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THE MAIN PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS  
IN THE WRITINGS OF MUHAMMAD  
IQBĀL (1877- 1938)

VOLUME 2

BY

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## CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'KHUDI'  
AND IQBĀL'S 'MARD-E-MOMIN'.

THE MEANING OF 'KHUDI' Explaining the meaning of the concept 'Khudī', in his Introduction to the first edition of Asrār-e-Khudī, Iqbāl puts this question: "What is this luminous centre of the unity of intuition or mental awareness which intensifies human thoughts and feelings, this mysterious thing which is the repository of the diversified and unlimited potentialities of human nature, this 'Khudī' or 'anā' or 'men' which is practically known but essentially hidden, which is the maker of appearances, yet cannot bear to be seen itself? Is it an eternal fact, or has life, in order to fulfil its immediate practical needs invented this fanciful delusion or plausible deception? From the view - point of ethics, the way of life of individuals and actions depends on the answer to this question."<sup>1</sup> The answer to this question, says Iqbāl, does not depend "on the intellectual capability of individuals or nations, as much as it does on their attitudes."<sup>2</sup>

It is to be pointed out that Iqbāl's choice of the word

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1. Iqbāl quoted by Shujā' H. A. "Iqbāl Ke Nazariyā'e Khudī Kā Ṣaḥīḥ Maḥmūm" Iqbāl April 1953. Volume I. No. 4. p. 83.
  2. Iqbāl quoted in Ibid.

'Khudī' raised a storm of protests. This was understandable considering the highly negative significance of the word 'Khudī' which was synonymous with selfishness and egotism.<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl was aware of this and admitted that "the word 'Khudī' was chosen with great difficulty and most reluctantly," because "from a literary point of view it has many shortcomings and ethically it is generally used in a bad sense both in Urdū and Persian."<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl tells us that he wanted "a colourless word for self, ego, having no ethical significance. As far as I know there is no such word in either Urdū or Persian ... (and) considering the requirements of verse, I thought that the word 'Khudī' was the most suitable," also because "there is also some evidence in the Persian language of the use of the word 'Khudī' in the simple sense of self, i.e. to say the colourless fact of the 'I'. Thus metaphysically the word 'Khudī' is used in the sense of that indescribable feeling of 'I' which forms the basis of the uniqueness of each individual."<sup>3</sup>

For Iqbāl, ethically, the word 'Khudī' means "self-reliance, self-respect, self-confidence, self-preservation, even self-assertion when such a thing is necessary, in the interests of life and the power to stick to the cause of truth, justice, duty."<sup>4</sup> For Iqbāl such conduct is moral

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 42.

2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 243.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 244.

"because it helps in the integration of the forces of the Ego, thus hardening it against the forces of disintegration and dissolution."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl believes in assertion and in being hard, but he "never identifies hardness with oppression, or the self with selfishness."<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl thought it necessary also to warn the readers "that 'Khudī' is not used to mean pride as in the common usage of the word in Urdū."<sup>3</sup>

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SELF

For Iqbāl, the Self is the fundamental reality of the world and the measure of all things. "The idea of personality," says Iqbāl, "gives us a standard of values: it settles the problem of good and evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion, and ethics must be judged from the stand-point of personality."<sup>4</sup>

For the perfection of the Self a hundred worlds may be created and destroyed:

ہر ایک گلی خونِ صدگشتن کند  
از پے یک لفظ صد شیون کند

- 
1. Thought and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 244.
  2. Forster, E. M. "Mohammad Iqbāl" Two Cheers for Democracy London, 1951. p. 298.
  3. Iqbāl quoted in Shujā' H. A. "Iqbāl Ke Nazriya'e Khudī Kā Ṣaḥīḥ Ma'fūm" p. 84.
  4. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in the Introduction to The Secrets of the Self pp xxi-xxii.

یک فلک را صد هلال آورده است  
 بہ حرفے صد مقال آورده است  
 عذر این اسراف و این سنگین دلی  
 خلق و تکمیل جمال معنوی

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 13)

The same thought has also been expressed thus:

کہ صد ہزار انجم سے ہوتی ہے سحر پیدا

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 199)

According to Iqbāl, the ego "has the quality of growth as well as the quality of corruption."<sup>3</sup> It can expand to absorb the elements of the universe and the attributes of God.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it can also degenerate to the level of matter.<sup>5</sup> In his writings, particularly in Asrār-e-Khudī, Iqbāl tells us about the factors which strengthen or weaken the ego.

#### THE FACTORS WHICH STRENGTHEN THE SELF

Iqbāl looks upon personality as a state of tension which can "continue only if that state is maintained; if the state of tension is not maintained, relaxation will ensue ... That

- 
1. For the sake of a single rose it destroys a hundred rose gardens,  
 And makes a hundred lamentations in quest of a single melody.

For one day it produces a hundred moons,  
 And for one word a hundred discourses.

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

(Translation by Nicholson R.A. The Secrets of the Self, p 17)

2. Dawn is born of the blood of a hundred thousand stars.  
 3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 239.  
 4. Ibid.  
 5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 12.

which tends to maintain the state of tension tends to make us immortal."<sup>1</sup> For Iqbāl it is of the utmost importance that this state of tension be maintained for it is only by the preservation and completion of the personality that we can achieve "that awareness of reality which Iqbāl believed to be man's ultimate goal on earth, that awareness of what Eliot has called the still point of the turning world."<sup>2</sup> The chief of the factors which strengthen the personality are:

Desire Throughout Iqbāl's writings, great stress is placed on desire as the spring from which the Self draws sustenance. A self that is lacking in desire, is, in fact, dead. Iqbāl says

زندگانی سوختن با ساحتن  
در گلی تخم دلے انداختن!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 70)

and so

آرزو را در دل خود زنده دار  
تا نگردد دست خاک تو مزار

<sup>4</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 16)

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1. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in Introduction to The Secrets of the Self pxxi.
  2. McCarthy, E. "Iqbāl as a Poet and Philosopher" p. 20.
  3. Life means a passionate burning, an urge to make, to cast in the dead clay of the seed of a heart!  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 57)
  4. Keep desire alive in thy heart,  
lest thy little dust become a tomb.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self p. 23)

Life can be viewed as dynamic only when it is imbued with restless burning. All that man has achieved is a product of desire:

زندگی سرمایہ دار از آرزوست  
عقل از زائیدگانِ لطنِ اوست

چہیتِ نظمِ قومِ و آئینِ و رسومِ  
چہیتِ رازِ تازگیہائے علومِ

آرزوے کو بزورِ خود شکست

سرزدل بیرون زد صورتِ بہ لبست<sup>1</sup>

(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 17)

Iqbāl calls desire by several names such as 'soz', 'hasrat', 'justujū', 'ārzū', 'ishtiyāq', and 'tammanā'. Desire is a creative power even when it remains unfulfilled. In fact, Iqbāl, in the tradition of Persian and Urdū poetry, thinks that

لطفِ صد حاصلِ ہماری سعیِ بی حاصلِ میں ہے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 37)

- 
1. 'Tis desire that enriches life,  
And the mind is a child of its womb.  
What are the social organization, customs, laws,  
What is the secret of the novelties of science?  
A desire which realised itself by its own strength,  
And burst forth from the heart and took shape.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self,  
pp 25-26)
  2. A hundred joys are to be found in our unrewarding quest.

The fulfilment of desire is "at the same time, extreme happiness and the end of happiness. The separation is overcome. But without separation there is no love and no life."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl says:

جدائی خاک را بخشد نگاه  
 دهد سرمایہ کو بے نگاه  
 جدائی عشق را آئینہ دار است  
 جدائی عاشقان را سازگار است  
 اگر ما زنده ایم از درد مندی است  
 اگر پاشنده ایم از درد مندی است

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-‘Ajam, p. 220)

In Payām-e-Mashriq we have Iqbāl's own confession:

ز شرر ستاره جویم ز ستاره آفتاب  
 سر منزلے ندارم کہ بھیرم از فرارے  
 ظلم نہایت آن کہ نہایتے ندارد  
 بہ نگاہ ناسخکبے بہ دل امید دارے

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 149)

1. Tillich, P. Love, Power, and Justice, London, 1954, p. 27.

2. Separation lends eyes to dust

And gives a leaf

Of grass

A mountain's mass

Of grief,

Separation is love's best

And measure and a mirror

Which shows to himself the true lover:

It is by heartache that we live,

And on heartache do lovers thrive.

(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 9)

3. From the spark to the star, from the star to the sun

Is my quest;

I have no desire for a goal,

For me, rest spells death

With an impatient eye and a hopeful heart

I seek for the end of that which is endless!

(Translation by Saiyidain K.G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy p.59)

Since life gets its fire and zest from desire, the poet prays to God:

کانٹا وہ دے کہ جس کی کھٹک لازوال ہو  
 یاد دہ درد جس کی کسک لازوال ہو

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 12)

Man is man, according to Iqbāl, because he has the capacity for endless yearning. In his eyes, this capacity lifts him to a station where he would not change his place ever with God:

متاع بے باعے درد و سوزِ آرزو مندی  
 مقامِ بندگی دیکر نہ لوں شانِ خداوندی

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 21)

Love Love is the active sense of positive desire.<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl

"lays great emphasis on the value of love ... for strengthening the Self."<sup>4</sup> He uses the word in a very wide sense, and means

- 
1. Grant me that thorn whose prick is everlasting,  
 O Lord, that pain whose torment is everlasting.
  2. Priceless treasure is the agony and burning of desire,  
 I would not exchange my place as a man for the glory of God.
  3. Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim, p. 90.
  4. Browne, E. G. "Notice of Nicholson, R. A.: The Secrets of the Self" The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society London, 1920. p. 143.

by it "the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them."<sup>1</sup> As Peter Avery points out, Iqbāl's philosophy is essentially a philosophy of Love.<sup>2</sup> Like Rūmī and Gazzālī he preached a philosophy of dynamic love leading to the fulfilment of human destiny as well as God's purpose in creation.<sup>3</sup>

From Love, the Self acquires vitality and radiance:

از محبت می شود پائنده تر  
زنده تر سوزنده تر تابنده تر

<sup>4</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 18)

Love is creative of all that is good in life, and the supreme guide of human destiny:

بیا اے عشق، اے رمیزِ دلِ ما  
بیا اے کشتِ ما، اے حاصلِ ما

- 
1. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in Introduction of The Secrets of the Self, p xxv.
  2. Avery, P. "Iqbāl and the Message of Persian Metaphysics" text of a talk given on Iqbāl Day Meeting in London in April 1960. (Made available by courtesy of The Pākistān High Commission, London)
  3. Ibid.
  4. By love (the self) is made more lasting, more living, more burning, more glowing.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 28)

کمن گشتند این خاکی بنادان  
دگر آدم بناکن از گل ما

1  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 56)

For Iqbāl, as for Tillich, "Life is being in actuality and love is the moving prayer of life ... In man's experience of love the nature of life becomes manifest ... The power of love is not something which is added to an otherwise finished process, but life has love in itself as one of its constitutive elements."<sup>2</sup> In "The Mosque of Cordoba" Iqbāl pays tribute to love in the highest possible terms:

عشق دمِ حبرئیل، عشق دلِ مصطفیٰ  
عشق خدا کا رسول، عشق خدا کا کلام!  
عشق کی مستی سے ہے پیکرِ گل تابناک  
عشق ہے صبا کے نام عشق ہے کاسِ اکرام  
عشقِ فقیہِ حرم، عشقِ امیرِ جنود  
عشق ہے ابنِ السبیل اس کے صزاروں مقام!

- 
1. Come, love, thou heart's most secret whispering,  
Come, thou our sowing and our harvesting,  
These earthly spirits have too aged grown -  
Out of our clay another Adam bring.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 19)
  2. Tillich, P. Love, Power and Justice, pp 25-6.

عشق کے مہراب سے نغمہ نثارِ حیات  
 عشق سے نورِ حیات عشق سے نثارِ حیات

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 128)

Love is the fundamental urge of Being, its élan vital and its raison d'etre.<sup>2</sup> For the heart, the repository of Love, one can give away all else that God created:

آفتاب و ماہ و انجم می توان دادن زدست  
 در بای کون کف خاکے کہ دارائے دل است

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p.153)

For Iqbāl, as for Rūmī, only love is an intrinsic value.

All other values are extrinsic and instrumental and are to

1. Love is Gabriel's breath, Love is Mahomed's strong heart,  
 Love is the envoy of God, Love is the utterance of God.  
 Even our mortal clay, touched by Love's ecstasy, glows;  
 Love is a new-pressed wine, Love is the goblet of kings,  
 Love is the priest of the shrine, Love is the commander  
 of hosts,  
 Love the son of the road, counting a thousand homes.  
 Love's is the plectrum that draws music from life's taut  
 strings -  
 Love's in the warmth of life, Love's is the radiance of life.  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 38)
2. Hakīm, K. A. "The Concept of Love in Rūmī and Iqbāl"  
The Islāmic Culture 1940 Volume 14. No. 3. p. 268.
3. You can give the sun and moon and stars out of your hand  
 For the value of that handful of dust which contains a  
 heart.

be judged according to their capacity for the realisation of this primary value. Love is the only categorical imperative and strikes no bargain with God or man.<sup>1</sup> He who denies Love is an infidel:

ز رسم و راهِ شریعت نکرده ام تحقیق

جز اینکه منکرِ عشق است کافر و ذلیل!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-‘Ajam, p. 160)

The strength and potency of our faith depends on the degree and depth of love. If one is steadfast in love, one can win all things, can even "capture God."

عاشقی؟ حکم شتو از لقلعه یار  
تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار  
لشکرے پیدا کن از سلطان عشق  
خلوہ گر شتوبر سر فایران عشق  
تا خداے کعبہ بنواز دترا شرح ایچی خا عیلسازد ترا  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 23)

1. Hakīm, K. A. "The Concept of Love in Rūmī and Iqbāl," p.269.
2. I have never discovered well  
Law's way, and the wont thereof,  
But know him an infidel  
Who denieth the power of Love.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 103)
3. Be a lover constant in devotion to thy beloved,  
That thou mayst cast thy noose and capture God.  
By the might of Love evoke an army,  
Reveal thyself on the Faran of Love.  
That the Lord of the Ka'ba may show thee favour  
And make thee the object of the text,  
"Lo, I will appoint a vicegerent on the earth." (Sūra 2:28)  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
pp 36-37)

For Iqbāl, Love is both poison and antidote, both the way and the end. It is "enough for ant and bird and man in both worlds."<sup>1</sup> There is nothing beyond for "Love is thy one beloved and goal."<sup>2</sup>

ہم عشق کشتیٰ من ، ہم عشق ساحل من  
نہ غم سینہ دارم نہ سرگردانہ دارم

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-‘Ajam, p. 28)

Although Love "is not restricted to its emotional element there is no love without the emotional element."<sup>4</sup> This element often comes into play in Iqbāl's verse:

بسِ خائے کہ دارم از محبتِ کیمیا سازم  
کہ فردا پوں رسمِ پیشِ تو از من ارمغان خواہی!

<sup>5</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-‘Ajam, p. 61)

Love is, indeed, "more than elixir. The latter is supposed

- 
1. Zabūr-e-‘Ajam, p. 264.
  2. Ibid, p. 156.
  3. Lo, love's ocean is my vessel,  
And love's ocean is my strand;  
For no other ship I hanker,  
Nor desire another land.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 15)
  4. Tillich, P. Love, Power and Justice, p. 26.
  5. I will convert this dross I hold  
By passion's alchemy to gold,  
That on the morrow I may bring  
To thee thy wished for offering.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 36)

to turn baser metals into gold; the former turns all baser passions into itself."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl's conception of Love differs significantly from the conception of Love commonly found in the tradition of Urdū and Persian poetry. Love is that which "individualises the lover as well as the beloved."<sup>2</sup> It does not accept self-annihilation at any price:

اگر نظاره از خود رفتی آرد حجاب اولی  
نگرد بامن این سودا با از لیس گران خواهی

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 60.)

Love is that which hardens and makes one live dangerously. Commenting on Iqbāl's idea of Love, E. M. Forster says, "though Love is indeed good, it has nothing to do with Mercy. Love is appropriation."<sup>4</sup> So, in Asrār-e-Khudī we see Iqbāl's contemptuous rejection of "the doctrine of submissiveness."<sup>5</sup>

Iqbāl's lover is not the eternally - lamenting, rather effeminate and pathetic creature one meets on almost every page

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1. Stray Reflections, p. 67.
  2. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xxv.
  3. If vision self-effacement bring,  
The veil is a far better thing;  
Thy trade hath little to entice  
That doth require so great a price.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 35)
  4. Forster, E. M. "The Poetry of Iqbāl," p. 804.
  5. Asrār-e-Khudī, pp 29-33.

of an anthology of Urdū verse. Iqbāl associates Love with kingdom and dominion rather than with tears and ignominy:

عاشق آن نیست کہ لب گرم فغانے دارد  
عاشق آن است کہ بر کف دوہانے دارد

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 130)

Like Tillich, Iqbāl thinks that "the power of a being is its possibility to affirm itself against the non-being within it and against it. The power of a being is the greater the more non-being is taken into its self-affirmation."<sup>2</sup> Love is that which assimilates, which consolidates and fortifies, therefore "Love is the foundation, not the negation, of power."<sup>3</sup> That which negates power is not Love

وہ کچھ اور شے ہے محبت نہیں ہے  
سکھائی ہے جو غزنوی کو اپاری!

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 197)

- 
1. Never lover true is he  
Who lamenteth dolefully;  
Lover he, who in his hold  
Hath the double world controlled.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 83)
  2. Tillich, P. Love, Power, and Justice. p. 48.
  3. Ibid. p. 47.
  4. It is something else, something other than Love,  
Which teaches a king the ways of a slave.

for

عشق سلطان است و برهانِ مبین  
 هر دو عالم عشق را زیرِ نگین

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Jāvid Nāma, p. 18)

'FAQR'

The words 'faqīr' (or its synonym 'qalandar') and 'faqr' (or 'istignā') appear very frequently in Iqbāl's verse. There is more than one sense in which 'faqr' is interpreted, as Iqbāl points out:

اک فقر سکھاتا ہے صیاد کو بھیری !  
 اک فقر سے کھلتے ہیں اسرارِ جہانگیری !  
 اک فقر سے قوموں میں مسکینی و دلگیری !  
 اک فقر سے مٹی میں خاصیتِ اکسیری !

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 213)

Iqbāl uses 'faqr' to denote an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to material possessions. "It is a kind of intellectual and emotional asceticism which does not turn

- 
1. Love is authority and manifest proof, both-worlds are subject to the seal-ring of love. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 32)
  2. One 'faqr' teaches the hunter how to hunt,  
 One 'faqr' reveals the secrets of conquering the world.  
 One 'faqr' gives to nations a sense of helplessness and woe,  
 One 'faqr' gives to clay the qualities of elixir.

away from the world as a source of evil and corruption but uses it for the pursuit of good and worthy ends."<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he identifies Islām with 'faqr':

لفظِ اسلام سے یورپ کو اگر کدھے تو پھر

دوسرا نام اسی دین کا ہے 'فقرِ عینور'!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm p. 25)

Sometimes he looks upon 'faqr' as the shield of the faithful:

خدا کے پاک بندوں کو حکومت میں غلامی میں

زرہ کوئی اگر محفوظ رکھتی ہے تو استونا!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 38)

Iqbāl points out repeatedly that a 'faqīr' is not a monk or ascetic who has renounced the material world and who lives a life of abstinence and self-denial, cut off from the rest of mankind.

کمالِ ترکِ نہیں آب و گل سے مہجوری

کمالِ ترکِ ہے تسخیرِ خاکی و لوری!

1. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 187-8.
2. If Europe has an inborn hatred for the word 'Islām', Another name for this creed is self-respecting 'Faqr'.
3. In authority and in subjection, for the pure men of God If there is any shield it is 'Faqr'.

میں ایسے فقر سے اے اہل حلقہ باز آیا  
مہناردا فقر سے بے دولتی و درجوری

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 64)

The 'faqīr' undergoes all the trials and tribulations arising from a daily encounter with the temptations that the flesh is heir to. His life is not calm like the green of the meadows, but is always stormy like the rough waves in mid-ocean.

سکون پرستیٰ راغب سے فقر سے بزار  
فقر کا ہے سفینہ ہمیشہ طوفانی!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 47)

What knowledge does for the intellect, 'Faqr' does for the soul. It clarifies the vision and gives power and strength.

علم کا مقصود ہے پاکی، عقل و خرد  
فقر کا مقصود ہے عفت، قلب و نگاہ

- 
1. Leaving the world of water and clay is not the end of renunciation,  
True renunciation is the conquest of earth and Heaven  
I wash my hands off this 'faqr', O members of this group,  
Your 'faqr' is nothing but penury and grief.
  2. 'Faqr' is weary of the passivity of the ascetic,  
The boat of a 'faqīr' is always storm-ridden.

پہر لڑتی ہے جب فقر کی سان پہ تیغِ خودی  
ایک سپاہی کی ضرب کرتی ہے کارِ سپاہ!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, pp 110-111)

A 'qalandar' is the faithful who "has nothing and possesses everything".<sup>2</sup> His power is greater than the power of kings.

فقر کے ہیں معجزات تاج و سریر و سپاہ  
فقر سے ہیں دروں کا میر فقر سے شاہوں کا شاہ

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 110)

Just as Iqbāl identifies Love with authority, so he identifies 'faqr' (literally 'poverty') with dominion:

آہ کہ کھوپا لگیا مجھ سے فقیری کا دراز

ورنہ سے مالِ فقرِ سلطنتِ روم و شام!

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 91)

Unless one is able to transcend the physical world, and rise, as it were, above the rewards it has to offer, one cannot

- 
1. The objective of learning is the purity of mind, The objective of 'faqr' is the purity of heart and eye. When the Sword of Self is sharpened on the whetstone of 'faqr',
  2. The stroke of one soldier does the work of an army. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 14).
  3. Crown, throne and army - are all the miracles of 'faqr', 'Faqr' is the leader of leaders, the king of kings.
  4. Alas! that you lost the secret of being a 'faqīr', Else the kingdoms of RUM and Syria belong to a 'faqīr'.

attain real kingship:

خدا سے ہر دھی قلب و نظر مانگ

نہیں ممکن امیری بے فقیری!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 118)

A man of 'faqr' has "kingship in his poverty,"<sup>2</sup> for to him have been given "the secrets of dominion."<sup>3</sup> To one who lives in bondage, Iqbāl says:

کیا لپا ہے غلامی میں مبتلا تجھ کو  
کہ تجھ سے ہونہ سکی فقر کی نگہبانی

<sup>4</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 26)

A 'faqīr' is not enslaved by anything, he has "freedom from everything besides God."<sup>5</sup> It is this attribute of man of God which can enable them to conquer time and space:

فقر مومن چیست؟ تسخیر مہات

بندہ از تاثیر اد مولا صفات

<sup>6</sup>  
(Pas Āi Bāyad Kard Ai Aqwām-e-Sharq? p. 26)

- 
1. Ask of God the selfsame heart and mind  
Wealth is not possible without 'faqīrī'.
  2. Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 55.
  3. Ibid, p. 16.
  4. You have been placed in servitude  
Because you could not guard your 'faqr'.
  5. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 140.
  6. What is a Momin's 'faqr': Conquest of time and space,  
It endows a slave with the qualities of ~~the~~ Master.

'Faqr' is also attributed to 'Alī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, "whose name has become, in connection with the conquest of the fortress of Khyber, a synonym of the victory of true poverty over worldly strength."<sup>1</sup> For Iqbāl,

دارا و سکندر سے وہ مرد فقیرِ اولیٰ  
 ہو جس کی فقیری میں ہوئے اسد اللہیٰ

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 83)

A 'faqīr' unlike a worldly king needs ~~not~~ arms or armies for his protection. God's power is his sword and his shield:

فقر جنگاہ میں ہے ساز و براق آتا ہے  
 ضرب کاری ہے اگر سینے میں ہے قلبِ سلیم

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 24)

Y. S. Chishtī points out that the two main ideas underlying Iqbāl's concept of 'faqr' are 'fīkr' and 'zīkr'.<sup>4</sup> 'Zīkr' is described as feeling the presence of God in one's heart and employing all one's limbs in the discharge of obligatory duties ceaselessly, with true love and reverence; 'Fīkr' is

1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 140.

2. That man of 'faqr' is better than Darius and Alexander. Whose poverty is imbued with the spirit of 'the Lion of God' ('Alī).

3. 'Faqr' comes to the battlefield without arms or apparatus— If the heart within be free and sound, the stroke is effective.

4. Chishtī, Y. S. "Iqbāl's Philosophy of Faqr" Iqbāl Review October 1962. p. 44.

reaching "an unknown through the help of two or more known" (i.e. by a process of inferring).<sup>1</sup> 'Zikr' and 'fikr' are complementary: "'Zikr' illumines one's heart; 'fikr' illumines one's mind."<sup>2</sup> Both together form 'faqr' Iqbāl says:

جز بقراں صیغی رو با صی است  
فقر قرآن اصل شافقتا صی است  
فقر قرآن اختلاط ذکر و فکر  
فکر را کامل ندیدم جز بذكر

<sup>3</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 89)

Iqbāl whose own life was a lesson in 'faqīrī' is constantly enjoining upon his readers to inculcate the inner detachment and serenity which can make a man be a part of the world and yet not serve any God save God. To his son he wrote:

میرا طریق امیری نہیں فقیری ہے !  
خودی نہ بیچ غریبی میں نام پیدا کر !

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 198)

In common usage today, a beggar is known as a 'faqīr', but in Iqbāl's thought 'faqīrī' and 'beggary' are diametrically

1. Chishtī, Y. S. "Iqbāl's Philosophy of Faqr" Iqbāl Review October 1962. pp 44-45.

2. Ibid. p. 49.

3. Without the Korān, the lion is a wolf;  
the poverty of the Korān is the root of empire.  
The poverty of the Korān is the mingling of meditation and  
reason -

I have never seen reason perfect without meditation.

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 68)

4. My way lies not in wealth but in 'faqīrī',  
Don't sell your Selfhood, in poverty make a name.

opposed. A true 'faqīr' takes no 'dole' even from God: Iqbāl's lines addressed to a would-be patron may be interpreted in a wider context:

غیرتِ فقرِ مگر نہ سکی اس کو قبول  
جب کہا اس نے یہ ہے میری خدائی کی زکاۃ

<sup>1</sup>  
(Armagān-e-Hijāz, p. 278)

A 'faqīr' not only does not accept charity, it is against the dignity of his state to complain about the hardness of his lot. He bears his cross willingly and patiently, else his 'faqīrī' is yet imperfect:

تو فقر ہوا تلخی دوران کا گلہ مند  
اُس فقر میں باقی سے ابھی بولے گدائی!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 179)

A nation which combines in its character the attributes of Love and 'Faqr' can never know defeat.

خواد جاں میں کبھی ہو نہیں سکتی وہ قوم  
عشق ہو جس کا جسور، فقر ہو جس کا عینور!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 48)

- 
1. (But) The pride of 'faqr' could not accept-  
When he said, "Of my omnipotence, these are the alms."
  2. That 'faqr' which complains of the hardship of life-  
In it yet lingers the odour of beggary.
  3. In the world that nation can never lose face  
Whose Love is courageous, and whose 'faqr' is self-respecting.

ŞAIYĀDĪ

Literally 'şaiyādī' means hunting, and 'şaiyād' is a hunter. In Iqbāl's thought where so many words find a new connotation, 'şaiyādī' comes to denote a kind of heroic idealism based on daring, pride and honour. The 'şaiyād' is most often symbolised by the lion, and the falcon ('shāhīn'), the emblems of royalty.

Iqbāl has said a number of times in his poetry that a 'shāhīn' builds no nest:

گذر ادکات کر لپٹا ہے پہ کوہ و بیابان میں  
کہ شاہیں کیلئے ذلت ہے کارِ آشیان بنی!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 21)

A 'shāhīn' builds no nest because for it there is no rest or repose. It lives not in comfort and security but in the wideness of the skies or on the exposed wind-blown mountain-tops. It is the king of the birds precisely because it disdains any form of safety or ease. To the younger generation Iqbāl says:

عقابى روح جب بيدار هونى ہے جو الوں میں  
نظر آتى ہے اس کو ابى منزل آسمانوں میں!

- 
1. It passes its time the mountains and in the wilderness,  
It is degrading for a 'shāhīn' to undertake the building  
of a nest!

ہیں پیر الشہین قصر سلطانی کے گنبد پر  
تو شاہیں سے البسیرا کر پادروں کی چٹانوں میں!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, pp 162-163)

So far from wishing to live a protected life, the attitude of the 'ṣaiyād' is to invite danger:

لاؤں وہ تنکے کہیں سے آشیانے کیلئے  
بجلیاں بیتاب ہوں جن کو جلانے کیلئے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 100)

A 'ṣaiyād' is a hunter who hunts for himself, not a bird of prey eating the dead:

نگاہِ عشقِ دلِ زندہ کی تلاش میں ہے  
شکارِ مردہ، سزاوارِ شاہباز ہیں

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 59)

The 'ṣaiyād' hunts for the sake of adventure, not for the booty that he wins. In a poem entitled "Shāhīn" Iqbāl says

- 
1. When the spirit of the eagle is born in young men,  
It sees its goal in the openness of the skies.  
Your home is not on the dome of the palace-  
You are a 'shāhīn', live on the mountain-cliffs!
  2. For a nest, from somewhere, I must bring those straws  
Which the lightning is very impatient to burn!
  3. The eye of Love seeks a living heart,  
Dead game is not worthy of the royal falcon.

تمام دکتوترا کا بھوکا ہنس میں  
 کہہ زندگی باز کی زاہدانہ!  
 جھپٹنا پلٹنا پلٹ کر جھپٹنا  
 اوگرم دکھنے کا ہے اک بہانہ!

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 219)

The 'ṣaiyād' lives dangerously for he believes, as did Nietzsche, that "the secret of a joyful life is to live dangerously."<sup>2</sup>

ڈیلین اندر خطرہا زندگیست

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 147)

He possesses unlimited daring and courage for he knows

میری میں فیری میں شاہی میں غلابی میں  
 کچھ کام ہنس بننا ہے جرات زندانہ!

<sup>4</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 99)

He is not afraid of the forces which obstruct his way, nor is

1. I'm not greedy for a pigeon or dove,  
 For the life of a falcon is one of abstinence.  
 Swooping, turning and then pouncing again-  
 That is a way for keeping the blood warm!
2. Nietzsche, F. quoted by Read, H. "On First Reading Nietzsche".  
The Tenth Muse London, 1957, p. 77.
3. Life not living is  
 Except we live in danger.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
 p. 43)
4. In wealth or poverty, in authority or servitude-  
 One cannot accomplish anything without the courage of madness.

he is fearful that his own strength will give way and that he will collapse:

شاہیں کبھی پرواز سے تھک کر نہیں گرتا  
 بردم ہے اگر تو تو نہیں خطرہ افتاد!

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 70)

The 'şaiyād' has a code of honour to which he must follow. He is truthful and bold and unfamiliar with the ways of deceit and cunning.

آئیں جو ان مردانِ حق گوئی و بیباکی  
 اللہ کے شیروں کو آئی ہیں روباہی!

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 83)

His art is not an invitation of other men or of Nature. He creates out of the fire and depth of his own soul. An artist, Iqbāl thinks, is a 'şaiyād'

فطرت کی غلامی سے کر آزاد ہنر کو  
 صیاد ہیں مردانِ ہنر مذکورہ کچھ؟

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 115)

1. A 'shāhīn' never crashes down from its soaring due to fatigue, If you are strong then there is no danger of falling.
2. The code of young men is being truthful and bold, God's lions know not the arts of a fox.
3. Free art from imitating Nature's way, Are artists 'şaiyāds' or mere birds of prey?

The 'ṣaiyād' who lives the life of a warrior does not wish to die in peace. He would rather die the way he lived - amid flames, provided they do not languish, for

مجھے سزا کے لئے بھی نہیں قبول وہ آگ  
کہ جس کا شعلہ نہ ہو تیز و سرکش و بیباک !

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 122)

To those who would possess the attributes of a 'ṣaiyād' Iqbāl has this advice to give.

تمنا آبرو کی ہو اگر گلزارِ ہستی میں  
تو کانٹوں میں الجھ کر زندگی کرنے کی خواہ کر لے !

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 275)

And for them this is his own prayer to God:

دفعت میں مقاصد کو سدوشِ تریا کر  
خودداریء ساحل دے، آزادیء دریا دے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 231)

- 
1. That fire I wouldn't have even for punishment,  
The flames of which aren't bold, and wild, and bright.
  2. If you desire honour in the Garden of Life,  
Learn then to live a thorn-entangled life.
  3. In elevation, make Purpose the rival of the Pleiades,  
Grant the pride of the shore and the freedom of the waves.

## SUFFERING

Suffering is included in the concept of 'Faqr' and is associated with all the factors strengthening the Self, but it needs special emphasis. Since "all the results of individuality, of separate selfhood, necessarily involve pain or suffering,"<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl was right in observing that "No religious system can ignore the moral value of suffering."<sup>2</sup>

That wisdom comes through suffering and sorrow is a thought often repeated. Keats held that it was only through suffering than an 'Intelligence' became a 'Soul'. "Do you not see," he wrote in a letter, "how necessary a world of pains and troubles is to school ~~and~~ Intelligence and make it a Soul? A Place where the heart must feel and suffers in a thousand diverse ways?"<sup>3</sup> For Iqbāl too, "Suffering is a gift from the gods in order to make man see the whole of life."<sup>4</sup> In memorable lines once again he embodies the

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1. Bhikshū, S. quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious Quotations (Edited by Mead, F. S.) p. 432.
  2. Stray Reflections, p. 115.
  3. Rollins, H. E. (Editor). The Letters of John Keats Cambridge. 1958. Volume II p. 102.
  4. Stray Reflections, p. 103.

same thought:

جہانبانی سے ہے دشوار تر کا درجہاں بینی  
جگر غوں سے تو چشمِ دل میں ہوتی ہے نظر پیدا

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 299)

Rūmī often uses the symbols of rue and aloe-wood exhaling sweet perfumes when burnt.<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl too wishes to be "burnt" - to be tried by fire - so that his art can be perfected:

درد گرہ ہنگامہ داری ہوں سینہ  
محلِ خود بر سرِ آتش بہ بند  
ہوں جس آفرینِ جزو بدن  
نالہ خاموشی را بگردن فگن  
آتش استی بزمِ عالم بر فروز  
دیگران را ہم ز سوزِ خود بسوز  
<sup>3</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 9)

The poet is in agony, the fire which he pours into his songs cannot but scorch his own soul, yet he knows that it is <sup>his</sup> very pain which gives meaning to his life:

1. Understanding the world is harder than looking after it, It is when the heart bleeds, that vision is born.
2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 142.
3. Tongue-tied thou art in pain:  
Cast thyself upon fire, like rue!  
Like the bell, break silence at last, and from every limb  
Utter forth a lamentation!  
Thou art fire, fill the world with thy glow!  
Make other burn with thy burning!  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self p. 11).

بھونک ڈالا ہے مری آلتش لوائی نے مجھے

اور میری زندگی کا یہی سامان بھی ہے!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 208)

Iqbāl was well aware of the importance of suffering for the maturing of the personality.<sup>2</sup> The following words of Nietzsche - with whom he had a remarkable affinity - might have been his own: "The discipline of suffering, of great suffering - know ye not that it is only this discipline that has produced all the elevations of humanity hitherto? The tension of soul in misfortune which communicates to its energy, its shuddering in view of rack or ruin, its inventiveness and bravery in undergoing, enduring, interpreting and exploiting misfortune, and whatever depth, mystery, disguise, spirit, artifice, or greatness has been bestowed upon the soul - has it not been bestowed through suffering?"<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl says:

ایک بھی بیتی لگی کم ہو تو وہ گل ہی نہیں  
جو خزاں نا دیدہ ہو بلبل وہ بلبل ہی نہیں  
آرزو کے خون سے رنگیں ہے دل کی داستان  
نغمہٴ انسانیت کامل نہیں غیر از فغان  
دیدہٴ بنیامیں داعِ علمِ جبراعِ سینہ سے  
روح کو سامانِ زینتِ آہ کا آئینہ ہے

- 
1. My passionate singing has consumed me,  
But this is also the reason for my living.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 142.
  3. Nietzsche, F. quoted by Read, H. "Our First Reading  
Nietzsche" p. 180.

حادثاتِ غم سے ہے انسان کی فطرت کو کمال  
غازہ ہے آئینہ دل کے لئے گردِ ملال

ظاہرِ دل کے لئے غم شہیرِ برداز ہے  
راز ہے انسان کا دل، غم انکشافِ راز ہے

غم نہیں غم، روح کا ایک لغزِ خاموش ہے  
جو سرودِ بربطِ ہستی سے ہم آغوش ہے

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, pp 162-163)

In Iqbāl's verse we also find the idea taken from popular <sup>e</sup>pity, namely that God sends afflictions to those whom He prefers.<sup>2</sup> Sarah Williams' beautiful lines

"Is it so, O Christ in Heaven, that the highest  
suffer most,

That the strongest wander farthest, and more  
hopelessly are lost,

That the mark of rank in nature is capacity  
for pain,

- 
1. Even if one petal is missing, it is no rose;  
If the nightingale has seen no autumn, it is no nightingale.  
The heart's tale is coloured with the blood of desire;  
The song of man is incomplete without sorrow.  
For the seeing eye, grief's scar is the lamp of the heart;  
For the spirit, the mirror of a sigh is an adornment.  
Man's nature acquires perfection through unhappy accidents;  
For the heart's mirror, the dust of woe is like rouge.  
Grief is the strongest feather in the wing of the hearts bird;  
Man's heart is a mystery, sorrow the revealer of this secret.  
Sorrow is not sorrow, but a silent song of the spirit  
Which is entwined with the melody from the lute of Life.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 142.

That the anguish of the singer makes the sweetness  
of the strain?"<sup>1</sup>

Find an echo in Iqbāl:

میری فطرت کی بلندی ہے لو اے غم سے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 128)

Our dear ones become dearer through their suffering, and  
so our suffering must endear us to God, so Iqbāl says:

تو بچا بچا کے نہ دکھ اسے، ترا آئینہ ہے وہ آئینہ  
کہ شکستہ ہو تو عزیز تر ہے نگاہِ آئینہ ساز میں

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 314)

Throughout his poetry Iqbāl speaks of the "lamentation  
at dawn" without which nothing can be accomplished:

عطار ہو رومی ہو رازی ہو غزالی ہو  
کچھ حالہ نہیں آتا ہے آہِ سرگامی!

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 83)

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1. Williams, S. quoted in Stevenson's Book of Quotations  
(Edited by Stevenson, B.) p. 1932.
  2. The exaltation of my nature is due my sorrowful strain.
  3. Don't keep protecting it - for your mirror is that mirror  
That broken it is dearer to the eye of the mirror - maker.
  4. Be it 'Attār, or Rūmī or Rāzī or Gazzālī,  
Nothing can be got without the lamentation at dawn.

Goethe too had said,

"Who ne'er his bread in sorrow ate,  
Who ne'er the mournful midnight hours  
Weeping upon his bed has sate,  
He knows you not, ye Heavenly Powers."<sup>1</sup>

### FORBEARANCE

"The principle of the ego - sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others,"<sup>2</sup> said Iqbāl. He was a great believer in forbearance and tolerance. To his son he gave this advice:

دین سراپا سو عتقنا نذر طلب  
انتہالیس عشق و آغازش ادب!  
حرفِ بد را برب آردن خطاست  
کافر و مومن صہ خلق خداست!  
آدمیت احترام آدمی  
باجبر شوا از مقام آدمی!  
بنده عشق از خدا برد طریق  
کفر و دین را بگرد پناہ دل  
می شود بر کافر و مومن شفیق!  
دل اگر بگردیزد از دل، دای دل!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, pp 241-242).

1. Goethe, W. quoted in Stevenson's Book of Quotations (Edited by Stevenson, B.) p. 1885.
2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 119.
3. Religion is a constant yearning for perfection,  
It begins in reverence and ends in Love:  
It is a Sin to utter harsh words  
For the believer and the unbeliever are alike Children of God.  
What is 'Admiyat!? Respect for man!  
Learn to appreciate the true worth of man;  
The man of Love learns the ways of God  
And is benevolent alike to the believer and the unbeliever;  
Welcome faith and unfaith alike to the heart!  
If the heart flees from the heart, woe betide the heart!  
(Translation by Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 186.)

Iqbāl himself explains what he means by tolerance. According to Gibbon (whom Iqbāl quotes), "There is the toleration of the philosopher to whom all religions are equally true; of the historian to whom all are equally false; and of the politician to whom all are equally useful. There is the toleration of the man who tolerates other modes of thought and behaviour because he has himself grown absolutely indifferent to all modes of thought and behaviour. There is the toleration of the weak man who, on account of sheer weakness, must pocket all kinds of insults heaped on things or persons that he holds dear."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl observes that there is no ethical value in these types of tolerance, on the contrary "they reveal the spiritual impoverishment of the man who practises them."<sup>2</sup> The tolerance in which Iqbāl believes is born of strength rather than weakness. It is "begotten of intellectual breadth and spiritual expansion. It is the toleration of the spiritually powerful man who, while jealous of the frontiers of his own faith, can tolerate and even appreciate all forms of faith other than his own ... only a true lover of God can appreciate the value of devotion even though it is directed to gods in which he himself cannot believe."<sup>3</sup>

Associated with forbearance and tolerance is the idea of

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1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl, p. 115.
  2. Ibid
  3. Ibid pp 115-116.

forgiveness. In Asrār-e-Khudī Iqbāl refers to the deep compassion the Prophet showed towards his enemies:

آن که بر احد ادر رحمت کشاد  
 مکه را پیغام لا تشریب دار

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 21)

Iqbāl describes fanaticism as "nothing but the principle of individuation working in the case of a group,"<sup>2</sup> and in this sense of the word defends it; "all forms of life are more or less fanatical and ought to be so if they care for their collective life."<sup>3</sup> However, when fanaticism involves an attitude of irreverence towards other modes of thinking, it is not condoned by Iqbāl. As E. M. Forster points out about Iqbāl, "Whatever his opinions he was no fanatic, and he refers to Hindūs and Christians with courtesy and respect."<sup>4</sup>

COURTESY While stressing that one must always be hard with oneself, Iqbāl does not forget to say, not once but repeatedly, that a leader of men must be kind and courteous in speech and manner. The full-grown ego must possess 'ḥusn-e-akhṭāq' (beauty of disposition). This makes Iqbāl's Perfect Man as worthy of affection as he is of obedience, his heart-winning ways

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1. He opened the gate of mercy to his enemies.  
 He gave to Mecca the message "No penalty shall be laid upon you" (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p33)
  2. Stray Reflections, pp 23.
  3. Ibid
  4. Forster, E. M. "Moḥammed Iqbāl" "Two Cheers for Democracy" p. 296.

supplementing his world-winning ways. He is no ruthless Superman asserting his authority mercilessly. He is "soft in speech"<sup>1</sup> and needs to be both a warrior and a gentleman in order to be a leader of man:

نگہ بلند، سخن دلنواز، جان پر سوز  
ہی ہے رختِ سفر میرِ کاروانِ کبیلے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 74)

**OBSTRUCTIONS** Obstructions are essential for the development of 'Khudī'. Each hurdle that a man passes over in his long journey to perfection brings him nearer his goal. It strengthens his resolve by putting his mettle to the test. One cannot struggle if there is nothing to struggle against. Iqbāl looks upon obstructions - whatever be their form - as being necessary to Man's progress. In Asrār-e-Khudī, the saint 'Alī Hujwīrī speaks of the benefits of having an enemy:

ہر کہ دانائے مقاماتِ قوی است  
فضلِ حق داند اگر دشمن قوی است  
کشتِ انسان را عدد و باشد سحاب  
ممکناتش را برانگیزد ز خواب

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1. Bāle-Jibril, p. 132.
  2. High aiming eye, heart-pleasing speech, a feeling soul-  
These are the journey's harness for the caravan-leader.

سنگِ ده گرده گرد و فشانِ تیغِ عزم  
 قطعِ منزلِ امعانِ تیغِ عزم

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 59)

Like Rūmī, Iqbāl considers evil to be extremely important in the development of Man's personality. "Evil is the inevitable condition of good: out of darkness was created light. From this standpoint it possesses a positive value: it serves the purpose of God, it is relatively good."<sup>2</sup> The spirit of obstruction symbolised by Satan, directs man's energies to newer channels. It offers a challenge to his spirit and is one of the forces behind his evolution, leading him on from conquest to conquest.<sup>3</sup> K. A. Hamīd expresses Iqbāl's viewpoint very clearly: Man is made up of the Gabriel-element and the Iblīs-element and "the development of 'Khudī' does not consist in the utter extinction of the Iblīs factor ... The tragedy of Iblīs is not that he must die so that Adam may live: his tragedy is that his blood must forever feed the life-stream of his hated rival and enemy. It is not without reason that Iblīs complains to Gabriel that it is his life-blood, and not the latter's everlasting devotion to

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1. Whoever knows the states of the Self  
 Considers a powerful enemy to be a blessing from God.  
 To the seed of Man the enemy is as a rain-cloud,  
 He awakens its potentialities.  
 The sword of resolution is whetted by the stones in the way  
 And put to proof by traversing stage by stage.  
 (Translation by Nicholson R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
 p. 98)
  2. Iqbāl, A. "Rūmī as a Thinker" p. 16.
  3. Maitre, L. "Iqbāl: A Great Humanist" Iqbāl Review  
 April 1961, p. 28)

God, which imparts colour and life to the story of Man.<sup>1</sup>  
Iblīs pertains in some sense to the essence of the life-  
process ... Hence ... 'Khudī' cannot be built up with the  
Gabriel - element alone for its foundation. Satan's life-  
blood must always feed the growing plant."<sup>2</sup>

Man, during the long and arduous course of his evolution,  
must face and overcome many painful obstacles, but Iqbāl  
reminds him that "all that is in the universe in God's and  
the seemingly destructive forces of nature become sources of  
life, if properly controlled by man, who is endowed with the  
power to understand and to control them."<sup>3</sup>

#### THE FACTORS WHICH WEAKEN THE SELF

Just as the Self is open to growth so it is open to decay.  
Amongst the factors which weaken 'Khudī', the following are  
the most important:

Su'āl. Literally 'su'āl' means asking. In Iqbāl's thought  
it has a wide connotation. By asking the Self loses its  
integrity and its cohesive force.

از سوال افلاس گردد فوارتر  
از گدائی گدیه گر نادارتر  
از سوال آشفته اجزای خودی  
بے تجلی غل سینا کے خودی

<sup>4</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 24)

1. Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 194.
2. Hamid, K. A. "Remarks on the Development of Iqbāl's Poetic Thought" in Poems by Iqbāl (Translated by Kiernan, V. G.) 1947. p. 128.
3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 34.
4. By asking, poverty is made more object;  
By begging, the beggar is made poorer,  
Asking disintegrates the Self  
And deprives of illumination the Sinai-bush of the Self.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p 39.

All forms of asking amount to beggary:

مانگنے والا گدا ہے! صدقہ مانگے یا خراج  
کوئی مانے یا نہ مانے میرے سلطان سب گدا!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 158)

Real sovereignty belongs only to a 'faqīr', not to a king who thrives on the tribute of his subjects:

نگاہِ فقر میں شانِ سکندری کیا ہے!  
خراج کی جو گدا ہو وہ قیصری کیا ہے!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 71)

A son who lives in the expectation of an inheritance from his father is also a beggar and receives a *chiāning* from Iqbāl:

بیشمار شواگر لعلے ز میراثِ پدر خواہی  
کجا عیشِ برون آوردنِ لعلے کہ در سنگ است

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-Ajam, p. 182)

That which is not earned with the labour of one's hands

- 
1. He who asks is a beggar - whether he asks for alms or  
tribute.  
Whether or not anyone believes it - leaders and rulers are  
all beggars!
  2. What is the glory of Alexander in the eye of 'faqīr'?  
What is that sovereignty that is dependent on tribute?
  3. Shame on thee, only to desire  
Ruby bequeathed thee by thy sire;  
Is there not one delight alone -  
To win thee rubies from the stone?  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 116)

and heart - even if it is the whole world - is not worth having.

قلزم ذنبیل سبیل آلتش است  
گر دست خود رسد شبنم فوش است

<sup>1</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 26)

One form of 'Su'āl' is 'taqlīd' (imitation). To steal the thoughts of others is to degrade oneself. He who has a well-developed ego does not imitate, he creates. Iqbāl says:

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

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 170)

The Man of God has too much pride to borrow another's light, and so Iqbāl says:

ز خاک خویش طلب آلتش کہ پیدائیت  
تجلیء دگرے در خود تقاضا نیست

<sup>3</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq p. 188)

1. A whole ocean, if gained by begging is but a sea of fire; Sweet is a little dew gathered by one's own hand.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self pp 41-42)
2. Do not lay waste your Selfhood -  
Safeguard it for it is a priceless gem.
3. Look in your own clay for the fire that is lacking,  
The light of another is not worth asking for.

A Muslim, says Iqbāl, never stoops down to 'Su'āl':

مسلم استی بے نیاز از غیر نشو

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 183)

Had there been any virtue in imitation, then God's chosen ones would also have followed the beaten path:

اگر تقلید بودے شیوہ خوب  
سیمبر ہم وہ اجداد رفتے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 264)

In "Lāla'e-Tūr" Iqbāl asks

دلانا دالی پروانہ تاکے  
نگری شیوہ مردانہ تاکے  
یکے خود را بسوز خویشن سوز  
طواف آتشی بیگانه تاکے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 17)

One must never follow another's road, and so Iqbāl urges:

- 
1. If thou be Muslim, be not suppliant of other's succour.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness p. 70)
  2. If imitation had been something worthwhile,  
Our Prophet would have followed the path of his ancestors.
  3. How long this fluttering of the moth, my Heart?  
When wilt thou take at last the manly part?  
Why hoverest thou about another's flame?  
Go, burn thyself within the Fire thou art!  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 3)

تراش از تیتہ خود جادہ خویش

<sup>1</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 62)

To his son he sent this message-to create and not to imitate:

اعطائے تیتہ گران و رنگ کے احسان  
سفالِ ہند سے مینا و جام پیدا کر

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 198)

Iqbāl's most powerful and most moving attack against all forms of 'asking' comes in Rumūz-e-Bekhudī when he lashes out against his co-religionists who have lost all sense of their Selfhood, and have submerged all their pride and self-respect in a life of superficiality and spiritual bankruptcy:

علم غیر آموختی اندوختی	رہے خویشی از غارہ اش از دوستی
اد جندی از شاعرش می بری	من ندانم تو توئی یا دیگری
از نیش خاک تو خاموش گشت	دزگل و دریاں ہی آغوش گشت
گشت خود از دست خود ویران مکن	از سحابش گدیر باران مکن
عقل تو د بچیری افکار غیر	در گلوے تو نفس از تار غیر
برز بابت گفتوہا مستعار	درد دل تو آرزوہا مستعار

- 
1. Take thou thine axe, and excavate thy path,  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 21)
  2. Do not incur the favour of the mirror-making Westerners,  
Form the dust of India make the flagon and the cup!

آن نگاہش سیرِ صَاحِبِ الْبَصَرِ

ی شناسد شیخ او پروانہ را

«کست مینی» گویدت مولائے ما

سوے قوم خویش باد آید ار

نیک داند خویش و ہم بیگانہ را

وائے ما اے وائے ما اے وائے ما

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī pp 186-187)

### Despair, Grief, and Fear

Iqbāl has devoted one whole section of Rumūz-e-Bekhudī to the theme that despair, grief and fear are the sources of all evil and destroyers of life.<sup>1</sup> Despair, like death, strikes at

1. Thou hast learned  
The rote of others, taking that for store,  
Ah alien rouge to beautify thy face;  
In those insignia thou takest pride,  
Until I know not if thou be thyself  
Or art another. Fanned by foreign blasts  
Thy soil is fallen silent, and no more  
Fertile in fragrant roses and sweet herbs  
Desolate not thy tilth with thy own hand;  
Make it not beg for rain from alien clouds.  
Thy mind is prisoner to others' thoughts,  
Another's music throbs within thy throat,  
Thy very speech is borrowed, and thy heart  
Dilates with aspirations not thine own.  
If he, whose glance contains the mystery  
"Erred not the sight" - if he should come again  
Unto his people, he whose candle-flame  
Knows its own moth, who can distinguish well  
His own from strangers, standing at the gate,  
Our Master would declare, "Thou art not mine"!  
Woe, woe, alas for us upon that day!  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
pp 72-73)
2. Rumūz-e-Bekhudī pp 108-111.

the very roots of life and causes utter impotence. Referring to Sūrah 39:54, Iqbāl says:

مرگ داسمان ز قطع آرزوست  
زندگانی حکم از لآ تقنطو است  
تا امید از آرزوے پیہم است  
ناامیدی زندگانی راسم است

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 108)

Despair indicates lack of faith and he who would be a leader of men must never despair even when his companions are indolent and lethargic because a "Momin" believes that Man is basically good.<sup>2</sup>

لومید نہ ہو ان سے اے رہبر فرزانه  
کم کوش توہیں لیکن بے ذوق نہیں راہی

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 83.)

Referring to Sūrah 9:40, Iqbāl says:

اے کہ در زندانِ عم باشتی اسپر  
از بنیٰ تعلیم لآ کھرن بگر

<sup>4</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 109)

1. The amputation of desire condemns  
To Death; Life rests secure on the behest  
Do not despair. Desire continuing  
The substance is of hope, while hopelessness  
Poisons the very blood of life.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
p. 14)
2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 35.
3. O wise guide, do not despair of them -  
Your companions do not strive but they're not lacking in spirit.
4. O thou who art a prisoner of care,  
Learn from the Prophet's message, "Do not grieve!"  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
p. 14)

Grief is of two kinds - one which makes the Self grow strong with compassion and understanding and courage, the other which lays waste the sinews of the Self. The first kind of grief is akin to faith, the second is linked with feelings of doubt and futility. In "Bandagī Nāma" Iqbāl says

یک غم است آن غم که آدم را خورد  
 آن غم دیگر که هر غم را خورد  
 آن غم دیگر که مادر صدم است  
 جان ما از صحبت او بے غم است  
 چون نشینی کند اندر دل  
 دل از و گردد بے سائے

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 252)

One of the most outstanding characteristics of Iqbāl's Perfect Man, whose life is a constant battle, is that he knows no fear. Iqbāl says, "the principal fact which stands in the way of man's ethical progress is, according to Islām, neither pain, nor sin, nor struggle. It is fear to which man is a victim owing to his ignorance of the nature of his environment and want of absolute faith in God. The highest stage of man's ethical progress is reached when he becomes absolutely free from fear and grief ... The ethical ideal of Islām is to disenthral Man from fear, and thus to give him

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1. One kind of grief is that which devours Man,  
 The other kind of grief is that which devours all other  
 grief.  
 The second kind of grief is that which is our companion,  
 And frees our life from all other griefs.  
 When it takes abode in the heart  
 It makes the heart into a boundless sea.

a sense of his personality, to make him conscious of himself as a source of power."<sup>1</sup> Man must overcome fear if he is to become God's deputy on earth, for "all the principal forms of vice can to be reduced to fear."<sup>2</sup>

ہر شرِ پنهان کہ اندر قلبِ تست  
اصلِ اویم است اگر بینی در دست  
لابہ و مکاری و کین و دروغ  
اپس سے از خوف ہی گریز فروع  
برده زور و ریای پیر اہنش  
فتنہ را آغوشِ مادر دامنش  
ہر کہ دمنہ مصطفیٰ غمیدہ است  
شترک داد در خوف مہمردیدہ است

<sup>3</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, pp 110-111)

Servitude Iqbal was a passionate believer in freedom which he considered to be "the very breath of vital living!"<sup>4</sup> In his viewpoint

بندگی میں گھٹ کے رہ جاتی ہے اک جوئے کم آب  
اور آزادی میں بحرِ بیکراں سے زندگی!

<sup>5</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 287)

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, pp 34-35.
2. Ibid. p. 37.
3. Whatever evil lurks within thy heart  
Thou canst be certain that its origin  
Is fear: fraud, cunning, malice, lies - all these  
Flourish on terror, who is wrapped about  
With falsehood and hypocrisy for veil,  
And fondles foul sedition at her breast.  
Who understands the Prophet's clue aright  
sees infidelity concealed in fear.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
pp 15-16)
4. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbal's Educational Philosophy, p. 40.
5. In servitude life is reduced to a small rivulet,  
But free, it is a boundless ocean!

In "Bandagī Nāma" Iqbāl speaks in detail about the attitude and mentality of "slaves" - those who live in spiritual bondage. Servitude kills the strength and spirit of self-respecting men:

از غلامی دل نمیرد در بدن

از غلامی روح گردد باریش

از غلامی ضعف پیری در شباب

از غلامی شیر غاب انگلنده ناب

<sup>1</sup> (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 248).

<sup>1</sup>In servitude "religion and love are separated."<sup>2</sup> Love becomes a word that has lost its content since the courage of Love is no more.

در غلامی عشق جز گفتار نیست

کار ما گفتار ما را یاد نیست

<sup>3</sup> (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 258).

A slave pays real homage to Man-made gods and mere lip-service to the Eternal God. For the sake of his body he sells his soul. With the sadness of the Biblical verse: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and

- 
1. Servitude kills the heart in the body.  
Servitude makes the soul a burden for the body.  
Servitude brings the weakness of old age in youth,  
Servitude enervates the mighty lion of the forest.
  2. Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 258.
  3. In servitude, Love is nothing but words,  
There is no correspondence between our words and deeds.

lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl says:

دین و دالتش را غلام ارزان دهد  
تا بدن را زنده دارد جان دهد  
تن سبزه مستی مهرِ ملوک  
جان پاک از لاغری مانند دوک

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 258-261)

Though Iqbāl would agree with Menander's words, "Retain a free man's mind though slave, and slave thou shalt not be",<sup>4</sup> yet it is to be remembered that Iqbāl felt very strongly about political bondage. In an atmosphere of political constraint even a God-fearing man could lose the sense of his duty to God and his own dignity:

از غلامی مرد حق زنا در بند  
از غلامی گوهرش نادر همد

<sup>4</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 249).

Nasab-parastī means pride in one's lineage or caste. It is to be discouraged in all forms as it is in opposition to one of the fundamentals of Islāmic polity - namely, the equality and brotherhood of Man. Iqbāl considers 'nasab-parastī' to

1. The Gospel of St. Matthew 16:26. The Holy Bible, Glasgow. 1954. p. 17.
2. A slave holds both religion and knowledge in light esteem, He gives away his soul so that his body may live. Through the munificence of kings, his body thrives, While his pure soul grows feeble like a spindle.
3. Menander quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious Quotations (Edited by Mead, F. S.) p. 341.
4. In servitude, a Man of God is chained to the Magian's girdle, In servitude his pearl is of no worth.

be one of the reasons for the downfall of the Muslims.

In "Jawāb-e-Shikwa", God asks:

یوں تو سید بھی ہو، مرزا بھی ہو، افغان بھی ہو  
مگر سبھی کچھ ہو، بتاؤ تو مسلمان بھی ہو؟

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 220)

To those who take pride in their stock Iqbāl says:

برکب نازان شدن نادانی است  
حکم او اندر تن و تن فانی است

<sup>2</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 107)

and gives them this advice

فارع از بابا وام و اعمام باش  
همچو سلمان زاده اسلام باش

<sup>3</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 188)

### THE THREE STAGES OF THE SELF

Iqbāl tells us that the education of the Self has three stages: Obedience, Self-Control, and Divine Vicegerency.<sup>4</sup>

1. You are Saiyids, and Mirzās, and Afgāns,  
But tell me - are you also Muslims?
2. To be proud of ancestry is lack of wisdom,  
That attitude is related to the body and the body perishes.
3. Take no count  
Of father, mother, uncle; call thyself  
An offspring of Islām, as Salmān did.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness p. 74)
4. Iqbāl's letter to Nicholson, R. A. quoted in the Introduction  
to The Secrets of the Self pp xxvi-xxvii.

Obedience In the first stage "religious life appears as a form of discipline which the individual or a whole people must accept as an unconditional command without any rational understanding of the ultimate meaning and purpose of that command."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl, like Nietzsche, likens the Self at this stage to a camel known for its "obedience, utility and hardihood."<sup>2</sup> Man must fulfil his obligations as patiently as does the camel:

تو هم از بارِ فرائض سرمتاب  
بر فوری از عنده حسن المآب

<sup>3</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 45)

Without obedience to the law there can be no liberty.  
He who would command the world must first learn to obey.

در اطاعت کوشای غفلت شعار  
می شود از بر پیدا اختیار  
ناکس از فرمان پذیری کس شود  
آتش ار باشد ز طغیان خس شود  
هر که تسخیر مه و بیرون کند  
تولیش را از بخیری آیس کند

<sup>4</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 45)

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p 181.
2. Kashyap, S. "Sir Moḥammad Iqbāl and Friedrich Nietzsche"  
The Islāmic Quarterly April 1955. Volume II No. 1. p. 181.
3. Thou, too, do not refuse the burden of Duty:  
So wilt thou enjoy the best dwelling-place which is with God.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R.A. The Secrets of the Self, p.73.
4. Endeavour to obey, O heedless one!  
Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.  
By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy;  
By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.  
Whoso would master the sun and stars,  
Let him make himself a prisoner of Law!  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
p. 73)

One must "not complain of the hardness of the Law"<sup>1</sup> but submit to it willingly knowing that discipline makes the Self grow stronger.

باد را زندانِ گل خوشبو کند  
قیدلو را ناله آه کند

<sup>2</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 45)

Self-Control The second stage in the education of the Self is when it is able to command itself. "Perfect submission to discipline" says Iqbāl, "is followed by a rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority. In this period religious life seeks its foundation in a kind of metaphysics - a logically consistent view of the world with God as part of that view."<sup>3</sup>

Both Fear and Love are constituents of a Man's being. By understanding the meaning of 'Tauhīd' one can conquer Fear.

تا عمارے آلاں داری بدست  
هر طلسم خوف را خواهی شکست

<sup>4</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 47)

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1. Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 75.
  2. The air becomes fragrant when it is imprisoned in the flower-bud;  
The perfume becomes musk when it is confined in the navel of the muskdeer.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self p. 73)
  3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 181.
  4. So long as thou hold'st the staff of "There is no God but He," Thou wilt break every spell of Fear.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self p. 76)

Through Love of God, Man is freed from all lesser loyalties and bonds:

می کند از ما سوره را قطع نظر

می اند سا طور بر حلق لیس

<sup>1</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 47)

Prayer is "the pearl" within "the shell" of Faith. It is also that which protects him from all evil.

د کفِ مسلم مثالِ خنجر است  
قائلِ مُشاهد یعنی و منکر است

<sup>2</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p 47)

Fasting adds to the powers of endurance and gives moral strength.

دوزه بر جوع و عطش شبنجون زند

غیبر تن پروری را بشکند

<sup>3</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 48)

The pilgrimage to Mecca "teaches separation from one's home and destroys attachment to one's native land."

- 
1. He withdraws his gaze from all except God  
And lays the knife to the throat of his son.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
pp 76-77)
  2. In the Moslem's land prayer is like a dagger  
Killing sin and forwardness and wrong.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
p 77)
  3. Fasting makes an assault upon hunger and thirst  
And breaches the citadel of sensuality.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
p. 77)

طاعتِ سرمایه جمعیت  
رابطہ اور اوراقِ کتاب ملتے

<sup>1</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 48)

Almsgiving is helpful towards bringing about social equality.

دل ز حسی تنفقوا محکم کند  
زر فراہد الفت ز کم کند

<sup>2</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 48)

Thus in the second stage of its education or development, Man does not merely obey the Law, but also perceives intellectually that the Law "is a means of strengthening thee" so that "thou mayst ride the camel of thy body"<sup>3</sup> (i.e. overcome the weakness of the flesh). If one would conquer the world, one must first conquer oneself:

بہ تسخیر خود امتدادی اگر طاق  
ترا آسان شود تسخیر آفاق

<sup>4</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 209)

Without self-control, no man can attain real sovereignty,

- 
1. It is an act of devotion in which all feel themselves to be one,  
It binds together the leaves of the book of religion.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p78)
  2. It fortifies the heart with righteousness, (Sūrah 3:86)  
It increases wealth and diminishes fondness for wealth.  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 78)
  3. Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 78.
  4. If you can master the self-conquering technique,  
The whole world will be yours to take.  
(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 4)

حاکمی در عالم بلا دست

بجز حفظ جان و تن ناید بدست

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, p. 239)

### Vicegerency of God.

The third stage in the development of the Self is 'miyābat-e-Ilāhī' (the vicegerency of God). Although Man already possesses the germ of vicegerency (Sūrah 2:28)<sup>2</sup>, yet "not man as he is now, but man purified through obedience, self dominion, and detachment can reach the high station of ... Divince Vicegerency."<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl describes the Perfect Man in superlatives. "He is the completest Ego, the goal of humanity, the acme of life both in mind and body; in him the discord of our mental life becomes a harmony. This highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason, become one. He is the last fruit of the tree of humanity, and all the trials of a painful evolution are justified because he is to come at the end. He is the real ruler of mankind; his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth."<sup>4</sup>

Nature must undergo long and painful travails to bring to birth the Perfect Man:

- 
1. Sovereignty in the next world or in this world Cannot be had save through perfect discipline of the mind and body.
  2. Iqbāl's letter to Nicholson, R. A. quoted in the Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xxvii.
  3. Bausani, A. "Iqbāl's Philosophy of Religion, and the West" p. 54.
  4. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in the Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, pp xxvii-xxviii.

ہزاروں سال نرگس اپنی بے لوزی پہ روتی ہے  
 بڑی شکل سے ہوتا ہے چمن میں دیدہ وریدا

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 300)

Iqbāl points out that "the development of humanity both in mind and body" is a condition precedent to the birth of the Perfect Man who, for the present, "is a mere ideal."<sup>2</sup> The signs, however, are hopeful, since "the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals who will become his fitting parents."<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl's poetry is full of the portraits of his "Mard-e-Momin" who "wakes and sleeps for God alone"<sup>4</sup> and "executes the command of Allāh in the world."<sup>5</sup>

اس کی امیدیں قلیل اس کے مقاصد جلیل  
 اس کی ادا دلفریب اس کی نگہ دلنواز  
 رزم دم گفتگو گم دم جستجو  
 رزم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاک باز

<sup>6</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 132)

- 
1. For a thousand years the narcissus bewails its sightlessness, After what anguish is one of vision born in the garden!
  2. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in the Introduction to The Secrets of the Self p. xxviii.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 80.
  5. Ibid
  6. His desires are few, his ideals are lofty,  
 His ways are gracious, his gaze is pleasing.  
 He is soft in speech but ardent in his quest.  
 In war as in peace he is pure of heart and mind.

The Vicegerent is a creator and interpreter of values. He is "the goal of life's caravan",<sup>1</sup> the ruler of all things that God created.

نائبِ حق درجاں آدمِ بشود  
بر عناصرِ حکمِ ادِ علمِ بشود

<sup>2</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 166)

For his coming, the poet longs fervently:

اے سوارِ اشبِ دریاں بیا  
اے فروغِ دیدہٴ امکانِ بیا

<sup>3</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 51)

Iqbāl's Perfect Man, then, though a co-worker with God, is not a breaker of Divine Law. He is the master of all created things but a slave to God. In fact the degree of his servitude to God is the measure of his perfection. Iqbāl's Perfect Man, says Professor Bausani, has something to teach us: "First: that tolerance and all those so-called virtues of modern man are not in contradiction to the simple strong faith in the transcendental. 'Wherever you turn' - to use a Korānic sentence - 'There the countenance of God stands,' ... second:

1. Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 84.
2. Man is the deputy of God on earth,  
And o'er the elements his rule is fixed.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
p. 57)
3. Appear, O rider of Destiny!  
Appear, O light of the dark realm of Change!  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self,  
p. 83)

Man who is merely an impotent being completed by Him who is 'nearer to him than his jugular vein' becomes omnipotent and creator of <sup>and</sup> law spiritual worlds. Third: to achieve this, a preliminary act of submission is necessary: in Dante's philosophy it is repentance, in Iqbāl's a declaration of slavery - but slavery of God and only of God. Of that God whose glory permeates through all the Universe."<sup>1</sup>

#### IQBĀL'S "MARD-E-MOMIN" AND OTHER INFLUENCES

Iqbāl and Nietzsche It has been observed by one writer that the three stages of the development of the Self advocated by Iqbāl are Nietzschean in origin.<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl seems to have been aware that the "superficial resemblance" between the three stages of the growth of 'Khudī' and the three stages of the metamorphosis of the spirit in Nietzsche's thought ~~could~~ "mislead some readers."<sup>3</sup> In order to avoid such a confusion, he ventures an explanation. "The first metamorphosis of life according to him (Nietzsche) is camel, which from his from his point of view is a symbol of load-bearing strength. The second is lion, that is to say the strength to kill without pity, for pity is a vice and not virtue with Nietzsche. The third metamorphosis is child, that is to say the superman passing beyond good and evil like the

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1. Bausani, A. "Dante and Iqbāl" Crescent and Green, London, 1955, pp 169-170.
  2. Kashyap, S. "Sir Mohāmmad Iqbāl and Friedrich Nietzsche" p. 181.
  3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 239.

child and becoming a law unto himself. This is materialism turning the human ego into a monster."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl's Perfect Man is deeply compassionate though like Nietzsche's Superman he too is strong, vital and passionate. In him "Power is supplemented by Love, the expression of the Will is chastened through contemplation of the beautiful, and the arrogance of Reason is curbed by the mellow wisdom of mystical insight."<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl says,

قہاری و غفاری و قدوسی و جہروت  
یہ چار عناصر ہوں تو بتاے مسلمان!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm p. 57)

Furthermore, Iqbāl's Perfect Man cannot be a law unto himself. He "must not transgress the limits imposed by Divine Law."<sup>4</sup> This is one of the fundamental distinctions between Iqbāl's Perfect Man and Nietzsche's Superman.<sup>5</sup> The latter considers himself above the law, the former discovers the sources of law within himself.<sup>6</sup>

In Asrār-e-Khudī Iqbāl relates the story of the Diamond and the coal which has been borrowed from Nietzsche. Nietzsche writes:

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 241.
  2. Naravane, V. S. "Iqbāl" pp 294-295.
  3. Vengeance, forgiveness, piety and power, Of these four elements a Muslim is made.
  4. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 234.
  5. Ibid
  6. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 181.

"Why so hard?" said the kitchen coal once to  
 the diamond: "are you not then near relations?"  
 "Why so soft? O my brother, thus I ask: are ~~yet~~ you  
 not then my brothers?  
 Why so soft, so yielding and submitting?  
 Why is so much evasion, denial in your heart?  
 So little fate in your gaze? ...  
 ... all creators are hard. And delight it must seem to you  
 to press your hand on centuries as one wax-  
 Delight to write on the wall of centuries as on bronze-  
 harder than bronze, nobler than bronze. Only the noblest  
 is quite hard.  
 This new commandment, of my brothers, I put up over you:  
 become hard!"<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl writes:

گفت الماس در معدن زغال  
 اے امین جلوہ ہائے لازوال  
 صد مہم دھت د بود ما یکسیت  
 در جہاں اصل وجود ما یکسیت  
 من کہاں میرم ز دردِ ناکی  
 تو سرِ تاجِ شہنشاہاں رسی  
 گفت الماس اے رفیقِ نکتہ بینی!  
 پترہ خاک از جھنگلی گروہِ نگیس  
 تابہ پر امون خود در فنک شد  
 بختہ از پیکار مثل سنگ شد  
 خوار گشتی از وجودِ خام خویشی  
 سوختی از نرمی اندام خویشی

1. Nietzsche quoted by Kashyāp, S. "Sir Moḥammad Iqbāl and  
 and Friedrich Nietzsche" p. 186.

فارع از خوف و علم و وسواس باش  
 بخته مثل سنگ شو الماس باش

در صلابت آبروئی زندگی است  
 ناتوانی ناکسی نابخشودنی است

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Asrār-e-Khudī, pp 63-64)

Although the resemblance between Nietzsche's and Iqbāl's story and its moral is unmistakable yet Iqbāl does not wish his words to be taken as a mere echo of Nietzsche. He says, "When I say 'Be as hard as the diamond,' I do not mean as Nietzsche does, callousness or pitilessness. What I mean is the integration of the elements of the ego so that it may be able to obstruct the forces of destruction in its means towards personal immortality."<sup>2</sup> Here Iqbāl may be doing Nietzsche some injustice. Just as there is nothing fundamentally harsh in Iqbāl's own thought despite all his stress

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1. The coal in the mine said to the diamond  
 "O thou entrusted with splendours everlasting;  
 We are comrades, and our being is one;  
 The source of our existence is the same.  
 Yet while I die here in the anguish of worthlessness,  
 Thou art set on the crowns of emperors.  
 "O sagacious friend," said the diamond,  
 "Dark earth, when hardened, becomes in dignity as a bezel.  
 Having been at strife with its environment,  
 It is ripened by the struggle and grows hard like a stone.  
 Because thy being is immature, than hast become abased;  
 Because thy body is soft, thou art burnt.  
 Be void of fear, grief, and anxiety;  
 Be hard as a stone, be a diamond.  
 In solidity consists the glory of Life;  
 Weakness is worthlessness and immaturity  
 (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
 pp 104-107).
2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 244.

on conquest and self-assertion,<sup>1</sup> there is "in Nietzsche ... behind the façade of cynicism, a tenderness that is often missed on superficial acquaintance"<sup>2</sup> Perhaps unconsciously, Iqbāl too was aware of it, since he said of him:

قلب او مومن دماغش کافر است

<sup>3</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 241)

Iqbāl agrees with Nietzsche that creeds may be classified as those which say 'Yea' to life and those which say 'Nay'.<sup>4</sup> Like Nietzsche, Iqbāl attacks fiercely all those modes of thinking which preach self-negation in any form. Life is to be affirmed, not denied, as Nietzsche held.<sup>5</sup> In Asrār-e-Khudī subjects to scathing criticism and bitter scorn all life-stultifying creeds which preach such a philosophy:

غافل از خود شو اگر فرزانه  
گردد خود غافل نه دیوانه  
چشم بند گوش بند لب بند  
تا دسد فکر تو بر پرده بلند

<sup>6</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 32)

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1. Nārāvāne, V. S. "Iqbāl" p. 294.
  2. Ibid. p. 298.
  3. His heart is a believer though his brain is an infidel.
  4. Ḥakīm, K. A. Islām and Communism, Lāhore, 1953, p. 131.
  5. Reyburn, H. A. Hinderks H. E. and Taylor, J. G. Nietzsche London 1948, p. 308.
  6. Forget thy self, if thou art wise!  
If thou dost not forget thy self, thou art mad.  
Close thine eyes, close thine ears, close thy lips,  
That thy thought may reach the lofty sky!  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self  
p. 53)

Like Nietzsche, Iqbāl believes that "The Superman is the meaning of the world"<sup>1</sup> and that he lives in perpetual tension. But while Nietzsche's Superman is a fanatic, Iqbāl's "Mard-e-Momin" is tolerant. The Superman seeks power for its own sake but for Iqbāl power is not an end in itself. About power, Iqbāl says

لا دین ہو تو ہے زہرِ مہلاہل سے بھی بڑھ کر  
 ہو دین کی حفاظت میں تو ہر زہر کا تریاک

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 23)

Furthermore, by power Iqbāl means "the power of the spirit, not brute force."<sup>3</sup> The Superman, says Iqbāl "is a biological product. The Islāmic Perfect Man is the product of moral and spiritual forces."<sup>4</sup>

Iqbāl always maintained that the idea of the Perfect Man was Islāmic, not Nietzschean. Yet, as Professor Schimmel points out, "Nietzsche's Superman may still have acted as a ferment in the formation of Iqbāl's ideals."<sup>5</sup> The question of the degree of Iqbāl's indebtedness to Nietzsche is, by no means easy to decide. Certainly it is true that Iqbāl had begun to think about the idea of the Perfect Man long before he studied

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1. Nietzsche, F. quoted by Holingdale, R. J. Nietzsche, p. 196.
  2. If it is irreligious, it is worse than deadly poison, If it is in defence of religion, it is the antidote to all kinds of poison.
  3. Iqbāl's letter to Nicholson, R. A. "Asrār-e-Khudī - The Secrets of the Self" p. 485.
  4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 242.
  5. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 323.

Nietzsche.<sup>1</sup> But Iqbāl did recognise a kindred spirit in Nietzsche. That is hardly surprising - they were both great dissenters, almost repudiators of most that is conventionally hallowed,<sup>2</sup> iconoclasts who brought about intellectual revolutions. What they had in common above all was "the brave and heroic will to accept life as it is and to master it."<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl appreciated Nietzsche's dynamic spirit, he also agreed with him in his positive evolution of suffering. "We must," he says, in the words of Nietzsche, say yea to the suffering of life."<sup>4</sup> In Payām-e-Mashriq Iqbāl brings out very cleverly the difference between Schopenhauer's pessimistic and Nietzsche's undaunted heroic will. The former is the bird which is forever lamenting.

مرغے ز آشیانہ بسیر چمن پرید  
 خارے ز شاخ گل بہ تن نازگشتی غلیہ  
 بدگفت فطرت چمن دور کار را  
 از درد فویش دھم ز غم دیگران تپید  
 دماغ ز خون بگلیں لاله را شہد  
 اندر طلسم غنی فریب بہار دید

<sup>5</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 234)

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 241.
2. Ahmad, S. M. The Pilgrimage of Eternity, Lāhore, 1961. px
3. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 323.
4. Iqbāl quoted by Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing. p. 323.
5. A bird flew from its nest and ranged about the garden, its soft breast was pierced by a rose-thorn. It reviled the nature of Time's garden; it throbbed with its own pain and the pain of others. It thought the tulip was branded with the blood of innocents; in the closed bud it saw the guile of Spring.

(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. "Iqbāl's 'Message of the East' " p. 121)

The latter makes his remedy from his pain:

سوزِ فغانِ اد بدلِ همدردی گرفت  
 بالذکِ خویشِ خارِ زاندام او کشید  
 گفتش که سوزِ خویشِ ز جیبِ زیاں برآرد  
 گل از شکافِ سینه زرنابِ آفرید  
 درماں ز درد ساز اگر خسته تن بشوی  
 شوگر به خار شو که سر ایا یکن بشوی

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 235)

But while Iqbāl cordially agrees with Nietzsche's 'will-to-power' (Meaning thereby the fullest possible realization of a complete self-reliant personality), "for the shrewd observer the differences between the Nietzschean and the Iqbālian concept of the Perfect Man are immediately visible. Iqbāl's Perfect Man is not the Man without God, or who replaces a God 'who has died', ... but contrariwise the Man who has fully realised his personal relation with the God with whom he lives, works and talks."<sup>2</sup>

Nietzsche was escaping from the 'mass man' - "born of industrialism, living on newspapers, dying in the dregs of Christianity; a man incapable of evil, because all his passions will have been atrophied, security, incessant mass - produced entertainment; content, because no longer

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1. From its cries of burning woe a hoopoe's heart caught fire. The hoopoe with its beak drew forth the thorn from its body. Saying, "Get thee profit out of loss: the loss has created pure gold by reading her breast. It thou art wounded, make the pain thy remedy. Accustom thyself to thorns, that thou mayest become entirely one with the garden."  
 (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. "Iqbāl's Message of the East" p. 121.)
2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing pp 119-120.

eager to create, but only to consume; at one with his neighbours and himself, because indifferent to all that makes for truth."<sup>1</sup> One can understand and Iqbāl understood too, why Nietzsche created the Superman.

That he was inspired, Iqbāl admits when he calls him "Ḥallāj without a cross" and a "majzūb"<sup>2</sup> - one who receives illumination in his heart without any endeavour on his part. Iqbāl says "That a really 'imperative' vision of the Divine in man did come to him (Nietzsche) cannot be denied. I call his vision 'imperative' because it appears to have given him a kind of prophetic mentality which by some kind of technique, aims at turning its visions into permanent life-forces. Yet Nietzsche was a failure; and his failure was mainly due to his intellectual progenitors such as Schopenhauer, Darwin and Lange whose influence completely blinded him to the real significance of his vision. Instead of looking for a spiritual rule which would develop the Divine even in a plebeian and thus open up before him an infinite future, Nietzsche was driven to seek the realization of his vision in such schemes as aristocratic radicalism."<sup>3</sup> Nietzsche failed, then, in Iqbāl's opinion "for want of expert external guidance in his spiritual life."<sup>4</sup> Iqbāl seems to regret Nietzsche's failure and says, not without a note of affection,

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1. Lea, F. A. The Tragic Philosopher, London, 1957, p. 201.
  2. Jāvid Nāma, pp 176-177.
  3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 195.
  4. Ibid.

اگر ہوتا وہ مجزوبِ فرنیٰ اس زمانے میں  
تو اقبال اس کو سمجھاتا مقامِ کبریا کیا ہے!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 82)

### Iqbāl and Jīlī

Amongst those who are likely to have influenced Iqbāl's conception of the Perfect Man, must be mentioned 'Abdulkarīm al-Jīlī (d. 832/1428) (Iqbāl wrote an article entitled "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as expounded by 'Abdul Karīm Al-Jīlānī" in September 1900.<sup>2</sup>) Accepting Ibn 'Arabī's conception of the Unity of Being (waḥdat-al-wujūd). In his book al-Insān al-kāmil, Jīlī traces the descent of Pure Being, which in itself is without name and attribute, through three successive stages of manifestation which he calls (1) Oneness; (2) He-ness; and (3) I-ness.<sup>3</sup> In the first stage there is absence of all attributes and relations, yet it is one, and therefore Oneness marks one step away from the Absoluteness. In the second stage the Pure Being is yet free from all manifestations, but the third stage is name 'Allāh', here the darkness of the Pure Being is illuminated and nature comes to the front - the Absolute Being has become conscious.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Had that 'Majzūb' of Europe been living at this hour - Iqbāl would have explained to him the station of God!
  2. Reprinted in Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, pp 3-27.
  3. Arberry, A. J. Sufism, London, 1950. p. 104.
  4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 8.

In correspondence with these three stages of the Absolute Evolution (which in a sense is devolution), the Perfect Man has three stages of spiritual training. In the first stage he meditates on the Name and studies Nature on which it is scaled; in the second stage he steps into the sphere of the Attribute, and in the third he enters the sphere of the Essence.<sup>1</sup> Thus through the three stages of mystical illumination ('Tajallī') "the mystic may aspire to retrace the order of his descent and finally, by becoming the Perfect Man, being stripped of every attribute, once more as Absolute to the Absolute."<sup>2</sup> Professor Arberry points out that "the idea of the descent of the Universal Spirit into matter and of the purgative ascent of man out of matter, was of course familiar to Sūfī thought long before al-Jīlī's time; his particular merit is that of crystallising the conception, under the influence of Ibn 'Arabī's general system, into a clear and consistent metaphysic."<sup>3</sup>

Jīlī who identifies the Perfect Man with Muḥammad, describes thus the ideal type of humanity: "You must know," he says, "that the Perfect Man is a copy of God. That is so because God is Living, Knowing, Mighty, Willing, Hearing, Seeing and Speaking, and Man too is all these ... As a mirror

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 9.
  2. Arberry, A. J. Ṣūfism, p. 105.
  3. Ibid.

in which a person sees the form of himself and cannot see it without the mirror, such is the relation of God to the Perfect Man, who cannot possibly see his own form but in the mirror of the name Allāh; and he is also a mirror to God, for God laid upon Himself the necessity that His Names and Attributes should not be seen save in the Perfect Man."<sup>1</sup> For JĪLĪ the hand of the Perfect Man is the Hand of God, his hearing is the Hearing of God, his sight is the Sight of God.<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl expresses this idea thus:

صالحہ ہے اللہ کا بندہ مومن کا صالحہ  
غالب و کاد آفرین کاد کتنا کاد ساز

نہاکی و نوری بناد بندہ مولا صفات  
ہر دو جہاں سے تھی اس کا دل بے نیاز

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 132)

JĪLĪ regards the Perfect Man as the God-Man. "He is the point where Man-ness and God-ness become one."<sup>4</sup> He is the joining link between the creation and the Creator and possesses the following attributes:<sup>5</sup>

1. JĪLĪ, quoted by Nicholson, R. A. The Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 60.
2. Ahmad, A. "Sources of Iqbāl's Perfect Man" Iqbāl July 1958 Volume VII No. I. p. 4.
3. The hand of the faithful is the Hand of God - Powerful, resourceful, creative, efficient!  
Born of clay, he has the nature of light and the attributes of the Creator,  
His heart is indifferent to the riches of the two worlds!
4. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, p. 129.
5. Ibid. pp 131-133.

1. Life or Permanent Being;
2. Knowledge, which is another form of life;
3. Will, which is the manifestation of the individuating force;
4. Power which manifests itself in creation;
5. The Word of God (according to Jīlī all Possibility is the Word of God, thus Nature is the material form of the Word of God);
6. Hearing what cannot ordinarily be heard;
7. Seeing what cannot ordinarily be seen;
8. The Beauty of Nature;
9. Glory or beauty in its intensity;
10. Perfection, which is the unknowable essence of God and therefore Unlimited and Infinite.

Iqbāl agrees with Jīlī regarding the ethical values which the Perfect Man must uphold. He also endorses Jīlī's view that the Perfect Man is the saviour of the Universe, and therefore the manifestation of the Perfect Man is necessary for the continuity of all Nature.<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl's Perfect Man is not, however, a merely metaphysical being as he is in Ibn 'Arabī's or Jīlī's theosophy.<sup>2</sup> His "Mard-e-Momin" is not a mere reflection of Divine attributes or an aspect of the all-pervading reality.<sup>3</sup> "It is, therefore, not surprising", observes 'Azīz Aḥmad, "that while agreeing in the details about the moral and spiritual qualities of the Perfect Man, he (Iqbāl) has rejected Jīlī's main thesis - namely, totally and essentially mystic and unworldly approach to the problem."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Aḥmad, A, "Sources of Iqbāl's Perfect Man" p. 8.

2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 120.

3. Ibid

4. Aḥmad, A. "Sources of Iqbāl's Perfect Man" p. 9.

### Iqbāl and Rūmī

"If a freeman like Iqbāl could be called the disciple of any man, it is only of Rūmī,"<sup>1</sup> observes a writer. Iqbāl himself acknowledges Rūmī as his spiritual guide and constantly refers to him as 'pīr' and 'murshid'. Rūmī is Iqbāl's intellectual progenitor, and Iqbāl follows Rūmī to a greater extent than he follows any other man:

تو بھی ہے اسی قافلہ شوق میں اقبال!  
 جس قافلہ شوق کا سالاد ہے روحی

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 200)

Iqbāl not only acknowledges Rūmī's deep and lasting influence on himself, but also identifies his mission in life with that of Rūmī:

پور روحی در حرم دادم اذان من  
 از د آموختم اسرارِ جان من  
 بہ دورِ فتنہ عصر کن اد  
 بہ دورِ فتنہ عصرِ روان من!

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Armagan-e-Hijāz, p. 77)

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1. Ḥakīm, K. A. "Rūmī, Nietzsche and Iqbāl" Iqbāl as a Thinker p. 201.
  2. You too belong to that Caravan of Love -  
 That Caravan of Love whose chief is Rūmī.
  3. Like Rūmī in the mosque I called the people to prayers,  
 From him I learnt the mysteries of life.  
 In ancient days of turmoil he was there,  
 In present times of trouble I am here.

In his Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, Professor Nicholson comments, "As much as he (Iqbāl) dislikes the type of Ṣūfism exhibited by Ḥāfiẓ, he pays homage to the pure and profound genius of Jalāluddīn though he rejects the doctrine of self-abandonment taught by the great Persian mystic and does not accompany him on his pantheistic flights."<sup>1</sup> Although, as has been observed above, Iqbāl could not follow Rūmī into all the regions of mystic ecstasy, yet their mysticism - Rūmī's and Iqbāl's - had a lot in common. It was 'positive', it affirmed life and upheld passionately both the dignity and divinity of man.

There is a close resemblance between Rūmī's "Mard-e-Ḥaqq" and Iqbāl's "Mard-e-Momin". In both cases the Ideal Man is a combination of the man of contemplation and the man of action. Iqbāl places more stress on action than Rūmī does but this hardly constitutes a fundamental difference.

Both Rūmī and Iqbāl believe that the whole course of evolution is steered towards the creation of the Perfect Man. "He is the final cause of creation and, therefore, though having appeared last in point of time, he was really the first mover. Chronologically, the tree is the cause of the fruit but, teleologically, the fruit is the cause of the tree."<sup>2</sup> To his Perfect Man, Rūmī says:

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1. Nicholson, R. A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self  
pp xiv-xv.

2. Ḥakīm, K. A. The Metaphysics of Rūmī, Lahore, 1959, p. 93.

پس بصورت عالم اصغر توئی      پس بمعنی عالم اکبر توئی  
 ظاهراً آن شاخ اصل میوه است      باطناً برتر شد شاخ هست  
 گر نبودی میل و امید نمر      کی نشاندی باغبان بیخ شجر  
 پس بمعنی آن شجر از میوه زاد      گر بصورت از شجر بودش نداد

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Maṣnawī-e-Ma'nawī Book IV p. 27)

about his "Nā'ib-e-Ilāhī" Iqbāl says

مدعائے ظلم لایسمائے  
 ستر سبحان الذی اسررائے

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Asrar-e-Khudī, p. 50)

and then turning to "the Rider of Destiny" proclaims

لوع انسان مزرع دولت حاصلی  
 کاروان زندگی را منزلی

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 51)

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1. Therefore, while in form thou art the microcosm, in reality thou art the macrocosm  
 Externally the branch is the origin of the fruit;  
 intrinsically the branch came into existence for the sake of the fruit.  
 Had there been no hope of the fruit, would the gardener have planted the tree?  
 Therefore in reality the tree is born of the fruit, though it appears to be produced by the tree.  
 (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. Rūmī, Poet and Mystic London, 1950, p. 124.)
  2. He is the final cause of "God taught Adam the name of all things," (Sūra, 2:29)  
 He is the inmost sense of "Glory to Him that transported His servant by night" (Sūra, 17:1)  
 (Translation by Nicholson, R.A. The Secrets of the Self, p.81.)
  3. Mankind are the cornfield, and thou the harvest,  
 Thou art the goal of Life's caravan.  
 (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 84)

The ideal of the Perfect Man is, for both Rūmī and Iqbāl, a democratic ideal which does not have the aristocratic bias of Nietzsche's ideal. Both Rūmī and Iqbāl believe that the Perfect Man can work miracles which do not, however, "mean the annihilation of causation but only bringing into play causes that are not within the reach of common experience."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl, we may remember, said the "the region of mystic experience is as real as any other region of human experience."<sup>2</sup>

Both Rūmī and Iqbāl believe that the Perfect Man's life in God is not annihilation but transformation. "The Ideal Man freely merges his own will in the Will or God in the ultimate relation of love."<sup>3</sup> It is more than likely that Iqbāl's ideas about the deep love between Man and a personal God which form one of the most profound and inspiring parts of his writings, were clarified and strengthened through his contact with Rūmī's thought.

Perhaps the most important thing which Iqbāl has in common with Rūmī is his philosophy of Love. The Perfect Man is, for both of them, an embodiment of Love, a paragon of "Ishq". For both Rūmī and Iqbāl, Love is assimilation and expansion. It is linked with the doctrine of hardness, and the sole means of attaining "The Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory". It is this attribute of Love which distinguishes more than anything else, Iqbāl's Perfect Man from Nietzsche's Superman, and places

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1. Ḥakim, K. A. The Metaphysics of Rūmī, p. 110.
  2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 23.
  3. Ḥakim, K. A. The Metaphysics of Rumi, p. 110.

him in close proximity to Rūmī's "Mard-e-Ḥaqq."

Rūmī, unlike Iqbāl, held that in every age there is a Perfect Man.<sup>1</sup>

پس ہر دورے دے قائم است

تا قیامت آزمائش دائم است

<sup>2</sup>  
(Maṣnawī-e-Ma'nawī Book II p. 38)

Iqbāl seems to think that for the moment the Perfect Man is an ideal, but that the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race consisting of Perfect Men.<sup>3</sup> "Nietzsche", says Iqbāl, "had a glimpse of this ideal race, but his atheism and aristocratic prejudices marred his whole conception."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ḥakīm, K. A. The Metaphysics of Rūmī, p. 112.
  2. Therefore, in every epoch (after Muḥammad) a saint arises (to act as his vicegerent): the probation (of the people) lasts until the Resurrection.  
(Translation given in Ḥakīm, K. A. The Metaphysics of Rūmī p. 112)
  3. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in the Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xxviii.
  4. Ibid, p. xxix.

## CHAPTER VII

IMPORTANT IDEAS FROM IQBĀL'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHYTAUHĪD.

"Iqbāl begins and ends with the belief in Tauḥīd,"<sup>1</sup> this statement, at first sight, may look like an oversimplification but, in fact, it is not. For Iqbāl the implications of the 'Kalima' "lā ilāha illā Allāh" (There is no God but God) are very profound and far-reaching, and provide a basis both for his theology and his philosophy. As Professor Schimmel observes, "Iqbāl has built his system upon the principle of 'Tauḥīd', the acknowledgement of the absolute uniqueness of God which is reflected in the unity of the individual life, and the unity of religio-political groups."<sup>2</sup>

'Lā' and 'Illā'

The 'kalima' has two parts - 'lā' signifying negation, and 'illā' signifying assertion or affirmation. The contrast between the first part 'There is no God' and the second part 'but God', has, from early times been a subject of interest to many "speculative minds who discovered not only a strictly dogmatic meaning, but also a deeper mystical truth in the

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1. McCarthy, E. "Iqbāl as a Poet and Philosopher" p. 18.

2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 86.

confrontation of the 'lā' and the 'illā'."<sup>1</sup>

Life advances by means of the dialectical tension between negation and affirmation. It is by saying 'No' to the factors which weaken the Self, and by saying 'yes' to the factors which strengthen it, that the 'Momin' reaches the highest stage of his spiritual development. Iqbāl says:

خودی کا سترِ نمان لآ إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ  
خودی سے تیج، نمان لآ إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

<sup>2</sup>(Zarb-e-Kalīm p.7)

Iqbāl's viewpoint

پیشِ غیرِ اللہ لآ کُفْتَنَ حیاتِ تازہ از صُنَاتِ اَوکانات

<sup>3</sup>(Pas Çi Bāyad Kard Ai Aqwām-e-Sharq? p.19)

finds support in Söderblom: "But No is also needed. Without No there will be no proper Yes. For then all that denies and destroys, degrades and delays what is right and good could be allowed to remain unattacked and unabolished. That is why a No is necessary in the moral warfare of the individual, in the evolution of religion and in the history of the race."<sup>4</sup>

1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p.86.

2. The hidden Secret of Selfhood is "There is no God but God," Selfhood in the sword, "There is no God but God" is the whetstone.

3. To say 'No' to Not-God is life, From this strife, creation is made fresh.

4. Söderblom, N. quoted by Schimmel, A.M. Gabriel's Wing, pp90.

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

در جان آغازِ کار از حرفِ لا است

این نخستین منزلِ مردِ خداست

<sup>1</sup>(Pas Çi Bāyad Kard Ai Aqwām-e-Sharq? p.19)

But 'lā' must be succeeded by 'illā' or else having broken all the idols one would be left in a world with no God.

Iqbāl says:

نہا زندگی میں ابتدا لا انتہا لا

پیام موت ہے جب لا ہوا لا سے بیگانہ!

<sup>2</sup>(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p.60)

According to Iqbāl, Russia and Nietzsche have passed the stage of 'lā' but not reached 'illā'. Russia has said 'No' to despotism and exploitation in religion and politics but has not yet found a positive foundation to build upon. In his message to the Russian people, Jamāluddīn Afghānī says in Jāvīd Nāma:

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1. In the world, the beginning is with the word 'No'  
This is the first station of the Man of God.
  2. Life in its essence, begins with 'lā' ends with 'illā,'  
It is a message of death when 'lā' is separated from 'illā.'

کرده کار خداوندان تمام  
بگذر از لا جانب الا فرام

در گذر از لا اگر بپینده

تازه اثبات گیری زنده

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 88)

Nietzsche too did not pass beyond the 'lā' and did not know the deep joy of being the Servant of God. That, as Iqbāl sees it, was Nietzsche's tragedy.

زندگی شرح اشارات خودی است  
لا و الا از مقامات خودی است!  
ادب لا در ماند تا الا نرفت  
از مقام 'عبده' بیگانه رفت!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, pp 177-178)

For the faithful, then, both negation and affirmation are necessary:

لا و الا احتساب کائنات  
لا و الا احتساب باب کائنات

هر دو تقدیر جهان کاف و لول  
حرکت از لا زاید از الا سکون

<sup>3</sup>  
(Pas Či Bāyad Kard Ai Aqwām-e-Sharq? p. 19)

1. You have finished now with lords; pass on from 'no', march onwards to 'but' - pass on from 'no', if you are a true seeker, that you may take the road of living affirmation. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, pp 67-68)
2. Life is a commentary on the limits of the Self, "no" and "but" are of the stations of the Self: he remained fast in "no" and did not reach "but" being a stranger to the station of "His servant". (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, pp 112-113)
3. 'lā' and 'illā' are the criterion for evaluating everything in the universe. 'Lā' and 'illā' open the door of the universe. Both of them are the destiny of the created world, Motion is born of 'lā', rest from 'illā'.

'Tauhīd' the basis the Islāmic polity.

The internationalism which Iqbāl finds implicit in Islām and to which he refers untiringly in his writings, derives from the idea of Divine Unity. As Iqbāl points out in his Lectures, Islāmic culture "finds the foundation of world unity in the principle of 'Tauhīd'. Islām, as polity, is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual principle of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature."<sup>1</sup>

The implications of the principle of 'Tauhīd' when applied to the collective life of the Muslims, are worked out in considerable detail in Rumūz-e-Bekhudī. Iqbāl points out that the unity of the Muslims is not dependent on ties of country or kinship, but on the principle of Divine Unity, which is "a formative factor for the unity of mankind."<sup>2</sup> He says

ملت بیضاتن و جان لای اله  
ساز مارا برده گردان لای اله

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 147.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 87.

کمال سرمایہ اسرارِ ما  
رشتہ است شیرازہ افکارِ ما

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 106).

Thus the brotherhood of Islām transcending all barriers of race, colour or nationality, is directly derived from the idea of 'Tauḥīd'. "From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all egos," says Iqbāl, "follows the essential unity of all mankind."<sup>2</sup>

بیر غمخوش بیکانیک کیشیم ما  
یک نمائیک بس یک اندیشیم ما  
مدعاے ما مالِ ما یکیت  
طرز و اندازِ خیالِ ما یکیت  
ماز نعمتائے اداخوان شدیم  
یکہ زبان دیکدل دیکجان شدیم

<sup>3</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 107)

"The essence of 'Tauḥīd' as a working idea," says Iqbāl, "is equality, solidarity and freedom."<sup>4</sup> Islām does not recognise the "tyrant overlordship" of either "the sceptred monarch" or "the surpliced priest."<sup>5</sup> The Prophet of Islām

1. "There is no god but God:" this is the soul  
And body of our pure Community,  
The pitch that keeps our instrument in tune,  
The very substance of our mysteries,  
The knotted thread that binds our scattered thoughts.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 12)
2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, pp 93-94.
3. Well-pointed arrows of one quiver are we;  
One showing, one beholding, one in thought;  
One is our goal and purpose, one the form,  
The fashion, and the measure of our dream.  
Thanks to His blessings, we are brothers all  
Sharing one speech, one spirit and one heart.  
(Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p13)
4. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 154.
5. Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, pp 21-22.

translated the principles deriving from God's Unity and Sovereignty into terms of actual living:

قوتِ ادھر کس پیکرِ شکست  
 نوعِ انسانِ را حصارِ تازہ بست  
 تازہ جاں اندر تنِ آدمِ رسید  
 بندہ را باز از خدادندان فرید

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 120)

Iqbāl also applies the idea of the Unity of God to the Unity of the mind and body - an ideal realised in the Sphere of Mars in Jāvīd Nāma:<sup>2</sup>

خاکیاں را جانِ دتنِ سرعِ و قفس  
 فکرِ مریخی یک اندیش است و بس!

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Jāvīd Nāma, p. 116)

If body and spirit could be regarded as one then there would be no need to separate Religion from State. The ideal 'millat', in Iqbāl's view, beginning from the principle of 'Tauhīd', recognizes the organic unity of man's life and does not seek to bifurcate it into mutually exclusive compartments - either in individual life or in collective life. Because it

- 
1. He shattered every ancient privilege,  
 And built new walls to fortify mankind.  
 He breathed fresh life in Adam's weary bones,  
 Redeemed the slave from bondage, set him free.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
 p. 22.)
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 93.
  3. For terrestrials, soul and body are bird and cage,  
 Whereas the thought of Martians is unitive.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 82)

preserves the wholeness of life, creative 'Tauḥīd' produces both outstanding individuals and nations.

مِلّت از توّحیدِ بر دلیّ شود  
 فرد از توّحیدِ لاهوتی شود

بایزید و شبلی و بلوذر از دست

امّان را طغول و سبّج از دست !  
 1 (Jāvīd Nāma, p. 226)

### Iqbāl's interpretation of 'At-Tauḥīd'

In Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, Iqbāl gives as a "Summary of purpose of the poem,"<sup>2</sup> a commentary on Sūra CXII entitled "At-Tauḥīd" which has been called "the essence of the Korān."<sup>3</sup> The Sūra reads: "Say, God is one God; the eternal God: He begetteth not, neither is He begotten; and there is not any one like unto Him."<sup>4</sup> Iqbāl takes the various parts of this Sūra and delineates the philosophical implications of each part in practical terms.

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

- 
1. The individual through the Unity becomes Divine,  
 The nation through the Unity becomes Omnipotent;  
 Unity produced Bā Yazīd, Shiblī, Bū Dharr,  
 Unity produced, for the nations, Tughril and Sanjar.  
 (Translation by Arberry A.J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 139).
  2. Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 69.
  3. Pickthall, M. M. The Meaning of the Glorious Korān, New York, 1960, p. 454.
  4. Sale, G. (Translation of) The Korān, p. 459.

یک نشود تو عید را مشهور کن  
غائبش را از عمل موجود کن

لذتِ ایمان فزاید در عمل  
مردہ آن ایمان کہ ناید در عمل

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 183)

The second part of the Sūra deals with God's Self-Subsistence. Like God, a Muslim must not depend on things or persons outside himself. Iqbāl's voice rings out loud and clear

ز آتشِ خود سوز اگر داری دے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 187)

Individuals and nations attain spiritual perfection only if they guard their selfhood jealously and resist assimilation:

فرد فرد آمد کہ خود را وا شناخت  
قوم قوم آمد کہ جز با خود شناخت

<sup>3</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 188)

- 
1. Be one; make visible thy Unity;  
Let action turn the unseen into seen;  
Activity augments the joy of faith,  
But faith is dead that issues not in deeds.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 70)
  2. If thou hast a heart  
Within thy breast, with thine own ardour burn!  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 73)
  3. No man to Individuality  
Ever attained, save that he knew himself,  
No nation come to nationhood, except  
It spurned to suit the whim of other men.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 74)

The third part of the Sūra tells a Muslim that he is not to set store by his lineage since God "begot not, nor was begotten." What binds the Muslims together is Love not ties of blood:

عشق در جان و نسب در پیکر است      دشته عشق از نسب محکم تر است

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 190)

The last part of the Sūra affirms that God has no equal: If the Muslims possess the fortified Ego, then they too can become "an unequalled people",<sup>2</sup> able, like the Perfect Man, to command all things.

#### Iqbāl and 'Tauhīd'

Iqbāl realizes, not without sorrow, that "the pure brow of the principle of 'Tauhīd' has received more or less an impress of heathenism, and the universal and impersonal character of the ethical ideals of Islām has been lost through a process of localization."<sup>3</sup> The fact that in his own career as a political thinker Iqbāl rejected this "process of localization," shows that for him the ideas, implicit in his

- 
1. Love dwells within the spirit, lineage  
The flesh inhabits; stronger far than race  
And common ancestry is Love's firm cord.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 75)
  2. Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 76.
  3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 156.

creed were a living force - a practical not just a theoretical necessity. Explaining Iqbāl's "hasty retreat from pure Nationalism," Halide Edīb observes with insight: "To whatever political creed the Muslem may belong, his ultimate loyalty must be to the One God who cannot be symbolized by material objects or by ideas. This point was best expressed by the Muslem members of the 'Front Populaire', in the French colonies. They lifted their fists like the rest of their comrades, giving the sign of their political creed, but added to it the lifting of their index finger to the sky. The last is the sign common to all Muslims: 'There is no God but one God ... ' is always said with that gesture meaning God to be above and beyond all terrestrial ideas and symbols."<sup>1</sup>

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

لبالب شیشہ تہذیبِ حاضر ہے کلاسے  
مگر ساتی کے حقائقوں میں نہیں پیمانہ کلاسے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 39)

- 
1. Edīb H. Inside India, London, 1937, pp 93-94.
  2. The bottle of modern civilization is brimful of the wine of 'lā'  
But the cup of 'illā' is missing from the hands of the cup-bearer.

Iqbāl often complains about the ritualists and theologians who have made the word 'Tauḥīd' the subject of scholastic hairsplitting.<sup>1</sup> and "turned away the interest from practical Islām".<sup>2</sup> In his view,

کے کو لا لاکر دا درگاہ بست  
ذہنِ ملکب و ملا بروں جست

<sup>3</sup>  
(Armagan-e-Hijāz, p. 143)

As a point of interest it may be mentioned that sometimes Iqbāl uses a different formulation of the creed and says "lā maujūda illā Allāh" (There is no Existent but God).<sup>4</sup> Professor Schimmel observes that it is difficult to decide whether this form of the creed - preferred by the monistic mystics - "is a purely literary play of words, which would be surprising in Iqbāl, or comes from a deeper layer of religious feeling."<sup>5</sup>

#### MUHAMMAD

##### The Prophet of Islām as Perfect Man

Iqbāl's friend and teacher, Sir Thomas Arnold, observes in The Islāmic Faith, "he (Iqbāl) expresses a passionate devotion to the person of Muḥammad, whom he reverences above all as the

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1. Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 18.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 88.
  3. Whoever has tied the knot of "Lā illā" in his mind,  
Passes beyond the fetters of the Schnol and the Mullā!
  4. For example in Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 163; and Musāfir, p. 7.
  5. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, pp 100-101.

Prophet of action."<sup>1</sup> Not only is Muhammad the visible side of God's activity

با خدا در پرده گویم با تو گویم آشکار  
یا رسول اللہ! او پنهان و تو پیدائے من!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 221)

but also the "Servant of God" - the Perfect Man par excellence who has attained to the highest degree of "ubūdiyat" (Service of God). In Jāvid Nāma, Hallāj who "made the first substantial contribution to the Muhammad - mysticism"<sup>3</sup> teaches Iqbāl the secrets of Prophethood:

پیشِ او گیتی جیس فرسودہ است	خویش را خود عبیدہ فرمودہ است!
عبیدہ از فہم تو بالاتر است	زانکہ او ہم آدم و ہم جوہر است
جوہرِ او نے عرب نے اعجم است	آدم است و ہم ز آدم اقدم است!
عبیدہ صودتِ گر تقدیرھا	اندر و ویرانہ ہا تعمیرھا!
عبیدہ ہم جالفر اہم جالستان	عبیدہ ہم شیشہ ہم سنگِ گراں!
عبیدہ دیگر عبیدہ چیزے دگر	ما سراپا انتظار او منتظر!
عبیدہ دھر است و دھر از عبیدہ ست	ما صہر رنگیم او بے رنگ و بوست!

1. Arnold, T. W. The Islāmic Faith London, 1928, p. 77.
2. With God I speak through a veil but with you I speak openly - O Prophet of God, He is my Hidden One, you are my Open One!
3. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 157.

عبدہ با ابتداء انبیاست  
عبدہ راصح و شام ما کجاست  
کس ذ سر عبدہ آگاہ بیت  
عبدہ جز سر الا اللہ بیت!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, pp 149-150)

In regarding Muḥammad both as man and as essence, Iqbāl comes close to the concept of the Perfect Man held by Ibn 'Arabī and Jīlī.<sup>2</sup> Professor Schimmel states that the stress on 'His servant' in the above - quoted lines, bears reference to Sūra 17:1 ("Praised be He who travelled at night with His servant") which describes the Prophet's Ascension. Since this event marks the highest point in Muḥammad's career as Prophet, "the term 'abduhu hints at the highest degree of prophethood, and consequently, the highest rank man can reach."<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Before him the whole world bows prostrate,  
before him who called himself His servant.  
'His servant' surpasses your understanding  
because he is man, and at the same time essence.  
His essence is neither Arab nor non-Arab;  
he is a man, yet more ancient than man.  
'His servant' is the shaper of destinies,  
in him are deserts and flourishing cultivations;  
'His servant' both increases life and destroys it,  
'His servant' is both glass and heavy stone.  
'Servant' is one thing, 'His Servant' is another;  
we are all expectancy, he is the expeditation. x  
'His servant' is time, and time is of 'His servant';  
we all are colour, he is without colour and scent.  
'His servant' had beginning, but has no end;  
What have our morn and eve to do with 'His servant'?  
No man knows the secret of 'His servant',  
'His servant' is naught but the secret of 'save God'.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 99)
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 150.
  3. Ibid.

Muhammad is the model for all Muslims. He who would be like the Prophet must be a constant seeker for knowledge both of the inner and the outer world. The Prophet himself never ceased praying for greater knowledge.

گر چه عین ذات را بے پردہ دید  
 رَبِّ زِدْنِي از زبانِ او چکید

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 6)

### The Prophet of Islām as Social Leader

Apart from the unity of God, the Islāmic 'millat' bases its solidarity upon the person and teachings of the Prophet

فرد از حق ملت از وے زنده است  
 از شعاعِ نیراد تابنده است  
 از رسالت هم ذرا گشتیم ما  
 هم نفس هم مدعا گشتیم ما  
 کزت هم مدعا و حمت شود  
 بختِ یوں و حمت شود ملت شود

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 117)

Not only is the Prophet's love a great unifying force, but

1. Though he saw the essence of Being without a veil,  
 Yet he spoke the words "God increase me" (in knowledge)
2. In God the individual, in him (the Prophet)  
 Lives the Community, in his sun's rays  
 Resplendent ever; his Apostleship  
 Brought concord to our purpose and our goal.  
 A common aim shared by the multitude  
 Is unity which, when it is mature  
 Forms the Community.

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 20)

the pillars of true Islāmic democracy - freedom, equality, and fraternity - may also be found in the way of life which he practised and preached. In Jāvid Nāma, his arch-enemy

Abū Jahl is shown lamenting

از دم او کعبه را گلی شد پیرایه !  
 نو جوانان را از دست ما رنجور  
 این در حرف لای الی خود کافری است  
 از قریش و منکر از فضل عرب !  
 با غلام خویش بر یک خوان نشست

سینه ما از محمد داغ داغ !  
 از هلاک قیصر و کسری سرود  
 ساحر و اندر کلامش ساهی است  
 مذہب او قاطع ملک و نسب  
 در نگاه او یکے بالا دلیست

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Jāvid Nāma, pp. 58-59)

Iqbāl's interpretation of 'hijrat' (migration) from Mecca to Medīna is very interesting. To him it signifies that a Muslim is not bound to a strip of land. "Islām", says Iqbāl

"appeared as a protest against idolatry and what is patriotism"

1. My breast is riven and anguished by this Moḥammad;  
 his breath has put out the burning lamp of the Kaaba.  
 He has sung of the destruction of Caesar and Chosroes,  
 he has stolen away from us our young men -  
 He is a wizard, and wizardry is in his speech:  
 these two words 'One God' are very unbelief.  
 His creed cuts through the rulership and lineage  
 Of Koraish, denies the supremacy of the Arabs;  
 in his eyes lofty and lowly are the same thing -  
 he has sat down at the same table with his slave.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, pp 51-52)

but a subtle form of idolatry; a deification of a material object ... what was to be demolished by Islām could not be made the very principle of its structure as a political community. The fact that the Prophet prospered and died in a place not his birth-place is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect."<sup>1</sup> The Muslim's ideal according to Iqbāl, is to be like the scent of a rose which "through the garden's breadth disseminates itself" or like tufts of breeze which is their "wide embrace gather the garden."<sup>2</sup>

تاز بخششائے آن سلطان دین  
مسجد ما شد روئے زمین

<sup>3</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 131)

The Prophet's 'Mē'rāj' (Ascension)

The Prophet's Night-Journey to the Seventh Heaven "which for the Ṣūfīs constitutes the Prophet's supreme mystical experience"<sup>4</sup> is one of the central themes in Iqbāl's poetry. In an article entitled "A Plea for Deeper Study of the Muslim Scientists", he insists that 'mē'rāj' "was more than a mere religious dogma."<sup>5</sup> "The historian," he says, "may rest satisfied with the conclusion that the Muslim belief in the Prophet's Ascension finds no justification in the Qurān; yet

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1. Stray Reflections pp 26-27.
  2. Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness p. 31)
  3. That Ruler of our faith,  
Of his abundant bounty gave the earth  
Entire to be the confines of our mosque  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness p. 30)
  4. Arberry, A. J. Sūfism, p. 28.
  5. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 118.

the psychologist who aims at a deeper view of Islāmic culture cannot ignore the fact that the outlook given by the Qurān to its followers does demand the story as a formative element in the world-picture of Islām."<sup>1</sup>

The motif of the Ascension may be interpreted in a cosmological or in a psychological sense.<sup>2</sup> It can indicate the fact that in the moment of ecstasy the spirit can see and comprehend the attributes of the created universe before reaching the Essence beyond, or it can refer to the different stages of spiritual discipline through which the faithful must pass (as he must pass through the seven spheres) before he can be granted a 'vision' of God.<sup>3</sup> For Rūmī, the Ascension is a psychological experience and therefore Iqbāl is justified in making Rūmī speak of Ascension in terms of the "new Birth."<sup>4</sup> The Ascension has become the prototype of the spiritual journeys of the mystics, beginning from Bāyazīd of Bistām to Avicenna, Suhrawardī, Ibn 'Arabī and Jīlī.<sup>5</sup> Underlying these spiritual journeys is "the definite idea that the travelling self in undertaking the journey is fulfilling a destiny, a law of the transcendental life."<sup>6</sup>

Iqbāl also regards the Ascension as the supreme test of personality. Ascension is symbolic of the ideal of self-

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 148.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 302.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Jāvid Nāma, pp 15-16.
  5. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing pp 302-303.
  6. Underhill, E. Mysticism, p. 132.

integration. The Prophet "stood upright" (Sūra 53:6) before God without being annihilated. Only a perfectly - integrated Self can withstand disintegration in the Presence of God. In Jāvid Nāma, Rūmī says:

حیث معراج آرزوئے شاهده  
 امتحانے رو بردئے شاهده  
 شاهده عادل کہ بے تصدیق او  
 زندگی مارا چو گل را رنگ و بو  
 در حضورش کس نماز استوار  
 در بماند هست او کامل عیار

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Jāvid Nāma, p. 14)

Ascension, then, is an experience as intense and dangerous as it is sublime. It is the confirmation of the perfection of the Self, but if there be any weakness in the Self - it can then lose its being in the celestial Light. In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd," Iqbāl says

کمال زندگی دیدار ذات است      طریقتش دستن از بند بہات است  
 چنان با ذات حق خلوت گزینی      ترا او بیند او را تو بینی

- 
1. What is Ascension? The desire for a witness, an examination face-to-face of a witness, a competent witness without whose confirmation life to us is like colour and scent to a rose. In that Presence no man can remain firm, or if he remains, he is of perfect assay. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 30).

مشره برهم منزن تو خودمانی

منور شود نور 'من یرانی'

مشو ناپید اندر بحر نورش

بخود محکم گذر اندر حضورش

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 232)

Professor Arberry relates a tradition of the Prophet who, after his Ascension, "used to say as often as he felt a longing for that exalted station, 'O Bilāl, comfort me by the call to prayer!'"<sup>2</sup> Thus to the Prophet "every time of prayer was an Ascension and a new nearness to God."<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl also regards prayer as a form of Ascension in which the soul transcending the bounds of the efficient self becomes eternal in its love and longing for God. It is also to be pointed out that the commandment regarding obligatory prayers is associated with the Prophet's Ascension.<sup>4</sup> This may be a mystic hint to the effect that Man can reach God - can attain the 'mē'rāj' - through prayer, and also that he needs to keep a unflinching grip on himself so that his Self remains in a perpetual state of tension thus being able to withstand forces of disintegration.

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1. Life's acme of perfection is to see  
The Essence, to achieve which end it bursts  
All bounds of Time and Space. You should enjoy  
The privacy of the Divine Self so  
That He sees you and you see Him. Become  
Illuminated by the light of "What  
You see." But never wink your eye lest you  
should cease to be, and keep a firm  
Grip on yourself lest you are drowned in His  
Light's sea.  
(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p.16)
  2. Arberry, A. J. Sūfism, p. 30.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ṣadiq, K. G. "The Ethical Significance of the Ascension of  
the Holy Prophet" Al-Hikmat, p. 99.

Iqbāl and the Finality of Prophethood

Professor Schimmel observes that Iqbāl "has contributed one very interesting point of view to the problem of Prophethood."<sup>1</sup> This point relates to the finality of Muḥammad's Prophethood in which Islām has always believed. Commenting on Sūra 5:5, Iqbāl writes

لیس خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کرد  
بر رسول ما رسالت ختم کرد

ردلق از ما محفل ایام را  
اورسل را ختم و ما اقوام را

خدمت سانی گری با ما گذاشت  
داد ما را آفرین جانے کہ داشت

<sup>2</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 118)

As Iqbāl's prolonged battle against the Qādīānīs (whose leader Mirzā Gulām Aḥmad declared himself the promised Messiah and the Mahdī in 1908) shows, Iqbāl believed in the finality of Prophethood on strictly religious ground. He pointed out repeatedly that the belief in the finality of Muḥammad's Prophethood "is really the factor which accurately draws the line of demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims and enables

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 167.
  2. God set the seal of holy Law on us,  
As in our Prophet all Apostleship  
Is sealed: The concourse of unending days  
Is radiant in our lustre; he was seal  
To all Apostles, to all Peoples we  
The service of Truth's winebearer is left  
With us; he gave to us his final glass.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
pp 20-21)

one to decide whether a certain individual or group is part of the community or not ... According to our belief Islām as a religion was revealed by God, but the existence of Islām as a society or nation depends entirely on the personality of the Holy Prophet."<sup>1</sup> He considered the Qādīānīs as violating the fundamental doctrine of Islām and said that "any religious society historically arising from the basis of Islām which claims a new prophethood for its basis ... must ... be regarded by every Muslim as a serious danger to the solidarity of Islām. This must necessarily be so, since the integrity of Muslim society is secured by the idea of the Finality of Prophethood alone."<sup>2</sup>

In his staunch adherence to the idea of the finality of Muḥammad's Prophethood, Iqbāl was not alone. But in his Lectures Iqbāl made an interesting point. He gave a reason for justifying the orthodox belief that there would be no more prophets after Muḥammad. "The Prophet of Islām," he said, "seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world. In his life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islām ... is the birth of the inductive intellect. In Islām prophecy reaches its perfection

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1. Speeches and Stements of Iqbāl, p. 108.

2. Ibid. p. 94.

in discovering the need for 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 Islām, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Qurān, 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."<sup>1</sup> With Muḥammad then, prophecy felt "the need of its own abolition", because "he brought the method of free, personal enquiry which made further revelations unnecessary. Each man has the way clear for him now, if he wishes, to experience God and understand the Way for himself."<sup>2</sup>

#### PRAYER

According to a well-known ḥadīṣ, prayer is the essence of worship.<sup>3</sup> It is the living ground and basis of religion. In Iqbāl's conception of prayer we find the keystone of all his religious ideas.<sup>4</sup> Prayer is the contact of God and man. As Iqbāl says, "religious ambition soars higher than the ambition of philosophy. Religion is not satisfied with mere conception; it seeks a more intimate knowledge of and association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this

association is achieved is the act of worship or prayer ending

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 126.
2. Harre, R. "Iqbal: A Reformer of Islamic Philosophy" p. 337.
3. Schimmel, A. M. "The Idea of Prayer in the Thought of Iqbāl" Mohammad Iqbal Karāchī, 1960, p. 68.
4. Ibid.

in spiritual illumination." For Iqbāl, each act of prayer is a kind of 'me'rāj' or Ascension to Heaven. He says,

در بدن داری اگر سوزِ حیات  
صفتِ صراجِ مسلمان در صلوات

<sup>1</sup>  
(Pas Či Bāyad Kard Ai Aqwām-e-Sharq? p. 50)

Prayer is a principle of integration because it co-ordinates all the elements that make up man's personality - thought, will and emotion-through their relation to a dominant purpose.<sup>2</sup> Prayer is the activity of the whole man - an activity through which he apprehends his high destiny and stretches towards it.<sup>3</sup> It is the way to the fulness of life. Prayer is instinctive in origin.

Like William James, Iqbāl regards prayer as being instinctive in its origin.<sup>4</sup> William James set forth in his Psychology what he believes to be the fundamental spring of prayer: "We hear in these days of scientific enlightenment a great deal of discussion about the efficacy of prayer; and many reasons are given why we should not pray. But in all this very little is said of the reason why we do pray, which is simply that we cannot help praying. It seems probable that, in spite of all that 'science' may do to the contrary, men will continue

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1. If your body has the ardour of life,  
Then for the Muslim 'me'rāj' lies in ritual prayer.
  2. Brown, W. A. The Life of Prayer in a World of Science, London, 1927. p. 132.
  3. Herman, E. Creative Prayer, London, 1921, p. 35.
  4. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 90.

to pray to the end of time, unless their mental nature changes in a manner which nothing we know should lead us to expect. The impulse to pray is a necessary consequence of the fact that whilst the innermost of the empirical selves of a man is a Self of the social sort, it yet can find its only adequate Socius in an ideal world... Most men, either continually or occasionally, carry a reference to it in their breasts. The humblest outcast on this earth can feel himself to be real and valid by means of this higher recognition. And, on the other hand, for most of us, a world with no such inner refuge when the outer social self failed and dropped from us would be the abyss of horror."<sup>1</sup>

Prayer, then, is the instinctive outreaching of the human spirit for some reality which satisfies its deepest longings and embodies its highest ideals.<sup>2</sup> The native yearning of the soul for intercourse and companionship takes it to God "as naturally as the homing instinct of the pigeon takes it to the place of its birth."<sup>3</sup>

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1. James, W. quoted by Jones, R. M. "Prayer and the Mystic Vision" in Concerning Prayer, London, 1916. p.119.
  2. Brown, W. A. The Life of Prayer in World of Science, p.9.
  3. Jones, R. M. "Prayer and the Mystic Vision" Concerning Prayer (by various authors) London 1916. p.116

The very fact that men have the instinct to pray involves "the latent recognition of a metaphysical reality, standing over against physical reality, which men are driven to adore, and long to apprehend."<sup>1</sup> In Iqbāl's picturesque language, "prayer ... is an expression of man's inner yearning for response in the awful silence of the universe."<sup>2</sup> And response there is, for if there were no response men could not long continue to pray. The instinct to pray would then shrivel like the functionless organ.<sup>3</sup>

#### Prayer is not auto-suggestion

Iqbāl denies that prayer is auto-suggestion since auto-suggestion has nothing to do with the opening of the sources of life that lie at the depths of the human ego.<sup>4</sup> He points out that spiritual illumination confers new power by moulding the human personality, but auto-suggestion leaves no permanent life-effects behind.<sup>5</sup> Iqbāl finds support in William Brown, who observes that rather than prayer being auto-suggestion, "I am disposed to say that auto-suggestion is prayer... Just as the mere fact of seeking for the causes of a particular phenomenon involves as its intellectual basis the assumption of the principle of the uniformity of nature, so I would urge the emotional basis of a particular auto-suggestion is some measure of confidence, implicitly felt if not

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1. Underhill, E. Worship, London, 1941, p.4.

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 92.

3. Jones, L. M. "Prayer and the Mystic Vision" p. 118.

4. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 90.

5. Ibid.

explicitly confessed, in the general beneficence of things. In religious natures this confidence expresses itself definitely as faith in God, and, with this explicitly assumed, auto-suggestion is quite clearly a form of prayer."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Social Significance of Prayer.

Iqbāl believes that the spirit of all true prayer is congregational and that "the real object of prayer... is... achieved when the act of prayer becomes congregational."<sup>2</sup> When a group of persons all animated by the same passion and concentrating on the same object join in prayer, such an association "multiplies the normal man's power of perception, deepens his emotion, and dynamizes his will to a degree unknown to him the privacy of his individuality."<sup>3</sup> In other words, associative prayer enhances human sensibility.

Referring to Sūra 2: 109, Iqbāl says that the direction towards which one turns one's face while praying "is certainly not essential to the spirit of prayer."<sup>4</sup> But the choice of one particular direction in Islāmic worship does serve a useful purpose. All Muslims pray with their faces turned in the direction of the Ka'ba. The Ka'ba thus becomes a symbol of Muslim unity, and figures very significantly both in the act of pilgrimage and in the act of prayer (which Iqbāl calls "a lesser pilgrimage"<sup>5</sup>) Iqbāl says, (in a heading)

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1. Brown, W. The Practice of Prayer in Religion and Life, New York, 1923, pp 81-96.
  2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 92.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid. p.93.
  5. Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 77.

## مذکر ملت اسلامیہ بیت الحرام است

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 154)

Prayer performs another important social function. It "creates and fosters the sense of social equality was much as it tends to destroy the feeling of rank or race-superiority in the worshippers."<sup>2</sup> In other words, it equalizes all. In classic lines, Iqbāl says that at the time of prayer

ایک ہی صف میں کھڑے ہو گئے محمود و ایاز  
نہ کوئی بندہ رہا اور نہ کوئی بندہ نیاز

بندہ و صاحب و محتاج و غنی ایک ہوئے  
پڑی سرکار میں پہنچے تو سبھی ایک ہوئے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 174)

Various parts of ritual prayer transmuted into symbols.

In Iqbāl's poetry the various parts of the ritual prayer are transmuted into symbols having a spiritual significance.<sup>4</sup>

The 'azān' (call to prayer) is the symbol of the living religion,

1. The centre of the Islamic Community is Mecca's Sacred House.
2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 93.
3. In the same row stand the king (Mahmud) and the Slave (Ayāz)  
No minister now remains, nor any master,  
Servant and Lord, the poor and rich are equal.  
Coming into Your Presence all are equal.
4. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 177.

"perhaps the best single epitome of Muslim belief and action"<sup>1</sup>.  
The words "Allāhu Akbar" (Allāh is the greatest) which form the beginning of the call to prayer, are the triumphant affirmation of God's greatness by a Man who realizes his own station as God's deputy on earth.<sup>2</sup>

Prostration in prayer signifies 'faqr' or spiritual poverty, and standing upright is emblematic of sovereignty. The life of the 'Momin' consists of both prostration and standing upright, both humility and dominion. Of the faithful Iqbāl says

جلالِ کبریائی در قیامت  
جمالِ بندگی اندر سجودش

<sup>3</sup>  
(Armagan-e-Hijaz, p. 297)

Man is more blessed than angels for to angels is granted only one of the movements of prayer-either 'sujūd' or 'qiyām' or 'rukū' while Man can perform them all.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore the angels cannot partake of man's agony

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1. Cragg, K. Preface to The Call of the Minaret New York, 1956, pp vii-viii.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 178.
  3. The tremendum of Divine Majesty is in his standing upright, The beauty of human worship is in his prostration.
  4. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 179.

پیکرِ نوری کو ہے سجدہ میسر تو کیا  
اس کو میسر ہیں سوز و گدازِ سجدہ

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 129)

Protest against mechanism and ostentation in prayer

The ḥadīṣ "There is no prayer at all if not with the presence of the God"<sup>2</sup> is very dear to mystics. Iqbāl too protests against those who pray mechanically without the spirit of true devotion. Paying only lip-service to God makes God's complain in "Jawāb-e-Shikwa"

دہ گئی رسمِ اذان، روحِ بلالی نہ رہی

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 219)

Iqbāl also protests against those who indulge in unnecessary ostentation in matters of worship. Neither God nor the 'faqīr' cares for outward show - it is the inner feeling which makes holy and beautiful the act of prayer. God says to His angels with touching simplicity

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1. What if the creatures of light have been granted the honour of prostration?  
They do not know the burning and ardour of prostration!
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 176.
  3. Only the convention of 'aẓān' is left, the (ardent) spirit of Bilāl is no more.

میں نافوش و بزار ہوں مگر سر کی سلوں سے  
میرے لئے نئی کا صدم اور بنادو

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 150)

Prayer is a means of self-discovery and self-affirmation.

Beginning from Asrār-e-Khudī, Iqbāl never tired of repeating that Man must not lose himself in God as a drop loses itself in the ocean, but, on the contrary, strengthen his ego and enlarge its possibilities.<sup>2</sup> "Prayer", says Iqbāl, "is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation, and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the universe."<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl denies that there is anything mystical about prayer, which he regards as "a normal vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a larger whole in life."<sup>4</sup> Prayer then does not mean "loss or annihilation of personal selfhood but rather the heightening of everything which constitutes the inner citadel of personality."<sup>5</sup> Moses, standing losing himself in the flames, is Iqbāl's symbol of the faithful in communion with God.<sup>6</sup>

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1. I am unhappy with, and weary of, marble slabs,  
Make for me another temple of clay.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. "The Idea of Prayer in the Thought of Iqbāl"  
p. 70.
  3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, pp 92-93.
  4. Ibid, p. 90.
  5. Jones, R. M. "Prayer and the Mystic Vision" p. 122.
  6. Schimmel, A. M. "The Idea of Prayer in the Thought of  
Iqbāl" p. 89.

یہ ایک سجدہ ہے تو گراں سمجھتا ہے  
ہزار سجدے سے دیتا ہے آدمی کو نجات

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 32)

Through prayer Man is freed from the mastery of all but God. But prayer, says Iqbāl, is meaningful only if he who prays worships God truly and has not other gods before him

کہ جو جس سے ہر سجدہ تجھ پر حرام!

وہی سجدہ ہے لائقِ اہتمام

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 173)

Any act may be an act of prayer

Prayer is not only ritual prayer. It is not just a certain act, rather it is a life-attitude.<sup>3</sup> "An act is temporal or profane," says Iqbāl, "if it is done in a spirit of detachment from the infinite complexity of life behind it, it is spiritual if it is inspired by that complexity."<sup>4</sup> In other words, whatever tends to make explicit to Man the consciousness of God

1. This one prostration which you deem too exacting  
Liberates you from a thousand prostrations.
2. Only that prostration is worth solicitude  
Which makes every other prostration forbidden for you.
3. Mueller, W. A. quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious  
Quotations (Edited by Mead, F. S.) p. 344.
4. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 154.

and sharpens awareness of his relation to ultimate Reality, is prayer. As Victor Hugo said, there are moments when whatever be the attitude of the body, the soul is on its knees.<sup>1</sup> The soul is on its knees whenever Man seeks for the Truth in utter earnestness. He may be engaged in offering his (ritual) prayer or in a scientific pursuit - it is the spirit inspiring his act which counts in determining whether or not his act is an act of prayer. In any case, says Iqbāl, the loving ardour of the faithful is not confined to fixed forms of prayer.

وہ دیر تکتے گل ز جبین سجده دیرم  
کہ نیاز من ننگد برو رکعت نمازے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 177)

"The truth is," says Iqbāl, "that all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer."<sup>3</sup> Like the mystic, the scientist seeks to establish relations with Reality. Like the mystic, "he asks, he seeks, he knocks."<sup>4</sup> Like the mystic he has on insatiable thirst for the Truth. Citing an illustration taken from Rūmī, Iqbāl points out that the Ṣūfī like the hunter, is first led in his search by

1. Hugo, V. quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious Quotations (Edited by Mead, F. S.) p. 341.
2. Wherever I bow my head into the dust, roses rise -  
My asking will not find room in two rak'as of prayer  
(Translation by Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 179.)
3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 91.
4. Anson, H. "Prayer as Understanding" in Concerning Prayer p 80.

the footprints of the musk-deer, but once his total self becomes passionately involved in the quest, then he is guided by the musk-gland itself and has no need to watch the track.<sup>1</sup> The scientist, like the Ṣūfī, first follows the footprints of the musk-deer, but then his "close contact with the behaviour of Reality," sharpens his "inner perception for a deeper vision of it" and he can follow the musk-gland.<sup>2</sup>

The act of prayer, in so far as it aims at knowledge, resembles reflection. "Like reflection it too is a process of assimilation, but the assimilative process in the case of prayer draws itself closely together and thereby acquires a power unknown to pure thought. In thought the mind observes and follows the working of Reality; in the act of prayer it gives up its career as a seeker of slow-footed universality and rises higher than thought to capture Reality itself."<sup>3</sup> One attains to the "vision of that total - infinite which philosophy seeks but cannot find,"<sup>4</sup> when "'ilm" becomes "'ishq".

#### Prayer as petition.

Most human prayer takes the form of a petition to God - in other words, we pray for something. Some people would not regard the cry of anguish wrung from the heart of the mother of a dying child as prayer. Some people would also say that when we pray to God for something, we are only petitioning, not praying. Iqbāl would agree that prayer is "no more a means to

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 91.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. p. 90.

4. Ibid. pp 91-92.

something else than love is,"<sup>1</sup> that it is an end in itself. But he would not have said that asking God for something makes one's prayer insincere or a means to an end. The relationship between Man and God is a deeply personal one. When we ask those whom we love for help or strength we are not using them as means to an end. Such dependence is a part of love. And Iqbāl sees prayer not only as an act of obedience but also of love. His God is not an impersonal Deity but a Beloved who is also a Lover, who promised "Call Me and I respond to your call" (Sūra 40:62). Iqbāl who spent a great portion of his own life in prayer - the 'faqīr' who would not incur anyone's favour - also petitioned God - and believed that his prayer would bear fruit

کیا عجب میری نواہائے سحرگاہی سے  
زندہ ہو جائے وہ آتش کہ تری خاک میں ہے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 95)

The belief that God responds to our prayers does not mean that our prayers are always granted. Kierkegaard said, "Prayer does not change God, but changes him who prays."<sup>3</sup> This deep truth is also embodied in the famous statement, "Who rises from

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1. Jones, R. M. "Prayer and the Mystic Vision" p. 118.
  2. It may be that through my prayers at dawn,  
The spark in your dust kindle into life.
  3. Kierkegaard, S. quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious Quotations (Edited by Mead, F. S.) p. 342.

prayer a better man, his prayer is answered."<sup>1</sup> In a beautiful poem in Zarb-e-Kalīm, Iqbāl says

تری دعا سے قضا تو بدل نہیں سکتی  
مگر ہے اس سے یہ ممکن کہ تو بدل جائے

تری خودی میں اگر انقلاب ہو پیدا  
عجب نہیں ہے کہ یہ چار سُو بدل جائے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 167)

prayer, then, does not change the order of things, but it changes people and people change things. As Sūra 13:12 states "Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves."<sup>3</sup> Prayer purifies, enlightens

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1. Meredith, G. quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious Quotations (Edited by Mead, F. S.) p. 343.
  2. Your prayer cannot change the Universal Order,  
But it is possible, it will change you.  
If a storm within your Self is born -  
Strange it will not be if the world does change.
  3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 12.

and at last transforms those who submit themselves to it.<sup>1</sup>

"Such prayer - prayer which changes both the man who prays and the world he lives in - is not achieved without concentrated effort."<sup>2</sup> But once Man has made this effort and attained spiritual perfection, then God Himself asks him what he desires.

#### 'MYSTIC' AND 'PROPHETIC' CONSCIOUSNESS

A distinction of importance in Iqbāl's thought, is the one which he draws between the 'mystic' and the 'prophetic' types of consciousness.<sup>3</sup> Both the mystic and the prophet seek the 'unitary experience', but there is a marked difference between them. The mystic does not wish to return to worldly

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1. Underhill, E. Worship. p. 18.

2. Herman, E. Creative Prayer, p. 38.

3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 124-5.

affairs. For him the 'unitary experience' is something final. But the prophet feels an inner necessity to translate his spiritual experience into concrete terms. He must return to make history, to redirect and re-fashion the forces and currents of individual and collective life.<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl states that best expression, in Ṣūfī literature, of the difference between a mystic and a prophet, is to be found in the words of the Muslim saint 'Abdul Quddūs of Gangoh, "Muḥammad of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point I should never have returned."<sup>2</sup>

In Jāvid Nāma, Iqbāl brings out the salient differences between the two types of consciousness in the temptation of Zoroaster by Ahriman. Ahriman urges Zoroaster to leave the world and to live the life of an ascetic.

شهر نا بگذار و در غارے نشین  
 هم به چیل نوریاں صحبت گزین  
 در آستان چون حکیم آواره شو  
 نیم سوز آتش نظاره شو  
 لیکن از پیغمبری باید گذشت  
 از چنینی ملا گری باید گذشت!

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 125.

2. Ibid. p. 24.

کس میان ناکسان ناکس نشود  
 فطرتش گمرا شعله باشد حس نشود  
 تا نبوت از ولایت کمتر است  
 عشق را پیغمبری در دسر است!

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Jāvid Nāma, p. 52)

It is ingenious of Iqbāl, comments a writer, to show Ahriman trying to seduce Zoroaster by means of a quietistic, and therefore fruitless, mysticism, maintaining that loving seclusion is better than preaching.<sup>2</sup> Zoroaster - the symbol of the prophetic consciousness - answers that the two types of consciousness instead of being hostile to each other, are actually complementary. The Man of God must both contemplate and act, but action is the end of contemplation.

جلوه حق چشم من تنها خواست      حسن رایب الحمن دین خلاست  
 بیت خلوت؟ درد سوز آرزوست      الحمن دیداست و خلوت جستواست  
 عشق در خلوت کلیم الهی است      چون خلوت می فرامد شاهی است  
 خلوت و جلوت کمال سوز و ساز      هر دو حالات و مقامات نیاز  
 بیت آن؟ بگذشتن از دیو گشت      بیت این؟ تهمانه رفتن در است

1. Abandon the city and hide yourself in a cave, choose the company of the cavalcade of the creatures of light; become a wanderer in the mountains like Moses, be half-consumed in the fire of vision; but you must certainly give up prophecy, You must give up all such mullāh-mongery. By associating with nobodies, a somebody becomes a nobody, though his nature be a flame, he becomes a chip of wood. So long as prophet-hood is inferior to sainthood prophecy is a veritable vexation to love. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Jāvid Nāma*, p. 48)
2. Schimmel, A. M. "The Jāvidnāme in the light of the Comparative History of Religions" p. 31.

گرچه اندر خلوت و جلوت خداست  
 خلوت آغاز است و جلوت انتهاست  
 گفته بیغمی درد سراسر است  
 عشق یون کامل شود آدم گر است!

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Jāvīd Nāma, p:54)

It is obvious that for Iqbāl-the prophet of action, the 'prophetic' consciousness is of greater value than the 'mystic' consciousness, since the former is outward-seeking and aims at a transformation of the world. The 'prophet', having been re-vitalized by contact with his deepest self, returns to his fellow creatures in order to disclose new directions and ideals to them. The value of his spiritual experience can be judged by examining "the types of manhood that he has created and the cultural world that has sprung out of the spirit of his message."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Not my eye only desired the manifestation of God;  
 it is a sin to behold beauty without a company.  
 What is solitude? Pain, burning and yearning;  
 company is vision, solitude is a search.  
 Love in solitude is colloquy with God,  
 When love marches forth in display, that is to be a king!  
 Solitude and manifestation are the perfection of ardour,  
 both alike are states and stations of indigence  
 What is the former? To desert cloister and church;  
 What is the latter? Not to walk alone in Paradise!  
 Though God dwells in solitude and manifestation,  
 solitude is the beginning, manifestation the end.  
 You have said that prophecy is a vexation:  
 When love becomes perfect, it fashions men.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 49)
  2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, pp 124-125.

Throughout Iqbāl's mature writings the emphasis is on the world-transforming and world - conquering 'prophetic' consciousness as opposed to the world - denying and world - renouncing 'mystic' consciousness.

When Iqbāl criticises 'mysticism', he criticizes only the negative elements in it (i.e. inward-looking 'mystic consciousness') and not mysticism in toto, since the 'prophet', too, is a 'mystic', if with Professor Schimmel, we define 'mysticism' as "the passionate longing of a heart for a response from the higher levels of being, and a breaking down of the wall which separates the loving soul from its Divine source."<sup>1</sup>

#### GOD AND MAN

This section is entitled "God and Man" though it could perhaps be entitled "God and Iqbāl" with greater justification since it deals mostly with Iqbāl's personal relationship with 'his' God. It has been given its present title, however, because although Iqbāl speaks for the most time in his own voice, this section also illustrates what Iqbāl means by saying that God is an Ego or a Person, and that the relationship between God and Man is a personal one. Thus Iqbāl speaks, here also for Everyman, despite the singular quality of his own unorthodox, audacious voice.

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing pp 362-363.

As one reads through the pages of Iqbāl's poetry one cannot help being struck by the way he addresses God. He loves God with a fierce intensity, strongly reminiscent of Donne, and because he is very sure of his love he takes liberties with God which often startle the unwary, orthodox reader. Iqbāl conceives the relationship between God and Man to be based on love - not a love which is submissive but a love which is aggressive, "a love that compels the object loved into union. The lover is not to say: I am yours, do what you like with me; but, you are mine ... attune your will to mine."<sup>1</sup>

The poet addresses God in all kinds of moods. There are times when he yearns for a vision of God, when he feels ravished by Eternal Beauty and can only whisper:

گیسوئے تابدار کو اور بھی تابدار کر  
 ہوش و خرد شکار کر، قلب و نظر شکار کر  
 عشق بھی ہو حجاب میں حسن بھی ہو حجاب میں!  
 پاؤں آسکار ہو پاؤں آسکار کر!

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 8.)

There are times when he can complain with the bitterness of a hurt outraged child:

1. Rājū, P. T. "The Idealism of Sir Moḥammad Iqbāl" p. 113.
2. Make more lustrous the lustrous hair,  
 Ravish my mind and sense, ravish my heart  
 That both Love and Beauty should be hidden!  
 Either reveal Yourself or let me be revealed!

آشنا ہر خاددا از قصہ ما سافت  
در بیابان جنوں بردی و سوا سافت

<sup>1</sup> (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 182)

At times he addresses God with playful irony:

اگر کج رو ہیں انج ، آسمان پترا ہے یا میرا ؟  
مجھے فکرِ جہاں کیوں ہو ، جہاں پترا ہے یا میرا ؟  
اسے صبحِ ازل الکار کی جرات ہوئی کیونکر ؟  
مجھے معلوم کیا ! وہ رازداں پترا ہے یا میرا ؟  
اسی کوکب کی تابانی سے ہے پترا جہاں روشن  
زوالِ آدمِ خاکی زیاں پترا ہے یا میرا ؟

<sup>2</sup> (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p.7)

A note of sadness and wistfulness creeps into his voice sometimes. God is immortal but Man must pass away. There is not enough time for the heart in love to give utterance to all it feels:

- 
1. You have acquainted every thorn with the story of my fall,  
You have cast me in the wilderness of madness and  
dishonoured me.
  2. If the stars are crooked, is the sky Yours or mine?  
Why should I worry about the world, is the world Yours or  
mine?  
Why he dared to refuse on the morn of Creation.  
How should I know? Was he Your confidant or mine?  
Your world is lit up by the light, of this star -  
Is the downfall of the Man of clay, then, Your loss or mine?

کر پیلے مجھ کو زندگی جاوداں عطا پھر زوق و شوق دیکھ دل بیقرار کا!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 12)

Iqbāl's famous "Shikwa" is an expression not only of the grievances of the Muslims, but, in a sense, also a statement of Everyman's anger and sorrow when he feels that somehow God has "let him down" and cries out aloud in his pain:

طعنِ اعیانہ، رسوائی ہے، ناداری ہے کیا ترے نام یہ مرے کا عوض تواری ہے؟

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 176)

Since God is "fickle"<sup>3</sup> and "unloving"<sup>4</sup> and has dismissed His lovers with "the promise of to-morrow",<sup>5</sup> the poet says almost triumphantly:

اب انیس ڈھونڈ پیراعِ بیخِ زیبا لیکر

<sup>6</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 177)

- 
1. What is the love of a borrowed soul?  
What is the love between a mortal and an immortal?  
First grant to me an everlasting life,  
Then see the ardour of my restless heart.
  2. The taunt of strangers, infamy and privation -  
Is the reward for dying for Your Name mere degradation?
  3. Bāng-e-Darā, p. 178.
  4. Ibid. p. 175.
  5. Ibid. p. 177.
  6. Now look for them in the Light of the Radiant Countenance!

But this is only a passing phase. Complaint is an essential part of Love - be it human or divine. The poet who can complain so bitterly can also say to God with deep tenderness:

در سینه من دے بیاسائے      از خمت و کلفتِ خدائی!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 50)

Or with touching simplicity:

تجھ سے میری زندگی سوز و تب و درد و داغ  
تو ہی میری آرزو تو ہی میری جستجو

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 124)

Or with passionate longing:

کبھی اے حقیقتِ منتظر! نظر آ لباسِ حجاز میں  
کہ مزاروں سجدے ٹوٹ پڑھے ہیں میری جین پیاز میں

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 314)

- 
1. Take for thy rest awhile  
This heart of mine  
And lay aside thy toil  
And task divine.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 27.)
  2. Because of You is my life's burning, radiance, torment and pain,  
You are what I desire, You are what I seek.
  3. O awaited Reality, reveal Yourself in a tangible form.  
For a thousand prostrations lie restless in  
my ardent forehead.

There are occasions when the poet addresses God in a tone of feverish probing,

بجھان درد مندان کو بگو یہ کار داری؟  
تب و تابِ ما شناسی؟ دل بے قرار داری؟

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 59)

or of loving protest:

پیریِ خدائی سے ہے میرے مینوں کو کلمہ

اپنے لئے لامکان میرے لئے چار سوا

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 125)

The poet is aware that his love is a wild, tempestuous thing which smashes all that comes between him and his Beloved:

میری لوائے شوق سے شورِ عظیمِ ذات میں!  
خلعہ ہلکے الامان بتکدہ صفات میں!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 5)

There is no way in which the fire of his passion can be

- 
1. Tell me this: what is thy share  
In this world of pain and care?  
Knowest thou the spirit's smart?  
Hast thou an uneaseful heart?  
(Translation by Aberrery, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 34)
  2. My frenzy has a protest to make before Your Godhead -  
For You there's limitless space, for me just four directions.
  3. My passionate song created confusion in the Temple of the  
Essence,  
From the Idol-house of Attributes arose the cry of "Spare us"

extinguished or assuaged. His frenzy will not rest even  
on the Last Day

فارغ تو نہ بیٹھے گا محشر میں جنوں میرا  
یا اپنا گرہاں چاک یا دامنِ یزداں چاک!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 63)

God may be somewhat disturbed by such an irrepressible  
and spirited lover, but the lover knows that only one such  
as he, can reach God:

مقامِ شوقِ ترے قدسیوں کے بس کا ہیں  
اہیں کا کام ہے یہ جن کے توصلے میں زیادا

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 11)

There are times when the poet cannot help finding fault  
with God's creations,

لغتی دگر طراز دہ آدمِ پختہ تر بسیار  
عبتِ خاکِ سافتنی نہ سزد خدایے را

<sup>3</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 192)

1. My madness will not sit idle even on the Day of Judgment,  
Either it will tear my own garment, or the garment of God!
2. The abode of Love has far beyond Your seraphs' wings:  
None find but who desire and dare infinitely.  
(Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 25)
3. Create something new, make finer Adam,  
To create a doll of clay does not befit a God!

or asserting that he has been specially blessed:

از تو دونِ سینہ ام برقِ تجلی کہ من  
بامہ و محصر دادہ ام تلخی استظارا

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 72)

He even dares to say that his activities are a source of disquietude to God Himself!

تو دو فرشتہ ہیں اسیر میرے تخیلات میں  
میری نگاہ سے خلل پڑی تجلیات میں

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 5)

The lover knows that love is its own justification and reward. He seeks no other born for his love:

سو داگری ہیں، یہ عبادت خدا کی ہے  
اے بیخبر جزا کی تمنا بھی چھوڑ دے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 110)

Man knows that his existence and that of God are irretrievably interwoven. "Like pearls we live and move and

- 
1. In my heart thy lightning shone  
Radiant as flashing gold,  
Which the expectant sun and moon  
Marvelled sorely to behold.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 42)
  2. The houri and the angel are the captives of my imagination,  
My gaze causes disturbance in Your brightness!
  3. This is God's worship, not a business -  
O unknowing one, stop desiring a reward.

have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine Life",<sup>1</sup>  
 Iqbāl said in his lectures, and in "Zabūr-e-'Ajam"  
 he asserted

هم ز خدا خودی طلب هم ز خودی خدا طلب

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 162)

D. M. Donaldson points out that "as a mystic Iqbāl gave  
 wholesome emphasis to the idea of the 'questing God'"<sup>3</sup>  
 Iqbāl's God does indeed love Man and seeks him:

ما از خدای گم شده ایم او بجهت جستوست  
 چون ما نیازمند گرفتار آرزوست

<sup>4</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 132)

God's love, indeed, is prior to Man's love and attracts him.<sup>5</sup>  
 He is never far from Man and is waiting to be called. Iqbāl's  
 humorous comment "Think of the Devil and he is sure to appear".<sup>6</sup>

- 
1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 72.
  2. Seek thou of God thyself to know,  
 And seek in Selfhood for thy God  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 104)
  3. Donaldson, D. M. Studies in Muslim Ethics, London, 1953,  
 p. 258.
  4. We are gone astray from God;  
 He is searching upon the road,  
 For like us He is need entire  
 And the prisoner of desire,  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 84)
  5. Schimmel, A. M. "Time and Eternity in the Work of  
 Muhammad Iqbāl" p. 56.
  6. Stray Reflections, p. 135.

This is equally true of God,"<sup>1</sup> in fact embodies a deep truth. God may not dwell in so-called "houses of God" but He comes to those who seek Him:

نہ تو اندر حرم گنجی نہ در بتخانہ می آئی  
ولیکن سوئے مشتاقان چہ مشتاقانہ می آئی

<sup>2</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 207)

Love is essentially a mystery which cannot be wholly explained. The love of God and man too is a mystery - God at once transcendent and immanent, Man at once lover and Beloved. The case can perhaps be stated only in terms of poetry:

بچندین جلوہ در زیر نقابانی  
نگاہِ شوقِ ما را بر نشانی  
دوی در خونِ ما چون مستی ہے  
وے بیگانہ خوئی، نا دیر پابی

<sup>3</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 55)

- 
1. Stray Reflections, p. 135.
  2. You do not find room in the Ka'ba or enter the temple of idols,  
But how eagerly You come to the yearning lovers.
  3. With all Thy glory, Thou the veil dost wear,  
The passion of our gaze Thou canst not bear,  
Thou runnest in our blood like potent wine,  
But ah! how strange Thou comest, and too rare.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 18)

## IBLĪS (Satan)

The figure of Satan or Iblīs occupies a considerable portion of Iqbāl's religious philosophy. As Professor Schimmel observes, there are tendencies towards the development of the Iblīs-figure in the traditional way, and yet towards a completely original re-formulation of it.<sup>1</sup> One the whole, in his treatment of Iblīs, one can see many of Iqbāl's brilliant "flashes" of poetic and philosophical insight.

### Iblīs as the principle of activity

Mānī had regarded Satan as a principle of activity. Iqbāl refers to this fact in his thesis: "In darkness - the feminine principles in Nature-were hidden the elements of evil which, in course of time, concentrated and resulted in the composition, so to speak, of the hideous looking devil, the principle of activity."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is the germ of the idea which figured prominently in Iqbāl's later thought, namely, that the movement of the world and the evolution of Man is possible only through the conquest of darkness and the powers of Chaos.<sup>3</sup> In fact, in Iqbāl's opinion, Satan is not far from the truth when he asserts in "Taskhīr-e-Fiṭrat"

بیکر انجمن ز تو، گردش انجمن زمین  
جان بجان اندرم، زندگی، مصمم  
تو به بدن جان دمی، شور بجان من دهم  
تو به سکون ره زنی، من به تیش

- 
1. Schimmel, A. M. "The Figure of Satan in the Works of Muhammad Iqbāl" (consulted in the manuscript by courtesy of the author).
  2. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, p. 18.
  3. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, pp 209-210.

آدمِ خاکی نباد، دون نظر دکم سواد  
زادد آغوشِ تو پیر شود در برم

1

(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 98)

It is Iblīs who leads Man on from conquest to conquest, who shows him the way to knowledge and perfection.<sup>2</sup> The words of Iblīs when he tempts Adam could very well be the words of Iqbāl himself, and that is hardly surprising because, in one sense, both Iblīs and Iqbāl are prophets of a new world. First Iblīs praises a life of action, of perpetual excitement and challenge - a marked contrast to the effortless ease of paradisiacal living.

زندگی سوز و ساز، به ز سکون دوام  
فاخته شاهین شود، از تیش ز پیر دام

- 
1. The stars' bodies were made by You;  
I am their motive force.  
I am the substance of the world;  
I am life's primal source.  
The body draws its soul from You  
But I arouse the soul.  
While You way-lay with blissful peace,  
I lead with action's call.  
That low-born creature of earth, man,  
Of mean intelligence,  
Though born in Your lap, will grow old  
Under my vigilance.  
(Translation by Husain, H.)
2. Maitre, L. "Iqbāl: A great Humanist" Iqbāl Review April 1961, p. 28.

کوٹروں میں برد، از تو لتا طر امل  
گیر زمیناے تاک بادہ آئینہ قام

<sup>1</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 98)

Then he urges Adam to open his eyes and reach out for a new world - a world in which there are untold opportunities for his manifold potentialities to manifest themselves and acquire maturity. Iblīs becomes Adam's guide to a new world.

خیز کہ بہا ممت مملکت تازہ  
چشم ہاں ہیں کشا، بہر تماشا فرام  
قطرہ بے مایہ، گوہر تابندہ شو  
ار سرگردوں بنیت، گیر بدر یا مقام  
تبع درختندہ، جان ہانے گسل  
جوہر خود را نما، آئے بیرون از نیام

- 
1. A life of struggle, strain and stress  
Is better than eternal rest.  
When a dove strains hard at its net  
An eagle's heart beats in its breast.  
These streams of milk and honey have  
Deprived you of the strength to act.  
Come take a hearty draught of wine  
From the cup of the vine direct.  
(Translation by Husain, H.)

لو کہ شناسی هنوز شوق میرد ز وصل  
 چیست حیاتِ دوام؟ سوختنِ نامتام

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 99)

Adam does not leave Paradise with "wandering steps and slow"<sup>2</sup> but joyfully. He sounds more like Columbus setting out on an expedition to discover wonderful lands, than an exile who has fallen from grace. Iblīs has, indeed, been successful in arousing his enthusiasm.

بہ خوش است زندگی راہِ سوز و ساز کردن  
 دلِ کون دشت و صحرایِ گداز کردن

ز نفسِ درے کشادن بہ فضاے طمٹائے

رہِ آسماں نوردن بہ ستارہ راز کردن

بگداز ہائے بہان، بہ نیاز ہائے پیدا

نظرے ادا شناسی بحریم ناز کردن

- 
1. Arise, for I will show to you  
 The prospect of a whole new world  
 Unveil your eyes and look around;  
 Go forth and see it all unfurled.  
 You are a tiny, worthless drop;  
 Becoming a shining, priceless pearl.  
 Descend from Eden's halcyon heights  
 And plunge into the life-stream's swirl.  
 You are a brightly shining sword;  
 Go dip into Creation's heart.  
 To prove your mettle issue forth  
 And from your scabbard's bosom part.  
 You have not learnt this lesson yet;  
 Fulfilment dooms desire to death.  
 You know what is eternal life?  
 To burn anew with each new breath.  
 (Translation by Husain, H.)
  2. Milton, J. "Paradise Lost" (Book XII) Complete Poetry and Selected Prose Glasgow, 1952. p. 349.

همه سوز نا تمام ، همه درد آرزویم  
 بگمان دهم یقین را که شهید هستم

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, pp 99-100)

When Adam returns to the Presence of God having conquered the forces of Nature, he is both triumphant and penitent. He is triumphant because he has fulfilled his mission on earth, he is penitent because he erred. He let himself be beguiled by Satan. But Iqbāl's Adam could not be wholly penitent knowing that "error which may be described as a kind of intellectual evil is an indispensable factor in the building up of experience."<sup>2</sup> He speaks to God with a curious childlike innocence which yet has a kind of dignity and self-assurance

گرچه فنونش مرا برد ز راهِ صواب  
 از غلظم دد گذر عذر گناهم پذیر

- 
1. O what a joy it is to make  
 One's life a constant, ardent glow!  
 And with one's breath make desert, will  
 And plain like molten metal flow!  
 Open a door out of one's cage  
 Onto the garden's vast expanse!  
 Roam in the spaces of the sky,  
 And tell the stars one's weal and woe!  
 With secret yearnings, open prayers,  
 Cast looks on Beauty's seraglio!  
 I burn in a slow-consuming fire,  
 I'm all an agonised desire.  
 I give up faith for living doubt;  
 I seek, I question, I aspire.  
 (Translation by Husain, H.)
2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 87.

دام نگردهاں تانہ فنونش خوریم  
جز بکمند نیاز ناز نہ گردد اسیر

1

(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 101)

True to some degree to the principle of Milton's Satan -  
"Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven,"<sup>2</sup> - Iblīs  
tells the righteous (perhaps also a little self-righteous)  
Gabriel that it is he who has made possible the drama of man's  
evolution, that in a way God is more aware of him than of the  
eternally pious Gabriel.

ہے مری جرأت سے مشت خاک میں ذوقِ مہو  
میرے فتنے جامہٴ عقل و خرد کا تار و پودا  
دیکھتا ہے تو فقط ساحل سے رزمِ نیر و شر  
کون طوفان کے طمانچے کھا رہا ہے؟ میں کہ تو؟  
مگر کبھی خلوتِ مسیر ہو تو پوچھو اللہ سے  
قصہٴ آدم کو دہلیں کر گیا کس کا لہو؟

1. I was deflected from the path  
Of virtue by the Devil's fraud.  
Forgive my error and accept  
My humble penitence, O God.  
One cannot subjugate the world  
Unless one yields to its allure;  
For Beauty's wild pride is not tamed  
Until it falls into Love's snare.
2. Milton, J. "Paradise Lost" (Book I) p. 85.

میں کھٹکتا ہوں دل بزدان میں کانٹے کی طرح  
تو فقط! اللہ ہی اللہ ہے اللہ ہی اللہ ہے!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, pp 193-194)

It is worth mentioning that in regarding Iblīs as the dynamic principle of life, it is very likely that Iqbāl was also influenced by Goethe (for whom next to Rūmī, he had the greatest admiration and affection) who in Faust shows the Devil as man's companion, making him, working on him lest he slumber.<sup>2</sup>

Iblīs as a principle of evil.

In Iqbāl's thought, Iblīs is never wholly evil. He is the symbol of the eternal 'lā' (negation) but for Iqbāl, 'lā' implies 'illā' (affirmation) and is "an absolutely necessary constituent of a perfect social order."<sup>3</sup> Iblīs himself, says

من دلیہ در پردہ دلاء گفتم ام  
گفتم من خوشتر از ناگفتم ام!

<sup>4</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, p. 158)

1. In Man's pinch of dust my daring spirit has breathed  
ambition,  
The warp and woof of mind and reason are woven of my sedition,  
The deeps of good and ill you only see from land's far verge:  
Which of us is it, you or I, that dares the tempest's scourge:  
Ask this of God, when next you stand alone within His sight -  
Whose blood is it has painted Man's long history so bright?  
In the heart of the Almighty like the pricking thorn I lie,  
You only cry for ever God, oh God, oh God most high!  
(Translation by Kiernan, V.G. Poems from Iqbāl, pp 52-53.
2. Schimmel, A. M. "Mohammad Iqbāl and German Thought"  
Mohammad Iqbāl, p. 97.
3. Khayāl, T. M. "Iqbāl's conception of Satan" Iqbāl July 1953  
Volume II Number I, p. 9.
4. Under the Veil of "No" I murmured "Yes"  
What I have spoken is better than what I never said.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 104.)

Milton's Satan aims "out of good still to find means of evil."<sup>1</sup>  
 As God's representative, it must be Adam's endeavour to "seek  
 to bring forth good"<sup>2</sup> from his evil. In Jāvīd Nāma Shāh-e-  
 Hamadān says

بندہ کنز نویستن دارد خبر آفریند منفعت را از ضرر!

بزم بادیلواست آدم را وبال بزم بادیلواست آدم را جمال!

نویسن را بر ایرمن باید زدن  
 تو همه شیخ آن همه سنگِ فسن!

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Jāvīd Nāma, p. 186)

True however, to tradition, Iqbāl identifies Iblīs with  
 whatever evil he sees in the world. Iblīs is loveless intellect  
 which leads to the betrayal and destruction of Man. One of the  
 traditional symbols for Iblīs is the serpent, and this symbol  
 is suited to Iqbāl's identification of Iblīs with (negative)  
 reason, for when attacked, a serpent defends itself with its  
 head.<sup>4</sup>

Iblīs also comes to stand for many Western values of which  
 Iqbāl disapproved - its materialistic creeds, its indifference  
 to man's higher self. In one poem, Iqbāl says to God about  
 Western politics

1. Milton, J. "Paradise Lost" (Book I) p. 82.

2. Ibid.

3. The man who is fully aware of himself  
 Creates advantage out of loss.  
 To sup with the Devil brings disaster to a man,  
 to wrestle with the Devil brings him glory.  
 One must strike oneself against Ahriman;  
 You are a sword, he is the whetstone.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 117)

4. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 216.

بنایا ایک ہی ابلیس آگ سے تو نے  
بنائے خاک سے اس نے دو صد ہزار ابلیس!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 144)

Iqbāl regards most European politicians as devils in disguise. Furthermore, they are not creatures of fire but merely devils of the dust incapable of anything but scheming and base manoeuvring. The politician - Iblīs of "Iblīs kā farmān apne siyāsī farzandon ke nām,"<sup>2</sup> and "Iblīs kī majlis-e-shūrā"<sup>3</sup> has no element of the grandeur possessed by the proud worshipper of God. He is repulsive even as Milton's Satan is repulsive when he is shown gloating over his triumph in Book X of "Paradise Lost." For Iqbāl, the devils of modern civilization are far more unsatisfactory than Iblīs who had been in the company of God for so long. He says,

گنہ ہم ہی شود بے لذت و کرد  
اگر ابلیس تو عالی بنا د است  
مثنوی خیر ابلیس این عصر  
خسان دا لہزہ کسان سازگار است  
اصیلاں را ہاں ابلیس خوشتر  
کہ یزدان دیرہ و کامل عیار است!

<sup>4</sup>  
(Armagan-e-Hijāz, p. 182)

1. You made just one Satan from the fire,  
It has made two hundred thousand Satans from the dust!
2. Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 148.
3. Armagan-e-Hijāz, pp 213-228.
4. Sin itself becomes cold and unsatisfactory  
As soon as your Satan is formed only of dust.  
Do not become game for the devils of this time  
Since their glance is directed only towards the inferior ones.  
For those who are noble that Satan is better  
Who has seen God and has perfect standards!

Iqbāl also shows Iblīs as an advocate of the life-stultifying art and mysticism to which he was so bitterly opposed. In the confrontation of Zoroaster and Ahriman in Jāvid Nāma, Iblīs "defends the pure spirituality of mysticism and self-isolated asceticism against the prophetic activity which manifests itself in the community."<sup>1</sup> Iblīs urges his counsellors to preach that which weakens the life-urge in Man and makes him a stranger to the inner turmoil of life.

عدهی شعر و تصوف اسکے حق میں خوب تر  
جو چھپا دے اس کی آنکھوں سے تا شاہے حیات

<sup>2</sup>  
(Armagan-e-Hijaz, p. 228)

But, as Professor Schimmel has observed, whether it is as a seducer to useless dreams, fruitless mystical seclusion and unsocial flight from the world, or as a protector and defender of a civilisation which is devoid of divine love, Satan is, in all these aspects, always a necessary partner of the Perfect Man.<sup>3</sup> That is why Iqbāl says

منزی اندر ہمانے کور ذوقے کہ یزداں دارد و شیطان ندارد

<sup>4</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 154.)

1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 217.
2. That poetry and mysticism is best for him  
Which obscures his vision of the theatre of life.
3. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 219.
4. Do not live in such an ill-devised world  
Where there is a God but no Satan.

Creature of Fire versus Creature of Clay.

Iblīs is nothing if not proud. He does not doubt for an instant that he is superior to Adam. He is a creature of fire while Adam is made of dust. Iblīs says to God justifying his disobedience

خودی نادان نیم، سجده بآدم برم!  
او به بناد است خاک، من به نتراد آذر م!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 97)

Iqbāl's Adam is not the one to let himself get the worst of an argument - not even when his adversary is the ingenious Iblīs and so in his turn he retorts

جهان تا از عدم بیرون کشیدند  
ضمیرش سرد و بے هنگامه دیدند

لغیر از جان ما سوزے کجا بود  
ترا از آتش ما آفریدند

<sup>2</sup>  
(Armagān-e-Hijāz, p. 177)

Professor Schimmel observes that the contrast between

- 
1. I am not creature of mere light  
That I should bow to man.  
He is a base-born thing of dust,  
And I of fire am born  
(Translation by Husain H.)
  2. When they brought forth the world from non-existence,  
They saw that its heart was cold and lifeless.  
Where was fire save in my heart?  
They created you out of my fire!

fire and clay "leads back to early Islāmic discussions about the preferability of earth (of which the Kaaba is made) to fire (the element brought into the discussion by admirers of Persian fire worship); Satan becomes thus, the inventor of the misleading comparison of incomparable objects."<sup>1</sup>

#### Iblīs and Predestination.

In a poem called "Taqdīr"<sup>2</sup> (which Iqbāl acknowledges was inspired by Ibn 'Arabī)<sup>3</sup> we see another Iblīs - not the proud lover and adversary of God for whom one can feel some admiration, but a moral coward who is trying to attribute his wilful act of disobedience to God's will. Mystics and theologians have sometimes differentiated between God's Command and His Will.<sup>4</sup> According to Ḥallāj, "the command is eternal whereas the will and foreknowledge of God concerning it, whether it shall be obeyed or disobeyed, is created, and therefore subordinate. God wills both good and evil, but commands only good."<sup>5</sup> Iblīs though he disobeyed the Word of God none the less obeyed His inner command which forbids prostration before any but God Himself.

The poem begins with Iblīs seeking to justify his disobedience by the plea that he knew it to be predestined

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 213.

2. Zarb-e-Kalīm pp 42-43.

3. Ibid.

4. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 211.

5. Nicholson, R. A. The Idea of Personality in Sūfism, p. 33.

اے خدائے کن فکان مجھ کو نہ تھا آدم سے بے  
 آہ! وہ زندانی، نزدیک و دور و دیر و زود  
 صرف 'استکبار' پترے سامنے ممکن نہ تھا  
 ہاں مگر پتری مشیت میں نہ تھا میرا سجودا

1  
 (Zarb-e-Kalim, pp 42-43)

God asks Iblīs

کب کھلا تجھ پر یہ راز؟ الکل سے پہلے کہ بعد؟

2  
 (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 43)

and Iblīs answers

بعد! اے تیری تجلی سے کمالات و خودا

3  
 (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 43)

By saying that it was after his act of disobedience that he felt it was predestined, Iblīs betrays himself for he is

1. Oh God, Creator! I did not hate your Adam,  
 That captive of Far-and-Near and Swift-and Slow;  
 And what presumption could refuse to You  
 Obedience? If I would not kneel to him,  
 The cause was Your own fore-ordaining will.  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl p. 64)
2. When did that mystery dawn on you? before,  
 Or after your sedition?  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl p. 64)
3. After, Oh brightness  
 Whence all the glory of all being flows.  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 64)

admitting indirectly that when he refused the prostration he felt free to choose. God then turns to the angels and says

پستی فطرت نے سکھلائی ہے یہ محبت اسے  
 کہتا ہے "پتری مشیت میں نہ تھا میرا سجود"  
 دے رہا ہے اپنی آزادی کو مجبوری کا نام  
 ظالم اپنے شعلہ سوزاں کو خود کہتا ہے دودا

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 43)

"It is Satanic short-sightedness," observes Professor Schimmel, "which ascribes any decision which leads to disaster to divine predestination and unchangeable laws."<sup>2</sup> This poem also indicates that the Iblīs whom Iqbāl admires is not the one who denies the freedom of his will. Iqbāl's interpretation of Iblīs as a lover of God is based on the assumption that Iblīs was not predestined to disobey but that his disobedience was a wilful act.

Iqbāl also mentions Iblīs in another context of predestination and freewill. It was through Satan's seduction of

- 
1. See what a grovelling nature taught him this  
 Fine theorem! His not kneeling, he pretends,  
 Belonged to My fore-ordinance; gives his freedom  
 Necessity's base title; - wretch! his own  
 Consuming fire he calls a wreath of smoke.  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 64)
  2. Schimmel, A. M. "The Figure of Satan in the Works of  
 Muḥammad Iqbāl"

Adam that Man acquired free-will. To Adam Satan said

خیز چو سرو بلند، اے بعل نزم گام  
لذت کردار گیر، گام بنہ جوئے گام

بیچ نیاید ز تو غیر سجدِ نیاز  
زشت و نگوزادہ دم خداوندت

<sup>1</sup>

(Payām-e-Mashriq, pp 98-99)

In Jāvid Nāma Iblīs shown as a sad old man, speaks to the sons of Adam in words touched with pathos

شعله ها از کشت زار من دمید  
اوز مجبوری به مختاری رسید  
زشتی خود را نمودم آشکار  
بالتو دادم ذوق ترک و اختیار

<sup>2</sup>

(Jāvid Nāma, p. 159)

- 
1. You're capable of nothing but  
 Obeisance like a slave.  
 Like a tall cypress stand erect,  
 O you which not act not crave.  
 Good and evil, virtue and sin,  
 Are myths created by your Lord.  
 Come taste the joy of action and  
 Go forth to seek your due reward.  
 (Translation by Husain, H. consulted in the manuscript by  
 the courtesy of the author)
  2. Flames sprang forth from my sown field;  
 Man out of predestination achieved free-will.  
 I displayed my own hideousness  
 and have given you the joy of leaving or choosing.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma p. 104)

### Iblīs as a Unitarian

According to Ḥallāj, Iblīs is God's lover and one of the two true Unitarians in the world, the other one being Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> As a strict believer in God's Unity, he refused to prostrate himself before Adam saying, "Ḥas somebody else taken away the honour of the prostration from my heart so that I should prostrate before Adam?"<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl seems to be sympathetic towards this view and the words of Ḥallāj in Jāvīd Nāma seem to speak also for him.

عاشقی در ناری او و اسوختن  
سوختن بے ناری او و اسوختن!

نانکه او در عشق و خدمت اقدم است  
آدم از اسرار او ناخبر است!

چاک کن پیرا صنی تقلید را  
تا بیا موزی از و لوت حید را

<sup>3</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 155)

### Satan in the poetry of Milton and Iqbāl

Both Milton and Iqbāl had a fiery, restless spirit and an intense religious consciousness. With all their individual differences the works of the two poets convey an impression of

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 210.
  2. Bāqlī, R. quoted in ibid.
  3. Love is to burn in his fire;  
Without his fire, burning is nor burning.  
Because he is more ardent in love and service,  
Adam is not privy to his secrets.  
Tear off the skirt of blind conformity  
That you may learn God's Unity from him.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 101.)

power. It is hardly possible to read their poetry without realizing the temperamental affinity between them. It is interesting to know that Iqbāl had deep admiration for Milton, and in his youth wanted to write an epic similar to "Paradise Lost."<sup>1</sup>

A number of writers have pointed out the similarity between Satan and Iblīs. This statement needs a qualification (or a clarification) at the very outset. Milton's Satan is not a uniform character. The Satan of the first two books of "Paradise Lost" is quite different from the Satan of the rest of the poem.<sup>2</sup> The reason most commonly given for this is that Milton was a man divided against himself, "a Promethean, a renaissance humanist in the toils of a myth of quite contrary import."<sup>3</sup> His explicit purpose was to justify the ways of God to men but the Satan he created - the Satan of Books I and II, the leader of the fallen angels, became such a formidable obstacle for him, that he had to "transform" him from a indomitable rebel who could say in the face of eternal damnation

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1. Iqbāl's letter quoted by Vāhid, S. A. Iqbāl: His Art and Thought p. 7.
  2. This opinion is not universally accepted, but it finds support in a number of writers and seems to us to be valid.
  3. Willey, B. The Seventeenth Century Background, London, 1934. p. 255.

What though the field be lost?  
 All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,  
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,  
 And courage never to submit or yield:  
 And what is else not to be overcome?  
 That Glory never shall His wrath or might  
 Extort from me 1

to a wailing creature who could gaze tearfully at the sun  
 and say

O then at last relent: is there no place  
 Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left? 2

Iqbāl's Iblīs is also not a uniform character in the sense that the Iblīs portrayed in various poems is not the same figure. Since Iqbāl did not undertake to write a long poem in which Iblīs appears as one of the chief characters, he was not obliged to be consistent in his treatment of Iblīs. So we see different aspects of Iblīs, sometimes a totally new Iblīs, emerging in different poems. Therefore, when it is said that Satan resembles Iblīs, it must be made clear that the Satan of the first two books of "Paradise Lost" resembles, in the main, the Iblīs of "Taskhīr-e-Fitrat",<sup>3</sup> "Jibrīl-o-Iblīs"<sup>4</sup> and Jāvid Nāma, and that there is some resemblance between the "degenerate Satan of the later books of "Paradise Lost" and the politics - afflicted Iblīs shown in "Iblīs kā farmān apne siyāsī farzandon se"<sup>5</sup> and "Iblīs kī majlis-e-Shūrā"<sup>6</sup>.

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1. Milton, J. "Paradise Lost" (Book I) p. 81.
  2. Ibid (Book IV) p. 147.
  3. Payam-e-Mashriq, pp 97-101.
  4. Bal-e-Jibril, pp 192-194.
  5. Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 148.
  6. Armagan-e-Hijaz, pp 213-228.

The first point of similarity between the "heroic" Satan and Iblīs is the splendour of their reckless courage. They are "sinners" but one cannot help admiring their unbroken spirit, their tenacity of purpose in the face of insuperable odds. Such qualities as they have would make a hero out of a rebel. A second point of similarity between them is that they are completely unrepentant. Even if they could, they would not retrace their steps.

There are differences too, between them, and these are not often remarked upon. Satan is an adversary of God and hates Him, Iblīs is not an enemy of God and loves Him. Both Satan and Iblīs are painted in brilliant colours but Satan's lustre is hard and glittering, Iblīs is softer and more touching. We admire Satan but our heart does not go out to him as it does to Iblīs. Satan is proud and belligerent, Iblīs is proud and heart-broken. In the last analysis, despite all their similarities, Satan and Iblīs are very different - as different from each other as hate is from love. It is possible to build up a case for Satan as a tragic hero, but there is no doubt at all that Iqbāl's Iblīs - the Iblīs of Bāl-e-Jibrīl and Jāvid Nāma - is a tragic hero.

Iblīs as a tragic hero. According to Aristotle a tragic hero is an outstanding character whose fortunes suffer a sudden reverse and who is, in some measure, responsible for his downfall. Were he not responsible, were his calamity just the working out of an unrelenting Fate, his situation though it

would call for pity would bring about no catharsis it would not in fact, be tragedy at all, simply misfortune. To say of Iblīs that "he is fulfilling his allotted role in the scheme of things"<sup>1</sup> and that "the tragedy of Satan's life is that he cannot change his destiny, his inner helplessness and sheer inability to be other than he is,"<sup>2</sup> is surely to misunderstand the Iblīs nearest to Iqbāl's heart. Although in most tragedies one is aware of a sense of predestination, of ominous agencies working against a character seeking to destroy him, yet - as has been said already - there is always something in the tragic hero himself which brings about his tragedy. Iblīs is a free agent otherwise he would not have refused to obey God. The role he is fulfilling in the scheme of things is not an "allotted" one - it is a role he chose for himself and therein lies his tragedy - not in that he hates God and must serve His ends, but that he loves God and has chosen forever to displease Him.

Iblīs denies the charge of being an infidel. His words,

از وجود حق مرا منکر میگرد  
دیده بر باطن کشت ظاهر میگرد

گرد بگویم نیست ، این از الهی است  
زانکه بعد از دید نتوان گفت نیست!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 158)

1. Vāhīd, S. A. Iqbāl: His Art and Thought, p. 224.

2. Ibid.

3. Do not take me for one who denies God's existence; Open your eyes on my inner self, overlook my exterior. If I say, "He is not," that would be foolishness, for when one has seen, one cannot say "He is not". (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 104)

wrung from the agony of his soul, are reminiscent of the tortured Mephistopheles who, when asked by Faustus if he was out of hell, answered sorrowfully

Why this is hell, nor am I out of it.  
Thinkst thou that I, who saw the face of God  
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,  
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,<sup>1</sup>  
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?

It was the 'tragic flaw' in the character of Iblīs which brought about the eternal separation between him and his Beloved. The traditional motive for the disobedience of Iblīs is pride, but due to the influence of Ḥallāj, Iqbāl also gave to his Iblīs the passion and tenderness of a lover. Milton's Satan would not return to Heaven because

farthest from Him is best  
Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme  
Above His equals.<sup>2</sup>

Iblīs when asked by Gabriel about the possibility of his return

کیا ہمیں ممکن کہ تیرا چاکِ دامن ہو درفو؟

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 192)

answers

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1. Marlowe, C. Doctor Faustus (Edited by W. W. Greg) Oxford, 1961. (Act I scene III) p. 10.
  2. Milton, J. "Paradise Lost" (Book I) p. 84.
  3. Is it not possible that the rent in your robe be mended?

آہ اے جبریل تو واقف ہیں اس راز سے  
 کر گیا سرمست مجھ کو ٹوٹ کر میرا سبوا  
 اب بیاں میری گذر ممکن ہیں ممکن ہیں  
 کس قد خاموش ہے یہ عالم بے کاخ و کوہ  
 جس کی نو میدی ہے ہو سوزِ درون کائناتِ دُور  
 اس کے حق میں لفظی اچھا ہے یا لا لفظی اچھا؟  
 1 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, pp 193-194)

Thus so far from setting out as Satan does, to pervert God's purpose, Iblīs is actually conscious of being His instrument. He does not seek for God's grace because if he were to do so, the world which God made - the world of Man, would come to a standstill. Professor Schimmel observes that in presenting this viewpoint Iqbāl has made "one of the most original contributions to the problem of Satan's destiny."<sup>2</sup>

The Iblīs portrayed in Jāvid Nāma is sad and old - like the Satan of Nietzsche. His heart is heavy with the burden of his sins - sins not against a God who "sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven",<sup>3</sup> but against his Beloved. He begs Man - Man before whom he would not bow - not to sin any more, not to

1. Ah, Gabriel! you do not know this mystery -  
 By breaking, my glass made me intoxicated.  
 Now it is impossible that I should dwell here again -  
 How silent is this realm without palaces or lanes!  
 Whose despair is the inner fire of creation  
 For him is not "Despair" better than "Don't despair of  
 God's Grace" (Sūra 39:53)

2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 212.

3. Milton, J. "Paradise Lost" (Book I) p. 81.

make his scroll any blacker.

اے کہ اندر بندِ من افتادہ  
رخصتِ عصیانِ بشیطانِ دادہ

بے نیاز ادنیٰ و نوحش میں لذر  
تا نہ گردد نامہ ام تار یک تر!  
1 (Jāvīd Nāma, p. 159)

Although he suffers endlessly, yet Iblīs does not wish to return to the Presence of God. It is a part of the character of a tragic hero that having brought about his end he accepts it without flinching. When the poet asks Iblīs to give up "this cult of separation,"<sup>2</sup>

گفت "سازِ زندگی سوزِ فراق  
اے خوشا سرمستیِ روزِ فراق!  
بر لبم از وصلِ می ناپید سخن  
وصلِ اگر تو اصرامِ او ماندن من"

2 (Jāvīd Nāma, p. 159)

1. Deliver me now from my fire;  
Resolve, O man, the knot of my toil.  
You who have fallen into my noose  
And given to Satan the leave to disobey,  
Live in the world with true manly zeal,  
as you pity me, live a stranger to me  
Proudly disregarding my sting and my honey,  
So that my scroll may not become blacker still.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 104)
2. Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 104.
3. He said, "The fire of separation is the stuff of life;  
How sweet the intoxication of the day of separation.  
The very name of union comes not to my lips;  
If I seek union, neither He remains nor I."  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 104)

These lines also bear the implication that Love does not mean union or the annihilation of identity. Thus in upholding the belief in separation, Iblīs becomes a preserver of the principle of individuality.

The Lament of Iblīs in Jāvid Nāma is part of the most profound poetry Iqbāl ever wrote. He shows a strange spectacle - Iblīs praying to God - not for relief from pain or remission of his sins, but for a worthy opponent! In lieu of all his past worships of God, Iblīs asks for a man who dares to resist him. He says

صید خود صیاد را گوید بگیر	الامان از بنده، فرمان پذیر!
از چنین صیدے مرا آزاد کن	طاعتِ دیروزه من یاد کن
فطرتِ او خام و عزمِ او ضعیف	تاب یک ضربم نیارد این حریف
بنده صاحب نظر باید مرا	یک حریفِ بختہ تر باید مرا!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, pp 160-161)

Iblīs is weary of all his easy triumphs. Tormented as he is, by his separation from God, he has not even the satisfaction of measuring his strength against a man of God. Iblīs would

- 
1. The prey says to the hunts-man, 'seize me':  
save me from the all too obedient servant!  
Set me free from such a quarry;  
remember my obedience of yesterday.  
His nature is raw, his resolution weak,  
this opponent cannot withstand one blow from me.  
I need a servant of God possessed of vision,  
I need a riper adversary!  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 105)

rather meet his death at the hands of a man of valour than live for a millennium surrounded by weaklings and cowards.

آنجان تنگ از فتوحات آدمم  
پیش تو بر مکافات آدمم  
منگر خود از تو می خواهم بده  
سوی آن مردِ فدا را هم بده  
بنده باید که بچیدگر دلم  
اے خدا یک زنده مردِ حق پرست  
لرزه اندازد نگاهش در تنم  
لذتے شاید کہ با ہم در شکست!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma p. 161)

In this cry of despair one can see the world of tragedy, the world which lies beyond good and evil. W. A. Bijlefeld writes, "I must admit that the passages about Iblīs ... above all others Satan's lament that he can hardly find a genuine opponent in the world, appealed to me more than a lot of enlightened quasi - Christian statements about the devil, and that these words will live in my spirit for a long, long time."<sup>2</sup>

In seeing Iblīs as a complex character, a character torn between his pride and his love, a character who possessed all the lineaments of a tragic figure, Iqbāl revealed one of his

1. I have become saddened by all my triumphs  
that now I come to You for recompense;  
I seek from You one who dares to deny me -  
Guide me to such a man of God.  
I need a man who will twist my neck,  
whose glance will set my body quivering.  
Grant me, O God, one living man of faith;  
haply I shall know delight at last in defeat.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 105)
2. Bijlefeld, W. A. quoted by Schimmel, A. M. "The Figure of Satan in the works of Muḥammad Iqbāl".

deepest poetic insights. This Iblīs - for whom the poet confessed his heartfelt sympathy -

جانم اندر تن ز سوز او تپید

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 158)

is one of the greatest achievements of Iqbāl's philosophic vision. This Iblīs whose suffering brings catharsis is a much more profound and satisfying figure than the traditional Devil who leaves unexplained the greater part of the mystery of evil. It is true that Iqbāl's presentation of the tragic Iblīs is only very fragmentary, but even though it does not answer all the questions pertaining to good and evil, God and Satan, it does point to the close and complex relationship between concepts commonly held to be mutually exclusive.

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1. My soul in my body quivered for his agony.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 103)

## CHAPTER VIII

IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF ART

Scattered throughout Iqbāl's writings are his various pronouncements on the nature and purpose of art. Iqbāl has not propounded a theory of Beauty and Art as such, but from his writings it is clear that he had thought deeply about aesthetics and that he did have a philosophy of art though its component ideas do not seem to have appeared simultaneously (except perhaps in *Bandagī Nāma*).<sup>1</sup> By 'Art' most of the time Iqbāl means his own art, i.e. the poetic art. However, his ideas may be applied and interpreted so as to include the other arts. Iqbāl, whose versatility showed itself in multifarious ways, has contributed many rich and significant ideas to the philosophy of art and what he has to say on the subject forms one of the most interesting chapters of his thought.

PURPOSE OF ART

For Iqbāl, art must add to the fulness and richness of life. Art is genuine and significant only when it impinges dynamically on life, deepening its appreciation, quickening its pulse and illuminating its fundamental purposes with insight.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Zabūr-e-'Ajam, pp 245-264.

2. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy. Lāhore, 1960, p.3.

Iqbāl has no use for a self-regarding art which is divorced from the problems of living. Art must serve life in some way and not exist merely for its own sake. Unequivocally he says, "Art is subordinate to life, not superior to it. The ultimate end of all human activity is life-glorious, powerful, exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force, and helps us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to reality around on the mastery of which alone life depends - is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium-eating in art. The disguise of art for the sake of art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl has placed great emphasis on the "life-yielding" quality of art. An art which tends to take away from life its joy and zest, courage and enthusiasm, need not be at all :

---

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, pp. 85-86.

افسردہ اگر اس کی نوا سے ہو طمٹان  
بہتر ہے کہ خاموش رہے مرغِ سحرین

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 127)

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

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 125)

ATTACK ON "DECADENT" ART

A great portion of Iqbāl's writings on aesthetics deals with the subject of what he considers to be "decadent" art. Like Plato, Iqbāl too had once been susceptible to the charms of poetry which sapped the energies of man and lulled him into a barren, albeit a seemingly golden dream, of effortless existence. For Iqbāl, Ḥāfiẓ is the symbol of such life-stultifying Art. This is surprising, for to the young poet Iqbāl, Ḥāfiẓ had meant much. 'Atīya Faiẓī tells us of Iqbāl's great admiration for Ḥāfiẓ and comments, "I felt that Iqbāl believed more in Ḥāfiẓ than in any other Persian poet."<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. With its singing if it makes the garden melancholy  
Better 'tis that the early-rising bird should silent be.
  2. If in a melody the call of death does hidden lie,  
That flute, that harp, that viol is unholy in my eye.
  3. Faiẓī, A. Iqbāl. Bombay, 1947, p. 15.

In his Note-book, Iqbāl himself paid a glowing tribute to the perfection of Hāfiz's poetic technique. "In words like out jewels Hāfiz put the sweet unconscious spirituality of the nightingale."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl's rejection of Hāfiz was, in effect, also a rejection of a phase of his own youth, a phase when he could say:

زندگانی جس کو کہتے ہیں فراموشی ہے یہ  
خواب ہے ، غفلت ہے ، سرمستی ہے ، یہ سہوشی ہے یہ

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 93)

In lines which caused great uproar, Iqbāl attacked Hāfiz in no uncertain terms:

ہوشیار از حافظِ صباگار  
جامش از زہرِ اجلِ سرمایہ دار  
ناوک انداز کہ تاب از دل برد  
ناوک او مرگِ را شیریں کند

<sup>3</sup>  
(Khayābān-e-Iqbāl, pp. 230-232)<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. Stray Reflections, Lāhore, 1961, p. 152
  2. That which is called living is but a forgetfulness,  
A dream, a drowsiness, a drunkenness, unconsciousness.
  3. Beware of Hāfiz the wine drinker  
His cup is full of deadly poison;  
He is an archer who takes strength from the heart,  
His dart makes death sweet.
  4. Edited by Fārūqī, M. I. and Gaznawī, K. Peshāwar, 1966.

He went on to compare Ḥāfiz unfavourably with 'Urfī, another Persian poet:

حافظِ جادو بیان شیرازی است  
 عرقی آتش بیان شیرازی است  
 این سوئے ملک خودی مرکبِ جانند  
 آن کنارِ آبِ رکناباد ماند!  
 باده زن باعربی هتکده خیز  
 زنده از صحبتِ حافظِ لریز

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Khayābān-e-Iqbāl, p. 232)

Iqbāl inveighed against Ḥāfiz "for his quietism, his epicureanism, his libertinism, his indifference to the great historical events that were taking place around him and the soporific effect of his mystical eroticism."<sup>2</sup>

Iqbāl has painted a vivid picture of the harm that a poet who preaches death rather than life may do:

لوسے او تازگی ارگلی برد  
 ذوقی پرداز از دلِ بلبل برد  
 سست اعصاب تو از افینون او  
 زندگانی قیمتِ مضمون او

- 
1. Ḥāfiz the enchanting poet hails from Shīrāz, 'Urfī emitting fire also hails from Shīrāz, 'Urfī leads to the domain of Self, Ḥāfiz remained on the banks of Ruknābād. Drink wine with 'Urfī the tumultuous, If you have life run away from Ḥāfiz.
  2. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl, on Poetry and the Poet, (In manuscript, consulted by courtesy of the author).

لغزہ ہائیں از دلت در دشتبات  
مرگ را از ہجر او دالی حیات

دریم اندیشہ اندازد تیرا  
از عمل بیگانہ می سازد ترا

حسن او را با صداقت کار نیست  
در یمنش جز گوهر لطف دار نیست

<sup>1</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, pp. 39-40)

Implicit in his rejection of Ḥāfiẓ, is Iqbāl's rejection of a great portion of contemporary Persian and Urdū poetry. Perhaps the senses could luxuriate in such art, but the soul could draw no sustenance from themes such as these:

را صبح در حلقہٴ دامِ هوس  
دلبرے با طائرے اندر قفسی

- 
1. His kiss robs the rose of freshness,  
He takes away from the nightingale the joy of flying.  
The sinews are relaxed by his opium,  
Thou payest for his song with the life.  
His melodies steal firmness from thy heart,  
His magic persuades thee that death is life,  
He plunges thee in a sea of thought.  
And makes thee a stranger to action.  
His beauty hath no dealing with truth,  
There are none but flawed pearls in his sea.  
(translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self,  
Lāhore, 1964, pp. 64-65).

خسروے پیشِ فقرے خرقہ پوش  
 مردِ کوهستانی، هیزم بدوش  
 نازینے در رہ بیت خانہ  
 جو گئے در خلوت و پیرانہ  
 پیر کے از دردِ پیری داع، داع  
 آنکہ اندر دستِ ادکل شد چراغ<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 254)

TRANSITION. FROM 'AJAM TO HIJĀZ

In Asrār-e-Khudī, Iqbāl bids us leave the "garden of Persia" and return to "the heat of the desert".<sup>2</sup> 'Ajam was to become for Iqbāl a symbol of art which, though moving and beautiful in its own way, does not keep the ego in that state of tension, or heightened self-awareness, in which it is able to pervade reality and transcend all obstructing forces:

- 
1. A monk caught in the snare of carnal lust;  
 A beauty with a bird imprisoned in  
 A cage, a king with folded knees before  
 A hermit wrapped up in a patchwork cloak;  
 A man from the hills with a firewood load;  
 A lovelorn maiden going to a temple;  
 A Yogī sitting in a wilderness;  
 An old man tortured by the pains of age,  
 Whose candle is about to flicker out.  
 (translation by Husain, M. H. Iqbāl, on Poetry and the Poet.)
  2. Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 70.

ہے شعر عجم گر نہ طربناک و دلاؤ دینز  
اس شعر سے ہوتی ہیں شمشیر فوری تیز!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 127)

Because art is subservient to life - and life, for Iqbāl is the ego's striving for perfection - it is necessary to move on from 'Ajam to Ḥijāz. Ḥijāz now becomes, aesthetically, the symbol for that virile, life-yielding and life-enriching art which unites Beauty and Power, and becomes an embodiment of Love. Iqbāl says:-

دلری بے قاضی جادوگری است

دلری با قاضی پیغمبری است

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 264)

IS "DECADENT" ART NOT ART AT ALL?

An interesting question comes to mind here. One wonders if Iqbāl would have denied the status of art to the work of poets such as Ḥāfiẓ. Iqbāl had known that "the good in art is not necessarily identical with the good in life; it is possible for a person to write fine poetry, and lead his

- 
1. Though Persian verse is gay, heart-ravishing,  
Not sharpened by this verse is ego's sword.
  2. Charm lacking power is mere sorcery,  
But charm with power combined is prophethood.

society to Hell."<sup>1</sup> Since it is possible for the good in art to be separate from the good in life, Iqbāl would not have denied the name of art to that which was, in any way, detrimental to life. However, such art he would have banished from his Republic.

ATTACK ON ALL ART

There are places in Iqbāl's works where he seems to denounce not only decadent art but all art. His words "convey the impression that he has no use for poetry of any kind."<sup>2</sup> To the Editor of Makhzan he sent the message:-

جو کام کچھ کر رہی ہیں قومیں، ایسے مذاقِ سخن اپنی ہے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 140)

His words may be easily misunderstood. Here Iqbāl is not saying that art is useless. He is merely expressing his disapproval of the passivity in which his fellow-countrymen were sunk, content with poetry which did not stir in them any longing for action while European nations were struggling hard to build a better life for themselves.

- 
1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 84.
  2. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.
  3. The nations who are strong in action do not have a taste for verse.

TRUE POETRY VERSUS VERSIFICATION

On certain occasions Iqbāl has even denied being a poet.

نہ بی بی خیرازاں مردِ فرد دست  
 کہ بر من تہمتِ شعر و سخن بست  
 بلکہ دہراں کادے ندام  
 دل زارے عجم پارے ندام  
 نہ خاکِ من غبارِ رھگذارے  
 نہ در خاکم دلِ بے اختیارے

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 204)

This disclaimer is, of course, an attack on traditional erotic poetry which abounds in lifeless images of servile adoration. Such poetry lacks dignity and sincerity and is unworthy of the fortified, self-respecting ego.

When Iqbāl says:

میری نوائے برہنہاں کو شاعری نہ سمجھو  
 کہ میں ہوں محرمِ رازِ دردِ میخانہ!

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 76)

he does not mean to say that he is not a poet but that his song is not mere versification. Versification is a mechanical activity, whereas true poetry is organic to the poet's being and reveals to him the secrets of life.

- 
1. No good will ever come from any churlish boor  
 Who lays the charge of versifying at my door.  
 I do not know the alley where the poets sweet-heart dwells;  
 I have no lovelorn heart which someone's coldness ails.  
 Mere humble dust, I yet do not lie on the street  
 To be a carpet under beauty's feet.  
 Nor is there in my dust  
 A heart made clamorous by lust.  
 (Translation by Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.)
  2. Do not look upon my troubled song as mere versifying  
 For I know the secrets of the inside of the tavern.

There we meet another significant idea from Iqbāl's aesthetics, namely, that poetry is to be distinguished from versification. As Sir Philip Sidney wrote, "there have been many most excellent poets that never versified, and now swarm many versifiers that need never answer to the name of poets."<sup>1</sup>

#### ART AS IMITATION

One of the oldest conceptions of Art is art as imitation ("mimesis"). For Plato, art was an imitation of transcendental reality and not once but twice removed from the truth, as the artist imitates what is itself an appearance. Iqbāl, does not believe in the imitation theory of Art. He questions the very reality, which, according to Plato, poetry fails to represent. Even if Plato's picture of reality could be represented it would, for Iqbāl, be an immoral act; for it would amount to the bodying forth of illusions. For Iqbāl poetry does not represent an illusory world forever beyond man's reach but a real world - a world which has a past, present and future, and can be seen and known.<sup>3</sup>

For Iqbāl, art is no more an imitation of Nature than it is an imitation of a supersensible world of Ideas. To the poet he says:

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1. Collins, J. C. (Editor), Sidney's Apologie for Poetry, Oxford, 1955, p. 12.
  2. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.

فطرت کی غلامی سے کہ آزاد ہنر کو  
صیاد ہیں مردانِ ہنرمند کہ بچیر؟

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 115)

To imitate Nature is to enervate the Self by denying an opportunity to its creativeness to manifest itself. Iqbāl describes a poet who is merely an imitator of Nature thus:-

حسن را در پوزہ از فطرت کند  
دھزن در او تہی دے زند  
حسن را از خود برون جستن فطاست  
آنچہ می بالست پیش مالکجاست؟  
نقشہ خود را جو با فطرت سیرد  
نقش او افلند و نقش خود سیرد  
<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ājam, p. 255)

#### ART AS IMPROVEMENT ON NATURE

The poet gives life to the images of Nature from the dynamism of his own being. He is not a passive observer on whose blank mind Nature leaves a series of discordant impressions. On the contrary, by imaginative participation

- 
1. Free art from imitating Nature's way,  
Are artists hunters or mere beasts of prey?
  2. He goes to Nature with a begging bowl  
For beauty's alms: a robber in disguise,  
He steals from Nature, itself destitute.  
To seek for beauty outside of yourself  
Is wrong: what ought to be is not before  
Your eyes, all ready-made for you to see.  
A painter who surrenders himself to  
The forms of Nature loses the form of his Self  
In imitating mere external forms.  
(Translation by Husain, M. H., Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.)

in the life of Nature, the poet gives unity to the diversity of natural phenomena and a meaning to what he perceives. Nature is what it is, the poet creates from what is that which ought to be. In the words of Sir Philip Sidney, "Her (Nature's) world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden."<sup>1</sup>

In Iqbāl's words, "To permit the visible to shape the invisible, to seek what is scientifically called adjustment with Nature is to recognize her mastery over the spirit of man. Power comes from resisting her stimuli, and not from exposing ourselves to their action. Resistance of what is with a view to create what ought to be, is health and life. All else is decay and death.... The artist who is blessing to mankind defies life ... In the words of Fichte, he sees all Nature full, large, and abundant as opposed to him who sees all things thinner, smaller and emptier than they actually are. The modern age seeks inspiration from Nature. But Nature simply 'is' and her function is mainly to obstruct our search for 'ought' which the artist must discover within the depth of his own being."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Collins, J. C. (Editor), Sidney's Apologie for Poetry, p. 8.
  2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal. p. 145

In regarding Nature as passive and static and the poet as possessing the inner power of investiture, Iqbāl comes very close in idea to the thought expressed in the well-known lines of S. T. Coleridge:-

"O Lady! we receive but what we give,  
 And in our life alone does Nature live;  
 Ours is her wedding garment, ours her shroud!  
 And would we ought behold, of higher worth  
 Than that inanimate cold world allowed  
 To the poor loveless ever-anxious crowd,  
 Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth  
 A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud  
 Enveloping the Earth."<sup>1</sup>

The poet is expected by Iqbāl to transcend Nature and to succeed where Nature has failed.

بے ذوق ہیں اگرچہ فطرت  
 جو اس سے نہ ہو سکا، وہ تو کر!

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 87)

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1. Coleridge, E. H. (Editor) The Complete Poetical works of S. T. Coleridge. Oxford, 1912. Volume I, p. 365.
  2. Though Nature does not lack in taste,  
 Perform what she has failed to do.

The poet adds a new charm to the beauties of Nature:-

از نگاهش و بگرد فو بتر  
فطرت از افسون او محبوب تر

<sup>1</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 37)

and may be said to have improved upon it:

آن هنر مندے کہ بر فطرت فرود  
راز خود را بر نگاه ما کتود  
آفریند کائنات دیگرے  
قلب را بخند حیات دیگرے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 256)

Browning has expressed the same thought thus:-

"For, don't you mark? we're made so that we love  
First when we see them painted, things we have passed  
Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;  
And so they are better, painted - better to us,  
Which is the same thing. Art was given for that;  
God uses us to help each other so,  
Lending our minds out."<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. By his look the fair is made fairer  
Through his enchantments Nature is more beloved,  
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p.61)
  2. The skilful master improves upon Nature,  
And reveals his secret to our gaze!  
He creates a new world  
An gives a new life to our being!
  3. The Poetical works of Robert Browning. London. 1905.  
Volume I. p. 522.

To sum up the relation of Art with Nature it would be true to say that Iqbāl believes with Sir Thomas Browne that "nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature; they both being the servants of His Providence: Art is the perfection of Nature."<sup>1</sup>

It has been observed by a writer that Iqbāl disapproves of drama because, "it kills our personality or egohood."<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted here that Iqbāl does not disapprove of the writing of drama and that a number of his own poems have, in fact, a dramatic structure and effect. What he disapproves is the performance of a play because it involves a kind of mimicry or imitation, and by imitation the Self is weakened.

حریمِ پترا خودی غیر کی! معاذ اللہ  
دوبارہ زندہ نہ کر کار و بارِ لات و منات!  
ہی کمال ہے تمثیل کا کہ تو نہ رہے!  
رہانہ تو، تو نہ سوزِ خودی نہ سازِ حیات!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 104)

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1. Browne Sir T. Religio Medici (Edited by Denonain J. J.)  
Cambridge. 1953. p. 26.
  2. Sharīf, M. M. About Iqbāl and His Thought, Lāhore, 1964. p.91
  3. Your sanctuary and another's self! God forbid!  
Revive not the business of Lāt, Manāt,  
Theatre's object is - you should not be,  
If you are not, no selfhood and no life.

EMPHASIS ON CREATIVENESS

Throughout his writings, both poetical and philosophical, Iqbāl has laid great emphasis on Man's creativeness. This is an attribute man shares with God. "Both God and man live by perpetual creation. The artist is an associate of God and feels the contact of time and eternity in his soul."<sup>1</sup>

In considering the creative imagination as an extention<sup>s</sup> of God's creative powers, Iqbāl has an affinity with Blake and Coleridge. "For Blake the imagination is nothing less than God as He operates in the human soul. It follows that any act of creation performed by the imagination is divine."<sup>2</sup> Coleridge defines the primary imagination as "the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM."<sup>3</sup>

For Iqbāl, God is the archetypal poet and the supreme creative artist.<sup>4</sup> Man is His apprentice and helpmate, who dares, on occasion, to argue with God Himself.

گفت بزدان که چنین است و دگر هیچ مگو  
گفت آدم که چنین است و چنان می بالست!

<sup>5</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 192)

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 145
  2. Bowra, C. M. The Romantic Imagination, Oxford, 1964, pp 3-4.
  3. Coleridge, S. T. Biographia Literaria (Edited by Shawcross, J.) Oxford, 1907, Volume, I, p. 202.
  4. Husain, M. H. Iqbal on Poetry and the Poet.
  5. God decreed, "It is like this! Gainsay it not". Man said, "Verily it is like this, but it ought to be like that!"

In an interesting dialogue, the creative man tells God that as a creator he is in no way inferior to Him.

تو سب آفریدی پر اع آفریدم  
سفال آفریدی ایاع آفریدم

بیابان و کسار و دراع آفریدی  
خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم  
من آنم کہ از سنگ آئینہ سازم  
من آنم کہ از زہر تو شینہ سازم

<sup>1</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 132)

The artist also dares to question God about His finest creation which is Man himself.

نہ خود ہیں نے خدا ہیں نے جاں ہیں !

ای شہ کارہ پترے ہنر کا ؟

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 32)

#### THE POET AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

Iqbal agrees with Plato in regarding the poet as an inspired being. But Socrates when he had led Ion to confess to being either dishonest or divinely mad, had meant to discredit the poet anyhow. The poet has a touch of divine madness in him; from this Plato infers that a poet is not morally responsible for his utterances since his words are

- 
1. Thou didst create night and I made the lamp,  
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup.  
Thou didst create deserts, mountains and forests,  
I produced the orchards, gardens and groves;  
It is I who turn stone into a mirror,  
And it is I who turn poison into an antidote!
  2. Neither self-seeing, nor God-seeing, nor world-seeing,  
Of your great Art is this the masterpiece?

ordered by forces outside him. Iqbāl admits that "inspiration is ... is gift the character of which cannot be critically judged by the recipient before accepting it."<sup>1</sup> However, from this premise Iqbāl draws a conclusion vastly different from Plato's. The poet is blessed above others and therefore bears the burden of greater responsibility to God.

For Iqbāl, then inspiration or the creative intuition is of the greatest importance, for if it is lacking, "a work can be perfectly made, and it is nothing; the artist has nothing to say ... Just as finally the unique law of the perfect soul, according to the saying of St. Augustine is - love and do what you want - the unique rule of the perfect artist is finally 'cling to your creative intuition and do what you want'"<sup>2</sup>

#### VISION AND DESIRE

Since the object of Art is to look into "the life of things" and unfold the secrets of Eternity, Iqbāl says

اے اہل نظر ذوقِ نظر خوب ہے لیکن  
جو شے کی حقیقت کو نہ دیکھے وہ نظر کیا !  
مقصودِ هنر سوزِ حیاتِ ابدی ہے  
یہ ایک نفسِ یاد و نفسِ مثلِ شرر کیا !  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 117)

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 114.
2. Jacques H. Coquss. Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry, New York, 1953, p. 60.
3. Men of vision, it is good to have an eye for beauty,  
But the eye that does not perceive Reality has no vision!  
Art yearns for the immortal life,  
And not for this fleeting breath transitory like the spark.  
(Translation by Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 3)

The poet, according to Iqbāl's conception, is a restless creature, possessed of an unbounded imagination which sets before him endless goals and ideals to be achieved. The fire of his passion consumes his very being and yet for him desires and dreams are born every instant.

فطرتِ شاعر سراپا جستجوئی است

خالق و پروردگار آرزوست!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, p. 45)

Since desire is the fountain-head of Art, a desire which remains ungratified is of greater value to the artist than a desire which is lost in fulfilment.

عالمِ سوز و ساز میں وصل سے بڑھکے ہے فریق

وصل میں مرگِ آرزو! ہجر میں لذتِ طلب!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 155)

and so, as poet prays that the ultimate goal remains an ever-receding shore:

ہر لحظہ نیا طور نئی برقی تجلی

اللہ کرے مرحلہ، شوق نہ سوئے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 126)

- 
1. The poet's nature is all searching, creator and nourisher of desire.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma. London, 1966, p. 45)
  2. In the world of passion and melody, separation is better than union.  
In union is desire's death; in separation the pleasure of yearning.
  3. Each instant, a new Sinai, a new flash,  
God grant Desire's journey never ends.

ART AND LIFE

Iqbāl has said repeatedly that it is a necessary condition of Art that it is not bifurcated from the endless struggles and quests of life. "Matthew Arnold" says Iqbāl, "defines poetry as criticism of life. That life is criticism of poetry is equally true".<sup>1</sup> Real poetry springs from the depths of actual experience, from the hopes and despairs, joys and sorrows, aspirations and frustrations of the human heart. To the poet, Iqbāl says:-

اے میانِ کیسہ ات لقریبی

برعیارِ زندگی اور ابرزن

<sup>2</sup>  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 42)

Abstract knowledge is not the stuff of which poetry is made:-

ناداں! ادب و فلسفہ کچھ چیز نہیں ہے

اسبابِ هنر کے لئے لازم ہے نگدو

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 169)

Keats had also believed that "nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced; even a proverb is no proverb to you till your life has illustrated it."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Stray Reflections. p. 37.

2. If thou hast the coin of poesy in the purse,  
Rub it on the touchstone of life.  
(Translation by Nicholson R. A. The Secrets of the Self.  
pp 68-69)

3. Unwise one! literature and philosophy are nothing,  
Life's struggle is necessary to find material for Art.

4. Rollins H. E., (Editor) Letters of John Keats. Cambridge,  
(Massachusetts) 1958, Volume II, p. 91.

For Iqbāl, "Art is living only in so far as the poet or any artist has poured his life-blood into it."<sup>1</sup>

رنگِ ہوا خست و سنگِ چنگِ ہو یا حرف و صوت

معجزہٴ فن کی ہے خونِ جگر سے نمود!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 129)

لغزشِ پسِ سبِ ناتمامِ خونِ جگر کے بغیر

لغزہٴ سودائے فامِ خونِ جگر کے بغیر!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 136)

خونِ دلِ دگر سے ہے میری نوا کی پرورش

ہے رگِ ساز میں روانِ صاحبِ ساز کا مو

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 154)

#### INTENSITY IN ART

For Iqbāl, as for Coleridge, "Passion must be the Soul of Poetry."<sup>5</sup> When Passion - and for Iqbāl, this passion is Love - irradiates Art, it acquires intensity, beauty and truth. With Keats, Iqbāl had believed that "the excellence of every art is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeables evaporate, from their close relationship with Beauty and Truth."<sup>6</sup>

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, pp 70-71.
  2. Colour or brick and stone, harp, or speech and sound  
Born of heart's blood alone are miracles of Art.
  3. Incomplete are all creations without the heart's blood,  
And lacking it a melody is but a frenzy false.
  4. With the heart's blood nourished is my song,  
In the harp there is the Musician's blood.
  5. Quoted in Abrams, M. H. The Mirror and the Lamp, New York, 1953. p. 134.
  6. Rollins, H. E. (Editor) Letters of John Keats, Vol. I, p.192.

Intensity in Art, or what Longinus called 'sublimity' is the product "of an inspired moment of passion, rather than of cool and sustained calculation."<sup>1</sup>

#### ART AND BEAUTY

Both Keats and Iqbāl held that through beauty the artist can somehow come into the presence of the ultimately real. Of Keats, a writer has said that he 'substitutes the discovery of beauty through the imagination for the discovery of facts through the reason, and asserts that it is a more satisfactory and certain way of piercing to the heart of things, since inspired insight sees more than abstract ratiocination ever can ... The rationale of poetry is that intensity that is at once both beautiful and real.'<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl has expressed the Keatsian idea thus:

تن اگر سوزے نذاورد حکمت است  
شعر میگردد چو سوز از دل گرفت  
لو علی اندر غبارِ نازِ گم  
دستِ ردی برده کج محل گرفت

<sup>3</sup>

(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 122)

#### POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY

It is the poet who animates the abstract concepts of philosophy and gives to them a living reality. "Philosophy is a set of abstractions shivering in the cold night of human reason. The poet comes and warms them into objectivity."<sup>4</sup>

1. Quoted in Abrams, M. H. The Mirror and the Lamp. p. 133.
2. Bowra, C. M. The Romantic Imagination, Oxford. 1964, pp 117-48
3. Without fervour, Truth is but Philosophy,  
Gaining the heart's ardour, it becomes poetry.  
Avicenna is lost in the dust raised by the camel,  
While Rūmī's hand has reached the dorser's curtain.
4. Stray Reflections, p. 127.

Iqbāl has expressed his lack of enthusiasm for mathematical or logical preciseness in poetry in his comment on Matthew Arnold. "Matthew Arnold is a very precise poet. I like, however, an element of obscurity and vagueness in poetry, since the vague and the obscure appear profound to the emotions."<sup>1</sup> He also states, "it is idle to seek logical Truth in poetry. The ideal of imagination is beauty, not truth. Do not then try to show a poet's greatness by quoting passages ... which embody scientific truth."<sup>2</sup>

#### IQBAL AND NIETZSCHE

Like Iqbāl, Nietzsche believes that Art is inspired by passion as distinct from reason or logic. But for Nietzsche, the creative passion underlying art and poetry is a blind force. It is Dionysian power, the symbol of the Eternal Will, which destroys the Apollonian illusion of beauty, reason and enlightenment merely so that it can assert the permanence of change and the mastery of the irrational and immoral will-to-live. With Iqbāl, however, the will-to-live is inspired by a moral impulse. In its highest manifestation this moral impulse becomes Love, when the Self identifies itself with the object of its Love.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Stray Reflections, p. 106.
  2. Ibid. p. 16
  3. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.

Nietzsche has two categories of Art, the Apolline and the Dionysiac.<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl also has two categories, symbolised by 'Jamāl (Beauty) and "Jalāl" (Power) respectively, but while Nietzsche is partial to Dionysian as against Apollo, Iqbāl maintains a balance between beauty and sublimity, and recommends a synthesis of them in Art as well as in human life. One of Iqbāl's objections to decadent Art was that it possessed 'Jamāl' but lacked 'Jalāl' and was therefore ineffective.

نہ ہو جلال تو حسن و جمال بے تاثیر  
نہ نفس ہے اگر نغمہ ہو نہ آتشناک

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 122)

One main difference in the effect achieved by the two categories of Art has been stated thus: "The mind feels itself moved in the representation of the Sublime in Nature; whilst in ~~a~~esthetical judgements about the Beautiful it is in restful comtemplation."<sup>3</sup> For Iqbāl, both categories are needed for the perfection of Art: "I have tried to picture the movement of the true artist in whom love reveals itself as a unity of Beauty and Power."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Carritt, E. F. The Theory of Beauty, London, 1931. p.139.
  2. Ineffective without Power is Beauty and Charm, A melody that has no fire is mere breath.
  3. Bernard J. H. (Editor). Kant's Critique of Judgement London. 1914. p. 120.
  4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 114.

IQBĀL AND THE STURM UND DRANG SCHOOL.

Iqbāl's theory of Art may be compared with the aesthetic theory of the Sturm und Drang School. The aesthetic theory of this school was a kind of transcendental Hedonism. Poetry was regarded as the source of ecstatic rapture which led to an inner enlargement of the being and its final immersion in the Absolute. The poet presented supersensible reality and poetry manifested the divine principle of creative energy which pervades the universe keeping the human soul constantly in a fever of self-expression. Poetry revealed reality more fully than philosophy, which was only concerned with conceptual thought. This school regarded the poet as God's co-worker in creation and as such an ideal being.<sup>1</sup>

To a considerable extent Iqbāl agrees with this school of thought except for its hedonistic aspect. Getting involved in a kind of pseudo - mysticism, the Sturm Und Drang School regarded the spiritual rapture which poetry produced as being desirable for its own sake. Iqbāl, however, does not consider it desirable, unless it translates itself into terms of action. In Iqbāl's philosophy there is no place for static pleasure or mere contemplation "much less for the spurious pleasure of feeling like a demigod or superman without acting like one."<sup>2</sup> As Iqbāl himself said, "Life is like the arts of poetry and a painting is wholly expression. Contemplation without action is death."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.
  2. ibid.
  3. Stray Reflections, p. 110.

BEAUTY AND LOVE IN IQBĀL'S AESTHETICS

Beauty and Love figure very largely in Iqbāl's aesthetics and it is interesting to see the different roles allotted to these concepts during the different phases of Iqbāl's thought.<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl's theory of Art, in its earliest stages, was heavily coloured by Neoplatonism. Like Plato, Iqbāl identified God with Beauty and held that it was Beauty which set in motion the dynamic of Eros and Love.

Eternal Beauty is reflected in all things.

حسنِ ازل کی پیداہریر میں جھلک ہے  
انسان میں وہ سخن ہے، غیبی میں وہ چمک ہے  
یہ چاند آسمان کا شاعر کا دل ہے گو پایا  
داں چاندنی ہے جو کچھ پاں درد کی کک ہے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 82)

Avicenna believed that everything in the world is striving to complete itself; what prompts its striving is Love, and its aim is Beauty. Avicenna's theory also finds an expression in Iqbāl:

کہے لگا چاند - ہم نشینو!  
اے نزرع شب کے خوشہ چینو  
جہش سے ہے زندگی جہاں کی  
یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی

1. Here I am indebted to M. M. Sharīf's illuminating essay: "Iqbāl's Theory of Beauty" in About Iqbāl and His Thought, Lāhore. 1964. pp 54-84.
2. Visible in everything is Beauty everlasting,  
What's speech in man, is in the bud a sparkle ravishing.  
It is as if the sky's moon has become the poet's heart,  
What happens to be moonlight there, is here a painful smart.

ہے دوڑتا اشتہبِ زمانہ  
کھانکھا کے طلب کا تازیانہ

انجام ہے اس فرام کا حُسن  
آخار ہے عشق، انہا حُسن

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 121)

Until 1908, Iqbāl had accepted the Platonic doctrine of 'anamnesis' which Socrates advanced "as an explanation of how we come to be possessed at all of ideas more perfect than the things of our worldly experience."<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl's early writings suggest that at that time he believed that before birth the soul enjoyed the presence of Eternal Beauty and that yearning for beauty in this life is a longing for that lost delight.

مخملِ قدرت ہے اک دریائے بے پایاں حُسن  
آنکھ اتر دیکھے تو ہر قطرے میں ہے طوفانِ حُسن  
روح کو لیکن کسی گم گشتہ شے کی ہے ہوس  
ورنہ اس صحرا میں کیوں نالاں ہے یہ مثلِ بوس <sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 93)

- 
1. 'Oh my companions', said the moon,  
'You who night's harvest-acres glean,  
On motion all this world's life hangs:  
Such is the ancient doom of things.  
Swift runs the shadowy steed of time  
Lashed by desire's whip into foam,  
And what is the goal of all this haste?  
Its cradle love - beauty its quest.  
(Translation by Kiernan, V. C. Poems from Iqbāl, London, 1955, p. 11).
  2. Wimsatt, W. and Brooks C. Literary Criticism: A Short History, London, 1951, p. 137.
  3. There is in Nature's realm Beauty unbounded,  
If the eye has vision, every drop has beauty.  
But the spirit longs for something that is lost,  
Else why does it mourn bell-like in this desert?

During the first phase of the development of his theory of Art, Iqbāl believed that Reality is made manifest to man only through Beauty. Every beautiful object be it a rosebud, or star or a scene, is a window through which one peeps into the heart of truth by establishing a demand of communication between mind and reality. The function of the true artist is to reveal similar beauty in all things, which are particular revelations of that Divine Beauty which permeates the whole universe.<sup>1</sup>

In 1908, the year of his return from Europe, Iqbāl went through a period of doubt about the existence of real beauty in the world.

جلوے حسن کہ ہے جس سے تمنا بیتاب  
 پالتا ہے جسے آغوش تجمل میں شباب  
 ابدی بنتا ہے یہ عالم فانی جس سے  
 ایک افسانہ دہن لگیں ہے جوانی جس سے  
 دور ہو جاتی ہے ادراک کی خامی جس سے  
 عقل کرتی ہے تاثر کی غلامی جس سے  
 آہ! موجود بھی دن حسن کہیں ہے کہ نہیں  
 خاتم دہر میں یادب وہ نگیں ہے کہ نہیں

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 131)

1. Dās, S., "The Philosophy of Sir Mahomed Iqbāl" Indian Review, Madrās, 1938, Volume 39, p. 737.
2. Beauty's display that keeps Desire restless,  
 That is, in the imagination, fed by Youth,  
 Which makes immortal this our mortal world,  
 And makes youth seem a colourful episode.  
 That which does make good reason's limitations,  
 And intellect makes subservient to the senses,  
 Ah! does such Beauty exist at all or not?  
 In the world's ring is there such a gem or not, O Lord?

He was also struck by the thought of Beauty's mutability.

Beauty asks the Creator:

خدا سے حسن نے اک روز یہ سوال کیا  
 جہاں میں کیوں نہ تجھے تو نے لا زوال کیا؟

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 112)

The reply is unexpected.

ملا جواب کہ تصویر خانہ ہے دنیا  
 شبِ درازِ عدم کا نشانہ ہے دنیا  
 ہوئی ہے رنگِ لبر سے جب نمودِ اسکی  
 وحی عین ہے حقیقتِ زوال ہے جلی

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 113)

Here we have a glimpse of the idea that haunted Keats - that Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes and must die. This thought makes the lover pursue Beauty all the more intently and ardently and since "every mental pursuit takes its reality and worth from the ardour of the pursuer,"<sup>3</sup> its very mutability makes Beauty more real.

- 
1. Beauty asked God one day  
 This question: 'Why  
 Didst Thou not make me, in Thy world, undying?'  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 10)
  2. And God replying:  
 'A picture-show is this world: all this world  
 A tale out of the long night of not-being;  
 And in it, seeing  
 Its nature works through mutability,  
 That only is lovely whose essence knows decay'  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 10)
  3. Rollins, H. E. (Editor) The Letters of John Keats,  
 Vol. I, p. 242.

In Asrār-e-Khudī, Iqbāl had written:

حسنِ خلاقِ بہارِ آرزوست  
جلدہ اش برددگارِ آرزوست  
سینہ شاعرِ تجلی زارِ حسن  
بفرزاد از سیناے ادوارِ حسن  
1  
(Asrār-e-Khudī, p. 37)

Later we see a gradual shifting of the emphasis from Beauty to Love. Of Goethe, "it has been said ... that his search for the nature of beauty culminated and ended in praise of the divine powers of love."<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl's quest also ended in love. In the period extending from about 1920 to the time of his death, Iqbāl no longer described the essence of Reality in terms of Beauty but in terms of Love.

"For the Neoplatonist Iqbāl, beauty was the creator and the goal of love; for the budding vitalist Iqbāl, it was the creator of love, but not its goal; now for the full fledged heroic vitalist Iqbāl, love is everything."<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. Beauty is the creator of desire's spring-tide,  
Desire is nourished by the display of Beauty,  
'Tis in the poet's breast that Beauty unveils  
'Tis from his Sinai that Beauty's beams arise.  
(Translation by Nicholson R. A. The Secrets of the Self,  
p. 61)
  2. Sharīf, M. M. About Iqbāl and His Thought, p. 69.
  3. ibid. p. 74.

Beauty is subject to mutability but not so is Love:-

حسنِ می گفت کہ شامے نہ پذیرد سحر  
عشقِ می گفت تب و تابِ ددائے دارم

<sup>1</sup>  
(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 195)

اے عالمِ رنگِ دلو! اس صحبتِ مآتا چنڈ  
مرگِ است دوامِ تو عشقِ است دوامِ من!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 197)

Iqbāl has written a great deal on Love. Love is the way and the end, the criterion of beauty, the power and the glory of man's life:

عشقِ مردانِ نقدِ فو بانِ رایچار	حسنِ راحمِ پردہ در ہمِ پردہ دار
صمتِ او آسوائے گردوں گذشت	از جهانِ چنڈ و چونِ پردوں گذشت
از محبتِ جذبہ ہاگردد بلند	ارجِ می گیرد از و نا ارجنڈ
بے محبتِ زندگی ماتم ہم	کار و بارش زشت و نا محکم ہم
عشقِ صیقلِ می زدنِ فرنگِ را	بچھر آئینہ بختِ سنگِ را

1. Beauty said that my morning has no eventide,  
Love said that I have the immortality of restlessness.
2. O world of colour and scent, how long will our association  
last?  
Extinction is your final doom and love is my destiny.

اهل دل را سينه سينادهد      باهنر مندان پد بيما دهد  
 پيش او هر سخن و موجود مات      جمله عالم تلخ و او شاخ نبات  
 گر عجب افكار ما از نار اوست  
 آفرين جان دميدن كار اوست

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, pp. 263-264)

For Iqbāl, the experiential knowledge of Reality as distinguished from abstract intellectualism is named 'Ishq'. All true poetry must find its basis in Love:

نغمه عی باید مینویس برورده      آتش در خون دل حل کرده

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 253).

1. It is a touchstone for the gold of beauty,  
 It both uncovers beauty and preserves  
 Its sanctity. Its aspirations soar  
 Beyond the summit of the skies, beyond  
 This world of quantity, cause and effect.  
 Love sublimates all passions and invests  
 With worth much that is worthless. Without love  
 Life is a funeral, a joyless thing.  
 A celebration of decay and death.  
 Love meliorates man's mental faculties  
 And burnishes a stone into a mirror.  
 It gives the miracle - performing power  
 Of Moses' Shining Hand. All that exists,  
 All that is possible yields to its might;  
 And in this bitter, gloomy world it is  
 A gushing fountain of sweetness and light.  
 The ardour of our thought comes from its fire.  
 Its work is to create and to breath life  
 Into what it creates.  
 (Translation by Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet)
2. A melody must be cherished on the madness of love.  
 It should be like fire dissolved in life-blood.

A real artist is a lover, Love alone brings true knowledge by unfolding the secrets of the heart.

جس روز دل کے راز معنی سمجھو گیا  
 سمجھو تمام مرحلہ ہائے فنر میں طے !

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 113)  
IQBAL AND SHELLEY

In his conception of Love as the source of poetry and of the moral impulse in man, Shelley comes nearest to Iqbal. "The great secret of morals in love; or a going out of our own nature, and identification of ourselves with the beautiful that exists in thought, action or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively he must put himself in the place of another, and of many others, the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination, and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the cause."<sup>2</sup>

THE POET AS PROPHET

In the history of literary criticism we come across a number of instances when a poet has been regarded as a prophet. This is hardly surprising since, like a prophet, a poet transforms subjective into objective reality, and

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1. When the musician understands the secrets of the heart, They overcome are all the stages and problems of art.
  2. Shelley, P. B. "A Defence of Poetry" The Four Ages of Poetry, Oxford, 1947, p. 33.

translates his own inner states of being into concrete facts and situations, thereby adding new dimensions to life.<sup>1</sup>

However, seldom has the word 'prophet' in this context borne so wide a connotation as it does in Iqbāl's thought.

A prophet grasps the deepest realities of human existence and since these realities can only be grasped through life-enhancing action, he attempts to produce, in the people to whom he is sent, such action or at least a state of mind conducive to it.<sup>2</sup> The Poet must do likewise or else for Iqbāl his art is trivial and of little significance:

گر ہنرمیں ہیں تمیرِ فردی کا جوھر  
و اے صورتِ گری و شاعری و نائے و سرود!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 112)

In those who lack strength and courage he must infuse a spirit of resolve and fortitude:

نوا پیرا سو اے بلبل کہ ہو پترے تر تم سے  
کبوتر کے تنِ نازک میں شاہیں کا جگر پیدا

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 300)

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1. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.
  2. McCarthy E. "Iqbāl as a poet and philosopher" Iqbāl Review October 1961. p. 21.
  3. If Art lacks the Self-building quality,  
Woe to such sculpture, poetry and Music.
  4. Commence your singing nightingale that with your melody  
An eagle's heart is born within a pigeon's frail body.

And if a poet succeeds in shaping the human personality,  
then he is accomplishing the task of a prophet:

شعر را مقصود انر آدم گری است  
شاعری هم دارش پیغمبری است

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 46).

Like Blake and Shelley, Iqbāl also believes that the poet is vouchsafed knowledge of what is yet to be - that is, he has the gift of foresight and prophecy. In the words of Blake:

"Hear the voice of the Bard!

Who Present, Past and Future sees."<sup>2</sup>

Shelley's theory of poetry "identifies poetry with prophecy,"<sup>3</sup> and for him, poets are "the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present."<sup>4</sup> For Iqbāl:

حادثہ جو ابھی پردہ افلاک میں ہے  
عکس اس کا میرے آئینہ اجدادک میں ہے

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1. If the purpose of poetry is the fashioning of men, poetry is likewise the heir of prophecy.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 45)
  2. Frye, N. (Editor). Selected Poetry and Prose of William Blake, New York, 1953, p. 35.
  3. Pottle, F. A. "The Case for Shelley," English Romantic Poets, (Edited by Abrams M. H.) Oxford. 1960, p. 290.
  4. Shelley, P. B. "A Defence of Poetry." p. 59.

نہ ستارے میں ہے نہ گردشِ افلاک میں ہے  
بڑی تقدیر ہے نالہ بیباک میں ہے

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 94)

The true poet, like the prophet, is also an interpreter of Nature who reveals secrets not known to Man "The world spirit conceals the various phases of her minor life in symbol. The universe is nothing but a great symbol. But she never takes the trouble to interpret these symbols for us. It is the duty of the poet to interpret them and to reveal their meaning to humanity."<sup>2</sup>

For Iqbāl, as for Shelley, the poet-prophet is "gifted with a particular insight into the nature of reality."<sup>3</sup> He is a visionary and his poetry is the vehicle of his vision. Iqbāl's poet-prophet is able not only to look into the future but also to inspire men to greater striving in order to achieve their higher destiny. To the poet Sir Saiyid's spirit had said:-

سوئے دالوں کو جگا دے شعر کے احجاز سے  
خرمینِ باطل جلا دے شعلہ آواز سے

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 41)

1. The event that's yet beyond the curtain of the skies,  
Its shadow can be seen in my mind's mirror.  
Not in the star nor in the motions of the sky,  
Your destiny lies in my unfearing song.
2. Stray Reflections. p. 105.
3. Bowra, C. M. The Romantic Imagination. p. 21.
4. With the miracle of verse, awaken those asleep,  
Burn the seed of falsehood with the voice's flame.

Through his works, then, the poet encourages men to translate the immense potentialities of the Self into action.

Iqbāl's poet-prophet possesses the lineaments of Carlyle's Hero as Poet. Like Carlyle's Poet Hero, Iqbal's Perfect Man is both a revealer and creator of beauty and of values.<sup>1</sup>

ہیں رہا پید از بساطِ روزگار  
ہر زگار از دستِ او گُرد عیار

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajjam p. 256)

In Carlyle's words, "the true poet is ever, as of old, the Seer; whose eye has been gifted to discern the godlike mystery of God's universe and decipher some new lines of its celestial writings. We can still call him a Vates and Seer; for he sees into the greatest of secrets, 'the open secret', hidden things become clear; how the Future is but another phasis of the present: thereby are his words in very truth prophetic; what he has spoken shall be done."<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl's poet has a great social role to play. He is the "eye" of the nation:-

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1. Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet.
  2. He transforms the old values of life,  
His art establishes the true standard of beauty  
(Translation by Dār B.A. Iqbal's Gulshan-i Rāz-i Jadīd  
and Bandagī Nāmāh Lāhore, 1964. p. 70)
  3. Carlyle, T. Collected works, London, 1869. Volume III,  
p. 388.

شاعرِ رنگیں تو اے دیدہٴ بینائے قوم  
 مبتلائے درد کوئی عضو ہو، روئی ہے آنکھ  
 کس قدر ہمدرد سارے جسم کی ہوتی ہے آنکھ

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 51)

A nation without a poet is nothing:-

شاعر اندر سینہٴ ملت جودل  
 ملت بے شاعرے انبارِ لبّی!

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Jāvīd Nāma, p. 45)

IMPORTANCE OF ARTISTS

Since the artist has a Messianic role to play, it follows that "the spiritual health of a people largely depends on the kind of inspiration which their poets and artists receive."<sup>3</sup> Subject to the kind of inspiration received, Art can proclaim the message of life or death.

سینہٴ روشن ہو تو ہے سوزِ سخنِ عینِ حیات  
 ہونہ روشن، تو سخنِ مرگِ دوامِ اے ساقی!

<sup>4</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 18)

- 
1. The poet with the colourful song is the nation's eye,  
 If in pain is any limb, 'tis the eye that weeps,  
 How great a sympathiser of the body is the eye!
  2. The poet is like the heart in a people's breast,  
 a people without a poet is a mere heap of clay.  
 (Translation by Arberrry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 45.)
  3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 144.
  4. Life itself is Poetry's passion, if enlightened is the  
 heart,  
 If 'tis not, then Poetry is eternal death, O giver-of-wine.

From history Iqbāl had learnt that life-denying ideas could destroy a nation more surely than anything else. "The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or picture, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attila or a Changez."<sup>1</sup>

از نوا تنگینِ تقدیرِ امم  
از نوا تحزیب و تعمیرِ امم

<sup>2</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 195)

When Art is divorced from life and its problems, it heralds a nation's downfall.

نہ جدا رہے نوا اگر تب نقابِ زندگی سے  
کہ ہلاکی، امم سے یہ طریق نے نوازی

<sup>3</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 72)

Iqbāl believed in the truth of Tennyson's words "A song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed."<sup>4</sup> The poet's art must be such that like the stroke of Moses - a

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 115.
  2. The destinies of nations are shaped by a song, by a song nations are destroyed and rebuilt. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 122)
  3. Aloof from life's pursuits the poet must not be, For such a way of singing proves the end of nations.
  4. Tennyson, A. Poetical Works. London, 1959. p. 530.

symbol of Love and Power - which can work the miracle of resurrecting a people's languishing spirit:

بے معجزہ دنیا میں ابھرتی ہیں قومیں  
جو ضربِ کلیمی ہیں دکھنا وہ سن کر کیا!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 117)

For Iqbāl not only is it true that "nations are born in the hearts of poets,"<sup>2</sup> but a poet whose art springs from his heart brings a message of life everlasting to the whole world:

اہلِ زمین کو نسفِ زندگی د دوام ہے  
خونِ جگر سے تربیت پاتی ہے جو سخنوری

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 230)

and if such be his art, then it possesses a sanctity that does not belong to the word of Man:

وہ شعر کہ پیغامِ حیاتِ ابدی ہے  
یا لغتِ جبریل ہے یا بانگِ سراپیل!

<sup>4</sup>  
(Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 133)

QUESTIONS ABOUT IQBĀL'S AESTHETICS: (1) Inspiration and Purpose.  
There are some important questions which may be raised

about Iqbāl's aesthetics. One such question is: If the poet is inspired, as Iqbāl says he is, is it logical to

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1. In the world, without a miracle nations cannot rise, What kind of an art is that which lacks the power of Moses' stroke?
  2. Stray Reflections, p. 125.
  3. To the world it is a way to everlasting life, That art of poetry that is nourished by the heart's blood.
  4. The poetry which is a message of eternal life. Is either Gabriel's song or else the voice of Isrāfīl.

to expect from him poetry with a 'good' purpose? Is it not possible that a poet's inspiration may lead him to preach that which is detrimental to life?

Iqbāl recognized the fact that "inspiration is not a matter of choice ...the personality that receives (the inspiration) and the life-quality of that which is received are matters of utmost importance for mankind."<sup>1</sup> What kind of inspiration comes and to whom, then, is a matter of luck, not of choosing or deserving.

If a poet cannot help the quality of his inspiration, he cannot be held morally responsible for what he says, because he says what he must. Also, in that case, it would not make sense to say that his poetry must have a specific purpose.

Here, Iqbāl's conception of inspiration is worth examining. Inspiration is not something which "possesses" a person; it is not an outside agency acting upon a person. Inspiration springs not from without but from within. It has an organic relationship with the poet's being. The poet cannot, therefore, claim exemption from moral responsibility on the ground that his words are determined by the kind of inspiration he receives.

Far from regarding Art as determined, Iqbāl agrees with Croce in regarding art as the self-expression of the artist.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. pp. 114-115.

2. Sharīf, M. M. About Iqbāl and His Thought. p. 104.

He also agreed with Croce that appreciation of art is possible chiefly because we have the same emotions as the poet:<sup>1</sup>

نوائے ادب ہر دل سازگار است  
کہ در ہر سینہ قاشے از دلِ ادب است

<sup>2</sup>  
(Armagān-e-Hijāz, p. 34)

Sometimes from Iqbāl's writing it appears as if he thinks that inspiration may lead either to life-giving and life-enhancing art or to decadent art. He does not deny the name of inspiration to that which leads to the latter. However, like Shelley most of the time, he describes inspiration - which is another name for the creative imagination - as the agent of moral good. Decadent art is art which bears no relation to life or is destructive to the vital impulse in man. Because real inspiration springs from the poet's 'heart' and is intimately linked with the problems and ideals of human beings, Iqbāl implies that decadent art lacks real inspiration. If inspiration is the agent of moral good it follows that it can only lead to life-renewing and morally invigorating poetry.

The main difficulty arises when one tries to reconcile the idea that the poet is an inspired being with the idea that his poetry must further a specific purpose or commitment.

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1. Sharif, M. M. About Iqbāl and His Thought, p. 106.
  2. His melody is agreeable to all  
For in each breast there's a piece of his heart.

In Jāvid Nāma the poet asks the Indian poet Bartari-Hari to answer this question:

شعر را سوز از کجا آید بگوئے  
از فودی یا از خدا آید بگوئے!

<sup>1</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, p. 198)

The answer is couched in ambiguous terms:

کس نداند در جهان شاعر کجاست  
برده ادازیم وزیرِ نواست!  
آن دل گریه که دارد در کنار  
بیش بزدان هم نمی گیرد هزار!  
جانِ مادرالذت اندر جستجوست  
شعر را سوز از مقام آرزوست!

<sup>2</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, pp 198-199)

Iqbāl and Shelley both believe that poetry gets at "the motives for good action, touching the heart by enkindling the imagination."<sup>3</sup> For Shelley, however, poetry has no conscious purpose. "Didactic poetry is my abhorrence", he said.<sup>4</sup> For Croce, too, art is an autonomous activity free from ethics.<sup>5</sup> For Iqbāl, in one sense, the highest poetry is

1. Say, whence comes the fire into poetry?  
Does it come from the Self, or from God?  
(Translation by Arberry A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 124)
2. None knows where the poet is in this world,  
his melody springs from the high notes and the low.  
That burning heart which he has in his breast  
finds not repose even before God.  
Our soul's delight is in questing;  
poetry's fire of the station of desire.  
(Translation by Arberry A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 124)
3. Wimsatt, W. and Brooks, C. Literary Criticism: A Short History, pp 422-423.
4. Shepherd, R. H. (Editor). Shelley's Poetical Works. London. 1888. Volume I. p. 330.
5. Vāhid, S. A. Studies in Iqbāl. p.3.

didactic in nature, and art cannot be divorced from ethics. The artist creates with a conscious purpose in view. How is this conscious purpose reconcilable with the fact that he is inspired? The fact that an artist is inspired means, for Iqbāl, that he is being guided in his work not by reason or the discursive faculties, but by his intuition, or through his heart. Intuition, as Iqbal conceives it, is a "higher kind of intellect,"<sup>1</sup> and not a blind force. Therefore, in view of Iqbāl's total vision it is possible to imagine an artist who is inspired and who yet has a conscious purpose in mind.

(2) Iqbāl's functionalism and 'universal' Art

Another important question which has to be considered regarding Iqbāl's aesthetics is: If Iqbāl's poet must have a function, does a poet whose work has no 'function' to perform all outside his conception of a true poet?

As has already been stated, for Iqbāl in one sense, the highest poetry is that which serves to fortify the Ego, both in the individual and in the community. Or, as one writer observes, "Poetry as active history and history-making prophecy ... is the supreme goal of Iqbāl's aesthetics."<sup>2</sup>

When we examine Iqbāl's concept of a poet, the picture of the poet as a prophet emerges very strongly. One comment on this subject reads, "... the prophet fixes his eye only on one specific goal and uses the simplest possible means of

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 310.

2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 72.

gaining it, preaching a single doctrine in order to collect the peoples around it like around a flag. That is exactly what Iqbāl wants from his ideal poet."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl's poet does indeed have a prophet-like mission to accomplish, but this comment also seems to suggest that Iqbāl does not have much use for a poet who has no doctrinal commitment. If this were indeed the case, Iqbāl could hardly have expressed so deep an admiration for non-didactic poets like Shakespeare and Ghālib.

To Shakespeare he says:-

برگِ گل آئینہ عارضِ زیبائے بہار  
 شاہدے کے لئے مجھ کو جامِ آئینہ  
 حسنِ آئینہ حق اور دلِ آئینہ حسن  
 دلِ انار کو ترا حسنِ کلامِ آئینہ  
 2 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 277)

Of Ghālib, he said "he is one of those poets whose imagination and intellect place them above the narrow limitations of creed and nationality. His recognition is yet to come."<sup>3</sup>

In stressing the functionalism of Iqbāl's poet, it is often overlooked that Iqbāl has also stated, not once but repeatedly, that true art is that which leads to an increment and a more vivid apprehension of life. Iqbāl shared with

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1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 62.
  2. The flower's petal mirrors the beauty of the spring,  
 The cup mirrors the beauty of wine,  
 Beauty mirrors truth, and the heart mirrors beauty,  
 For man's heart, your art's beauty is the mirror.
  3. Stray Reflections. p. 51.

the Dantesque conception of poetry being as "vast and deep as humanity, wherein every soul will stand forth revealed in its naked truth ... The object of a poet according to them is to enshrine in imperishable words the highest truths known to man and some truths that had escaped man's notice."<sup>1</sup> These truths are not necessarily of a religious or moral import; nevertheless they are significant and valuable, because like Shakespeare's art, they are a translation of reality into human terms.

"Both Shakespeare and Goethe re-think the Divine Thought of Creation,"<sup>2</sup> says Iqbāl, and he would have agreed that though some of the greatest poets have not set out to preach a particular doctrine, they have, yet, "both informed and created, have been both teachers and magicians."<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl, then does not exclude from his concept of a poet, poets whose work has a 'universal' rather than a 'particular' import. He could scarcely have done so when he shared with Blake the view that the imagination includes "all activities which create or increase life,"<sup>4</sup> and with Keats his faith in the "holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of the imagination."<sup>5</sup> What he rejects is not 'universal' art which has no particular purpose to serve, but decadent art which has

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1. Vahid, S. A. Studies in Iqbāl, p. 218.
  2. Stray Reflections, p. 144.
  3. Bowra, C. M. The Heritage of Symbolism, London, 1943 p. 219.
  4. Bowra, C. M. The Romantic Imagination, p. 16.
  5. Rollins, H. E. (Editor) The Letters of John Keats, Vol. I, p. 84.

no meaning:-

نغمه گر معنی ندارد مرده ایست  
سوز او از آتشِ افسرده ایست

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 253)

Of a true artist Iqbāl has written that his art reflects all things as he sees them:

فطرتِ پاکش عیارِ فوبِ دزشت  
صفتش آینه دارِ فوبِ دزشت

<sup>2</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 256)

Such a conception certainly does not exclude all non-didactic poets.

#### IQBĀL'S AESTHETICS: SUMMING UP.

Iqbāl, then, has a dual conception of a poet and consequently of art. Firstly, the poet is seen primarily as a prophet and he has a definite function to perform and perhaps a doctrinal commitment to redeem. Secondly, he is seen as an artist who presents life as he sees it, his imaginative insight as illuminating the secret depths of the human mind, his work concerned not with "the purely temporal or ephemeral aspects of individual or collective experience but with what is genuinely significant and abiding."<sup>3</sup>

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1. A melody that has no meaning is lifeless,  
Its warmth is only from a dying fire.
  2. His pure heart is the touchstone  
Of the beautiful and the ugly, and  
His art a mirror which reflects them both.  
(Translation by Husain, M. H. Iqbāl on Poetry and the Poet)
  3. Saiyidain, K. G. "Progressive Trends in Iqbāl's Thought"  
Iqbāl as a Thinker, Lāhore, 1966, p. 53.

The narrow conception of a poet may not be reconcilable with the wider one, but though the two conceptions may not be reducible one to the other, yet, in one sense, the ultimate goal in both cases is the same. As one writer observes, for Iqbāl, "the ultimate objective of art ... is the "life eternal."<sup>1</sup> The poet-prophet aims to secure this objective by moral and spiritual enlightenment and elevation, the artist attains the end of adding to the abundance and glory of life by responding with all the sensitiveness of his being to external and internal forces and by experiencing, perhaps in one moment of blessed awareness, that which lies beyond good and evil and foreshadows eternity.

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1. Saiyidain, K. G. "Progressive Trends in Iqbāl's Thought" p.53.

## CHAPTER IX

IQBĀL'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY - DEVELOPMENT  
AND SALIENT IDEAS.

Iqbāl is often accused of inconsistencies, of contradicting himself, so far as his political philosophy is concerned. This accusation is largely the result either of regarding Iqbāl's general philosophy as arising from his political philosophy, or of studying his political philosophy in isolation from his general philosophy. Iqbāl's political philosophy is an integral part of his total philosophy, and is best understood if studied with references to the wider whole.

FIRST PHASE: THE TEMPLE OF LOVE

Difference between 'nationalistic' and 'patriotic' poetry

Iqbāl's pre-1905 poetry is often said to be 'nationalistic.' It is necessary to differentiate between 'patriotic' and 'nationalistic' verse because the latter implies an awareness of, and an involvement with, political theory or practice which may be entirely absent from the former. "Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man,"<sup>1</sup> said Iqbāl because "patriotism, as love for the best that one's country or group has achieved, as an appreciation its special cultural values and contributions, is a sentiment of great value."<sup>2</sup>

That Iqbāl the young poet was a patriot, of this his early

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 197.

2. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 227.

poetry leaves no doubt. That he remained a patriot is sometimes forgotten. It has been truly said, "Iqbāl sprang up in the realm of Indian poetry as a bard of India and even after so many vicissitudes in his career when he left this earth on 21st April, 1938 remained a truly patriotic poet of India."<sup>1</sup> Another writer states that Iqbal has been wrongly accused by some critics of a lack of patriotism.<sup>2</sup> In Jāvid Nāma Iqbāl reserves his severest condemnation for the traitors Mīr Ja'far and Nawwāb Ṣādiq whom even Hell had refused. Through the words of the Martyr-King, Iqbāl's patriotism finds such memorable utterance:-

باز گو از هندو از هندوستان  
آنکه با گمشتن نیرزد بوستان!

آنکه اندر مسجدش هنگامه مرید  
آنکه اندر دیر او آتش فشرده!

آنکه دل از بر او خون کرده ایم  
آنکه یادش را بجای پرورده ایم

از غم ما کن غم او را قیاس  
آه آزاں معشوقی عاشق نا شناس!

<sup>3</sup>  
(Jāvid Nāma, p. 212)

1. Chopra, H. L. "Iqbal and India" Indo-Iranica, Calcutta, June 1961. Vol. XV, p. 33.
2. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 227.
3. Speak again of the Indians and of India-  
one blade of her grass no garden can outmatch;  
speak of her in whose mosques the tumult has died,  
Of her in whose temples the fire is quenched,  
Of her for whose sake I have my blood,  
Whose memory I have nursed in my soul.  
From my grief you may guess at her grief;  
alas, for the beloved who knows no more the lover!  
(Translation by Arberry A. J. Jāvid Nāma. London, 1966. p 131)

In another poem he says:-

خاور کی امیدوں کا یہی خاک ہے مرکز  
 اقبال کے اشکوں سے یہی خاک ہے پر اب!  
 چشمِ مددِ پروپس ہے اسی خاک سے روشن  
 یہ خاک کہ ہے جس کا خرف ریزہ درِ ناب!  
 اس خاک سے اچھے ہیں وہ خواصِ معالی  
 جن کے لئے ہر بحرِ پر آشوب ہے پایاب!  
<sup>1</sup>(Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 107)

But it must be borne in mind that patriotism is not the same thing as nationalism.

### 'Political' Poetry

The two things which stand out foremost in Iqbāl's pre-1905 'political' poetry are:-

- (a) His desire to see a self-governing and united India - a country free both of alien domination and inner dissensions - in particular the Hindū-Muslim conflict; and
- (b) his constant endeavour to draw attention to those agencies of decay and decadence which caused the decline of the Muslims in India.

The 'political' poems in the first part of Bāng-e-Darā indicate that at that time Iqbāl suffered more on account of the factors, and factions which divided the Indian people than on account of the imperialistic yoke imposed on his countrymen. One reason for this was, no doubt, the feeling that until the people of India could resolve their differences and come to terms with each other, the dream of sovereign rule for India

---

1. This is the land, centre of the hopes of the East,  
 This is the land, watered by Iqbāl's tears,  
 This is the land, light of the eyes of the moon and stars  
 Whose shells are precious as the finest pearls.  
 From this land have emerged those profound thinkers  
 For whom every storm-tossed ocean is shallow.  
 (Translation by Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational  
 Philosophy, p. 230).

would remain a dream, but as will be shown, there was a far more fundamental reason for Iqbāl's passionate nationalism which found an expression in lyrics known throughout India.

Iqbāl, the young poet was deeply disturbed by the communal discord and distrust which he saw all around him. With his usual eloquence he cried out against the forces of disruption. No one was spared. The Mullā and the Brahman were criticised equally ruthlessly. From their gods they had learnt only hatred and hostility. The poet was surprised at their unwisdom

بہتر کی صورتوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 88)

and expressed allegiance to a faith very different from theirs:

غابِ وطن کا مجھ کو ہر ذرہ دیتا ہے

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 86)

The poet worships his country but the places of worship have been defiled by bickering and bitterness and hence a new temple - a sanctuary of Love - must be erected wherein all may worship. In "Nayā Shiwāla"<sup>3</sup> (The New Temple) the poet addressed the keepers of the temple and the mosque:-

- 
1. You think in idols carved of stone there is divinity.
  2. Each particle of my country's dust is as a god to me.
  3. Bāng-e-Darā, pp. 88-89.

آءِ عَرِیْتِ كے پردے اَك بادِ پُراٹھا دیں  
بچڑوں كو پھر ملا دیں، لقتیں دہلی مُٹا دیں

سوئی بڑی ہوئی بے مدت سے دل کی بستی

آءِ اَك نیا سُوالہ اس دلیں میں بنا دیں

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 88)

Although the theme of this poem recurs in Iqbāl's early verse, yet this poem is unique because it embodies a vision of universal love which is couched not in general terms, as it is elsewhere in Iqbāl's poetry, but in specifically Hindū vocabulary. Obviously this poem was a direct appeal to the Hindūs and its terminology indicates the poet's eagerness to establish a medium of communication and spiritual rapport between the Hindūs and Muslims.

In "Taṣwīr-e-Dard"<sup>2</sup> (The Portrait of Pain) the poet "weeps" for Hindustān - a country whose people are lost in "tales of ancient days" and do not indulge even in "the joys of complaint." The poet expresses his own determination "to string together the separated beads of the rosary," the religious association of the rosary-image making it clear what kind of 'separation' the poet had in mind. In the name of the all-embracing principle of human love, the poet urges his compatriots to transcend prejudice and attain true freedom.

- 
1. Come let us lift the curtain of estrangement once again,  
Unite once more the parted ones, erase duality's stain.  
Since a long time heart's habitation has been so desolate,  
O come, a Temple new, in this land, let us elevate.
  2. Bāng-e-Darā, pp. 60-71.

تو تو سمجھ لو آزادی ہے پوشیدہ محبت میں  
غلامی ہے اسیر امتیازِ ماد تو دھنا

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 69.)

Iqbāl did not minimize the difficulty of rising above personal bias. He admired Nature for her "impartiality" - she was the same for all. The poet was keenly aware of his own limitations. To the "Sham'a"<sup>2</sup> (The Candle) he said wistfully:-

کعبے میں، بتکدے میں ہے یکساں تری ضیا  
میں امتیازِ دیرِ دہرم میں پھنسا ہوا

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-a-Darā, p. 30)

Difficult though it is, the ideal of unity must be achieved for

اجاڑا ہے تمیزِ ملت د آئیں نے قوموں کو

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 71)

- 
1. In Love is hidden Liberty if only you could see,  
And bondage is discrimination between you and me.
  2. Bāng-e-Darā, pp 30-32.
  3. In Kā'ba and the house of idols, your glow is the same,  
But in differences of mosque and temple lost I am.
  4. Nations are ruined by the bias of custom and creed.

The poet asks:

مرے اہل وطن کے دل میں کچھ فکرِ وطن بھی ہے ؟

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 71)

He has already said without equivocation:-

نہ سمجھو گے تو مت جاؤ گے اے ہندوستان والو !

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 64)

The lesson which the poet wishes the people of India to learn is the lesson of love and faith. Many years later when speaking of the problems of India, Iqbāl wrote, "It is, and has always been, a question of faith. Our faith too depends on affection and understanding ... what we need for a swift solution of the political problem of India is faith."<sup>3</sup> It is important to bear this in mind because Iqbāl's political philosophy is a part of his total vision and to regard his words as possessing merely political signification is to misunderstand the nature of his thought.

The idea behind the rosary-image is repeated in "Ṣadā-e-Dard"<sup>4</sup> (The Cry of Pain) when the poet expresses his own helplessness and inability to achieve anything positive in a

- 
1. Is there in my compatriots' heart for country any heed?
  2. People of India, if you do not learn, you'll be no more.
  3. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl, Lāhore, 1948, p. 169.
  4. Bāng-e-Darā, pp 27-28.

society, divided against itself. He laments the disunity of the Indian peoples:-

ایک ہی ذرمن کے دانوں میں جدائی سے غضب

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 27)

It seems as if Iqbāl had not yet come to believe in Sir Saiyed's "two-nation" theory according to which Hindūs and Muslims were in fact not the 'grains' of the same 'harvest'.

A number of poems for children were obviously written with the political background in mind. "Parinde kī Faryād"<sup>2</sup> (The Bird's Lament) - the longing of a caged bird for the freedom of the skies and its nest-bears reference to the greater bondage and deeper craving for liberty of a whole sub-continent. The vision realised in "Hindustānī Bacon Kā Qaumī Gīt"<sup>3</sup> (The National Song of the Indian Children) is again one of universal love, peace and goodwill. The poet undoubtedly wished, then, to teach little children to feel that to live in India was to lead "a heavenly life,"<sup>4</sup> and that they must "adorn my country as a flower adorns a garden."<sup>5</sup> Iqbāl's "Tarāna-e-Hindī"<sup>6</sup> (The Song of India) became the national anthem of India. According to one writer, it "remains to this

- 
1. Alack! that there should be disunity in one harvest's grains.
  2. Bāng-e-Darā, pp. 21-22.
  3. ibid. pp. 85-86.
  4. Bāng-e-Darā, p. 86.
  5. ibid. p. 19
  6. ibid. p. 80. Reference is made to it in Masood, S. R. "Some Aspects of Urdū Poetry" The Athenaeum, London, 11920, p. 60.

day the best patriotic poem written by any Indian poet in modern times. It comes nearest, in fact, to a truly, non-communal, national anthem of India."<sup>1</sup> The message it contained was nothing new, but perhaps the words were more explicit than they had been before:-

مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں پیر رکھنا

ہندی ہیں ہم، وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا

<sup>2</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 80)

Perhaps it was the tragedy of Iqbāl's youth that the India-mother-of-all ideal which meant so much to him was shattered before the children who sang his songs grew to manhood. Disillusionment came, as it must, when the fragile, starry-eyed idealism of youth is touched by the coldness of concrete reality. But as Keats had clung to the principle of Beauty, even as sickness and sorrow consumed his mortal self, so Iqbāl, through a life filled with many disappointments, never lost faith in the principles of Love. The vision which inspired him was to remain constant though his melody was to become more solemn as the full-throated ease of the first fresh notes of his singing became laden with experience and the burden of prophecy.

- 
1. Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim, pp. 24-25.
  2. Religion does not teach us mutual belligerency,  
We are the people of India and India is our country.

Iqbāl who was so concerned about the fate of India, was naturally enough, particularly concerned about the plight of his co-religionists. He subscribed devotedly to the activities of the Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām (Society for the Defence of Islām, an organization which meant much to the Muslims who made a special effort "to re-affirm their solidarity with each other and take part in the constructive efforts of their leaders."<sup>1</sup> At the fifteenth annual meeting of the Anjuman<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl read his poem "Nāla<sup>2</sup>-e-Yatīm"<sup>3</sup> (The Orphan's Lament) which was to win much acclaim and bring into limelight the young poet who expressed so eloquently the sorrows and aspirations of the India Muslims. This poem was followed in subsequent years by "Yatīm kā Khiṭāb Hilāl-e-'Īd Se"<sup>4</sup> (Orphan's Address to the 'Īd Moon), "Islāmīa College kā Khiṭāb Panjāb ke Musalmānon Se"<sup>5</sup> (The Address of Islāmīa College to the Muslims of the Panjāb), "Dīn-o-Dunyā"<sup>6</sup> (Religion and the World), "Abr-e-Guharbār"<sup>7</sup> (The Pearl-Raining Cloud), and "Taṣwīr-e-Dard"<sup>8</sup> (The Portrait of Pain). All the poems bear a reference to the

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1. Malik, H. Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan. Washington, D. C. 1963, p. 218.
  2. Held at Lāhore on 23, 24, 25 February, 1900.
  3. Mehr, G. R. and Delāwarī, S. A. (Editors) Sarod-e-Rafta, Lāhore, 1951, pp. 9-18.
  4. Read at the sixteenth meeting of the Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām, in 1901. Sarod-e-Rafta, pp 18-30.
  5. Read at the Seventeenth Meeting of the Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām, in 1902, Sarod-e-Rafta, pp 30-38.
  6. Also read in 1902. Sarod-e-Rafta, pp. 38-42.
  7. Read at the eighteenth meeting of the Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām, in 1903, Sarod-e-Rafta, pp 42-52.
  8. Read at the nineteenth meeting of the Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām, in 1904. Bāng-e-Darā, pp 60-71, Sarod-e-Rafta, pp 115-120.

Muslim community. It is important to bear this in mind because it is sometimes assumed that in the first phase of his poetic career Iqbāl's thought was exclusively nationalistic, and that he was not particularly concerned about the Muslims. From the poems mentioned above, it is quite clear that Iqbāl shared with the Indian Muslims their feeling of desolation and frustration at finding themselves faced both with political bondage and spiritual poverty. He felt very strongly that Islām as he saw it practised was not as it was meant to be. He protested against those who had failed to understand, or had deliberately distorted, the true spirit of Islām. This protest was to last all his life.

Importance of action.

It would be difficult to say that before 1905 Iqbāl had a definite philosophy. But an analysis of his early poems reveals in embryo most of the ideas which were later to play a prominent part in the system of his thought. For instance we find the idea that the development of the individual depends on his capacity for purposeful action. The destiny of a nation too depends on action:-

یہی آئینِ قدرت ہے، یہی اسلوبِ فطرت ہے  
جو ہے راہِ عمل میں گامزن، مجربِ فطرت ہے

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 64)

1. 'Tis Divinity's decree and Creation's mode-  
Who walks along the path of Action is by nature loved.

"Action is the highest form of contemplation"<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl wrote in 1925, but he had known this truth a long time before then. He knew it, in fact, before the active West had sharpened his awareness of the consequences of a lack of preparedness and an unwillingness or inability to act when action was required. Perhaps he had learnt to believe in action from the Qōr'ān which "emphasises 'deed' rather than 'idea'."<sup>2</sup> But it is also possible that his love for action sprang from his particular disposition and that it was strengthened rather than induced by his religious faith.

Religion and the material world.

Another interesting idea found in Iqbāl's early verse is that an abandonment of the material world is not demanded by religion. In "Dīn-o-Dunyā" Iqbāl states that in fact "religion is the guardian of the material world."<sup>3</sup> In another poem, the spirit of Sir Saiyed tells the poet:-

مدعا یترا اگر دنیا میں سے تعلیم دین  
ترب دنیا قوم کو اپنی نہ سکھانا ہیں

<sup>4</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 40)

This is the foreshadowing of the idea which was to become one of the pivots of his political philosophy - the idea that the

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 115.
2. Preface to The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. v.
3. Sarod-e-Rafta, p. 41.
4. To teach Religion in the world, if this be your aim,  
Do not teach your nation that the world they should disclaim.

spiritual and temporal aspects of a man's life so far from being mutually exclusive, were organically related to each other and that there was no need to bifurcate the unity of individual and collective life into the domains of Church and State. In his Maṣnawī 'Pas Či Bāyad Kard Aḡ Aqwām-e-Sharq?' published in 1936, he wrote:-

اے کہ از ترکِ جاں گوی، ملو  
ترکِ این دیر کن تسخیر او

<sup>1</sup>  
(Pas Či Bāyad Kard Aḡ Aqwām-e-Sharq? p. 25)  
First phase: summing up.

The Temple of Love may be said to symbolize the first phase of Iqbāl's writing career. E. M. Forster has not quite understood the nature of Iqbāl's vision as bodied forth in this symbol, for he describes the New Temple as "The Temple of India" and observes, "the glory of the courtyard from Mecca shall inhabit the temple; the image in its shrine shall be gold, inscribed Hindustān, shall wear both the Brahman thread and the Moslem rosary, and the Muezzin shall call worshippers to prayer upon a horn."<sup>2</sup> The New Temple is in India but it is not of India. Nor it is conceived by Iqbāl as being emblematic of a faith composed of elements taken from different faiths for such a faith would not be an organic unity, yet it would destroy the distinctness of either faith. The Temple is raised not to

- 
1. O you who talk of forsaking the world, do not do so, Abandonment of this old idol-house lies in its conquest.
  2. Forster, E. M. "The Poetry of Iqbāl" The Athenaeum, London, 10 December, 1920, p. 804.

Hindustān but to Love which transcends the image in which it is expressed.

SECOND PHASE: SOJOURN IN EUROPE.

It is often said that Iqbal's thinking was completely changed by his confrontation with the Western civilization. What Europe did for him was to crystallize, rather than radically alter, his way of thinking. Coming face to face with a society so different from his own, he had the opportunity to compare the modes of living and the sets of values which he saw prevailing in the East and in the West. It was no longer sufficient for him to believe instinctively or vaguely in the reality or validity of a certain order of things. He had to justify his belief to himself and to others. He had realized the prophetic nature of his poetry and the burden of his prophecy was such that the spontaneous outpouring of his verse had to give way to poetry which could satisfy intellectually as well as emotionally.

Emphasis on Love.

Almost all the poems written during the second phase of Iqbāl's writing career (1905-1908) are concerned with Love. This is no accident. As a poet, Iqbāl believed in Love as a principle of eternity, which in a world of ever-changing flux gave meaning and stability to human life. In the West, he became aware of the importance of Love, not only as a poetical, but as a philosophical concept. It was Love that was to be informing vision giving unity to all his diverse writings.

Iqbāl and capitalism.

It has been said of Iqbāl that he was anti-intellectual "essentially as a revolt against modern capitalism!"<sup>1</sup>

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1. Smith, W. C. Modern Islām in India, London, 1946 p. 113.

Since Iqbāl did not repudiate the role or significance of the intellect, it is not altogether fair to call him anti-intellectual merely because he pointed out the limitations of reason (as did other philosophers like Kant). As for his being anti-intellectual essentially as a revolt against modern capitalism, there was no necessary connection between intellect as Iqbāl conceived it and capitalism. Intellect was a gift of God given to Adam which gave him the power to form concepts and raised him above the angels.<sup>1</sup> Capitalism was not a product of the intellect, it was a product of a civilization which exploited the human body and spirit because it no longer believed in the principle of Love. Iqbāl objected to capitalism in its extreme form as he did to all such economic and political systems which did not take sufficient cognizance of human rights and dignities. Like Bernard Shaw, he believed in attacking "the wrong side of things and exposing aberration, injustice, intolerance and special claims, by methods calculated to meet extremism on its own ground."<sup>2</sup>

Reaction against the West.

From a study of the poems written during Iqbāl's three-year stay in Europe, a few facts emerge. One is his recoil from the glamorous and materially prosperous West which intoxicates rather than enlightens:-

- 
1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 13. (Reference to the Qor'an 2:28-31)
  2. Chhakavarty, A. "Iqbāl, India's Muslim Poet" Asia New York, September 1938. Volume XXVIII. No. 9. p. 56.

پیرِ مغاں فرنگ کی سے کالشا ط ہے اثر

اس میں وہ کیفِ غم نہیں ، مجھ کو تو خانہ ساز دے

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 114)

Iqbāl sees the Western civilization precariously poised on the verge of a cataclysm. To the inhabitants of the West Iqbāl makes a prediction - a prediction which was to come true to the last bitter syllable.<sup>2</sup>

تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خمیر سے آپ ہی خود کتنی کر لیگی

جو شاخِ نازک یہ آشیانہ بنے گا، نا پائدار ہوگا

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 146)

Iqbāl and Islām.

It is apparent that during his stay in Europe, Iqbāl had begun to think 'philosophically' about the nature of the Islāmic community. With the widening of his intellectual horizon, he was able to see India and its problems in a more detached manner. Away from the scene of turmoil and emotional involvements, he was able to think more clearly about fundamental issues which had been obscured by the dust of constant controversy:-

- 
1. The European tavern-keepers' wine brings jubilee,  
It has not the ecstasy of grief; give home-brewed wine to me.
  2. Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim. p. 72.
  3. Your civilization with its own dagger will stab itself to  
death-  
A nest which is built on a feeble bough cannot be permanent.

وجود افراد کا مجازی ہے ہستی قوم ہے حقیقی  
فدا ہو ملت پہ، یعنی آتش زینِ طلسمِ مجاز ہو جا

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 134)

These words may seem surprising considering the tremendous importance given to the Individual by Iqbāl. The relationship of the individual to his community as conceived by Iqbāl seems somewhat paradoxical at first sight. One wonders what the supreme protagonist of Selfhood meant by asking the individual to sacrifice himself for the "Millat." This is a question of considerable interest and more will be said about it later.

Beginning of the stress on Islāmic internationalism.

Perhaps the most important political idea in Iqbāl's 1905-1908 verse is that in Islām, " 'Nationality' is a pure idea, it has no geographical basis."<sup>2</sup> According to Iqbāl the Prophet of Islām taught:-

بنا ہمارے حصارِ ملت کی اتحادِ وطن نہیں ہے

<sup>3</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 140)

This is not a rejection of nationalism, but a glimpse of a wider concept. Earlier, Iqbāl had visualised a particular

- 
1. The life of the individual is contingent, the life of the community is real,  
Sacrifice yourself for your community, burn the magic of that which is illusory.
  2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 51.
  3. The foundation of the fortification of our 'Millat' is not the unity of a **country**.

fulfilment of his universal vision of love and goodwill in a unified India. It seems that now he had begun to realize that unity in order to be real and lasting must spring from within i.e. it must be organic. Even if it were possible to impose some kind of unity on the naturally illadjusted multiplicities of India, such a unity could not fulfil Iqbāl ideal. In his search for a group with an inner cohesion, Iqbāl began to concentrate more and more on the Islāmic community. It was then that he wrote:-

یہ ہند کے فرقہ ساز اقبال آذری کر رہے ہیں گویا

بچا کے دامن بتوں سے اپنا غبارِ راہِ حجاز ہو جا

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 134)

### THIRD PHASE: THE VISION UNVEILED

During the next thirty years Iqbāl wrote all his major poetical works and his lectures on The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām. When Iqbāl returned from Europe a number of his most significant ideas had already emerged, but these had yet to be developed into a consistent and dynamic philosophy of life - a philosophy which satisfied the intellect, and also gave sustenance to the spirit, and an impetus to action.

Questions which had both theoretical and practical importance (such as the questions involving the relationship

- 
1. The creators of sects in India are acting like Āzar, Protecting yourself from idols, become the dust of the way to Hijāz.

of the individual to the community) had begun to occupy Iqbal's mind. The most burning questions of the day in India were concerned, directly or indirectly, with politics, and a man of Iqbal's wide sympathies and interests—also a man of such sensitive fibre could not remain indifferent or aloof. Writing in 1920, on Iqbal's poetry, E. M. Forster had observed, "Poets in India cannot be parted from politics, would that they could; but there is no hope in the present circumstances, one could as easily part Dante from Florence."<sup>1</sup> It is true that Iqbal cannot be parted from politics but this is so because politics cannot be parted from human life. Due to Iqbal's great influence on the political history of his country, it is easy enough to start thinking of him as a political poet, sometimes even as a politician, but in his poetry Iqbal dealt with eternal values and verities and never solely with contemporary political problems. One writer has summed up Iqbal as "a political poet, one concerned with men as social beings."<sup>2</sup> This is certainly true and yet it does not say enough about the nature or profundity of Iqbal's vision because Iqbal was much else besides a 'political' poet and was concerned with all aspects of men's lives.

Iqbal and India.

It would not be true to say that on his return from Europe, Iqbal ceased entirely to work and hope for the unification of India and that he began to concentrate

1. Forster, E. M. "The Poetry of Iqbal". p. 803.

2. Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbal, p. xiii.

exclusively on the effort to present in a practicable shape his moral and political ideal to the Muslim community. Unity was a good thing even though Iqbāl had realized that circumstances being what they were, his ideal of unity could not be realized in India.

Iqbāl did not lose interests in the fate of India as a whole but though he wished to see peace and good-will between the various communities in India, he could no longer think in terms of an "Indian" nation (which in any case hardly seemed possible, "in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems").<sup>1</sup>

The images of the beads of one rosary and the grains of one harvest were no longer applicable. Nevertheless he did grieve about the disunity of the Indian people. In Pas Œin Bāyad Kard Ay Aqwām-e-Sharq? he shed "Some Tears on the Differences Amongst Indians"<sup>2</sup> just two years before his death:-

اے حال! اے ملک! اے رود گنگ  
زیستن تاکے چناں بے آب و رنگ

پیر مرداں از فراست بے نصیب

لوجوانان از محبت بے نصیب

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 173.

2. Pas Œin Bāyad Kard Ay Aqwām-e-Sharq? pp. 43-45.

شرق و غرب آزاد و ما نجر غیر  
 غشت ما ستریه تعمیر غیر  
 هند یان ایک در آوختند  
 فتنہ ہائے کمنہ باز انگختند

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Pas Āi Bāyad Kard Aī Aqwām-e-Sharq? pp 43-44)  
 'Nationality' in Islām defined.

Soon after Iqbāl's return to India, he wrote, "Islām is something more than a creed, it is also a community, a nation. The membership of Islām as a community is not determined by birth, locality or naturalization. The expression 'Indian Muhammedan' however, convenient it may be, is a contradiction in terms, since Islām in its essence is above all conditions of time and space. Nationality with us is a pure idea, it has no geographical basis. But in as much as the average man demands a material centre of nationality, the Muslim looks for it in the holy town of Mecca, so that the basis of Muslim nationality combines the real and the ideal, the concrete and the abstract."<sup>2</sup> The transition from India to Hijāz has been made, and Iqbāl has

- 
1. O Himalayas! O Attock! O waters of the Ganges!  
 How long to live a life without lustre and glory!  
 Old men possess no wisdom  
 Young men are devoid of all love.  
 East and West are free and we are under foreign domination  
 Our bricks are used to create other people's structures.  
 Indians are engaged in fighting each other  
 Old dissensions are revived.
  2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 51.

arrived, quite conclusively at what is perhaps the most significant idea in his political philosophy - the extra-territorial, supra-national character of the Islāmic community.

Rejection of nationalism

The obvious first corollary of this idea is the rejection of a social order which is subject to the limitations of territory or is nationalistic in outlook. But Iqbāl was loath to reject anything outright. He admitted that "the idea of nationality is certainly a healthy factor in the growth of communities."<sup>1</sup> He also said that it was not always necessary to reject nationalism for it was not always inconsistent or incompatible with Islām. "It comes into conflict with Islām only when it begins to play the role of a political concept and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islām should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life. In Turkey, Persia, Egypt, and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries the Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i.e. Jews, Christians and Zoroastrains, according to the Law of Islām, are either 'people of the Book' or 'Like the People of the Book', with whom the law of Islām allows free alliances. It becomes a problem only in countries where they happen to be in a minority and nationalism demands their complete self-effacement. In majority countries, Islām accomodates

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1. Stray Reflections. p. 95

nationalism, for there Islām and nationalism are practically identical, in minority countries it is justified in seeking self-determination as a cultural unit. In either case it is thoroughly consistent with itself."<sup>1</sup> It is important to remember here that by 'Islām' Iqbāl means those spiritual values which he considers necessary for human well-being in political and other spheres of life and by nationalism, he means the constructive qualities of what is generally known as 'nationalism'.

Why did Iqbāl move away from nationalism? Certainly the ravages of fierce nationalism which he had witnessed in the West had something to do with it. Nationalism was considered by Iqbāl to be a "subtle form of idolatry, a deification of a material object,"<sup>2</sup> and consequently "what was to be demolished by Islām could not be made the very principle of its structure as a political community."<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl also considered nationalism a weapon of European imperialism. "I have been repudiating the concept of nationalism since the time when it was well-known in India and the Muslim world. At the very start it had become clear to me from the writings of European authors that the imperialistic designs of Europe were in great need of this effective weapon - the propagation of the European conception of nationalism in Muslim countries - to shatter the

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, pp 287-288.

2. Stray Reflections, p. 26.

3. ibid. pp 26-27.

religious unity of Islām to pieces!"<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes suggested that Iqbāl repudiated nationalism because nationalism was a Western concept and Iqbāl was inimical to all things Western. This is simply untrue. Iqbāl has given many valid and cogent reasons for his attitude which is not based on mere bias.

The narrowness of the political concept of nationalism was Iqbāl's greatest difficulty in accepting it. "From nationalism thoughts naturally turn more towards the ideas that mankind has been so sharply divided into nations that it is impossible to bring about unity among them."<sup>2</sup> Such a concept could not but be opposed to the universal nature of his vision.

#### Characteristics of the Islāmic 'millat'.

Why did Iqbāl move away from nationalism towards the conception of the Islāmic community as a step towards human brother-hood? There must have been psychological reasons such as the fact of his being a Muslim, the religious conservatism of his family background and his own deeply religious nature. But there are other, perhaps for more important, reasons to be taken into account.

The first thing to be noted is the character of the Islāmic 'millat'. Iqbāl has defined it thus:-

ملت از یک رنگی دلماست  
روشن از یک جلوه این سیناست  
قوم را اندیشه ها باید یکے  
در ضمیرش مدعا باید یکے

1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. p. 224.

2. Ibid p.237

جذبہ باید در سرشتِ او یکے  
 ہم عیارِ خوب و زشتِ او یکے  
 اصلِ ملت در وطن دین کہ ہے  
 باد و آب و گل پرستیدن کہ ہے

1 (Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, pp. 106-107)

Iqbāl said repeatedly that 'millat' was not a narrow concept. "It is not the unity of languages or country or the identity of economic interest that constitutes the basic principles of our nationality. It is because we all believe in a certain view of the universe and participate in the same historical tradition that we are members of the society founded by the Prophet of Islām. Islām abhors all material limitations, and bases its nationality on a purely abstract idea objectified in a potentially expansive group of concrete personalities. It is not dependent for its life-principle on the character and genius of a particular people. In its essence, it is non-temporal, non-spatial."<sup>2</sup>

Condemnation of Secularism.

Iqbāl condemned Machiavelli who had defied the State and considered political expediency to be of greater importance than moral and ethical uprightness:-

آن فلاں سادی باطل پرست  
 سرمہ ادو پدہ مردم شکست

1. The unity of hearts brings the millat into being;  
 This Sinai is aglow with that single flame;  
 A nation should have a unity of ideas,  
 One single purpose running through its mind;  
 A unity of sentiments should inspire its being,  
 And a single criterion for sifting good from evil  
 What is this folly, identifying the millat with the country?  
 What is this folly, worshipping water, air and clay?
2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 376.

لسخه بهر شناساهاں نوشت  
 در گلی ما دانه پیکار کشت  
 بتگری مانند آذر پیشه اش  
 لبست لغتش تازه اندلیته اش  
 مملکت را دین او معبود ساخت  
 فکر او مذموم را محمود ساخت  
 بوسه تا بر پایه این معبود زد  
 نقد حق را بر عیار سود زد

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Rumūz-e-Bek̄hūdī, p. 134)

Fascism and Nazism had revived the evil practice of making all values and loyalties subordinate to the interests of one particular race or nation. Iqbāl condemned such a practice with great vehemence:

آن چنان قطع انوث کرده اند  
 بر وطن تعمیر ملت کرده اند  
 تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند  
 نوع انسان را قبائل ساختند

1. That Satan's messenger, the Florentine  
 Who worshipped falsehood, whose collyrium  
 Shattered the sight of men. He wrote a scroll  
 For Princes, and so scattered in our clay  
 The seed of conflict; ... Carving images  
 Like Āzar was his trade; his fertile mind  
 Conceived a new design; his novel faith  
 Proclaimed the State the only worshipful,  
 His thoughts the ignoble turned to praiseworthy.  
 So, when the feet of this adorable  
 He kissed, the touchstone that he introduced  
 To test the truth was Gain.  
 (Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, pp 32-33.)

مردمی اندر جهان انسانہ شد

آدمی از آدمی بیگانه شد

روح از تن رفت و صفت اندام ماند

آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 133)

Mankind has been sacrificed at the altar of the god of country,

colour and race:-

فکر انسان بت پرستی بگرے

هر زمان در جستجوی بیکرے

باز طرح آذری انداخت است

تازه تر پروردگارے ساخت است

کاپد از خون ریختن اندر طرب

نام او رنگ است و هم ملک و نسب

- 
1. Now Brotherhood has been so cut to shreds  
That in the stead of the community  
The Country has been given pride of place  
In man's allegiance and constructive work;  
The Country is the darling of their hearts,  
And wide Humanity is whittled down  
Into dismembered tribes  
Humanity is but a legend, man  
The spirit has departed from the flesh,  
Only the seven disjointed limbs remain;  
Vanished is humankind; there but abide  
The disunited nations.  
(translation by Arberry A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
p. 32)

آدمیت کتنہ مند چون گو سفند  
پیش پائے این بتِ نادر جند

1

(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 163)

Rejection of geographical ties

One writer comments: "As against these forces which exploit hatred and provoke antagonism, Islām seeks to establish the community of mankind not on geographical accidents but on belief in one God, and consequently, in the brotherhood of man as a practical working idea. Such an idea alone, Iqbāl holds, can act as a centrifugal force and break down the division of mankind into militant camps".<sup>2</sup>

Islām rejects all narrow and limited loyalties:-

قلبِ ما از هند و روم و شام نیست  
مرز بوم او بحر اسلام نیست

مسلم استی دل با قلبی مہند  
گم مشو اندر جهان چون وحید

- 
1. ... human thought, idolatrons  
And idol-fashioning, is all the time  
In quest of some new image; in these days  
It follows once again old Azar's trade,  
And man creates an ever novel god  
Whose joy is shedding blood, whose hallowed name  
Is Colour, Fatherland, Blood-Brotherhood.  
Humanity is slaughtered like a sheep  
Before this worthless idol.  
(translation by Arberry A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness  
p. 55)
  2. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 224.

دل بدست آور کہ در بنائے دل  
می شود گم این سرایے آب و گل

<sup>1</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, pp. 129-131)

Iqbāl interprets the event of the Prophet's 'Hijrat' from Mecca to Madīna to suggest that mere geographical ties are not important:

عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود  
از وطن آفائے ما هجرت نمود  
عکسش یک ملت گیتی نورد  
بر اساس کلمہ تعمیر کرد  
تا ز بخشہائے آن سلطان دین  
مسجد ماشد ہمہ روئے زمین  
صورتِ ما ہی بہ بحر آباد شو  
یعنی از پدید مقام آزاد شو

- 
1. Neither is our heart  
Of India, or Syria, or Rūm,  
Nor any fatherland do we profess  
Except Islām.  
Thou art, a Muslim do not bind thy heart  
To any chime, nor lose thyself within  
This world dimensionate.  
Grasp thou the heart, and in its wide expanse  
Lose this mirage of water and of clay.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness pp 29-30)

هر که از قید جات آزاد شد      چون ملک در شجاعت آباد شد

<sup>1</sup>

(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, p. 131-132)

The homogeneity of the Islāmic Community.

One characteristic of the Islamic community which was of pure importance to Iqbāl was its homogeneity. Ideally, Islām was a great unifying force, the unity it could achieve would be a true and living unity. "The Law of Islām does not recognize the apparent natural differences of race, nor the historical differences of nationality. The political ideal of Islām consists in the creation of a people born of a free fusion of all races and nationalities. Nationality with Islām, is not the highest limit of political development, for the general principles of the law of Islām rest on human nature, not on the peculiarities of particular people. The inner cohesion of such a nation could consist not in ethnic or geographical unity, not in the unity of language or social tradition but in the unity of the religious and political idea; or in the psychological fact of 'like-mindedness.'<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Our Master, fleeing from his fatherland,  
Resolved the knot of Muslim nationhood.  
His wisdom founded one Community -  
The world its parish - on the sacred charge  
To civilize; that Ruler of our faith  
Of his abundant bounty gave the earth  
Entire to be the confines of our mosque.  
Plunge like a fish, and populate the sea;  
Shake off the claims of two constricted space,  
He who has burst from all dimensions bonds  
Ranges through all directions, like the sky.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness. pp 30-31)
  2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 60.

This 'like-mindedness' of which Iqbāl speaks is a necessary condition for the fulfilment of his ideal. It was the lack of this 'like-mindedness' - which implied unanimity of aim and purpose as well as mutual faith and goodwill - that made Iqbāl doubt the efficacy of the ideal of nationhood for India. In 1909 he had written, "I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from this country (India), and even we act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for both the Hindūs and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and the unconscious trend of the two-communities, appears incapable of fulfilment."<sup>1</sup> In 1927, he repeated the same thought, "the talk of a united nationalism is futile and will perhaps remain so far a long time to come. The word has existed on the lips of the people of this country for the last fifty years, and like a hen it has cackled a great deal without laying a single egg."<sup>2</sup> The hen could lay no egg for "in this country one community is always aiming at the destruction of the other community ... the present state of things is such that the communities do not trust each other, they have no faith in each other."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Iqbāl quoted by Iqbāl, J. in Introduction to Stray Reflections, p. xxi.

2. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. p. 71.

3. Ibid. pp. 72-73.

Having found no 'like-mindedness' in India, Iqbāl was driven to ask himself an important question. "Look at the history of mankind, it is an unending succession of deadly combats, blood feuds and internecine wars. Now the question arises as to whether in those circumstances it is possible to bring forth a community, the basis of whose collective life will be peace and goodwill."<sup>1</sup> For reasons already mentioned, Iqbāl came to believe that the Islāmic community was such a community.

Iqbāl's philosophy accused of being exclusive.

Iqbāl had chosen the Islamic community as a gradual working out of his vision because "the ideal territory for this nation would be the whole earth," but surprisingly enough for some it made his philosophy narrower in scope. For instance, Lowes Dickinson reviewing Iqbāl's Asrār-e-Khudī, said, "Thus while Mr. Iqbāl's philosophy is universal, his application of it is particular and exclusive. Only Moslems are worthy of the Kingdom. The rest of the world is either to be absorbed or excluded."<sup>2</sup>

This in fact, is not Iqbāl's position, for he says: "The humanitarian ideal is always universal in poetry and philosophy, but if you make it an effective ideal and work it out in actual life you must start, not with poets and philosophers, but with a society exclusively in sense of having a

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1. Iqbāl quoted in Vāhid, S. A. Iqbāl: His Art and Thought, p. 237.
  2. Dickinson, L. Review of "The Secrets of the Self" The Nation London, 24 December, 1920, p. 458.

creed and well-defined outline, but ever enlarging its limits by example and <sup>e</sup> persuasion. Such a society according to my belief is Islām. This society has so far proved itself a more successful opponent of the race-idea which is probably the hardest barrier in the way of the humanitarian ideal ... it is in view of practical and not patriotic considerations ... that I was compelled to start with a specific society (e.g. Islām), which, among the societies of the world, happens to be the only one suitable to my purpose. All men and not Muslims alone, are meant for the Kingdom of God<sup>d</sup> on earth, provided they say goodbye to their idols of race and nationality and treat one another as personalities. The object of my Persian poems is not to make out a case for Islām: my aim is simply to discover a universal social reconstruction, and in this endeavour, I find it philosophically impossible to ignore a social system which exists with the express object of doing away with all the distinctions of caste, rank and race."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl has referred repeatedly to the universality of his ideal. The question then arises: if Islām is extra-territorial and supra-national, why was it not sufficient for Iqbāl to have exposed the limitations of the political concept of nationalism? Why did he work so hard to win points of material political importance for the Indian Muslims? Did his practice differ from his theory? How, in the final analysis, is it possible for his anti-nationalism to be compatible with the nationalist

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, pp 98-99.

movement of which he was a pioneer - which resulted in Pākistān? If we accept that what mattered most to Iqbāl was the fulfilment of his ideal it would not be particularly difficult to answer these questions. To answer these questions in a single sentence: having willed the end, he had to will the means to achieve the end.

Unity of Man's spiritual and temporal life.

To consider these questions in detail now, we must refer to the Islāmic belief in the ultimate unity of man's spiritual and temporal life. "The ultimate reality, according to the Qur'ān is spiritual, and its life consists in its temporal activity."<sup>1</sup> In Islām, there was no question of giving unto God what belonged to God, nor unto Caesar what belonged to Caesar. There was no bifurcation between man's spiritual and material life. On this subject, Iqbāl wrote:-

زیر گردن رسم لادینی بناؤ	یورپ از شمشیر خود بسمل بناؤ
آدمیت را علم پہاں ازواست	مشکلاتِ حضرتِ الناس ازواست
کاروانِ زندگی بے منزل است	درنگاہش آدمی آبِ دُغلی است
سحرِ این تہذیب لادینی شکن	اے کہ جان را بازی دانی زتن

<sup>2</sup>  
(Pas Ūi Bāyad Kard Ajr Aqwām-e-Sharq? pp56-58)

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 155.
2. By inaugurating the system of secularism in this world Europe fell a prey to its own sword.  
For man all difficulties originate from it,  
For humanity latent grief starts from it.  
It regards man as mere water and clay  
The caravan of life has no goal,  
O you who regard life as different from body  
Break the charm of this irreligious culture.

In Islām the Creator and the universe, spirit and matter, Church and State are all organic to each other. "Thus the Qurān considers it necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and politics in a single revelation."<sup>1</sup> "In Islām" contends Iqbāl, "it is the same reality which appears as the Church looked at from one point of view and the state from another. It is true to say that the Church and the State are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islām is a single unanalysable reality which is one or the other as your point of view varies."<sup>2</sup> If there is a separation between religion and politics, only oppression can result.

جلال پادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری ماسا ہو  
 خدا ہو دین سیاست سے تو وہ جاتی ہے جنگری!

<sup>3</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 62)

In practical terms, Iqbāl used this belief for a double purpose. He asserted that those who considered themselves responsible for a Muslim's spiritual welfare, i.e., the Mullā, could not justifiably condemn material progress as profane. On the other hand, those who were concerned with the temporal aspect of life, could not divorce it from the spiritual aspect.

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām. p. 166.
  2. Ibid. p. 154.
  3. Whether it is the pomp of monarchy or democracy's show, If religion is separated from politics then only oppression is left.

Material progress, though necessary could not be regarded as sufficient in itself. Standing between two world-views, Iqbāl could not but say:-

تن زنده و جان زنده ز ریب تن و جان است

<sup>1</sup>  
(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 117)

If it had been possible to separate the spirit from the body, then it would have been possible to separate the Church from the State. But in Islām the religious order could not be separated from the temporal order. To conclude, as Europe had done, that "religion is the private affair of the individual, and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life,"<sup>2</sup> was to deny that "spirit and matter, Church and State, are organic to each other."<sup>3</sup> Islām was extra-territorial and supra-national as it did not brook any distinction within it. However, it was concerned with the total life of man and could not confine itself to its spiritual aspect alone. In Iqbāl's words, it was an "individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their

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1. Body lives and spirit lives  
By the life their union gives.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Pslams, Lāhore, 1961, p. 75)
  2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 163
  3. Ibid.

origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islām, therefore, is originally related to the social order which it created. The rejection of one will eventually involve rejection of the other."<sup>1</sup>

The development of the communal ego.

For Iqbāl "the ideal nation does already exist in germ"<sup>2</sup> but the germ had to grow. The seed needed air and sunshine in order to develop, and the individual needed the social security provided by the community. The community also needed some ~~thing~~ in order to develop itself. The development of the communal ego was similar to the development of ego-consciousness. "Just as in the individual life the acquisition of gain, protection against injury, determination for action and appreciation of higher values, are all dependent upon the gradual development of the ego-consciousness, its continuity, enhancement and consolidation, similarly the secret of the life of nations and people depends on the same process, which can be described as the development, preservation and consolidation of the communal ego."<sup>3</sup>

Under what conditions could the communal ego develop itself? Iqbāl believed that "Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islām."<sup>4</sup> In an environment in

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 167.
2. ibid. p. 60.
3. Iqbāl quoted in Vāhid, S. A. Iqbāl: His Art and Thought. p. 234.
4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 162.

which the spirit of the culture of Islām could not be fostered, the individual could not become "a living member of the Muslim community,"<sup>1</sup> for in order to be that he "must thoroughly assimilate the culture of Islām. The object of the assimilation is to create a uniform mental outlook, a peculiar way of looking at the world, a certain standpoint from where to judge the value of things which sharply defines our community, and transforms it into a corporate individual giving it a definite purpose and ideal of its own."<sup>2</sup> The individual belonging to the Muslim community had also to preserve and imbibe its historical traditions for "the outfit of the individual belong<sup>ing</sup> to the Muslim community must be mainly formed out of the material which the intellectual energy of his forefather has produced so that he may be made to feel the continuity of the present with the past and the future."<sup>3</sup>

Iqbāl's position reviewed.

The corner-stone of Iqbāl's philosophy is respect for humanity. He wanted to see human life take a stand on its own dignity. He had a horror of slavery and considered nothing so degrading and harmful for human personality as domination of one person or another, or one group over another group or one nation over another. He says:-

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 379.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid. p. 381.

بندگی میں گھٹ کے رہ جاتی ہے اک جوئے کم اب  
اور آزادی میں بحر بیکراں ہے زندگی !

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 287)

Iqbāl's ideal was universal and he wanted to see humanity linked together by ties of goodwill and fraternity in spite of distribution into groups by the exigencies of time and space. But in order to evolve this brotherhood it was necessary for each group to have self-determination. And owing to the social and political conditions that prevailed in the sub-continent suppression of a community or group could be not only by a foreign imperialist power but also by one group domination over another. He was convinced that it was necessary for the Muslims in the sub-continent that they should be allowed to live their own lives preserving their religious and cultural identity. He once remarked "it cannot be denied that Islām, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity - by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal - has been the chief formative factor in the life history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished these basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a

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1. Enslaved, life is reduced to a little rivulet,  
Free, it is like the boundless ocean.

well-defined people. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islām as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islām as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal."<sup>1</sup>

As is very obvious from Iqbāl's writings, he felt very strongly about the preservation of cultural identity. For him "that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated."<sup>2</sup> Referring to a statement by J. L. Nehrū Iqbāl said that if Nehrū meant by nationalism, "the fusion of the communities in a biological sense"<sup>3</sup> he could not subscribe to the idea of such a nation, since he believed in the principle "that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines."<sup>4</sup> He attached so much importance to the preservation of cultural identity that he wrote: "In so far as India is concerned I can say with perfect confidence that the Muslims of India will not submit to any kind of political idealism which would seek to annihilate their cultural entity."<sup>5</sup>

To make possible the development of the communal ego of the Muslims in India, it was necessary to achieve "self

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 162.
  2. ibid. p. 197.
  3. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl, p. 210.
  4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 169.
  5. ibid. p. 289

determination as a cultural unity,"<sup>1</sup> for the Muslim community. One might say that to seek a cultural unity is in fact the same thing as seeking a political unit, if it involves distribution of territory, but there is a difference in intent. Political autonomy may be sought as an end in itself. On the other hand, it may be sought as a means to an end; political power, for Iqbāl, was a means to an end - the end being the preservation of the Muslim identity in India - not an end in itself.

As has been said before, Iqbāl's interest in politics was secondary, not primary. In his historic address at Lāhore in 1932 he made this clear. "Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or if you like, a civic Church. It is because present day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may effect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics."<sup>2</sup>

He went on to make his goal known. "Our ideal is well-defined. It is to win in the coming constitution a position for Islām which may bring her opportunities to fulfil her destiny in this country."<sup>3</sup>

How could the destiny of Islām be fulfilled in India? The answer was not quite simple. There were socio-economic

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 288
  2. ibid. p. 196.
  3. ibid. p. 214.

interests to be safeguarded, but there is no doubt, as to the interest which Iqbāl had uppermost in his mind. To M. A. Jinnāh, he wrote: "It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India, that the economic problem is not the only problem in this country. From the Muslim point of view, the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl had believed that "the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands."<sup>2</sup> But could this 'right' be exercised in India? Less than a year before his death, Iqbāl wrote to Jinnāh, "the enforcement and development of the Sharīat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states."<sup>3</sup> This realization inevitably led to another one, "the life of Islām as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory."<sup>4</sup> This centralization in a specified territory did not, however, extend as far as a sovereign state. The "consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State"<sup>5</sup> which appeared to Iqbāl "to be the final destiny of Muslims at least of North-West India"<sup>6</sup> was to be part of a confederation, or a "Muslim India within India."<sup>7</sup>

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1. Letters of Iqbāl to Jinnāh, Lāhore, 1963, p. 14.
  2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 169.
  3. Letters of Iqbāl to Jinnāh, p. 18.
  4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 171.
  5. ibid.
  6. ibid.
  7. ibid. p. 170.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbāl believed there were weighty reasons for demanding for a division of the sub-continent and a homeland for the Muslims. First of all there was the question of religious protection for a community of nearly 100 millions, then there was a question of cultural protection and finally there was the question of State polity. Hindu leaders were keen on a secular state which meant a bifurcation between State and Church. However, even when faced with a desperate situation and with no alternative except the division of the country Iqbāl tried his best to discover alternatives. In a statement issued on 6, December 1933 explaining the attitude of Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference, Iqbāl said:- "The Muslim wants safeguards not because he is afraid of democracy but because he has reason to be afraid of communal oligarchy in the garb of democracy in India. He wants to ensure the substance of democracy even at the expense of its conventional form."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl went on to say:- "In conclusion I must put a straight question to Pandit Jawāharlāl. How is India's problem to be solved if the majority community will neither concede the minimum safeguards necessary for the protection of a minority of 80 million people nor accept the award of a third party; but continues to talk of a kind of nationalism which works out only to its own benefits?" Iqbāl went on to say, "This

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 367.

position can admit of only two alternatives. Either the Indian majority community will have to accept for itself the permanent position of an agent of British Imperialism in the East or the country will have to be redistributed on a basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities so as to do away with the question of electorates and the communal problems in its present form."<sup>1</sup>

Since Iqbāl was not alive in 1947 to see the actual creation of Pakistān, the question must remain hypothetical whether he would have supported the idea of Pakistan as a sovereign state. But keeping in mind all that he wrote and the general trend of his thinking, it is certain that he would have done so. The question with him, had he been living in 1947, would not have been as it had never been of simply choosing between his loyalty to his Indian homeland and his loyalty to his fellow-Muslims. Islām because it transcended all divisions and ideologies which divided mankind into belligerent camps was to Iqbāl the basis of an ideal society. In India, Islām was in danger of being crushed out of existence due to lack of freedom and opportunity. It was essential for the continuance and well-being of Islām in India that the Muslims were allowed to preserve their cultural entity. Iqbāl could not accept "a polity on national lines if it means a displacement of the Islām principle of solidarity."<sup>2</sup> In his view

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. p. 367.

2. Ibid. p. 167.

such a polity would be "simply unthinkable to a Muslim."<sup>1</sup>

Referring to Iqbāl, Nehrū said, "Iqbāl was one of the early advocates of Pākistān ... (but) His whole outlook on life does not fit in with the subsequent development of the idea of Pākistān or the division of India."<sup>2</sup> By "his whole outlook" Nehrū probably meant Iqbāl's constant reference to the universality of his ideal and his condemnation of nationalism as narrow political concept. But the idea of Pākistān as Iqbāl conceived it did fit in with "his whole outlook" for it was a gradual working out of his ideal. To say that Iqbāl was the spiritual father of Pākistān is, therefore, justifiable. In the last, bitter years of his life, Pākistān did indeed become Iqbāl's dream, but it is important to remember that he would ~~not~~ have regarded Pākistān as end in itself. It would have been but a means to the end of realizing a universal vision of ~~the~~ love and goodwill.

#### IQBĀL'S POLITICAL THOUGHT DIVIDED INTO PHASES

It is common practice to divide Iqbāl's political philosophy into phases, e.g. the nationalistic phase, the Pan-Islāmic phase, the last phase in which he advocated for the division of India. By regarding each phase as being quite distinct from, and independent of, the other phases, one almost always reaches the conclusion that as a political philosopher Iqbāl just could not make up his mind and that he kept on contradicting himself. That is why an attempt has

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 167.

2. Nehrū, J. L. Discovery of India, London, 1947, p. 298.

been made here to study Iqbāl's political thought not in terms of the various phases it passed through but in the light of his all-embracing vision and philosophy.

Iqbāl was not a mere politician whose political ideas may be extracted as it were, from his various political writings and speeches. He was a philosopher whose system of thought had been consciously and carefully evolved. Whether or not we accept the philosophy which underlies his profuse political utterances, if we admit its existence, the changes in attitude and emphasis found in Iqbāl's thought appear not as contradictions or signs of indecisiveness but as flowing quite naturally from the underlying, unifying vision.

#### IQBĀL AND PAN-ISLĀMISM.

Having indicated the direction in which Iqbāl's political thought developed, we can now consider some of the more important aspects of Iqbāl's political theory. It is often said that Iqbāl was a Pan-Islāmist. The question arises: did Iqbāl believe in a political state composing all the Muslim peoples? Iqbāl answers this question himself: "Sir Fazl-e-Husain is perfectly correct when he says that political Pan-Islāmism never existed. It had existed, if at all, only in the imagination of those who invented the phrase or possibly as a diplomatic weapon in the hands of Sultān 'Abdul Hamīd Khān of Turkey. Even Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī, whose name is closely associated with what is called Pan-Islāmīc movement, never dreamed a unification of Muslims into a political state. It is significant that in no Islāmīc

language - Arabic, Persian or Turkish - does there exist a phrase corresponding to Pan-Islāmism. It is, however, true that Islām as a society or as a practical scheme for the combination not only of races and nations, but also of all religions, does not recognize the barriers of race and nationality or geographical frontiers. In the sense of this humanitarian ideal, Pan-Islāmism - if one prefers to use this unnecessarily long phrase to the simple expression "Islām" - does and will always exist."<sup>1</sup> In other words, Iqbāl's so-called Pan-Islāmism was not a phase at all. It was another name for his universal ideal.

#### IQBĀL AND IMPERIALISM.

Regarding Iqbāl's attitude to imperialism, like Rousseau Iqbāl saw that man, born free, was every where in chains. A few months before his death, Iqbāl said, "the tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven <sup>knows</sup> what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man are being trampled underfoot ... The so-called statesmen to whom government and leadership of man was entrusted have proved demons <sup>of</sup> bloodshed tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to higher humanity, to prevent man's oppression of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, have <sup>in</sup> their <sup>in</sup> hunger for dominion and imperial possession shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude

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1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. p. 204.

simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating and establishing their dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them to their possessions, of their religions, of their morals, of their cultural traditions and their literatures. They sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood, and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom, so that the leech of serfdom might go on sucking their blood without interruption ... National unity ... is not a very durable force. One unity is dependable and that unity is brotherhood, of man, which is above race, nationality, colour or language, and so long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour, and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life, and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise."<sup>1</sup> These ideas may have been described more tersely in the poetic metaphor, but they could hardly have found a clearer or more forceful expression. It is profoundly moving to note how having described the various causes of human misery and exploitation, Iqbāl once again speaks of the brotherhood of men. These words coming from a man suffering from the prolonged agony is

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1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. pp 220-222.

a fatal illness, who had seen the passing away of many golden dreams and hopes, beset on all sides by anxiety and disappointment, must find their place in the history as a magnificent testament to the vision of Love.

A writer observes, "Iqbāl wrote with comparative freedom when the Indian sub-continent was groaning under a well organized and well fortified imperialism, with all its greed and callous exploitations left a large margin for purely ideological freedom."<sup>1</sup> It is most doubtful if such "purely ideological freedom" would have satisfied Iqbāl who believed that "contemplation without action is death."<sup>2</sup>

#### IQBĀL AND SOCIALISM

In recent years Iqbāl's attitude to socialism has been the subject of growing interest. Iqbāl was sympathetic to the Socialist movement because he regarded it "as a storm that sweeps away all the foul airs in the atmosphere."<sup>3</sup> The reasons mainly responsible for his attitude have been summarised thus: "The 'laissez faire' capitalism of the industrial West had pulverised humanity into hostile national groups, and within every nation too there was class war because the classes of haves and have-nots were at loggerheads. This (Iqbāl's) own country was predominantly an agricultural country where no industrial proletariat had developed but the conflict of the landlord and the tenant was becoming an acute

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1. Hakīm, K. A. Islām and Communism, Lāhore, 1953, p. 150.
  2. Stray Reflections, p. 110.
  3. Ibid Reflections, p. 110.

socio-economic problem. The usurious money-lender was even more callous than the landlord ... Iqbāl would welcome a revolution in which the do-nothing absentee landlord, or the usurious money-lender, is swept away."<sup>1</sup>

The revolution Iqbāl would have liked to see was not along the lines of Communistic Socialism with its ideal of absolute equality, representing an unlimited extension of the ideal of the family to the State, and finding its expression in the maxim 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs'. It was more along the lines of the Socialism which has as its ideal "not a mechanical equality of all, ever<sup>n</sup> less of society, but rather a potential equality in the sense of the maxim of Saint-Simon's followers, 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his merit', which has as its fundamental tenet not common ownership, but the elimination of all unearned increment."<sup>2</sup>

Iqbāl's sympathy for socialism flowed out of his passionate dislike for injustice and despotism. Economic injustice had starved and depraved the body and religious despotism had shackled the spirit. He was one with Lenin when the latter protested against Western civilization, in the presence of God:

1. Ḥakīm, K. A. Islām and Communism. p136
2. Seligman and Johnson (Editors) The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, New York, 1957. Volumes XIII-XIV, p. 189.

ظاہر میں تجارت ہے حقیقت میں جوا ہے  
 سود ایک کا لاکھوں کے لئے مرگِ مفاجات!  
 یہ علم یہ حکمت یہ تدبیر یہ حکومت  
 پیسے ہیں سو دیتے ہیں تعلیم مسادات!

بیکاری و عمرانی و مینجوری و انفلاس  
 کیا کم ہیں فرنگی مدینت کے فتوحات؟

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 146)

Iqbāl was also relieved to see the house of God purged of  
 idols:-

دردش قضائے الہی کی ہے عجیب و غریب  
 خبر نہیں کہ صمیر جہاں میں ہے کیا بات!  
 ہوئے ہیں کسرِ جلیبیا کے واسطے مامور  
 وہی کہ فقط جلیبیا کو جانتے تھے نجات!  
 یہ وحی دھرتیِ روس پر ہوئی، نازل  
 کہ توڑ ڈال کلیسا یوں کے لات و منات!

<sup>2</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 143)

That Russia was godless, Iqbāl knew. That she would  
 remain godless he did not anticipate as is apparent from his

1. What they call commerce is a game of dice:  
 For one, profit, for millions swooping death  
 There science, philosophy, scholarship, government  
 Preach man's equality and drink man's blood,  
 Naked debauch, and want and unemployment -  
 Are these mean triumphs of the Frankish Arts?  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl pp 42-43)
2. Unsearchably God's edicts move; who knows  
 What thoughts are stirring deep in the world-mind:  
 Those are appointed to pull down, who lately  
 Held it salvation to protect, the priests;  
 On godless Russia the command descends.  
 Smile all the Bāl and Dagon of the Church!  
 (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, p. 72)

letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, "the present negative state of Russian mind will not last indefinitely, for no system of society can rest on an atheistic basis."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl attacked 'Atheist Socialism' but never 'Socialism'<sup>2</sup> for to him "Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islām."<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Jinnāh he wrote, "If Hindūism accepts social democracy, it must necessarily cease to be Hindūism. For Islām the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form is not a revolution but a return to the Original purity of Islām."<sup>4</sup> When Iqbāl said that if he were a dictator of a Muslim state, he could first make it a socialist state,<sup>5</sup> he was thinking in terms of the social democracy he mentioned in his aforementioned letter to Jinnāh.

It has often been said that Iqbāl did not know what socialism was. If by socialism is meant 'dialectical materialism',<sup>6</sup> which is largely based on the writings of Engels and Lenin and is the official philosophy of the Communist world, then it is probable that Iqbāl did not

1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl, p. 167.
2. Taseer, M. D. Introduction to Kiernan V. G. Poems from Iqbāl, Bombay, 1947, pp 14-15.
3. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl, p. 167.
4. Letters of Iqbāl to Jinnāh, p. 19.
5. Quoted by Taseer, M. D. Introduction to Aspects of Iqbāl, referred to in Smith, W.C. Modern Islām in India, p. 114.
6. To be a 'dialectic materialist' is "to regard nature as primary' to hold that matter is independently real and that the mental develops out of the material and must be explained in physical terms. This view has to be understood as negation of the Hegelian idealism. The reality of thought and other mental phenomena is not denied, only their primary. Idealism and materialism are treated as being the only possible philosophical positions" (The Concise Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, London, 1960, p. 117)

investigate in philosophical basis. But to say that Iqbāl assumed "in this part of his thinking, that there is a dichotomy of matter and spirit,"<sup>1</sup> is surely to misunderstand the words:-

جز بہ تن کارے ندارد اشتراک

<sup>2</sup>  
(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 69)

on which this judgment is based. To say that Man has spiritual as well as physical needs is not necessarily to admit - philosophically - the duality of spirit and matter. Human life is, for Iqbāl, an organic unity, but it has different aspects and he criticises atheistic socialism precisely because it neglects the spiritual aspect of life.

It is admitted by most writers that Iqbāl's writings are "throughout tinged socialistically."<sup>4</sup> At the same time it is held that Iqbāl wrote socialistically without knowing what he was doing. It is possible for a poet to be of the Devil's party without knowing it (as has been said of Milton) but it is more than likely that if Iqbāl wrote socialistically

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1. Smith, W. C. Modern India in Islām, p. 113.
  2. Communism has nothing to do save with the body.
  3. Smith, W. C. Modern India in Islām, p. 113.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.

then he must have known some kind of socialism. According to The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, the six characteristics common to all socialistic ideologies throughout history are, "first, a condemnation of the existing political and social order as unjust; second: an advocacy of a new order consistent with moral values; third: a belief that this ideal is realizable; fourth: a conviction that the immorality of the established order is traceable not to a fixed world order or to the <sup>? unchanging?</sup> changing nature of man but to corrupt institutions; fifth: a programme of action leading to the ideal through a fundamental remoulding of human nature or of institutions or both; and sixth: a revolutionary will to carry out this programme."<sup>1</sup> All these characteristics are present in Iqbāl's socio-political thought.

From the fact that Iqbāl did not understand the complex nuances of twentieth century dialectical materialism (he might have come to understand them had he lived longer) it may not be inferred that he knew nothing at all about Socialism. Socialism is a very wide concept, it is not "a concomitant of modern industrialism nor is it, as Nietzsche and some of his reactionary followers contend, simply the resentment of the hungry and the oppressed, a kind of slave uprising against

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1. Seligman, E. R. and Johnson, A. (Editors) The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, New York, 1957. Volume XIV, p. 188.

the natural privileges of the superman. There has been a remarkable continuity in the socialist movement, which is derived from a deep common stock of ideas and emotions. It is not bound to any form of social or economic organization, but arises everywhere and at all time when this common inheritance of human nature is offended."<sup>1</sup>

For Iqbāl, original Islām had been a socialistic movement. To establish a social democracy was to return to the purity of Islām, for as one writer observes, "Islām is not only consistent with a moderate form of socialism but its implementation as a set of socio-economic principles and regulations is dependent on the establishment of a socialistic society. Its success in the past was the result of its equalitarian trend and spirit which ensured to every new entrant in its fold not only a greater amount of social dignity but also an assurance of economic justice."<sup>2</sup>

#### IQBĀL AND DEMOCRACY

Now we come to another very interesting question. It is often said that Iqbāl did not believe in democracy. It is true that Iqbāl wrote a number of times in criticism of democracy. But criticism is not rejection and Iqbāl did not reject democracy. In the light of the essential nature of his thought, he could not have done so, as we shall see.

1. Seligman, E. R. and Johnson, A. (Editors). The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Volume XIV, p. 209.
2. Şiddīqī, M. I. "Socialistic Trends in Islām" Iqbāl, July 1952 Vol. I, No. 1, p. 81.

It was not democracy in general but "democracy of the West" that Iqbāl had difficulty in accepting. As he saw it, Western democracy was a cover for too many corrupt practices. For instance, it was a weapon in the unscrupulous hands of Imperialism and Capitalism

میں دہی سارا کمن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام  
 جس کے بردوں میں ہیں عمر از نوائے قیصری  
 دیو استبداد جمہوری تھا میں یا نے کوب  
 تو شہمٹا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری  
 مجلس آئیں اصلاح و رعایات و حقوق  
 طب مغرب میں مزے میٹھے اثر خواب آوری  
 گرمی کفتاد اعضاء مجالس الامان  
 یہ بھی اک سرمایہ داروں کی ہے جنگ زدگریا

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 290)

Iqbāl attacked Western democracy because it used individuals and nations as means to an end, not as ends in themselves. But he made it clear that it was only one particular kind of democracy or rather the perversion of real democracy which he decried, not democracy in toto.

At its best too democracy created problems to which Iqbāl drew attention. "Democracy means rows,"<sup>2</sup> he said referring to

1. The democracy of the West is the same old organ  
 Which strikes the selfsame note of Imperialism  
 That which thou regard'st as the fairy Queen of Freedom  
 In reality is the demon of autocracy clothed in the garb  
 of deception.  
 Legislation, reforms, concession, rights and privileges -  
 In the materia medica of the West are but sweet narcotics  
 The heated discussion of assemblies  
 Are the camouflage of Capitalists.  
 (Translation by Laṭīf, S. A. The Influence of English  
 Literature on Urdu Literature, London, 1924, p. 132.)
2. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. p. 168.

the endless debate and controversy it involved, not all of it constructive; "it lets loose all sorts of aspirations and grievances,"<sup>1</sup> which may have an anarchic tendency; "it arouses hopes and ambitions often quite impractical"<sup>2</sup> for democracy is not always guided by empirical considerations. Furthermore, "Democracy has a tendency to foster the spirit of legality. This is not in itself bad; but unfortunately it tends to displace the purely moral standpoint, and to make the illegal and wrong identical in meaning."<sup>3</sup> Despite all the limitations of the democratic set-up, Iqbāl did not despair of this form of government. "Democratic government," he said "has attendant difficulties but these are difficulties which human experience elsewhere has shown to be surmountable!"<sup>4</sup>

The assumption that Iqbāl does not believe in democracy rests largely on some lines written by him. For instance, he said:-

اس راز کو اک مردِ فرنگی نے کیا فاش  
 ہر چند کہ دانا اسے کھولا نہیں کرتے  
 جمہوریت اک طرزِ حکومت ہے کہ جس میں  
 بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تو لا نہیں کرتے

<sup>5</sup>  
 (Zarb-e-Kalīm, p. 150)

1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. p. 168
2. ibid.
3. Stray Reflections. p. 120.
4. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl. p. 169.
5. This secret was revealed by a European (Stendhal)  
 Although wise men do not reveal such mysteries:  
 Democracy is that form of government  
 In which persons are counted and not weighed.

In Democracy, everyone counts for one and no one counts for more than one. This is both the most obvious advantage (in the sense that it prevents monopoly of power and privilege) and disadvantage (in the sense that numerical equality is stressed at the expense of unequal merit) of democracy. That Iqbāl should have pointed out one of the most obvious defects of the democratic form of government by no means indicates that he was against democracy.

Iqbāl also wrote:-

متاعِ معنی بیگانہ از دون فطرتان ہوئی؟  
 ز موران شوخی، طبعِ سلیمانے نمی آید!

گریز از طرزِ جمہوری غلامِ بچتہ کارے شو  
 کہ از مغزِ دو صد فکرِ انسانے نمی آید!

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 158)

This is not a condemnation or rejection of all democracy, but only of democracy when its representatives are feeble-minded and servile. An assembly of such persons is not equal in value to a single man of worth. It is important to note that it is worth pointing out that Iqbāl's Ideal Man is a "Mard-e-Hurr" (a free man). In 'Bandagī Nāma'

- 
1. You are looking for a noble spirit in petty souls  
 You cannot expect the vision of Solomon from ants;  
 Run away from democracy and become the slave of a man of maturity.  
 For two hundred donkeys do not have the brains of one man.

(in Zabūr-e-'Ajam) Iqbāl states that the religion of slaves is to pay homage to those in authority. In his opinion, a slave cannot have 'vision' since his whole life is a 'Su'āl' and he has no consciousness of his selfhood.

The distinction between "individuality" and 'personality' which has been admirably brought out by one writer, helps us to understand Iqbāl's attitude to democracy. "The notion of personality ... does not refer to matter as individuality does. It refers to the highest and deepest dimension of being. Personality is rooted in the spirit and it constitutes the secret depth of an ontological structure, a source of dynamic unity and inner unification. The spirit forms personality, enlighten and transfigures the biological individuality and makes it the concrete fulness of life ...<sup>1</sup> The community too readily recognizes what belongs to the world of matter, meanwhile being blind to the reality of the spirit. It sees in men only the shadow of real personality, namely the material individuality. The consequence is that the person is enslaved to the social body."<sup>2</sup> When Iqbāl said that in a democracy persons are "counted" and not "weighed" he meant that society takes vote of "individuality" which is a material fact, but not of "personality" which is a spiritual fact.

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1. Houben, J. J. "The Individual in Democracy and Iqbāl's Conception of Khudī" Crescent and Green, London, 1955, p. 152.

2. ibid. p. 159.

To "run away from the democratic form of government" is not to become enslaved to the social body. The wise Man who is to be the leader of men is a symbol of a fully developed personality. He inspires others and is himself free and above the social body with which the individual is concerned and to which he is subordinate.

One writer observes, "Iqbāl's 'Kingdom of God on Earth' means the democracy of more or less <sup>of the</sup> most unique individuals possible. The rule of one Wise man is better than that of an assembly of asses. This superior man with his moral and intellectual forces is the most suitable person to guide the human society. The possibility of such development in a single individual is much more than in many. Decision of a group of people represent the average intellect. Thus Iqbāl's concept is Nietzschean through and through."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl's 'Kingdom of God on Earth' is not just a political ideal. It is a moral ideal and is open to all. An eminent educationist points out, that from the political and secular point of view, Iqbāl interprets the Islāmic society as a social order open to all those who would renounce the worship of the race-and-nation idea and regard one another's personality as sacred.<sup>2</sup>

Looked at from the political standpoint Iqbāl's conception of the 'Kingdom of God on Earth' is very far from being

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1. Kashyāp, S. "Sir Moḥammad Iqbāl and Friedrich Nietzsche". The Islāmic Quarterly London April 1955. Volume II No. 1. pp 185-186.
  2. Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbāl's Educational Philosophy, p. 224.

Nietzschean (it is not Nietzschean also from the moral standpoint). In a note on Muslim Democracy, Iqbāl wrote, "Nietzsche ... abhors the rule of herd' and, hopeless of the plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of Supermen. But is the plebeian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islām did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material Islām has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then the Democracy of early Islām an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?"<sup>1</sup>

In an essay on "Islām as a Moral and Political Ideal," Iqbāl said clearly "Democracy ... is the most important aspect of Islām regarded as a political ideal" and added that "there is no aristocracy in Islam."<sup>2</sup> For him, the two basic propositions underlying Muslim political constitution were:-

(1) The law of God is absolutely supreme. Authority, except as an interpreter of the law, has no place in the social structure of Islām. Islām has a horror of personal authority. We regard it as inimical to the unfoldment of human individuality.

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. pp. 83-84.

2. ibid. pp. 51-53.

(2) The absolute equality of all the members of the community."<sup>1</sup>

In view of these ideas expressed with such clarity here and elsewhere, it is difficult to see how there could be similarity between the political ideals of Iqbāl and Nietzsche.

### THE INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY

One of the most interesting aspects of Iqbāl's political thought is that which deals with the relationship of the individual to the community. Iqbāl has considered this relationship in detail. There are, very broadly speaking, two schools of thought dealing with this relationship. One school regards the development of the individual as the end of the life process and society merely as an instrument of his development. The second school regards society or state as a supra-personal entity whose development is of far greater importance than the rights of individuals.

Regarding this relationship some important questions may be asked: what is the relationship of the individual to the community in Iqbāl's view? Is the former of greater importance than the latter, or viceversa? The distinction which has already been referred to between 'individuality' and 'personality' (never made quite explicit in Iqbāl's writings, though implicit throughout)<sup>2</sup> clarifies this issue

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl. pp 52-53.

2. Houben, J. J. "The Individual in Democracy and Iqbāl's Conception of Khudī" p. 152.

considerably. "In so far as the human person entering society is a material individuality, he enters it as a part whose good is inferior to the good of the whole," or in other words, "the human person is a part of the political community and is inferior to the latter according to the things which compensate in him the needs of material individuality i.e. according to the things<sup>8</sup>, which in him and of him depend as to their very essence on the community and which can be called upon to serve as means for the temporal good of this community."<sup>1</sup>

Our 'individuality' is shaped and moulded through contact with society:

فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود  
قطرهٔ وسعت طلب قلمم شود

قوم با ضبط آشنا گرداندش  
نرم رو مثل صبا گرداندش

<sup>2</sup>  
(Rumūz-e-Bekhudī, pp. 98-99)

فرد می‌گیرد ز ملت التزام  
ملت از افرادی پایه نظام

فرد تنها از مقاصد غافل است  
قولش آشفتنی را مائل است

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1. Houben, J. J. "The Individual in Democracy and Iqbāl's Conception of Khudī" p. 152-159.
  2. The Individual gains significance through the community, The Community achieves its organization through individuals'. When the Individual loses himself in the community The drop striving for expansion becomes the ocean. By himself the Individual grows indifferent to his purposes His purposes are inclined to become dormant! The community invests him with self-discipline And teaches him to be as soft and tractable as the gentle breeze.

An individual cannot exist alone:-

فرد قائم ربطِ ملت سے ہے تنہا کچھ نہیں  
موج ہے دریا میں، اور بیرونِ دریا کچھ نہیں

<sup>1</sup>  
(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 200)

In the community the individual finds "security and preservation."<sup>2</sup>

While Iqbāl recognises the importance of the community, he does not deify it at the expense of the developed self.

"When ... it is said that the interests of Islam are superior to those of the Muslim, it is meant that the interests of the individual as a unit are subordinate to the interests of the community as an external symbol of the Islāmic principle. This is the only principle which limits the liberty of the individual who is otherwise absolutely free."<sup>3</sup>

The importance of the self-fortified Individual is upheld at all times by Iqbāl. He says, for instance:

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1. Alone the Individual is nothing, he exists only in relation to the community.  
The wave exists in the river, outside the river it is nothing.
  2. Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 5
  3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 51.

چوں حیاتِ عالم از زورِ خودی است  
 لیس لقیبِ استواری زندگی است  
 قطره چوں حرفِ خودی از بر کند  
 هستی بے مایه را گوهر کند  
 چوں خودی آرد بهم نبردے زلیست  
 می کتاید قلزے از جوئے زلیست

<sup>1</sup>  
 (Asrār-e-Khudī, pp. 14-15)

Iqbāl points out that "The nation owes its birth to one brave heart"<sup>2</sup> and that "the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization, as on the worth and power of individual men. In an over-organized society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul. The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people, is the rearing or self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depth of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision."<sup>3</sup>

The relationship between the individual and the society of which he is a part may be stated thus: "A single human

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1. Since the life of the universe comes from the strength of  
 the Self

Life is in proportion to this strength.  
 When a drop of water gets the Self's lesson by heart  
 It makes its worthless existence a pearl!  
 When life derives strength from the Self!  
 The river of life expands into an ocean.

2. Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 34.  
 3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 151.

soul is worth more than the whole universe of bodies and material goods. There is nothing above the human person except God. In regard, therefore, to the eternal destiny of the soul and its supra-temporal goods, society exists for each person and is subordinate to it. While the person as person or as totality demands that the common good of temporal society should flow back to him, and while through his ordination to the transcendent whole, he even surpasses the temporal society - mark well: not the spiritual and transcendent society of religion, the same person, as an individual, or as a part, is inferior to the social whole and must serve the common cause as a member of the whole."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Houben, J. J. "The Individual in Democracy and Iqbāl's Conception of Khudī". p. 157.

CONCLUSION.

In order to understand fully Iqbāl's role as a philosopher one needs also to understand the present times and the problems confronting him and us. "The modern predicament," says H. J. Paton, "is that man seems to be faced with an unbridgeable gulf between science and religion or - it might be better to say - between knowledge and faith."<sup>1</sup> Those who are capable of a completely blind faith, or who are perfectly content with the findings of science and the reduction of life to a process of scientific or syllogistic reasoning, do not find themselves in such a predicament. But though there are people who do not suffer the traumatic experience brought about by the divorce between mind and heart, a large number of people, all over the world, feel a deep and urgent need for a synthesis of faith and knowledge so that they can find both intellectual and emotional peace and satisfaction. If anything can bridge over the gulf between science and religion, it is philosophy-provided it assumes its ancient task of rising "to such a general view of things as shall reconcile us, or enable us to reconcile ourselves, to the world and to ourselves."<sup>2</sup> It is the traditional aim of philosophy to enter into different points of view and to fit the different vistas as far as possible into one coherent whole.<sup>3</sup> But

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1. Paton, H. J. The Modern Predicament, p. 374.

2. Caird, E. "The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time," p. 184.

3. Paton, H. J. The Modern Predicament, p.376.

this aim has been forgotten or forsaken by most philosophers of the modern world. When philosophy identifies itself with science, it can have no use for religion, hence most modern philosophers instead of healing the breach between knowledge and faith have in fact widened it. It is perhaps Iqbāl's greatest merit as a philosopher that he sets out, with unswerving determination, to build up a conceptual scheme in which religion, science and philosophy all have a place.

Iqbāl recognises the great importance of science without which material progress is not possible. He finds sanctions for it in the empirical attitude of the Qŏr'ān, and one of the chief reasons for his vehement attacks on mysticism which "teaches us to shut our eyes to the hard reality around"<sup>1</sup> is that it has no use for the study of the processes of phenomena. Iqbāl does not deny that within its proper province science speaks with authority, but he does deny that science - which is concerned only with certain aspects of reality - is able to make judgments about reality as a whole. The scientific point of view, says Iqbāl, may be true as far as it goes, but it is essentially incomplete and cannot account for a great portion of the richness and diversity of human life. Science is not, and cannot be, a substitute for religion.

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p.80.

As William James says, "To try to satisfy me with the facts of physical science alone, is something like offering me a printed bill of fare as the equivalent of a solid meal.

We use Science, but we live by Religion."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl does not see any fundamental opposition between philosophy and religion. In Islām, as Professor Arberry observes, the acceptance of reason as an ally of faith goes back to the Qōr'ān: "Surely in the creation of the heavens and earth, and in the alternation of night and day there are signs for men possessed of minds." (Sūra 3:187)<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl knows that faith is not a reasoned conviction and, that, in the last analysis, religion is not a matter of 'reason' (in the ordinary sense of the word). But this does not mean that religion should not be able to present its credentials to rational criticism. No philosophy of religion is possible unless one accepts that religion and religious ideas can be taken out of the domain of feeling or practical experience and made objects of scientific reflection.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that at the very outset of his Lectures, Iqbāl admits the dependence of religion upon philosophy, and says that in view of its function - the guidance and transformation of the Self in both its efficient and appreciative aspects -

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1. James, W. quoted by Cohn, J. R. Vital Problems of Religion pp 124-125.

2. Arberry, A. J. Revelation and Reason in Islām, London, 1957. p.7.

3. Caird, J. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion, Glasgow, 1920. p.2.

religion stands in great need of a rational foundation of its ultimate principles, since "no one would hazard action on the basis of a doubtful principle of conduct."<sup>1</sup>

To "rationalise" religion means, very often, that one is apologising for religion. It is important to understand that Iqbāl is not "rationalising" religion in this sense. As H. A. R. Gibb observes, Iqbāl is "the outstanding exception" to the writers of "apologetic works, composed with the object of defending Islām and demonstrating its conformity with what their writers believe to be present-day thought," since he "faces outright the question of reformulating the basic ideas of Muslim theology."<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl willingly accords philosophy the right to judge religion but takes care to point out that "to rationalise faith is not to admit the superiority of philosophy over religion... While sitting in judgment on religion, philosophy cannot give religion an inferior place among its data. Religion is not a departmental affair; it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is an expression of the whole man. Thus, in the evaluation of religion, philosophy must recognise the central position of religion and has no other alternative but to admit it as something focal in the process of reflective synthesis."<sup>3</sup>

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.2.
  2. Gibb, H. A. R. Modern Trends in Islām, pp ix-x.
  3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.2.

Professor Nicholson's comment that "Iqbāl's philosophy is religious, but he does not treat philosophy as the handmaid of religion,"<sup>1</sup> is certainly amongst the most profound observations made about Iqbāl, since it embodies a great truth - that although for Iqbāl philosophy works within the framework of religion, yet he does not use philosophy merely to prove a certain religious viewpoint. At a time when philosophy was abandoning the greater part of the territory which had once belonged to it, Iqbāl widened the scope of philosophy until it almost coincided with that of religion. While he brought philosophy nearer to religion, he also brought religion nearer to philosophy. In fact, at one place he observes, "Religion is itself a metaphysic, in so far as it calls up into being a new universe with a view to suggest a new type of character tending to universalize itself, in proportion to the force of personality in which it originally embodies itself."<sup>2</sup>

Iqbāl, as we know, was a deeply religious man. In the opinion of some, this fact renders him - in his capacity as a philosopher - less objective than he would have been if he had not professed any - or, at any rate, such strong - religious beliefs. This opinion is based on the assumption that philosophy and religion are hostile to each other, that

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1. Nicholson, R.A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p.xiii.

2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p.378.

the more "religious" a philosopher is, the less truly "philosophical" he is bound to be. But this assumption, if true, applies not just to religious, but to any belief. If the philosophy of religious philosopher is coloured by his beliefs, so is the philosophy of an atheistic philosopher coloured by his. A totally objective philosophy - in the sense of a philosophy which has been purged of all subjective elements - is neither possible nor desirable. Whatever forms a fact of human consciousness is a philosophical experience, and philosophy which at all times focusses its attention only on "neutrality" often ends up as a barren pursuit after theories which are divorced from the deeper processes of life. Furthermore, as has been pointed out by a writer, "the philosopher who sets out to discuss religion, must himself be religious. No amount of rational reflection can make anyone understand religion, unless he himself has a certain personal experience."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl is sometimes described as a "committed" poet which means that he is committed to a defence or vindication of Islām. As Professor Whittmore rightly observes, Iqbāl's work is "from first to last, the work of a Muslim. At every point he is at pains to indicate his conviction that his teaching is in all respects harmonious with spirit and teaching of the Qōr'ān. He speaks and writes always from

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1. Sharmā, R. N. "Philosophy, Religion and Science," The Agra University Journal of Research, Agra, January, 1960. Volume III, Part 1, pp 92-93.

a standpoint within Islām."<sup>1</sup> That Iqbāl writes always as a Muslim is inevitable since one's faith can hardly be separated from one's philosophy. Iqbāl, no doubt, begins and ends with Islām. He sees in the Prophet of Islām the Ideal Man, and in the Prophet's conception of Islām the Ideal Society. But it must be pointed out that Iqbāl's interpretation of Islām differs very widely from the narrow exclusive meaning the average Muslim gives to his creed. Islām, for Iqbāl, is not just the name for certain beliefs and forms of worship. The difference between a Muslim and a non-Muslim is not merely a theological one - it is the difference of the fundamental attitude to life. We hear Iqbāl saying repeatedly that he who does not love or does not participate in creative activity, is not a Muslim. We also hear him saying in classic lines

کافر بیدار دل پیشِ صنم  
 بہ زد بیزادے کہ گفت اندر حرم!

<sup>2</sup>(Jāvīd Nāma, p.40)

Although Iqbāl "thinks and feels as a Moslem"<sup>3</sup> and speaks mainly to or for the Muslims, yet the ideal of his philosophy is universal. Its application is particular

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1. Whittemore, R. 'Iqbāl's Panentheism' p.76.
  2. The infidel with a wakeful heart praying to an idol is better than a religious man asleep in the sanctuary. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p.42)
  3. Nicholson, R. A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. x.

and exclusive, but then, as Iqbāl says, when one sets out to translate any ideal into actual terms one must begin with a specific group or society. Iqbāl begins with Islām because he regards it as a universal religion. It repudiates the idea of race, colour and country. Furthermore it does not recognise the division between the religious and political life of Man.<sup>1</sup> If Iqbāl never went beyond Islām it is only because he thought that Islām, if properly understood and practised, could satisfy all human needs and aspirations. Though a devout Muslim, there is in Iqbāl's words, a message even for those who do not share his religious beliefs. His breadth of vision and deep wisdom lifts his philosophy to a very wide plane - a plane where the great minds of all times meet despite the differences of environment and circumstance which separate them otherwise.

To say something about the chief sources of Iqbāl's philosophy, we note that he owes much to the West. His teacher Professor Arnold described him as "a serious and profound student of Western philosophy,"<sup>2</sup> and Iqbāl himself observes in a letter "Most of my life was passed in studying the history of Western philosophy and the angle of vision has become a second nature to me. Consciously or unconsciously, I study the truth of Islām from this point of view."<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly the two Western philosophers to whom

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1. Arberry, A. J. Revelation and Reason in Islām, p.12.

2. Arnold, T. W. The Islāmic Faith, p.76.

3. 'Atāullāh, S. Iqbāl Nāma, Lāhore. Volume I, p.47.

Iqbāl owes the most are Bergson and Nietzsche. Bergson's influence is seen not only in Iqbāl's stress on intuition and in his concept of time, but as Professor Schimmel observes, Bergson's 'prophetic' conception of life and God, is reflected in each page of Iqbāl's writings.<sup>1</sup> One could, of course, call it affinity rather than influence. With Nietzsche Iqbāl shares the idea of the heroic will which lies at the basis of this philosophy of 'Khudī.' As we have seen, there are places where Iqbāl differs profoundly from Nietzsche (as in the case of the latter's doctrine of Eternal Recurrence) but the influence of Nietzsche on Iqbāl, though in a way not so easily defined as that of Bergson, is nonetheless unmistakable.

Iqbāl himself always regarded the Qǒr'ān as the fountain-head of his philosophy. As we know, Iqbāl knew Arabic well. Also, since early childhood he had acquired the habit of reading the Qǒr'ān and reflecting upon it. His interpretation of the Qǒr'ān is not always in conformity with the orthodox opinion. As we have seen, he interprets some Qǒr'ānic ideas and verses in a highly individual manner. But as Professor Bausani points out "Iqbāl's insight into the genuine spirit of this book (the Qǒr'ān) was better than that of a good many Muslim theologians, past and present."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Schimmel, A.M. "The Jāvīdnāme in the light of the comparative History of Religions," p. 39.

2. Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muḥammad Iqbāl" p. 178.

One objection often levelled against Iqbāl is that he reads into the Qōr'ān almost all that he wishes to believe. One comment reads "This process of reading meanings into the Qur'ān has culminated in our own time in the attempts of the poet-philosopher Iqbāl who invites us to read into the Qur'ān his own philosophy of Ego, as well as Einstein's Relativity."<sup>1</sup> Another writer has accused Iqbāl of using "the results of modern science to support the traditional positions of Islām and he interpreted the pronouncements of the Korān with their help. Modern physics is thus pressed into service to prove that the truth of the Korānic stand and Korānic verses are quoted to uphold the soundness of physics."<sup>2</sup> Regarding the objection that Iqbāl reads so much into the Qōr'ān, one could answer with the reviewer who, defending Iqbāl, observes "the meaning of words cannot be historically conditioned, if they are the words of Allāh speaking through His Apostle: each generation may read into them the utmost that it can."<sup>3</sup> Regarding the allied objection that Iqbāl enlists the help of science to prove the religious standpoint, one could say that this is, in fact, a strength rather than a weakness, of Iqbāl's thought. He realised that "the religious man cannot afford to sweep aside science

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1. Rahbar, D. God of Justice, Leiden, 1960, p.7.

2. Lichtenstadter, I. Islām and the Modern Age, p.107.

3. Review of "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām," The Times Literary Supplement, p.178.

as the scientist can sweep aside religion,"<sup>1</sup> and endeavoured to build up a philosophy in which not only were the data of science accounted for, but in which science had a prominent role to play.

Iqbāl, then, in his search for a philosophy which would heal the breach between science and religion, and bring the East and West closer together, went right back to Qǒr'ān. In his Lectures, he points that the true spirit of the Qǒr'ān has been obscured mainly due to the influence of the classical spirit. It is the purpose, in a sense, of Iqbāl's whole life, to rediscover the wisdom of the Qǒr'ān. The cry of "Back to the Qǒr'ān (which, in effect, also means "Forward with the Qǒr'ān") resounds throughout his writings. "The main purpose of the Qurān," says Iqbāl, "is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe."<sup>2</sup> This may also be termed the purpose of Iqbāl's philosophy.

Next to the Qǒr'ān, perhaps the most important influence on Iqbāl's thought is that of Sūfism. Iqbāl is, in one sense, a mystic in revolt against mysticism. He protests unceasingly and vehemently against the ideal of passive contemplation and self-renunciation so dear to most mystics. He refers to the emphasis in the Qǒr'ān on 'deed,' and says

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1. Paton, H. J. The Modern Predicament, p. 375.

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, pp 8-9.

that it is contrary to the true spirit of Islām to turn away from the joy and struggle of actual living and seek refuge in other-worldliness. Iqbāl's Perfect Man does not retreat from the world of matter, he looks upon it as the training ground for his spiritual development. Iqbāl also objects to mysticism because it leads to a pantheistic world view and a process of deindividualisation. The most important teaching of Iqbāl's philosophy is that the man of God seeks not the annihilation but the more precise definition of his personality.

However, despite all his attacks on what he calls 'degenerate Şūfism' and the differences between him and traditional Şūfism, Iqbāl "belongs by right," as Professor Arberry observes, "to the history of Şūfism, to which he made both scientific and practical contributions."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl does not deny his indebtedness to 'Higher Şūfism' which did so much to check hypocrisy and artifice in religion. Iqbāl wrote to Professor Nicholson that his philosophy of 'Khudī' "is a direct development out of the experience and speculation of old Muslim Şūfis and thinkers."<sup>2</sup> Like Şūfism, Iqbāl's philosophy aims at achieving the highest perfection possible for Man. It also gives love primacy over reason, recognises the great value and importance of Self-knowledge, and possesses the keen realization of the

1. Arberry, A. J. An Introduction to the History of Şūfism, London, 1942, p.47.

2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p.161.

intimacy of the relation between the finite spirit and God. Iqbāl was aware of, and treasured his philosophical heritage. Eager as he was to purge Islām of all alien obscurantist elements, in formulating his own philosophy "not only did he turn back to Rūmī and the mediaeval mystics to discover antecedents within Islām for the system for which he sought acceptance, but he casts his thoughts in the mould of Ṣūfī allegory that has been sanctified by centuries of Persian poetry."<sup>1</sup>

Mention has already been made, in various contexts, of Rūmī's profound influence on Iqbāl. Rūmī was Iqbāl's acknowledged 'murshid' and with him Iqbāl shared, to a considerable degree, what is one of the most distinctive features of his thought - the mysticism of struggle, the mysticism which strengthens and fortifies, rather than weakens or puts to sleep, the potentialities of the Self. This mysticism may perhaps be best described in terms of Love - a concept which forms the chief link between Iqbāl and Rūmī.

Iqbāl's philosophy has been described as "a curious eclecticism."<sup>2</sup> It is true that Iqbāl's thought drew its inspiration from many sources. However "so original and revolutionary a thinker"<sup>3</sup> could be "no more echo of other men's ideas."<sup>4</sup> Iqbāl does not follow blindly but is an

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1. Arberry, A. J. Ṣūfism, London, 1950, p.133.

2. Dickinson, L. "A New Poet of Islām" p.458.

3. Arberry, A. J. Ṣūfism, p.133.

4. Arnold, T. W. The Islāmic Faith, p.458.

independent evaluator. Speaking of Iqbāl, E. M. Forster observes, "What is so interesting is the connection that he has effected between Nietzsche and the Korān. It is not an arbitrary or fantastic connection; make Nietzsche believe in God, and a bridge can be thrown. Most Indians, when they turn to the philosophy of the West, do not know what will be useful for them. Iqbāl has a surer eye."<sup>1</sup>

Iqbāl undertook the task of uniting faith and knowledge, love and reason, heart and mind. In the case of a writer, at once so prolific and so provocative, there is bound to be a considerable margin of controversy in the evaluation of the measure of his success. But surely it would be true to say that if any thinker has succeeded - to whatever degree - in the task of building a bridge between East and West, it is Iqbāl. For this task few are qualified, and even for those who are qualified - as Iqbāl pre-eminently was - the journey is full of hazards and the road is long, lonely and arduous. In his own field, Iqbāl's work is that of a pioneer. He saw the vision of a world no longer torn into irreconcilable oppositions, a world in which Man was at peace with himself, his fellow beings and his God. If the translation of his vision into philosophic terms seems inadequate at times, it is to be remembered that the task which he undertook was almost beyond human strength.

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1. Forster, E. M. "The Poetry of Iqbāl" p.804.

Also that he made no claims of finality or infallibility for himself but said, with characteristic humility, at the very beginning of his monumental work, the Lectures on The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, "As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views, and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures, are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it."<sup>1</sup>

Casting a final look backwards at Iqbāl's philosophy, we note that for him the fundamental fact of Man's life is the absolute and irrefutable consciousness of his own being. The purpose of life is the development of the Self. In order to achieve this purpose Man needs to have knowledge both of himself and the external world. He gains such knowledge by means of sense-perception, reason and intuition.

Starting with the intuition of the Self, Man becomes aware of the Not-Self, the confronting 'other' which provides a constant challenge for him. Nature, however, does not confront God in the same way as it confronts Man, since it is a phase of His consciousness. God is immanent since He comprehends the whole universe, but He is also transcendent since He is not identical with the created world. All life is individual. There is a gradually rising scale of ego-hood running from the almost-inert to God who is the

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1. Preface to The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. vi.

Ultimate Ego. God is not immobile nor is the universe a fixed product. God is constantly creative and dynamic and the process of creation still goes on. The Qor'ānic saying 'Towards God is thy limit' (Sūra 53:43) give Iqbāl an infinite world-view, and he applies it to every aspect of the life of Man and the Universe.

Corresponding to the two aspects of the Self - the efficient and the appreciative - are the two levels of time. As Man perfects his egohood he casts off the girdle of serial time and gains a measure of eternity. Man is the chosen of God (Sūra 20:14)<sup>1</sup> but he must pass through many trials and tribulations before he qualifies for the vicegerency of God. To the Traveller on the Path Iqbāl says:

نه مادا بخت پنداری که خامیم  
 بهر منزل تمام و نالمامیم  
 بی پایان نارسیدن زندگانی است  
 سفر مارا حیات جادو دانی است

<sup>2</sup>(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p.231)

As E. M. Forster observes, Iqbāl believes in "the Self as a fighting unit."<sup>3</sup> Man's mission on earth is win for himself greater freedom and to gain immortality by fortifying his personality. The quest of Man is not to become

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.95.

2. Don't think that you are perfect; for you are still in the making: you complete one stage and go on to the next, imperfect all the time. To reach no end, to travel on without a stop is everlasting life.  
 (Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 15.)

3. Forster, E. M. "Moḥammad Iqbāl" p. 296.

God or Superman but to become a Man. "True religion" says R. G. Collingwood, "lies not in making God in our images but in making ourselves in God's Image."<sup>1</sup> The tradition "create in yourself the attributes of God" is the watchword of Iqbāl's thought.

Though Man is the pivot around which Iqbāl's philosophy revolves, yet "his revaluation of Man is not that of Man qua Man, but of Man in relation to God."<sup>2</sup> His Perfect Man is the Servant of God. The relation between Man and God is a personal one hence the great importance of prayer in the thought of Iqbāl. By means of prayer Man attains the 'mē'rāj' (Ascension) whereby his Self finds solace and strength. The belief in the One Living God gives Man freedom from all false deities and arms him against all forces of disintegration. As we have seen, Iqbāl has also worked out the social implications of prayer and the principle of 'Tauḥīd.' The Prophet of Islām is the Perfect Man par excellence in whose life Iqbāl sees enacted all the principles dearest to his heart.

In Iqbāl's view point "Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality."<sup>3</sup> That which strengthens the Self is good, that which weakens it is bad. Iqbāl does not admit the absolute existence of evil, but

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1. Collingwood, R. G. "The Devil" in Concerning Prayer, p.74.
  2. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p.382.
  3. Iqbāl quoted by Nicholson, R.A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p.xxii.

regards it as being necessary for the actualisation of moral purpose as vital activity in the world. His Iblīs is the counterpart of his Perfect Man.

The emphasis on 'prophetic' consciousness which is so pronounced in Iqbāl's thought, is especially so in his aesthetics. The purpose of all 'true' art is to enhance and enrich life. Of himself Iqbāl said in a moment of self-appraisal:

جلوه را افزودم و خود کاستم  
دیگران را مخفی آراستم

<sup>1</sup> (Rumūz-e-Bekhudī p. 96)

Iqbāl is, in fact, understating the case. The role played by him - and by the prophetic poet of his philosophy of Art - is not just to add "more light, more loveliness, more joy" to the life of men but to inspire them to rare feats of action and heroism.

Iqbāl's political philosophy is, of all parts of his thought, perhaps the most commonly misunderstood. The process of his deification by the young nation of which he is the spiritual guide, has obscured, for many, the true nature of his vision. It is a strange destiny for such a determined iconoclast to have become an idol! It is, however, not a destiny Iqbāl would have chosen since he wished to be understood more than to be admired. An effort has been made,

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1. I spent myself that there might be more light,  
More loveliness, more joy for other men.  
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p.3)

in this study, to 'reconstruct' his political thought in the light of his philosophic vision, and thus, to bring it nearer to the other aspects of his thought.

One of the most important questions to be asked regarding Iqbāl's work as a philosopher is: from what point of view is it to be judged? Inevitably the work of every philosopher must be subjected to the test of coherence and consistency. On the whole, Iqbāl's philosophy sustains this test. Like any other philosopher he has first principles which seem to him self-evident, and which he therefore does not seek to defend. Like most other philosophers, there are times and places where he is not very clear or is evasive and unwilling to commit himself. Many writers have also seen a number of contradictions in his thought, but most of those contradictions (which appear in some specific part of his thought - usually in his socio-political philosophy) disappear when viewed in the larger context of his total philosophy.

However, the final criterion by which Iqbāl's philosophy is to be judged is not truth - but workability. As a writer says, "It is as an activist, a 'practical philosopher,' that Iqbāl should be judged."<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl's idea that "the essential nature of man... consists in will, not intellect

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1. Tāṣṣeer, M. D. Introduction to Poems from Iqbāl, p.13.

or understanding"<sup>1</sup> links him with the voluntaristic - pragmatic tradition in Western thought. His philosophy is essentially a philosophy of action - not an enquiry into truth but how the actual business of living should be carried on. The unmistakable message of his writings is

جامِ جاں نما مجو دستِ بدل کتا طلب

<sup>2</sup>(Zabūr-e-'Ajam p.162)

Iqbāl who was always concerned "prophet-like, father-like, with the fate of the people"<sup>3</sup> believed that "every thought and deed... must be judged by the life-value that it may possess."<sup>4</sup> With Fichte he would have said, "we philosophise out of need of our redemption"<sup>5</sup> and not merely to arrive at some abstract truth which had no bearing on life. R. Harrè is perfectly correct in saying that the question to be asked of a system such as Iqbāl's is "not 'Is it true or acceptable?' but 'could I live by it?'"<sup>6</sup> Iqbāl, then, is to be judged not as philosophers are often judged - entirely or largely by the canons of logic - but as the prophet of a new age, "a new world of thought and feeling, a world vibrant with hope and high endeavour."<sup>7</sup>

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p.35.

2. Seek not the world - revealing cup,  
Seek the world - conquering hand alone!

(Translation by Arberry, A.J. Persian Psalms, p.104)

3. Avery, P. "Iqbāl and the Message of Persian Metaphysics."

4. Speeches and Statements of Iqbāl, p.116.

5. Fichte quoted by 'Erfān, N. "What is common between the Existentialists and Iqbāl." p. 28.

6. Harrè, R. "Iqbāl: A Reformer of Islāmic Philosophy" p.331.

7. Arberry, A. J. Preface to Persian Psalms, p.viii.

Herbert Read may be considered to have given the verdict in his favour when he says while speaking of Whitman's critical ideal of workability, of direct use, "Applying it here and now, I can think of only one living poet who in any way sustains the test.. I mean Muḥammad Iqbāl," whose poem Asrār-e-Khudī "crystallizes in its beauty the most essential phases of modern philosophy, making a unity of faith out of its multiplicity of ideas, a universal aspiration out of the esoteric logic of the schools."<sup>1</sup>

It is probably true, as one writer has observed, that in modern times when the resources of human knowledge and power are almost unlimited, it is almost impossible for one individual to achieve Iqbāl's ideal of manhood.<sup>2</sup> Iqbāl himself was not unaware of this. Asrār-e-Khudī with which he began his preaching of the doctrine of incessant struggle, begins with the following lines from Rūmī (quoted again in Jāvid Nāma) on which his most eminent biographer comments: "A more accurate description of Iqbāl's own approach to ideals would be difficult to find."<sup>3</sup>

<p>کز دام دود ملولم د انسانم آرزوست شیر خدا نورسم دستانم آرزوست گفت آنکه یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست</p>	<p>دی شیخ با چراغ همی گشت گرد شهر زین همهان است عناصر دم گرفت گفتم که یافت می نشود حبه ایما</p>
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<sup>4</sup>(Asrār-e-Khudī, p.2)

1. Read, H. quoted by Anand, M.R. "The Poetry of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl" p.31.
2. Tāseer, M.D. Introduction to Poems from Iqbāl, p.15.
3. Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim, p.103.
4. Last night the Elder wandered about the city with a lantern. Saying, 'I am weary of demon and monster: man is my desire. My heart is sick of these feeble-spirited fellow-travellers; The Lion of God and Rustam-i-Dastān, are my desire. I said, 'The thing we quested after is never attained.' He said, 'The unattainable - that thing is my desire!' (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p.29).

"There is" as Iqbāl Singh writes, "no destiny beyond the effort to create a destiny. There may be 'other universes beyond the stars,'<sup>1</sup> but for the lover the trials of love are themselves the reward of love."<sup>2</sup> The life of Iqbāl's Ideal Man is a pilgrimage and he "goes on as he must, as Galahad went towards the Grail: knowing that for those who can live it, this alone is life."<sup>3</sup> Man's quest lies beyond hope of reward or fear of failure, in that all-conquering, all-pervading Love which embodies the highest faith and is its own justification. To God (the Master and the Beloved) His servant (to use Iqbāl's favourite expression for Man) says:

نه در اندیشه من کارزار کفر و ایمانے  
 نه در جانِ عم اندوزم هوائے باغِ رضوانے  
 اگدگادی وردنم را خیالِ خویش را یابی

<sup>4</sup>(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p.47)

Finally, we ask: what is that Iqbāl gives us? One writer answers thus "what is that Iqbāl does not give to him who seeks? He gives strength to the weak and a meaning

1. Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p.89.

2. Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim, p.173.

3. Underhill, E. Mysticism, p.92.

4. Faith and infidelity

Fight not for the mind of me,

No delights of Paradise

Do my stricken soul entice.

Cleave my heart and lay it bare,

Thou shalt find thy image there.

(Translation by Arberry, A.J. Persian Psalms, p.26).

to strength. He awakens the urge for a full, all-round, harmonious development of personality, for the devoted and selfless service of social ideas which alone make life worth the living. He gives to the pale anaemic calculations of the intellect the possibility to draw upon the unlimited resources of emotion and instincts, disciplined, chastened, ennobled by faith, and by creative activity."<sup>1</sup> Those who have come to know Iqbāl, either personally or through his works, cannot believe that the vision of this man - at once so simple and so extraordinary, so humble and so proud, so thoughtful and so passionate - will pass away as long as there are men and women who believe in a world made whole and happy by the love and labour of Man who has found himself and God.

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1. Husain, Z. quoted by Sinhā, S. Iqbāl: The Poet and His Message, Allāhābād, 1947, p.449.

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