from Muslim hands and they lived like an old man in the past and were perpetually on the defensive.

In this condition of utter despair the Indian Muslims turned towards the movement for Islamic solidarity. This movement was called the Pan-Islamic movement and it was led by Jamal ud din Afghani. Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Afghani's vision of Islamic solidarity.

Iqbal went through a traumatic experience by moving from a nationalist to a universalist. He himself admitted in an interview with a representative of the Bombay Chronicle, 17 September — 31 December 1931, during the Round Table Conference in 1931, that during his student days he was a staunch nationalist, but a change came in his ideas later on. He wrote:

"There is no doubt that my ideas about Nationalism have undergone a definite change. In my college days I was a zealous Nationalist which I am not now. The change is due to a maturer thinking."⁷⁴

Iqbal, however, differentiated between Pan-Islamism and Islamic universalism. Islam being a universal religion does not have a nationalism of its own. Iqbal states:

"Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."⁷⁵

Iqbal was very sensitive to the fast moving changes in his milieu. One can discover a broad division of three main phases in his thought: First, Pan-Indian nationalist phase up to 1905: second, Pan-Islamist phase, up to 1926, and the third may be de-scribed as the Pakistan nationalist phase, in which he synthesised his religious Pan-Islamism of the second phase with the modern territorial nationalism.

For study of the first phase we have *Bang-i Dara* and poems posthumously collected in different anthologies. For the second phase we have the whole of the third part of *Bang-i Dara* (1924). *Asrar-i Khudi* (1914), *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* (1918), *Payam-i Mashriq* (1923) and his Urdu and English letters, speeches and statements during this period. For the third phase, we have *Zabur-i 'Ajam* (1927), [Six Lecturers on] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (1928), first published in 1930 ; "Khushal Khan

⁷⁴ B.A. Dar, Letters and Writings of Iqbal, pp. 58-59.

⁷⁵ Sir Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore, 1968), p. 159.

Khattak: the Afghan Warrior Poet," 1928 ; Speeches in the Punjab Legislative Assembly (1927-30) ; Presidential Address at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League (1930); *Javid Namah* (1932), "McTaggart's Philosophy" (1932) ; *Bal-i Jibril* (1935) ; *Pas Chib Bayad Kard* (1936) ; *Darb-i Kalim* (1936) ; Letters to Jinnah (1937); "Polemics with Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani" (1938), *Armughan-i Hijaz* (posthumous).

Between 1895 and 1912 Iqbal's attention was attracted by numerous subjects. In fact, he wrote on whatever moved him. He was fascinated by Nature. He wrote about "Himalah"; and expressed himself on topics like love, solitude, loneliness, etc., and wrote ghazals in the conventional style of Dagh. Between 1895 and 1905, he wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. His appeal was for union of the two communities which together formed what he thought of as one Indian nation. He desired for the extinction of bigotry and fanaticism:

<p>سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ گلستان ہمارا مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیر رکھنا ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا یونان و مصر و روما سب مٹ گئے جہاں سے اب تک مگر ہے باقی نام و نشان ہمارا</p>
--

In his poem "Naya Shivalah," he expressed the same sentiments:

<p>خاکِ وطن کا مجھ کو ہر ذرہ دیوتا ہے</p>	<p>پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے</p>
---	--

Thus in this phase his poetry shows him as an ardent supporter of nationalism.

During this period, although he wrote poems in the satirical style of Akbar Allahabadi and poems for children, his most moving poems are those in which he bewailed the miserable plight of the Indian Muslims or lamented the sorrows of the Muslims of the Middle East involved in their bitter

struggle for independence.

This period terminates with the famous poem "Shikwah aur Jawab-i Shikwah" (The Complaint and the Answer) which was written in 1911-12. A careful selection was made and compiled by Iqbal and, alongwith some later ones, *Bang-i tiara* was published in 1924. Although the message element is non-existent in the poems of this period, the lyricism of Iqbal is captivating.

It was during this period (1895-1905) that he founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy and wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. But side by side with this trend proceeded the love for his own religio-cultural tradition which found expression in numerous exquisite poems, written in the same period, in which he spoke of the Muslims as "Tasvir-i Dard" (The Portrait of Pain) or as "Nalah-i Yatim (The Sighing of an Orphan).

Iqbal went to Europe in 1905 as an ardent supporter of pan-theism, nationalism, patriotism and at the same time of Islamic solidarity. He went to Europe for higher studies and stayed there till 1908. His interests were primarily Philosophy and English Common Law. Iqbal's three years' stay abroad was divided between Cambridge, Munich and London. He studied philosophy at Cambridge, obtained doctorate on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* from Munich and was called to the Bar in London.

Iqbal was not influenced by materialistic and atheistic trends in European thought of early twentieth century. Actually it was during his stay in Europe that Iqbal became disgusted with pan-theism, secular nationalism and territorial patriotism and subsequently referred to his own pantheistic and nationalist period (1895-1905) as "my phase of ignorance and folly".

Iqbal's three years' stay in Europe helped him a great deal in the development of his thought. The libraries of Cambridge, London and those in Germany were easily accessible and Iqbal read voraciously and discussed matters with European savants and scholars. His outlook on life underwent two important changes about this time. He evinced an utter dislike for the narrow and selfish nationalism which was the root cause of most political troubles in Europe and his admiration for a life of action and struggle became more pronounced.

Besides, he had seen the forces of secular nationalism and territorial

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

Thus he developed new ideas which were in effect antithesis of his earlier political philosophy. He found the idea of nationalism as inadequate to solve the problems of humanity. The absence of religious sentiments on the one hand and the presence of hollow nationalism on the other nauseated him. Greedy and selfish competition between man and man and between nation and nation could not be the basis of a society which Iqbal was dreaming. The following lines, composed in 1907, reveal his changed attitude, in which he warned Europe in lines of prophetic vision of the abyss towards which her materialism was leading her:

دیارِ مغرب کے رہنے والو، خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو، وہ اب زرِ کم عیار ہوگا
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خود کشی کرے گی
جو شاخِ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا ناپائیدار ہوگا

[O residents of the West, God's earth is not a shop,

The gold which you are thinking to be genuine will now prove to be of low value.

Your civilization is going to commit suicide with her own dagger;

The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot but be insecure.]⁷⁶

While in London, Iqbal took active part in the nascent Muslim political movement. The All-India Muslim League was formed at Dacca in December 1906. Its London Branch with Syed Ameer Ali as President was founded in 1908. Iqbal was elected as a member of the Committee of this branch.⁷⁷

Iqbal returned to Lahore in August 1908 and joined the Government

⁷⁶ *Bang-i-Dara* (1949), p. 82. Tr. S.A. Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought* (Lahore, 1948), p. 4.

⁷⁷ S.R. Wasti, *The Political Triangle in India, 1858-1924* (Lahore, 1976), pp. 119-23.

College as a part-time Professor of Philosophy and English Literature. He started practising law. He wrote poems which he recited at the functions of Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam. He was now looking at Indian politics not as an Indian but as a citizen of the spiritual realm of Islam.

"Iqbal's political arena was the Punjab. He had to deal with the political and economic equations as they then existed."⁷⁸ But the Hindu revivalist movements, anti-Partition of Bengal movement and the activities of extremist Hindu leaders also affected his thoughts. Between 1910 and 1923 Iqbal took no active part in politics. He even refused to serve on the Khilafat Committee as he did not favour the methods adopted by the sponsors of the Khilafat Movement. He devoted himself to bringing an intellectual and spiritual revolution. Iqbal was convinced that Muslims had a destiny of their own inside as well as outside India. He realised that Islam was confronted with serious difficulties. A solution of its problems required a mustering of its own strength, the closing of its ranks and the union of its worldwide forces. Unity of Muslim countries rather than unity of different communities had now become his obsession.

Designs of European powers against Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa, particularly Italy's attack on Tripoli (1911), the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and the policies of the British Government which led to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, compelled Iqbal to revolt against this concept of militant nationalism. He himself wrote:

"Very early from the writings of the European scholars I had come to know that the basic scheme of Western Imperialism was to dismember the unity of the Muslim world by popularising territorial nationalism among its various components."⁷⁹

This disillusionment from European culture made Iqbal feel the need of seeking inspiration exclusively from his own religiocultural tradition. Loyalty to the national idea was soon to be re-placed by spiritual loyalty to the world of Islam. He had gone to Europe as a nationalist. He returned as an earnest Pan-Islamist. A deeper study of Islamic history led him to the conclusion that it was pantheism, among other destructive forces, which had killed the will to

⁷⁸ Hafeez Malik, Ed., *Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York, 1971), p. 76,

⁷⁹ 6. Syed Abdul Wahid Mu'ini, Ed., *Maqalat-i Iqbal* (Lahore, 1963), p. 222. Translated from Urdu.

act in the Muslim peoples and resulted in the decline of Islamic civilisation.

In Islam Iqbal saw action at once dynamic and responsible, creative yet never divorced from an overriding cosmic perspective and authority. He rebelled violently, therefore, against un-Islamic passivity and self-effacement. He saw Islam as fulfilling at once two social needs. On the one hand, it provided for continuity in social life through the enduring Shari'ah and the vast network of popularly engrained life ways which it guaranteed, not subject to any arbitrary alteration by single persons or even wilful groups. This continuity would provide inescapable long-term standards by which any individual could always measure himself and a dependable context in which individuals could unfold. At the same time, Islam embodied a principle of development. Though stable, the *Shari'ah* was not, in principle, static; built into it were devices which should allow it to respond to new needs as individuals proved creative and society evolved. Iqbal insisted that *ijtihad* must always remain open and that the Qur'an demanded searching individual inquiry and experiment. He tried to show, in fact, that it was precisely in Islam that originated the spirit and method of the empirical attitude and inductive inquiry, which he regarded as the key to conscious systematic progress.

From 1923 onward Iqbal became a serious and active politician. He was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council in November 1926 and remained a member of this Council till 1930. Now he had fully realised', that Hindus and Muslims could not live together because the Hindu-Muslim conflict was not merely religious. It was a clash of the civilisations of two peoples who had different languages, different literary roots, different concepts of art. Such a yawning cultural gulf was enough to destroy an affinity which the two peoples might have and to bring to nought all efforts at unity. According to him, these efforts had failed because:

"We suspect each other's intentions and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of nationalism, outwardly stimulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are

unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions."⁸⁰

At another place he stated:

"Islamic outlook on nationalism is different from other nations. Our nationalism is not based on the unity of languages, oneness of territory, or economic affinities. We belong to one family which was founded by the Holy Prophet, and our membership of it rests on common belief about the manifestations of the universe and the historical traditions which we all share together."⁸¹

In 1930, Iqbal presided over the twenty-first session of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad and delivered his famous address.⁸² In this he suggested that the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent should demand territorial specification in the form of a separate State on the basis of distinct cultural unit. He stated:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."⁸³

Dr Manzooruddin Ahmed considers this address "as a discourse on the future of Islam and the Muslim community in the Indian subcontinent."⁸⁴ Dr Waheeduz Zaman thinks that:

"Iqbal was using the word state ; not with the meaning of a sovereign independent state but as a component and constituent unit of India."⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Ed., *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore, 1977), p. 8.

⁸¹ Quoted by Parveen Shaukat Ali, *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal* (Lahore, 1978), p. 226, from Mu`ini, Ed., op. cit., pp. 119-20.

⁸² See full text in Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, 153-71 ; also in Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., pp. 3-25.

⁸³ Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., p. 10.

⁸⁴ Dr Manzooruddin Ahmed, "Iqbal's Theory of Muslim Community and Universalism," *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 9 November 1977.

⁸⁵ Waheeduz Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore, 1964), P. 132.

But the most interesting comment has been made by Dr K.K. Aziz, who states that:

"It is grossly misleading to call him the originator of the idea of Pakistan or the poet who dreamed of partition. He never talked of partition and his ideal was that of a getting together of the Muslim provinces in the northwest so as to bargain more advantageously with the projected Hindu centre. It is one of the myths of Pakistani nationalism to saddle Iqbal with the parentage of Pakistan."⁸⁶

There are others who thought of seeking a solution of Hindu-Muslim problem on the lines of division so as to get more homogeneous and compact States. In fact, Iqbal was not the first to suggest this. But it is to his credit that he was the first to suggest a homeland for the Muslims from the platform of the All-India Muslim League, which was the only representative political organisation of the Muslims of the subcontinent. After the Pakistan Resolution was passed by the Muslim League in its Lahore session on 23 March 1940, Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said to Matlub Saiyid: "Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do."⁸⁷

Iqbal has been criticised that the demand for a separate Muslim State appears contrary to the ideal of Islam as expounded by Iqbal himself. It has some validity only if we miss the keynote of Iqbal's political thought. The demand for a separate State was not based on nationalism, but on the negation of nationalism. A separate Muslim State was not to be an end itself. The realisation of this goal was merely a means for achieving the unification of the entire Muslim world. This unification, according to him, was possible either through a league of Muslim nations, or through a combination of several independent Muslim States tied to each other for purely economic and political considerations. Creation of a separate Muslim State was thus envisaged as a temporary measure. The ultimate objective was the union of this State with other Muslim States. He considered Islam more important than a strip of territory. In his address he stated: ". . . the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principles of

⁸⁶ K.K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan* (Islamabad, 1976), p. 54.

⁸⁷ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London, 1954), p. 129.

solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim."⁸⁸ On 15 December 1932, in a speech delivered before the National League, London, Iqbal stated:

"Islam does not recognise the difference of race, of caste or even of sex. It is above time and above space, and it is in this sense that mankind are accepted as brothers."⁸⁹

In a letter to Jinnah, he wrote on 20 March 1937:

"It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country [as pointed out by Mr Nehru]. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem."⁹⁰

In another letter to Jinnah he stated:

"But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. . . . For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities."⁹¹

Iqbal's image of the future of Islam is Muslim Universalism. Universal Muslim polity and translation of the canons of Islam in the practical life of the Muslim form the crux of Iqbal's thinking.

Notes and References

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HAS PUBLISHED A LARGE NUMBER OF BOOKS OF
AND ON IQBAL IN URDU, ENGLISH, PASHTO, SINDHI,

⁸⁸ Sherwani, Ed., op. cit., p. 7.

⁸⁹ B.A. Dar, op. cit., p. 76.

⁹⁰ *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, (Lahore, 1974), p. 14. Letter dated 20 May 1937.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 18-19. Letter dated 28 May 1937.

WHICH HAVE BEEN HIGHLY APPRECIATED.
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ALL THESE BOOKS IS AVAILABLE FREE ON
REQUEST.

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IQBAL ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Niaz Erfan

While going through poetical works and other writings of Iqbal, one thing that we cannot remain without noticing is that he had a deep awareness of social problems faced by Muslims in general and Indian Muslims in particular. Though volumes upon volumes have been written on all other aspects of Iqbal's thought, yet so far as I know, no writer on Iqbal has, thus far, touched upon his thinking on social problems. In this article I have attempted to pin-point those social problems which seem to have influenced Iqbal's thought and feelings. I do not claim that the article is based on the discovery of any new verses or writings of Iqbal. However, verses and writings, often quoted in other contexts, have been interpreted in a new light.

Before going headlong into the issue of Iqbal and Social Problems, let us try to get a clear idea of the term "social problems".

A renowned American sociologist, Professor Samuel Koenig of Brooklyn College, City University of New York, in his book entitled *Sociology: An Introduction to the Science of Society*, has defined the term "social problems" in these words: "They are situations or conditions which society regards as threats to its established ways or to its well-being and, therefore, needing to be alleviated or eliminated." He further says:

"What is considered a social problem by one society may not be so regarded by another. Because of changed conditions and attitudes what is thought to be a problem to-day may not have been thought to be one in the past, or *vice versa*, even in the same society. On the other hand there are social problems, which, as shown by historical records and surveys of different societies, are universal and permanent. . . . For this reason, many of the social problems of to-day are identical with those of ancient times."

Lawrence K. Frank, another sociologist, in his article on "Social Problems," published in *The American Journal of Sociology*, defined a social problem as "any difficulty or misbehavior of a fairly large number, of persons, which we wish to remove or correct". According to Harold A. Phelps, "Every society has norms of what constitutes material well-being,

physical health, mental health, and group and personal adjustment. Deviations from these norms are regarded as abnormalities and as constituting social problems." Professor John F. Cuber, of Ohio State University, in his book *Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles*, has enumerated some of the social problems which are slavery, poverty, racial or religious discrimination, caste exploitation of the underprivileged, crime, juvenile delinquency, etc.

Here let us pause and have a look at the moment in history when Iqbal was born, because no discussion on Iqbal and social problems can be fruitful unless we comprehend the political and social situation obtaining at his birth and during his lifetime. A thinker and reformer, after all, is the product of his times, not in the sense that his thinking and behaviour is mechanically caused by external and environmental conditions, but in the sense that they are the result of a conscious and voluntary response to rude conditions.

Iqbal was born in the year 1877 and it will be recalled that the tragic and traumatic event of 1857 was still fresh in the memory of the Indian Muslims. They had lost their sovereignty and independence, and were subjugated by an alien power. Muslim society had been completely shaken on account of this upheaval. In the general massacre ordered by the victorious Britishers five hundred thousand Indians, mostly Muslims, were slaughtered in retaliation for the killing of only seven thousand men of the British army, during the uprising. People were hunted in the streets. Muslims were hanged on thoroughfares and their dead bodies thrown into rivers. They were sewn in the swine's hides and burnt alive. Some of them were blown in the cannons. In Delhi twenty Muslim princes were hanged on a single day. The English army looted houses and shops. Magnificent buildings and market-places around the Red Fort were razed to the ground. The Jāmi'ah Mosque of Delhi was desecrated by the English army for full five years. During this period the mosque remained in their possession. In fact, the failure of the War of Independence and breaking down of the resistance movements had completely dispirited and demoralised the Muslims. The Hindus joined hands with the victorious rulers and persecuted the Muslims. Despair and pessimism had become the general mood. The Muslim society as a whole was passing through a period of turmoil and transformation. It gave rise to a number of social problems. As time passed these social problems continued to multiply and became more complex. To mention only a few, these social

problems were: slavery and the resultant slavish mentality, gradual alienation from Islam and weakening of faith, pessimism and negativism, Hindu-Muslim tension, exploitation of the poor Muslim peasantry by the rich Hindu money-lenders, ousting of the alien cultural and ideological influences, sectarianism and the emergence of the self-proclaimed religious Messiahs, etc., etc.

This brief survey of the political and social situation at the time of Iqbal's birth makes it abundantly clear that it was not merely by chance that during this particular period a good number of the heroes of our history, social and political reformers were either engaged in the struggle to tackle the social and political problems which had arisen in the wake of the defeat in the War of Independence, or took birth and imbibed the crusading spirit from the stalwarts of the elder generation. Maulānā Shiblī, Sayyid Aḥmad Khan, Nawāb Viqārul Mulk and Nawāb Muḥsinul Mulk belong to the first category, while Maulānā Muhammad 'Alī Jauhar, Maulānā Shaukat 'Alī, Nawāb Bahādur Yār Jang, Qā'id-i A'zam Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ and 'Allāmah Iqbal belong to the second category. It is obvious that the thinking and feelings of Iqbal were moulded and motivated by the social environments in which he opened his eyes. Had the Muslim society been free of the problems it faced, the content and tone of Iqbal's poetry as well as philosophy would have been quite different.

It is quite clear that Iqbal had not theorised on social problems. He had not directly said anything about this concept itself and the term "social problems" occurs nowhere in his prose or poetical writings. But it does not mean that he was oblivious of the multifarious social problems that infected the Muslim society of his time.

Iqbal was not a visionary. He had set before himself a goal, an ideal which permeates all his writings. This ideal was a balanced healthy life — a life not only of thought and reflection, but of practical participation in social activity. That is why that, in spite of being a celebrated poet and philosopher, he became a member and an office-bearer of a political party. He contested elections. It was he who persuaded the Qā'id-i A'zam Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ, to return to India to lead the Muslims in the struggle ahead which he foresaw. He put forward political solution to social problems. In 1930, in the course of his famous address at Allahabad he clearly advocated the idea of a

separate homeland for Muslims in India. Some people might wonder at a philosopher and a poet doing all this. But Iqbal's behaviour becomes quite plain when we realise that his aim was not an abstract knowledge of reality and the expression of impracticable transitory moods, but his ideal was a balanced healthy life which is possible only in a healthy society. In other words, he was a social reformer though he never called him-self as such.

Iqbal's concept of an ideal Muslim society is derived from the Holy Qur'ān, as he has himself said in a verse:

نہیں تو می خواہی مسلمان زیستن	نیست مکن جز بہ قرن زیستن
-------------------------------	--------------------------

[If you want to live like a Muslim,
it is not possible without the Holy Qur'an.]

The concrete and practical demonstration of the concept of an ideal individual life and of Muslim society is to be found in the pattern which was set for us by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) through his personal example and the society which he personally organised, supervised and guided. Maulānā Ṣalāḥuddīn Aḥmad has rightly pointed out in his book *Ṣarīr-i Khāmab* (Volume I), that "according to Iqbal the touchstone to find out the impurities in social life is provided to us by the Holy Qur'ān and *Sunnab*."

It is in the light of this concept of an ideal Muslim society that we can understand and appreciate Iqbal's thinking on social problems. After this introductory discussion let us now take up one by one the social problems on which Iqbal has expressed himself either in verse or prose.

(1) *Sectarianism and Parochialism*. One of the foremost social problems which from the very beginning attracted Iqbal's attention was sectarianism. It was the major factor in the downfall of Muslim States and the disintegration of Muslim society everywhere. Iqbal was aware of the dangers inherent in sectarianism and, therefore, warned Muslims against them in a number of verses, e.g.:

وا نہ کرنا فرقہ بندی کے لیے اپنی زبان	چھپ کے بیٹھا ہوا ہنگامہ محشر یہاں ⁹²
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⁹² Sayyid ki Lauḥ-i Turbat", *Bāng-i-Darā*, p. 42.

[Do not use your tongue for sectarianism,
there are terrible dangers hidden in it.]

یہ وہ پھل ہے کہ جنت سے نکلواتا ہی آدم
کو⁹³

شجر ہے فرقہ آرائی، تعصب ہے ثمر اس کا

[Sectarianism is a tree and prejudice is its fruit,
one which causes the expulsion of Adam from heaven.]

Addressing the moon in his poem "Hilāl-i 'īd" he says:

اپنی آزادی بھی دیکھ ان کی گرفتاری بھی دیکھ⁹⁴

فرقہ آرائی کی زنجیروں میں ہیں مسلم اسیر

[Muslims are bound in the shackles of sectarianism,
just see your freedom and their bondage.]

In the eighth canto of the poem "Mehrāb Gul Afghān Ke Afkār" Iqbal
condemns sectarianism, parochialism and tribalism:

کہ امتیازِ قبائل تمام تر خواری

یہ نکتہ خوب کہا شیر شاہ سوری نے

کہ ہر قبیلہ ہے اپنے بتوں کا زناری⁹⁵

ہزار پارہ ہے کہسار کی مسلمانی

[Sher Shāh Sūrī has taught us this good lesson
that the tribal discrimination leads to humiliation.
Islamic society in the mountainous regions is broken up
into small factions as each tribe worships its own idol of tribalism.]

⁹³ "Taṣwīr-i Dard," *ibid.*, p. 70.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁹⁵ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 180.

(2) *Orthodoxy*. Orthodoxy and narrow conservatism was another social problem which stunted the growth of Muslim society. In a number of poems Iqbal has taken note of this problem. Often he satirises the *Mullā* who is an embodiment of orthodoxy, conservatism and narrow-mindedness, as, for example, the poem "Mullā Aur Bahisht" in *Bāl-i Jibrīl* and poems entitled "Ijtihād," "Mullā-i Haram" and "Tauhīd" included in *Darb-i Kalim* are all subtle satires against the "dry-as-dust" approach to Islam of the *Mullā*. Iqbal had these people in mind when he wrote:

آئینِ نو سے ڈرنا طرزِ کہن پہ اڑنا
 منزل کٹھن یہی ہے قوموں کی زندگی میں⁹⁶

[The most difficult stage in the life of nations

is the fear of the new order and sticking to the old ways of behaviour.]

(3) *Liberalism*. From what has been said in the preceding paragraph it will be wrong to conclude that Iqbal was a liberalist or that he wanted to throw overboard all the old values which have been transmitted to us through the true '*Ulamā*' of Islam. In fact, he considered liberalism as a social problem that appeared in the Indian Muslim society as a fashion imported from the West. He considered it even more dangerous than orthodoxy and conservatism. This is perhaps the only problem which has been directly discussed at length in the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. In the sixth lecture entitled "The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam," Iqbal writes:

"We heartily welcome the liberal movement in modern Islam: but it must also be admitted that the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical moment in the history of Islam. Liberalism has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration, and the race-idea which appears to be working in modern Islam with greater

⁹⁶ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 191.

force than ever may ultimately wipe off the broad human outlook which Muslim people have imbibed from their religion."⁹⁷

In his poetical works also Iqbal has taken cognizance of this social phenomenon. He terms liberality of thought as an "invention of satan". He warns that liberalism of thought is dangerous for those who have no originality. He has written a poem entitled "Āzādī-i Fikr" in which he says:

رکھتے نہیں جو فکر و تدبر کا سلیقہ	آزادی افکار سے ہے ان کی تباہی
انسان کو حیوان بنانے کا طریقہ! ⁹⁸	ہو فکر اگر خام تو آزادی افکار

[Liberalism of thought brings destruction to those who do not possess originality of thought.

It is a way to turn men into beasts if it is immature.]

(4) *Modernism*. This leads us to the consideration of an allied social problem, viz. modernism, which Iqbal disapproves in a number of his verses. According to him, modernism and blind imitation of the West have robbed us of the moral values which were our distinctive feature as Muslims. He writes:

حیاتِ تازہ اپنے ساتھ لائی لذتیں کیا کیا رقابت، خود فروشی، ناشکیبائی ہوس ناکی ⁹⁹

[Modern living has brought with itself strange consequences.

It has brought jealousy, abject submission, impatience and lust.]

He ridicules the modernist tendency in the following humorous verse:

⁹⁷ *Reconstruction*, pp. 162-63.

⁹⁸ *Darb-i Kalīm*, p. 74.

⁹⁹ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 252

100 نئی تہذیب کے انڈے ہیں گندے

اٹھا کر پھینک دو باہر گلی میں

[Throw out into the street

the eggs of modern civilisation as they are bad and rotten.]

Iqbal believes that Muslims will lose their identity and individuality in blindly following the Western ways. People who show so much enthusiasm and raise the slogan of modernism are actually using this device as a cover for their apish mentality.

تقلید سے ناکارہ نہ کر اپنی خودی کو

کر اس کی حفاظت کہ یہ گوہر ہے یگانہ

لیکن مجھے ڈر ہے کہ یہ آوازہ ت جدید

مشرق میں ہے تقلیدِ فرنگی کا بہانہ!¹⁰¹

[Do not render useless your ego ;

you must guard it as it is a unique jewel.

I am afraid this cry for modernism

is a pretext for blindly following the West.]

(5) *Adoption of Western Culture.* Iqbal's concern was to save Indian Muslims and Muslims living in other Eastern countries from the onslaught of the Western culture. Common people did not realise that Western civilisation was on the decline and that it was unwise to welcome it in the East and be subjugated by it:

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 335.

¹⁰¹ *Darb-i-Kalim*, p. 170.

زندہ کر سکتی ہے ایران و عرب کو کیونکر

یہ فرنگی مدنیت کہ جو ہے خود لبِ گور!¹⁰²

[How can the Western culture revive Iran and the Arab countries;
it is itself at the verge of its end.]

In his poems "Maghrabī Tandhib" and "Mard-i Afrang," both included in *Darb•i Kalim*, he terms Western culture as a perversion of feeling and thought. For example, he says:

فسادِ قلب و نظر ہے فرنگ کی تہذیب
کہ روح اس مدنیت کی رہ سکی نہ عقیف¹⁰³

[Western civilisation is a perversion of the feeling and thought,
the soul of this culture could not remain chaste.]

Iqbal wanted Muslims to preserve their own cultural heritage, and not to suffer from any sense of inferiority on that account:

دیکھے تُو زمانے کو اگر اپنی نظر سے
افلاک منورہوں ترے نورِ سحر سے

اغیار کے افکار و تخیل کی گدائی
کیا تجھ کو نہیں اپنی خودی تک بھی رسائی¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp, 120.21.

[Even heavens may be illuminated by the fresh morning light
emanating from within you,
only if you develop your independent point of view...
You are borrowing thoughts and ideas from the aliens.
You seem to have no access to your own individual self.]

In the whole poem "Iblis Kā Farmān Apne Siyāsī Farzandon Ke Nām" in *Ḍarb-i Kalīm*,¹⁰⁵ Iqbal's diagnosis of the downfall of uslims is cultural subjugation to the West, and above all the fact that they have been robbed of the "Muhammadan Spirit" (روح محمد).

(6) *Slavery and Servile Mentality*. In Iqbal's view slavery and the resultant slavish and servile mentality among the Muslims was highly deplorable and the root cause of many other social problems. A large number of verses contain references to this social malady. In fact, the number of poems and verses written by Iqbal on this topic and a couple of other topics far exceeds the number of poems and verses written on any single topic. Why does not he champion the cause of freedom of the Human Ego? Freedom of Human Ego is not just a philosophical theory for him. This was also his political and social creed. He had closely observed the devastating effects of the British imperialistic rule in India. He was particularly dismayed at the deep-rooted and incorrigible servile and slavish mentality that had crept into the minds of Indian Muslims. People at large were devoid of moral courage and self-confidence. They had lost the initiative and zest which are to be found among people of free nations. Furthermore, it led to isolationism, individualism and selfishness and a sense of inferiority. How beautifully has Iqbal described, in the following verse, the difference caused in human life by slavery on the one hand and freedom on the other:

بندگی میں گھٹ کر رہ جاتی ہے اک جوئے کم آب
اور آزادی میں بحرِ پیکراں ہے زندگی¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 148.

¹⁰⁶ *Bānga-i-Darā*, p. 293

A shallow rivulet is further narrowed down by bondage,
and life in freedom is like a limitless ocean.]

Iqbal has written a long Persian poem entitled "Bandgī Nāmāh" (On Slavery), wherein he has painted a grim picture of the state of bondage and slavery. He has effectively depicted the harm it causes to an individual and to society as a whole:

از غلامی روح گردد بارِ تن	از غلامی دل بمیرد در بدن
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از غلامی بزمِ ملت فرد فرد ¹⁰⁷ ابن و آن با این و آن اندر نبرد	
--	--

[In slavery the heart dies within the body,
and spirit becomes a burden upon the body.

On account of slavery society is disintegrated into individuals
and everybody is at war with everybody.]

In his poem "Mashriq-o Maghrib" in *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, he diagnoses the cause of the ills prevalent in the Eastern countries as slavery and imitation of the ways of the Western countries.

Iqbal's lengthy poem "Dar Bayān-i Funūn-i Laṭīfah-i Ghulāmān" (On the Fine Arts of the Slaves) brings out the truth that fine arts of the slave nations are decadent, pessimistic, retrogressive and negativistic. For example, he says:

من چه گویم از فسونِ بندگی	مرگِ با اندر فنونِ بندگی
همچو میل افتد بدیوار حیات ¹⁰⁸	نغمهٔ او خالی از نارِ حیات

¹⁰⁷ *Zabūr-i Ajam*, pp. 248-49.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[How difficult I find it to describe the evil caused by slavery?

The fine arts of the slaves contain in them deaths.

The music of the slaves is devoid of the fire of life,
and it demolishes the wall of life just like flood-water.]

He further says in the same poem:

از تنِ بے جاں چه امیدِ بهی	در غلامی تن ز جاں گردد تہی
آدمی از خویشتن غافل رود ¹⁰⁹	ذوقِ ایجاد و نمود از دل رود

[Slavery saps life from the body.

What hope of any good can you have from a lifeless body?

Heart is robbed of inventiveness and initiative,
man becomes oblivious of himself.]

Similarly, in the poem "Madhhab-i Ghulāmān" (Religion of the Slaves), he declares that the religion practised by the slave nations is devoid of real faith. Prayer is a routine affair, mechanically repeated. They pay mere lip service to the centre of their devotion and worship. The worship of the mighty and the powerful becomes their creed:

انگبینِ زندگانی بد مذاق	در غلامی عشق و مذهب را فرق
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تا بدن را زنده دارد جاں دہد	دین و دانش را غلام ارزاں دہد
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¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 257.

گرچہ بر لبِ ہائے او نامِ خداست	قبیٰئہ او طاقتِ فرمانِ رواست
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از غلامیٰ ذوقِ دیدارے مجوے	از غلامیٰ جانِ بیدار مجوے ¹¹⁰
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[In slavery there occurs a duality between love, i.e. inner experience and religion,

the syrup of life turns bitter... .

A slave is ready to sell off both his faith and intelligence at a cheap price.

He is ready to give up even his spiritual self in order to keep the body alive.

Although he utters the name of God, yet in reality he pays homage to the might of the ruler... .

Do not expect the slave to possess the taste for communion with God, and do not expect him to have a spirit awake to higher experiences.]

On the contrary, Iqbal praises the "Arts of the Free People". These are life-giving and inspire confidence in us. He invites the reader to closely observe and ponder over the creative activity of the free people. In such a case, according to Iqbal, the reader will himself discover in these arts characteristics quite different from those of the slave nations. These arts do not effeminate the observer. They infuse in the observer the masculine qualities:

یک زمان با رفتگان صحبت گزین	صنعتِ آزاد مردان بہ ہیں
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سنگہا با سنگہا پیوستہ اند	روزگارے را بآنے بستہ اند
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¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 258-60.

در جہانِ دیگر اندازد ترا	دیدنِ او پختہ تر سازد ترا
از ضمیرِ او خبر می آورد	نقش سوئے نقش گرمی آورد
در دلِ سنگِ این دو لعلِ ارجمند ¹¹¹	ہمتِ مردانہ و طبعِ بلند

[For a while take yourself to the company of the distinguished ancestors, you will have a glimpse of the arts and crafts of the free people... .

How gracefully they have fitted stone with stone;

They have created Time with moments.

The sight of these pieces of art inspire you with strength and take you to a different realm.

A look at the artistic creation points to the Creator and gives you an idea of the Creator's mind.

Courage and dignity are the two high traits, which have been imprinted in stone.]

A strange and lamentable manifestation of servile mentality among Muslims was the tendency in quite a large section of the so-called '*ulamā*' to interpret the Qur'ān to suit the wishes of the alien rulers. According to Iqbal, it was highly abominable:

اسی قرآن میں ہے اب ترکِ جہاں کی تعلیم
جس نے مومن کو بنایا مہ و پرویں کا امیر

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 262..

تھا جو 'نا خوب' بتدریج وہی خوب ہوا
کہ غلامی میں بدل جاتا ہے قوموں کا ضمیر¹¹²

[The Holy Qur'an which teaches a Mu'min to be sovereign even to the planets

has been interpreted to contain teachings for the renunciation of the world... .

Slavery corrupts the mentality of nations to such an extent

that whatever was originally right has now been declared as wrong.]

Iqbal uses very strong language in condemning this opportunism in his poem entitled "Ijtihād"

ان غلاموں کا یہ مسلک ہے کہ ناقص ہے کتاب
کہ سکھاتی نہیں مومن کو غلامی کے طریق¹¹³

[These slaves are of the view that the Holy Book

is deficient as it does not teach a *Mu'min* the manners of slavery.]

At another place he deplores opportunism in these words:

کرتے ہیں غلاموں کو غلامی پہ رضامند
تاویل مسائل کا بناتے ہیں بہانہ¹¹⁴!

[Under the pretext of interpreting the religious issues

they prepare the slaves to be reconciled to slavery.]

Slavish and servile mentality was also observable among artists, i.e. the

¹¹² *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

painters and the poets Iqbal was equally vehement in expressing his disapproval in their case. He wanted them to show originality in their artistic creations and not to imitate the style of the Westerners. For example, he says:

کس درجہ یہاں عام ہوی مرگِ تخیل
ہندی بھی فرنگی کا مقلد، عجمی بھی¹¹⁵

[Originality of imagination has died away to such an extent that the Eastern people, Indians and Iranians both, have turned into blind imitators of the Westerners.]

In another poem he writes thus:

تاثیرِ غلامی سے خودی جس کی ہوئی نرم
اچھی نہیں اس قوم کے حق میں عجمی لے!¹¹⁶

[Non-Arab style is not good for a nation whose ego has been softened under the influence of slavery.]

Iqbal's spirit revolted against this state of affairs. In fact, he was ashamed of being born in an enslaved country where people had no urge for freedom:

لیکن مجھے پیدا کیا اُس دیس میں تونے
جس دیں کے بندے ہیں غلامی پہ رضا مند!¹¹⁷

[O God! You caused me to take birth in a country where people are reconciled to slavery.]

Iqbal was deeply concerned over the ideological confusion found among

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 123.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

Muslims, which came as a result of a long period of slavery:

دل توڑ گئی ان کا دو صدیوں کی غلامی
دارو کوئی سوچ ان کی پریشاں نظری کا¹¹⁸

[Think of some remedy for their ideological confusion,
two hundred years of slavery has broken their spirit.]

The ultimate result of this servile attitude was the loss of identity:

ہوئی ہے زیرِ فلک اُمتوں کی رسوائی
خودی سے جب ادب و دیں ہوئے ہیں بیگانہ!¹¹⁹

[When literature and religion of a nation both lose the originality
and egohood,

it leads to the humiliation of the nation]

خودی کی موت سے مشرق کی سر زمینوں میں
ہوا نہ کوئی خدائی کا رازداں پیدا!¹²⁰

[Due to the death of egohood among the Eastern nations
no genius discoverer of Divine secrets was born.]

All this is due to the ravages of imperialism which has its own baits and
temptations to entrap the weak nations:

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 55.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 98.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.99.

خواجگی میں کوئی مشکل نہیں رہتی باقی
پختہ ہو جاتے ہیں خوئے غلامی میں غلام!¹²¹

[There remains no obstacle in the way of imperialism
as the slaves become confirmed in the habit of slavery.]

(7) *Western Education*. One of the necessary evils — and somehow it became a social problem — which come in the wake of foreign rule, was what came to be called Western education, that is, the system of education enforced by the British rulers in India. It would be wrong to assume that Iqbal was opposed to any modifications in the age-old educational system prevalent among Indian Muslims. However, he foresaw the social effects of Western education, specially its effects on the mediocre minds — and society is composed mainly of mediocre minds. Western educational system in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was notoriously devised by Lord Macaulay to achieve certain imperialistic objectives which were good according to the moral code of the rulers. Fortunately for the rulers and unfortunately for the Indian Muslims, quite a large percentage of students who received education under this system acquired atheistic tendencies and a contempt for Eastern and Islamic culture. Quite a few Muslim leaders had sincerely and in good faith supported the Western educational system as they hoped that Muslims would obtain certain economic benefits by it. But, in exchange of whatever economic benefits accrued, Muslim society had to pay a heavy price in the form of the loss of certain values. Iqbal expresses these views in a poem "Ta'lim Aur Us Ke Nata'ij" (Education and Its Consequences):

ہم سمجھتے تھے کہ لائے گی فراغت تعلیم
کیا خبر تھی کہ چلا آئے گا الحاد بھی ساتھ!¹²²

[We believed that education, i.e. Western educational system, would
bring prosperity;

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 145.

¹²² *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 233.

little did we know that it would entail atheism.]

Iqbal, no doubt, conceded that education imparted under an alien system did enable the Muslim young men to earn their living but they were, more often than not, robbed of their faith. These views are contained in a poem entitled "Firdaus Men Ek Mukālamah" (A Dialogue in Paradise):

جب پیرِ فلک نے ورقِ ایام کا اُلٹا
آئی یہ صدا پاؤگے تعلیم سے اعزاز!
آیا ہے مگر اس سے عقیدوں میں تزلزل
دنیا تو ملی طائرِ دیں کر گیا پرواز!¹²³

[When the heavens turned over the leaf of days,

a voice was heard saying: "O, you will get worldly honour through education;

but as a result of this an upheaval has taken place in the beliefs:

in other words, you have gained the world, but the bird of faith has flown away.]

In another poem he further explains his viewpoint on this issue:

عصرِ حاضرِ ملکِ الموت ہے تیرا جس نے
قبض کی روح تری دے کے تجھے فکرِ معاش!

مدرسے نے تری آنکھوں سے چھپایا جن کو
خلوتِ کوہ و بیاباں میں وہ اسرار ہیں فاش!¹²⁴

¹²³ Ibid., p. 276.

¹²⁴ *Darb-i Kalim*, pp. 82-83.

[Modern age is like the angel of death, which has taken away from you your soul by giving you the worry for earning a livelihood... .

Those secrets which had been concealed from your sight by the school can be discovered by meditation on mountains and in wilderness.]

Female education, otherwise so essential, was also yielding undesirable results. Iqbal has pointed out this serious social problem through humour in *Bāng-i Darā*:

ڈھونڈ لی قوم نے فلاح کی راہ	لڑکیاں پڑھ رہی ہیں انگریزی
وضع مشرق کو جانتے ہیں گناہ	روشِ مغربی ہے مدنظر
125 پردہ اٹھنے کی منتظر ہے نگاہ	یہ ڈراما دکھائے گا کیا سین؟

[Girls are learning English.

The nation has thus discovered the way to its salvation.

People now aim at Western fashions

and consider the Eastern culture as sinful.

All eyes are now watching for the raising of the curtain;

Let us now see what scene of this drama appears on the stage.]

جس علم کی تاثیر سے زن ہوتی ہے نازن
کہتے ہیں اسی علم کو اربابِ نظر موت

بیگانہ رہے دیں سے اگر مدرسہ زن
ہے عشق و محبت کے لیے علم و ہنر موت¹²⁶

[A knowledge which takes away feminine qualities from women is considered fatal by the men of insight.

Sciences and arts taught in female educational institutions, where there are no arrangements for religious instructions, are ruinous for inner life of real love.]

Iqbal considered the so-called liberal education imparted under the Western educational system as an intrigue against the Muslims. He has pointed out this fact in a poem entitled "Din-o Ta'lim" (Faith and Education):

اور یہ اہلِ کلیسا کا نظامِ تعلیم
ایک سازش ہے فقط دین و مروت کے خلاف¹²⁷

[This system of education devised by alien Christian missionaries is an intrigue against faith and morality.]

According to Iqbal, the Western educational system has not only robbed Muslims of faith and morality but has also deprived them of certain social values which were the peculiarity of the Muslim East. For example, the teacher was always held in the highest esteem among the Muslims. But since the Western educational system has infused into the minds of students a materialistic and commercial outlook, the age-old sacred teacher-student relationship has deteriorated into a shopkeeper-customer relationship:

تھے وہ بھی دن کہ خدمتِ اُستاد کے عوض
دل چاہتا تھا ہدیہ دل پیش کیجیے

¹²⁶ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 95.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

بدل زمانہ ایسا کہ لڑکا پس از سبق
 کہتا ہے ماسٹر سے کہ ”بل پیش کیجیے“¹²⁸

[There were times when students were ready to offer

even their hearts, i.e. the most cherished possessions, in return to the service of the teacher.

But now times have changed to such an extent that after the lesson is over,

the student asks his teacher to present his bill for payment.]

Iqbal was aware of the fact that the Western educational system was an unavoidable and necessary evil. Muslims could either accept it as such or have to go without it altogether; the latter course being even deadlier for the future of Muslim Society. So in this predicament the question that arose in Iqbal's mind was whether there was any remedy against the ill effects of this system, Yes, there was one — strong faith. Only strong faith could shield the Muslim youth against the devastating ill effects of the alien educational system. In his poem "Jāvīd Se" (To Jāvīd) he says:

جوہر میں ہو لا الہ تو کیا خوف	تعلیم ہو گو فرنگیانہ! ¹²⁹
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[Even if one studies under the Western educational system,

there is no risk of any harm, provided faith in one God is imbedded in the very nature of a man.]

(8) *Alienation from Islam and Weakening of Faith.* Gradual alienation from the teachings of Islam and weakening of faith was a chronic social problem in the Muslim society, particularly in India. This phenomenon can be traced back to the period ensuing the *Khilāfat-i Rāshidab*. This tendency continued to grow imperceptibly during the centuries in various Muslim lands. But in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent the process started notably in Akbar's reign.

¹²⁸ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 327.

¹²⁹ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 86.

Proclamation by Akbar of the so-called *Dīn-i Ilābī*, a hotchpotch of elements borrowed from Islam, Hinduism Christianity and Zoroastrianism, to win for himself the allegiance of the greatest number, was the beginning of the drift away from the purity of Islam. The problem became quite serious during the British rule. One of the avowed but unpublicised objectives of the educational system introduced by the Britishers was that when Muslim young men completed education in the recognised schools and colleges, they might not become Christians, but they would not remain Muslims either. This system was showing wonderful results for the rulers. It soon became a fashion with a great majority of Muslim students completing their education in the colleges to doubt and sometimes even to challenge the fundamentals of Islam. Iqbal took note of this social problem quite early in his poetic career. Poems and verses lamenting this state of affairs are to be found in all his collections, which shows that he remained concerned about this issue throughout his lifetime:

دیکھ مسجد میں شکستِ رشتہ تسبیحِ شیخ
 بتکدے میں برہمن کی پختہ زناری بھی دیکھ
 کافروں کی مسلم آئینی کا بھی نظارہ کر
 اور اپنے مسلموں کی مسلم آزادی بھی دیکھ¹³⁰

[(O moon), look ! in the mosque the binding string of the rosary of the priest has broken;

but on the contrary in the temple the Hindu priest's faith has been strengthened.

Also observe non-Muslims practising principles of Islam and Muslims torturing their fellow Muslims.)

In the long poem entitled "Jawāb-i Shikwah" Iqbal has ascribed the downfall of the Muslims to atheism, disregard of the Qur'an, non-observance of the duties and of the *Sunnah* of the Holy Prophet as also to a number of other social evils:

¹³⁰ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 200.

ہاتھ بے زور ہیں، الحاد سے دل خوگر ہیں
امتی باعثِ رسوائی پیغمبر ہیں¹³¹

[Hands are weakened and the hearts have become accustomed to atheism.

The followers bring bad name to the Prophet, i.e. by the violation of the principles laid down by him.]

کون ہے تارکِ آئینِ رسولِ مختار؟
مصلحت وقت کی ہے کس کے عمل کا معیار؟
کس کی آنکھوں میں سما یا ہے شعارِ اغیار؟
ہو گئی کس کی نگہ طرزِ سلف سے بیزار؟
قبل میں سوز نہیں، روح میں احساس نہیں
کچھ بھی پیغامِ محمد کا تمہیں پاس نہیں!¹³²

[Who has renounced the ways laid down by the Holy Prophet?

Who has made opportunism the criterion for his actions?

Who has developed a liking for the ways of the non-Muslims?

Who has started disliking the manners of his ancestors?

(The implied answer is, Muslims)

Hearts are devoid of warmth and souls are devoid of feelings,

You have no regard for the message of the Holy Prophet.]

واعظِ قوم کی وہ پختہ خیالی نہ رہی
برقِ طبعی نہ رہی، شعلہِ مقالی نہ رہی

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 222.

¹³² Ibid., p. 225.

رہ گئی رسمِ اذان، روحِ بلالی نہ رہی
 فلسفہ رہ گیا، تلقینِ غزالی نہ رہی
 مسجدیں مرثیہ خواں ہیں کہ نمازی نہ رہے
 یعنی وہ صاحبِ اوصافِ حجازی نہ رہے¹³³

[The priest lacks in the strength of convictions,
 there is no force in his nature, nor is there any warmth in his sermon.
 The *adhān* has turned into a ritual, devoted of the Bilāhan spirit;
 there is only philosophising left while Ghazālī's counsel has gone.
 Mosques lament the decreasing number of the people coming to offer
 prayers;
 in short, pure Islamic traits have vanished from the character of
 Muslims.]

ہر کوئی مستِ مئے ذوقِ تن آسانی ہے
 تم مسلمان ہو، یہ اندازِ مسلمانی ہے؟
 حیدری فقر ہے، نے دولتِ عثمانی ہے
 تم کو اسلاف سے کیا نسبتِ روحانی ہے
 وہ زمانے میں معزز تھے مسلمان ہو کر
 اور تم خوار ہوئے تارکِ قرآن ہو کر!¹³⁴

[Everyone among you Muslims is dead drunk with the wine of lithargy.
 Are you really Muslims ? Is this the way the Muslims ought to conduct
 themselves?

¹³³ Ibid., p. 225.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 227.

You lack the *faqr* of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī and the wealth of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān. You have no spiritual connection with your ancestors.

They were respected in the world for being Muslims,
whereas you are looked down upon for renouncing the Holy Qur'an.]

Sometimes Iqbal finds the state of affairs so desperate that he cries out:

صفیں کج دل پریشان سجدے بے ذوق
کہ جذبِ اندروں باقی نہیں ہے ¹³⁵

[The queues—of Muslims—are curved ; their hearts are confused, and their prayers are spiritless.

All this is because there is no internal warmth and religious fervour left in them.]

Iqbal finds this tendency to ignoring the true teachings of Islam present in every field of life. He says:

تمدن، تصوف، شریعت، کلام	بتانِ عجم کے پجاری تمام!
حقیقت خرافات میں کہو گئی	یہ اُمتِ روایات میں کہو گئی!

بجھی عشق کی آگ اندھیر ہے!	مسلمان نہیں راکھ کا ڈھیر ہے! ¹³⁶
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[In culture. in mysticism, in Sharī'ah and in dialectic philosophy,
there is imitation of non-Arab — alien — traditions.

The reality of religion has been lost in absurdities,
and this Ummah has become entrapped in unwanted traditions...

¹³⁵ *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 120.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

How sad it is that the fire of Divine love is extinguished and
Muslims have become just a heap of ashes.]

At a stage alienation from Islam took the form of secularism adopted as a political and social creed in the West. It came as a fashion to Muslim countries, but it was fraught with dangers for them. Iqbal warned them of a number of social problems created by secularism, particularly in the political field in a poem entitled "La-dīn Siyāsat" (Secular Politics).

Iqbal's advice to Muslims is:

¹³⁷ پیوستہ رہ شجر سے امید بہار رکھ! رکھ	ملت کے ساتھ رابطہ استوار رکھ
--	------------------------------

[O Muslim ! keep your ties with the Islamic *millat* intact.

You should remain attached to the tree — of your mil at — and hope that someday there again will be spring for the tree — and it will bear fruit.]

(9) *Nationalism*. The first half of the present century saw nationalism becoming the most popular political creed. It spread from Western countries to various lands in the East. Muslim countries fighting for independence from foreign rule found nationalism the most effective weapon in their struggle against imperialism. However, beyond a certain limit it clashes with the international and universal spirit of Islam. Nationalism is recommended by Iqbal only as a transitory measure and strategy. He writes:

"For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics.... It seems to me that pod is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."¹³⁸

How prophetic these words have proved now when we see the Muslim

¹³⁷ *Bāng-i- Darā*, p. 280.

¹³⁸ *Reconstruction*, p. 159.

world moving in the direction indicated by Iqbal! But at the time when Iqbal was writing these lines, nationalism was considered by far the only sensible political ideal to be pursued. But from the broader point of view of Islam it has a tendency to divide whereas Islam aims at unifying at least the Muslim world. That is why Iqbal was opposed to nationalistic outlook. It created social problems one way or the other in the Muslim countries. In Muslim India it culminated into a religio-political thinking which saw in a united India, rather than in Pakistan, the solution of the problems facing Muslims. The root cause of nationalism is attachment to homeland which Iqbal decried in the following verses in the poem named "Waṭaniyāt" (Theory of Attachment to Homeland):

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے
 جو پیرہن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے
 یہ بت کہ تراشیدہ تہذیبِ نوی ہے
 غارت گرِ کاشانہ دینِ نبوی ہے

ہو قیدِ مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی
 رہ بحر میں آزادِ وطن صورتِ ماہی

اقوامِ جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
 تسخیر ہے مقصودِ تجارت تو اسی سے¹³⁹

[Among the new gods the greatest is the "motherland".

Its dress is the shroud for religion.

¹³⁹ *Bāng-i-Darā*, pp. 173.74.

This idol which has been shaped by the modern civilisation has a tendency to disintegrate the Islamic family created by the Holy Prophet...

The result of the narrow local loyalties is nothing but ruin.

You should be free of local and territorial attachments just like a fish which moves freely in the ocean.. .

Rivalries among nations of the world is due to nationalism.

and also it is due to it that some nations secretly aim at the subjugation of other nations under the cover of trade.]

Then Iqbal tries to correct the mistaken thinking regarding nationalism by declaring it as a disintegrating force while the cementing force is Islam:

قوم مذہب سے ہے، مذہب جو نہیں، تم بھی نہیں
جذبِ باہم جو نہیں محفلِ انجم بھی نہیں¹⁴⁰

[Nation is in reality based on religion ; without it a nation is nothing.

If there is no mutual gravitational force working in the stars, they cannot be bound into a system.]

He further says in *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*:

ایں نکتہ کشائندہ اسرارِ نہاں است
ملک است تنِ خاکی و دینِ روحِ رواں است¹⁴¹

[This point exposes the hidden secret that

a country is just like a body, while faith — religion — is like its soul.]

According to Iqbal, the dichotomy between State and religion is the creation of the wrong notion once prevalent among the Western people that

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 223.

¹⁴¹ *Zabūr-i 'Ajam*, p. 117.

body and mind were two separate entities:

نگاہش ملک و دین را ہم دو تا دید ¹⁴²	بدن را تا فرنگ از جاں جدا دید
--	-------------------------------

[Since the Westerners considered body separate from mind,
hence they believe State and religion to be different from each other.]

(10) *Capitalism and Feudalism*. Islam is anti-capitalist and antifeudalist in spirit. It discourages the exploitation of the downtrodden. The life of the Holy Prophet shows how much regard he had for the labourer. On many an occasion, we are told, the Holy Prophet worked with ordinary labourers. It was he who said:

"Pay the wages of the labourer before the sweat on his forehead dries up." Unfortunately the capitalist order somehow became firmly established in most of the Muslim countries. Iqbal found Muslim States adopting or having had already adopted capitalistic and feudalistic economic system. Conscious of the ills accompanying capitalism, Iqbal expressed his disapproval for adopting it:

جاننا ہوں یہ امت حاملِ قرآن نہیں
ہے وہی سرمایہ داری بندہٴ مومن کا دین
جاننا ہوں میں کہ مشرق کی اندھیری رات میں
بے یدِ بیضا ہے پیرانِ حرم کی آستین¹⁴³

[I know that this *Ummah* has ceased to uphold the teachings of the Holy Qur'an,

even a *Mu'min* has faith in capitalism.

I know that in this dark night in the East

the Muslim priests do not possess the shining hand, i e. inner light.]

¹⁴² Ibid. ("Gulshani-i-Raz Jadid"), p. 217.

¹⁴³ *Armughān-i Hijāz (Kulliyāt-i Iqbal Fārisī)*, p. 654.

At the time when Iqbal was writing his poetry, the country, specially Muslim majority areas, were not industrialised. There-fore capitalism existed in the form of feudalism. Feudal lords exploited the poor peasants. Iqbal condemns feudalism in the most forceful words:

جس کھیت سے دہقان کو میسر نہ ہو روزی اُس کھیت کے پر خوشہ گندم کو جلا دو ¹⁴⁴
--

[Burn every ear of wheat of the farm.

from which a farmer does not get his subsistence.]

اور یہ بسہ دار بے زحمت	پی گیا سب لہو اسامی کا ¹⁴⁵
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[The feudal lord

has sucked the blood of his poor tenant.]

Iqbal has taken note of the social problems attendant on capitalism, feudalism and exploitation of the poor, in a number of poems. For example, he pleads for social change in the poems "Punjāb Ke Dehqān Se"¹⁴⁶ (To the Peasant of the Punjab) and "Punjāb Ke Pīrzādon Se"¹⁴⁷ (To the Pīrzādahs of the Punjab) and in the poem "Punjābī Musulmān"¹⁴⁸ he has exhorted the Punjabi Muslims, mainly farmers and workers, to wake up and change the existing unjust social order. He asks them to break the shackles of the feudalistic system. Not only that, he appeals to Muslims to get rid of the old customs which are remnants of capitalistic-feudalistic social set-up:

بتانِ شعوب و قبائل کو توڑ	رسومِ کہن کے سلاسل کو توڑ ¹⁴⁹
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¹⁴⁴ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 149.

¹⁴⁵ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 333.

¹⁴⁶ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 204.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

¹⁴⁸ *Darb-i Kalīm*, p. 58

¹⁴⁹ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 204.

[Break the idols of tribalism
and shatter the chains of old customs.]

Iqbal's opposition of capitalism and feudalism was traceable to his firm faith in the just social and economic order based on the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān. The basic postulate of the Islamic economic order, derived from the Holy Qur'ān, is contained in the following verse of Iqbal:

حکمِ حق ہے لیس للانسان الا ما سعی
کھائے کیوں مزدور کی محنت کا پھل سرمایہ دار¹⁵⁰

[God commands that "There is nothing for a man except that for which he has striven."

Therefore why should a capitalist eat the fruit of the hard work of a labourer?]

(11) *Communism and Socialism*. Iqbal took note, both in prose and verse, of what in future was going to become a social problem and was to create some other problems in the Muslim world, i.e. communism and socialism. In the lecture entitled "Is Religion Possible?" he writes thus:

"Both nationalism and atheistic socialism, at least in the pre-sent state of human adjustments, must draw upon the psycho-logical forces of hate, suspicion, and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man and close up his hidden sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of medieval mysticism nor nationalism nor atheistic socialism can cure the ills of a despairing humanity."¹⁵¹

Iqbal was closely watching the impact of the experiment of atheistic socialism being carried out in Russia. Large Muslim areas in Central Asia had already been inundated by the onrushing flood of that ideology. It did not only change the economic order, which it originally promised to do — and had it done only that it might have been welcome there — but it went much beyond the promised limits. It changed the very social structure, which, ipso

¹⁵⁰ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 335.

¹⁵¹ *Reconstruction*, pp. 188-89.

facto, involved a major change in the religious and moral code.

The study of Iqbal's poems like "Lenin Khudā Ke Ḥudūr Men,"¹⁵² "Ishdirākiyat,"¹⁵³ "Karl Marix Ki Awāz,"¹⁵⁴ and "Bolshevik Rus"¹⁵⁵ do indicate the poet's admiration for certain good points in socialism and communism which resembled certain teachings of Islam. From these poems we further learn about Iqbal's judgment that the economic ideals of socialism were better than those of capitalism. However, Iqbal stresses the point that the ideology and economic programme given by Islam was the best and, therefore, sufficient for Muslims:

¹⁵⁶ اللہ کرے تجھ کو عطا جدتِ کردار	قرآن میں ہو غوطہ زہ اے مردِ مسلمان
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[O Muslim ! you should dive into the Holy Qur'an,
may God bless you with originality of action.]

(12) *Persecution of Muslims by Non-Muslims*. A social problem which greatly influenced Muslim society was their persecution at the hands of non-Muslims. In the case of Hindus the chief form of persecution was untouchability. Hindus treated Muslims as impure and contemptible. Iqbal, in the beginning of his career as a poet and philosopher, took for granted the Indian nationhood for Muslims and worked for it. But the daily demonstration of the ingrained and incorrigible hostile Hindu attitude of the Hindus for Muslims and their culture, their murderous attacks on Muslims, arsen and looting of Muslim property by them and disputes over the cow-slaughter, forced Iqbal, as later on it was to force the Qā'id-i A'zam also, to change his views on Hindu-Muslim harmony and co-existence. He found the solution of this social problem in a separate homeland for Muslims in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Muslims were not persecuted by Hindus alone. The British rulers also had a grudge against them and, therefore, discriminated against them in services and in economic opportunities. It appears there was an implicit understanding between the alien rulers and Hindus leaders. They

¹⁵² *Bal-i Jibril*, pp. 141-47.

¹⁵³ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 138.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

joined hands in humiliating and harming the Muslims. This conspiracy has now clearly been exposed after the confessions of Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy in India, about his nasty role at the time of the creation of Pakistan. Iqbal's prophetic vision had discovered the conspiracy long ago. He expressed his concern at the persecution of Muslims at the hands of the non-Muslims in the following verses:

غدارِ وطنِ اس کو بتاتے ہیں برہمن
انگریز سمجھتا ہے مسلمانوں کو گداگر!
پنجاب کے اربابِ نبوت کی شریعت
کہتی ہے کہ یہ مومنِ پارینہ ہے کافر!¹⁵⁷

[The Brahmins call the Muslims as traitors,

whereas the Englishmen treat them as mere beggars.

The code of the new prophet sprung in the Punjab (i.e. Ahmadism) describes the orthodox Muslims as infidels.]

(13) *Ahmadism*. Ahmadism, founded by Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad of Qadian, started as a reformative movement but as time passed it broke away from Islam to become a separate religious community in the lifetime of its founder. The movement soon developed into the most painful social problem for the Muslim society in India, since, in reality, according to the unanimous verdict of the '*Ulamā*' of all sects of Islam, Ahmadism did not qualify to be included in the fold of Islam, but its exponents insisted on calling themselves Muslims and labelling Muslims as non-Muslims. Severe controversies raged round religious matters which were settled and regarding which there was no difference of opinion. In some cases families were divided on account of conversion of one or more members to the new faith. If only either husband or wife was converted to Ahmadism the problem became all the more complicated and painful. The founder of the community had ordained, that an Ahmadi girl cannot be married to a non-Ahmadi boy. However, non-Ahmadi girls were acceptable in marriage in Ahmadi families.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

Tension also arose on the founder's verdict that unflinching allegiance to the British rulers was a religious duty and that *Jihād*, always considered as a religious duty in view of clear verses in the Qur'ān, had become prohibited or *ḥarām* on the appearance of the new prophet in the person of Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad Qadiani, himself. All these pronouncements ran counter to the accepted' beliefs of the Muslims of all shades of opinion.

Iqbal realised the dangerous implications of the newly founded faith. It was mainly with this background that he discussed, at length, and offered a philosophical proof of universally accepted Islamic concept of the finality of Prophethood, in one of the lectures included in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.

Iqbal also criticised the views of the founder of Ahmadism regarding the institution of *Jihād*. Referring indirectly but clearly to the views of Ghulām Aḥmad Qadiani, Iqbal wrote:

ردِ جہاد میں تو بہت کچھل کہا گیا
تردید حج میں کوئی رسالہ رقم کریں¹⁵⁸

[Much has been written on the cancellation of *Jihād*,
now let him write a tract on the denial of *Hajj*.]

In a poem entitled "Jihād," Iqbal says:

فتویٰ ہے شیخ کا یہ زمانہ قلم کا ہے
دنیا میں اب رہی نہیں تلوار کارگر

باطل کے فال و فر کی حفاظت کے واسطے
یورپ زرہ میں دوب گیا دوش تا کمر!

ہم پوچھتے ہیں شیخ کلیسا نواز سے
 مشرق میں جنگ شر ہے تو مغرب میں بھی ہے شر
 حق سے اگر غرض ہے تو زیبا ہے کیا یہ بات
 اسلام کا محاسبہ، یورپ سے درگزر؟¹⁵⁹

[The Shaikh — i.e. Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad Qadiani — has given the verdict that this is the age of the pen,

and that now sword has become ineffective in the world...

Europe has been fully armed from top to toe

for the protection of the greatness of the forces of evil.

We ask the old man supporting the Christian doctrines:

if war is evil only in the East, must it not be evil in the West too ? If he really says what is true, is it right on his part that

he should criticise Islam but ignore the wrongdoings of Europe?]

Iqbal knew that these teachings were intended to discourage Muslims all over the world fighting for their independence. In plain words, these teachings aimed at persuading the Muslims to acquiesce in the state of bondage.

The bond of Islam brings about unity among Muslims of various castes and racial groups. But the new faith weakened the unity of the Muslim society and Iqbal considered it highly objectionable.

ہے زندہ فقط وحدتِ افکار سے ملت
 وحدت ہو فنا جس سے وہ الہام بھی الحاد!

¹⁵⁹ *Darb-i Kalim*, pp. 22-23.

مسکینی و محکومی و نویدئی جاوید
جس کا یہ تصوف ہو اسلام کر ایجاد¹⁶⁰

[The *Millat* is alive only on account of the unity of thought.

A revelation — here the reference is to the claims of Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad — which destroys unity, is atheistic.

You better invent a faith in which mysticism
brings meekness, servitude, and eternal pessimism.]

In another poem entitled "Imāmat" (Religious Leadership) Iqbal says:

فتنہ ملت بیضا ہے امامت اس کی
جو مسلمان کو سلاطین کا پرستار کرے¹⁶¹

[The religious leadership of a man who persuades Muslims
to pay allegiance to kings, is catastrophic for the Islamic *Millat*.]

Here, again, the reference is to the views preached by Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad that those Muslims who were not loyal to the British rulers were violating a religious injunction. Iqbal has delineated upon the social perils involved in the claim to prophethood for himself by Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad in the poem "Ilhām-o Āzādī" wherein he writes:

محکوم کے الہام سے اللہ بچائے
غارِ گرِ اقوام ہے وہ صورتِ چنگی¹⁶² ز

[May God save us from the revelation of a slave;

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 51.

it is as ruinous for nations as the ravages of Chingiz.]

Similarly, in another poem captioned "Nabuwwat" (Prophet., hood) he writes:

وہ نبوت ہے مسلمان کے لیے برگِ حشیش
جس نبوت میں نہیں قوت و شوکت کا پیام¹⁶³

[A prophethood which does not deliver the message of strength and glory

is like the leaves of hashish which opiate.]

We find verses on this social issue in a number of other poems e.g. "Mahdi,"¹⁶⁴ "Punjabi Musalmān,"¹⁶⁵ "Azādī,"¹⁶⁶ etc., which shows how deeply Iqbal was concerned over the social problems created by Ahmadism.

(14) *Pessimism and Negativism.* The cumulative result of all the social problems which afflicted Muslim society, specially in the subcontinent, was a deep sense of frustration and pessimism. Our poetry and literature mirrored this mood or else it induced an escape from the painful situation through fairy tales. The tragedy was that our artists as well as the so-called Messiahs accentuated this mood. Thus pessimism and negativism became social problems.

Iqbal condemned this attitude in artists when he wrote:

عشق و مستی کا جنازہ ہے تخیل ان کا
ان کے اندیشہٴ تاریک میں قوموں کے مزار!¹⁶⁷

[Their thinking serves a death-blow to true love and ecstasy,
in their dark ideas are hidden the tombs of nations.]

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 128.

We find verses on the same theme in Iqbal's other poems, e.g. "Shi'r-i 'Ajam,"¹⁶⁸ "Shā'ir,"¹⁶⁹ "Surūd-i Ḥarām,"¹⁷⁰ etc. In "Surūd Ḥarām," he writes:

اگر نوا میں ہے پوشیدہ موت کا پیغام
حرام میری نگاہوں میں نائے و چنگ و رباب!¹⁷¹

[If they contain in their tunes the message of death,
then, in my eyes, the flute, the lute and *rubāb* are *ḥarām*.]

Similarly, in the poem captioned "Funūn-i Laṭīfah (Fine Arts)" he says:

شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنی کا نقص ہو
جس سے ہو چمن افسردہ وہ بادِ سحر کیا!¹⁷²

[Whether it is the poems written by a poet, or songs sung by a singer,
if it saddens the garden, i.e. society, it is no morning breeze.]

Iqbal exhorts Muslims not to lose hope and confidence. They should be optimistic and continue their struggle. He wants them to have faith in their energies:

اپنی اصلیت سے ہو آگاہ اے غافل کہ تو
قطرہ ہے، لیکن مثالِ بحرِ بے پایاں بھی ہے!
کیوں گرفتارِ طلسمِ ہیچِ مقداری ہے تو
دیکھ تو پوشیدہ تجھ میں شوکتِ طوفان بھی ہے!¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 127.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.,

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁷³ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 213.

[O you, who are oblivious of yourself, become conscious of your real nature,
you are a drop but you possess the depth of a fathomless ocean too.
Why are you shackled by the magic of a sense of being a nonentity?
Look, there is hidden in your own self the grandeur of a storm.]

Iqbal is not dismayed and discouraged at the temporary phase of trials and tribulations:

کب ڈرا سکتا ہے غم کا عارضی منظر مجھے
174 ہے بھروسا اپنی ملت کے مقدر پر مجھے

[The temporary scene of gloom cannot frighten me,
I have trust in the bright future of my *Millat*.]

یاس کے عنصر سے ہے آزاد میرا روزگار
175 فتح کامل کی خبر دیتا ہے جوشِ کارزار

[My life is free from the element of pessimism,
the fury of the battlefield foretells of the eventual victory.]

The poem "Asirī"¹⁷⁶ (Imprisonment) imparts a lesson to Muslims not to lose heart on account of slavery. It may rather be turned to an advantage. Look, the drop of rain, entrapped in the shell, becomes a pearl, and a drop of blood, enclosed in the pouch of a musk deer, becomes musk.

Iqbal's poem entitled "Ṭulū'-i Islam' (The Dawn of Islam) carries the message of hope and confidence for Muslims. For example, he says:

مسلمان کو مسلمان کر دیا طوفانِ مغرب نے
تلاطمِ ہائے دریا ہی سے گوہر کی سیرابی

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 217.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 85.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 286.

عطا مومن کو پھر درگاہِ حق سے ہونے والا ہے
شکوہِ ترکمانی، ذہنِ ہندی، نطقِ اعرابی¹⁷⁷

[The fierce storm blowing from the West has turned Muslims into staunch Muslims.

A pearl is nurtured by the storms in the ocean.

God is once again going to bestow upon the *Mu''min*
the Turkish glory, the Indian intellect and Arab eloquence.]

In the same poem he further says:

کتابِ ملتِ بیضا کی پھر شیرازہ بندی ہے
یہ شاخِ ہاشمی کرنے کو ہے پھر برگ و پر پیدا!¹⁷⁸

[The scattered leaves of the book of the Muslim *Millat* are again going to be bound together in order.

This tree of the Hashimite Prophet — Muslim *Millat* — is again going to bear fruit.]

(15) *Iqbal's Solution of Social Problems*. Iqbal's poetry and philosophy were like beacon of light in the dark night of despondency which engulfed Muslims in India and elsewhere. He himself said:

ترے لیے ہے مرا شعلہ نوا قندیل!¹⁷⁹

[The spark of my song is a candle for you.]

He did not just lament over the multifarious social, political and economic problems, that had spread a pall of gloom over the Muslim society. He also showed them a way out. Through his philosophy and poetry he

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 304.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 305.

¹⁷⁹ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p, 93.

pointed out to Muslims the direction in which they must move if they wanted to achieve their goal and made it abundantly clear that they must possess certain positive individual and national traits in order to get rid of the state of affairs. It was clear that Iqbal desired them to be ready to play the role of leadership among the nations of the world, whenever the opportunity came — and Iqbal's seer-like vision foresaw this opportunity occurring in not very distant future.

سبق پھر پھر صداقت کا عدالت کا شجاعت کا
 لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا¹⁸⁰

[O Muslim ! learn once again the lesson of Truthfulness, Justice and Bravery;

You are going to be entrusted with the leadership of the world.]

Iqbal wanted Muslims to acquire the traits of dignified poise, self confidence, selflessness, initiative, strong convictions, freedom from the fear of death, simplicity, the habit of meditation, etc., because all these traits go to make a person a real *Mu'min* or *Mujāhid* — Iqbal's ideal man.

Only a society composed of such men of character can be free of social problems and can ultimately qualify itself to play the leading role in the world.

وہی زمانے کی گردش پہ غالب آتا ہے
 جو ہر نفس سے کرے عمرِ جاوداں پیدا¹⁸¹

[Only he overpowers the rotation of time
 who can create an eternal life in every breath.]

¹⁸⁰ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 307,

¹⁸¹ *Ḍarb-i Kalim*, p. 99.

RECENT ADVANCES IN SCIENCE AND IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF LIFE AND DEATH

Lieut.-Colonel (Rtd.) K.A. Rasbid

Introduction. In this article I shall be dealing mainly with biochemistry and bio-physics, as I feel the days of philosophy are over and the noumenal world and the phenomenal world have become more closely related, interconnected and inter-transferable. It has now become easy to discern the similarity between the two. The details of this relationship, which were hitherto unknown to philosophers, are now being discovered with more precision, and, as we have arrived in the computer age, philosophical imaginings have become volatile. Physics has discovered the philosophical aura in electromagnetic waves and in vibrations of atomics and radioactivity.

The bio-chemists of today are the alchemists of old. Each one has been trying to prolong life in his own way: the bio-chemist by working on the genetic code and the alchemist by seeking the elixir! But life is not worth prolonging unless it is worth living. It appears that in olden days — in the time of Noah — life was in-deed worth living, as people lived for longer periods. The pleasures of life have indeed dwindled gradually and life has acquired a short span.

It has now been proved that the individual cells of living being have a blueprint of the entire human being and the genes which are the smallest part of a chromosome are capable of rejuvenating by assimilation. The genetic code has first to be translated into the “albumin language”. This code is a physiological script recently discovered in the chromosomes which lays bare a programme of life and death. This indicates the human, capacity for renewal. This programme includes the materialisation of consciousness.

It has also been discovered that all the living forms of life are radiating with energy. In short, they are vibrating in different wave-lengths which depict their function. The entire human body is surrounded by an aura which has now been photographed. It has been found that man is enclosed in an envelope of invisible forces. This aura changes in colour and in intensity

according to its emotional and physical state.¹⁸²

Not only man but all forms of life in this universe are an ordered and controlled creation manipulated in an electromagnetic field. This can be measured and recorded with precision. They form a pattern for every living being which is unchangeable and every time it is renewed it assumes the same shape as the original pattern, The Holy Qur'ān has categorically stated that the creative power of God has created man on a set pattern which is unchangeable. This pattern is particularly interesting in the case of man. It was previously assumed that all the cells of the human body are turned over and renewed every ten years. But it has now been found that the proteins of the human body are being turned over every six months, and in some organs of the human body even earlier! This electrodynamic field of the human body serves as a matrix or a mould which we have called the pattern and it does not change shape even when the cells are being renewed. They fall in the same pattern just as iron filings form the same pattern every time they are poured over the magnetic field. Although science has proved this to be renewing every six months, the Holy Qur'ān clearly indicates this renewal taking place every day! It says:

“And those in the solar system and the earth ask of Him (of their survival). (Say:) Every day He is in a new state (of glory).”

This verse clearly indicates a renewal of form, which may not be perceptible to the naked human eye. This is going on all the time. And this life, which is ever changing on this planet, is not isolated from the rest of the universe, but is a part of it and is influencing and affecting the life of other beings in different ways. Animals and plants are also controlled by the same electrodynamic field and are thus an integral part of the universe and are hence subject to the same universal laws (*taqdir*). “Plants nourish man and animals, animals feed on each other, so when we remember that we should starve without sunlight from some ninety-three million miles away, it is not hard to accept that we were subject to the other great force of space.”¹⁸³

It is most interesting to see that against the universal law (*taqdir*) man has invented spiritual laws (*qismat*) to satisfy his appetite for the Unknown which

¹⁸² Johannus V. Battler, *Journey to Eternity*, London : Neville Spearman, 1975.

¹⁸³ Harold Saxton Burns, *Blueprints of Immortality*, London: Neville Spearman, 1972.

comprises mostly fiction and fables ! Man has failed to understand that this creation is the work of a Beneficent and Benevolent God, and nothing but good prevails here. All evil and pollution is of man's making. In spite of this, man believes his views about *qismat* to be true. Haunted houses, ghosts and evil spirits are of man's own imagination sprung out of his primitive religion of magic and taboo. The strangest paradox is that man, being a rational knowledgeable being, lingers on to such intellectual fraud! These spiritual laws have one set of meaning in the Western world and another in the Eastern world. The truth of this is that they are both confused. This attitude is so foolish that it cannot be considered even as a recreational pastime. The only reason these ideas arise is to satisfy the appetite for the urge to know the unknowable, which is unknowable. Hence any search for it will lead to confusion and fantastic tales based on lies which an honest man cannot confirm. "Nature is reluctant to reveal its secrets to the intellectually arrogant."¹⁸⁴ It is for this reason that the Holy Qur'ān has discouraged such pursuits in several places. In one place it says: "And follow not of that which thou hast no knowledge. Surely, the hearing, the sight and the heart, of all these it will be asked." It is a clear indication for them to be aware of listening to ghost stories and clairvoyance demonstration!

The Vibration Theory of Creation. We have been talking of vibrations, electromagnetic and electrodynamic waves in the process of creation and prevalent in this universe. These are not new ideas, but have lingered in the mind of man quite for some time. The following quotation will be of interest to the student of religion, science and philosophy, which has been taken from the eighth letter of Ḥaḍrat Mullā Shah's Maktūbāt (b. 1072/1661):

”آدم ب سر مقصود و آن چه گفتم و مضمون آن را بتو معلوم کردم حقیقت بجز اینست که آن متموج گشته یعنی بر سر موج زدن آمده، وقتیکه موج زده موج تو شدی مثلاً و دیگر زمین شد و دیگر آب شد دیگر هوا شد و دیگر آتش شد دیگر آسمان شد.“

It may be rendered into simple English as follows:

“I have come to the conclusion, and whatever I have said, the meaning of this has been made clear to you. The truth is nothing beyond this:

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.,

that that started to vibrate, that is, it forced out its wavelength and the moment the waves spread, one of them became you, and the other the earth, and yet the next turned into water, and the other became air and still another became fire and yet another turned heavens (solar system).”¹⁸⁵

In the eleventh letter of his *Maktūbāt*, Ḥaḍrat Mullā Shāh talks of sound patterns in terms of *wāḥ-i hayūlā* (آوازِ ہیولی), that is to say that when God Almighty created the pattern of this universe, it was enveloped in sound waves which were vibrating and congenially condensing to assume different forms. I have al. ready discussed elsewhere,¹⁸⁶ that this sound was the sound of *hū* (هو) — He, which was vibrating, and condensed to form a glowing mass of clouds (دخان) from which the universe emerged, and later separated after cooling and contracting. Says the Holy Qur'an:

“Do not those who disbelieve see that the heavenly bodies and the earth were closed up. So We rent them asunder. We made from water everything living. Will they not then believe?” (xxi. 30).

Two things are now clear from this: first, the solar system was one mass which cooled and contracted and broke off to occupy space and became the cosmos ; and, secondly, as the mass cooled it gave off vapour which came down in the form of rain, and from this rain-water life was created. Modern bio-chemistry has proved that life was created out of water and modern cosmology also has confirmed that the cosmos was a glowing mass which cooled and contracted and broke off to form the various galaxies.

“In our own day and generation, brain waves, heart waves, concomitants of nervous impulses of muscle contraction and of glandular activity have filled the literature with a great deal of exceedingly important information.”¹⁸⁷ This entire discussion will recall that biology has taken over from philosophy ! In modern times the electrodynamic theory of life was developed by Dr F.S.C. Northrop of Yale.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Persian Manuscript.

¹⁸⁶ “Qurānic Cosmogony,” *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 5 September 1976.

¹⁸⁷ Burns, op. cit.

¹⁸⁸ S.H. Burt and F.S.C. Northrop, *Quarterly Review of Biology* (1935), 10 : 322-33.

The Human Brain. The human brain is the seat, the control and the transformer of total vibrations in the human body. It must be realised that the localisation of brain function is not yet complete. But when completed it will be found that the brain not only controls all the physical movements of the bodily organs, but also emotions and extra-sensory or supra-sensory perceptions. The quality of these vibrations is electromagnetic and is function-ally dynamical. Such vibrations pervade the atmosphere and have the capability of emanating and transforming even what is called astral aspects of the human body. Telepathy and premonitions are part of the brain which remain dormant and undeveloped in individuals not prone to such practices. The brain is a transformer for these vibrations which are usually called the spirit or the soul, and the astral projection is also a part of the brain function. But unless and until the localisation of the functions of the brain is completed, it will be futile to discuss the problem any further. But suffice it to know that in the present scientific age everything is offering a scientific explanation by experimental methods which are verifiable, or could be verified in the very near future.

A very interesting and significant aspect of such experiments was discussed in a very high conference held in 1971 in Bijurakan in the U.S.S.R. to discuss extra-terrestrial intelligence.¹⁸⁹ In this conference some very important decisions were obtained from Soviet scholars, which may be briefly stated as follows. Civilisation' similar to earthly civilisation did exist in the universe, but necessarily anthropomorphic, yet technically man advanced. This civilisation of ours, therefore, is not unique. Contact between two civilisations was possible. It was possible that the progress of technology on any planet could stop, either due to "self-destruction" or as a result of some "cosmic catastrophe," or "possible owing to a change in the philosophy of a form of life that does without technology."¹⁹⁰

It is now confirmed that technology has progressed on earth so much that we can send and receive signals up to a tance of a hundred light years! Even the Russians have invented computers to decipher signals in code. These new methods of communication have brought out the discovery of the LASER (Light Amplification of Stimulated Energy Radiation) and

¹⁸⁹ Buttler, op. cit

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

MASER (Microwave Amplification of Stimulated Energy Radiation). Even telepathy is being considered as a means of interstellar communications. It is supposed to do away with electromagnetic methods, but it is again overlooked that these telepathic waves are emanating and projecting from the brain. The speed of thought which is emerging from the brain is much greater than the speed of light!

A lot of work has also been done on parapsychology in recent years parallel with natural sciences, such as physiology, biology and bionomics. It is now considered that extra-sensory perceptions like telepathy, clairvoyance and premonitions are similar faculties which lie dormant or latent in man, unless they are developed and utilised, by realising and appreciating the force with which the brain is vibrating. "Many indications show that in olden times man possessed strongly masked ESP faculties that have gradually been lost without an increasingly technological environment. But every now and then these faculties crop up again in individual cases."¹⁹¹

ESP is frequently seen to exist in animals and birds. This is evidenced by the fact that many a time when a calamity like an earthquake or fire is apprehended the animals like dogs and birds come to know about it beforehand and even leave the locality. The Holy Qur'ān says in one place that they are species like your-selves: "And there is no animal in the earth, nor a bird that flies on its two wings, but (they are) communities (species) like your-selves" (vi. 30). They are, therefore, endowed with the same faculties of self-preservation of which premonitions are more prominent in them than man who has other faculties also to pre-serve himself. These birds and animals are not only endowed with human instincts, but they also have their own languages and methods of remembrance (prayers). Says the Holy Qur'ān again: "Seest thou not that Allah is He Whom do glorify all those who are in heaven and earth, and the birds with wings outspread? Each one knows its prayers and its glorification. And Allah knows of what they do" (xxiv. 41).

I have mentioned this in passing to illustrate that birds and animals are species like human species. In fact, I would not be far wrong if I said that I see human caricatures in them all!!! They may have been human communities in the past, but due to their evil actions they received punishment. After all

¹⁹¹ Ibid

we have a clear instance of a community being turned into monkeys: “So when they revoltingly persisted in that in which they had been forbid-den, We said to them: Be (as) apes disposed and hated” (vii. 166). I am surprised that this verse of the Holy Qur’ān was never brought to the notice of Darwin, otherwise he would have perhaps reversed his theory of evolution of man from monkeys! However, this cannot be denied that the faculty of ESP is most prominent in animals and birds and lies dormant in man unless developed.

Mechanism of Communication. The premonitions and telepathic communications originate from brain cells in the form of vibrations which establish contact with future events through a pattern which is forming and which they understand and interpret. Up till now, “all telepathic radiations are unrecognised source of energy”.¹⁹² But this energy exists in the form of vibrations which I have described above at some length. The brain, I have said, is a kind of transformer for this energy which can project itself out.

The human body is created on a pattern of extreme excellence, which is unchangeable. Each organ is composed of cells of respective tissues. There are 60,000 billion cells in the human body! It is estimated that 500 billion cells of some type die every day and are being renewed. The intake of food regenerates them, and the excreta which issues forth from the holes of the human body is the waste product of the body resulting from the metabolism of body tissues.

The vibrations of communication emanate from the brain and are known as electromagnetic waves. These have been measured and mapped.¹⁹³ It is also now established that “atomic fission has shown that matter—once considered 'solid' — can sometimes be converted into waves of energy.”¹⁹⁴ It is this wave of energy which I consider to be the soul or spirit. These fields of electromagnetic waves are emanating not only from the human body, but from every leaf of the trees and wings of birds and other animals.

Universal Organisation. “This Universe is the product of organisation, not chance.”¹⁹⁵ Hence there must be an organiser. If there was no Creator this

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Edward Russell, *Design and Destiny*, London : Neville Spearman, 1973,

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

world would not have continued to exist for long. It must, therefore, have a plan of organisation. This Planner and Organiser is Allah, the Great Supreme Organiser. This leads the modern scientific researches to formidable conclusion. "As the matter in the earth is a part of the original matter of the Universe, so life on earth is part of the original life of the Universe."¹⁹⁶ There is evidence before us that Nature is no fumbling hobbyist.¹⁹⁷ Says the Holy Qur'an: "Our Lord! Thou halt not created this (cosmos) in vain" (iii. 191). And says He again: "Do you think We have created you in vain, and that you will not be returned unto Us?" This hobbying is not an attribute of the Creator, but man considers this world as a playground and this life as jest. Says the Holy Qur'ān again: "And the life of this world is but a sport and play". And finally it says: "We did not create the heavens and the earth and that which is between in sport" (xliv. 38).

A very pertinent question has been asked by a Western writer: "Where did the earth get its raw material to evolve?" I have discussed the answer to this question in my article: "Qur'ānic Cosmology".¹⁹⁸ And I have also mentioned some details about it above under my theory of vibrations. It is a very vital question to which an answer must be sought before proceeding any further to study the organisation of this earth.

We have said above that a process of self-renewal is going on in body tissues, and it is estimated that after every six months the entire proteins of the body are replaced with new proteins and the tissues are renewed. Not very long ago it was thought that these tissues are renewed every ten years and a new being appears. The interval has now been reduced to six months, but, as I have stated, according to the Holy Qur'ān, this renewal is taking place every moment. This change is so rapid that it is imperceptible, but the most amazing phenomenon is that the original pattern remains the same. There is no alteration except when man advances in age and certain features change due to fair decay relaxing the surface tissues. While the tissues are changing in advancing age, they are communicating with each other. That is to say, each cell communicates with the other through electromagnetic vibrations. This process continues in the brain cells also and in thought and

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ See footnote 5 above.

memory. Thought stimulates thinking with the aid of memory, and this circuit is completed by constant communication. Western scholars do not agree with this idea of mine. Edward Russell says: “Nobody has ever found one molecule chatting with one another.”¹⁹⁹

In 1958, while I was in London studying at the Royal Army Medical College, I was looking at a specimen of stools under the microscope. I suddenly came across a colony of giardia lamblia which presented to me a most fascinating sight. I watched them very carefully. This organism resembles the face of man. It has a mouth, a pair of eyes and ears and has a beard. I saw very clearly that some of them would recognise a passerby and stop to talk to him. And if anyone was not acquainted with the passerby he would quietly swerve aside and leave his path. I was extremely thrilled by their behaviour and I wrote a detailed letter to the late Maulānā ‘Abdul Mājid Daryābādī in India who published it in his weekly *Šidq*.²⁰⁰ This episode clearly indicates that the cells or molecules do communicate with each other, and one day, like the genetic script, a molecular language would be discovered and re. corded in the instruments to be invented. This script and language would disclose secrets of the creative pattern. This is tantamount to saying that vibrations prevailing in the atmosphere are not only communicating with each other externally but also communicating internally between the cells of the human body. They are affecting the behaviour of everyone. They are indestructable, but interconvertable into matter.

Another very interesting thing has been recently discovered and it is the process of recording our actions in the human body. Says Edward Russell: “There is within the brain a Ganglionic record of past experiences.”²⁰¹

The main vehicles of experience in the human body are the limbs, the sexual organs, and the organs of sight, hearing, taste, touch and smell. Each of these organs are vibrating and communicating with the brain and with each other as well as with the outer world. Personally I was of opinion that this record was being maintained in brain cells in the form of tiny hairlike fibrous tapes, which would be projected as if on a TV screen to show man on the Day of Resurrection what he had been doing! An enormous portion

¹⁹⁹ Op. cit.

²⁰⁰ Šidq.i Jadīd, Lucknow (India) (1968).

²⁰¹ Op. cit,

of brain is yet unlocalised in its function, as I have already stated. When new regions of the brain are allocated their functions, new light would be thrown on this aspect of man's life. The Holy Qur'ān has a verse to show that such recording does exist: but in what form, it has yet to be discovered. Says the Holy Qur'an: "And We have made everyone's actions to cling to his neck and We shall bring forth to him on the Day of Resurrection a book which he will find wide open" (xvii. 13).

The word used here for neck is *'unuqihī*, which really indicates height. This is a clear indication that the book of actions will not be found tied to the neck, but preserved in a record stored in the brain. This is not mere imagination but supported by facts and scientific investigation. Recording of waves and vibrations has now been proved scientifically and fully established. It is a well-known fact that "thought can produce chemical changes in the silver-bromide molecules of a photographic emulsion."²⁰² Similarly, thought can record all experience suitably converted into appropriate and relevant pictures. Thoughts vibrate and act like an electromagnetic field. There is not the slightest doubt about this fact, and we have already indicated above that certain areas of the brain are linked up with the five senses of the human body.

All the vibrations and recordings are taking place in accordance with the Universal Law — the Law of *Taqdir* — the Law of Estimates, under which all established scientific laws fall. Some of these scientific laws keep changing as discoveries keep coming, thus conforming to the Universal Law. Actions do not have to wait to see the result till resurrection. The good and evil actions of man attract and dispel clouds or bring in other calamities. Action vibrations make our fate during our lifetime. Man thus moulds his destiny. Man is responsible and answerable for his own acts. He is not determined but answerable. The fatalism has ruined the character of man. The fate of the ancient people as described in the Scriptures overtook them during their lifetime after they had been duly warned. The fate of Joseph's brothers and Potifer's wife became apparent to them after a short while of their lifetime. It is law which is predestined and predetermined, but not actions. The law has been known to every living being in this creation and actions are taking place according to a set will which determines the results. Nature does not relax its

²⁰² Edward Russell, op.cit.

Universal Law of *Taqdir* for anyone, nor can man bribe, or for that matter any living being can bribe, Nature! Nature is neither “wrathful” nor “vindictive”. Everything here is for the good of man. But man does not apply brakes to his conduct and thus upsets everything!

The Pattern. We have talked about vibrations which, modern terminology, may be called electromagnetic waves. It is now established that these move at a rate of 400 million waves per second! The speed of vibrations for each sense is different, and so also is the speed of thought. This speed becomes slower as we advance in age: as, for example, our sense of hearing and of sight become deteriorated. This is due to the change in frequencies. There are patterns of vibrations within the universe on which is based the temperament of beings, colour and sound. This is unchangeable. These patterns are based on the creative power of the Almighty Who has designed each species in accordance with its purpose and environment. Even the atom has a set pattern and is a system within itself. Thus each being in this creation is self-contained. “Our feeling of ourselves resides entirely in the body, and even our spiritual emotions are deemed to rise within this shell.”²⁰³ Not to talk of individual entities, the whole creation is an amazing phenomenon. To give you an idea, “this whole solar system is but one of some 1,000 million similar systems which make up the galaxy known as the Milky Way. . . . Even this is only one of 10,000 million galaxies in the known Universe.”²⁰⁴ This gigantic creation is indeed awe-inspiring. Scientists specialising in cosmology and cosmogony are left astounded at the Creator's method of creation in which everything is vibrating, communicating, transforming and is reinterpreted through the brain to expose noumenal and phenomenal worlds.

The reinterpretation of all paranormal psychological phenomena is revealing the extra-sensory perception world, and laying bare the facts of life in a more concrete and factual way. Thus the subliminal sophisticated spiritual aspects of human belief are being converted into facts of life discernible to ordinary individuals in a more scientific manner, shedding away the spiritual garb of traditional interpretation. Even the water-diviner's twig is vibrating to locate the stream of water which is hidden from the human eye. It even locates hidden minerals in the mountains.

²⁰³ A.H. Reyner, *The Diary of, A Modern Alchemist*, London : Neville Spearman, 1974,

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

These vibrations are being “translated into action” and virtually converted into material results, just like light is converted into green matter in plants (chlorophyll) ! It is indeed a super-intelligent universe. “We need to be little more inspired in our thinking, and recognise these patterns, and many other equally fascinating are the result of programmes laid down by a superior intelligence in the noumenal world.²⁰⁵ The noumenal world like the phenomenal world is also of cosmic nature except that it is vibrating and is being translated and transformed into the phenomenal world.

The Holy Qur'an talks of this phenomenon in a more amazing way when it describes fertilisation and pollination through the aid of breeze. Says the Holy Qur'an: “And We send the winds fertilising, then send down water from the clouds . . .” (xv. 22). This verse of the Holy Qur'an will clearly indicate that not only the vibrations of the breeze are communicating, but they are also pollinating. It is translating a factual process through vibrational vehicle. Not only this, the Holy Qur'an has also a chapter on vibrations entitled, “al-Dhāriġāt” (li.) which is normally translated into English as “Scatterers”. Anyone can see that our translation is more appropriate. The opening verses of this chapter run as follows:

“By those scattering broadcast! and those bearing the load ! and those running easily ! and those distributing the affairs (orders). What you are promised is surely true. And the judgment will surely come to pass” (li. 1-6).

Do these verses of the Holy Qur'an not indicate vibrational activities in the cosmos? It clearly shows how the vibrations of different qualities are being transported and the purpose for which they are transported. It requires a clear rational mind to appreciate the pattern of programme of the Almighty and how it is working. If now, this chapter is read along with chapter lxxvii. called “al-Mursalāt,” the whole pattern will become clear. The title “al-Mursalāt” can be translated as the “Communications,” but it is normally translated as “Those Sent Forth”. I feel our translation is more to the point. After all, what is that which is sent forth? — mostly communications. This chapter relates to the vibrations communicated, and runs as follows:

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

“By those communications (sent forth), spread goodness, then those push on with a forceful pushing, and those spreading goodness far and wide, then those making a distinction, then those offering the reminder, to clear or to warn. Surely that which you are promised comes to pass.”

How are these pollens being directed to the appropriate plant? And how are these appropriate wavelengths being picked up by the receiving stations? This is the universal pattern of cosmic programme.

We have described in some detail how the pattern is projecting the vibrations which are being translated and transformed into various actions. Pollens are attracted in the manner of vaginal vibrations. There is a trigger network spread all around which is attracting the desired waves to fulfil the errand. This is happening in the emotional field as in the field of dreams, with our paranormal senses. Actually, this phenomenal world is a “pattern of rhythms” translated from the vibrations of the noumenal world! This was popularly known as the spiritual world, of which we know nothing. It is today the world of vibrations emerging from the universal pattern created by the Almighty. The creative power (*Fīṭrat Allah*) has created man on this pattern (*faṭarannās*) which is signified by the expression *faṭaran* (pattern). Says the Holy Qur’ān: “The creative power of God has made man on a set pattern” (xxx. 30). Such translations of the pattern of vibrations are taking place all over the universe and man has even acquired the knowledge of recording and interpreting such vibrations. We have already cited the examples of water-divining and mineral-divining above; such vibrations even descend from the supra-space where they are ever emanating from the echoing sound *Hū* (He). All patterns receive their vibrations from the original sound which is emanating and translating various forms of its wave-lengths to meet the requirements of creation.

In the beginning of this article, I gave a small quotation from the *Maktūbāt* (Letters) of Ḥaḍrat Mullā Shāh. It will be of interest to see that a similar thing was said a hundred years ago by the German chemist Karl von Reichenbach who believed that the “Universe was permeated by a variety of non-physical vibrations.”²⁰⁶

Now, the question arises: How does one become aware of such

²⁰⁶ Quoted in Reyner, op. cit.

vibrations? It is a matter of simple experience of one's consciousness of senses of the phenomenal world — which become related to the para-normal senses of the noumenal world, which are being translated into physical patterns. And consciousness is nothing but awareness of these facts! And the self is nothing with-out consciousness. The moment consciousness is withdrawn, man either falls asleep or dies and enters the noumenal world of vibrations. The Holy Qur'an uses the word *nafs* for the “conscious self” or “consciousness,” and in a few places for the physiological and anatomical heart. In one place the Holy Qur'an says:

“Allah takes men's consciousness (*nafs*) at the time of death, and those that die not during their sleep” (xxxix. 42).

Obviously, the word *nafs* here means consciousness as we have indicated; for, if it is meant the soul or the spirit, as is usually understood, man would die, as the soul leaves the body only at death! But here it leaves temporarily at the time of sleep. It, therefore, means consciousness, and not soul.

Time Factor. Therefore, as soon as consciousness leaves the human body, man comes into contact with the supra-normal vibrational fields which give him an inkling into the noumenal world from where the waves are translating themselves into the physical field of consciousness. This projection of consciousness into the noumenal field is in the dimension of non-physical time, which is an extension of consciousness.

Time, according to the Qur'an, is divided into three categories: (1) *Dahr*=this is eternal time of the noumenal world ; (2) *'Asr*=this is serial time or ages or periods ; and, (3) *Waqt*=this is physical time which came into existence after the creation of the solar system.

This extension of consciousness from physical into eternal time comes about through a process of withdrawal of physical vibrations, thus entering the noumenal fields. This is a communication procedure. It is also at the same time a translating and transforming procedure. Man becomes aware of such sensations as area. from his conscious awareness. And, as the pattern of everything which has happened, is happening or has yet to happen from the beginning of this creation to its end, is present in the noumenal field, it becomes easy to perceive what is going on in the patter' once consciousness becomes attuned to the noumenal field. The body on such occasions is

creating and liberating its own energy which is sending forth vibrations. This is meeting its counterpart from the cosmic pool, thus energising the whole system of give and-take. This dimension of time we have talked about is merely an extension of consciousness into supra-consciousness, thus linking up various shades of the cosmic pattern. This extension in time' also a projection into space from the physical to the noumenal thus completing the whole link. This is the field (path) on which the fore-knowledge and premonitions travel. No individual especially endowed with this faculty. It is happening with eve one. We need to keep our eyes and ears open, reflect, ponder and rationalise (Qur'an). These faculties lie within every human being, Not only that ; it is also possessed by animals and birds! Other species are, therefore, not devoid of this faculty. Even the plants are equally gifted. Consciousness makes its transit through several paths in the noumenal world and is capable of scaling all obstructions and valleys, thus producing a link of associations with the vibrating patterns.

Before I close, I would like to say a few words on the various levels of consciousness and the method in which this universe is being maintained and sustained. There are different levels of being (consciousness). These levels are attainable by everyone. This requires adherence to certain laws of self-control. These laws are identical with universal laws, which are the universal patterns of creation. It is to these levels of being to which Iqbal refers in his poetical verses. Being (the conscious self) for Iqbal is *kebudī*. Iqbal seems to think that it can conform to the pattern of *taqdir* before it takes its form in the phenomenal world. This pattern of *taqdir* its the universal pattern of creation or, in the words of the Qur'an, *fatarannās*. *Faṭaran* and *pattern* are identical words assuming different forms through a metathetical change, like *Paradise* and *Firdaus*, or as the word *Pharaoh* has developed from *Paru*, *Fara* and *Fir'aurm*! "Each world order in the hierarchy of the universe possesses its own consciousness."²⁰⁷ In modern times Ouspensky²⁰⁸ and Gurdjieff²⁰⁹ have also prescribed methods of self-control which are very vital in the achievement of higher consciousness.

I now come to a very important question which is vital to this article.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ P.D. Ouspensky, *Tertium Organum*, London : Routledge & Kogan Paul, 1957.

²⁰⁹ Gurdjieff, *All and Everything*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962.

And' it is this. How is this universe maintaining itself? After all, this universe is not dead matter. Everything here is living. Even the particles of sand have to adhere to themselves to maintain their shape. And, of course, the animal and the vegetable beings are all living beings, and require to be sustained in order to maintain their living. The universal pattern of which we have talked about is a living pattern which is full of energy and from where all energy is flowing and emanating to sustain all living beings. This universal pattern in its own turn is being energized by the universal energy which is the source of all life, and this is the Almighty Creator. It is He Who is the Creator, the Destroyer and the Sustainer of everything. This is expressed by the Arabic word *Rabb*, which means all the three, that is, Creator, Destroyer and Sustainer. Energies are being transformed to suit the requirements of nourishment of every being and they are being sustained. Says the Holy Qur'an

And (in) the variation of the night and the day and (in) the sustenance which Allah sends down from the heaven, then gives life thereby to the earth after its death and (in) the changing of the winds are signs for a people who understand” (xlv. 5).

It would be of interest to see that everything on this earth is being eaten by the one stronger than it, and in the end the earth eats them all up! Life does not end here. These bodily energies are not being wasted. They are being transformed into other forms, and would reassemble on the Day of Resurrection in this very form in which they have left. A very interesting story is related in the Qur'an about Prophet Abraham. He was doubtful about this attribute of God Almighty as to how He would raise up the dead, and he asks of God Almighty:

“And when Abraham said: My Lord, show me how Thou givest life to the dead. He said: Dost thou not believe ? He said: Yes, but my heart may be at ease. He said: Then take four birds, then tame them to incline to thee, then place on every mountain a part of them, then call them, they will come to thee flying. And know that Allah is Mighty Wise” (ii. 260).

Many people have been misled about the nature of life after death. Even

Muslim scholars (Iqbal²¹⁰) have blundered, and have stated that Hell and Heaven are “states and not localities”. This impression, according to the Qur’ānic verse just quoted above, is entirely wrong. The life hereafter is just as material as this place, except that it will be absolutely pure, devoid of all pollution and evil which is the creation of man. The same vibrations will energe to reassemble and attain the same form which will carry no physical defects.

²¹⁰ *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore: sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1960.

TENNYSON AND IQBAL

A Study in Affinities

Ahmad Hasan Qureshi

I

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, poet-philosopher of pre-independence India who died in 1938, has gained international recognition as one of the greatest poets of humanity. His fame extends to the entire Muslim world and is spreading across other lands like Germany, France, England, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States. Some years ago Columbia University Press published a study of Iqbal in which scholars from East and West paid glowing tributes to the genius of Iqbal. He is found to have a great kinship of spirit with Western poets like Dante, Milton, Goethe, and Browning. Since Iqbal's poetry is concerned with problems that transcend the barriers of race, language and geography, he will in future studies be found to have many things in common with other great poets of both East and West.

As a young man Iqbal was exposed to English poets and quite early he was rendering into Urdu verse some English poems, especially those of Cowper, Tennyson, Emerson, and Longfellow.²¹¹

As a professor at the University of the Punjab he would read passages from English poets, comment on the beauty of certain lines, and compose lines of his own to show how he would have handled the same ideas

²¹¹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing* (London, 1963), p. 329. An early monument of Iqbal's indebtedness to Tennyson is a poem entitled "Ishq aur Maut" included in his volume of Urdu poetry published in 1924 under the title of *Bāng-i Darā*. It is a poetic version of one of Tennyson's early poems, "Love and Death" published in 1833. It is a colloquy between Love and Death, which foreshadows Tennyson's mature philosophy of Love and is also in consonance with Iqbal's doctrine of Love. Addressing Death, Love says :

"Thou art the shadow of life, and as the tree
Stands in the sun and shadows all beneath,
So in the light of great eternity
Life eminent creates the shadow of death:
The shadow passeth when the tree shall fall,
But I shall reign for ever over all."

somewhat differently.²¹² He assimilated much from the philosophical thought of Persia and the West, adapted it to his own vision to which he gave expression in a poetic idiom that is startling in its originality and imaginative power. It is difficult to believe that Iqbal was unaffected by Tennyson because at the time he was growing up Tennyson was acknowledged as one of the greatest poets of the English-speaking world. This paper is an attempt to trace the affinities between Tennyson and Iqbal in that realm of thought where they courageously face the timeless problems of life and death as individuals. Both have specific ideas on the role of poetry in modern society ; both are landscape painters ; both explore the nature of the Self, God, time, and immortality; both propound a theory of moral and spiritual evolution ; and both find in the doctrine of Love the central unitive force which encompasses human life and the universe of phenomenal and transcendental Reality.

Before we examine these areas we may point out that even the casual reader of Tennyson and Iqbal can find certain similarities between the two poets. For example, both poets cast themselves in the role of prophets and have interesting things to say about the future of civilisation and the human race. Iqbal presents a glorious vision of the future of Man:

"The lustre of a handful of earth one day shall outshine
the creatures of light ; earth through the star of his destiny
one day shall be transformed into heaven. His imagination,
which is nourished by the torrent of vicissitudes, one day
shall soar out of the whirlpool of the azure sky. Consider
one moment the meaning of Man ; what thing do you ask of us?
Now he is pricking into nature, one day he will be modulated
perfectly, so perfectly modulated will this precious subject
be that even the heart of God will bleed one day at the
impact of it!"²¹³

²¹² H. Malik, Ed., *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York Columbia U. Press, 1971), p. 347.

²¹³ Arthur J. Arberry, Tr., *Javid Aroma* by Sir Muhammad Iqbal (London: George Allen &

Iqbal spoke of poetry as "the heir of prophecy,"²¹⁴ and described the function of poetry as "the fashioning of men". Tennyson concluded his In Memoriam with the prophecy of "one far-off divine event,/To which the whole creation moves".

Both regarded mystical experience as a valid mode of revelation of Truth. Tennyson was subject to mystical trances in which, out of the consciousness of individuality, his individuality itself seemed to dissolve and fade away into boundless being ; "and this not a confused state, but the clearest of the clearest, the surest of the surest, the weirdest of the weirdest, utterly beyond words, where death was an almost laughable impossibility, the loss of personality (if so it were) seeming no extinction but the only true life."²¹⁵ Iqbal did not claim to be a mystic, but his thought was steeped in sufi mysticism ; and his heart was not alien to mystical feeling:

"Rapt in its music, in evening's hush, the Ravi:

But how it is with this heart, do not ask—

Hearing in these soft cadences a prayer-call,

Seeing all earth God's precinct, here beside

The margin of the onward-flowing waters

Standing I scarcely know where I am standing."²¹⁶

Elsewhere he records experiences which have strong mystical overtones not unlike the transfiguring states described by Tennyson in "Timbuctoo," *In Memoriam*, *Idylls of the King*, and "The Ancient Sage". For illustration we may quote from Iqbal's *magnum opus*, *Javid Nāmāh*, an allegorical dream vision like Dante's *Divine Comedy*, in which Iqbal travels to the different planets and the world beyond them:

"I passed beyond the bounds of this universe

and set foot in the undimensioned world,

Unwin, 1966), pp. 26-27. 11. 174-82. All subsequent references to this title will be given in the abbreviated form, JN.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 1. 728.

²¹⁵ C.F. Masterman,, *Tennyson as a Religious Teacher* (London: Methuen & Co., 1910), p. 320

²¹⁶ V. G. Kiernan, *Pomes from Iqbal* (Translated from Urdu), (London: John Murray, 1955), p. 9

s world without both right and left,
a world devoid of night and day.
Before it the lantern of my perception dimmed,
My words died in awe of the meaning.
To speak of the spirit with the tongue of matter and clay—
It is very hard to soar in a cage !"²¹⁷

An even more vivid experience is described in the following vision:

"Suddenly I beheld my world,
that earth and heaven of mine,
I saw it drowned in a light of dawn;
I saw it crimson as a jujube tree:
out of the epiphanies which broke in my soul
I felt drunk with ecstasy like Moses.
That light revealed every secret veiled
and snatched the power of speech from my tongue."²¹⁸

Tennyson also complains about the inadequacy of speech to describe such a trance, which is hard "to frame/In matter-moulded forms of speech," and he also passes beyond the world of space and time," and whirled:

"About empyreal heights of thought,
And came on that which is, and caught
The deep pulsations of the world."²¹⁹

Iqbal observed that only in the mystical state could one come into contact with "the total passage of Reality". In such a state the "diverse stimuli merge into one another and form a single unanalysable unity in which the

²¹⁷ JN, 11. 2753-60.

²¹⁸ JN, 11. 3625-32.

²¹⁹ Christopher Ricks, Ed., *The Poems of Tennyson*, p. 947. *In Memoriam*, section not, 11. 37-40.

ordinary distinction of subject and object does not exist."²²⁰ It was not a matter of mere retirement into "the mists of pure subjectivity".²²¹ It was a moment of transcendence of the self and intimate association with a unique Other Self whereby the private personality of the self was overpowered but not obliterated.

Both poets discredited philosophy as the source of true knowledge. Whatever assurance Tennyson found for his faith did not come from the grand spectacle of the created universe or from the evidences of design in the works of Nature, "Nor thro' the questions men may try" ; he speaks of traditional philosophical schools as fragile constructs manufactured by the human mind. Iqbal is equally sceptical of reaching knowledge of Reality through the teachings of philosophers: "To bard and scholar listened I,/Philosopher to boot ; /Although their palm is proud and high,/It yields nor leaf nor fruit."²²²

Both writers were opposed to an ascetic way of life which involved renunciation of the world; they regarded service to one's fellowman as the noblest social ideal that holds the key to the salvation of the individual. Tennyson's Ancient Sage advises the young sceptical poet to "Let be thy wail and help they fellow-man. . . . And send the day into the darkened heart."²²³ Iqbal's morning star musing on its life says that if its life were dedicated to human service it would be more satisfying than a life of lonely splendour: "Let me rather be changed to a flower-falling dewdrop,/A speck in the gold dust that paints a bride's forehead,/A spark in the sigh that a wounded heart breathes."²²⁴ Later on Iqbal extended this ideal to embrace all living things: "A radiant nature glories the man of God,/to serve all God's creatures, that is his aim."²²⁵

Iqbal shares with Browning and Tennyson a feeling of the in-adequacy of speech as a vehicle for the communication of spiritually apprehended

²²⁰ Sir Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962). p. 18. Subsequently Reconstruction.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²²² A.J. Arberry, *It, Persian Psalms* (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1961) p. 115. All subsequent references to this title will be given as PP.

²²³ Ricks, *op cit.*, p. 1356

²²⁴ Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²²⁵ IN, II. 1991-92.

truths. He writes:

"Truth chokes, into words' garment thrust—
Truth the clear mirror, speech its rust ;
The spirit's torch blazes in my breast,
The lamp of speech fails in the test
My wings, if I mount one hair's breadth higher,
Must shrivel before that blinding fire !"²²⁶

Tennyson had recorded in *In Memoriam* a similar feeling:

"Vague words ! but ah, how hard to frame
In matter-moulded forms of speech,
Or even for intellect to reach
Through memory that which I became."²²⁷

Regarding the inadequacy of thought itself to convey divine realities Iqbal had written: "It is, therefore, the operation of thought, working with static concepts, that gives the appearance of a series of immobilities to what is essentially dynamic in its nature."²²⁸ In some poems like "Break, break, break," Tennyson expresses a vague yearning of the soul for an unidentified primordial or probably pre-natal state, which he sometimes calls the Passion of the Past. At one stage in his career, Iqbal also believed with Plato and Wordsworth that the soul at birth was in communion with Eternal Beauty and its yearning for beauty is a reflection of its desire to return to its origins.²²⁹

Both writers addressed themselves to the female question, a social issue in Victorian England as well as in contemporary Muslim society. Iqbal offers an exalted concept of womanhood:

²²⁶ Kiernan, op cit., p. 50.

²²⁷ Ricks, op. cit., p, 947.

²²⁸ *Reconstruction*, p. 51.

²²⁹ S.A. Vahid, *Studies In Iqbal* (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1967), p. 144.

"Woman is the guardian of the fire of life,
her nature is the tablet of life's mysteries;
She strikes our fire against her own soul
and it is her substance that makes of the dust a man.
In her heart lurk life's potentialities,
from her glow and flame life derives stability;
She is a fire from which the sparks break forth,
body and soul, lacking her glow, cannot take shape.
What worth we possess derives from her values
For we are all images of her fashioning;
If God has bestowed on you a glance of flame
Cleanse yourself and behold her sanctity."²³⁰

He regards motherhood a mercy "being linked/By close affinity to Prophethood".²³¹ Mothers are the preservers of the mystery of fraternity to him. Iqbal is critical of Western education because he feels that it promotes the death of maternity. He eloquently opposed ideals of female liberation that are based on hostility to-ward and hatred of man. His Martian prophetess, whose separatism sounds somewhat like the philosophy of Tennyson's Princess, has taken vows to liberate women from the snares of man and to set up an autonomous female class motivated by a common hatred for man. She exhorts her followers to "rise up and wage war with nature,/that by your battling the maiden may be freed./Woman's unitarianism is to escape from the union of two bodies,/be guardian of yourself, and tangle not with men!"²³² Iqbal finds that there is no secure foundation for the life of the community except "in the honouring of the womb".²³³ He says that men and women do not have identical functions in

²³⁰ IN, II. 1185-96.

²³¹ 21. Arthur J. Arberry, Tr., *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, by Sir Muhammad Iqbal (London : John Murray, 1953), p. 151. All subsequent references to this title will be given in the abbreviated form MS.

²³² JN, 11. 2083-87.

²³³ MS, p. 63.

life; they complete each other ; both are creative but their true creativity cannot be realised except by mutual cooperation. Man, in his view, may be able to attain high levels as a spiritually creative agent ; woman may not be able to write the dialogues of Plato but "Plato's sparks are from her fire."²³⁴

A cursory reading of the two poets would yield similarities even in their verse technique. For example, both are acknowledged masters of the art of onomatopoeia, communicating as much through the sound of words and rhythm as they do. through connotational means. It is somewhat of a coincidence that the two poets poured their highest imaginative powers and their maturest vision into the epic mould. Leaving aside any thought of instituting comparisons regarding their handling of the epic form as a medium for poetry, one might find it more instructive to review the thoughts of the two writers pertaining to the role of poetry in modern society.

Tennyson and Iqbal, like other modern poets, are fond of discussing their theories of poetry and art in their poems. Iqbal had nothing but contempt for the theory of Art for art's sake. He was convinced that poetry is the vehicle of eternal truths; that it en-shrines in imperishable words the highest verities known to man. He saw an intimate relationship between Art and Life. He wrote:

"The ultimate end of all human activity is Life — glorious, power. full, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose, and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to Reality around, on the mastery of which 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."²³⁵

Iqbal advocated an art that should impinge dynamically on human life, an art that does not merely provide amusement or give delight but acts as a stimulus to human thought and energy and awakens man's highest sympathies. Tennyson conceived of an equally noble mission for poetry in

²³⁴ Schimmel, op. cit., p. 248.

²³⁵ Syed Abdul Wahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought* (London: John Murray, 1959), p. 107.

his poem "The Poet". His poet is a messianic liberator of humanity, a universal propagator of divine truths that lie before him like "an open scroll". Tennyson also vehemently decries a decadent art:

"Art for Art's sake ! Hail, truest Lord of Hell !
Hail Genius, blaster of the Moral Will !
"The filthiest of all paintings painted well
Is mightier than the purest painted ill
Yes, mightier than the purest painted well,
So prone are we toward that broad way to Hell."²³⁶

According to Iqbal the poet as the creator of Beauty casts a spell of enchantment over Nature and invests Nature with an original beauty:

"Tis in the poet's breast that Beauty unveils,
'Tis from his Sinai that Beauty's beams arise,
By his look the fair is made fairer,
Through his enchantments Nature is more beloved."²³⁷

Tennyson and Iqbal are equally concerned with the nature of the creative process. In poems like "The Hesperides" and "The Lady of Shallot," Tennyson recognises solitude and withdrawal from society as a precondition for creativity. Iqbal also feels the necessity of solitude for creativity:

"Though you possess a soul illumined as Moses,
Yet without solitude your thoughts remain barren;
by isolation the imagination becomes more vivid,
more vivid, more questing, more finding."²³⁸

Iqbal characterises creativity as the fire in the body whose light illuminates society ; it is " the joy of manifestation, the wish of becoming

²³⁶ Ricks, op. cit. p. 1229.

²³⁷ Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 108.

²³⁸ JN, 11. 1211-14

more and more individual"²³⁹; and it is the leading force in life. Life and creativity are interdependent: "Whoever possesses not the power to create/in Our sight is an infidel, a heathen ;/ such a one has not taken his share of Beauty/has not tasted the fruit of the Tree of Life."

Creativity, he says, is embodied in the very nature of man. In another context he writes: "The creative element in man raises him to the divine plane ; frustration of the creative impulse distorts human character."²⁴⁰ The light of poetry shines in proportion to the brightness of the flame of life: "Verse lights up life, while hearts burn bright but fades/For ever when those rays decline, oh, Sagi."²⁴¹ Iqbal may be said to be in agreement with the Victorians in his views on the function of poetry. The art of poetry for its own sake did not interest him: he felt that he was using it as a vehicle for the improvement and guidance of humanity: "The destinies of nations have been shaped by a song,/ by a song nations are destroyed and rebuilt."²⁴² In these lines there seems to be an echo of Tennyson's Camelot being built to music. Poetry has the power to ravish the angelic creatures in heaven;²⁴³ it can transmute the dull substance of life "into a rose garden"; things undergo a transformation in the hands of a poet: "His breath makes stones and bricks to speak;/We all are as the harvest, he the sown field./ He purifies the bones and fibres/gives to the thoughts the wings of Gabriel."²⁴⁴ To Iqbal, poetry is the "aureole of true philosophy and a complete science," whose object is to appeal to the finer side of human nature, to strengthen it, and to come to the rescue of man. kind in its struggle against all that is sordid and ugly. As a guide to humanity, poetry illuminates, inspires, and elevates: "The poet's is a glow that giveth light/In life's dark night/A radiance shines in her wings anon."²⁴⁵ Iqbal shares with the Victorian Baconians the idea that poetry improves upon Nature:

"A melody must be nourished on madness of love,

It should be like fire dissolved in life blood.

²³⁹ Ibid.,

²⁴⁰ Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 40.

²⁴¹ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁴² IN, 11. 3057-58.

²⁴³ Ibid., 11.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., II. 733-36,

²⁴⁵ PP, p. 79.

A melody that has no meaning is lifeless,
Its warmth is only from a dying fire!
The skilful master improves upon nature
And reveals her secret to our gaze!
He creates a new world
And gives a new life to our being!"²⁴⁶

With all their exalted views on poetry Tennyson and Iqbal refuse to regard it as a substitute for religion. In *In Memoriam*, Tennyson accords Urania a highest station than Melpomene and is somewhat apologetic when he fears he is impinging upon the sphere of religious truth. Iqbal, in accord with Tennyson, writes: "But the kind of knowledge that poetic inspiration brings is essentially individual in its character; it is figurative, vague, and indefinite. Religion, in its more advanced forms, rises higher than poetry."²⁴⁷

In Iqbal's universe both God and man are engaged in the work of creation and man enjoys the advantage of improving upon the works of the Archetypal Artist:

"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."²⁴⁸

Iqbal's poet can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom and only as a free artist can he create great art: "Where Selfhood droops, doubts fight ding-dong ;/Where it blooms — a world of verse and song, If your soul rot under slavery's blight,/Your art on idolator's soulless rite."²⁴⁹ The ideal poet

²⁴⁶ Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 107.

²⁴⁷ *Reconstruction*, p. 1

²⁴⁸ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 95.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

as prophet preaches a single doctrine in order to summon the peoples around it like a flag. As a leader he is the spokesman for the inarticulate heart of a people. His thread, which is "knotted to the skies,"²⁵⁰ has the power to weave all the dissevered parts of life into a single whole:

"At his fiery breath
A people leap like rue upon a fire
In sudden tumult, in their heart one spark
Caught from his kindling, and their sullen clay
Breaks instantly aflame."²⁵¹

The poet is a liberator of the fettered slave. Iqbal attaches to him most of the qualities which distinguish Tennyson's "The Poet". He is a creator of Beauty who penetrates deep into the mysteries of life and universe: "a whole world of meaning hidden in two words./He is intimate with the workshop of life,/he is Jamshid, his poetry Jamshid's cup".²⁵² The Beauty created by the poet exercises a beneficent influence on life:

"When his zephyr blows in our garden,
It slowly steals into the tulips and the roses.
His witchery makes life develop itself
And become self-questing and impatient."²⁵³

But the seductive power of poetry can also become a destructive force ; a degenerate poet who is not inspired by great ideals is like a "fish, and from the breast upward a man,/Like the sirens in the ocean,/With his song he enchants the pilot/And casts the ship to the bottom of the sea," because "His melodies steal firmness from thine heart,/His magic persuades thee that death is life."²⁵⁴

As poets of Nature, Iqbal and Tennyson have striking affinities; they are

²⁵⁰ MS, p. 9.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p.10.

²⁵² JN, 11. 3095-98.

²⁵³ Reynold A. Nicholson, Tr., *The Secrets of the Self* (Lahore : Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, 1969), p.

63. All subsequent references to this title will be given in the abbreviated form SS.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

equally alive to the beauty of minute detail and are profoundly sensitive to the sensuous appeal of Nature's phenomena; they are at their best as poets of Spring, and they VI equally adept in depicting scenes of natural sublimity, as well as the loveliness of valleys and the desolation of wastelands. There are few poets in whom pure sensuous delight in the colours, scents, and forms of Nature is more evident than in Iqbal. He writes:

"Hail the Season, Hail the Spring,
Meadows have liberated the stars of the Pleiades.
How sweet the melody, how charming the sound,
That emanates from the solitude of the shrubbery!
In the body life, in the life yearning rises
From the melody of starling and from the song of the nightingale.
Thou canst say that the Almighty has put Paradise
Among the recesses of the mountains."²⁵⁵

Like Tennyson, Iqbal is a master in delineating the a inspiring grandeur of the mountains, the quietude of a dark Ion. night, the glory of the morning sky, the multi-hued twilight of the evening, and the joyous song of birds. He captures the aloof grandeur of the Himalayas in the following:

"O, Himalaya, rampart of Hind's domain!
The neavens bow to kiss thy brow;
Snow has capped thy brow with esteem's turban,
Which laughs at the crown of world-illuminating sun,
Thy peaks are engaged in conversation with the Pleiades,
Thou art on earth and yet thy peaks soar to Heavens!
Moses of Sinai had but a faint glimpse of illumination
Thou art all-illumination for the discerning eye"²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 191.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Tennyson's early preference for wild and stormy mountain scenery and awesome aspects of Nature is evident in poems "On Sublimity," where he exclaims:

"Give me the wild cascade, the rugged scene,
The loud surge bursting over the purple sea:
On such sad views my soul delights to pore,
By Teneriffe's peak, or Kilda's giant height,
Or dark Loffoden's melancholy shore."²⁵⁷

Tennyson has created landscapes of great beauty like that in "Oenone," and "The Lotos Eaters"; he is equally successful in depicting scenes of utter desolation and ruin. One could think of the land that his "Mariana" inhabits, or one could turn to a Dantean scene like the following landscape painted on a canvas in "The Palace of Art": "One seem'd all dark and red — a tract of sand,/And some one pacing there alone,/Who paced for ever in a glimmering land,/Lit with a low large moon." Iqbal's wasteland scenery in *Jāvid Nāmāh* is also marked by a strange compelling power and enchantment. On the first day of creation, Heaven rebukes Earth because it is a dreary waste:

"Man's realm was a heap of earth, no more,
an empty wilderness, without a caravan ;
not a river wrested in any mountain,
not a cloud sprinkled on any desert,
no chanting of birds among the branches,
no leaping of deer amidst the meadow.
Sea and land lacked the spirit's manifestations,
a curling vapour was the mantle of earth's body ;
the grasses, never having known the breezes of March,
Still slumbered within the depths of earth."²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Ricks, op. cit., p. 117.

Thet sphere of Mercury in *Jāwīd Nāmāh* is forbidding in its desolation; the moonscape is a worn-out world bereft of all colour and sound and there is "no sign of life therein, neither of death,/ no root of the palm-tree of life in its navel,/no events hidden in the thighs of its time."²⁵⁹ But when it comes to celebrating the beauties of Spring, the two writers are equally refreshing. One of Tennyson's spring poems goes like this:

"Now fades the long streak of snow,
Now burgeons every maze of quick
About the flowering squares, and thick
By ashen roots the violets blow.
Now rings the woodland loud and long,
The distance takes a lovelier hue,
And drowned in yonder living blue
The lark becomes sightless song."²⁶⁰
No less tender and evocative is Iqbal's palette:
"In spring thou hast heard the clamorous nightingale,
And watched the resurrection of the flowers;
The buds arrayed like brides ; from the dark earth
A veritable city of stars arises ;
The meadow bathed in the soft tears of dawn
That slumbered to the river's lullaby
A bud bursts into blossom on the branch;
A breeze new-risen takes it to its breast."²⁶¹

Nature remained a source of beauty to Iqbal throughout his career as a poet: to the discerning eye, he says, every drop in Nature's fathomless deep,

²⁵⁸ JN, II. 127-36.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., II. 512-14.

²⁶⁰ Ricks, op. cit., p. 967.

²⁶¹ MS, p. 33.

"has a tumult of Beauty./In the awe-inspiring silence of mountains is Beauty,/In sun's radiance as well as in the sombre dress of night. "²⁶² As a youthful pantheist-poet he had believed that every object in Nature was a manifestation of Eternal Beauty which became speech in man and the joy of bursting in a bud. He would speak of the fragrance of a flower and the lustre of a glowworm as a kind of melody; later on he came to believe that everything in Nature is an ego and that God is the Supreme Ego. He regarded man and natural objects as existing in varying stages of egohood. This belief helped him personify and animate objects of Nature with great ease. In many a passage of entrancing beauty he establishes communion with winds, clouds, and stars, and speaks to them as though they have a sentient personality that accepts him as a familiar spirit, but he never commits any violence against Truth in such evocations nor can he be charged with pathetic fallacy. In a monologue, a cloud says:

"In height my habitat kisses the sky,

I am cloud of the hills and I shed flowers.

At times I dwell in deserts, at times I make my abode in gardens,

Towns and wastes are mine, the ocean and the forest is mine.

The verdant young crops look to me for sustenance

I am born out of the ocean and nourished by the sun."²⁶³

Neither Iqbal nor Tennyson could live in an ivory tower of art. They castigated the advancing tide of materialism and greed of modern society and they showed a clear distrust of the strident claims of democracy as a panacea for all human ills. Iqbal's unqualified sympathy for the lot of the downtrodden masses of man-kind, who suffer no matter what the form of government, led him to criticise democracy as a new form of autocracy and organised tyranny:

"whether parliaments

Of nations meet, or Majesty holds court,

Whoever casts his eye on another's field

²⁶² Vabid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 179.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Is tyrant born. Have you not seen in the West
Those Demos-governments with rosy faces
And all within blacker than Ghengiz' soul ?"²⁶⁴

Western democracies appear to him to be organised forms of tyranny in attractive disguises:

In Demos-dress let tyranny's
Old demon-dance be seen,
Your fancy calls up Liberty's
Blue mantled fairy Queen !
Those Parliaments and their reforms,
Charters and Bills of Rights
The Western pharmacopoeia swarms
With opiate delights."²⁶⁵

The modern brands of democracy appear synonymous with materialism and mammonism: "That rhetoric of the Senator,/Flowing in fiery stream — /God save the mark!/the broker's war/Of gold its true theme."²⁶⁶ Tennyson had made no secret of his scepticism about democracy. Long before Iqbal he had written: "Equal-born? O yes, if yonder hill be level with the flat,/Charm us, Orator, till the Lion look no larger than the Cat,/Till the Cat through that mirage of overheated language loom/Larger than the Lion, — / Demos end in working its own doom."²⁶⁷ Iqbal and Tennyson are equally vociferous in denouncing economic exploitation and capitalistic greed:

"Robbers they, this one wealthy, that one a toiler
all the time lurking in ambush one for another ;
now is the hour to disclose the secret of those charmers

²⁶⁴ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 80.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 20

²⁶⁷ Ricks, op.cit., p. 1363.

We are the merchandise, and they take all the profits.

Their eyes are hard out of the love of silver and gold,
their sons are a burden upon their mother's backs."²⁶⁸

The speaker of Tennyson's *Maud* is even more indignant and vitriolic:

"Why do they prate of the blessings of Peace?we have made them a
curse,

Pickpockets, each hand lusting for all that is not its own;

And the lust of gain in the spirit of Cain, is it better or worse

Than the heart of the citizen hissing in war on his own hearthstone?"²⁶⁹

In his *Persian Psalms* Iqbal speaks of greed in a similar manner: "Greed is
acting still his play/This world to dominate/What new, turbulence, I
pray,/Behind Heaven's veil doth wait?"²⁷⁰

The foregoing discussion may be said to serve as a prelude to a
consideration of those areas of the thought of the two poets where there are
basic parallelisms and divergences in doctrines involving abstract reasoning
and metaphysical thought. The philosophies of the two poets spring from
certain basic assumptions regarding the nature of the Self, the nature of Time
and Reality, and the doctrine of God or Supreme Reality; and these
assumptions provide them a basis for their theories of spiritual evolution,
immortality, and a rather complex doctrine of Love.

What Tennyson calls the Self is no other than the concept of personality
which Iqbal prefers to designate as the Ego. Master-man in his study of
Tennyson regards "the apprehension of God, the existence of the Self, the
hope of immortality"²⁷¹ as the key questions in Tennyson because they are
central to his speculative thought. The physical immensity of the universe
and the "unfathomable abysses of Time and Space" had haunted Tennyson
and at times had threatened to rob him of a sense of moral purpose in the
universe. He was thrown back on the self, "a tiny spark of being," as a reality

²⁶⁸ JN, 11. 1259-64.

²⁶⁹ Ricks, op. cit., p. 1042.

²⁷⁰ PP, p. 67

²⁷¹ Masterman, op. cit., p. 227.

of which he could be sure. It was, to him, a real spark and not a phantom. To Iqbal also the Self was the incontrovertible basis of reality. He wrote: "The form of existence is an effect of the Self,/Whatsoever thou seest is a secret of the Self,/When the Self awoke to consciousness/It revealed the universe of Thought."²⁷² To Iqbal the Self is the motive power behind all existence; it "rises, kindles, falls, breathes,/Burns, shines, walks, and flies." The Self or the Ego remains in a state of tension and strife with the physical environment and on the success of the Ego to overcome the environment depends its very life as a directive energy formed and disciplined by its own experience.²⁷³

In Iqbalian universe all activity is teleological and the choice of ends depends on the Ego itself. It is free to choose and act.²⁷⁴

Bergson's social self and appreciative self are Iqbal's efficient ego and appreciative ego. The appreciative Ego lives in pure duration, in eternity, which implies change without succession; and the time of the Ego in terms of its appreciative entity is fundamentally different from the time span of the physical world. The testimony to the existence and reality of the Ego comes through intuition.²⁷⁵ It is the degree of intuition of I-am-ness of the Ego that determines, for Iqbal, the place of a thing in the scale of being. He believed that everything in Nature is an Ego in varying stages of development and that God is the Supreme Ego.²⁷⁶ In his poems the Ego is frequently conceived as a principle of movement. The sea-shattered cliff that craves Egohood is told by the headlong hurrying wave: "Only if I move I live, for if I halt I die."²⁷⁷ The reality of the Ego confers self-sufficiency upon it

"Through Self the mustard-seed becomes

A hill ; without, the hill a seed.

Your own heart is your candle, your

Own self is all the light you need:

²⁷² SS, p. 16.

²⁷³ *Reconstruction*, p. 87.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-110.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁷⁶ Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 185.

²⁷⁷ Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

You are this world's sole truth, all else
Such as sorceries breed.
These desert thorns prick many a doubt,
Do not complain if bare feet bleed."²⁷⁸

At times Iqbal represents the Ego as the soul in opposition to the body: "What is the soul ? Rapture, joy, burning and anguish,/ delight in mastering the revolving sphere./What is the body? Habit of colour and scent,/Habit of dwelling in the world's distensions."²⁷⁹ The soul is a stranger to the body; it "dwells in time, yet is a stranger to time."²⁸⁰ The world, for Iqbal, is founded on Selfhood; it has been compounded out of love and violence: "Self-hood is everywhere visible, yet invisible,/our gaze cannot endure to look on Selfhood ;/Within its light many fires lurk hidden,/From its Sinai creation's epiphanies shine."²⁸¹

In the Introduction to his translation of Iqbal's *Asrār-i kbudī* [*The Secrets of the Self*] Professor Nicholson tells us that, according to Iqbal, only through "self-affirmation, self-expression, and self development" can an individual or a nation become strong and free. This wisdom was expressed by Tennyson through the words of Pallas in "Oenone," quite early in his career: "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,/These three alone lead life to sovereign power." In Iqbal self-control is the second of three stages in the evolutionary ascent of the Self toward divine vicegerency which is "the completest Ego, the goal of humanity, the acme of life both in mind and body."²⁸² Love brings out, according to Iqbal, the hidden potentialities of the Self; it is a luminous point kindled into a glorious vitality by the spark of Love:

"By Love it is made more lasting,
More living, more burning, more glowing.
From Love proceeds the radiance of its being,

²⁷⁸ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 97.

²⁷⁹ JN, 11. 369-72.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., I. 1815.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 11. 2269.72.

²⁸² SS, p. xix.

And the development of its unknown possibilities.

Its nature gathers fire from Love,

Love instructs it to illumine the world."²⁸³

Tennyson's *In Memoriam* is, among other things, a testimony to the Reality which he found "through the reality of his love both for the living and the one dead friend. It was the survival of his affection for his friend Hallam long after he had vanished from the earth and his bodily form had crumbled into dust that confirmed for Tennyson the reality of the living Self. According to Masterman: "In a world where all else might be dreams and shadows he [Tennyson] asserted with unshakable conviction the reality of the self here and now."²⁸⁴ Tennyson is reported to have stated that the highest thing known is human personality and that God must be at least personal.²⁸⁵ This belief is indeed central to Iqbal's doctrine of the Self and the mainspring of his poetic inspiration. It is valid to say, if the experience he records in *In Memoriam* is kept in mind, that Tennyson discovered the secret of the Self in the formula: "amo, ergo, sum." This also is one of the basic premises in Iqbal's philosophy of Love. To Tennyson the self is the whole indivisible personality; he emphasised the self as willing, and as feeling ; he went on to assert that through feeling and through love we first awaken to the consciousness of our personality. In his poetry consciousness of love provides him a guarantee of the reality of his being.²⁸⁶ Both Tennyson and Iqbal regard the Self as a mode of free will. For Tennyson it' is "Living will that shall endure/When all that seems shall suffer shock."²⁸⁷ In both poets it is the free will and the deliberate choosing of the highest that lead our wills gradually into accord with the Divine Will; and we move closer to God. Tennyson writes:

"Live thou: and of the grain and husk, the grape

And ivy berry, choose; and still depart

From death to death thro' life and life, and find

²⁸³ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁸⁴ Masterman, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

²⁸⁷ *In Memoriam*, sec. cxxxi.

Nearer and ever nearer Him, who wrought

Not Matter, nor the infinite-finite,

But this main miracle, that thou art thou

*With power over thine own act and on the world.*²⁸⁸ [De Profundis]

The readers of Iqbal can easily recognise that he found this theme extremely close to his heart ; he lavished nearly all the powers of his imagination, eloquence, and persuasive reasoning in expounding its far-reaching implications in his poetry. I propose to explore this and other related themes in the second half of this study.

II

In Part I of this study I have illustrated Tennyson and Iqbal as landscape painters ; I have discussed their views on the art of poetry, its relationship to society, and their doctrine of the Self. In this part I propose to discuss their views on God, Time, immortality, their thoughts on spiritual evolution, and their doctrine of Love. The two poets believe in a personal, omnipotent, and omniscient God Who, as the Ultimate Reality, is both transcendent as well as immanent. In one of his early poems Iqbal, addressing God, says: "Your light is in the lightning and in fire and sparks: And your image appears in the sun, in the stars,/In the heights of the heavens and in the depths of the earth,/In the motion of the oceans and the stillness of the shores." ²⁸⁹ In another early poem he goes on to say that God runs like potent wine in our blood; He is like the "soul in the body of the Universe."²⁹⁰ Iqbal spells out his theism more explicitly than Tennyson in holding the doctrine that God is a Personality with many attributes including those of creativeness, omniscience, and eternity. At times Iqbal speaks of God as the master artist who has created the universe and is anxious to withdraw into solitude like an artist:

"On all sides life's traces appear unveiled,

its fountains well up in the heart of creation.

²⁸⁸ Ricks, op. cit., p. 1283.

²⁸⁹ Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 200.

²⁹⁰ Schimmel, op. cit., p. 123.

Consider the tumult that rages through all horizons;
Inflict not on the Creator the trouble of display,
solitude is the protection of every artist,
solitude is the bezel in the artist's ring."²⁹¹

According to Iqbal, God is the supreme artist, "whose vast mind/Both day and night designed,/Engraving these, displays/ Upon Himself His gaze."²⁹² The creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughout the entire process are infinite. In short, Iqbal and Tennyson take a personalistic and theistic view of God; Iqbal, however, is much more emphatic in proclaiming the pluralistic idea that God as the Ultimate Ego holds the finite human egos in itself without erasing or attenuating their separate existences.

To Iqbal the knowledge of God was a direct intuition, an absolute conviction despite contradictory appearances; to Tennyson. it was a "secondary deduction derived from a long and painful journey and "by faith and faith alone,"²⁹³ maintained. Speaking of God as personality, Tennyson says: "Take away belief in the self-conscious personality of God, and you take away the backbone of the world."²⁹⁴ He stressed the immanence of God in the infinitesimal atom as well as in the vastest system. Once he observed: "If God were to withdraw Himself for one single instant from this Universe, everything would vanish into nothingness."²⁹⁵ He disliked the Atomic Theory and was inclined to support the idea of *aboriginal centres of force* which looks like a dim prefiguration of Iqbal's doctrine of the Ego. But whereas Tennyson was groping for certainty for some passionately held beliefs, Iqbal does not appear to have experienced great pangs of doubt or disbelief. To both poets the human personality is the ineluctable fact of existence. Both agree that God will speak to it, guide it, and finally bring it to Himself. Tennyson's Self, independent in some in-explicable manner and having the power of unconditioned choice, can directly address the Creator: "Hallowed

²⁹¹ 7N, 11. 1215-30.

²⁹² PP, p. 121.

²⁹³ Masterman, op. cit. p., 50.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁹⁵ Hallam "Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson : A Memoir By His Son* (London and New York, 1897), I, 319.

be Thy name — Hallelujah!/Infinite Ideality! /Immeasurable Reality!] infinite Personality !/Hallowed be thy name--Hallelujah."²⁹⁶ To Iqbal, Nature is the handiwork of God and all good things flow from Nature: "All this is an overflow of the springtime of Nature,/Nature which derives from Nature's Creator".²⁹⁷ Iqbal characterises the material universe as God's behaviour²⁹⁸ and Tennyson in "Higher Pan-theism" speaks of it as a "Vision of God". To Iqbal the created universe is the unfolding of the inner possibilities of the Ultimate Ego. It is both a single act whereby our world of serial time has come into existence and a continuing act unfolding new universes of possibility.²⁹⁹ In the Iqbalian cosmos Nature in relation to the Divine Self is like character in relation to the human self ; and the knowledge of Nature is the knowledge of God's behaviour. This leads him to the conclusion that science and religion are not working at cross-purposes. In our observation of Nature, he says, we are virtually seeking a kind of intimacy with the Absolute Ego, and this is another form of worship. In a metaphysical sense God is not so situated as to take a perspective view of an alien universe; consequently, the phases of his life are wholly determined from within. One of Iqbal's persona, in his address to God, proudly points out that his works are equal if not more exquisite than the works of God, Who is repeatedly acknowledged as the perpetual creator: "Consider well this being and not-being; Continuously worlds are coming into existence. "³⁰⁰

In spite of the boundless optimism of Iqbal, his poetry is not without moments of despair and forlorn questioning of God's purpose. Shāh-i Hamadānī in *Jāvid Nāmāh*, like the speaker in Tennyson's "Despair," challenges God to account for the meaning and purpose of life:

"I ask you, what is this magic-mongering,
 What this dicing with an evil adversary?
 A handful of dust against yon revolving sphere—
 Tell me now did it beseem Him so to do?"

²⁹⁶ Ricks, op. cit , p. 1283.

²⁹⁷ JN, 11. 1987.88.

²⁹⁸ *Reconstruction*, p. 57.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³⁰⁰ JN, 11. 2311-12.

Our labour, our thoughts, our anguish
Is but to bite our hands in despair."³⁰¹

In other and far more representative contexts Iqbal speaks of God's relationship with Man as a creative partnership in a divine venture. God is as committed in his quest of Man as Man is unceasing in his quest of God:

"We are gone astray from God;
He is searching upon the road,
For like us, He is need entire
And the prisoner of desire.
On the tulip petal He writes
The message His heart indites,
Yea, and His voice is heard
In the passionate song of the bird.
He lay in the iris' fold
Our loveliness to behold;
Bright cup of the ardent gaze
Whose glance is a hymn of praise."³⁰²

Tennyson based his faith in an all-embracing God on His revelation of Himself through the human attributes of the highest self-sacrificing love, the freedom of the human will, and the immortality of the soul. Man's destiny, as Tennyson and Iqbal saw it, was to evolve himself through his free will in order to bring him-self into harmony with the divine will. Tennyson observes: "Man's Free-will is but a bird in a cage ; he can stop at the lower perch, or he can mount to a higher. Then that which is and knows will enlarge his cage, give him a higher and a higher perch, and at last break off the top of his cage, and let him out to be one with the Free-will of the Universe."³⁰³ Neither Iqbal nor Tennyson is willing to accept the prospect of

³⁰¹ Ibid., 11. 2888-92.

³⁰² PP, pp. 84-85.

³⁰³ Hallam Tennyson, op. cit., I, 319.

the eventual absorption of the human personality into the divine personality. Tennyson held the belief:

"That each who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall,
Remerging in the general soul.
Is faith as vague as all unsweet;
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside:
And I shall know him when we meet."³⁰⁴

In both poets, God is a "living God," moving and working and sustaining all things. He is not "far from any one of us"; in fact, he is closer, according to Tennyson and Iqbal, than the breath of our lives. He is guiding us, imperceptibly communing with us, reaching hands through the darkness, and moulding us to His ends, and will ultimately bring us to Himself. According to Tennyson, He is around us, manifesting Himself to us through the senses, speaking directly to our souls, although "the ear of man cannot hear the music of the world and the eyes of man cannot see the fulness of the vision."

The thoughts of Iqbal and Tennyson on immortality are some-what divergent. Tennyson was led to a belief in immortality because he regarded it as a prerequisite for a viable meaning in life "My own dim life should teach me this,/That life shall live for evermore,/Else earth is darkness at the core,/And dust and ashes all that is" ; without immortality love would be mere sensuality and not worth preserving.³⁰⁵ In *In Memoriam*, Tennyson is seeking to confirm the truth of immortality as a realisable goal. It was his inexpungible conviction of the Reality of Self and the reality of love that confirmed his faith in the truth of immortality. Iqbal sought no such proof for his belief in immortality ; he rested his case on his belief in the indestructibility of the Ego. The scene of a boat gliding and disappearing

³⁰⁴ Ricks, op. cit., p. 904.

³⁰⁵ *In Memoriam*, sec. xxxiv.

quickly beyond the "eye's curved boundary" evokes in him thoughts of immortality of the spirit: "So glides the bark of mortal life, in the ocean/Of eternity, so born, so vanishing,/Yet never knowing what is death, for it/May disappear from sight, but cannot perish."³⁰⁶ Iqbal's thoughts on immortality can be understood best in terms of his attitude toward death. He writes: "Fearest thou death in thy deathless heart Death's but a prey that before thee lies./Life once given thee, none can take ;/Tis for lack of faith man faints and dies."³⁰⁷ He argues that life is dear in Nature's eyes and every object is striving to preserve it: "If Death could efface the impress of life,/The universal order would not have made it so common./Being so wide-spread, death has no significance. /Like slumber it causes no loss to existence."³⁰⁸ Iqbal believes that human life continues to grow after death and that there shall be no end to its growth: "Man's spirit never knows extinction./It is lost to sight but does not fade away."³⁰⁹ He wrote that after death, "the ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up, and win his resurrection. The resurrection is, therefore, not an eternal event. It is the consummation of a life-process within the ego. Whether individual or universal it is nothing more than a kind of stock-taking of the ego's past achievements and his future possibilities."³¹⁰

Like Goethe, Spinoza, and Lotze, Iqbal believes in a conditional immortality. He refused to consider personal immortality as a matter of human right ; he insists that man is only a candidate for it and can achieve it only through personal effort. He wrote: "The eternity of God is not a recompense for His actions, /For Him the eternity is elemental and needs no seeking;/But that eternity is better which a borrowed soul/Wins for itself through love and frenzy."³¹¹ Immortality may be achieved through infinite yearning and undaunted desire: "A mote through infinite yearning becomes the envy of the sun,/In its breast the nine spheres cannot be contained./When yearning makes assault upon a world/It transforms momentary beings into immortals."³¹² The Indian Muslim martyr Tiptū

³⁰⁶ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 10.

³⁰⁷ Iqbal, *Zabūr-i 'Ajām* (Lahore : Dr Jāvīd Iqbāl, 1970), p. 164.

³⁰⁸ Iqbal, *Bang-i Darā* (Lahore : Sit. Mubarak Ali, 1924), p. 259. Subsequently BD.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³¹⁰ *Reconstruction*, p. 120.

³¹¹ Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 209.

³¹² JN, 11. 2219-22.

Sultan speaks of death as a mere magic talisman, a fantasy because, "The man of God is a lion, and death is a fawn,/Death is but one station for him of a hundred."³¹³ Death holds no terrors for Iqbal, the man of God. He believes in the eternity of the Ego which is greater and older than the "circling skies"; he exhorts his listeners not to entertain fear of death. Personal immortality, he argues, is an aspiration; one can have it if one makes an effort to win it by adopting in this life "modes of thought and activity which tend to maintain the state of tension".³¹⁴ In the words of Iqbal's spiritual mentor Rūmī, the Persian poet-mystic, "Immortality is association with God by getting rid of limited and conditioned individuality."³¹⁵

Speculations on the nature of time and space, prompted as they were by the quest for reality, led Tennyson and Iqbal to reach divergent conclusions. Tennyson spoke of time as duration and also tended to adhere to the Platonic premise that the world of appearances is a shadowy and unreal world ; Iqbal, on the contrary, categorically rejected the idea that this world is a pale reflection of another. He accepted the "time-space continuum," of the scientists who maintain that time and space are not distinct and autonomous categories. Discarding the doctrine of atomic time, Iqbal proposed the concept of a dynamic universe characterised by motion which he defined as a sequence of positions and instants. His favourite theory of time as duration was anticipated by Tennyson in *The Princess*:

"For was, and is, and will be, are but is;
And all creation is one act at once,
The birth of light: but we that are not all,
As parts, can see but parts, now this, now that,
And live, perforce from thought to thought, and make
One act a phantom of succession: thus
Our weakness somehow shapes the shadow, Time."³¹⁶

Iqbal distinguishes between earthly time which is "divisible into past,

³¹³ Ibid., II. 3421-22.

³¹⁴ BD, p. 264.

³¹⁵ Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 70.

³¹⁶ Ricks, op. cit., p. 782.

present, and future": and Divine Time, "which is absolutely free from the quality of passage, and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence, and change."³¹⁷ Iqbal's "efficient ego," in its relation to time-space appears as a series of discrete states, but his "appreciative ego," abides in pure duration, i.e. change without succession. Its states of consciousness melt into each other and its unity is "like the unity of the germ in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole. There is no numerical distinctness of states in the totality of the ago, the multiplicity of whose elements is ... wholly qualitative. There is change and movement, but this change and movement are indivisible; their elements inter-penetrate and are wholly non-serial in character."³¹⁸ Iqbal considered ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose inter-penetrate to form an organic unity ; he spoke of time not as a static absolute but as "a living creative movement":³¹⁹ in its organic wholeness it is Destiny that overrides the net of causal sequence ; it is time as felt and not as thought and calculated. Physical time considered as a dimension of the time-space continuum is relative. But:

"Time regarded as destiny forms the very essence of things... . To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. In fact, all creative activity is free activity."³²⁰

Tennyson also makes a sharp distinction between atomic time and pure duration, but he differs from Iqbal in his belief that only the divinity is the inhabitant of durational time. According to Tennyson's Ancient Sage, "The days and hours are ever glancing by, .../But with the Nameless is nor Day nor Hour ;/Though we, thin minds, who creep from thought to thought/Break into 'Thens' and 'Whens' 'the Eternal Now'." Iqbal claims that the degree of awareness of existing in pure duration apprehended intuitively by the self determines its place in the hierarchy of being. Secular time, in Iqbal, is, like time in Shakespeare's sonnets, a spectacle of mutability: "What other sense have your nights, what have your days, but one/Long blank current of time empty of sunset or dawn ?/All Art's wonders arise only to

³¹⁷ *Reconstruction*, p.75.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

vanish once more."³²¹ But on a spiritual level, Time is an emblem of God's presence:

"Day succeeding to night — moulder of all time's works!

Day succeeding to night — fountain of life and of death!

Chain of the days and nights — two-coloured thread of silk

Woven by Him that is, into His being's robe!

Chain of the days and nights — sign of eternity's harp,

Height and depth of all things possible — God revealed."³²²

Iqbal attaches a specific spiritual dimension to time-space continuum: "Open wide your eyes upon Time and Space,/for these two are but a state of the soul."³²³ As emblem of divinity, Time partakes of the paradoxical attributes of the Godhead; it is both mercy and retribution: "Time? It is a sweet mingled with poison,/ a general compassion mingled with vengeance ;/You see neither city nor plain free of its vengeance — /its compassion is that you may say, 'It has passed'. "³²⁴ Secular time, considered by Iqbal, as a unity of continuity invests life with wholeness and significance:

"Fix in firm bond to-day with yesterday;

Make life a bird accustomed to the hand.

Draw to thy hand the thread of all the days,

Else thou art blind-by-day, night-worshipping.

Thy present thrusts its head up from the past,

And from thy present shall thy future stem."³²⁵

To break up time into moments is to invite the tyranny of time on life. The right approach to time is psychological and spiritual; it is inseparable from our deepest self. Iqbal wrote: "Spatialised time is a fetter which life has

³²¹ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 38.

³²² Ibid., p. 37.

³²³ IN, II. 369-70.

³²⁴ Ibid., 11. 633-36.

³²⁵ 115. MS, p. 62.

forged for itself in order to assimilate the present environment. In reality we are timeless, and it is possible to realise our timelessness even in this life."³²⁶ Both Tennyson and Iqbal suggest a purposive goal to which time is moving. With Tennyson time is not a repetitive process but a forward-looking and creative unfoldment:

"Wild Hours that fly with Hope and Fear,
If all your office had to do
With old results that look like new...
Why, then my scorn might well descend
On you and yours. I see in part
That all, as in some piece of art,
Is toil cooperant to an end."³²⁷

Though both poets believe in "one far off divine event,/To which the whole creation moves," in Iqbal's teleology the future remains an open-ended possibility without being subject to any form of predestination. More concerned with the nature of Time and less with its effects, he represents it as a mode of the manifestation of being: "Phenomena arise from the march of Time."³²⁸ In some contexts Iqbal comes to identify Time with Life and characterises it as the ruler of all created things: "I [Time] am the world-burning word, I am the fountain of life,/I am the cloak of man, I am the dress of God."³²⁹ In a similar vein Tennyson describes Time and Space as symbols, "the garments worn by the living soul, in which it clothes itself for a reason."³³⁰ When the awesome mysteries of distances in Space and countless aeons of Time threatened to rob Tennyson of a sense of moral purpose he took refuge in the Berkeleyan theory that the material world of time and space is a human construct, "a phantom of our own dreams," the faltering attempts of finite and shadowy human intelligence to gather into unity the infinite world beyond us.

³²⁶ SS, p. xxv.

³²⁷ Ricks, op.cit., p. 978

³²⁸ SS, p. 137.

³²⁹ Schimmel, op. cit., p. 293.

³³⁰ Masteman, op.cit., p. 24.

As prophets of the future of mankind Tennyson and Iqbal offer us their vision of a regenerated and spiritually evolved humanity. They share, with Vico, the optimism that humanity is moving toward a higher and more spiritual state; but they differ in their explanation of the causes that would promote the upward ascent. Tennyson seems to assume that a moral and spiritual evolution is a consequence of physical and material evolution. In Iqbal spiritual evolution is furthered or retarded in proportion to man's deliberate resistance to and self-conscious struggle against an alien environment. Both consider man as an unfinished picture of what he might become. In "The Making of Man," a poem Tennyson wrote at the end of his life, he asks: "Where is one that, born of woman, altogether can escape/From the lower world within, moods of tiger, or of ape?/Man as yet is being made, and ere the crowning Age of Ages,/Shall not aeon after aeon pass and touch him into shape?"³³¹ Both poets look forward to a future time when all the races of mankind shall be united in the common bonds of brotherhood, the goal of human perfection:

"All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker 'It is finished. Man is made.' "³³²

The interaction between God and the human spirit will help remove the defect in man and the universe: it is

"So beautiful, vast, various, so beyond
All work of man, yet, like all work of man,
A beauty with defect — 'Till that which knows,
And is not known, but felt through what we feel
Within ourselves is highest, shall descend
on this half deed, and shape it at the last
According to the Highest in the Highest."³³³

³³¹ Ricks, op. cit., p. 1454.

³³² 122. Ibid.

Man, according to Iqbal, will achieve his perfection only by exercising his latent capacity for unlimited development.

To Iqbal evolution means the gradual growth of the individual, "in self-possession, in uniqueness, and intensity of his activity as an ego."³³⁴ Because ego is a free and personal causality whose nature consists in its intensity and not extensity; it further means growth in personal freedom, personal immortality culminating in the evolution of the perfect man. Similarly, Tennyson believed that man is advancing toward a state of fuller consciousness and a "widening conception of personality."³³⁵ His man of the future is "the ultimate perfection of the Self-conscious Spirit through individual effort continued in this world and the world beyond the grave ; the coming into one, the bringing all things back to unity, through the harmony of the will and the perfection of Love."³³⁶ The destination of moral and spiritual evolution in both poets is God. It is God's way of fulfilling Himself in different ways; nor is it a series of meaningless cyclical sweeps through an empty sky: it is the "full realization of The Spirit, the Restitution of all things in God."³³⁷ One of the major themes of Tennyson's *in Memoriam* and *Idylls of the King* is evolution. The Hall of Merlin provides a pictorial representation of this theme: "In the Iowest beasts are slaying men,/And in the second men are slaying beasts,/And in the third are warriors, perfect men,/And in the fourth are men with growing wings."³³⁸

In this eternal process the spirit walks "from state to state".³³⁹ Evolution is brought about because of the eternal craving in the heart of man, the undying desire for new knowledge and new experience: "How dull it is to pause, to make an end,/To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use !/As though to breathe were life. Life piled on life/Were all too little."³⁴⁰ In short, evolution to Tennyson and Iqbal means a world process conceived in Divine Consciousness for the purpose of elevating man into a state of intimate

³³³ Ibid., p. 1352.

³³⁴ *Reconstruction*, p. 117.

³³⁵ Masterman, op. cit., p. 89.

³³⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

³³⁷ ibid., p. 108.

³³⁸ Ricks, op. cit., p. 1669,

³³⁹ *In Memoriam*, sec. xxxv.

³⁴⁰ Ricks, op. cit., p. 563,

union with God.

The relationship of man and God is the keystone in the arch of the thought of Iqbal and Tennyson. In both the doctrine of Love encompasses the complex implications of this relationship. It is the mystery of the sanctum sanctorum of their poetic and spiritual belief. It defines the nature of man and serves to give meaning and purpose to life. Iqbals poetry the concept of Love embraces all of man's psychological, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual modes of self-expression. He defines it as "the desire to assimilate, to absorb".³⁴¹ As assimilative experience, "Love is at Being's board to sup,/To drain its glass, till all is gone ;/Seek not the world-revealing cup,/Seek the world-conquering hand alone."³⁴² In its highest form, Love is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour the realise them. It is the effort to actualise the most unique character of the individuality of the lover and the beloved. Iqbals never-ending speculations and piercing insights into the nature and function of Love take shape in his most inspiring and exquisite lyrical poetry. He finds a profound kinship between Love and the unflagging creative and artistic energies of man. Love is the integrating principle of the Iqbalian universe where all other spheres of human activity are subservient to it. Science, for example, is inadequate because it is "a mass of sectional views of Reality — fragments of a total experience which do not seem to fit together."³⁴³ He goes one step further and points out that "In fact, the various natural sciences are like so many vultures falling on the dead body of Nature, and each running away with a piece of its flesh."³⁴⁴ But Iqbals antagonism toward science is not a rigid posture betraying complete blindness to scientific culture. Science and reason become evil only when they pose a threat to human freedom and integrity. Tennyson depicted knowledge not sanctified by Love as "some wild Pallas [sprung] from the brain/Of Demons? fiery hot to burst/All barriers in her onward race/For power. Let her know her place;/She is second, not the first."³⁴⁵ Iqbals contention is that Reason, a useful torchlight on the dark road to God, is

³⁴¹ SS, p. xxv.

³⁴² PP, p. 104.

³⁴³ *Reconstruction*, pp. 41-42.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p 42.

³⁴⁵ Ricks, *op.cit.*, p. 966.

capable of grasping Reality piecemeal as contrasted to the epiphany of Love which makes it manifest in its wholeness. Both poets fail to see any correspondence between the advancement of science and the moral growth of man. In *Locksley Hall*, Tennyson wrote: "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers, and I linger on the shore,/And the individual withers, and the world is more and more." Science, without the sanctifying power of Love, presents a bleak spectacle of universal anarchy to Iqbal's mind:

"Love fled, Mind stung him like a snake;
he could not Force it to vision's will.
He tracked the orbits of the stars, yet could not
Travel his own thought's world;
Entangled in the labyrinth of his science
Lost count of good and ill;
Took captive the sun's rays, and yet no sunrise
On life's thick night unfurled."³⁴⁶
The same thought recurs in *Jāvīd Nāmāh*
"God save us from majesty that is without beauty,
God save us from separation without union!
Science without love is a demonic thing,
Sciences together with love is a thing divine;
science and wisdom without love are a corpse,
reason is an arrow that never pierced the target."³⁴⁷

In fact, Iqbal gave expression to this theme in a variety of ways. In Persian Psalms he finds the man of science, with his "speculative eye," wanting in the scale of humanity because he has never been endowed by God with a "wakeful heart". His heart is empty of Love and the "Brain/Snakelike bites into his vein,/Even though his golden cup/Flowing

³⁴⁶ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 66.

³⁴⁷ JN, 11. 1339.44.

ruby fillet up. ³⁴⁸ Conversely, Science humanised by Love is Promethean servant of Man: "Science is an instrument for the preservation of Life./Science is a means of invigorating the Self./Science and art are servants of Life./Slaves bred in its house."³⁴⁹ The antithesis between Science and Love persists in all of Iqbal's poetry. Science casts its consuming gaze upon phenomenon and weighs everything in the balance of technology, whereas gnosis or Love augments in the balance of intuition and its gaze is directed to the pure spirit. The great Muslim martyr, Ḥallāj, presents a vivid picture of this position:

"The mulla's Resurrection is the splitting of the tomb and the trumpet's blast,

tumult arousing Love is itself the Dawn of Resurrection.

Science is founded upon fear and hope,

lovers are troubled by neither hope nor fear;

science is fearful of the grandeur of creation;

science gazes upon the past and the present,

love cries, 'Look upon what is coming!'

Science has made compact with the canon of constraint

and has no other resource but constraint and resignation;

Love is free and proud and intolerant

and boldly investigates the whole of Being."³⁵⁰

In other words, science is a very limited and inadequate instrument of knowledge and illumination as compared with Love. At times Iqbal softens his criticism of Science by recognising it as a constructive human activity: "Science and passion are both stations of life/both take a share of the impact of events./Science derives pleasure from verification,/love derives pleasure from creativeness."³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ PP, p. 83.

³⁴⁹ SS, p. 26.

³⁵⁰ JN, II. 2197-2200.

³⁵¹ Ibid., II. 1215-18.

The dichotomy between Love and Science runs parallel to the antithesis between Love and Reason ; "Reason draws life towards manifestation,/love draws life towards solitude."³⁵² Reason makes assault on the world, but Love casts its noose on the Infinite.³⁵³ In his earlier poems, Iqbal regarded Reason as the offspring of Love. Both are ruthless forces, but Love is more so because it is purer, nimbler, and more unafraid. Reason is lost in the maze of cause and effect, but "Love strikes boldly in the field of Action":

"Crafty Reason sets a snare:

Love overthrows the prey with strong right arm.

Reason is rich in fear and doubt ; but Love

Has firm resolve, faith indissoluble.

Reason constructs, to make a wilderness;

Love lays wide waste, to build all up anew.

Reason is cheap and plentiful as air;

Love is most scarce to find, and of great price.

Reason stands firm upon phenomena,

But Love is naked of material robes.

Reason says, 'Thrust thyself into the fore';

Love answers, 'Try thy heart, and prove thyself.' "³⁵⁴

With the deepening of his mystical thought, Iqbal felt that Reason was incapable of leading him to a knowledge of God: "Your eyes may be wakeful or asleep;/the heart sees without the rays of the sun./Know that world by the world of the heart — /Yet what shall I say of what defies analogy."³⁵⁵ It is only in the Perfect Man who has actualised in his being the Attributes of God that intuition and reason become harmonised.

Tennyson, in *In Memoriam*, was engaged, like Iqbal, in a quest for

³⁵² Ibid., II. 307-08.

³⁵³ Ibid., 1. 160.

³⁵⁴ MS, p. 26,

³⁵⁵ JN,11. 2775-78.

certainty; quite early in that poem he discredited the senses as a reliable epistemological medium. The effect of intense emotion on his mind was to, blot out all meaning and purpose in the cosmos:" And all the phantom, Nature, stands — /With all the music in ber tone,/A hollow echo of my own.— /A hollow form with empty hands."³⁵⁶ Iqbal also felt that the senses distort the truth: "Seek thou pure revelation/Past sun and moon's low station,/For all things here reported/By vision are distorted."³⁵⁷ Both poets speak of "the heart" as the seat of perception of higher Reality: for example, Tennyson rejects conventional philosophies as "The petty cobwebs we have spun"; nor could he put his faith in Paley's argument from design: "I found Him not in; world or sun,/ Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye." The answer to the riddle of existence came to him through his "feeling" heart: "A warmth within the breast would melt/The freezing reason's colder part,/ And like a man in wrath the heart/Stood up and answered 'I have felt.'"³⁵⁸ In a similar vein Iqbal had written: "In the interests of securing a complete vision of Reality, therefore, sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of what the Quran de-scribes as 'Fuad' or 'Qalb,' i.e., heart.... The 'heart' is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense-perception."³⁵⁹ In Iqbal, intuition of the heart is a modality of apprehension different in nature from perception and thought. It is an immediate experience of the Real. While perception proceeds through the senses and grasps reality piecemeal, intuition has no reference to the sense and grasps the whole. Iqbal maintains that intellectual thought is relative and communciabile whereas intuitive thought is absolute and imperfectly communicable, except where love and intellect work in unison:³⁶⁰

"Only through love intelligence gets to know God,
love's labours find firm grounding in intelligence;
when love is companioned by intelligence
it has the power to design another world.

³⁵⁶ *In Memoriam*, sec. cxi.

³⁵⁷ PP, p. 60.

³⁵⁸ Ricks, op. cit., p.974.

³⁵⁹ *Reconstruction*, pp. 15-16.

³⁶⁰ Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal*, p. 36.

Then rise and draw the design of a new world,
mingle together love and intelligence."³⁶¹

What then is Iqbal's philosophy of Love? In developing the mystical doctrine of Love, Iqbal owed a great deal to his spiritual master, Rūmī, the great mystic-poet of Persia. Rūmī counters the loveless philosophy of the Martian Prophetess, in Iqbal's imaginative epic, *Jāvid Nāmāh*, in the following words:

"Love is the law and ritual of life,
religion the root of education ; religion is love.
Love externally is ardent, fiery,
inwardly it is the Light of the Lord of the Worlds.
From its inward fever and glow, science and art derive,
science and art spring from its ingenious madness;
religion does not mature without Love's schooling;
learn religion from the company of the Lords of Love."³⁶²

According to Iqbal, Love unlocks the hidden energies of the Ego or Self. The luminous point of the Self, the life spark in our dust, is kindled into life by Love which makes it "more lasting, / More living, more burning, more glowing."³⁶³ Love makes for the radiance of its being and the development of its unknown possibilities. The Self gathers fire from Love; "Love instructs it to illuminate the world". It may be understood as a power that transcends the elemental forces of earth, water, and air; but it shapes the course of peace and war on earth and the patterns of life and death: "Love is the Fountain of Life, Love is the flashing sword of Death. / The hardest rocks are shivered by Love's glance: / Love of God at last becomes wholly God."³⁶⁴ As the creative principle of the universe, Love nourishes the soul of the artist and releases his creative energies. Love is often represented by Iqbal as a revolutionary energy whose fire-baptism invests poetry with a secret vitality.³⁶⁵ Tennyson

³⁶¹ JN. 11. 1103-08.

³⁶² Ibid., II. 2089-96.

³⁶³ SS, p. 28.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁶⁵ Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 107.

also exalts Love as the mainspring of his creative energy in *In Memoriam*. Love sustains him in his supreme sorrow in the aspect of Venus as Hesper and Love points the way to life and faith and hope under the new aspect of Venus as Phosphor. This dual concept of Love is the hinge on which the entire poem turns. In section cxxvi of *In Memoriam*, Tennyson writes: "Love is and was my King and Lord,/And will be, though as yet I keep/Within his court on earth, and sleep/Encompassed by his faithful guard." It is Love that has helped him survive through the dark night of the soul.

Just as Iqbal's God can be understood in terms of His attributes and essence, so also his doctrine of Love. He ascribes to Love the attributes of a cosmic principle ; it is a creative cause, a sustaining and perfecting power, and a harmonising and unifying influence both in the universe and in the life of man. Man is the vessel of Love: "Love went searching thro' the earth/Until Adam came to birth;/Out of water, out of clay/ Manifested his display."³⁶⁶ Love is the supreme Law and Truth of human life. Iqbal finds "gleams of immortal life," in those works of Man which have been wrought by the spirit of Love:

"Swiftly its tyrannous flood time's long current may roll:

Love itself is a tide, stemming all opposing waves.

Other ages in Love's calendar are set down,

Ages as yet unnamed, far from this now flowing hour;

Love is Gabriel's breath, Love is Mahomet's strong heart,

Love is the envoy of God, Love the utterance of God.

Even our mortal clay, touched by Love's ecstasy glows."³⁶⁷

As a power in the affair of men, Love is an axe that can hew the heart of a mountain. The resolution of man's problems can come only through the regenerating force of Love; it [Love] is the spirit that should cut the Gordian knot of all man's perplexities and provide an antidote to all human vices."³⁶⁸ It is God's greatest gift to the poet: "Lo, love's ocean is my vessel/And love's

³⁶⁶ PP, p. 98.

³⁶⁷ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 38.

³⁶⁸ Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 33.

ocean is my strand/For no other ship I hanker,/Nor desire another land."³⁶⁹ Tennyson regards love as the reality of the Universe; it is the "transcendent, all-pervasive" spirit of God to him ; it is also the "link that unites persons together".³⁷⁰

Beyond the realm of attributes, Love becomes co-extensive with God in both Iqbal and Tennyson; it is an undimensioned essence free from spatiotemporal limitations: "Love knows nothing of months and years./Late or soon, near and far upon the road."³⁷¹ To the mystic, love is a resurrection beyond hope and fear. Ṭāhirah, the female Persian mystic, sings: "My sorrowful heart wove your love into the fabric of my soul/Thread by thread, thrum by thrum, warp by warp, woof by woof. /Tahira repaired to her own heart, and saw none but you/page by page, fold by fold, veil by veil, curtain by curtain."³⁷² For Ṭāhirah Love is "the symbol for that experience of intuition in which the mystic grasps reality in its wholeness in a single undiscernible moment."³⁷³

In Tennyson, it is man who must seek the God of Love but in Iqbal, as suggested earlier, man's love of God is reciprocated by God's equally intense yearning for man: "He sighs with the breath of morn,/Within and out He doth stand,/Around, and on every hand.../Hidden in every grain/Not yet is He known to man."³⁷⁴ Both Tennyson and Iqbal consider Love as the supreme authority and the only test for the rightness and wrongness or worth of human action. At the close of his life, Tennyson's one great aspiration was for a fuller knowledge of "That Love which is and was/ My father, and my Brother, and my God."³⁷⁵ According to Iqbal, the world can transcend the barriers of race and religion only under the sovereignty of Love and the freedom and honour of Love alone can ensure social and political harmony: "The martyrs of Love are not Muslim nor Pavnim,/The manners of Love are not Arab nor Turk!/ ... When the spirit of Love has no place on the

³⁶⁹ Schimmel, op.cit., p. 131

³⁷⁰ Masterman, op.cit., p. 135.

³⁷¹ JN, II. 321-22

³⁷² Ibid., II. 2175-78.

³⁷³ Schimmel., op.cit., p. 131.

³⁷⁴ PP. p.85.

³⁷⁵ Ricks, op.cit., p. 1454.

throne,/All wisdom and learning vain tricks and pretence!³⁷⁶ IN Love alone can unite mankind and can help evolve a new order based on universal brotherhood:

"See, my brave comrade, in the honeyed cells
That constitute the hive a subtle truth;
One drop from a red tulip is distilled,
One from a blue narcissus; none proclaims,
I am of jessamine, of lily I!
So our Community the beehive is
Of Abraham, whose honey is our Faith."³⁷⁷

In his declining years, Tennyson also dreamed of a world community based on love and universal brotherhood. Although Iqbal's contributions to the poetry of Love cannot be illustrated fully in the brief compass of this study, one more stanza may be quoted to illustrate his celebration of Love as a universal presence:

"In both worlds everywhere are the marks of love;
man himself is a mystery of love.
Love's secret belongs not to the world of wombs,
not to Shem or Ham, Greece or Syria:
a star without East and West, a star unsetting
in whose orbit is neither North nor South."³⁷⁸

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that this comparative study of Tennyson and Iqbal suggests, among other things, that poets of East and West, although they might differ greatly as products of their peculiar cultures, can none the less meet on a common ground if the theme of their poetry embraces the universality of Love.

³⁷⁶ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 54.

³⁷⁷ MS, p. 74.

³⁷⁸ JN, 11. 1157-62.

IQBAL'S ADAPTATION OF A MINOR POEM BY TENNYSON

Mohammad Ahmad Shamsi

Iqbal, the philosopher, the prophet of Ego, the critic of the West, the dreamer of Pakistan, the man who breathed a new life in the Muslims of the subcontinent, has cast such a spell on his critics and readers alike that Iqbal the great poet, the pure artist, the songster *par excellence*, has been relegated to the gloom of forgetfulness. That is why his rare poetic gifts, his unique artistry in coining new words and phrases, his imaginative flights into the realm of subtle thoughts and feelings, his wonderful transmutations of the dross of everyday experiences into things of matchless beauty have aroused little interest and received less attention. His admirers and critics are all the time so busy discussing the philosophy and the thought-content of his poems that they forget he was a poet first and last, that he became a legend in his own life-time and still reigns supreme over the hearts of his readers primarily because he is a past master of the art of clothing his thoughts and feelings in the garb of chiselled phrases and felicitous expressions.

What a great poet he is and how his mere touch works wonders with whatever he takes in his hands, can be seen in those poems of his first collection *Bāng-i Darā* which are acknowledged adapta of English poems. Within the framework of the original Poem he works like an inspired artist, bringing out into full play t is latent in it. He often makes alterations and additions of own, but they are always in complete harmony with and Present to greater advantage the meaning of the original poet. "Thus he often weaves into a finer fabric of Urdu verse what is Just a minor or even an insignificant poem in English.

The following poem of Tennyson is a composition of his under graduate days and it is published as part of his juvenilia on page 33 in *The Poems and Plays of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, by the Modern Library, New York:

Love and Death

What time the mighty moon was gathering light

Love paced the thy my plots of Paradise,

And all about him roll'd his lustrous eyes;
When, turning round a cassia, full in view,
Death, walking all alone, beneath a yew,
And talking to 'himself, first met his sight.
"You must be gone," said Death, "these walks are mine."
Love wept and spread his sheeny vans for flight;
Yet ere he parted said, "This hour is thine;
Thou art the shadow of life, and as the tree
Stands in the sun and shadows all beneath,
So in the light of great eternity
Life eminent creates the shadow of death:
The shadow passeth when the tree shall fall,
But I shall reign for ever over all."

In the poem Tennyson makes Love concede temporary victory) --rather temporal victory — to its adversary, but, with the help of a logical conceit, exposes the transitory and dependent nature of Death. The central idea of the poem is contained in Love's declaration of his ultimate triumph over Death, though at the moment the former is depicted as weeping and spreading "his sheen) vans for flight" from "the thy my plots of Paradise" which are claimed by the latter to be his own. This declaration is preceded by a brief description of the time when the moon was still gathering light, and Love met with Death that ordered him to be gone. He goes away but only after he has argued his case to his own satisfaction. According to his way of reasoning, Death is as unsubstantial and unreal as a shadow; it is caused by the sun of eternity shining on the tree of earthly life. When the tree is no more there, its shadow will automatically be extinct. And then Love shall dominate over all for ever.

This fifteen-line poem is woven round a poetic fancy, buttressed. by a logical conceit, a little tinged with myth and couched in an emotion-charged language. It bears obvious marks of shaky craftsmanship. "Thy my plots" and "sheeny vans" smack of oversweetness of expression and "beneath" is made

to rhyme with "Death". Besides, the dramatic element is confined to the moment when, "turning round a cassia," Death first meets Love's sight. To the former's one-line-long bragging of his authority the latter answers with his seven-line-long self-assertion. This is all the dialogue that there is in the poem. It is, therefore, little wonder why no critic or anthologist has ever taken any notice of this very small piece of Tennyson. Even Harold Nicolson, who speaks approvingly of a few other pieces of the poet's juvenilia, passes over "Love and Death" in silence.

Before answering the question why Iqbal should have been drawn towards the poem, let us see how he recasts it into the mould of Urdu. Its title is the only part of it which he retains in its original form in the Urdu adaptation which is published as poem number 27 on page 57 in the thirty-first edition of *Bāng-i Darā* by Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, Lahore.

Tennyson's first line "What time the mighty moon was gat h e ring light" is expanded by Iqbal into a full-fledged stanza of sixteen lines, each line describing a particular facet of the dawn of creation. The richness of the details is only matched by the suggestiveness of the symbolic activities singled out for specific mention. How each rift of the original line is loaded with the ore of pure poetry may perhaps be illustrated by the following English paraphrase of the first stanza of Iqbal's adaptation:

"As the bud of life started blossoming, the cosmos presented a happily busy scene in which every primary creation of God was being gifted with its most distinctive attribute. Here the sun was receiving its crown of light and there the moon was getting its coronet of moonlight. In one corner the evening was being dressed in its sable cloak while, in the other, the stars were being taught how to twinkle in the sky at night. Leaves and buds were sprouting on the tree of life and angels were instructing the dew how to shed tears in the early hours of the Morning. For the first time ever the rose was being tickled to smile ; heartache was being conferred on the poet and self-consciousness was thirsting for the wine of self-forgetfulness. As heralds of a brand new beginning dark clouds were gathering thick in the firmament as if a hourie were drying its tresses in the air. Drunk with the sense of its own beauty and grandeur, the earth claimed to rival the sky while the latter laid claims to be limitless."

This flowering of a single line of the original poem into a full length stanza in Urdu testifies to Iqbal's artistic joy in his creative power which turns eight words into sixteen lines of great poetic excellence. Besides, his creative ardour works another wonder as well: this first stanza, like the rest of the poem, has all the flavour of Oriental poetry, as all its images are traditional and yet sparkling new. Thus a typical Eastern framework has been provided within which a dramatic, though brief, scene is to be enacted on the stage of the newly created cosmos. However, all this enlargement is wholly attuned to the spirit of the original poem.

In Tennyson "Love" is just "Love," no matter what connotation a man, according to his predilection or fancy, may choose to read in the word, but in Iqbal it is an angel on whose guidance bank one and all, and who is presented as an embodiment of restlessness and avidity. In Tennyson Love asks Death no questions and timorously obeys his adversary when he is authoritatively and abruptly commanded to be gone. But in the Urdu version Love asks Death: "Who are you? You, that are an eye-sore to every looker-on, what are you after?" These questions and comments present Death in an unfavourable light, put it on the defensive and save Love from the ignominy of bursting into tears at the cruel words of his opponent, as he does in Tennyson. Here once again Iqbal expands a few words into a vigorous dialogue and a dramatic moment into a full-blooded dramatic scene.

In place of the single assertion of Death in Tennyson " You must be gone... these walks are mine," Iqbal makes Death speak out his mind in boastful words which, nevertheless, end with a confession, robbing him of all his imposing looks and showing him as the hollow mockery that he really is. In the vein of a true braggart he declares:

"I am the Angel of Death. My very name is enough to explain my function. I tear to pieces the garment of existence and with a single breath of mine the candle of life is snuffed out. My looks are killing in their effects: no sooner do I fix them on anyone than he breathes his last. But there is a being in the world over whom my sway does not extend and against whom I am quite impotent. I stand in the same relation to him as does quicksilver to the fire: I cannot but perish instantaneously in his presence. That being resides in the heart of man as the spark of life and he is the apple of the Eye of the Immanent Light. It

is he who makes man shed tears in silence and solitude —tears which are sweet in their bitterness."

As Death finishes his discourse Love's face is wreathed in smiles which strike the former as a thunder-bolt and burn him out of existence then and there. "How can darkness coexist with light?" says Iqbal in the concluding line of the poem. "As soon as Death realised that he was face to face with the Soul of Immortality, he faded into nothingness." This end of the poem is far more dramatic, convincing and effective than what we find in Tennyson.

As I have already pointed out, the adaptation is published as twenty-seventh poem in *Bang-i Darā*. At this stage "Love" in Iqbal's poetry has not taken on the richer, deeper and wider con-notation which it comes to have in the creations of his maturer days. But in the traditional Urdu poetry Love has always been eulogised as the Immortal Spirit. Iqbal, therefore, may have been attracted by Tennyson's poem as it afforded a beautiful illustration of what has been a platitude among Urdu and Persian classical poets. Once drawn towards it, the artist in Iqbal woke up to the fullest realisation of the delightful possibilities of letting his poetic imagination work on what he found implicit in it. This exercise in adaptation must have given great delight to our poet as is evident from the ingenuity and skill with which he has woven a fifteen-line juvenile piece into a poem of respectable length and great artistic worth.

A REQUEST TO CONTRIBUTORS

Please write legibly, preferably type (double space), your articles leaving sufficient margin for editorial and press marking. The articles should be carefully revised before sending them for publication. Footnotes may be consecutively numbered and placed at the end of the article rather than page-wise. Your name and full postal address must necessarily be given both on the first and the last page.

—Editor, Iqbal Reties

IQBAL AND THE QUAID-I AZAM*

The Seer and the Realist

Dr M. Moizuddin

We hardly find examples in history of such a curious combination of two great personalities having different psyches, diametrically opposite in views and unlike in approach to life, coming so close to achieve a common goal that their ideas and ideals become absolutely identical.

The sincerity of their purpose, political acumen and national feeling bring them together to the same objective. One was the visionary, and the other a realist. Faithful vision and practical wisdom brought forth a unique and concrete result in the shape of Pakistan.

In the historic Presidential Address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in December 1930, Iqbal stressed that “religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states,”³⁷⁹ and stated further: “that Islam is itself a destiny and will not suffer a destiny”. This approach to vindicate the Muslim's mind in the subcontinent was the key point to see a “distinct cultural unit in India” which formed the basis of demand for a separate home-land for Muslims. He said in the same address: “I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities.... Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour, and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.”³⁸⁰ He justified the Muslim demand for the creation of Muslim India within India.³⁸¹

He put forth the demand embodied in the resolution, He said: “I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Pro. vince, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire,

* Presented at the Quaid-i Azam International Congress at Islamabad, 19.25 December 1976.

³⁷⁹ "Shamloo," *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore, 1944), Is. 7.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 12.

or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.”³⁸² He further said: “The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.”³⁸³

This demand was based on a “comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.”³⁸⁴

In that very address he described the quality of a leader. “By leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spiritual destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving force of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order.”³⁸⁵ He definitely found in the Quaid-i Azam the divine quality of a great leader. When he retorted and silenced a questioner who wanted to know the intrinsic quality of Mr Muhammad Ali Jinnah saying that “he is incorruptible and unpurchasable.”³⁸⁶

The complete faith of Iqbal in the leadership of Mr Jinnah to guide the Muslims of the subcontinent resulted in his perseverance and persuasion to Mr Jinnah. In 1930, while Iqbal was placing his demand for a separate State, Jinnah was still hoping for Hindu-Muslim unity. It took Iqbal quite a long time to convince him. After ten long years the demand culminated in Lahore Re-resolution. “It was in fact the spirit of Iqbal that showed itself through Mohammad Ali Jinnah,” writes M.H. Saiyid: “'Iqbal is no more amongst us,' said Mr. Jinnah to the author once, ‘but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do?’”³⁸⁷ While writing to Mr Jinnah a private and confidential letter on 21 June 1937, ‘Allamah Iqbal wrote to him: “As you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of

³⁸² *ibid.*,

³⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 13

³⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 12. 16

³⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁸⁶ Ghulam Dastagir Rashid, *Asrar-i Iqbal* (Hyderabad Deccan, 1944), p. 41.

³⁸⁷ M.H. Syed, Mohammad Ali Jinnah : *A Political Study* (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1945), pp. 698-99.

India.”³⁸⁸ In that letter he suggested a “separate federation of Muslim provinces” and included Bengal also in the scheme of his separate State. He wrote: “Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?”

The Quaid-i Azam reciprocated his feelings paying high tributes to Iqbal in these words:

“It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about Sikandar-Jinnah Pact being carried out and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it, but unfortunately he has not lived to see that the Punjab has all round made a remarkable progress and now it is beyond doubt that the Muslims stand solidly behind the Muslim League Organisation.”³⁸⁹

This reflects Jinnah's complete faith in Iqbal's genuine feeling for emancipation and well-being of the distressed Indian Muslims. While Iqbal was long ago disillusioned and had forsaken the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity, Jinnah clung till the last moment to bring the two communities together.

There were differences between Hindus and Muslims on the issue of joint electorate for which Mr Jinnah advocated with certain reservations, but Iqbal was the champion of separate electorate. Mr Jinnah was satisfied with Lucknow Pact and considered it a step forward towards Hindu-Muslim unity, but Iqbal was not happy over this decision. Mr Jinnah considered that half the battle had been won, but Iqbal could foresee the disillusionment, because Muslims were confronted with two opponent groups, i.e. Hindus and the British.

As early as 1909, while writing to Munshi Ghulam Qadir Farrukh of Amritsar, Iqbal in unequivocal terms denounced the idea of Hindu-Muslim

³⁸⁸ *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore ; Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963), pp. 20-21.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Foreword, pp. 5-6.

unity. He considered it in the best interest of Hindus and Muslims to maintain their national distinction and individuality. In December 1927, when the Muslim League accepted joint electorate, Iqbal differed. The “Muslim League was divided into two camps. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali were with Mr Jinnah on this issue. Mr Tinnah was the President and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew was the Secretary of one League, while Sir Muhammad Shafi’ was the President and Dr Muhammad Iqbal the Secretary of the other group of Muslim League which reiterated its demand for separate electorate. Mr Jinnah had a point. He wanted to maintain a political equipoise. He said:

“It is to maintain this balance that Mussalmans have taken a simple and juster method with the reciprocity clause. If this main proposition was accepted by Hindus, then I feel that it will lead to a hopeful atmosphere and settlement is within reach. I am personally not wedded to separate electorates, although I must say that the overwhelming majority of Mussalmans firmly and honestly believe that that is the only method by which they can be secured.”³⁹⁰

Mr Jinnah boycotted the Simon Commission, but Iqbal, under the impelling circumstances, accepted the Commission. This is possibly the only political issue on which they differed with each other. Soon after the famous “Nehru Report,” Muslims, though disillusioned, were divided amongst themselves. Some opposed it, some wanted some amendments in this Report and there was a group who accepted it. This Report did not accept the separate entity of Mussalmans in India. Therefore, an All-Parties Muslim Conference was convened at Delhi in January 1929. Iqbal was one of the initiators of this Conference. Muslim leaders from different groups attended the Conference. Sir Agha Khan presided at this Conference. A resolution was passed with regard to the political demands of Muslims in India and later on Mr Jinnah came with his famous Fourteen Points and thus the two factions of Muslim League came together. This brought Iqbal into more limelight as a sagacious political leader; he was invited to preside over the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. His historic Presidential Address, as mentioned earlier, proved to be the milestone of

³⁹⁰ 12. M. Rafique Afzal, Ed., *Selected Speeches and Statements of Quaid-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore, 1966), p. 252.

Pakistan movement. Iqbal was not invited to the First Round Table Conference, but he was invited to the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931. Sir Agha Khan was the leader of the Muslim delegates. Iqbal was a vocal member. He spoke on the problems of Indian Muslims and reiterated his demands for a separate State for them. This, however, was not fully appreciated and so Iqbal was disappointed and soon left for Italy. Iqbal participated in the Third Round Table Conference in November 1932. It is said that he did not participate much in its deliberations since he was opposed to the formation of any Central Government or Federation and advocated for autonomy of the provinces. During this very Conference in 1932 he exchanged privately his views with different persons in London regarding a separate Muslim State. Amongst them Chowdhry Rahmat Ali of Cambridge University was notable who, on the basis of Iqbal's idea, coined the word "Pakistan" and published a pamphlet, *Now or Never*, and popularised the demand of Pakistan. Jinnah met Sir Muhammad Iqbal many times in London, and they were good friends. But, despite his disillusionment, Jinnah did not yield to Iqbal's arguments. Almost a decade was to pass before he admitted that he had "finally been led to Iqbal's conclusions, as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India."³⁹¹ Allamah Iqbal mentioned this in a letter to the Quaid-i Azam in these words: "I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come."³⁹²

In the "Joint Select Committee," Mr Jinnah was not included. The Congress boycotted this and thus the Committee ended without any fruitful result. From 1931 to 1934 Mr Jinnah lived mostly in London. This was almost the period of his self-exile and aloofness from Indian politics, but he was not unconcerned totally with the interests and political future of Indian Muslims. His friends were constantly in touch with him. Nawabzadah Liaqat Ali Khan requested him to come back to India to guide the Muslims. He subsequently decided to come to India in April 1934 and, while presiding over the All-India Muslim League, he appealed to Indian Muslims to sink their differences and join the Muslim League to strengthen his hands to fight for Muslim cause. He was elected unopposed to the Central Legislative

³⁹¹ G. Allana, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, The Story of a Nation*.

³⁹² *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 23.

Assembly from Bombay under the India Act of 1935.

Mr Jinnah now mustered his strength to unite Muslims together since they were divided and every province had its own leader and party. Iqbal gave his full support when he came to Lahore in 1935 to form the Parliamentary Board for election. A Conference of Punjab League Council was convened under the chairmanship of Iqbal. Sir Fazle Hussain was a very strong leader of the Unionist Party, but Iqbal extended his full co-operation to Mr Jinnah, the reference to which has already been made earlier. The Quaid-i Azam paid high tributes to him for his unflinching support. Iqbal wholeheartedly supported Quaid's mission and was not prepared to listen to a word against him.

Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah contains only thirteen letters written to the Quaid-i Azam during the period 13 May 1936 to 10 November 1937. The book was published in 1942 by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore with a Foreword by the Quaid-i Azam, which shows the regard and respect the Quaid-i Azad had for Iqbal. These letters are of great historical importance written during the crucial days for Muslims in India dealing with many important issues of the time. Unfortunately, the Quaid-i Azam's letters to Iqbal have remained untraceable so far. It is said that they were destroyed by Iqbal himself before his death. The Quaid-i Azam, paying attributes to Iqbal, writes:

“... I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the ‘Pakistan Resolution,’ passed on 23rd March, 1940.”³⁹³

I would now conclude by quoting the high tributes the Quaid-I Azam paid to Iqbal on different occasions to show the deep love, and regard they had for each other:

³⁹³ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

“The Muslim League has already deplored the loss of Dr Sir Mohammad Iqbal. His death, too, is an irreparable loss to Muslim India. He was a personal friend of mine and composer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us.”

While presiding over the Annual Session of the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, Iqbal advocated in clear terms the establishment of an autonomous State of Muslim majority provinces. An eminent scholar today, despite Iqbal's unambiguous demand for a Muslim State, makes such a statement as the following: “It must be remembered that Iqbal did not argue for a Muslim State, but only for a Muslim bloc in an Indian Federation. Moreover, Bengal and Assam (the present East Pakistan) did not enter into his calculations. It is grossly misleading to call him the originator of the idea of Pakistan or the poet who dreamed of Pakistan. He never talked of Partition and his ideal was that of a getting together of the Muslim Provinces in the North-West so as to bargain more advantages with the projected Hindu Centre.”³⁹⁴ If we accept this interpretation, the very basic conception of the demand of Pakistan as a separate homeland is totally shattered. “Iqbal advocated partition: he even demanded and defined the frontiers of a proposed 'consolidated Muslim State,' which, he believed, would be ‘in the best interests of India and Islam,’” writes Hector Bolitho, the biographer of Jinnah.³⁹⁵

It is true that Iqbal did not include Bengal and Assam in his scheme of one State in the Allahabad Address, but in his letter to the Quaid-i Azam he explicitly mentioned Bengal to be included in “a separate Federation of Muslim Provinces.”³⁹⁶ He further elaborates his views suggesting to the Quaid-i Azam that “why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as a nation entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?” In the light of these words it is obvious that Iqbal later on included Bengal also in his demand for a separate State which is further corroborated by the Quaid-i Azam's own statement

³⁹⁴ K. K. Azle, *The Making of Pakistan* (London : Chatto & Windus, 1967), p. 54.

³⁹⁵ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah : Creator of Pakistan* (Karachi : Oxford University Press), p. 99.

³⁹⁶ *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 24.

referred to above wherein he says that “his views were substantially in consonance with my own”.

Late Mr Mumtaz Hasan has given us a very clear picture of what Iqbal actually visualised at the time he made his celebrated Allahabad Address:

“Speaking of the 1930 address, I am reminded of a personal anecdote. When Iqbal returned to Lahore from Allahabad, I went to see him. I was still a student at college and felt greatly perturbed at his reference to self-government for the new Muslim state, ‘within the British Empire’. ‘Why did you say that, Sir?’ said I: ‘Why must our Muslim State remain within the British Empire?’ His first response was a smile. ‘You will notice,’ said he, ‘that I said, “self-government within or without the British Empire”. You are worried about “within,” but there are so many others who told me they are worried about “without”.’ ‘But why did you have to say that at all, Sir?’ I insisted. ‘Because,’ said he, ‘while I see the establishment of a Muslim State as inevitable in the process of history, I cannot see clearly, at least at present, whether it will be within or without the British Empire.’ I had to keep quiet. Here was a man who was utterly loyal to his vision, who told you what he saw clearly and what he did not.”³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ Mumtaz Hasan, "Iqbal As A Seer," *Iqbal Review*, Karachi, April 1966.

Notes and References

OFFPRINTS

Contributors of articles to the Iqbal Review are supplied five offprints of their articles by the Academy. if more than five offprints are required, this may please be stated, in red ink, on the first page of the article, even if a request has been made in the letter accompanying the article. These will be printed and the cost will be adjusted against their remuneration.

—Editor, Iqbal Review

IQBAL AND JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Professor Riaz Hussain

Whereas in provincial politics Iqbal was virtually the leader of opposition to feudalists like Fazl-i Hussain and Sikandar Hayat Khan, on all-India level he wins a counterpart of Jawaharlal Nehru. Both had certain affinities: intellectual sophistication of a high order, patriotism, love of freedom, an international outlook and zeal for economic modernisation. What set them apart was Islam. At the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore on 31 December 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the goal of the Congress Party henceforward was "Puma Swaraj" (Complete Independence) and the establishment of a secular Federation in India. At the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad on 30 December 1930, Iqbal declared the Muslim goal to be the partition of India to set up a sovereign Islamic State. The contrast is too significant to be passed over lightly. In spite of this, many Western and Indian writers, foremost among them Nehru himself, are considerably at pains to establish Iqbal as a camp follower of the secular Nationalists. In his *Discovery of India*, Nehru levies two malicious charges on Iqbal. "Edward Thompson has written that in the course of conversation Iqbal told him that he had advocated Pakistan because of his position as President of the Muslim League, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Muslims especially." A little further on he describes a personal interview with Iqbal. "A few months before his death, as he lay on his sick-bed, he [Iqbal] sent for me [Nehru] and I gladly obeyed the summons. As I talked to him about many things I felt how much we had in common, in spite of differences, and how easy it would be to get on with him. He was in reminiscent mood and wandered from one subject to another, and I listened to him talking little myself. I admired him and his poetry, and it pleased me greatly to feel that he liked me and had a good opinion of me. A little before I left him he said to me, 'What is there in common between Jinnah and you? He is a politician, you are a patriot.'³⁹⁸

Nehru's bid to represent Iqbal as his admirer and Jinnah's critic was promptly foiled by Iqbal himself. Nazir Niyazi in his *Iqbal Ke Hudur Men*

³⁹⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India* (New York, 1946), p. 353.

reports that when Nehru's version of the interview was laid before him, Iqbal explained that patriotism was a basic quality, but that politics demanded men of practical and realistic views and consequently an honest politician stood on a higher pedestal than a mere patriot.

Iqbal opened his Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League Session at Allahabad (December 1930) with the remark: "I lead no party, I follow no leader." Ten years later he unequivocally declared in a Press statement: "Our nation has full confidence in Jinnah's integrity and political judgment. It is for this reason that reactionary leaders are flustered."³⁹⁹

In fact, on the political plane Iqbal and Nehru were poles apart. Their views on some of the basic questions of the day were divergent. An instructive case in point is their different reactions to the Round Table Conference, 1931. In the *Discovery of India*, Nehru attacked the Muslim viewpoint at the Round Table Conference as reactionary and poured scorn over the role played by Sir Agha Khan. Actually, the boot was on the other leg. A prominent liberal Hindu leader, Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad, of Bombay, who attended the Conference as a delegate, says in his book *Recollections and Reflections*:

"After we reached London well in advance for the Round Table Conference it was arranged that some representatives of Hindus and of Muslims should meet to consider the question of a communal settlement. Sapru, Sastri, myself, Jayakar, Moonje and Ambedkar were deputed for this meeting and the Agha Khan, Jinnah and one other gentleman represented the Muslims... . When we first met, I put the question to the Agha Khan, whether, if we arrived at a satisfactory settlement on other points, he would agree to Joint Electorates. He said: 'If you satisfy our demands on all other matters we would agree to Joint Electorates, with reservation of seats for Muslims.'⁴⁰⁰

Sir Chimanlal then states that Sapru, Sastri and himself would have agreed immediately to these demands, but they were seriously disappointed in the attitude of Jayakar and Moonje, the Mahasabha delegates.

³⁹⁹ *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, 9 May 1936. Also Ashiq Husain Batalvi, Iqbal Key Akhiri Do Sal, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁰⁰ *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 358.

Another Hindu delegate Kanji Dawarkadas states: "The communal and Depressed Classes problems would have been settled in London at the Round Table Conference, but Gandhiji was under the influence of Hindu Communalists — Pandit Malaviya and G.D. Birla."⁴⁰¹

The discussions between the Muslim delegates and Gandhi were held at the Ritz Hotel suite of The Agha Khan who says in his *Memoirs* (London, 1953): "The Mahatma sought to impose a first and fundamental condition that the Muslims should, before they asked for any guarantees for themselves, accept Congress interpretation of Swaraj [Self-Governmentment] as their goal, to which Mr. Jinnah very rightly answered that since the Mahatma was not imposing this condition on the other Hindu members of the various delegations attending the Round Table Conference, why should he impose it on the Muslims?"⁴⁰²

Recounting behind-the-scene discussions between the Muslim delegates and Mr Gandhi, Iqbal said in a statement issued on 6 December 1933:

"Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has described His Highness the Agha Khan as the greatest inspr rer of 'political reactionaryism' among Muslims. The truth, however, is that it was the Agha Khan himself who assured Mr. Gandhi in the presence of several Indian delegates, including myself, that if the Hindus or the Congress agreed to Muslim demands, the entire Muslim community would be ready to serve as his (Mr. Gandhi's) camp-followers... .

"Mr. Gandhi weighed the Agha Khan's words and his offer to accept Muslim demands came later and was hedged round with conditions. The first condition was that Mr. Gandhi would accept the Muslim demands in his personal capacity and would try to secure, but not guarantee, the acceptance of his position by the Congress, I [Iqbal] asked him to wire to the Congress Executive and secure its consent to his offer. He said he knew that the Congress would not make him their plenipotentiary on the question.

"Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru can easily refer to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who sat near me at the time, as to her observations which she shared with me

⁴⁰¹ *India Fights for Freedom* (1966), p. 404.

⁴⁰² P. 229.

on Mr. Gandhi's attitude. Mr. Gandhi was then asked to secure at least the Hindu and Sikh delegates' con-sent to his offer. He did make something like an attempt to do so but failed and privately expressed his disappointment with their attitude.

"Mr. Gandhi's second and most unrighteous condition was that Muslims should not support the special claims of Untouchables, particularly their claim to special representation. It was pointed out to him that it did not lie in the mouth of Muslims to oppose those very claims on the part of the Untouchables which they were advancing for themselves and that if Mr. Gandhi could arrive at a mutual understanding with the Untouchables the Muslims would certainly not stand in their way. Mr. Gandhi, however, insisted on this condition. I should like to know how far Pandit Jawahar Lal with his well-known socialist views would sympathise with such an inhuman condition.

"This is the inner history of the negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Muslim delegates. "⁴⁰³

Iqbal proceeded to say that if Pandit Jawahar Lal

"is unable to accept this [the Agha Khan's] offer let him at least not accuse Muslims of political reactionaryism but leave those who understand the motive and purposes of Hindu communalism to draw the conclusion that he is in essential agreement with the Mahasabha in the latter's campaign against the Communal Award. "⁴⁰⁴

The sharpest clash between Iqbal and Nehru was over the Qadiani problem. Nehru, due to his inherent incapacity to understand the mechanics of Islam, had imbibed the idea that Bahaism in Iran and Qadianism in India were reform movements in Islam. Iqbal disabused the Pandit's mind of these false notions, and categorically told the Pandit that his interference in the internal affairs of Islam was not welcome.

The Pandit believed that modernisation in Turkey had alienated that

⁴⁰³ S.A. Vapid, Ed., *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1969), pp. 363-65.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

country from Islam. Well, this was not true. Islam, said Iqbal, was jealous of its frontier, but within those frontiers it allowed considerable freedom of *ijtihad* (independent judgment). Therefore, modernisation was not necessarily anti-Islamic.

Not many people apparently know that Nehru's mass contact movement was a reaction, conscious or unconscious, to Iqbal's mass-oriented propaganda for the League in the Punjab. To sum up, Iqbal's attitude towards Nehru was patronising, even indulgent, but uncompromising on basic principles.

Notes and References

Relationship of Knowledge Gained Through Intellect and that Through Love and Intuition*

"I have generally used the word 'knowledge' in the sense of knowledge based on the senses. It gives man Power which should be subordinated to Religion. If it is not subordinated to religion, it is a Satanic force. This knowledge is the first step to true know-ledge....

"Knowledge, which cannot be circumscribed within consciousness and which is the final stage of Truth, is also called Love or Intuition....

"A Muslim should try to convert such Knowledge, which is based on senses and is the source of limitless power, to Islam, i.e. transform this (unbeliever), Bu Lahab, into (the perfect Momin), Ali. In other words, if the power of knowledge is inspired by religion, it is the greatest blessing for mankind."

* Iqbal to K.G. Saiyidain (see Saiyidain's Iqbal's Educational Philosophy (Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1971 reprint), pp. 89-90).

IQBAL AS THE POET OF TIME

A Literary Study

Kamal M. Habib

I

It has been affirmed, with probably some justification, that, while prose exercises domination over the mind, poetry envelops the sense. The equivalent, therefore, of the rhetoric in prose is the lyrical in poetry, so to speak in a rather general way. Poetry should, for this reason, convey thoughts about life more deeply, intensely, and effectively than prose, even though prose as a genre is far more eclectic than poetry.

The greater degree of intensity resident in poetry must per se make it more subjective than prose, and the poet through the vehicle of rhyme or any other non-prosaic device conveys, one way or the other, his reactions to life. Whether it is a purely meta-physical work like Lucretius' *De Natura Rerum* ("On the Nature of Things") or the *Manẓiqat al-Tair* by the great and noble Shaikh Farīd al-Din 'Aṭṭār, or a drama heralding the return of the West to its Greek past like the second part of *Faust* of Goethe, the subjective element, which is the very warp and woof of poetry, is bound to be there. But the crux of the problem of subjectivity is as to how much of it is to be found in the poetical works of a poet.

This strand of subjectivity has made fatalism run through the innermost fibres of Urdu poetry and, therefore, a great body of Urdu poetry is informed by fatalism. For instance, Mirzā Sawdā would say:

ملائک جو لوح و قلم دیکھتے ہیں	مٹاتے ہیں رو رو نوشتے کو میرے
-------------------------------	-------------------------------

[The angels, on seeing the Writ of the destiny allotted to me, weeping the while,

go on erasing the inscription of the Moving Pen on the Tablet.]

And Ghālib in a superb verse calls life a day:

بے صرفہ ہی گزرتی ہے ہو گرچہ عمرِ خضر
حضرت بھی کل کہیں گے کہ ہم کیا کیا کیے

[Even a long, long life like that of Khidr is an expanse of waste.

What substantial acts would he brag of on the morrow?]

In Fānī we arrive at the very pinnacle of fatalism:

تیرے دیوانے پہ اتمامِ کرم ہو یا رب!
یہ در و دیوار دیے اب انہیں ویرانی دے

[Crown, O Lord, Thy Compassion upon this humble slave of Thee.

Thou gayest him a home and a hearth; make both desolate.]

I need not quote more examples, as any number of verses could be produced to show how prominent is the strain of fatal-ism in Urdu literature, undoubtedly a heritage from its Persian poetical tradition. With such a *Weltanschauung* it is but natural that life and the verities of life should be considered through a dioptré of vision which is coloured by pessimism. Transience rather than eternity; death instead of immortality; the bodily, the tangible at the cost of the soul — these become the very fabric of Urdu poetry.

It is consequently quite obvious that no major Urdu poet before Iqbal could, for reasons outlined in the briefest possible manner, consider time as a concept, or consider the things-in themselves or, call it, if you will, the metaphysical entities of life and the external world, so profoundly. A difficult concept like that of time can be poetised only when the poet has shed off a substantial measure of subjectivity. And all this adds up to a unique aspect of Iqbal: he is as much a poet of time as he is of khudī (ego).

Indeed, in the annals of world poetry, Iqbal occupies a singular *piet-a-terre* insofar as the concept of time is concerned, the more so because, with the eye of a trained philosopher, he brings in a measure of objectivity, which I, from my own study of poetry, find exceptional. It is not as if other poets have not composed verses about time; it is the way in which he writes about time that he is *sui generis*. Shakespeare, for instance, has written two wonderful sonnets upon time ("When I have seen by Time's fell hand defac'd... " and "Since brass nor stone nor earth nor bound-less sea"...) and in the end anticipates "eternality" (a word rather convenient to use for eternity within eternity and coined by A.N. Whitehead) of his poetic message. But by and large the concept is subjective as in:

" ... How with this rage shall Beauty hold a plea
Whose action is no stronger than a flower?
Oh, how shall summer's honey-breath hold
out Against the wreckful siege of batt'ring days,
When rocks impregnable are not so stout
Nor gates of steel so strong but time decays?
Oh, none unless this miracle have might
That in black ink my love may still shine bright!"

One might of course aver — and with considerable justification — that a poet like Shakespeare who has studied the areas of experience with greater depth than any other poet with the exception of Sophocles is great precisely because he is not a poet of specialisation but of eclecticism. And by and large Shakespeare is rarely mystical, the mysticism of *The Phoenix and the Turtle* and that of the sonnet on the soul ("Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth...") being exceptions than rules.

In Andrew Marvell, who is classed as a metaphysical poet and is nearer the Age of Reason in time, time has lost much of its terror, and is accepted as the template of life, something that must be accepted than feared. And thus, in *To His Coy Mistress* he says:

"But at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near:

And yonder all before us lie
Deserts of vast Eternity.
Thy beauty shall no more be found;
Nor in thy marble vault shall sound
My echoing song: then worms shall try
That long preserved virginity:
And your quaint honour turn to dust;
And into ashes all my lust.
The grave's a fine and private place,
But none I think do there embrace."

This satirical view of time is evident in a major modern English poet like T.S. Eliot, who, in *Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service*, regards the emergence of the early Christian leader, Origen, as the product of the menstrual turn of time, which bore him "enervate". The concept of eternity in relation to time is exemplified, besides Shakespeare, by several modern poets. A very germane instance would be that of the late W.H. Auden's elegy upon W.B. Yeats:

"... But time that is intolerant
Of the brave and innocent,
And indifferent in a week
To a beautiful physique,
"Worships language and forgives
Everyone by whom it lives,
Pardons cowardice, conceit,
Lays its honours at their feet.
"Time, that with this strange excuse,
Pardon'd Kipling and his views,
And will pardon Paul Claudel,

Pardons him for writing well."

Time, according to Auden, would put a moratorium upon mortality if the product is well finished. The residue of greatness survives, although it may be restructured and replicated through imagination, as, for instance, our studies into the origin of the Attic tragedy or the historical sources which went into the making of the great tragedies of Shakespeare.

Among the twentieth-century poets of this subcontinent, who besides Iqbal have written something on time and related verities are Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. *Sesh Saptak* (No.21) presents Tagore's approach to time through the astronomical, historical, and momentary aspects of time.

(1)

"The largest of the fields is
measured in terms of billions of years...
From the hiding places in the unmanifest
all things rushed into the
manifest to dance a death-dance."

(2)

"Within the larger boundary
smaller circles of time
are being drawn and erased
Moenjodaro rose like a soap-bubble,
silently vanishing in the sea-sands of the desert."

(3)

"Tonight, sitting in my grove,
beneath the steady light of the stars,
I salute the Lord of Time.
Let all schemes of immortality
fall on the ground and scatter in the winds

like playthings held loosely

in the hands of a child.

'Ever and anon have I my

moments filled with bliss,

who shall fix their measure?

The immeasurable truth is that in them

is not contained in the circumference of the stars."

Sisirkumar Ghose observes that the poet here has "struck a typical balance in terms of the inspired moment," and further: "It is the balance of the artist who can find great in the small, the infinite in the finite; it is the moment made eternity."⁴⁰⁵ For Tagore Amrita of freedom from death and erasure is contained in the here and now, and not in any other moment. What the black ink was to Shakespeare in relation to time is for Tagore the bliss of the moment. Here, unlike in Marvell and even in Shakespeare, time is not visualised as a template, but something that is moulded by the human mind, by the truth claimed to have been unveiled by it, but there is not the least tenuous logical connection as to why this should have been so.

As a piece of lyrical flight or perhaps as a far-fetched conceit, these verses might have some value, but Tagore does not instil into his concept of time any definite philosophical viewpoint. Indeed, if anything, Tagore is more of a *dilettante* than a trained philosopher, and, therefore, his poetic wherewithal is his poetic fancy, not the development of motifs, from which poetic thought could take over. Against this, Iqbal believes that the ego can break through the barriers of time and space for specific reasons, the *a priori* suppositions being of course religious to the non-Muslim and representing the ultimate truths to the Muslim. Tagore, in keeping with the lyrical and subjective nature of his poetry, is at times self-contradictory and at others ambivalent with regard to time. In the *Letter*, after the manner of the Romantic poets, he posits a view of circular time:

"I sigh that I had lived in Kalidasa's golden age,

and that you had been — ah, but what is the use

⁴⁰⁵ *The Later Poems of Tagore* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1961).

of wild and idle wishing?

I am born hopelessly in the
age of the printing press,—a

belated Kalidasa,

and you, my love, are utterly modern."⁴⁰⁶

The meaningless hustle and bustle of today, then, are the evils of the age which the poetic mind of Tagore would like to dismiss *in limine*. He desires Kalidasa's age, not the characteristics of that age. What Greece is to Goethe, Shelley, and Herder — even perhaps to Keats — the India of Kalidasa's time is to Tagore. This view of time is not uncommon in the modern-day Western poetry and philosophy. The concept of circular time is to be found in Byron and Spencer (rather vaguely) but more pronouncedly in Heinrich Heine, Hoelderlin, Louis Blanqui, and Guyau. Schopenhauer also observes:

"Throughout and everywhere the true symbol of Nature is the circle, because it is the scheme or type of recurrence. This is, in fact, the most universal form in Nature, which it carries out in everything, from the course of the stars down to the death and the genesis of organised beings, and by which alone, is the ceaseless stream of time, and its contents, a permanent existence, i.e. Nature becomes possible."⁴⁰⁷

In Virgil it is even more self-evident: "There will also be other wars; and great Achilles will again be sent to Troy.

"Nietzsche's doctrine of "eternal recurrence of the same" is a

near return to the Stoic doctrine of *ekpyrosis* (cosmic conflagration) which also finds its sympathetic exponents in Shelley and Goethe, especially in the latter's symbolisation of Euphorion as unrestrained energy and Helen, symbolising the ideal of beauty and the aesthetic direction of Western Europe, to speak nothing of symbols like Homunculus, Seismos (Earthquake), Troglodytes, Fates, etc. Even as major a thinker as Whitehead betrays the Stoic influence of time, according to S. Sambursky.⁴⁰⁸ *In Process*

⁴⁰⁶ Translation by Sisikumar Ghose in *ibid*.

⁴⁰⁷ *The World As Will and Idea*, Tr. T. B. Haldane and J. Kemp (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1883: 9th imp.), III, 267.

⁴⁰⁸ *Physics of the Stoics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959), pp. 100-08.

and Reality, for instance, Whitehead says:⁴⁰⁹

"There is no such thing (as instantaneous present) to be found in nature. As an ultimate fact, it is a nonentity. What is immediate for sense-awareness is a duration. Now a duration has within itself a past and a future; and the temporal breadths of the immediate durations of sense-awareness are very indeterminate and dependent on the individual percipient....The passage of nature leaves nothing between the past and the future What we perceive as present is the vivid fringe of memory tinged with anticipation.,.. The past and the future meet and mingle in the ill-defined present."

III

A rather interesting point to note about Iqbal's concern with time is that, although in the *Asrār-i Khudī* ("Secrets of the Self") which was published in 1915, the concept of time has come in for poetisation, it is nowhere in evidence as an integrated concept in the *Bāng-i Darā*, which was published seven years later. One possible answer could be that he did not regard the *Bāng-i Darā* as a sufficiently philosophical and mystical work, and that the theme could be better attempted in the *Bāl-i Jibrīl* and the *Payām-i Mashriq*. In fact, up to 1908 the poet was a pantheist and a Platonist. His limning of the emergence of love out of chaos as the operating force of the universe in the poem, *Mohabbat*, is almost cent per cent Platonic: only in this case it is love and not time as in Plato's *Timaenus*. The topics covered in the *Bāng-i Darā* emphasise the reaction of the poet to the physical world, and this includes the world of Islam. The *Asrār*, *Rumūz*, *Payām-i Mashriq*, *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, and indeed almost all the later works of the poet are introspective in nature. Thus, in the *Asrār*, while describing how the system of the world originates in the self, the poet observes:

آسماں موجے ز گردِ راہِ او	وسعتِ ایامِ جولانِ گاہِ او
شب ز خوابش، روز از بیداریش ⁴¹⁰	گلِ بجیبِ آفاقِ از گلکاریش

⁴⁰⁹ Chapter 2.

⁴¹⁰ P. 13.

"The spaciousness of Time is its arena,
 Heaven is a billow of the dust on the road.
 From its rose-planting the world abounds in roses;
 Night is born of its sleep, day springs from its waking."⁴¹¹

In the *Payām-i Mashriq* ("The Message of the East") which was first published in 1923, the *Nawā'-i Waqt* ("The Song of Time") is the first full-blooded poem by Iqbal on the theme of time. It is proposed to compare the poet's concept of time in this poem with his subsequent poems which are either time-oriented or devoted to time.

نوائے وقت⁴¹²

خورشید	به	دامانم،	انجم	به	گریبانم
در من	نگری	پیچم،	در خود	نگری	جانم
در شهر	و	بیابانم	در کاخ	و	شبستانم
من دردم	و	درمانم،	من عیش		فراوانم
من	تیغ	جهان	سوزم،	من	چشمه
چنگیزی	و	تیموری،	مشته	ز	غبار
پنگامه	افرنگی،	یک	جسته	شرار	من
انسان	و	جهان او،	از نقش	و	نگار
خون	جگر	مردان،	سامان	بهار	من

⁴¹¹ R.A. Nicholson, Tr. (Iqbal: *Asrār-i Khudī*), Secrets of the Self (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1972), p. 19.

⁴¹² *Payām-i Mashriq*, pp. 102-03.

من آتشِ سوزانم، من روضہ رضوانم

آسودہ و سیارم، این طرفہ تماشا ہیں
در بادۂ امروزم، کیفیتِ فردا ہیں
پنہاں بہ ضمیرِ من، صد عالمِ رعنا ہیں
صد کوکبِ غلطان ہیں، صد گنبدِ خضرا ہیں

من کسوتِ السانم، پیراہنِ بزدانم

تقدیرِ فسونِ من، تدبیرِ فسونِ تو
تو عاشقِ لیلائے، من دشتِ جنونِ تو
چوں روحِ رواں پا کم، از چند و چگونِ تو
تو رازِ درونِ من، من رازِ درونِ تو

از جانِ تو پیداہم، در جانِ تو پنہانم

من رپرو و تو منزل، من مزرع و تو حاصل
تو سازِ صد آہنگے، تو گرمیِ این محفل
آوارۂ آب و گل! دریاہ مقامِ دل
گنجیدہ بہ جامے ہیں این قلمِ بے ساحل

از موجِ بلندِ تو سر بر زده طوفانم

"Sun and stars in my bosom I hold:
By me, who am nothing, thou art ensouled.
In light and in darkness, in city and wood,
I am pain, I am life, I am manifold.
Destroyer and quickener, I from of old.
"Chingiz, Timur, specks of my dust they came,
And Europe's turmoil is a spark of my flame,
Man and his world I fashion and frame,
Blood of his heart my spring-flowers claim.
Hell, fire, Paradise, I be it told.
"I rest still, I move — wondrous sight for thine eyes!
In the glass of 'Today see 'Tomorrow arise,
See a thousand fair worlds where my thought deep lies,
See a thousand swift stars, a thousand blue skies!
Man's garment am I, God I behold.
"Fate is my spell, free will is thy chant.
O lover of Laila, thy frenzy I haunt ;
As the spirit pure, I transcend thy vaunt.
Thou and I are each other's innermost want.
Thou showest me forth, bid'est me too in thy mould.

"Thou art my journey's end, thou my harvest-grain,
The assembly's glow and the music's strain,
O wanderer, home to thy heart again!
Behold in a cup the shoreless main!
For thy lofty wave my ocean rolled."⁴¹³

The latter-day Iqbal divides time into two kinds: that of what Bergson denotes as Pure Duration and which is Divine Time, and phenomenal or serial time. The first kind of time is expressed through a ḥadīth of the Holy Prophet: 'Do not speak ill of time for God says He is Time.' Since here Time is made to speak of its being the raiment of man and the beholder of God, the clear-cut division of time as Divine Time and serial or phenomenal time has not yet ensconced itself into the poet's mind. As I shall shortly show, the poet regards the ego as that potential capability which would obliterate space, which, to quote Schopenhauer, makes geometry possible, and time, which renders arithmetic possible. I have discussed this point in considerable detail in my work *Iqbal: His Poetic Thought, Diction, and Imagery*, which is nearing completion. However, for the present, we would content ourselves with a quotation from the poet's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*:

"We are now, I hope, in a position to see the meaning of the (Qur'ānic) verse — 'And it is He Who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed one another for those who desire to think on God or desire to be thankful.' A critical interpretation of the sequence of time as revealed in ourselves has led us to a notion of the ultimate Reality as pure duration *in which thought, life, and purpose interpenetrate to form an organic unity*. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of the self — an all-embracing concrete self — the ultimate source of all individual life and thought. I venture to think that the error of Bergson consists in *regarding time as prior to self, to which alone pure duration is predicable*. Neither pure space nor pure time can hold together the multiplicity of objects and events. It is the appreciative act of an enduring self only which can seize

⁴¹³ Translation by R. A. Nicholson [?].

the multiplicity of duration — broken up into an infinity of instants--and transfrom it to the organic wholeness of a synthesis."⁴¹⁴

This is not the place to discuss the ideas of the early Muslim philosophers on time. But S. Alam Khundmiri is not being very correct when he observes that the Muslim philosopher, al-Kindī (d. after A.D. 870), believed, after the Greeks, in the eternity of the universe.⁴¹⁵ In fact, at least insofar as the eternity of the world was concerned, the "Philosopher of the Arabs" abandoned it at one place. Richard Walzer in this context says:

"The highest sphere had been created from nothing in a single moment of time by the omnipotent will of God, and would not last a moment longer once God had decided on its end."⁴¹⁶

And so it would not be correct to hold that even a Mu'tazilite like al-Kindī "found in time nothing but the relations of posterior and prior".⁴¹⁷

Iqbal's thesis on time, simply stated, is this: Since the cosmos is the product of the Mind of God, Divine Time and phenomenal or serial time are bound to be different, just as there is Divine Space and dimensional space. The highest scale which the ego has negotiated is the Mī'rāj of the Holy Prophet, during which this distinction between the two kinds of space and time was suspended, but it is possible through mystical experience to interpenetrate a little into Divine Time.

Although a mystical poet — and perhaps the only truly mystical poet in Urdu literature — Iqbal does not dismiss time as unreal which Bertrand Russell holds out to be a "cardinal doctrine of many metaphysical systems".⁴¹⁸ On the other hand, he feels rather intensely about time which he regards as a matter of life and death for the Muslim world, and the introspective nature of his latter-day poetry has made it time-oriented. There is no question of the unreality of time; it is just the question of how we react to it.

⁴¹⁴ Chapter II : "The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience," pp. 55-56. Italics mine.

⁴¹⁵ "Conception of Time," in Hafeez Malik, Ed., Iqbal : *Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York and London : Columbia Univ. Press, 1971), p. 247.

⁴¹⁶ *Greek into Arabic* (Oxford : Brune Cassirer, 1962), p. 13.

⁴¹⁷ Khundmiri, "Conception of Time," in Hafeez Malik, Ed., op. cit., p. 247.

⁴¹⁸ "Mysticism and Logic," in *Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays* (Middlesex : Penguin Books, 1954), p. 26.

While all mystical poets are metaphysical, not all metaphysical poets need be mystical. Lucretius, for example, is preponderantly metaphysical, despite the poignancy of his feeling. A mystical verse is one that would comprise multi-layered symbolism, or would defy analysis, such as Wordsworth's *Lucy* poems. This would become clearer as we proceed further.

In the *Bāng-i Darā* the poet is more concerned with the fashioning of poetic vignettes, images, and pithy rhetorics, the finest example of which, as Uslūb Aḥmad Anṣārī has rightly pointed out, is the *Ṭulū-i Islām* ("the Dawn of Islam"). In the *Bāl-i Jibril* there is a remarkable change in the diction and imagery of the poet. Arabic idioms and images, unknown in the earlier Iqbal, are flashed in quick succession in the *Masjid-i Qurṭubah* and *Dhawq-o Shawq*, to speak nothing of the overwhelming influence of Jālāl al-Din Rūmī at the time the work was composed. Iqbal's concept of time consequently bears the stamp of Rūmī's impact.

Let us compare two poetic pieces by Rūmī and Iqbal. In the *Divani Shamsi Tabrizī*, in one of the greatest masterpieces of mystical poetry, Rūmī says:

چه تدبیر اے مسلمان کہ من خود را نمی دانم

نه ترسا نه يهودم من نه گبرم نه مسلمانم

نه شرقيم نه غريم نه يريم نه بحريم

نه از كانِ طبيعيم، نه از افلاك گردانم

نه از ہندم، نه از چینم، نه از بلغار و سقسینم

نه از ملكِ عراقيم، نه از كاكب خراسانم

مکانم لا مکان باشد نشانم بی نشان باشد

نه من باشد نه جاں باشد که من از جاںِ جانانم
دوئی از خود بدر کردم یکی دیدم دو عالم را
یکی جویم، یکی دانم، یکی بینم، یکی خوانم

"What is to be done, O Moslems? for I do not recognise myself.

I am neither Christian, nor Jew, nor Gabr, nor Moslem.

I am not of the East, nor of the West, nor of the land, nor of the sea;

I am not of Nature's mint, nor of the circling heavens...

I am not of India, nor of China, nor Bulgaria, nor of Saqsin;

I am not of the kingdom of Iraqain, nor of the country of Khurasan...

My place is the Placeless, my trace is the Traceless;

'Tis neither body nor soul, for I belong to the soul of the Beloved.

I have put duality away, I have seen that the two worlds are one;

One I seek, One I know, One I see, One I call."⁴¹⁹

Here there is no unreality of time which the rationalistic Russell sees in mystical poetry. On the other hand, what Rūmī means is that his mystical insight has seen a vision that is devoid of all sensate attributes. Dimensional time becomes Pure Duration, wherein all the sensate attributes have been sloughed off, since the self has overcome the state of diremption, and moved on to the other self. Rūmī, like Iqbal, subscribed to panentheism instead of pantheism, which is generally the warp and woof of mystical poetry. We are not in Him but from Him, and unto Him we return. Duality is, for Rūmī as for Iqbal, endogenous to the intellect, which its data on the feed provided by the senses. The intellect analyses; intuition synthesises: the latter is the firmly held view of both Rūmī and Iqbal. Analyse light, for example, and it is no longer light but a spectrum of seven colours. View the whole, and it is light.

Although the theme of Iqbal's ghazal (No. 14 in Part I of the *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, pp. 29-30) is his own spiritual evolution, he is none the less permeated

⁴¹⁹ R.A. Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Divani Shamsi Tabrizi* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 125-27.

through and through by Rūmī's thought and in the six-verse ghazal attains a height of mystical insight and loftiness of thought equal to the highest in world poetry.

اپنی جولان گاہ زیرِ آسماں سمجھا تھا میں
آب و گل کے کھیل کو اپنا جہاں سمجھا تھا میں
یہ حجابی سے تری ٹوٹا نگاہوں کا طلسم
اک ردائے نیلگوں کو آسماں سمجھا تھا میں
کارواں تھ کر فضا کے پیچ و خم میں رہ گیا
مہر و ماہ و مشتری کوہم عنان سمجھا تھا میں!
عشق کی اک جست نے طے کر دیا قصہ تمام
اس زمین و آسماں کو بیکراں سمجھا تھا میں
کہ گئیں رازِ محبت پردہ دار پہائے شوق!
تھی فغاں وہ بھی جسے ضبطِ فغاں سمجھا تھا میں
تھی کسی در ماندہ رہرو کی صدائے درد ناک
جس کو آوازِ رحیلِ کارواں سمجھا تھا میں!

"(Hitherto) I had thought my champs-de-mar to have been underneath
the vault of heaven,

and the dalliance of the elements the wherewithal of my very existence,

(But) Thy Vision, O Lord, shattered this spell had charmed my senses,

What! I had taken only an azure layer to have been Heaven!

The caravan, wearied of the toil and moil of the (endless) journey,

found itself waylaid in the labyrinths of space,

and I (a fool that I was) had thought the planets to have been my partners (in the journey of life).

A bound by Love, and the barrier is crossed,

when hitherto I had entertained the idea that this earth and the sky were infinite.

The secret of love has been betrayed by the very dormancy of (my) ardour!

Even that which I had erewhile thought to have been a stifled wail was a plaint!

What I believed was the call for the caravan's departure

was the agonised cry of a lonesome traveller who had trudged and trudged and wearied of the way.

The first couplet limns an earlier Iqbal who regarded the dalliance of the elements, i.e. the sensate experience to have constituted the very texture of his thought and life. This was the stage when the portals of the inner sight were barred to him. On a more universal plane, we might say that the weaving of the dance of the elements is tantamount to sensate and materialistic *Weltanschauung*.

In the next verse, rather ironically couched, the poet contemptuously dismisses the apparent infinity of space as a mere play-thing. Once the Attributes of God are revealed and flash upon the template of the inner receptacle of the sight, geometrical space and mathematical time pale into insignificance. *Ridā'-i nilqīm* (azure layer) could denote both night and the sky, as *ridā'-i nil* is employed metaphorically in Persian for night. And so we get symbolism that is double-edged. The earlier sensate life of the poet was one of darkness, and it is only the inner sight that has revealed to him his real self which is part of the Traceless, the Spaceless, as Rūmī would say.

Caravan, in the third couplet, is employed as a synecdoche, i.e. part denoting whole. Caravan here symbolises the journey of man or life. It has become lost, because it does not know what path it should take. How can the planets, themselves subject to vicissitudes of time and fortune, determine the life of man? And the poet too was a member of the caravan before, and looked with expectation upon the planets. Nicolas Berdyaev imparts

expression to this spiritual quest as follows:

"Man is a free, supernatural spirit, a microcosm. Spiritualism, like materialism, can see in man only a natural, although a spiritual, being and then subjects him to a spiritual determinism, just as materialism subjects to the material. Freedom is only the production of spiritual phenomena out of preceding spiritual phenomena in the same being. Freedom is a positive creative force, unconditioned by anything else and based upon nothing else, flowing up from a spring of boundless depth. Freedom is the power to create out of nothing, the power of the spirit to *create out of itself and not out of the world of nature*. Freedom is one's positive expression and assertion is creativity. Free energy, i.e. creative energy, is substantially inherent in man. But man's substantiality is not a closed circle of energy within which everything is spiritually determined. In man's very substantiality there are bottomless well-springs. Creative energy is increasing energy, not energy which merely rearranges itself. *The mystery of freedom denies everything finite and all limitations.*"⁴²⁰

In other words, both Iqbal the Muslim and Berdyaev the Russian of the Orthodox faith subscribe to the belief that the world of the spirit, being infinite, or, putting it more cautiously, non-finite, cannot be contained within finite space and time. Spiritual freedom leads to the diremption of the spirit from both.

‘Ishq for Iqbal is the motivating or operating force within the cosmic framework. Life *sans* *‘ishq* would pass into entropy, into energy that is unusable. The highest exponent of *‘ishq* is Muṣṭafā, the Holy Prophet, and his Ascension to the Highest Empyrean re-presents the very ultimate in *‘ishq*. The Ascension of the Holy Prophet, says Iqbal in the fourth couplet, should set at rest the controversy that space and time are circumscribed by finitude. The Holy Prophet's vision of Paradise and Hell, his hearing of the sound of the Moving Pen, and his journey to a region where even the Angel Gabriel could not go, make time recede, and it is measurable not even in light years. This is the highest possible state of spiritualism possible. How foolish and inane of the poet to have believed that the sky and the earth could not be traversed! But such spiritual postulates predicate total acceptance. And this acceptance will well up only from the heart, not the mind, which is basically

⁴²⁰ *The Meaning of the Creative Act* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 136. Italics mine.

rationalising: the noetic and the spiritual or the intuitive are by and large antithetical to each other.

In the penultimate verse the poet suggests that each man has the spiritual dormant in him. His acts betray his spiritual make-up, although on surface he might dedicate himself to all that is sensate, material, and non-spiritual. In the last verse, in the opinion of this author, the Angel Gabriel might also have been implied, but, even if this is not so, the verse refers to those that are spiritually less blessed. Here also we get a *double entendre*.

The word *khudī* (self or the ego), in the Urdu poetry of Iqbal, occurs for the first time in the poet's *qasīdah* dedicated to Sanā'i of Ghaznah (*Bāl-i Jibrīl*, p. 37):

خودی سے اس طلسمِ رنگ و بُو کو توڑ سکتے ہیں
یہی توحید تھی جس کو نہ تُو سمجھا نہ میں سمجھا!

"This spell of the senses can be vanquished by the self alone.

This precisely is the Unity (of the Godhead) which neither thou nor I had understood."

This self- or ego-oriented concept is logically tied to time, as Iqbal says in one of his finest *ghazals* in the *Bāl-i Jibrīl* (p. 44):

عجب مزا ہے مجھے لذتِ خودی دے کر
وہ چاہتے ہیں کہ میں اپنے آپ میں نہ رہوں
ضمیرِ پاک و نگاہِ بلند و مستیِ شوق
نہ مال و دولتِ قاروں نہ فکرِ افلاطون!
سبق ملا ہے یہ معراجِ مصطفیٰ سے مجھے

کہ	عالمِ بشریت	کی	زد	میں	ہے	گردوں!
یہ	کائنات	ابھی	نا	تمام	ہے	شاید
کہ	آرہی	ہے	دما دم	صدائے	کن	فیکون

"What a piquant situation! Having vouchsafed upon me the delectableness of the ego,

He wants me to be dispossessed of my own self!

(All that I wish for) is a pure heart, a lofty vision, and ecstasy of the ardour, not the wealth and pelf of Korah nor the flight of Plato's thought.

The lesson I have learnt from the Ascension of Muṣṭafā is that the Highest Empyrean is within the access of man.

Mayhap, this cosmos is not yet complete,

for the Command "Be, and it is" is making its echo felt all the time."

In both the *Masjid-i Qurṭubah* and the *Sāqī Nāmāh* (*Bāl-i Jibrīl*, pp. 126-36 and 166-74, respectively) the treatment of time is at cosmic level. While in the former poem it is regarded as the final and sure assayer of what is gold and dross in history, in the *Sāqī Nāmāh* time is presented as space-time continuum and as a force antagonistic to the emergence of the self and of that of which it is the essence, life. This means that phenomenal time and Pure Duration belong to different realms: phenomenal time to the realm of the senses, Pure Duration, to God.

Having described both phenomenal time and Pure Duration in the *Masjid-i Qurṭubah* (Stanza I), the poet proceeds:

اول و آخر فنا باطن و ظاہر فنا	نقشِ کہن ہو کہ نو منزلِ آخر فنا!
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"The beginning and the end (of the world) is death. What is apparent is destined to fade into nothingness, as also that which is hidden.

The ultimate goal is annihilation, be it the relic of past or the product of the coeval time."

There is, however, one single exception:

ہے مگر اُس نقش میں رنگِ ثباتِ دوام
جس کو کیا ہو کسی مردِ خدا نے تمام

"But the picture that has been limned to completion by a man of God is one that has had its ground filled with the hue of immortality."

In the earlier verses the poet has said that Pure Duration is that which goes into the Attributes of God, while non-Divine time is that through which God shows to man the cadence of possibilities, of becoming or passing into a state of realisation, and ceasing-to-be. Since 'ishq or love is the motivating force of the universe, it transcends mortality. Because immortality within immortality is not possible, 'ishq is from God. Quoting the Qur'ānic verse: "We verily created a man and We know what his soul whispereth to him, and We are nearer to him than his jugular vein" (v. 16), Iqbal observes:

"Divine life is in touch with the whole universe on the analogy of the soul's contact with the body. The soul is neither inside nor outside the body; neither proximate to nor separate from it. Yet its contact with every atom of the body is real, and it is impossible to conceive this contact except by positing some kind of space which befits the subtleness of the soul."⁴²¹

Further, the poet compares 'ishq to a flood that would stanch the flood of time—in other words, life or 'ishq acts as mirror-time or anti-time. And since phenomenal time represents the senses, this mirror time ought to represent Pure Duration, from which it flows. This idea of mirror-time is further elaborated in the *Sāqī Nāmāh*. Thus in Stanza V the poet says about life:

سفرِ زندگی کے لیے برگ و ساز	سفر ہے حقیقتِ حاضر ہے مجاز
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⁴²¹ *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 135.

"Journey is the melody of life.

Journey is the reality ; it is stagnation which is illusive."

And then in Stanza VI the poet proceeds in a language which is in the highest degree mystical about the nature of the ego:

اندھیرے اُجالے میں تابناک!
من و تو میں پیدا من و تو سے پاک!
ازل اس کے پیچھے ابد سامنے!
نہ حد اس کے پیچھے نہ حد سامنے!
زمانے کے دریا میں بہتی ہوئی
ستم اس کی موجوں کے سہتے ہوئی
تجسس کی راہیں بدلتی ہوئی
دمادم نگاہیں بدلتی ہوئی
سبک اس کے ہاتھوں میں سنگِ گراں!
پہاڑ اس کی ضربوں سے ریگِ رواں!
سفر اس کا انجام و آغاز ہے
یہی اس کی تقویم کا راز ہے!

"Refulgent in darkness and light alike, though born out of I and Thou,
it is free from this I-Thou duality.

An unending expanse of time before it, and immortality at its back,
it is not circumscribed by boundaries before or behind.

Flowing in the ocean of time, braving the buffeting of its waves,
Changing its *point d'appui*, each moment turning its sight in never
and fresher directions,

Light (like) a feather is the boulder In its hands and the mountain is
pulverised into grains of sand by its strokes.

Journey is its beginning; it is also its end; it is journey that has shaped it."

Thus it is the ego which does away with this diremption of I and Thou, that is. the self and the other-than-self. In the Western existential philosophy "I" stands for the consciousness of the self and "Thou" for God. This is what Iqbal implies here. Once the self moves out of its own self, it naturally passes into the other self. And this idea has been expressed by the poet beautifully. We are born shackled to the senses.

Time is not presented in the poem as a mere template but as something that casts barriers in the path of the ego. The ego alters its *point d'appui* and perspectives on different occasions, although the goal is set and is never lost sight of. This goal has God as the Limit. In the *Navā'-i Waqt (Payām-i Mashriq*, pp. 102-03), on the other hand, time is pain, life, manifold. But with a clearer and more emphatic concept of the ego, the poet's view of time has undergone a change. Phenomenal time is tied to the senses, while the essence of the human soul has in some members of the human kind fuller and in others — indeed, the vast majority — a dimmer realisation of this merger with Pure Duration.

An Urdu poem devoted to time and belonging to the later period of Iqbal is *Zamānah* ("The Age" or "Time") in the *Bāl-i Jibril* (p. 175). The tenor of the poem clearly shows that what the poet has in mind is phenomenal time, and here it is the in-exorable nature of phenomenal time that has been presented. Three couplets of the poem being reproduced here are remarkable for their beauty of expression (the long metre adds to the degree of emphasis and to the building up of the thesis and antithesis):

سری صراحی سے قطرہ قطرہ نئے حوادث ٹپک رہے ہیں

میں اپنی تسبیح روز و شب کا شمار کرتا ہوں دانہ دانہ!
ہر ایک سے آشنا ہوں لیکن جدا جدا رسم و راہ میری
کسی کاراکب کسی کا مرکب کسی کو عبرت کا تازیانہ!
نہ تھا اگر تو شریکِ محفل، قصور میرا ہے یا کہ تیرا؟
مرا طریقہ نہیں کہ رکھ لوں کسی کی خاطر مئے شبانہ!

"New events are pouring dropwise from my cup ;

and I swirl my rosary beads to count the passing of each day and night.

Knowing everyone, I keep my relationship with each one of those on a different plane.

On some I ride, some have me as their dromedary, to some I am the whiplash of reprimand.

If thou participated not in the deliberations of the assembly, whose fault is it--mine or thine?

Knowest thou not it is not my wont to keep the wine overnight for tipplers?"

Time is visualised here as representing three characteristics. Those who allow time to ride over them pass into the bylanes of history, virtually leaving no trace. Such individuals or nations

possess no sense or notion of time. In *Sūrah Yūnus* (x. Jonah) God has said:

"Lo ! in the difference of day and night and all that Allah hath created in the heavens and the earth are portents, verily, for folk who ward off (evil)" (v. 6).

Those who ride on time are those who have taken the initiative. Such individuals or nations have outbid time, as the "Mosque of Cordova" has outbidden time. The third category of individuals or nations is that which is ready or is prepared to accept their follies in the past and to redress them in the future. The allusion is obviously to the present-day Muslim world.

What sources, besides the Qur'an, that went to fashion Iqbal's concept of time, how this concept fares vis-a-vis modern views of time, whether the poet was deeply influenced by J.M.E. Mc-Taggart, his tutor at Cambridge, and German philosophers, how his concept of time gradually crystallised, and, last but not least, whether he has something original to offer to us — are rather intriguing questions requiring intensive study. One drawback with Iqbal is that he does not subject time to such a searching analysis as that of Bergson in *Creative Evolution and Matter and Memory* or McTaggart's *Nature of Existence*. The way in which Bergson demolishes the intellect from its throne through the full force of logic and *argumentum ad hominem* leaves one gasping for breath. Iqbal, rather sadly, has left us no such work. So all we can do is to depend upon his stray statements and *Reconstruction*, which, though a major contribution to philosophy, cannot be called a comprehensive work by any means.

It must, however, be appreciated that Iqbal would survive as a philosopher only because he happens to be one of the world's great poets. Even those who might tend to dismiss him as a poet too narrow to be of interest to the non-Muslim reader cannot gloss over his concern with the deepest philosophical questions confronting man, e.g. time, ego, the ultimate meaning of life, appearance and reality, good and evil, and so on. His opposition to the concept of the circularity of time, for instance, is, by any standard, remarkable, since the doctrine of eternal recurrence ends up in the cul-de-sac of repetition, not creativity. This point, as well as others of equal interest, cannot be discussed in an essay like this, and this author proposes to highlight these in a larger work upon a poet whom he personally considers to have been greatest among Muslim poets since Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.

GLIMPSES OF IQBAL'S GENIUS IN THE JAVID NAMAH

Professor Dr Muhammad Riaz

‘Allamah Iqbal’s *Jāvid Nāmāh*, first published in 1932, is an unprecedented book in eloquent Persian verse. The book contains about two thousand couplets. In this book, generally remarked as the poet-philosopher’s *magnum opus*, Iqbal’s vision has made a vivid conquest of the space. By scaling the heights and transversing the planets, the poet surpasses the spheres. Endeavouring hard to resolve the major problems confronting the Muslims and the people at large, the poet is seen seeking interviews with the great Muslim and non-Muslim spirits of many times on all the firmaments of his eternal pilgrimage. The profoundness as well as the variety of thought-content and literary artistry of the book is noteworthy. Late Muhammad Aslam Jairājpurī, a scholar of repute, had once remarked⁴²² that *Jāvid Nāmāh* ranks with the most splendid works in Persian — Firdawsi’s *Shah Nāmāh*, Rūmī’s *Mathnavī*, Sa’dī’s *Gulistān* and Ḥāfiz’s *Dīvān*. It is, no doubt, a big credit of a non-Persian poet to produce such a masterpiece. The book has been rendered in many important languages of the world, both in prose and poetry. It, however, still deserves more attention from scholars so interested in Iqbal’s art and thought.

Impact of the Mi’rāj Traditions. *Jāvid Nāmāh* comes within the purview of those works which have been written under the influence of the famous traditions of *Isrā’* and *Mi’rāj* the Holy Prophet Muḥammad’s (peace be upon him) nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and later ascension to the heavens. The Truthful Prophet’s Ascension was a unique happening in world history, and had an immense impact on human thought. The Ascension has been referred to in the Holy Qur’ān⁴²³ and its details are available in the orthodox collections of the Prophet’s traditions⁴²⁴ and biographies.⁴²⁵ The event had miraculously taken place, according to the belief of the general

⁴²² *Navādirāt* (Urdu), Karachi : Idārah-i Tulū’-i Islām, 1951.

⁴²³ The Holy Qur’ān, xvii. I (and to many also liii. 5-13).

⁴²⁴ In *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, etc.

⁴²⁵ In Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirat al-Nabawīyyah*, for example.

orthodox Muslims, in the twelfth year of the Prophet's mission, in the physical form while the Prophet (peace of Allah be upon him) was awake.⁴²⁶ Numerous Muslim thinkers and theologians have been widely elaborating the Ascension's event. Iqbal's position as a reputed Muslim thinker is quite established. He has interpreted various Islamic topics in the perspective of modern thought; likewise *Mi'r-aj's* interpretations in lucid style are envisageable in almost all his works. *Jāvid Nāmāh*, however, reflects deep influence of *Mi'rāj* traditions — both direct and indirect. Late Chaudhari Muhammad Hussain (d. 1950), the poet's comrade, in his detailed article on *Jāvid Nāmāh*, has stated⁴²⁷ that Iqbal planned to versify a *Mi'rāj Nāmāh Jadīd* after the pattern of his *Gulshan-i Rāz Jadīd* (a part of the *Zabūr-i 'Ajām*) in response to Shaikh Muḥmūd Shabistārī Tabrizī's (d. 720 A.H.) famous *Gulshan-i Rāz*. Later on, he changed his mind and created *Jāvid Nāmāh* instead — a long celestial *mathnavī* in the literary form, not confined to any particular topic.

As cited above, the traditions of the Prophet's Ascension have been a source of inspiration for many mystics and others. Many works have been created under direct or indirect impact of these traditions. No doubt, people of different creeds have been longing to see the upper spheres from time immemorial. Many have recorded their dreams or visionary journeys, both mystic and literary, but as the late Spanish Professor Miguel Asia Palacios in his valuable research book entitled *Islam and the Divine Comedy*,⁴²⁸ has also remarked, all the visionary journeys preceding the Prophet's Ascension have little significance. Referring to the Hebrew, Persian and Christian legends of the Ascension of Moses, Enoch, Baruch, Isaiah, Ardaviraf, Jesus Christ, Saint Paul, and others, the researcher confesses that such legends are no match to the Prophet of Islam's traditions of *Mi'rāj* so widely spread among both learned and illiterate, "seeing that it was accepted as an article of faith".⁴²⁹ To make Asin's remarks clear, it seems necessary here to refer to some works written under the impact of *Mi'rāj* traditions.

(1) *Ardaviraf Nāmāh*, in Pahlavi and Persian languages, relating to the

⁴²⁶ T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885), p. 351.

⁴²⁷ Šibghatullāh Bakhtiyārī, *Sharḥ-i āvid Nāmāh* (Lahore, n d.), p. 69.

⁴²⁸ Original text in Spanish appeared in 1919 in Madrid, and the rendering in English in 1926 (London).

⁴²⁹ P. 76.

visionary celestial pilgrimage by Ardaviraf, a Zoroastrian religious personality. Ardaviraf's dream was compiled some-time between the third and eighth century A.H.⁴³⁰

(2) Shaikh Taifūr Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī's (third century A.H.) dream concerning pilgrimage to the upper firmaments. This mystic vision reflects⁴³¹ his desire for communion with God—*Waḥdat al-Shubūd*. Bayazid was perhaps the first sufi to be influenced by the traditions of *Mi'rāj*.

(3) Abu'l-ʿĀmir Aḥmad (Ibn Shahid) Andalusī's (d. 426 A.H.) *Risālat al-Tawābi' wa'l-Zawābi'* in Arabic⁴³² which reflects the author's visionary ascension to the heavens in the literary style.

(4) Abu'i-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's (d...49 A.H.) *Risālat al-Ghufrān*. In this marvellous literary epistle,⁴³³ the blind poet had replied a letter of criticism written to him by his contemporary, Muḥaddith Ābu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī of Aleppo, known as Ibn ul-Qarih. He has praised al-Ma'arrī's genius but indirectly criticised his impiety. Al-Ma'arrī in this epistle refers to God's infinite forgiveness and defends the men of letters in an interesting literary style. Ibn al-Qarih is narrated in the treatise to have ascended to the celestial spheres in his dream where he witnessed the affairs of Hell and Paradise. Many impious and heretic persons are shown by the poet in Paradise, whereas proud men of piety are placed in Hell.

(5) Sīnā'ī Ghaznavī's (d. 535 A.H.) *mathnavī* *Sair al-'Ibād ila'l-Ma'ād* in Persian.⁴³⁴ The poem indicates the spiritual journey of the mystics leading to their perfection. The outward narration symbolises the pilgrimage to nine firmaments and reflects the impact of *Mi'rāj* traditions.

(6) Shaikh 'Aṭṭār Nishāpūrī's (d. 618 A.R.) famous *mathnavī* *Mantāqat al-Ṭair*. It is also a symbolic narration of spiritual ascension in which the "birds" (spirits) try to accede to Sīmurgh — a state of communion with God (*Waḥdat*

⁴³⁰ *Majallab-i Danishkadeh-i Adbiyat-i Meshhed*, Spring 1344 H. Shamsi, p.4.

⁴³¹ For text, see *The Muslim World of April 1973*, pp. 100-04. See also Dr. Muhammad Abdur Rabb's article in *Iqbal Review* (Karachi), of October 1975.

⁴³² Beirut: Maktabatul Sadir, 1951.

⁴³³ A portion of the book has been translated into Persian and published in Tehran (1341 Shamsi) by Akbar Dana Sirisht.

⁴³⁴ Edited and published by Professor M.T. Modarris Razavi in Tehran (1341 Shamsi).

al-Shubūd). The poet has symbolised “seven stages” (*haft maqāmāt*) of the mystics. Earlier Avicenna (d. 428 A.H.) had also referred to the spirits’ journey in his Arabic treatise entitled *Risālat al-Ṭair*.

(7) Muḥyuddīn ibn ‘Arabī’s (d. 638 A.H.) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkeyyah* (Meccan Revelation) and other epistles which are so often quoted. Ibn ‘Arabī’s vision has performed a nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and then an ascension to the upper spheres. Perhaps no other allegory has recorded more impact of *Mi’rāj* traditions than Ibn ‘Arabī’s works. The writer has advocated here, just as in his other works, the idea of *Wahdat al-Wujūd* which implies self-annihilation in God.

(8) Alighieri Dante’s (d. 1321 A.C.) famous *Divine Comedy* is also written under the impact of *Mi’rāj* traditions. Professor Asin, whom Iqbal had also seen during his visit to Spain in 1932, has proved at length that Dante was influenced by the *Mi’rāj* traditions through the works of al-Ma’arrī, Ibn ‘Arabī and others. Besides these mystic and literary works, *Mi’rāj* traditions have been widely verified and narrated in almost all the languages which the Muslims speak and write. In Persian poetry for example, Niẓāmī Ganjavī’s (d. 610 A.H.) five *mathnavīs* are note-worthy. The lovers of Niẓāmī’s style like Amir Khusraw (d. 725 A.H.), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898 A.H.), Shaikh Muhammad Ya’qūb Sarfī Kashmīrī (d. 1003 A.H.), and others have also followed him suit in their respective five *mathnavīs* and described the event of *Mi’rāj*.

The *Jāvid Nāmāh*. It is an allegory representing the poet’s ascension to six spheres (not to seven or nine generally adopted by others) and also beyond the heavens. This lucid Persian *mathnavī* is unique in many respects. The supernatural phenomenon is rare. The book has no complex meanings. It is devoid of religious prejudice — the poet rather condemns such mentality and advocates for the love of humanity. Non-Muslims are mentioned here with particular reverence.

Jāvid Nāmāh provides an epitome of Iqbal’s thought on almost all the topics of his interest — self, love, intellect, ascension, comparative religion, immortality of the Muslims based on *Tauḥīd*, philosophy, history, martyrdom, predestination and free will, women’s status in the Muslim polity, the Orientalists’ biased interest in archaeology, good and evil, art and literature for life, blessings of freedom, Islam versus Western civilisation, Islamic

universalism, patriotism and so on and so forth. A detailed appraisal of the book cannot be presented in such a short article. A short narration of the poet's celestial journey, however, will help in appraising the genius of the Poet of the East.

Contents in Brief. The book opens with a novel invocation. It is followed by a prologue in heaven between the sky and the earth. The poet gives convincing arguments in favour of the earthlings' superiority. The actual pilgrimage of eternity of the poet, with Maulānā Muḥammad Jalāluddīn Rūmī (d. 672 A.H.), his guide, starts from the hill of a riverside — a scene common in Ibn 'Arabī and Dante's works, too. The poet was lost in pensive mood, beside the edge of a river during an evening busy in reciting one of the loveliest lyrics of Rūmī, when his vision being invocated, Rūmī's spirit appears before him. A dialogue begins between Iqbal and Rūmī in which the guide enlightens the poet-philosopher with the meanings of self-realisation, rebirth, good and evil, ascension and proceeding to God's Presence. The essence of an ascension, according to Rūmī, is a revolution in senses which makes the soul soar high and the body doesn't come in the way. At this, the poet's soul is stirred deeply for being ascended and thus his ascension starts. Zarvān, the spirit of the time and space, takes them to the upper spheres. The moon is their first stopover. Here, they encounter and talk to an Indian ascetic, Vishvamitra. He was a teacher and friend of Rama. Iqbal names him "the friend of the world" (*Jabāndosī*). On the valley of Yarghamīd on the moon, they witness "the testaments" reflecting the basic teachings of Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ and Muḥammad. Next they move on to Mercury where they join prayers with Sayyid Jamaluddīn Afghānī (d. 1897) and Prince Muḥammad Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pasha (d. 1921). They talk to these "best men of the East" about the past, present and future of the world of Islam. Rūmī here names Iqbal "Zindah Rūd" (living stream), Next they move to the firmament of Venus. Here the poet presents a comic scene — like the one in the *Divine Comedy*. A rejoicing assembly of gods of the ancient nations is displayed here. The chief of gods is overjoyed to witness the present scepticism and irreligious conditions in the world. Pharaoh, contemporary of Moses, and Field Marshal Kitchner of Khartoum (d. 1916), who had been tyrant towards Muḥammad Aḥmad "Mahdī" of the Sudan (d. 1882) and his followers, are seen suffering on this very firmament. Next there is the sphere of Mars where things are seen quite opposite to those of the earth. The poet's

imagination creates here a splendid city named Marghadīn. The people of this city are free from all bonds and enjoy an ideal social order. A Westernised damsel is seen advocating to the women for remaining unmarried. “Zindah Rūd,” however, decries so much love for being “bondless”. In an earlier scene, a Martian astronomer pleads the idea of free will. He claims that the people of earth can also become the masters of their fates like the Martians, provided they abandon wrong notions. Here “Zindah Rūd” (Iqbal) argues that man has no predestination and the Almighty God has gifted him with as many destinies. Man’s destiny changes with his changing attitude. Let us quote here a few convincing lines from the *Jāwād Nāmāh* (p. 123):

خواه از حق حکمِ تقدیرِ دگر	گر ز یک تقدیرِ خونِ گردد جگر
زانکه تقدیراتِ حق لا انتهاست	تو اگر تقدیرِ نو خواهی رواست
نکتۀ تقدیر را نشناختند	ارضیانِ تقدیرِ خودی در باختند
تو اگر دیگر شوی او دیگر است!	رمزِ باریکش بحرفی مضمَر است
سنگ شو بر شیشه اندازد ترا!	خاک شو نذرِ هوا سازد ترا
قلزمی؟ پابندگی تقدیر تست!	شبمِی؟ افتدگی تقدیر تست

“If your heart bleeds on account of one destiny,

Petition God to decree another destiny;

If you pray for a new destiny, that is-lawful—

Seeing that God’s destinies are infinite.

Earthlings have gambled away the coin of self hood,

Not comprehending the subtle meaning of destiny;

Its subtlety is contained in a single phrase

‘If you transform yourself, it too will be transformed.’

Be dust, and fate will give you the winds;

Be a stone, and it will hurl you against glass.

Are you a dew-drop? Your destiny is to perish;

Are you an ocean? Your destiny is to endure.”⁴³⁵

Mars is followed by Jupiter. Here “Zindah Rūd” and Rūmī encounter three spirits known for their courage — Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr Ḥallāj (d. 309 A.H.), Qurrat al-’Ain Ṭāhirah (d. 1852) and Mīrzā Asadullāh Khān Ghālib (d. 1869). There is also a passing scene of Satan whom “Zindah Rūd” entitles “leader of the people of separation” (*Khawājah-i Abl-i Firāq*).

Thereafter comes the sphere of Saturn. Rūmī and “Zindah Rūd” pass by the well and see a dreadful sea of blood. It was the abode of non-patriot wretched people so hate-worthy that the Hell didn’t accept them. The poet here displays two notorious persons of the subcontinent: Mir Ja’far of Bengal and Mir Ṣādiq of Mysore. The former’s treachery resulted in Sirājuddaulah’s failure in Plassey’s War of 1757 and the latter’s perfidy caused Sulṭān Faṭḥ ‘Alī Ṭippū’s martyrdom in the war of 1799. The spirit of India appears here and condemns the traitors, following the foot-steps of Ja’far and ādiq, who strengthen the usurpers’ hands.

With Saturn, the spheres end and the travellers reach beyond the heavens. They witness the station of Neitzsche and later proceed to Paradise. Here they see the palace of Sharfun Nisā’ Begum (d. 1745 A.C) of Lahore – a pious and courageous lady. Her father and grandfather Zakariyā Khān and ‘Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, respectively, had remained the governors of the Punjab. Rūmī and “Zindah Rūd’s next visitation is to Ḥaḍrat Mir Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, Shāh-i Hamadān (d. 786/1385). Shāh-i Hamadān was celebrated mystic, writer, poet and reformer and his services in the valley of Jammu and Kashmir and areas adjacent are particularly noteworthy. During “Zindah Rūd’s dialogue with the saint, Muḥīḥ Muhammad Ṭābir Ghanī Kashmīrī (d. 1079 A.H.) was also present. The poet here hints towards the glorious but

⁴³⁵ 14. English tr. by A.J. Arberry.

sad history of Kashmir and inspires the Kashmīrīs for enhancing their freedom movement. Beyond the heavens, there are glimpses of Sanskrit’s poet Bhartari Hari (seventh century A.C.) and Nāṣir Khusraw ‘Alavī (d. 481 A H.). The poet next sees three Eastern monarchs in their palaces in Paradise. They are Sulṭān Faṭḥ ‘Alī Tippū, Nadir Shah Afshar and Bābā Aḥmad Shah Abdālī. While conversing with the monarchs, the poet laud’s Raḍā’ Shah the Great’s efforts to enhance Iran’s progress.

Rūmī and “Zindah Rūd” had hardly taken leave of the houris to descend to the earth, when the poet is granted an epithany of the Divine Presence and gets the honour of listening to the voice of Beauty. Here he has been enlightened about immortality, blessings of union and exaltation of love, etc. In the radiance of Glory, the celestial poem ends with a lyric, originally from the poet’s *Zabur-i ‘Ajām*. The first three couplets are as under:

بگذر از خاور و افسونئ افرنگ مشو

که نیرزد بجوئ این همه دیرینه و نو

زندگی انجمن آرا و نگهدار خود است

ای که در قافله، بی همه شو با همه رو!

تو فروزنده تر از مهر منیر آمده

آنچنان زی که به پر ذره رسائی پرتو!

“Be not enchanted by the West

Nor on the East thou needest dote,

For both this ancient and this new
 Together are not worth an oat...
 Full jealously life guards itself
 Although it doth in company dwell;
 And ever in a caravan,
 Alone like thou, with all tread well.
 Than radiant sun that illumines
 The ancient sky thou art more bright,
 So live that every grain of sand
 May borrow brilliance from thy light.”⁴³⁶

The last part of the book —”Address to Jāvīd” (Talking to the New Generation), is an appendix, though beautifully connected with the preceding chapters. It is notable that both Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad and Arthur John Arberry have not included this part in their respective English renderings.⁴³⁷

The first edition of *Jāvīd Nāmāh* had a preface of two coup-lets which make a part of one lyric in *Zabūr-i ‘A jam*:

خیالِ من بتماشای آسمان بود است
 بدوش ماه و باغوش کهکشانشان بود است
 گمان مبر که ہمیں خاکدان نشیمنِ ماست
 کہ پر ستاره جهان است یا جهان بود است

“My vision once surveyed the sky and rode

⁴³⁶ English tr., by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad.

⁴³⁷ B.A. Dar’s translation of this portion came out in Karachi in 1972.

The moon and in the Pleiades' lap did rest,
 Regard not this earth as our only nest,
 Each star's a world or was one life's abode.”⁴³⁸

From the second edition of the book, however, the said verses have been omitted. It is interesting to note that Iqbal planned to mention the services of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī Mujaddid Alf-i nī (d. 1034 A.H.) and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898) on some suitable place of this celestial journey in a revised edition of the book, but he didn't get time to do so.

A Few Salient Features. *Jāvid Nāmāh* apparently resembles Dante Alighieri's *Comedia (Divine Comedy)*. but the differences of technique and presentation are significant. *Divine Comedy* has three parts — Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso (i.e. Hell, Purgatory and Paradise). *Jāvid Nāmāh* has six to seven parts, consisting of some of the popular spheres and also beyond the spheres. These coincide to some extent with the journey of Ibn 'Arabī, as already quoted. Iqbal, however, didn't describe the Hell; he just passed by it. He didn't enter purgatory even. The flight towards Beyond the Spheres is a new idea and this portion is particularly full of unprecedented thoughts and meanings.

Ibn 'Arabī had two guides during his celestial journey — a heavenly youth and a mystic. Dante's guide in Inferno and Purgatorio was Virgil. In Paradise, his beloved Beatrice guides him. Iqbal has only one guide from the beginning of his journey to the last scene in Paradise. In the Divine presence, however, he is seen alone and this is quite significant. Ibn 'Arabī's journey aimed at his doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujūd* — annihilation of the self in God's infinity. Iqbal, as evident from almost all his works, aimed at self-affirmation. He wished to preserve self at every cost. The following couplets from *Jāvid Nāmāh* (pp. 13-14) explain the poet's outlook:

از سه شاهد کن شهادت را طلب	زنده یا مرده یا جان بلب
خویش را دیدن بنور خویشتن	شاهد اول شعور خویشتن

⁴³⁸ Tr. by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad, p. xxvii.

خویش را دیدن بنورِ دیگری	شاهدِ ثانیِ شعورِ دیگری
خویش را دیدن بنورِ ذاتِ حق	شاهدِ ثالثِ شعورِ ذاتِ حق
حی و قائم چون خدا خود را شمارا!	پیش این نور اربمانی استوار

ور بماند هست او کامل عیار	در حضورش کس نماند استوار
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“Art thou in the stage of ‘life’, ‘death’, or ‘death-in-life’?”

Invoke the aid of three witnesses to verify thy ‘Station’.

The first witness is thine own consciousness—

See thyself, then, with thine own light.

The second witness is the consciousness of another ego—

See thy self, then, with the light of an ego than thee,

The third witness is God’s consciousness—

See thyself, then, with God’s light.

If thou standest unshaken in front of this light,

Consider thyself living and eternal as Hel...

No one can stand unshaken in His Presence:

And he who can, verily he is pure gold.”⁴³⁹

Dante’s purpose on the journey seems to see his beloved, Beatrice. Iqbal had no such limited purpose. He has shown an immense interest dealing with

⁴³⁹ Tr. by Iqbal: see his Reconstruction, p. 198.

problems confronting humanity at large. Though demonstrably an impossible task, Iqbal dared to give his ideas on a number of problems and luckily his views have been convincing to many people.

Iqbal has created much suitable and interesting mini-characters on all the spheres of his journey. Besides men and women, the poet's vision has presented a number of angels and houris, etc., to make the scenes of his celestial drama more fascinating. In Persian poetry, lyrics are seldom seen in a *mathnavi*. In *Jāvid Nāmāh*, there are several lyrics at intervals. The poet has included his new lyrics and a few from his *Payām-i Masbriq* and *Zabūr-i 'Ajām*. Also there are lyrics of Nāṣir Khusraw, Ṭāhirah, Ghālib and others.

It may be added that, notwithstanding an extraordinary profoundness of Iqbal's thought, his poetry also displays an amazing perfection. In *Jāvid Nāmāh*, he creates wonderful scenery. For example, see the following five couplets (p. 106), describing the Sea of Blood on the sphere of Venus:

یا ہوا بود و چو آبی و نمود	بحر بر ما سینہ خود را کشود
وادی تاریکی او تو بتو	قعر او یک وادی بی رنگ و بو
زیر دریا ماہتاب آمد فرود!	پیر رومی سؤۃ طہ سرود
اندران سر گشته و حیران دو مرد!	کوه ہای شسته و عریان و سرد
باز سوی یک دگر نگریستند	سوی رومی یک نظر نگریستند

“The sea opened to us its breast

Or was it air, that appeared as a water?

Its depths were a valley without colour and scent,

A valley whose darkness was fold on fold.

The sage of Rum chanted the Sura of Taha,
Under the sea streamed down moonshine.
Mountains washed naked and cold,
And amid them two bewildered men
Who first cast a glance on Rumi,
Then gazed one upon the other.”⁴⁴⁰

The foregoing lines make an epitome of some of the contents and features of *Jāvid Nāmab*. About this very book S A. Vahid has written: “In every line, the poet makes us feel that he has some thing to say that is not only worth saying, but is also fitted to give us pleasure. Thus as regards style as well as theme, the poem is a masterpiece.”⁴⁴¹

To sum up, the *Jāvid Nāmab* of Iqbal is a unique Persian poem, from the viewpoints of art and thought both.

⁴⁴⁰ 19. English tr. by A.J. Arberry.

⁴⁴¹ *Iqbal's Art and Thought* (London: John Murray, 1959), Preface,

SOME ASPECTS OF IQBAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF ISLAM

M. Rafiq Chaudhary

Iqbal's influence in the spheres of literature and philosophy and from thence to popular politics and the formation of certain attitudes and tendencies among the Muslims of South Asia started taking shape in the first quarter of the twentieth century. From then on the depth and significance of the meaning of his philosophy is ever on the increase. He was one of those few fortunate persons whose greatness is acknowledged in their lifetime by their people. The Muslims of South Asia had, and still have, an immense love and respect for Iqbal. By his calculated philosophical prose he impressed the Western-educated men who could appreciate a message better if presented in the language of Western philosophy and intellect. On the other hand, his poetry had an inflaming effect upon the educated and the uneducated alike. His greater success, however, is that his works have not only stood the test of time but their effects are still multiplying. Newer and newer significant meanings of his works are coming to light which further augment and add to the grandeur and effect of the earlier interpretations of his works. According to Dr Yūsuf Husain,⁴⁴² "There is no limit to his effects. He himself says that he has done his work. Lamentation was one of the essentials of love, so that too he had done. Now it was for others to see its effect:

عشق کو فریاد لازم تھی سو وہ بھی ہو چکی

اب ذرا دل تھام کر فریاد کی تاثیر دیکھ

Iqbal's greatest service to the Muslims was that he reawakened them to face the hard facts and problems of their religious, social and political life in the light of the genuine spirit of Islam itself. He bitterly opposed the alien

⁴⁴² Dr Yūsuf Husain, *Rūh-i Iqbal* (Urdu), (5th Edition, 1962), p. 141

elements which were inimical to the creative, active, mobile and realistic approaches of Islam towards life and universe but which had somehow crept into the Muslim community under various garbs and disguises. He did all that he could to break these idols which had worn the mask of Islam. He purged Islam of many such evils and presented it once again as a code of life imbued with realism and progressivism, not only generating the spiritual satisfaction, but also making life on this concrete earth equitable, judicious and egalitarian which is in fact the original pure form of Islam. His purpose was:

“to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality, and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social, and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality.”⁴⁴³

In this article I would first mention a few of those influences which were distorting the religious and national identity of Muslims in South Asia such as the pantheistic mysticism, other-worldliness, fatalism and the expansion of heterodoxy in the name of modernism, eclecticism, etc., etc. Then I would show how Iqbal waged an intellectual war against these negative influences in the form of his prose and poetry.

Muslims of South Asia, like those of other places, had accepted undue influences from the traditions of non-Islamic philosophies, and many alien concepts and beliefs were imported and adopted by them. The pure and basic teachings of Islam were adulterated by the Graeco-Roman, Persian and Hindu influences. Mysticism or *taṣawwuf* generally played a great role in weakening the Islamic community and providing inroads for many non-Islamic concepts and practices and attitudes of mind towards life and universe. In the beginning mysticism in Islam did not try to formulate or propagate any particular theory or philosophy. It was a practical mode of life rather than a matter of theorising. It dealt mainly with the intuitive experiences. The later mystics, however, tried to give rational interpretations to their experiences. Regular and disciplined theorising started. In this process they made use of certain terms and methods alien to Islam. In the

⁴⁴³ Sir Mohammad, Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962 reprint), p. 156.

words of a famous scholar:

“They combined Neo-Platonism, Stoicism, Manichaeism, and Vedantism to produce a strange compound of philosophical mysticism which could hardly fit in with the Islamic system of morals and beliefs. The mystic orders were regarded as independent of the Islamic Shari’ah and the private aspect of life was cut asunder from the public side. As a result, the limits prescribed by (Islam for lawful and unlawful were neglected, the religious injunctions were practically violated, and personal whims and desires were made the arbiter in all affairs of life.”⁴⁴⁴

There were of course many suits who did not fall a prey to the temptation of ignoring the basic commands of Islam, but many of them had committed the mistake of believing in pantheism which not only detracted them from life and reality but also gave nourishment to many heterodoxical opinions and beliefs. If all that is God and all the phenomena are His manifestations, then why should one not worship any one of His phenomenal manifestations? What distinction does there remain between truth and falsehood? What was the justification for declaring one thing good and another evil? There is, in fact, left no justification for praising something as good and condemning the other as evil. There remains no room for any responsibility or effort for improving upon the prevalent state of affairs because nothing is better or worse than anything else. The result was that many people started preaching that the Rama of Hindus and the Raḥīm of Muslims were identical.⁴⁴⁵ The preachers of the Bhagti Movement had repeatedly stated that there was no difference between Hindus and Muslims, that the mosque and the temple were the same thing and that all religions were, in their essentials, one and the same. Now, this was a very dangerous move, for if Islam and Hinduism were one, then the Muslims had no reason to be proud of their religion or to preserve their own separate national identity. Without the Muslims’ pride in their religion, Islam would have merged like Buddhism into the ocean of Hinduism.

In the name of eclecticism and modernism, the heterodoxical elements

⁴⁴⁴ A.A. Maudoodi, *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam* (Lahore., 2nd Ed., 1972), p. 75.

⁴⁴⁵ Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent* (Urdu Tr.), p. 145.

have many a time deliberately tried to rob Islam of its strength and purity of form by importing and propagating many such teachings and concepts as are fundamentally opposed to the spirit of Islam. They start with the false claim of having the intention to bring together all the merits and good things of all religions and philosophies, but their ultimate motive is always to secure a complete exclusion and repudiation of Islamic injunctions and principles. In India, too, many such attempts were made and their protagonists slighted and ridiculed the concept of prophethood, revelation, prayer, etc. The person of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was freely made the object of criticism and fun-making. The Qur'an's being the Word of God and the possibility of revelation was doubted. Ascension of the Holy Prophet was openly regarded as improbable. Prayers and other acts of worship were ridiculed as useless wastage of time and energy. Now, if a nation or community has certain of its signs and symbols and if the members of that community are slowly but gradually made to be indifferent and disrespectful to those symbols, they cannot revive and assert themselves.

Although a greater majority of Muslims had not gone to that extent, yet they too had become ignorant of the basis of their national identity. A large majority of the Muslims accepted the Western concept of *Wataniyat* which, in simple words, amounts to accepting that the nations are formed on the basis of geographical boundaries, races or languages. A continued adherence to this concept would have proved suicidal for them, because that could have resulted in their complete absorption and annihilation into the milieu of Indian nationalism which would have been just another name of Hindu nationalism. Iqbal, who has duly been called the *Hakim al-Ummat*, i.e. the physician of the nation, correctly diagnosed these negative influences and he communicated his clarion call against these evils to the masses. "Through his poetry, Iqbal reached the masses; through his sophisticated prose writing, he communed with the learned."⁴⁴⁶ He very effectively rejected the concept of nationalism as based upon geographical territories or racial and linguistic considerations. Geographical nationalism, for him, is foreign to the Islamic polity. He goes on to say that Islam is the country for a Muslim and he belong to the Muslim nation:

⁴⁴⁶ Dr L.S. May, "Iqbal and His Philosophy," in M. Saeed Sheikh, Ed., *Studies in Iqbal's Thought & Art*, p. 6.

بازو تیرا توحید کی قوت سے قوی ہے

اسلام تیرا دیس ہے تو مصطفوی ہے⁴⁴⁷

When a prominent and famous scholar of Islam, i.e. Husain Aḥmad Madanī of Deoband, said that the nations had their bases in their geographical boundaries he retorted:

عجم ہنوز نداند رموزِ دیں ورنہ

سرود بر سرِ منبر کہ ملت از وطن است

زدیو بند حسین احمد ایں چہ بو العجیبی است

چہ بے خبر ز مقامِ محمدِ عربی است

بمصطفیٰ برسائے خویش را کہ دیں ہمہ اوست

اگر بہ او نرمیدی تمام بولہبی است⁴⁴⁸

It may, however, not be taken to mean that Iqbal had no room for patriotism. The fact is that, for him, “nationalism in the sense of love of one’s country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the faith of a Muslim. It comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to be the sole principle of national solidarity demanding that Islam should recede in the background as a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life.⁴⁴⁹ The geographical boundaries are not condemnable in themselves. They are expedient for the administrative purposes of a polity. But the point to note is that neither the administrative purposes nor the geographical boundaries are an end in themselves. That ideology alone is the

⁴⁴⁷ Iqbal, *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 174.

⁴⁴⁸ Iqbal, *Armaghān-i Hijāz*, p. 49.

⁴⁴⁹ Haft Abbadullah Faruqi, "Iqbal's Concept of State," in M. Saeed Sheikh, Ed., op, cit., p.

end-in-itself for which they are instrumental. When the Muslims of South Asia were passing through the greatest crisis in regard to their political and national identity, there was every possibility of their being effaced out as a distinct political entity. Now, it is very obvious that if a nation is made to perish, the ideology that it represents also has to suffer. That is why we find that Iqbal advised the Muslims of South Asia to adopt Muslim nationalism which they did and consequently succeeded in establishing Pakistan.

Iqbal could not believe in pantheism because he was the preacher of the philosophy of Ego, whereas pantheism denies the possibility of individual ego. For Iqbal, every experience by nature has its ultimate reference to an ego. “The more important regions of experience, examined with an eye on a synthetic view, reveal, as the ultimate ground of all experience, a rationally directed creative will which we have found reasons to describe as an ego. In order to emphasize the individuality of the Ultimate Ego the Quran gives Him the proper name of Allah, and further defines Him as follows:

“Say: Allah is One

All things depend on Him;

He begetteth not, and He is not begotten;

And there is none like unto Him.”⁴⁵⁰

According to Iqbal, the very ideal of perfect manhood in Islam is to be able to retain full self-possession even in the case of a direct contact with the all-embracing Ego. In this connection he refers to the Qur’an’s statement of the Prophet’s vision of the Ultimate Ego: “His eye, turned not aside, nor did it wander.” (liii. 17).

As for the inactivity, passivity and obliviousness of the empirical world, Iqbal regrets that religion in his days was known by the unfortunate name of mysticism which had come to be regarded as life-denying, fact-avoiding attitude of mind directly opposed to the radically empirical outlook. “Yet higher religion,” in his words, “which is only a search for a larger life, is essentially experience and recognized the necessity of experience as its foundation long before science learnt to do so. It is a genuine effort to clarify human consciousness, and is, as such, as critical of its level of experience as

⁴⁵⁰ *Reconstruction*, p. 62.

Naturalism is of its own level.”⁴⁵¹

Iqbal strongly disliked inactivity, passivity, immobility and inertia of thought or action. Such beliefs and controversies as could not find any expression in acts and deeds did not make any appeal to Iqbal. In the Preface to his Reconstruction he states that “Quran is a book which emphasizes deed rather than ‘idea’.” While discussing the spirit of Muslim culture he states that “The first important point to note about the spirit of Muslim culture then is that for purposes of knowledge, it fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite.”⁴⁵² Again, “Knowledge must begin with the concrete. It is the intellectual capture of and power over the concrete that makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete.”⁴⁵³ The Book of God engenders among its believers a general empirical attitude. Iqbal says: “But the point to note is the general empirical attitude of the Quran which engendered in its followers a feeling of reverence for the actual and ultimately made them the founders of modern science.”⁴⁵⁴

Similar views were expressed by him in many of his verses in beautiful and impressive artistic language. Thus, while criticising fatalism and other-worldliness, he laments the attitude of those Muslims who draw justification from the Qur’an for their fatalistic attitude:

اُسی قرآن میں ہے اب ترکِ جہاں کی تلاش
جس نے مومن کو بنایا مہ و پرویں کا اسیر
تن بہ تقدیر ہے آج اُن کے عمل کا انداز
⁴⁵⁵ تھی نہاں جن کے ارادوں میں خدا کی تقدیر

Again, he says:

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., p. 182.

⁴⁵² Ibid., p. 131.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 14

⁴⁵⁵ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 8.

تقدیر کے پابند نباتات و جمادات

456 مومن فقط احکامِ الہی کا ہے پابند

He emphasises that man should mould the forces of this universe to his own ends and purposes. If he strives wholeheartedly in this process “God becomes a co-worker with him”:

ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندہ مومن کا ہاتھ

457 غالب و کار آفرین، کار کشا، کار ساز

A Muslim, for Iqbal, is not the mere product of historical processes or chance happenings; he is rather the creator of those processes and happenings. Thus he says:

مہر و مہ و انجم کا محاسب ہے قلندر!

458 ایام کا مرکب نہیں، راکب ہے قلندر!

Addressing the mystic he invites him not to be oblivious of the empirical world:

تری نگاہ میں ہے معجزات کی دنیا

میری نگاہ میں ہے حادثات کی دنیا

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴⁵⁷ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 132.

⁴⁵⁸ *Darb-i Kalim*, p. 36.

تخیلات کی دنیا غریب ہے لیکن
غریب تر ہے حیات و ممات کی دنیا⁴⁵⁹

If the speculations of a mystic have no beneficial effects for the community and if they do not contribute to the enrichment of individual egos, then they are of no value whatsoever:

یہ حکمتِ ملکوتی یہ علمِ لاپتوتی
حرم کے درد کا درماں نہیں تو کچھ بھی نہیں
یہ ذکرِ نیم شبی یہ مراقبے یہ سرور
تری خودی کے نگہباں نہیں تو کچھ بھی نہیں⁴⁶⁰

Although Iqbal had a first-hand knowledge of the European thought and philosophy, and he had had a personal contact with Western civilisation during his stay in Europe, yet he never let his Islamic identity wane. He never felt any shame or humiliation in being a Muslim, nor did he ever repudiate the basic symbols, concepts or practices of Islam such as prophethood, revelation, prayer, etc. He regards in high esteem the experiences of a prophet because when a prophet, according to him, returns from the repose of his “unitary experience,” his return is creative. “He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals.”⁴⁶¹

Iqbal has great love and respect for the Holy Prophet of Islam, Ḥaḍrat Muhammad (peace be upon him). He considers him to be the herald of the modern world. He brought a religion, i.e. Islam, which gave birth to inductive intellect and abolished the concepts of priesthood and hereditary kingship. Thus he says:

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁶¹ *Reconstruction*, p. 124.

“In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the ancient world ; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world. In him life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islam... is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Qur’an, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality.”⁴⁶²

The birth of the Prophet of Islam is thus the blooming of life and the true interpretation of the dream of life.

اے ظہور توشبابِ زندگی	نیست مکن جز بہ قرن زیستن
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As for the Ascension of the Holy Prophet Iqbal not only believes in it but also thinks that it is a proof of the fact that the whole of the universe can be conquered by man.

سبق ملا ہے یہ معراجِ مصطفیٰ سے مجھے
463 کہ عالمِ بشریت کی زد میں ہے گردوں

Similarly, he gives much importance to prayer or act of worship. For Iqbal, prayer or act of worship is the agency through which a more intimate knowledge of and association with the Ultimate Ego or God is achieved. He clearly states that prayer is something that results in spiritual illumination. To quote Iqbal:

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 126.

⁴⁶³ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 44.

“The act of worship, however, affects different varieties of consciousness differently. In the case of the propnetic consciousness it is in the main creative, i.e., it tends to create a fresh ethical world wherein the Prophet, so to speak, applies the pragmatic test to his revelations.... In the case of the mystic consciousness it is in the main cognitive.”⁴⁶⁴

Even the timing of the daily prayer is significant. “The timing of the daily prayer which according to the Quran restores ‘self-possession’ to the ego by bringing it into closer touch with the ultimate source of life and freedom, is intended to save the ego from the mechanizing effects or sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is ego’s escape from mechanism to freedom.”⁴⁶⁵ Prayer or act of worship not only frees a Muslim from mechanism, it also liberates him from prostrating before others, be they mighty or wealthy.

یہ ایک سجدہ جسے تو گراں سمجھتا ہے
ہزاروں سجدوں سے دیتا ہے آدمی کو نجات⁴⁶⁶

So Iqbal rendered valuable services to Islam giving rational justification for respectfully upholding the basic tenets of Islam. This does not in any way mean that he was oblivious of the sociological changes brought about by the passage of time. In fact, he believed that the principle of movement was inherent in the very nature of Islam. He, however, believed in the advisability only of change taking place within the framework of the basic spirit and tenets of Islam. Islam, in his opinion, is a religion which, while retaining the basic concepts intact, does also takes cognizance of the changes brought about by time and interaction among the various social groups. Iqbal says:

“The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its

⁴⁶⁴ *Reconstruction*, p. 89.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴⁶⁶ *Darb-i-Kalim*, p. 32.

collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature."⁴⁶⁷

Iqbal believed that the Islamic view of life is essentially dynamic and progressive. According to this view life contains within itself immense potentialities which are progressively coming into being. "It is obvious that with such an outlook the Holy Book of Islam cannot be inimical to the idea of evolution. Only we should not forget that life is not change, pure and simple. It has within it elements of conservation also."⁴⁶⁸

So Iqbal maintained a much-needed equilibrium between change and continuity. Whereas change or dynamism is essential because its absence leads to stagnation, continuity is indispensable for the preservation of the national identity. Since Iqbal's thought has influenced the Muslims of India and Pakistan more than any other contemporary writer or poet, therefore we find that they are not afraid of ever-new experiences in politics, economics and other aspects of their social life; yet in this process they never alienate or dissociate themselves from the basis of their national identity, i.e. Islam. Because of this attitude prospects of a better future of Muslims and also of Islam are becoming prominent. The Islamic ideology is being more and more recognised as dynamic, equalitarian and egalitarian, and the people of the world at large are taking a more serious note of Islam.

Notes and References

THE TAVERN OF THE WEST**

'Allamah Iqbal/M. Hadi Hussain

Last night, while I was in the tavern of the West,
I was delighted by a witty thing a drunkard said.

⁴⁶⁷ *Reconstruction*, pp. 147-48.

⁴⁶⁸ 27. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

* From A Message from the East : English translation of Iqbal's Payam-i Mashriq by M. Hadi Hussain. Published by Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1977, pp. 174-75.

“This place is not a church,” said he, “that you
should find,
Here pretty girls and organ music and sweet songs.
This is the tavern of the West, where wine
Has the effect of making things that are considered
bad seem good.
We have weighed good and evil on another kind of scales.
The scales of the Jews and the Christians were askew.
What is good in you will be bad, if you should break
your fist.
What is bad in you will be good, if you increase your
might.
If you look carefully, you will find life is all hypocrisy.
Whoever follows the path of truth and sincerity Just cease to exist.
Claims of truth and sincerity
Are only covers for hypocrisy.
Our master says that brass must have on it a silver plate.
I have revealed to you the secret of success in life.
Let no one know of it, if you care for success.”

IQBAL, THE POET OF NATURE

Professor Muhammad Iqbal

Nature. In the early period of his career as a poet, Iqbal was to some extent influenced by Wordsworth. The poems of this period depict objects of Nature as representations of the Divine Spirit; but his thorough knowledge of the Qur'an and understanding of the Islamic way of life made him realise the shortcomings inherent in Pantheism. Immanence of the creative spirit was no longer enough for him. Instead this realisation helped him to proceed from "What is" to "What ought to be". For Wordsworth the whole universe is animated by one spirit and the poet who succeeded in establishing contact with Nature could in his own way understand and appreciate the manifestations of this Divine Spirit in the rolling plain, the grassy meadow, the daffodils, the bleating lamb, the tree, the hill and the cloud. The poet's association with objects of Nature was not mere physical contact ; in-directly it became communion with God Whom the poet found immanent in all Nature. Poems of Nature written by Iqbal up to 1905 are steeped in Pantheism and are reminiscent of Words-worth.

The universe for Wordsworth is alive but static and immutable. His poetry of Nature can be classified into three periods. The early period is the period of blind worship and the poet remained satisfied by physical pleasure which objects of Nature provided as he came into contact with these. This period may be called the period of pure sensuous delights, but as Wordsworth's genius matured he began to develop a spiritualised interest in Nature. The third and final stage is one in which the poet became the philosopher of Nature. He became the high priest of Nature and for him each object of Nature became the pantheistic symbol of the living presence of God. We do not find any such stages in Iqbal's poems of Nature. Some of the early poems included in *Bāng-i-Darā* show some influence of Wordsworth and are to some extent inspired by the young, but fast maturing, pantheistic poet's belief that objects of Nature are symbols depicting their Creator. No reader of Iqbal must, however, forget that Iqbal is essentially the poet of life and man, and Nature and universe interest him only because they provide the environment in which life unfolds itself and man passes through evolutionary changes which lead him on to perfection. Iqbal believed that the

universe was not static; it was ever in a flux and ever passing through changes and moment by moment was becoming, vaster, more perfect and, of course, more complicated and more difficult to decipher and understand.

In his note on “Touch of Hegelianism in *Lisān al-‘Aṣr Akbar*” he says: “The life of the universe, then, is necessarily constituted by a perpetual conflict of opposing forces.”⁴⁶⁹ Man is juxtaposed against Nature and “Nature” is universe looked upon in a vaster perspective and completer conceptual identity and about this universe he expresses the opinion: “I believe there is a Divine tendency in the universe, but this tendency will eventually find its complete expression in a higher man.”⁴⁷⁰ He said this in 1917 and 1921 and by that time all traces of Wordsworth's influence and Pantheism had been left behind. The only point of similarity between the two poets is their love for Nature — for the beauty of its hills, dales, rolling plains, meadows and flowers as well as its awe-inspiring moods, e.g. the storm, the lightning and cataracts. Wordsworth touched on this point in his Prelude and said that for long Nature held an exclusive place in his affections. Later a feeling for suffering humanity was aroused, but man still was depicted as subordinate to Nature in this sense that he was always conceived in a larger setting and exhibited in close relations with a greater whole and played around by the emotions that he begot through his communion with Nature. Wordsworth himself does not appear to be fully convinced about pantheistic interpretation of Nature. God may be present in all objects of Nature, but He ever remained transcendent for man and Wordsworth never realised that Nature and universe are helpful in the projection of the ego and perfection of the human self. He never became involved with the problem of man's place in Nature *vis-a-vis* the universe. Iqbal goes beyond objective representations of Nature. Even the poems of the early period show the poet's involvement with problems of life and man's place in the universe.

محفلِ قدرت ہے، اک دریائے بے پایاں حسن

⁴⁶⁹ Reproduced (from New Era, 18 August 1917) in S.A. Vabid, Ed., *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964), p. 87.

⁴⁷⁰ Iqbal's "Letter to Dr. Nicholson" (Lahore : dated 24 January 1921), reproduced in Vabid, Ed., op. cit., p. 94.

آنکھ اگر دیکھے تو ہر قطرے میں ہے طوفانِ حسن⁴⁷¹

[The pageant of Nature is a fathomless ocean of beauty,
If eyes were to see every drop has in it tumultuous beauty.]

آسمانِ صبح کی آئینہ پوشی میں ہے یہ

شام کی ظلمت، شفق کی گل فروشی میں ہے یہ⁴⁷²

[It is ever present in the mirror like sheen of morning sky,
And the dusk of the evening and the flower spangled twilight.]

چشمہ کمسار میں، دریا کی آزادی میں حسن

شہر میں، صحرا میں، ویرانے میں، آبادی میں

حسن⁴⁷³

[Rivulets gushing down the hills and free-flowing rivers have it,
It is there in the city, the wilderness, the deserted places and in
man's abode.]

This beauty which is synonymous with truth exerted such a powerful attraction on the poet in Iqbal, but he ever felt that something was wanting — there was something beyond this beauty and truth and which could be attained provided man exerted for it,

⁴⁷¹ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 95.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

روح کو لیکن کسی گم گشتہ شے کی ہے ہوس

474 ورنہ اس صحرا میں کیوں نالان یہ مثلِ جرس

[The soul, however, yearns for something, missing,

Otherwise why should it toll the knell of sorrow in this desert?]

حسن کے اس عام جلوے میں بھی یہ بے تاب ہے

475 زندگی اس کی مثالِ ماہی بے آب ہے

[Even the open display of beauty keeps it restless,

It lives like a fish out of water.]

Descriptive Quality. Iqbal is master of the art of delineating a picture in words and his descriptions are not only detailed and accurate; they are also fresh and lifelike. Urdu and Persian poetry is replete with poems which describe Nature — spring, changes of seasons, clouds, morning and twilight are favourite subjects. Descriptions are given in fine language and the poet in-variably gives the scene an imaginative colouring. These descriptions are fine specimens of imaginative poetry but rarely does any Urdu or Persian poet, who was a contemporary of Iqbal or had preceded him, evince a real understanding of Nature. Descriptions of Nature given by these poets are, with the exception of those given by Nadhīr Akbarābādī and Hafīz Jullundhrī, conventional and bookish. These are often exaggerated representations of scenes of Nature and are almost always artificial because the descriptions do not have their roots in the personal observation of the poet. This conventionality and artificiality characterised poetry of Nature produced by classical poets in England. W.H. Hudson says about Pope and

474 Ibid.

475 Ibid.

his school of goetry: “Even to the uncritical reader the contrast is apparent between the firsthand knowledge of Wordsworth, Keats or Tennyson, each of whom wrote (in Wordsworth's phrase) with his eye steadily fixed on the object, and the bookishness, the vague generalised statements and neglect of detail which characterised Pope and his school.” The Romantics made descriptions flexible, vivid, lifelike and realistic. Iqbal has the English Romantics' love for Nature, pictorial art, accuracy of detail, vividness and beauty of diction.

صبح جب میری نگہ سودائی نظارہ تھی
 آسمان پر ایک شعاعِ آفتاب آوارہ تھی⁴⁷⁶

[It was dawn and yearningly I looked around searching for a beautiful sight,

I saw a single ray of the sun wandering in the heavens.]

سرمہ بن کر چشمِ انساں میں سما جائوں گی میں
 رات نے جو کچھ چھپا رکھا تھا دکھلا دوں گی میں
 تیرے مستوں میں کوئی جو یائے ہشیاری بھی ہے
 سونے والوں میں کسی کو ذوقِ بیداری بھی ہے؟⁴⁷⁷

[I will be collyrium and would integrate with the human eye,
 And make visible all that night had hidden from view.

Were the entranced at all keen to become conscious?

Were the asleep desirous of awakening?)

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. p 267.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

Iqbal has drawn an effective picture of the receding dusk of night and advancing light of day and described how the advent of morning light would lift the curtain spread out by the dark night. The sun would function and do its duty; its coming would spread light all over the land and whatever good or bad had remained secreted in the night would become visible in its true form and colour. Nature and atmosphere would become enlivened, but what about man? Would man continue in his trance or would he wake up and realise the purpose behind his creation? The sleeping and numb humanity would become active only if the desire for a dynamic life is resuscitated and revitalised in him. If man remained apathetic, the vitality and vigour instilled into Nature by the arrival of daylight will be of no avail. These descriptions of variegated scenes of Nature are as vivid, precise and detailed as those of Wordsworth, Keats and Tennyson, but Iqbal goes beyond the objectivity of descriptions and becomes involved with human existence and the action and reaction of association between man and Nature. Wordsworth and Shelley too were interested in man's life on earth, but they wrote about the effect of Nature on man's mental and moral reaction. They were poets of Nature no doubt, but not poets of man. Even in the poems written before 1905 Iqbal showed deep interest in the association of man and Nature. He had deep and genuine love for Nature, but he was more concerned with the environmental effects which Nature had on the human self in its material as well as spiritual existence.

He says about "Sunset on the Banks of the River Ravi": "All the wonderful booklore in your library is not worth one glorious sunset on the banks of the Ravi."⁴⁷⁸

سکوتِ شام میں محوِ سرود ہے راوی
 نہ پوچھ مجھ سے جو ہے کیفیت مرے دل کی

شرابِ سرخ سے رنگیں ہوا ہے دامنِ شام

⁴⁷⁸ Javid Iqbal, Ed., [Iqbal] *Stray Reflections* (Lahore : Sh. Ghulam Ali& Sons, 1961), p. 131.

لیے ہے پیرِ فلکِ دستِ رعشہ دار میں جام

رواں ہے سینہ دریا پہ اک سفینہ تیز
ہوا ہے موج سے ملاح جس کا گرم ستیز⁴⁷⁹

[The Ravi bubbles onwards in the tranquil twilight,

Words fail to express its effect on my heart...

The expanse of evening is tinged with the colour of red wine,

The aged sky holds the wine-cup in its palsied hand...

A boat sails fast on the expanse of the river,

The mariner struggles against the waves.]

So far the verses give a good word-picture of the scene presented by the river in the twilight calm of the evening, but in the last verse quoted below Iqbal takes a turn — Nature and man, environment and the human are juxtaposed:

شکست سے یہ کبھی آشنا نہیں ہوتا

نظر سے چھپتا ہے لیکن فنا نہیں ہوتا⁴⁸⁰

[It never suffers defeat,

May become hidden from sight, but is never destroyed.]

The boat sailing on the expanse of water becomes a symbolic representation of the boat of life which in the expanse of time and space is

⁴⁷⁹ *Bāng-i Darā*,

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

always moving ahead. The journey's end may be death, but Iqbal's faith in the better life to come is firm; death may bring a change, but the human ego is indestructible.

Iqbal passed the first eighteen years of his life in Sialkot (1877 to 1895) Sialkot was then not the big and bloated city of today. It was a small town on the borders of Kashmir. Green fields rolled right up to the walls and doors of houses in the outskirts of the town. Nature encircled the city on all sides and there were many small gardens in the town and from his early childhood Iqbal got plenty of chances to absorb the beauties of Nature. In 1895 he came to Lahore which was then actually a city of gardens. It was a Lahore different from the Lahore of today. It was a quieter and a greener city. The walled city which is now called "Old City" was much more populous and was the centre of all social, political, cultural and religious activities. It was surrounded by a green belt with tall trees and plethora of rose and jasmine bushes. A canal flowed bubbling in this garden. There were many more gardens along the Mall and the Lower Mall. You paid a few annas, hired a tonga and in less than half an hour crossed the old bridge on the Ravi and found yourself in the midst of pure Nature and in front of you stretched the kaleidoscopic panorama of Nature which in beauty was second to none you found anywhere in the world. It was Nature *par excellence*. The Ravi meandered on and when not in spate its flow was so slow that the onward movement was scarcely perceptible. It carried for itself the often used title — the sleeping river — the story-teller which had enshrined in its bed the tales of past glory and distress, joys and sorrows, conquests and defeats. Orchards alternated with cultivated fields: grassy meadows at many places merged into deep thickets of tall trees and shrubs. The whole scene had about it a charm — it was picturesque as well as romantic. The poet's highly sensitive and deeply observant mind could not remain unaffected by this beautiful flora and fauna.

Iqbal stayed in Lahore for the rest of his life excepting the three years he passed in England and Europe where he studied for his Doctorate in Philosophy and a few other comparatively briefer periods of visits to Western countries for political reasons. He was endowed with wonderful powers of observation and fine sensibilities and whatever he observed he retained all its details in his retentive memory. In Europe he travelled throughout England,

Germany, France and Spain and came into contact with Nature in all its variegated aspects. These scenes and pictures remained stored in his memory and he could recall and reproduce them in his poems with the added shine of his subjective apprehension of what was beautiful. In his poems pictures of Nature come racing one after the other and the cumulative effect created is one not only of a detailed and faithful representation of the multifarious aspects of Nature, but also has about it a touch of objective reality. His pictures of Nature are true and lifelike and never smell of the lamp. Iqbal's world of Nature is not a world of phantasy; it is a world of factual realities and even the minutest detail is not left out.

نہر ہا گردنہ در گلزار ہا	لالہ ہا آسودہ در کہسار ہا
از دمِ قدوسیاں او را کشودا ⁴⁸¹	غنچہ ہائے سرخ و اسپید و کبود

[Hills abounded with full-blown tulips,
Canals meandered through flower-beds.
Red, white, blue flowers were in plenty,
The breath of angels made them bloom.]

پھول صحرا میں یا پریاں قطار اندر قطار
اودے اودے نلے نیلے پیلے پیلے پیرہن ⁴⁸²

[Flowers in the wilderness or fairies row after row,
Wearing violet, blue and yellow garments.]

برق اندر ظلمتش گم کردہ تاب	آن ہوائے تند و آن شبگون سحاب
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⁴⁸¹ *Jāvid Nāmāh*, p. 180.

⁴⁸² *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 48.

چاک دامان و گھر کم ریختہ! ⁴⁸³

قلزمے اندر ہوا آویختہ

[A violent wind blew and clouds were black as night,
The pitch black of the cloud dimmed the shine of lighting.
It was an ocean hung up in the air,
Torn at places but few drops had fallen.]

The poet has to forge a contact between his inner self and the world around him. The deeper this contact is, the more effective the poet's expression of his ideas becomes. Iqbal is primarily the poet of life and man and for him the external world — Nature — is one of those agencies that provide incentives for the evolution of the ever-growing self. Proper understanding of the ego and evaluation of its qualities is not possible without a proper and thorough understanding of Nature, because Nature is an integral part of the environment in which the ego lives and evolves. The world of Nature and the human ego are undeniably interrelated and each exercises a potential influence on the other.

The impact of the ego on the world of Nature and environmental conditions and the corresponding impact of Nature and environmental conditions on the ego activates a chain of reactions which become the source of all creative activity — ethical, moral, rationalistic and social. If this action and reaction is perfect, it brings about a unity of purpose and the actual becomes one with the ideal. Thus a unity comes into being between the human self and Nature and this is the source of all good creative art. The inspired artist is attracted by the beauty of Nature, his keen senses enable him to observe all its details; but this is a purely objective activity. The procedure of expression, in words or colour, is a complex procedure, the subjective becomes fused with the objective and work of art created by him is a representation of the actual as well as the ideal. The world created by the artist is more beautiful and also more perfect. It is an integrated representation of the world of reality and the poet's ideal.

⁴⁸³ *Jāvid Nāmāh*, p. 100.

جهانِ رنگ و بو گلدسته ما	ز ما آزاد و بزم وابسته ما
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[The world of colours and odours is a bouquet in our hands,
It may be beyond us, but is inalienably bound to us.]

خودی او را به یک تارِ نگاه بست	زمین و آسمان مهر و ماه بست
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[The ego grasps and holds it by a single look,
The earth, the sky, the sun and moon all are bound to us.]

دلِ ما را به او پوشیده راه ست	که هر موجود ممنونِ نگاه ست
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[Our hearts have secret communion with them,
All actualities depend on our observing looks.]

گر او را کس نه بیند زار گردد	اگر بیندیم و کھسار گردد
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[If their charms remain unobserved they are distraught,
When observed these become oceans and green hills.]

جهان غیر از تجلیِ ہائے ما نیست	کہ بے ما جلوهٔ نور و صدا نیست
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[Deprived of the effulgence of our light this world would be naught,
In our absence there can be no display of light or sound.]

Iqbal's descriptions are always subjective because he had that higher faculty — a perception that was beyond mere sensuous observation. In his vision he could look into the life of things. The actual object became of

secondary importance and the poet's discerning eye penetrated to the core and found that reality which eluded the observation of the ordinary man. It was a kind of mystic experience which at its highest became ecstasy. Spiritual interpretations pervade his poems of Nature. The dawn for him re-mains not merely a pageant of colour; it becomes a movement of Divine consecration. As his genius matured vitalism, desire for reform became inseparably integrated with his Nature poetry. His descriptions of cloud, moon, nightingale, glowworm, tulip, all serve as media for his message exhorting the reader to adopt a life of action and higher ideals.

In his poem "Morning Breeze," he says:

یہ سبزہ غلظم و بر شاخِ لاله می پیچم
 کہ رنگ و بوز مساماتِ او بر انگیزم
 خمیده تا نشود شاخِ او ز گردشِ من
 به برگِ لاله و گل نرم نرمک آویزم
 چو شاعر می ز غمِ عشق در خروش آید
 نفسِ نفس به نوا بانی او در آمیزم!⁴⁸⁴

[I roll on the verdure and revolve on the tulip branch,
 Thus I stimulate these to give forth their colours and smells.
 Delicately I touch the petals of the rose and the tulip,
 Thus my movements do not twist the delicate branches.
 When the poet becomes frenzied with the sorrow of love,
 Breath by breath I become one with his songs.]

Imagery in *Iqbal's Nature Poetry and His Use of Similes and Metaphors*. Iqbal draws his similes and metaphors from life and Nature and his pictorial imagery makes his poems effective in description as well as lends them an

⁴⁸⁴ *Payām-i Mashriq*, p. 116.

additional charm and grace. His poetic similitudes are not only highly suggestive in comparison; these are expressed in language which makes all the points of similarity more pronounced. These are, in fact, an expression of the poet's yearning to visualise life and Nature in a more evolved and more perfected form. The poet's soul is ever eager, restless and aspiring for more perfect and more beautiful. For Iqbal perfection is beauty and we may call it the scientific note in his poetry. He is entranced by the beauty of the twinkling star, but he knows that it is not the only star. It is one out of myriads of galaxies scattered in the firmament. His craving is for the infinite and nothing would satisfy him less than the whole of "the heaven's embroidered cloth". He aspires for the limitless. Notice the images evoked here:

دریائے پُر خروش! ز بند و شکن گذشت
 از رنگ نائے وادی و کوه و دمن گذشت
 یکساں چو سیل کرده نشیب و فراز را
 از کاخ شاه و باره و کشت و چمن گذشت
 بے تاب و تند و تیز و جگر سوز و بیقرار
 در پر زمان بہ تازہ رسید از کہن گذشت
 زی بحرِ بیکرانہ چہ مسـتـانہ میـرود
 در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بے گانہ می رود⁴⁸⁵

[The tumultuous river crossed obstacles and ridges,
 Passed through the narrow vale and over hills and dales.
 Flooded the high and low places alike,
 Passed by the field, the garden, the castle and palace of king.
 Restless, fluxed, swift, violent as if in pain it went,

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 152.

Every moment leaving the old to new it went.

The voluminous water flowed like mad,

Complete in itself and regardless of all else.]

These verses are a beautiful description of the passage of a river from its source to the sea. The lines, however, are equally well applicable to human life: the temporal sojourn on earth and pass-age through variegated scenes of life. The soul journeys through life and meets joys and sorrows, successes and failures, disease and good health, good and evil, sin and virtue, love and hatred and finally attains union with the ultimate and the absolute. The entire period of its journey through life is a period of flux, storm and stress. Like the tumultuous river life is never static because dynamic vitalism is the very secret of its being.

Descriptive verses lie scattered in profusion in every poem written by Iqbal — you can choose at will:

مہر روشن چھپ گیا اٹھی نقابِ روئے شام

شانہ ہستی پہ بکھرا ہوا گیسوئے شام⁴⁸⁶

[The bright sun has set and the veil is lifted from the face of evening,

All over the world black tresses of evening are spread.]

طشتِ گردوں میں ٹپکتا ہے شفق کا خونِ ناب

نشرِ قدرت نے کیا کھولی ہے فصدِ آفتاب؟⁴⁸⁷

[The blood of twilight falls drop by drop into the plate of sky,

It appears as if Nature has let the blood of the sun with a lancet!]

⁴⁸⁶ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Every single verse of the poem “Glowworm”⁴⁸⁸ given below has a simile or metaphor and these heighten the effect of images evoked:

جگنو کی روشنی ہے کاشانہ چمن میں
یا شمع جل رہی ہے پھولوں کی انجمن میں؟
آیا ہے آسمان سے اڑ کر کوئی ستارہ
یا جان پڑ گئی ہے مہتاب کی کرن میں؟
یا شب کی سلطنت میں دن کا سفر آیا؟
غربت میں آگے چمکا گننام تھا وطن میں
تکمہ کوئی گرا ہے مہتاب کی قبا کا؟
ذرہ ہے یا نمایاں سورج کے پیرہن میں؟

[Is it the light shed by the glowworm in the garden,

Or is it a candle lighted in the midst of flowers?

Some star has flown down from the sky,

Or has some bright sunbeam come to life?

Perhaps in the dominion of night he is an ambassador of the day,

Has remained unnoticed at home and came into limelight in a foreign land.

Is it a strap fallen from the cloak of the moon,

Or has an atom become incandescent in the garment of the sun?]

Imagery in Iqbal's poems is expressed through similes which are drawn from real life and have a direct bearing on the subject. The real and the metaphorical, the actual and the imagined are epitomised and his knowledge of Nature and the world around him being deep as well as real, these

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 83.

comparisons and images evoked are real and lifelike. His similes and metaphors do not sprout and one comparison does not lead to another and thus bring into being a chain of comparisons in which the actual and the real be-comes obscured in the labyrinths of the imagined and the unreal. Iqbal always bases his comparisons on objective similarities and for this reason succeeds in effectively illustrating the basic qualities and attributes of objects, actions and events, which form the subject of such comparisons. Most Nature poetry is objective and suggests an acceptance of what he sees or hears or feels in Nature and the world around him. The peace and quiet of Nature, its violence and even the fear inspired by it, the cottages, the orchards, the hedgerows, the sounding cataract; the turbulent stream, the tall rocks, the gloomy and dark woods are described in words. Most poets remain content with giving word-pictures and do not in any way humanise it or try to get any kind of assurance from it. Iqbal's descriptions of Nature, on the other hand, however objective these may be, are visualised in a broader perspective ; objectivity is blended with a highly subjective understanding of man's association with his environment and for depicting this fusion of the objective and the real with the subjective and the visualised similes and metaphors are perhaps the best media of expression. Below is a rare example of symbolic representation of transitoriness of human life and man's helplessness in the face of elemental forces of Nature. The morning star is taken as the symbol, but there is no abstractness or obscurity about what Iqbal has said. It is good descriptive poetry and its symbolism is an additional attribute:

ستاره صبح کا روتا تھا اور یہ کہتا تھا
ملی نگاہ مگر فرصتِ نظر نہ ملی
ہوئی ہے زندہ دم آفتاب سے ہر شے
اماں مجھی کو تہِ دامنِ سحر نہ ملی

بساط کیا ہے بھلا صبح کے ستارے کی
نفسِ حبابِ کاء، تابندگی شرارے کی⁴⁸⁹

[The morning star wept and said,

Alas! I was blessed with vision but had not time enough to observe and see.

The breath of the rising sun will enliven all things,

I alone am unsafe after dawn.

The morning star is not of much consequence,

It is the whif' of the air in a bubble and glow of a flame.]

جس طرح ڈوبتی ہے کشتی سمینِ قمر
نورِ خورشید کے طوفان میں ہنگامِ سحر⁴⁹⁰

[Watch the silver boat of moon sinking at dawn,

In the flux of light of the morning sun.]

بنگر کہ جوئے آبِ چہ مستانہ می رود
مانندِ کہکشاں بر گیہانِ مرغزار
در خوابِ ناز بود بہ گہوارہٗ سحاب
وا کرد چشمِ شوق بہ آغوشِ کوہسار
از سنگِ ریزہٗ نغمہ کشاید خرامِ او
سیمائے او چو آئینہ بے رنگ و بے غبار⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 120.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁹¹ *Payām-i Mashriq*, p. 151.

[Look how beautifully and like the milky way
The stream meanders through the meadow.
It was fast asleep in the cradle of the cloud,
When it awakened — it was in the lap of the mountain.
Its motion brings forth music from the pebbles and,
Its crystal clear water is like a clean mirror.]

صد نالۂ شبگیرے، صد صبح بلا خیزے
صد آہ شرر ریزے، یک شعرِ دل آویزے⁴⁹²

[A hundred cries which break the silence of night,
a hundred dawns with all their commotion,
A hundred sighs which belch forth sparks, are all taken together equal to
one inspired verse.]

Thus it is through effective comparisons that the poet gives expression
to his thoughts. The same pattern is followed in de-scribing the appearance
the spirit of India in *Javid Nāmah*:

آسمان شق گشت و حورے پاک زاد
پرده را از چہرہ خود بر کشاد⁴⁹³

[The sky split asunder, a beautiful hourie appeared,
And removed the veil from her face.]

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 191.

⁴⁹³ *Javid Nāmah*, p. 168.

Comparisons give the poetic expression a wider and broader effect because the emotional effect of the scene is juxtaposed against its objective and realistic description.

Similes and metaphors used by Iqbal are single as well as dual. خود آب ز is an example of single comparison. The milky way in the sky and the transparent water of the stream have many points of similarity برف نے سر سر دستارِ فضیلت تیرے سر باندھی ہے is a dual comparison, The peaks of the Himalayas are compared to heads and the mark of distinction of its great height is provided by the turban like white snow that covers it.

مرنے والوں کی جبین روشن ہے اس ظلمات میں
جس طرح تارے چمکتے ہیں اندھیری رات میں⁴⁹⁴

The darkness after death is compared to pitch dark night and the bright foreheads of the dead to the bright stars in the firmament. Here again we have dual comparison. The dark night is compared to the darkness of death and the bright incandescent stars are compared to the luminous memories of the dead. The cumulative effect is one of amalgamation of Nature with life. Nature in Iqbal is not the background against which is depicted the drama of life. Nature is an active participant in human life. Compared with the darkness of night the darkness of the world of the dead appears darker and compared with the shining stars the luminosity of the remembrance of the dead becomes enhanced:

زندگی کی آگ کا انجام خاکستر نہیں!
ٹوٹا جس کا مقدر ہو، یہ وہ گوہر نہیں!

زندگی محبوب ایسی دیدہ قدرت میں ہے
ذوقِ حفظِ زندگی ہر چیز کی فطرت میں ہے⁴⁹⁵

[If the fire of life were to end in cinders and ashes,

Then life would not have been a pure unbreakable pearl.

In the eyes of Nature life is so precious and so dear,

That it has made desire for survival a part of the nature of all things created.]

In the above two verses the outstanding simile is the comparison made between life and a perfect pearl, Life is incandescent and burns at white heat and so is the pearl bright and radiates light. Life would not burn itself to ashes and a perfect pearl will never be cut or broken. The more perfect a pearl is, the more its value and the longer its life. Perfectibility of the pearl was a sure defence from destruction and decay. Human life attains immortality through stress and exertion which make it more perfect. It is through perfectibility that human self becomes immortal and the pearl immune from decay and destruction and the comparison is complete because the similitude is quite pronounced. Iqbal's comparisons are neither far-fetched nor artificial, because they are almost always taken either from life or from Nature.

Iqbal is always after total and effective comparisons and for this reason he tries to bring in dual similes which produce a cumulative effect realistic similitude, e.g.:

پتیاں پھولوں کی گرتی ہیں خزاں میں اس طرح
دستِ طفلِ خفته سے رنگیں کھلونے جس طرح⁴⁹⁶

[Flower petals fall in autumn,

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 259.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 165.

As do coloured toys from the hand of a child asleep.]

To the casual reader the comparisons appear single but actually these are dual. Falling petals of flowers are compared to toys and this is a single simile; the autumn is compared to the hand of a sleeping child. "Flower petals fall in autumn as do coloured toys from the hands of a child asleep." This again is apparently a single comparison; the effect is cumulative. Flower petals are coloured and toys are also coloured. The sleeping child has no idea that toys are falling from his hand. On the other hand, petals fall in autumn but autumn is not conscious of being the agency that makes the petals fall. The two points of similarity weld into one component simile and produce that total effect wherein lies the success of the comparison.

From among the Romantics Shelley is considered to be the best in the art of using similes and metaphors and he does make an ingenious use of comparisons in some of his poems. I quote below four verses from his famous poem "Ode to the West Wind":

Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is;

What if my leaves are falling like its own,

The tumult of thy mighty harmonies

Will take from both a deep, autumnal tone.

This is a complete comparison- the spirit of the poet and tumultuous West wind have points of similarity which any student of Shelley knows and is familiar with; but Shelley is not always so successful. In him the visionary becomes predominant to the exclusion of all his other attributes as poet. His similes sprout and the poem loses that realistic apprehension of facts which is the basic criterion of all good poetry. This bifurcation of one simile into two and of two into more is the real cause of that ethereal thinness of ideas of some of Shelley's poems. The poet is carried away by his imaginal and the reals become unreal, the concrete abstract and the reader feels lost in a maze of unknown and unfamiliar representations which obscure the theme of the poem. It was this over-liberal use of similes and metaphors which earned for Shelley the appellation of an "ineffectual angel beating his wings in the void in vain". Shelley's grasp of the world of realities was never firm or secure. His imagination soared so fast and so high that it became impossible for the average reader to keep pace with. The reader is in most cases left far behind,

mystified and guessing. Comparisons, instead of elucidating the theme, made it more obscure and unintelligible.

Iqbal, on the other hand, holds the world of matter in as much reverence as the world of imagination and vision. The transcendental and the world of basic facts are for him equally important because one complements the other. The ego and the environment in which he lives are both essential perquisites to generate the evolutionary process by which both attain perfection. For this reason he is always fastidiously careful in the choice of his comparisons. He does not split hairs and is never vague or ambiguous. He knows that Nature is allergic to repetitions, no two things in the world are identically similar, so broad points of similarity are enough to provide a good comparison.

Iqbal had full command over the Arabic language and his poetry of Nature shows unmistakable signs that he had learnt a lot from the great Arabic poets. This impact of Arabic poetry is often evident in his use of similes and metaphors.

تیری بنا پائیدار، تیرے ستون بے شمار
شام کے صحرا میں ہو جیسے ہجومِ تخیل⁴⁹⁷

[Your foundation is solid and your pillars numerous,

Pillars look like a grove of palms in the Syrian Sahara.]

English and German literature as well as philosophy were subjects in which Iqbal developed an interest from his college days. He had read English poetry as well as German poetry and its goods features are often emulated by him. The comparisons introduced in the verses quoted below have about them a touch of Western thought:

آدمی کے ریشے ریشے میں سما جاتا ہے عشق

⁴⁹⁷ *Bāl-i Jibril*, p. 130.

شاخ گل میں جس طرح بادِ سحر گاہی کا غم⁴⁹⁸

[Love permeates into the blood-stream of man,
Just as the moisture of the zypher enters the flower twig.]

Comparisons in these verses have nothing oriental about them and are inspired by Iqbal's intimate association with Western art, literature and philosophy. This was an addition to Urdu poetry and proved an attractive orientation of thought. Later poets have all made use of this occidentalisation of similes and it had found popularity with readers of Urdu literature.

There is one more category of similes and metaphors in which comparisons are introduced with birds or animals symbolising some particular attributes or characteristics of behaviour. Urdu, Persian and Arabic poets are very fond of making comparisons with pigeons, doves, peacocks, nightingales, pheasants, deer, ante-lopers and stags, but Iqbal departed from these conventional comparisons. He brought in a new set of birds and animals which are just the opposite in characteristics and habits from the birds and animals which had found place in conventional Eastern poetry. The birds and animals which attract him most are the eagle, falcon, tiger and the lion. This evoked sharp reaction among a particular group of critics, who said that the philosopher-poet was setting the clock back. He was taking the people back to prehistoric times by eulogising and making popular the savagery and brutishness of tigers and eagles. These critics failed to grasp the real significance of the comparisons because they detached the simile from its context and background. Iqbal is not enamoured of the blood-thirsty and destructive propensities of these birds and animals. He admires them rather for their love of freedom, will power, determination and their love for action and dynamic attitude towards life. It is not the eagle's ferocity or love for destruction which Iqbal likes in this bird. It is the bird's love for action, self-reliance, love for liberty and fearlessness which attract him.

گزر اوقات کر لیتا ہے یہ کوہ و بیابان میں

⁴⁹⁸Ibid., p. 51.

کہ شاہیں کے لیے ذلت ہے کارِ آشیاں بندی⁴⁹⁹

[It manages to past time in the mountains and barren places,
It is degrading for the eagle to stoop to nest building.]

Dr Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān is of the view that the eagle is the favourite bird of Iqbal because this bird is a symbol of power and action and it is round power, action and self-reliance that Iqbal's philosophy of self and the evolutionary processes leading to the perfection of the ego revolve.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

FRENZY'S DRIVE*

Q. A. Kabir

سما سکتا نہیں پہنائے فطرت میں مرا سودا

غلط تھا اے جنوں شاید ترا اندازہ صحرا!

The bounds of nature cannot brace,
my passions great, in terms of space.
The craze, alas, no longer could guess,
the span of desert, more or less.

خودی سے اس طلسمِ رنگ و بو کو توڑ سکتے ہیں

یہی توحید تھی جس کو نہ تو سمجھا نہ میں سمجھا!

By ego's call we can shake and break,
the spell of grandeur we still make.
This ego reminds that God is one, alas,
this point was followed by none.

نگہ پیدا کر اے غافل تجلی عینِ فطرت ہے

کہ اپنی موج سے بے گانہ رہ سکتا نہیں دریا

The vision of God is a destined boon,

* English translation of Iqbal's poem in *Bal-i Jibril* (pp. 37-40).

get the eyes, O blind, to view Him soon.
The oceans of nature can never be,
Deaf and blind to surges of sea.

رقابت علم و عرفان میں غلط بینی ہے منبر کی

کہ وہ حلاج کی سولی کو سمجھا ہی رقیب اپنا

This knowledge and gnosis are sciences apart,
were dubbed as rivals was the pulpit's fault.
He thought the gibbet was rival to him,
and hanged the poor saint in a fanatic whim.

خدا کے پاک بندوں کو حکومت میں غلامی میں

زرہ کوئی اگر محفوظ رکھتی ہے تو استغنا!

In ease and quite or pains and strains,
in power's pride, or bound in chains,
The God's true slaves shall like to remain,
under the Contents armoured chain.

نہ کر تقلید امے جبریل میرے جذبے و مستی کی

تن آساں عرشوں کو ذکر و تسبیح و طواف اولیٰ!

O Gabriel! please copy not my course,

of rapturous drives and frenzy's force.

The easy-going angels should only devote,

In Ka'bah's rounds and rosary notes,

بہت دیکھے ہیں میں نے مشرق و مغرب کے میخانے

یہاں ساقی نہیں پیدا وہاں بے ذوق بے صہبا!

A multiple bars of East and West,

have gone through my own thorough test.

Here the "bearer" is born obscure,

there the "wine" is a tasteless lure.

نہ ایران میں رہے باقی نہ توران میں رہے باقی

وہ بندے فقر تھا جن کا ہلاکِ قیصر و کسریٰ

No longer exist on Persian scene,

neither on Turkey's Epic sheen.

The fasting figures who had slain,

the Kaiser-Kisra's mighty reign.

یہی شیخِ حرم ہے جو چرا کر بیچ کھاتا ہے

گلیمِ بو ذر و دلقِ اویس و چادرِ زہرا؟

He is the Shaikh who stole and sold,

in sheer misuse of his official hold,

once rags of Owais and Bu Dharr's robes,
once Zohra's sheet and antiques old.

حضورِ حق میں اسرافیل نے میری شکایت کی

یہ بندہ وقت سے پہلے قیامت کر نہ دے برپا!

Once Israfil sensed my dynamic design,
and termed me to God as a possible sign.
This man is showing potentials great,
for Doomsday's cause before its date.

ندا آئی کہ آشوبِ قیامت سے یہ کیسا کم ہے

گرفتہ چینیاں احرام و مکی خفتہ در بطحا!

A voice came, Isn't this 'Doom's' looming event?
The Chinese are wearing palmer's garments.
The Meccan's move was a cosmic need,
in Batha they slept and lost their lead.

لبالب شیشہ تہذیبِ حاضر ہے مئے لا سے

مگر ساقی کے ہاتھوں میں نہیں پیمانہ الا

A bumper or "Fashion" is full with "LA,"
the "bearer" holds not the cup of "ILLA".

دبا رکھا ہے اس کو زخمہ ور کی تیز دستی نے

بہت نیچے سُروں میں ہے ابھی یورپ کا واویلا

The fiddler is playing a lullaby slow
the Jazzy Western tunes are cautiously low.

At times he gives a bit hard blow*
to sell his arms at a rapid flow.

اُسی دریا سے اُٹھتی ہے وہ موج تند جولان بھی

نہنگوں کے نشیمن جس سے ہوتے ہیں تہ و بالا!

|The same river raises waves so strong,
which topples the gavials' dangerous throng.

غلامی کیا ہے؟ ذوقِ حسن و زیبائی سے محرومی

جسے زیبا کہیں آزاد بندے ہے وہی زیبا!

The servitude seizes the right of a race
to be a critic of beauty and grace.
They make it a basic right of a race
that a charter on grace is free-men's grace.

بھروسہ کر نہیں سکتے غلاموں کی بصیرت پر

* Translator's insertion.

کہ دنیا میں فقط مردانِ حُر کی آنکھ ہے بینا!

They never rely on slaves' foresight,
to them the "Vision" is the freeman's sight.

وہی ہے صاحبِ امروز جس نے اپنی ہمت سے

زمانے کے سمندر سے نکالا گوہر فردا

The man of today with a mettle great,
dug pearls for future from ocean's plait.

فرنگی شیشہ گر کے فن سے پتھر ہو گئے پانی

مری اکسیر نے شیشے کو بخشی سختیِ خارا!

The stones liquefy by a Western stratagem,
I have tempered the glass as hard as gem.

رہے ہیں اور ہیں فرعون میری گہات میں اب تک

مگر کیا غم کہ میری آستیں میں ہے یدِ بیضا!

The Pharoahs of time set a trap of mine,
No fear, in my cuffs see a bright-hand sign.

وہ چنگاری خس و خاشاک سے کس طرح دب جائے

جس حق نے کیا ہو نیستان کے واسطے پیدا!

How a spark could be damned with hays and weed,
which the Lawful begets for the canes and reed.

محبت خویشتن بینی محبت خویشتن داری

محبت آستانِ قیصر و کسریٰ سے بے پروا

The Kiths and Kin are Love's main Wings,
the Love cares not for Courts of Kings.

عجب کیا گر مہ و پرویں مرے نخچیر ہو جائیں

کہ بر فتراکِ صاحبِ دولتے بستم سرِ خود را،

No wonder if stars may fall to my trap,
I have chained my head to a rich man's strap.

وہ دانائے سبیل ختم الرسل مولائے گل جس نے

غبارِ راہ کو بخشا فروغِ وادیِ سینا

An apostolic guide, for apostolic aim,
for prophets need, the final name.

A master grand, who blessed a Dust,
with fame and flame like Sina's crust.

نگاہِ عشق و مستی میں وہی اول وہی آخر

وہی قرآن وہی فرقاں وہی یسین وہی طابا

To passion's eye and rapturous source,

He is the first and final force.

He is the Yāsīn,⁵⁰⁰ He is the Qur'ān,⁵⁰¹

He is the Ṭā-Hā,⁵⁰² He is the Furqān.⁵⁰³

سنائی کے ادب سے میں نے غواصی نہ کی ورنہ

ابھی اس بحر میں باقی ہیں لاکھوں لولوئے لالا!

I could not dive in Sana'i's field,

A score of pearls this sea could yield.

BOOKS FOR REVIEW

Publication of reviews on new books, both in English and Urdu, is a regular feature of the Iqbal Review. Publishers are requested to send two copies of their books for this purpose.

It is assured that the earliest opportunity would be availed of in publishing reviews on books received.

Books should be sent to:

⁵⁰⁰ Yāsīn is the "heart" of the Qur'an (according to a tradition).

⁵⁰¹ The Prophet was a figure or image of the Qur'an (a saying of Ḥaḍrat `ishah.

⁵⁰² Ṭā-Hā is a mission of the sacred Moses to Pharaohs which Ḥaḍrat Muhammad (may peace be upon him) accomplished.

⁵⁰³ Furqān, also a name of the Qur'an, means a Criterion and a Standard between false and truth. This sūrah is a blessing of the Almighty to the Prophet, his devotees and the whole universe.

Dr M. Moizuddin
Director, Iqbal Academy Pakistan
90/B-2, Gulberg III, Lahore

in registered book-post packets.

TIDE POPPY LAMPS*

Dr Muhammad Yusuf 'Abbasi

The poppies lit their lamps,
On the desert brow;
Minstrels of the air,
In their plumage fair,
Burst into song,
And so stir my heart,
That I like to take part,
In their musical throng.
The flowers like fairies stand,
In prismatic rows,
Reds, yellows, and blues;
Gay flags!
Of magic hues,
Fluttering in the spring morn,
And the dew drops,
Like the pearl spray,
In their crystal glory,
Shine in every ray;
Liquid diamonds glisten,
On green leaves,
On jaded eaves,

* A free rendering of Iqbal's inimitable chromatic lyric "Phir Chirāgh-i Lālah Say Raushan Hū-ay Koh-o Daman" (Bāl-i fibril, pp. 48-49).

Of the rolling desert.

This flower carpet,
This gorgeous array,
In the desert,
This poppy-lit expanse,
Is the Nature's display,
Fairer than the urban medley.
Such is the realm of mind,
In it I did ever find,
The secret of life,
By your own,
If you can't be mine.

The world of the Self,
In spirit is love,
And zest in style;
The world of the pelf,
Lying, lust and guile.
The wealth of mind,
A sun of light,
A lasting joy;
But the wealth in gold,
A shiny blight,
All tinsel and toy.
The Self shall ever remain,

A free domain,
Of truth and light,
As there doesn't reign,
Any king or priest.
How could I be the same,
Either in spirit or frame,
If I ever bowed,
Before anyone,
Except Him,
Like Whom there is none.

BOOK REVIEWS

S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*. Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1977. Demy 8vo., pp. 535 with index and bibliography. Rs 60.

This is the third edition of the book which was first published as *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* by the author under the pseudonym of "Albiruni" in 1950. It covers a period of Muslim struggle for freedom and a few years after Independence (1858-1951) This is a much better produced edition. The earlier book was planned as an account of the lives and activities of leading Muslim leaders who led the Muslims to the establishment of Pakistan. Subsequently it was enlarged and its scope widened. It still remains a biographical account, but many new chapters on the background and historical developments have been added.

S.M. Ikram was a member of the Indian Civil Service, but he kept his scholarly interests alive. Besides producing a number of books in Urdu, he devoted some time in organising this book. He has not presented any new thesis in this book, but has organised the details in a systematic manner and in a readable form. The reader will be able to get a clear picture of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's policies and the deeds and achievements of the followers of his school of thought. The chapter on religious groups is very interesting, but his analysis is not as deep or thorough as that of Aziz Ahmad in his books. The reason why Ikram's book seems not to have gone in depth is that he has based all his arguments on published works and has not gone to the original sources. He usually accepts the conclusions of these authors and rarely tries to confirm or reject those views on the basis of study of original sources. In a number of cases he is more of a eulogist than a critical analyst,

The book consists of fifteen chapters and three appendices. Chapters on "The Beginnings in Bengal," "The Religious Groups," "Emergence of the Muslim Majority Provinces" are very informative and much work can be done on these topics. Ikram has only touched some of the aspects. In his chapter on Quaid-i Azam,

Ikram describes the intrigue that was hatched to hamper his work and the stupendous efforts that he had to make to achieve Pakistan.

This book, based on secondary sources, is one of the best books, written on the struggle of the Muslims to achieve Pakistan.

DR S. RAZI WASTI

* * *

Mehr Afroz Murad, *Intellectual Modernism of Shibli Nu'mani*. Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1976. Demy 8vo., pp. 135, with an appendix and index Rs 13.50.

This small book is a slightly changed version of the author's M.A. thesis submitted to the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. The Author has studied in three chapters Shibli's intellectual personality as it appeared to her through his religious and political writings. Shibli was one of those intellectual giants that strode on the scene of Muslim intellectual world in India during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He also became a controversial figure in his lifetime. He possessed a restless and mercurial soul and was also conscious of the changing pressures of his times and environs. Basically he was a liberal, but at times he appeared to be a reactionary reformer. He was a courageous man who did not feel hesitant to take up cudgels with Sayyid Ahmad Khan. In matters of theology, law and politics, he showed an increasingly realistic and modern liberal tendency. The author, however, suggests that Shibli, though a liberal, "generally emerged in the minds of Muslim posterity of India as a traditionalist, a defender of Islamic faith and history and the author of *Sirat al-Nabi* and *al-Faruq*". This,

she ascribes to the writings of his followers, like Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi. Personally I see no reason in being so apologetic. If Smith and others have described Shibli as "an example of fairly conservative mind" or "an orthodox rationaliser," let them do so. The present-day generation of Pakistani and Muslim scholars should look at personalities like Shibli from a different angle. There was no harm in talking and writing about religion in the age in which Shibli lived, as it is not today. Why must we be so enamoured by Orientalists as to accept all their interpretations as gospel

truth? Despite the fact that the author considers her study as a mere "extended footnote to the work" of earlier scholars I consider this work a very useful one. In it she has analysed not only Shibli's intellectual achievement, but also discussed his liberal politics. As such this book can claim originality. Her style is lively and readable. This is the first full-length study of Shibli in English, written with great care and thoroughness. The author deserves commendation for this thorough and pains-taking study of a fascinating genius of his time.

DR S. RAZI WAS