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Dr. Annemarie Schimmel Number

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All contributions should be addressed to the Editor, Iqbal Review, 6th Floor, Academy Block, Aiwan-e-Iqbal Complex, Egerton Road, Lahore, Pakistan.

Tel: 92-42-36314510, 99203573, & Fax: 92-42-36314496

Email. iqbalreview@iap.gov.pk Website: www.allamaiqbal.com

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INTRODUCTION

Prof. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel (7 April 1922, Erfurt — 26 January 2003, Bonn): "mediate between Germany and the Muslim World", "Doyem of Sufi studies", "legendry orientalist and scholar" and a renowned Iqbalist and Rumilogist who was internationally honoured as a bridge, created through intellect and love, between the west and Islamic culture in diverse settings.

In one of her last articles,[1] she concluded with a classical definition of Islamic mysticism: "Sufism means to find joy in the heart in time of grief, for she believed "as there is no end to life…there is no end to learning…learning in whatever mysterious way something about the unfathomable mysteries of the Divine, which manifests itself under various signs."

About three months after writing the article she passed away and numerous obituaries written by eminent oriental scholars of the world appeared in journals and newspapers.[2] Here, a concerned passage of such an article written by one of her close friends, is referred:

> With the death of Annemarie Schimmel on 26 January 2003, at the age of 80, the circle of Islam wissenschaft has lost one of its most prominent representatives. But more importantly, perhaps, this marked the departure of an extra ordinary individual who played a major role in promoting mutual understanding between the West and the Muslim peoples. It is of course difficult to address these two concerns— scholarship and intercommunal dialogue— and do justice to both of their simultaneously. Indeed, perhaps it is impossible. The life of Schimmel illustrates this clearly, and personally I am not convinced that it is possible to do justice to her remarkable life and career via a traditional obituary. What I would like to offer here is more a biographical overviews, allowing for both appreciation and criticism of a colleague whom I came to know rather well over the last twenty years.[3]

A huge corpus of biographical tributes relating to Schimmel appeared during his life and on the occasion of her death, but the most reliable and authentic source is her autobiography entitled

Maryland und Abendland Mein West-festliches Leben[4] which covers her whole life. It is, no doubt, a fitting testimony to a rich and remarkable life. And all this work, as she jokingly referred to it in this last work, a "one-woman show"; she worked without assistants, without a secretary, and without a computer. Apart from this, a brief sketch of her life in given for the common readers.

A. Schimmel was born in Erfurt, Germany, on 7 April 1922. She was always a successful student. She obtained her first Dr. Phil. Degree in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Islamic art from the University of Berlin in 1941, and her second doctorate (Habilitation) in the history of religion from the University of Marburg in 1951, while she was teaching Islamic studies and religion. During 1954-59, she was Professor of the history of religion at Ankara University, Faculty of Theology, where she taught the history of religion and Islamic art in the Turkish language. Starting from 1961, she was Associate Professor of Arabic and Islamic studies at the University of Bonn; in 1966, she was invited to Harvard University as a lecturer; from 1970 until her retirement in 1992 she was Professor of Indo-Muslim culture in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of Harvard University. She then returned to Bonn and became an honourary Professor at the University. As the most befitting culmination of her brilliant and unprecedented career Vice-Chancellor of Bonn University held a celebration for her 75th birthday on 7th April 1997. All the professors as well as invitees and members of the Government came to this festive assembly. In his congratulatory speech the Vice-Chancellor established an "Annemarie Schimmel Chair for Indo-Muslim Culture."

In Bonn, her activities were ceaseless. Writing, and travelling and lecturing throughout the Middle East, including to the Dar Al-Athar in Kuwait, in Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, Pakistan and India, as well as in Europe, she devoted her energies to specialists and non-specialists alike. She was always available, too, to help, guide, correspond with, be interviewed by, those approached her, receiving all who came to her door with an oriental style generosity of heart expressed though tea and cookies and the new recipes she had gathered on her most recent travels.

Once she said in a lecture about Sufism:

> "Corporeal death is necessary. How else do you get in close touch with the Divine Beloved."

She died at the age of 80 (2003). It is almost impossible to list all the titles of her more than 80 books, essays and innumerable

lectures, the presidentialships of scientific societies, about 7 honourary doctorates from German and foreign universities.

Her main scholarly fields have been Islamic literatures, and Sufism. Her books on these subjects and Rumi have made a major contribution towards understanding the very essence of Islam. As she always speaks ex-tempore, the audience is all the more impressed, for she does not merely speak intellectually, but from her heart. Another important aspect of her work is her translations from the Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Sindhi languages. These are not bookish versions but also renderings into German and English with the sensivity of a poetess. The third field in which she excels, is her poetry and the last domain of his scholarship is Goethe and other important poets of the oriental movement in German literature.

Schimmel received a number of honorary doctorates, including three presented by universities in Pakistan. Her modest home was full of important medals, orders and awards. The latter include "Friedrich Rückect-Preis" for translations, granted by Schweinfurt city for the first time, for her translations from Eastern languages (1965); "Sitara-yi Quaid-i-Azam" granted by the Government of Pakistan (1965); "Goldene Hammer-Purgstall Medaille" for research (1974), "Johann-Henrich Voss Preis" of the German Academy of Language and Literature (Darmstadt, 1979); "Hilal-i-Imtiaz", the highest civilian award of Pakistan (1983); UCLA, Levi Della Vide Award (1987); "BRD Verdientkreuz", the highest award for services granted by Germany (1989); the IRCICA Award for Excellence in Research (1990, on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of IRCICA). [5]

In 1998, I published a bibliography, comprising almost all the major books, monographs, pamphlets, translation, studies and scholarly articles, penned by Prof. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel in German as well as in English languages. [6] In its compilation, an effort has been made to include all the concerned material, largely housed in German-speaking countries, and also adequately listed in the Festschriften, presented to Schimmel, firstly on her seventieth birthday entitled *Gott ist schön und Er liebt Schönheit* (God is beautiful and He loved Beauty, Bonn 1994) published from Frankfurt/am Mainz in 1992, and then on her retirement in the same year as Enerita at Harvard. [7] Though this venture was first of its kind and I endeavoured to make it as comprehensive as possible, however, it does not pretend to be exhaustive. I am fortunate enough that when Prof. Schimmel paid her last visit to Lahore for receiving the most

prestigious Iqbal Award, it was presented to her as a scholarly gift on the occasion of her seventy-fifth birthday in 1997.

Schimmel was an enormously prolific scholar who published on a wide variety of subjects concerning the Islamic world, and it would be difficult to speak in comprehensive detail of her oeuvre. A few specific topics, however, dominate her work. Her special domain of interest was of course, Sufism, which she encountered for the first time during the Second World War (1914-1918) when she happened to read some of the verses of Mawlana Rumi. The event she was later to describe as "a stroke of lightening", and it launched her into a fruitful series of studies and translations, beginning already in the 1940s, that earned her a place as one of the foremost interpreters of Rumi to the Western World. She also wrote on Sufism more generally and on this subject her *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill 1975) was especially well known. Her interests in the South-Asian subcontinent was represented in a different series of publications, including her *Gabriel's Wing* (Leiden, 1963) and *The Empire of the Great Mughals* (London, 2004). Finally, she devoted much of her research to subjects dealing with the aesthetics and spirituality of Islam; *and Muhammad in His Messenger* (Chapel Hill, 1985) exposed the development of Muslim piety as focused on the person of the Holy Prophet, and *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York, 1984) was devoted to the cultural and aesthetic uses of the Arabic script. It was perhaps this area that her best scholarship is to be seen. It is also worth mentioning that from 1963 to 1973 she was co-editor of the Arabic cultural journal *Fikreen wa Funon* (Art and Thought) published from Hamburg, in which numerous contributions by her appeared anonymously or under pseudonyms (Rashid al-Haideri, etc). At home in English as well as in German, she composed her own poetry in both languages.

Annemarie Schimmel's career, or her whole life, was devoted to the promotion of mutual respect and understanding between the peoples of the Islamic World and the West. Her affection for the world of Islam went back to her Ankara days (1954-1959), which provided her with rich opportunities to explore the country and meet its people.

Lawrence I. Conard expresses his opinion about her story in Ankara in these words:

> This was the first that a non-Muslim from Europe, and a woman, had ever gained such post, which she held until 1959. The years spent in Turkey confirmed her already developing interests and commitments and she became familiar with many ideas and customs that she

recognized as important in Islamic contexts, and also accepted them as important in her own life. (*Der Islam*, op. cit., p. 217)

See also Stefan Weidner: *Art and Thought: The long history of a unique journal.* Tr. Tim Nevill and Charlotte Collin *Art and Thought – Fikreen wa Fann*, 100 (2014), includes a special section about A. Schimmel.

As she said of her work: "I cannot work on a topic that I do not love." For her, scholarship was a spiritual understanding modeled on the example she perceived in the spirituality of the Islamic world: her work gave her opportunity to consider dimensions of human experience shared by all peoples, and in her research on Islamic religion and culture she sought to investigate and present what was uplifting, ennobling and beautiful. She was an old-fashioned romantic, but her vision of Islam was no contrived stereotype; it was something that she felt and lived in the most intensely personal fashion. Her public lectures repeatedly testified to this. She preferred to lecture from a podium, where she would pause for a moment to collect her thoughts, place her hands carefully, close her eyes, and proceed to deliver a well-crafted address-full of details. Quotations in numerous languages, and interesting arguments—that somehow came to a logical conclusion as she reopened her eyes after more or less exactly the time allotted to her.

It may be true that she craved recognition and acceptance, but once she had attained fame and celebrity status she bore it lightly. The uninitiated found that conversation with her was likely to involve little concerning her own work, and focus instead on cats, her mother, or treasured experiences with Muslim friends. Quiet and unassuming she seemed to radiate warmth and kindness and was effusive in her appreciation of others.

An important but seldom appreciated aspect of Schimmel's life was the complete absence of any private domain of holidays, of what others would call "free time" or "breaks". At times she was asked about this "So don't you have any private life at all?" Her reply: "I find that my work and everything connected with it—people and travels—are more than enough private life." This was perhaps a provocative way of conceding that for her there was no distinction between work and other domains: she was entirely dedicated to a quest to appreciate and promote what is good and grand, beautiful and ennobling in life. Her vision of Islamic mysticism provided her with the paradigm for this agenda, which she pursued through a programme of scholarly work that allowed for no diversions. It was not so much that she made no "time" for "free time", as that all of her time was devoted, in a basically integral way, to viewing the

world in terms of her spiritual agenda. In times of distress and unhappiness, "dedicated work was the best cure". Those who met or heard her for the first time, often marvelled at her formidable memory; she was full of exact details on many areas of Islamic history, and on the history of how these subjects had been treated through more than a century of modern scholarship.

Her emphasis on dialogue and mutual understanding determined her positions on two major controversies that arose during her career. In the debate over Orientalism, about which she had little to say directly her view was that the controversy launched by Edward Said was divisive and confrontational, and thus, for Schimmel, offered little prospect for real discussion and progress. In her own lectures she stressed in a more or less positivist fashion, the contribution of Orientalism, especially in Germany, to what she saw as the general quest of mankind for truth and knowledge. [8] The other debate had to do with Salman Rushdie's controversial book *The Satavic Verses* (1989), which provoked an uproar among Muslims that culminated in the *fatwa* calling for Rushdie's death. Six years later, when she was offered and accepted the prestigious Peace Prize of the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, she commented on this affair, remarking negatively on Rushdi's book and suggesting that the Muslim reaction against him was justified. This provoked a storm of protest, especially among the academic colleagues in her country, some of whom called for the prize to be withdrawn. Schimmel did not retract her views, though she did later comment that she had not been fairly quoted. [9]

Schimmel's perspective on the Middle East and her place as scholar devoted to its study is well encapsulated in an incident she related to one of his close friends. She and her mother who was her constant companion, secretary, critic, and confident had made plans to attend the Konya derwish festival, and of course had booked hotel accommodation far in advance. Upon their arrival in Konya, however, they discovered that their reservation had gone astray; no rooms were available at the hotel, nor, for that matter, anywhere else within many kilometer's of the city. Their taxi driver drove them around Konya for hours, trying one place after another, but to no avail. Finally, he suggested to his exhausted passengers that while he was a poor man with little to offer, he would be willing to receive them as guests in his home with his family for the duration of the festival. Schimmel saw in this not the stark reality of sleeping in harsh and primitive circumstances in the dead of Anatolian winter, but rather another more enriching reality—the kind gesture of a warm hearted invididual who, though desperately poor himself, was

able to recognize the plight of strangers in need. According to her, it was "one of the most beautiful and loving experiences of my life". Many may believe–or hope–that an individual's quest for love and understanding can make the world a better place; Annemarie Schimmel stands out, and was esteemed all over the world, for the way in which she pursued her life and scholarly career with a single-minded determination to make this dream a reality.

Here I would like to mention that several widely-reputed academics and learned organizations around the world, including Pakistan, acknowledged Schimmel's contribution with honourary memberships. Three Pakistani universities awarded her honourary advanced degrees between 1975 and 1978; many prizes were given to her in recognition to her well-documented studies relating to Pakistani languages and their literature and, above all, a quite three-lined avenue in Lahore was named after her. Now, she is no more with us, but we must continue our previous style of appreciation of her work and personality. In my view, the following two projects, at least, would be a scholarly tribute to Schimmel alias اقبال دی ملنگنی (translated by herself as "Wanderderwischen in Sachen Iqbal"):

i) Schimmel wrote two travelogues of Pakistan in German; the first was entitled *Pakistan: Ein Scholars mit tausend Toren* (Pakistan: a fort with thousand gates) published in 1965, in which she vivdly narrates her early impressions and deep observations on every aspect of Pakistan's intellectual and rich cultural heritage, from her first visit in 1958 onwards; and the second named *Berge, Wüsten, Heiligtümer. Meine Rerisen in Pakistan und Indien* (Mountains, deserts, holy tombs, my travels in Pakistan and India), published from Munich in 1994, and is entirely based on her thirty years' personal experiences of extensive travelling in Pakistan. These most informative travelling memories of Schimmel must be translated, either in English or in Urdu.

ii) After her death in January 2003, much has been written in leading European journals and newspapers. Apart from such obituary notices, a special issue of *Spektrum Iran*, a German magazine of Iranian Consolute in Bonn, and a collection of Urdu articles under the title دانائے راز (from New Delhi) have been published in her memory. Any learned body, society or academy of one country must pay attention to bring out such treatise or book.

* * * * * * *

How Iqbal was introduced to Schimmel?

During the wartime Berlim [1939-1945] "I discovered one day in our Seminar in Berlin University that copy of the journal *Islamia*

(1925) in which R.A. Nicholson had published his article of Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq* [see my book *Iqbal and Germany* (Urdu), Lahore 2021, pp. 62-70]… I read Nicholson's article with enthusiasm, copied it, and was inspired by the Persian verses which I found there. "This is my poet, and I am going to work on him", that was my reaction……

"I very soon met Rudolf Pannwitz, the philosopher, whose system resembles that of Iqbal in many respects, and who then began to be interested in Iqbal's works, particularly of course, in the philosophy of the *Six Lectures*, which he highly appreciated. Pannwitz introduced me to a friend of his, an elderly German poet, Hanm Meinke, who was one of the strange romantic dreamers of olden times enamoured by the mystical flights of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and likewise by Iqbal, whose works he knew, again, through Nicholson's article. In the 1930s he had written to the poet-philosopher to express his admiration for his work, and Iqbal had sent him copies of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* and the *Javidname*. Since Meinke could not read Persian, but was inspired by sheer love, he presented the two books to me, having bound the *Payam-i-Mashriq* artistically in purple brocaded silk. They became my working copies out of which my translations were made. [10]

* * * * * * *

The present volume is the third one of Schimmel's works. The first was the *Bibliography* (referred above) which lists her major German and English books, minor tracts, studies and scholarly articles. It does not pretend to be exhaustive. As co-editor of the Arab cultural journal *"Fikreen wa Fann"* (Hamburg) from 1963 until 1973, She wrote numerous articles that were often unsigned or that appeared under various pen-names. These have not been included, nor have the many articles she wrote for newspapers and popular journals or the introductions and prefaces to books by students and colleagues. The second was *Rhine to Indus*, a collection of her rare writings on the Holy Prophet (pbuh), Sufism, Saints, Poetry, Iqbal (three articles no included in the present volume), Islamic Arts, numerology etc. etc. (Lahore, 2012), in which an attempt has been made to make a selection of some of her important English studies on commonly-known as well as the little known subjects. Now the third book is being presented to you under the title *A. Schimmel (1922-2003): A Female German Iqbaliyat*, in which her articles on the life, poetry and philosophy of Iqbal has been published. No doubts, Schimmel translated Iqbal's books in German and contributed several studies in this languages, but here only her English articles

have been published which are not so far included in any other such collection. The footnotes and the bracket "[ ]" in the text are mine. [11]

Lahore M. Ikram Chaghetai
15 September, 2021

Notes and References

1 "Lyrics for the Divine Soul", in *The Times,* 26 October 2002.

2 Here, more significant studies in he memoriam are referred: *Spektrum Iran*. Zeitschriften für islamisch-iranische Kultur. Zum Gedenken an Annemarie Schimmel, 16/i (2003), Bonn and 17 (2004), esp. "Eulogy for Annemarie Schimmel", pp. 37-41 by Mohammad Aman H. Hobolin (1926-2014) who accepted Islam 1939, friend of Schimmel since 1947, German Foreign Service 1956-92 and Director King Fahad Academy, Bonn 1995-2002; Stefan Wild: "In Memoriam A. Schimmel", in: *Die Welt des Islams* (Leiden), 43/ii (2003), pp. 131-142; *Art and Thought* (*Fikreen wa Fann*, Hamburg), 74 (2004); *Dānā-i Rāz A Schimmel* (Urdu). Ed. Akhtar al-Wāsi, New Delhi 2003; *Iqbal Review* (Hyderabad Deccan), November 2003, pp. 65-95.

3 *Der Islam* (Berlin), 80/ii (2003), p. 213, obituary by Lawrence I. Conrad, pp. 213-223.

4 Munich 2002; Eng. Tr. By Karim Mittman, Lahore: Pakistan Iqbal Academy, 2007; see also spiegelungen des Islam–Die Grande Dame der Orientalistik in Gespräche mit Felizitas von Schönboin, Berlin 2002 and Anf den *Spusen der Muslims*–Mein Leben Zwischen den Kulturem. Freiburg, i. Br. 2002 (Eds. H. Bobzin and Navid Kermani)

5 *The New York Times*, February 2, 2003; *Newsletter*, O.I.C Research Centre for Islamic History and Culture, No. 6 (April 2003)

6 3rd revised and enlarged edition, 2004.

7 *Annemarie Schimmel Festschrift*: essays presented to A. Schimmel on the occasion of her retirement from Harvard University by her colleagues, students and friends. Ed. Mary Eve Subtelny and C.I.Cross. Cambridge (USA): Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994 (*Journal of Turkish Studies*, 18), pp. 336. Bibliography, pp.v – xxi, by M. E. Subtelny and Muhammad Al-Faruque.

8 Edward Said (1931-2003): *Orientalism*, Pantheon, USA, 1978. See for its criticism. Wael B. Hallaq, *Restating Orientalism: A critique of Modern Knowledge*, New York, 2018.

9 She was most grateful to the Böersenverein whose election committee elected her into the illustriolus circle of the recipients of the Peace Prize. According to her, "this peace prize is an honour–which I had never dared dream of–and it will be an incentive and increase my efforts for a better understanding between the occident and the orient as long as my strength will last. The words which the President of the Federal Republic of Germany has addressed to me will strengthen me on this way."

(The News International (Lahore), Tuesday, October 24, 1995)

In her acceptance speech, she comments on this 'campaign' against her in these words:

"When I learned, to any greatest surprise and joy that I had been awarded the Peace Prize, nobody would have imagined that during the following months a campaign would unfold–a campaign of such force that it seemed to destroy my life's work, which has and is devoted to a better understanding between East and West. This hurt me to the very core of my heart and mind. I hope that those who attacked me without even knowing me in person or having read my works will never have to undergo a torture like that…

I think, during the last months I have stated often enough that I loathe the disastrous *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie and that I'll help to my own why to defend the freedom of speech, of the word."

(Ibid. 23 October, 1995)

[10] A. Schimmel: "Iqbal as I see him" (*Jashn Nama-i Iqbal*. Ed. Dr. Ebadat Brelvi, Lahore, 1978, p. 154)

For Hanns Meinke's interest in Iqbal and his studies, see my book *Iqbal and Germany*, op. cit., pp. 38-44.

For Schimmel's life-long Iqbalian studies, see:

Bashir Ahmad: "A. Schimmel on Iqbal" (*Insight Islamiacu*, 6 (2006), pp. 148-154;

ڈاکٹر محمد بقائی ماکان: اقبال از نگاہ شمل، دانش (اسلام آباد)، شمارہ ۶۶-۶۷ (زمستان، ۲۰۰۸ء، ص ۳۷-۴۸)

[11] Schimmel translated in German Iqbal's *Javidname* (1957), *Payam-i Mashriq* (1963, 1977), *Zabor-i Ajam* (1968) and *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (1982, with the co-operation of Ali-Reza Rahbar). She authored only one book in German on Iqbal's poetry, philosophy and Politic (Hamburg, 1997) and afterward, she did not write a single on this poet-philosopher. Some of her German articles are as under:

(i) Einige Bemerkungen zer Muhammad Iqbal's Gavidname (*Die Welt des Ostens*, 2, nos. v-vi (1959), pp. 520-527.

(ii) Die Gestalt des Saten in Muhammad Iqbal's Werk (*Kairos*, 2 (1963), pp. 124-157

(iii) Ost-Westliche Dichtung. Zum Werke Sir Muhammad Iqbals (*Arcadia* 3 (1968), pp. 73-78)

(iv) Sir Muhammad Iqbal—Dichter und Reformer (*Buston* (Vienna), 8, no. 11 (1967), pp. 3-8)

(cf. Dr. Tailler, F. Laheman and W.M. Callewaert: *A descriptive Bibliography of Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938)*. Leuven, 2000.

After these papers, which tried to show Iqbal from various angles, and particularly after listening to the discussions, I was once more deeply impressed by the different possibilities to explain Iqbal.

May I tell you in this connection a little story which happened to me during my first visit to Pakistan in January 1958, when I gave my first major English lecture on "Iqbal's Concept of Prayer" in the courtyard of the Hotel Metropol. It was, I think, a quite learned paper, and I tried my best to go deeply into theological problems. After I had finished, an old lady embraced me: It was 'Atiya Begum[1], Iqbal's friend and companion during his days in Germany. She said to me, "My dear child, you have made Iqbal a saint. But I can assure you, he was a very human being"!

This was my introduction to the ways how my friends in the Subcontinent could deal with Iqbal, each of them looking at him from a different angle. Thus, in many long discussions with Javid Iqbal.[2] I always found that he, the son of a great father, was very eager to explain his father's poetry and philosophy almost exclusively from their political and social background, while I, an outsider who happened to be a historian of religion, always tried to find out the eternal and unchangeable centre of Iqbal's message.

Of course, we cannot separate Iqbal from the political scene into which he was born. After all, it was in the year of his birth that Aligarh Anglo-Muslim College began to function. It was also a time in which a number of leading philosophers, thinkers and poets of the East and of the West were born, and it would therefore be easy to draw parallels between Iqbal and his contemporaries such as Teilhard de Chardin, Sri Aurobindo, or Martin Buber. I would also like to remind the audience that in the history of German literature in those days that Hermann Hesse and Thomas Mann-both Noble Prize winners-were born. Not to mention the numerous great politicians who changed the fate of East and West in the last hundred years: suffice it to remind you that both M. A. Jinnah and the Agha Khan were exact contemporaries of Iqbal.

Therefore, the remark that touched me most deeply today in the papers was Professor Sirajuddin's sentence that "Iqbal's poetry is the spectrum of a vast culture". I think if we understand in this way we can also explain much more easily the seeming contradictions in his thoughts.

You know that Wilfred Cantwell Smith in his famous book *Modern Islam in India* (1946) has devoted to Iqbal two chapters: One, 'Iqbal the Progressive' and the other one, 'Iqbal the Reactionary'. The very fact that Iqbal can be quoted by the most orthodox Muslims because of the recurring numerous Qur'anic statements and his deep veneration of the Prophet of Islam, as well as by socialists; by defenders of human freedom, as well by those who believe in the absolute predestined order of Universe, shows that he indeed carries in himself the heritage of many centuries during which all these conflicting trends developed in Indo-Islamic culture. I stress here the word 'Indo-Islamic culture' because this heritage also comprises the fruits of the interaction of Islam with the Indian spirit.

When we discuss Iqbal and his concept of East and West, we should not think that it grew only out of his first meeting with Europe and that his awareness of the heritage of the East manifested itself after he had seen Europe and witnessed the greatness of European, particularly German philosophy and literature but at the same time, the dangers of a materialistic civilization, not to forget the newly developing movement for women's liberation, of which he is very critical. If you read his *Stray Reflections*[3] and think of the quite unflattering remarks about the European prophetess in the sphere of Mars in the *Javidname* [1932], you feel repercussions, of his aversion to the 'unfeminine' feminist uprising in the West. But we have to remember that the attitude which H.A.R. Gibb has called the 'comfortable juxtaposition of Eastern spirituality and Western Materialism' goes in itself back to the Islamic Middle Ages. It was Suhrawardi Maqtul, the Shaikh ul-Ishraq (killed in 1191 in Aleppo) who elaborated the theories of the spiritual East, the true home of the soul, and the Western Exile of the soul, and the Western Exile (*alghurbat-al-gharbiyya*) i.e. the world of matter where the soul is now imprisoned and incarcerated until it finds its way home to the eternal spiritual East. *Hikmat-i-yunāni*, 'Greek scientific philosophy' and *hikmat-i-yamani*, 'Yemenite spiritual philosophy' are key terms in this concept. And it seems to me that the old idea which is common in the West i.e. *Ex Oriente Lux*, Light comes from the East, belongs to the same category of thinking. It was known in the early church, but permeated German thought for instance in the teachings of the

Rosicrucian, as it plays an immense role in the philosophy of the German Romantics in the beginning of the 19th century; Hermann Hesse has taken it up again in his work. The Indian concept of *purab*, the spiritual east, belongs here, too. These ideas were taken over by Iqbal and filled with new life. Further, all of you who have read poetry written by the Persian poets of the Subcontinent know how often they used the concept of the *firangi*, the European, as *the enemy* and that of the *qaid-i-firang*, the 'European prison'. In the works of Faizi, Kalim, Naziri and Bedil this is a concept which points to man's being imprisoned in a world which is dangerous and tempting at the same time. When Iqbal speaks against the dangers caused by the *firangi* it is not only as far as I can see an assessment of the political situation in India in the first decades of this century but contains also some of this ages-old feeling of a danger connected with the representatives of the West. And yet, we should not forget that some of the deepest inspiration for Iqbal came from the West, and more particularly, from Germany.

To study Iqbal means, for me, to discover time and again new similarities with Western thinking. Iqbal is, in my opinion, the only Oriental poet who has not only studied Western philosophy intensely, but had a true and deep understanding of the poetry and thought of Goethe whose works he could read, after all, in the original German. It is worth mentioning that in his *Stray Reflections* his praise of Goethe surpasses all limits. Goethe's *Faust* is, for him 'humanity individualized', and he places 'Faust' that he received inspiration for his *mard-i-momin*, and here it is particularly the idea that man should never rest, for it is Faust's pledge to Satan that Satan can carry away his soul when Faust enjoys the moment in which he is living so, intensely that he will address time to stand still for him:

> Werd' ich zum Augenblicke sagen:
> Verweile doch, du bist so schon……

For that would be the end of his constant striving toward ever higher ranks. And it is exactly this incessant striving to reach new levels of activity and consciousness in every moment which is the reason for his final salvation:

> Wer immer strebend sich bemueht,
> den koennen wir erloesen…….

This whole idea of the constant striving and man's permanent struggle with 'Satan' as expressed in *Faust* has been echoed most beautifully in Iqbal's works. The figure of Goethe's Mephistopheles as Faust's adversary and yet his helper on the way to higher levels of

life, blended with Miltonian and Islamic ideas in a most ingenious way makes Iqbal's satanology so fascinating and he believes, like Goethe in *Faust* that Satan is necessary to color the events of life. It is only through the constant resistance against Satan that man can develop his innate faculties and reach new levels of individuation– this idea is common to Goethe and Iqbal. Again, it seems very typical to me that one of the few poems which Iqbal has taken over from Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan* (1819) into the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (1923) is "*Sha'ir u Hur*", "The Poet and the Houri". Its original is found in the last book of the "*West-Oestlicher Divan*": it shows the poet knocking at the door of Paradise where the houri does not allow him in because he has no credentials. He, however, brings his credentials by saying:

> Denn ich bin ein Mensch gewesen,
> und das heisst, ein Kampfer sein.
> (I have been a human being and that means, I have been a fighter).

In fact, we could translate 'Mensch', 'human being' in this connection with *mard*, a true MAN. This line has not been translated by Iqbal, but it is the same idea that underlies his poem *Sha'ir u Hur* very clearly, because he too sees the true poet as the indefatigable fighter against himself, against his *nafs* which he has to educate, as well as a fighter for the freedom of the human race. For that is the goal of poetry, as Iqbal says in *Javidname*, where he claims that if the goal of poetry is to build up men (*mardumsāzi*), then poetry can be called an heir to prophecy.

But Iqbal's relations with Goethe go further. All of you know the beautiful poem in *Payam-i-Mashriq* about the river, *jā-yi-āb*, which he has written, as noted in a footnote, inspired by Goethe's poem *Mahomet's Gesang*.[4] This poem was written by Goethe in his youthful days and had first the form of a dialogue between Ali and Fatima, supposed to form part of a drama about the Prophet of Islam. Iqbal took it over, because the image of the river which begins as a small fountain and then flows through deserts, through woods and mountains, carrying with him more and more rivulets and brooklets until it grows and brings the waters back to the ocean, its divine origin, seemed for him to symbolize most perfectly the secret of the Prophetic spirit. It is for this reason, I feel, that he selected for himself the nom-de-plume *Zindarud*, 'Living Stream', as it is used in the *Javidname*. For he wanted to follow the example of the Prophet in collecting around him mankind to lead them back to the originals of their life, to the divine ocean, or the divine soul whatever you prefer.

This aspect of Iqbal's thought seems to me very important. And after we have discussed today in different ways whether the concept of religion was relevant for him or not, and whether he did not rather build up a mere moral approach to life, I would say, after many years of studying Iqbal in the light of comparative religion, that the concept points in his whole system.

If we compare his *mard-i-momin* with Nietzsche's superman we have always to remember that Nietzsche's superman can appear only 'after God is dead', while Iqbal's *mard-i-momin*, his 'perfected man' (I deliberately do not use the word 'Perfect Man') is the one who comes closest to God by imitating the Prophet as the perfect '*Abduhu*', 'His servant', as Hallaj says in the beautiful Hymn in the Sphere of Jupiter in the *Javidname*. That means, while Nietzsche opens the gap between man and God so widely that it can no longer be bridged, Iqbal stresses the constant interaction of man and God. In this connection, I find it very revealing that two of our speakers have referred to the poem 'Adam's Birth', for man is called to work on earth as God's vicegerent, his *khalifa*, that means, he has to carry out all the tasks which God has in mind when creating the world. He was given the *amanat*, the difficult trust of free will and activity, and has to use it for the amelioration of the world.

This concept explains also why Iqbal in his poetical language often differs from the traditional idiom of Persian and Urdu poetry. All of you know that the *bulbul* and the *gul* do not play such an important role in his poetry as do the *baz* and the *lala*. For the nightingale and the rose is a symbol which, in Iqbal's view, was associated with Hafizian and post-Hafizian poetry, and that was the kind of sweet verse which he deemed dangerous for the life of the nation. The *baz* however was Maulana Rumi's favorite bird: the falcon comes back to his king's hand when he hears, at the end of his journey, the sound of the falcon-drum. In Rumi's poetry, the soul-falcon belongs to the finest and most touching images, and Iqbal has taken over this image very intelligently to show by it the human spirit which does not want to rest in the lowlands of comfortable life but rather, is constantly in search of higher levels, of new possibilities because he knows that there are still new horizons which he has to discover. Likewise, the *lala* is the flower of the wilderness. It does not grow, in Persian poetical language, in the nicely trimmed garden of Shiraz but appears in the spring on the hills in Kohistan, the mountainous area, as it covers the hills of Afghanistan with millions and millions of red flames. Further, the tulip is in classical imagery the flower of the martyrs; it wears the blood-stained shroud of the

martyrs, be they martyrs of love or the martyrs of Karbela, and it is also a flame, comparable, to the burning bush though which God spoke to Moses. Thus, *baz* and *lala* are two typical symbols of Iqbal's dynamism and show us very clearly his direction of thought. When the falcon always looks for new horizons to conquer he is a typical exponent of what Iqbal calls the *suz-i-nātamām*, 'incomplete burning'. Eternal *shauq*, longing, is much more important for man's development than fulfillment of his dreams. The great poets of the East have often spoken of this eternal longing of the soul as the only possibility of becoming fertile and active. A typical example is the reed flute in Maulana Rumi's *Mathnawi*, which complains full of longing for the reed-bed from which it was cut; it becomes with Iqbal a symbol of man who can become active and creative only when he is separated from his origin and longs for something higher. For in union and that is what all poets in both East and West have attested in union only silence is left, for voices die in eternal tranquility. It is the unfulfilled hope, the never ending desire which makes the poets speak and makes him the voice of all those who are longing for something higher. And certainly, there is no end of the way toward God, as mystics and seers in East and West have repeated time and again. When Fariduddin 'Attar describes the journey of the birds in his '*Mantiq ut-tair*' and realized that they finally discover their identity with the *simurgh*, since they, being *simurgh*, 'thirty birds' are one and the same with the longed-for divine bird at the end of the road, he nevertheless continues that now, the journey to God being finished the journey in God begins. And this journey has no end. Imam Ghazzali said the same thing in his *Ihyā ulūm ad-din* in the chapter of Longing and Love, where he speaks of the ever new unfolding divine depths. When even man approaches them one step he will discover a thousand new worlds before him. Iqbal follows the same trend of ideas when he speaks about the relation between man and God which consists of a constant approximation but never a full union. Finally, man may become aware of the eternal. Now by breaking the girdle of created serial time and may discover the infinite possibilities that are hidden in the Divine, waiting for realization, but still without any temporal or spatial differentiation, as he says in the *Reconstruction [of Religious Thought in Islam,* 1934]', quoting again a poem by Goethe. From this view point, I think, we can understand Iqbal's poetry and philosophy to a certain extent. I personally have always felt that by keeping the religious background in mind, we are able to assess better his contributions to the changing patterns and development on the political and social sector of Indian Islam. I would agree here with Prof. Khundmiri when he

says that Iqbal's vision was certainly 'utopian' in the best sense. He had a vision, but to bring a vision down into the world of matter is something different. That is why his poetry and his contribution to Indo-Muslims culture in particular to Indian culture in the wider sense and to the global world of thought in general has always been, and will remain, subject to controversy. There are always, as we said in the beginning, contradictions between the high ideals and the practical reality. However, as Iqbal himself says, "only stones do not contradict themselves". I find that just the contradictions in his work and the way how his poetry opens new dimensions for everyone who studies it, are proofs for his greatness. Therefore, I think we should close our session with remembering Goethe's words which can be applied to Iqbal's poetry and thought as well: "Only what is fertile is true".

Was fruchtbar ist, allein ist wahr

And there is no doubt that Iqbal's thought and poetry have been and will never cease to be a constant source of inspiration not only for everyone who has an interest–be it even the slightest interest–in the spiritual life of Indian Islam, but also for everyone who wants to learn how the various trends of spiritual life in the twentieth century in general were reflected in a poetry of high artistic quality.

Notes and References

[1] Atiya Faizi (1877-1967) Iqbal (Bombay, 1947), new ed. Karachi: OUP, 2011. (Annotation by Dr. Dr. Rauf Parekh. Urdu translation by 'Abdul 'Aziz Khalid, Lahore, 1975; Siobhan Lambert Hurley and Sunil Sharma: *Atiya's Journeys: A Muslim Woman from Colonial Bombay to Education Britain,* New York: OUP, 2010.

[2] 1924-2015, son of Iqbal, wrote comprehensive biography of his father, *Zindarud,* Lahore, 2004.

[3] Ed. by Javid Iqbal, Lahore, 2006.

[4] Ingebarg H. Solkig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts "Mahometi—Geremy" bei Goethe Zeifgenossen und in der modernen persischen Adaption Muhammad Iqbal's 1923. *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 100 (1983), pp. 111-126). Ibid: "Die Rezeption des Goethes Mahomets-Gesang Zeitgenossen und Iqbal" (*Journal of Turkish Studies* (Harvard University), vol. 18 (1994), pp. 247-261.)

IQBAL, HIS LIFE AND HIS WORK

Muhammad Iqbal was born on November 9, 1877 in Sialkot, not even eleven months after the birth of Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, and only a few days after the Agha Khan who was to play such an important role in the formation of the Muslim League and in Indian politics. He thus stands at an important juncture of Indo-Muslim history, a history that began in 711 A.D. with the conquest of Sind and Multan by Muhammad ibn al-Qasim, was continued during the early 11th century in North Western part of the Subcontinent from where Muslim rule spread both east and south, and found its culmination in the glorious Mughal Empire. The catastrophes of the post-Aurangzeb time, the encroachment of foreign powers, particularly Britain, upon India, the breaking up of the Muslim rule into smaller and weaker states, the confrontation with the cultural and the religious problems caused by the extending rule of the British ended in the so-called Mutiny of 1857 which constitutes the nominal and practical end of the Indo-Muslim rule. The problem of self-identification with which the Muslim was faced from the 18th century onward grew stronger in the late 19th century; it is visible in a new orientation towards religion and art. Against the resistance of the orthodox who refused any contact with the British, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan founded the Anglo-Muslim College at Aligarh in order to make the Muslim intelligentsia participate in the Western educational system, thus to secure them at least a certain share in the British bureaucracy. Poetry no longer sang of the loveliness of charming ladies, but developed a new style, in order to remind the Muslims of their glorious past and their duties in the future; the best example is Hali's *Musaddas*. The importance of the role of the Prophet of Islam as the true leader of his community towards progress was once more highlighted and inspired many scholarly and devotional works. The first attempts to create a political representation of the Indians was the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Sir Sayyid saw the dangers of Muslim participation in this body because of the overwhelming majority of Hindus whose votes would always outweigh those of the Muslims. A particular representation of the Muslims was instituted in 1906 in Dacca; it was the Muslim League. Double membership in both

organizations was possible for a long time, and only under the growing communalist tensions the League developed a political approach of their own.

It was into this time that Iqbal was born. After initial studies in Lahore, where he had the famous orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold [d. 1930] as his teacher, he went to Cambridge to study law and philosophy (1905), then went to Heidelberg in order to learn German more intensely, and submitted his thesis on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* in November 1907 to the professor of Semitics at Munich University, Friedrich Hommel.[1] This thesis, though still written under the spell of Neo-Hegelianism, was praised by Persian scholars as a step into a new and hitherto unknown direction of Persian spiritual life. After his return to Lahore, Iqbal taught philosophy and then concentrated on law. He was deeply shocked by what he had seen in Europe, and recognized the dangers that lurked behind the glittering façade of European life. His *Stray Reflections* of 1910 are fine collection of relevant aphorisms; they also reveal his deep insight into German literature and philosophy. His first great Urdu poem is the *Shikwa*, the complaint about God who has deserted his chosen people, the Muslims, and one year later the 'Answer', in which God blames the lazy and sleepy Muslims who neglect their duties. These two poems form the culmination of the first period of his Urdu poetry. In 1915 he published the Persian *mathnawi Asrar-i-Khudi*, which deeply shocked his readers because of his advocating the development of the Ego instead of the sweet state of *fana*, annihilation, of which the poets had been speaking for hundreds of years. The role of the fully developed Ego in the community is then defined in the next Persian *mathnawi*, the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, which contains Iqbal's most important sayings about political and social problems. In 1922 the British government conferred a knighthood upon him. In 1923, the collected Persian poems appeared under the title *Payam-i Mashriq*; dedicated to Amanullah of Afghanistan, reveals how much Iqbal had studied Western literature; While the *Asrar* had aroused some shock in the Western scholarly world due to its strongly dynamic, allegedly Nietzschean interpretation of Islam, the *Payam-i Mashriq* was welcomed warmly by eminent orientalists such as R. A. Nicholson,[2] to whom we owe the translation of the *Asrar*[3] as well. In 1927, another collection of Persian verse appeared. It is the *Zabur-i 'Ajam*, the Persian Psalms, a book that contains some of the finest prayer poems in Iqbal's work, and discusses in his emulation of Shabistari's *Gulshan-i Raz,* the *Gulshan-i Raz-i Jadid*, the problems of God, man

and world as seen by the modern Muslim poet-thinker. One year later, Iqbal gave lectures at various Indian universities. They were published under the title *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* and contain a highly interesting attempt at analyzing the Western and Eastern philosophical viewpoints in order to make them fruitful for a true revival of Islam. Iqbal's results are sometimes surprising but always thought provoking, and the Western scholars came to appreciate his approach, the longer the more.

At a time of growing communalist tensions, Iqbal was an active member of the Muslim League, and it was at the session of the league in Allahabad in December 1930, that he addressed the participants with a long scholarly exposition about Islam and Islamic history the conclusion of which led him, then, to formulate, for the first time, the idea of a separate homeland for a Muslims, at least in the North Western part of the Subcontinent. From that time onward the ideas of Pakistan slowly gained shape until it was declared to be the goal of the Muslim League in the Lahore session on March 23, 1940.

In 1932, Iqbal was a member of the Second Round Table Conference in London, and participated in the Islamic World Conference in Jerusalem. One year later, he again participated in the Round Table Conference, and stopped on his way back in Paris to meet Henri Bergson, the vitalist philosopher whose ideas he appreciated very much. He also met the famous orientalist Louis Massignon [d. 1964], whose studies of the martyr-mystic al-Hallaj had inspired him to see this medieval mystic in a light different from his poetical predecessors in the East, i.e. not as the defender of a personal and dynamic relation between man and God. From Paris Iqbal preceded to Spain, where his visit of Cordoa inspired one of his finest Urdu poems, the *Masjid-i Qurtuba*. In Rome he met Mussolini: his early admiration for him gave way, however, to criticism in a later period (One may think of Goethe's attitude toward Napoleon). Another visit brought him as member of an educational commission to Kabul in order to discuss the foundation of an Afghan University.[4]

Between these journeys, and in a time of political difficulties, some of Iqbal's most important works were published. The *Javidname*, 1932, describes in Persian verse his journey through the spheres, accompanied by his spiritual guide Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, this poetical form enables him to introduce many of his political, social, and religious ideas in his conversations with the inhabitants of the various spheres. The reader cannot but admire his

deep insight into problems of religious history and psychology and the ingenious way how old and new symbols are blended into a perfectly harmonious whole which opens new vista at every new reading. Iqbal's journey to Afghanistan resulted in the poetical question *Pas che bayad kard*, 'What is to be done, o people of the East', was published.

After the return from Afghanistan, Iqbal developed a mysterious illness of the throat, which prevented him the longer the more from speaking; inspire of growing weakness he participated in the political life of the country, inspired Quaid-i Azam to pursue the Pakistan project, and worked on various topics, among which his study of Islamic law would have been most welcome to the curious reader; it was however, never finished. Nor was the book which he wanted to write as an emulation of Nietzsche's *Thus spoke Zarathustra*. But his two major collections of Urdu poetry appeared in 1936 and 1937: the *Bal-i Jabril*, (Gabriel's Wing) contains the great ode on the Mosque of Cordoba, but also many other highly interesting poems in which he has summed up his religious and to a smaller extent political ideas; Zarb-i Kalim, (The Stroke of Moses), is mainly devoted to political topics.

The death of his wife [1935], the mother of his two children, as well as the death of his friend Sir Ross Mas'ud caused a deep wound in Iqbal's heart. His condition worsened. The last visitor who came to his house was the German author H. H. von Veltheim,[5] with whom he discussed German philosophy for hours. He died in the early morning of April 21, 1938, and was buried in Lahore. Veltheim has well described the deep movement of mouring that went through the India Muslim community at his death. Iqbal's last New Year's Message, broadcast on Jan. 1, 1938, shows how well aware he was of the growing dangers in this world, of the impending war, and of the necessity of peaceful cooperation among nations.

The state which he had visualized in 1930 became a reality in 1947, and it may be interesting to remark that, as Dr. Javid Iqbal has recently shown in his lecture on Iqbal day Lahore 1976, a German geographer helped him for quite a long time to prepare maps showing the minority and majority districts on India. It was not only Goethe and Hegel on the spiritual plan, but also the help of a German geographer on the practical plan (and, not forget, the service rendered to his two children by their German educator, Auntie Doris) which prove Iqbal's close and friendly relations with Germany.

(in: *Muhammad Iqbal and the Three Realms of the Spirit*, Ed. by Wolfgang Koehler, Hamburg 1977, pp. 39-44)

Notes and References

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[1] Iqbal's *doktarvater* in Munich, correct name Fritz Hommel (1854-1936), for detail see my article (Urdu), in *Mah-i-Nau*, (Iqbal Number), 2002, pp. 147-154, with photo and my book *Iqbal aur Germany* (Urdu), Lahore, 2021, pp. 132-141.

[2] British Orientalist (d. 1945); his English review on *Payam-i Mashriq* was published in the first issue of *Islamica* (Leipzig, 1925).

[3] London 1920.

[4] See my book entitled *Iqbal, Afghan and Afghanistan*, Lahore, 2004.

[5] See for detail, *Iqbal aur Germany*, op. cit, pp. 172-182.

IQBAL–AN APPRAISAL

Muhammad Iqbal is considered as one of the greatest poet–philosophers of the modern East and the spiritual head of about one hundred million Muslims of the Indo–Pakistan Subcontinent. However, despite his importance for the history of the Muslim thought, the great poet–philosopher of Indo–Pakistan is only little known in Europe, although there are several translations of his poetry and philosophical work in European languages.

Let us try, therefore, to give some impressions of his spiritual formation:

He was well known as a poet before visiting Europe; then, after the mental crisis he suffered from during the first few years after his return from the Occident, he published, in 1912– that was at the time of the Balkan war–his great poem in Urdu *Shikwa*, "The Complaint", and one year later, the "Reply of the Complaint" in which he explained the religious and spiritual causes for the deplorable decadence of the Muslims who had forgotten their glorious past and were merely interested in imitating the mediaeval traditions which paralyzed all creating forces in the world of Islam, or who were fascinated by the seductive surface of European life which led them to forget all the values of the Islamic civilization.

In those two poems Iqbal had outlined, for the first time, the ideas we come across in the whole of his poetry until his death, i.e. for 25 years. But his first great work, written in Persian, the well known literary language both in India and in the West came out in 1915; it was the *Asrar–i–Khudi* (The Secrets of Oneself). In that work he has shown his philosophy of the development of the human Self, of the ideal Superman, of activity and vital dynamism—contrary to the pseudo–mystical ideas which were so powerful in the Indian Islam, and which he vigorously attacked.

In 1918 Iqbal published–again in Persian–a second great *mathnawi* (i.e. poems the hemistiches of which do not rhyme) under the title *Rumuz–i–Bekhudi*, (Mysteries of the Non–Self) which shows that it is necessary to define the role of the individual in the ideal society which, for Iqbal, is the Muslim society.

That work was followed by a series of poems in Urdu, *Bang–i–Dara* (The Sound of the Bell of the Caravan): Iqbal always felt as a bell ringing in the desert to guide the caravan of believers to the end of their journey, to the central sanctuary of Mecca in order that it may not be dispersed in the dark of the desert and that it may not become the prey of the foreigners.

In 1923 the poet published *Payam–i–Mashriq*, (The Message from the Orient), in reply to the German poet Goethe, whom he admired most among the European thinkers, and whom he confronted in a poem with the thinker he liked best in the East and whom he had chosen as a spiritual guide, the great mystical poet Jalaluddin Rumi (thirteenth century), because both had understood that:

Hatred is the nature of Satan, love is the nature of man.

Divine love as a solution to human problems, that is what Iqbal found in the works of those who are prominent personalities. With respect to Goethe he was even of the opinion that the latter's *Faust* was the finest work that ever emerged from the thought of a human being and that it is impossible to imagine anything more beautiful. His tribute to the German poet–which unfortunately has not been translated in the French translation of *The Message from the Orient*– shows the influence exerted by Goethe's ideas on Iqbal as from the time of the latter's youth.

A few years after *The Message from the Orient*, we find most subtle lyricism in the *Zabur–i–'Aja*m (The Persian Psalms), which poetry the poet himself preferred among his Persian verse. It was in 1932 that his master work *Javidname* appeared, which was dedicated to his youngest son. The poet composed it as a kind of *Divine Comedy* in Persian, by using a well known subject in the Muslim mystic, the subject of the Ascension of the Prophet to the Divine Presence, and then of the mystical adept, who–by traversing the celestial spheres– realized the spiritual states of the mystical way. Here the poet visited the inhabitants of the various planets and learned from them the solution to the most difficult philosophical, theological and even political problems.

After a journey to Afghanistan, Iqbal composed two small series of poet in Persian, *Musafir* (The Traveler) and *Pas che bayad kard*, (What to do the, nations of the East?) His finest poetry in Urdu is contained in *Bal–i–Jibril* (The Wing of Gabriel), whereas *Zarb–i–Kalim* (The Sword of Moses), is a most poignant criticism of the political and religious situation in 1936.

But Iqbal, a versatile genius, was also a most powerful prose–writer, whose lectures given at the Muslim universities of India in 1928, have become famous under the title, *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* [1930]. As a good Indian, the poet–philosopher, also participated in the liberation policy of his country; he was a member of the Round Table Conference held in London in 1931 and 1932; and it is said that his role "probably was as decisive for the Muslims as that of Gandhi for the Hindus". He is rightly considered as the spiritual father of Pakistan. It was he who advocated the creation of a separate Muslim state on the Subcontinent and he launched that idea during the annual session of the Muslim league at Allahabad in 1930, stating:

> I should like to see Punjab, the North–West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated to one single country…It would appear to me that the formation of a well–consolidated Muslim State in the north–west of India is the final destiny of the Muslims, at least in the North–West.

On the 21st of April 1938 Iqbal died at Lahore, where his mausoleum, next to the grand Mosque, has become a kind of spiritual centre for the Pakistani people. After his death, an anthology, *Armaghan–e–Hijaz* (Gift of Hijaz), was published, which contains touching expressions of his love for Islam and the Prophet of Islam.

The English orientalist, Professor R. A. Nicholson, who translated the "Secrets of Self" in 1920 and who introduced the Indo–Muslim thinker in Europe, wrote more than forty years ago:

His message is not merely intended for the Mohammedans of India but for the Muslims everywhere. That is why he wrote in Persian and not in Hindustani and said:

> I do not need the attention of the people of today; I am the voice of the poet of to–morrow.

Without doubt Iqbal was the poet of to–morrow. After his death an extensive literature has been devoted to him in Pakistan and other Muslim countries, for instance Turkey, because as Haidar Bammate said:

> Through the height of his religious and philosophical views, through his life devoted to the revival of Islam, and the emancipation of the Muslim peoples, through the vibrating echo his poetry met with far beyond his native country, Iqbal is to be reckoned among the authentic glories of the Islamic community.

There are many translations of Iqbal's works in European languages, the majority of which in English, of course. *The Message from the Orient* has been translated to French by Madame Eva Meyerovitch. In German poetry by myself; there are also Turkish and Arabic translations and translations to regional language of Pakistan. The greatest poem of Iqbal, the *Javidname*, has also inspired many orientalists; the first translation to Italian prose is from Professor A. Bausani. Madame Meyerovitch has recently published a translation in French prose. I myself have published a translation in German poetry and an annotated translation in Turkish prose of that work. Unfortunately the great poems in Urdu, save the *Complaint*, have only rarely been translated, but there is a French translation of the *Reconstruction* prepared by Madame Meyerovitch, for which Mr. Louis Massignon has written the preface which shows his real interest for Iqbal as the representative of a new interpretation of Islam, and as the reformer of the classical mysticism of the early centuries, "far off the middle–class and provincial Islam".

What we admire most in Iqbal is that he had an extraordinary genius for synthesis. In his poems he had adopted the classical forms of the Persian–Urdu lyrics as well as the centuries old symbols of Eastern poetry–wine, the nightingale and the rose, the falcon, the stars, the spring on the mountains of Kashmir; but he has given those much–used symbols, those old forms of expression, those traditional words a fresh meaning, with quite new ideas–no reveries of desperate lovers, no plaintive song of the nightingale, no wish to die……The whole of his poetry winds around one pivot: the education of the believer, of the ideal Muslim, who is conscious of his ego, of his personality, of his duty to improve the society and the world……

Sometimes Iqbal has been reproached for having overloaded his poetry with philosophy and it has been said that the philosophical and political allusions render his poems very difficult for the reader who searches for pure beauty. Certainly, Iqbal was a philosopher and a theologian conversant with the works of European philosophers. There are not many scientists in the Muslim world who have studied the works of vitalistic philosophers with as much zeal as Iqbal did; and one is not surprised to see him fall under the influence–at least exterior–of Nietzsche for a certain period. Iqbal knew and even visited Bergson and–as said Louis Massignon–"despite a very defective translation which was disowned by Bergson, he felt a Semitic i.e. prophetic affinity for Bergson." The analysis of the European philosophy which he has given in *The Reconstruction* is,

partially, excellent, and in any case wonderful. It should be recalled furthermore that Iqbal was a good psychologist, able to understand the secret relations between the great spiritual currents of human history–in his *Javidname* the historian of religions finds combinations of symbols and characteristics of certain personages and events which are really amazing, because scientific research did not discover them until some time after the poet–philosopher had found them intuitively.

But what was that poetic philosophy, what did that poetic philosophy, what did that poetic philosophy aim at?

May we in a few words outline the typical sides of Iqbal's thought by using French translations of the poet's work, although they cannot convey the delightful stylistic and rhythmic beauty of his verse.

> The moral and religious ideal of man"–says Madame Meyerovitch, when describing Iqbal's philosophy– "consists of the assertion of the Oneself, and he attains that ideal by becoming more and more individual.

That idea has been expressed very well in the symbol of the moon, the crescent of *Eid*, the celebration after the month of fasting:

> Open your eyes on yourself, and do not let your poverty sadden you,
> In your bosom hides the full moon.

This means: man bears in himself all the possibilities of life, and one must develop them without asking anybody for assistance–to ask is to become feeble; to satisfy oneself is to become strong. Man is like the glow–worm which can say: I am embracing myself, I am following the light of my own way. That is why the angels admit that the handful of dust which man is, will some day surpass in brilliancy the "beings of light".

Iqbal has been reproached with having imitated Nietzsche and his superman in his ideal of the strong and robust man; but despite certain exterior similarities and expression similarities, the Indo–Muslim thinker had in mind the mystic idea of the Perfect Man who, for the Muslims, is personified by Mohammad, the Prophet of Islam, himself. And, as the Prophet, even as perfect man, was the servant of God–God having addressed him as "His Servant", '*abduhu*–with Iqbal there is no superman who announces that God is dead; on the contrary: the Iqbalian perfect man becomes more perfect as he approaches God, the Perfect Individual, co–operating with him as an individual aspiring after the greatest possible perfection.

That idea of the individual as a co–operator of God contains a criticism of Nietzsche and atheism. In his *Javidname*, where he meets the German philosopher beyond the celestial spheres (by making an allusion to the words of the confession of the Islamic Faith. *In Ilaha illellah*. There is no God but God) Iqbal said:

> Nietzsche……stopped at the "La" (in the negation of God) and did not attain the "Illa" (i.e. the assertion of the existence of the *Only* God); he disappeared without having understood the sense of "servant of God". He was drunk with God, they took him for a madman. In Europe there was no man knowing the mystic way…… His rapture breaks all flasks, he breaks with God and in the end with himself. He wanted the fruit which can merely be produced by the heart, to gush out of the water and spring up from the earth.

That means that the Indo–Muslim thinker has found in Nietzsche a refined materialism which has prevented him from attaining the Divine truth–he had the vision of a goal which nobody in Europe had ever seen, but owing to the unfavourable situation in Europe, where rough materialism prevailed, the German philosopher had not found any spiritual guides which would have interpreted his vision in religious terms.

The idea of a vice-director of God on Earth, which is entirely Islamic and contained in the Qur'an, has only a few common points with the superman of Nietzsche.

Iqbal has always stressed the fact that such a co-operation is only possible between two definitely distinct persons: God is a person, as the Qur'an says by giving him the name of Allah, and the more man become a perfected and well–developed individual, the more he can assist God in embellishing the world, and can address the Creator by saying:

> You have made the night, and I have made the lamp–
> You have made the clay, and I have made the cup,
> You have created the deserts, the valleys, the mountains.
> I have made the flower–beds, the gardens, the rosaries…

That idea of co-operation between two individuals not only contains the refutation of a Nietzschean atheism, but also a criticism of the monist mystic which had flooded large parts of the Muslim spirituality for six centuries.

From the point of view of the individuation of man, one may also understand the fall of Adam as a possibility of voluntary rising again, as the first step on the way to individuation, which ends up in the presence of God. And in that process of individuation which begins

with the temptation of Adam by Satan, Iqbal has assigned a special role to *Iblis*, the Devil who, as a touchstone, is absolutely necessary for the spiritual development of man. One of the most touching parts of Iqbal's poetry is the Complaint of Satan, who complains about the obedience of man who does not resist his temptations:

> His nature is not mature, and his will is feeble,
> That opponent is not able to resist one single of my blows!
> I want a clear sighted creature, I need a more mature opponent, That doll of water and clay, take it back
> It will become an old man to play like a child….

It is Satan, separated from the Lord immediately After the creation of Adam, who has thought man the mystery of the productive separation:

> Do you know that union means the end of desire?
> What is life? Endless burning.
> And man has well understood that that perpetual separation and desire are the most valuable things in the world.

In life there is neither repetition nor regression; it is desire only which leads searches to the presence of God.

And Death? In his *Javidname*, Iqbal says:

> The perfect man falls upon death as a falcon on the ring–dove. Death gives him a new life.

Like all great mystics of the Muslim world, he is not interested in heaven as imagined by the people and mediocre theologians, the *mullahs*:

The heaven of the *mullahs* consists of wine, huris and aphabes, but heaven of liberated man is a perpetual contemplation.

And eschatology, which is so important in the Muslim belief, for him becomes a personal, a spiritual fact:

> For the *mullahs* the day of judgment means the tomb which, half opens, and the trumpet–call; but their passionate love is itself the dawn of resurrection.

Iqbal has condensed his ideas of the relations between man and God in the last vision of the *Javidname*:

To see God, is growing without ever diminishing.

But, how to realize that co–operation between man and God? How can one attain that divine moment?

Iqbal, a pupil of Bergson, and at the same time a follower of the Muslim mystics, has known the mystery of time, the plans of time (that is why he has very much dealt with Einstein's theories on relativity). For him a distinction should be made between physical and "serial" time, temporal succession and pure duration.

For time is identical to life, whereas physical time is nothing but a chain which has existed since the creation of the world. Iqbal has often compared it with the *zunnar*, the belt of the Magians. The believer, the real Muslim, must free himself from that infidel's belt, he must free himself from the physical time which is spatialised and spatialises real time; he must realize in himself. The experience which the Prophet of Islam has condensed in one single phrase:

> I have a time with and where there are no angels and where even Gabriel, who is pure spirit, has no access.

The "Song of Time" well explains one of the aspects of time:

> The sun is in my bosom, the stars are in the creases of my clothing,
> If you contemplate me, I am nothing. If you look into yourself, I am yourself.
> I am the clothing of humanity, and the dream of divinity.

But the most subtle symbol of that idea is the mythical personage of Zurwan, ancient Iranian God of Time, who is waiting for the adept at the door of the beyond and says to him:

> I am life, I am death, I am resurrection,
> I am resurrection, I am judgment, hell, heaven and houri.
> Men and angels are my captives, the world created in six days is my child.
> If you want me to move aside from your way.
> Say once again from the bottom of your soul:
> There is a time for me with God……

That divine moment, that pure duration, that intensive, and not extensive, time is an organic whole, anterior to the manifestation of its possibilities, and constitutes the destiny, the *taqdir*. For Iqbal that identification of divine time with destiny means that the man who has found the communion with the non–created, non "serial" time, i.e. that which belongs to divine life, is able to change his destiny, to choose for himself and in co–operation with God a new destiny among the countless possibilities which are in the eternal present of God.

There we have touched are of the most difficult problems of the Muslim theology (and not of the Muslim theology only): the problem

of fate, for quite some time Islam has been accused with being the religion of hard fate, which does not give its believers the slightest possibility of a creating activity, and it is said that fatalism has been one of the most important causes of the decline of the Muslim empires after the Middle Ages. For Iqbal, however, fatalism and destiny are quite different things: they are the expression of the co–operation of human will and Divine will.

"If your destiny makes your heart bleed, ask God to arrange for a different fate! You are allowed to ask for a different destiny because the destinies of God are innumerable…. If fate is the essence of religion, o ignorant, the unfortunate becomes poorer by accepting it! Is that religion? Or is it a grain of opium?"

Here one notices an allusion to the famous maxim of Marx according to which religion is the opium of the people….

For Iqbal, fatalism is the religion of strong men:

> Fatalism makes a mature man still more mature. A believer, he says, has a kind of intimacy.
> with God and says to him:
> "We are with You, be with us, therefore". In that case the arrow in the hand of the believer is, in fact, the arrow of God, as we can read in the Qur'an.

Those words are the expression of the poet–philosopher's sincere conviction that it is possible to change fate by a sincere prayer, and one could give a whole lecture on the problem of prayers with respect to Iqbal, because in his lyrical prayers one finds the most sincere expression of the poet's faith and because they reflect all the classical forms of prayer we know by the history of religions, from the humble supplication up to the rebel's cry, from the ritual act prescribed by the Islamic religion up to the tenderness of the lover's recollection:

> You are not contained in the sanctuary of Islam, and you do not come in the temple of the heathen; but towards your desirous lovers, with what anxiety you come?

But let us examine another point which is of major importance for the understanding of Iqbal's poetry: which is the power that makes man act, that leads him to the Divine Presence? Desire, as we already said. But it is also the synthetic power which according to Bergson is called intuition and which is contrary to the analytic power of intellect. For Iqbal synthesis and analysis, intuition and intellect are complementary, although he prefers synthesis, intuition,

which he calls *'ishq*, love. He has used the term love in the sense of "essential desire", as the great mystics of Islam had done, for instance Al–Hallaj, who had a remarkable influence on Iqbal's theories. That love– a word which is never used in an erotic sense by Iqbal– is not a vague desire without any target but, as the poet has said "Love, when perfect, forges men". The problem of that creating love which shows itself by forging the destiny of men, even of peoples, is one of the subjects dear to Iqbal–one finds it in the *Reconstruction* where he has explained his ideals of prophetic love with perfect lucidity:

> Mohammad of Arabia has ascended to the highest heaven and has come back.
> I swear by God, that, had I arrived there, I would never have come back.

Such are the words of a great Muslim saint, 'Abdul Quddus Gangohi'. It would probably be difficult to find words in the Sufi literature which in one simple phrase, reveal such a fine understanding of the psychological difference existing between the mystic and prophetic types of conscience. The mystic does not wish to leave the rest of unitive experience and even if he comes back from it as he is obliged to do, his return does not mean much for mankind in general. The return of the Prophet, on the other hand, is creative. He comes back to insert himself in the course of time in order to command over the forces of history and to create a new world of ideals. For the mystic the rest of the unitive experience is something final, for the prophet it is the awakening, in himself, of psycho–analytics capable of shaking the world, and of such nature as to entirely transform the human world…. His return constitutes a kind of experimental evidence of the value of his religious experience.

For Iqbal life consists of the harmonious exchange between the intimate conversation with God in prayers, or even in the ecstasy and the engagement in the world, by manifesting, in the "serial" time, the love and the spiritual forces one has found in the presence of God, in the divine time. And Professor H. Massé has rightly said the following concerning the perfect man: "The perfect man is he who entirely devotes himself to the service and devotion towards the collectivity". The absence of that creative love is the aspect for which Iqbal blames European civilization most. We cannot cite all his bitter verse against the West, against the materialism which has shown both in capitalism and communism, in the imperialism from which the eastern world suffered, in a nationalism which is merely earthly

and tends to forget the spiritual sources of life; his criticism even embraces the European orientalists who have dragged the ancient Gods out of their sepulchres, giving them the preference over pure monotheism. For Iqbal all those doctrines are noting but modern forms of idolatry of a regiment of the pure intellect deprived from Divine love.

> For people from the West it is intelligence that organizes life, for people from the East love is the secret of universe.

Europe has betrayed the love of Christ and in a touching scene of the *Javidname*, Judas Ischarioth, seen by Tolstoy, addresses Europe as follows:

> By the breath of Jesus, the soul having left the body comes back to it, but you, you have made the body a tomb for the soul! All that I have done against his humanity, his disciples have done against his divinity!

What can one do in that world without love and which is proud to imitate materialism in all its manifestations, even the excesses of European feminism? For Iqbal there is only one solution: to return to the Qur'an, the holy book of the Muslim world.

> O you, who are prisoner of their imitation, free yourself!
> Seek shelter in the Qur'an, and free yourself!

He has dreamed of a Qur'anic world, and given the precepts:

Man should be recognized as the Vicar of God; the government belongs to God only, the earth is the property of God,

but not of men, and wisdom is considered as the great weal.

But unfortunately, the Islamic theologians themselves know nothing of the eternal Qur'an; *mullah* and mystic guide have covered the truth of faith with a screen of imitation, without understanding the dynamic sense of God's word which they have choked under hundreds of comments and traditions.

Before the mysteries of the Qur'an, theological seminaries and *mullahs* are like the blind–born in the light of the sun. The religion of the *mullah* consists of sowing corruption in the name of God.

It is against that imitation that Iqbal has written poignant verse– an unconsidered imitation of the ancestors without realizing the truth of faith and the real sense of religious precepts, a superficial imitation of the Europeans in the hope to obtain science and technique without understanding their cultural and historical background – that is why, in the last quatrain of his *Message from the East*, he said:

> How good it would be if man could go his way freed from all the chains of the past.
> If imitation were a good thing, the Prophet himself would have followed the way of the forefathers.

That is why the poet–philosopher kept repeating the Qur'anic words he liked very much (like all Muslim reformers did):

> Allah does not change a people until the latter has modified what is in itself.

That applies to individual life as well as to collective life. And the truth of words has manifested itself in the creation of Pakistan of which Iqbal has been recognized as being the spiritual father. Because the role of the poet–in the Iqbalian sense–essentially consists of awakening countries that are asleep. And Iqbal has himself described the ideal poet in the Green scene of the valley of the Prophets in the *Javidname*:

> In the bosom of a nation, the poet is like its heart, a nation without a poet is a barn full of mud. Burn and rapture are the architects of an universe; Without fervour and rapture poetry is nothing but mourning.
> If the purpose of poetry is to form men, poetry is the heir of prophet.
> Be the heart in the bosom of Pakistan!

(Extract from a paper in French, read on Iqbal Day, 1964,
at the Embassy of Pakistan, Brussels.)

PAKISTAN'S PHILOSOPHER-POET MOHAMMAD IQBAL: AN INTRODUCTION

The poem which we have just heard gives almost the key note of what I am going to say today because our singer sang about love as a basis of the development of the human individuality of the human self - the *Khudi*. And this is a message which we find in Iqbal's poetry from at least 1915 onwards to his death in 1938.

You may ask how is impossible that a German who had never set foot into the Subcontinent as a child became so infatuated with Iqbal at an early age. When I was young student in Berlin, I read, for the first time, the article by R. A. Nicholson, the great British Orientalist, who was the first European interpreter of Iqbal and who introduced his work into the English-speaking world. The article I am referring to is about Iqbal's *Payam-Mashriq*, a collection of Persian verse which is the answer of the Indo-Muslim poet to Goethe's *West-estlicher Divan*. In this collection of poetry, we find one scene which touched me deeply when I was a young girl. It is a meeting of our German poet, Goethe, the author of *Faust* and the Persian great Sufi, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the author of the *Masnavi* which has been called rightly *Qur'an dar-Zaban-e-Pehlavi* (the Qur'an in the Persian language). I loved both of them and I thought a poet and philosopher who brings my two ideals together is worth studying. And so I pursued my way in the course for more than forty years and my first impression which I got from Nicholson's article and particularly from this poem "Maulana Rumi and Goethe in Paradise" proved right, because among the Islamic modernists as many as I have studied in the various languages, there is no one who has been able to combine Western and Eastern thoughts, Western and Eastern religious feelings in such a way as was Iqbal.

When one goes through his philosophical work, the *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam* or through his poetry which he wrote both in his native Urdu and in Persian, one is always amazed to see to what an extent he was conversant with the great mystical and religious traditions of both Europe and the Islamic world. He was very clear in his approach to Islam. What he took

over in terms of European philosophy and European thought served him to reconstruct, as he puts it, a new modern image of Islam and to strengthen the Muslims who, in his view, were weak and had lost all courage.

Iqbal was born in Sialkot in the northern Punjab to a family that hailed from Kashmir. His birthday is usually celebrated on November 9, 1877. That makes him an exact contemporary of the late Agha Khan who was born exactly one week ago and almost a contemporary of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-i Azam, under whose aegis Pakistan was established, who was born on 25th December 1976: These three men coming from various parts of Indian Islam have given a new turn to the history of the Muslims in the Subcontinent and among them Iqbal is, in his whole approach to religion and philosophy, valid not only for his co-religionists and his compatriots but, I think, he has also to teach quite a bit to a Western audience.

Iqbal saw his first schooling in Sialkot, then moved to Lahore, which had developed during the last decades again into a cultural centre. Lahore, as you may remember, has been the first great out-post of Muslim culture since the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, who conquered it in 1026, and the tomb of the first saint, Hujveiri Data Ganj Bakhsh, who died there in 1071 and is still venerated. In fact, it is said, that Iqbal while meditating at this sacred place conceived of the idea of a homeland for the Indian Muslims. And during the Mughal time Lahore was one of the greatest centres of the Islamic world in general. Then slowly its power faded, but after the British had reconquered the Punjab from the Sikhs, Lahore again gained status. It was endowed with a University, translation projects were made, and those of you who are familiar with Kipling's novel *Kim* still remember the *Zamzama* cannon in front of the National Museum. Here in this place, Iqbal finished his higher studies. He taught for some time and became acquainted and friendly with Sir Thomas Arnold, whose book *The Preaching of Islam* was a major break-through in Islamic studies.

Iqbal was at that time already well-known as a poet in his native Urdu. Native with a grain of salt; he was a Punjabi speaker. And in 1905 he had the opportunity of visiting England to study Law and Philosophy in Cambridge and in 1907 he spent several months in Heidelberg to learn German intensely and he submitted his thesis on the metaphysics of Persia at the University of Munich. Then he

returned to Lahore where he practiced Law and for a time taught philosophy.

It was after his return from Europe that his thought took a new turn. Until that time his poetry was more or less in the romantic and romanticizing trend under British and Persian influence and he was a neo-Hegelian in philosophy. But in 1910 we see the great change begins to develop.

His first great poems that caught immediately the imagination of his compatriots were then written in 1911 and 1912: the *Shikwa* (the Complaint) and the *Jawab-e-Shikwa* (the Answer), both perhaps partly inspired by the miserable situation of the Turks during the Balkan Wars. Certainly also inspired by the famous poem of Hali, *Musaddas*, which was written two years after Iqbal's birth. Iqbal complained of the miserable situation of his weak people and asked God why every paradisiacal bliss is with non-Muslims while the Muslims have only to suffer and then comes the answer. Angels, he said, got irritated and said how daring is the human being and then God says "No it is just the logical consequence of the Muslims having forgotten the roots of their religion; they are too lazy to pray; too lazy fast; too lazy to get up for my sake". And so Iqbal shows the whole disaster of the Muslim world as seen from the divine angle also; consequence of the Muslims having forgotten the words of the Qur'an and the example of the Prophet.

Form that time onwards Iqbal's goal becomes the building up of a new Islamic self-conscience. And he published in 1915 the Persian poem *Asrar-e-Khudi* (the Secrets of the Self) his attitude had completely changed compared to what it was fifteen years ago. In the *Asrar-i Khudi* he preaches that man has to rely on his own resources, that man has to develop his *Khudi*, his individuality, his ego, as many people translate, his self, and that only by being strong by acquiring power he will be able to fulfil the duties of a Muslims.

You can well imagine what a shock such a poem created in a world in which generally *Khudi*, 'selfishness', was considered to be, very bad and negative. *Khudi* had to be eliminated. Man's highest goal was in the mystical tradition to lose himself in the ocean of the Divine. But interestingly Iqbal did not invent this positive use of *Khudi*. He took it probably from Maulana Rumi in whose prose work *Fihi-Ma-Fihi* the same definition of *Khudi* as the individuality of man, which will remain after death, is found in the fifth chapter. This shows that after a long way, away from Rumi, he had found back his way to him. And, I may add, that Iqbal is certainly the first Oriental

and Western interpreter of Maulana Rumi's work who rediscovered in him the dynamic aspect, the love as the moving power in the whole of man's life, and not only man's life, in the whole of the life of nations and of the world.

He saw God not as a shapeless and formless Nothing, as a desert of not-being, as some mystics would say. For him God is *kibria*, the great, powerful, radiant glory of God. This new interpretation of Iqbal of Rumi's work was to become very fruitful. Of course it was difficult for his compatriots and his critics to understand his new stance and the idea that man should develop the *Khudi* by Love.

Many of his critics from 1915 to our day have accused him to have taken over only the ideas of Nietzsche, the Superman, and so on and so forth. In reality the search for the perfected man - and I do not say perfect man because that is a technical term - but the perfected ideal man is a word as Sufi thought it in general. And Iqbal reminds his readers that man is something extremely precious. After all he is the last step in the rising gamut of existences and, as such, he is closest to God. And the closer he comes to God, Iqbal stresses time and again, the more perfect he will be. But what does such a perfect human being do in the Community?

Iqbal's second *Masnavi*, the *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* (the Mysteries of Selflessness) tries to answer this question because, here he shows, that not only the Individual has to work for his own growth but the Community likewise. And the most perfect Individual will be the most perfect member of the Community. The *Rumuz* shows Iqbal as a thoroughly Islamic thinker. He takes his proof from the Qur'an, from the Traditions and devotes long chapters not only to the Prophet of Islam but also to his family, to his friends, and so on. And he shows that just as the Prophet was sent *Rehmatalil Alemin*, as Mercy for the World, as the Qur'an says, thus the Muslims should also act as *Rehmat*, as mercy for their compatriots and for the whole world. And just as prophecy finds its end and seal with the Prophet of Islam, thus, he says, the *Millat*, the *Millat-i Isla*m, should also be the last and greatest and closing manifestation of the Divine Will.

After these two works, which were heavily debated in all of India and also adjacent countries and which found some very unpleasant criticism among European Orientalists, specially in Italy, Iqbal published the work with which I started, the *Payam-i Mashriq* (the Message of the East) in which he now in a less didactic way expresses the same ideas of man and God, the relationship of the two, in both Western and Eastern philosophy. I personally think that

for a Western reader, particularly for a German reader, this book is more interesting than all his other works, because he shows image of Europe as he had seen it with the eyes of a poet. And besides there are beautiful poetical works in it, like the *Taskhir-a-Fitrat*, (the overcoming of nature) in which he shows in a new (way) one of the central ideas of his thought, namely, the development of man.

All of you know that according to the Qur'an, *Iblis*, Satan, refused to prostrate himself before the newly-created Adam and was cursed. For Iqbal this is, of course, a truth but he discovers, as several mystics before him had discovered, that it was very important that Adam did not rest in Paradise. Paradise is a time of pre-logical thinking and man is not yet really man. It was necessary for Adam to go down into the world and to work here to fight against the powers of evil whether they be in himself as his lower qualities or whether they come from outside. And Iqbal's whole work can be really seen under the image of man fighting the satanic powers without him and within him in order to develop his own personality. Those of you who are familiar with Goethe's *Faust* will be immediately reminded of Faust and Mephistopheles and indeed Iqbal was much more deeply influenced by Goethe's concept of man, by Goethe's concept of personality and development than he was by Nietzsche.

This topic of man's flight against Satan permeates his work to his last verses. And it has been perhaps most beautifully expressed in his great Persian Epic the *Javidname*, (a Book of Eternity) when Satan is shown in the sky of Jupitor complaining about the weakness of man. He is so fed up with human beings, because they always yield to his temptation. There is no longer fun for good old Satan to seduce man, because they just give in immediately. And so Satan asked God to give him finally a stronger enemy, a stronger companion with whom to fight it would be great pleasure and who would finally break his neck and finish his activities. This is one of Iqbal's very original contributions to the question of human development and a question of evil.

After the *Payam-e-Mashriq*, Iqbal published his early Urdu poetry under the title *Bang-i Dara*, and as all the titles of his books are very significant, *Bang-i Dara* too is. It is sound of caravan bell because already in his early Urdu poetry he had described himself as the bell at the Prophet's camel which is destined to lead the caravan of swords, the road to Mecca. And this topic of Iqbal, being a caravan bell recurs again to the last verses of his work. Because he was worried. And that is visible in all his poetry from 1915 onwards. He was worried that the Muslims had lost their contact with the living

reality of Arabia and that they had gone astray in the fragrant rose gardens of Iran taking from there mystical ideas and losing themselves in beautiful dreams instead of fighting as classical Islamic religion wanted it.

We can place Iqbal very easily into a typical strain in the history of Indian Islam, namely, what I always call, the Mecca-oriented trend. We have in the whole history of the Indian Subcontinent always two possibilities. A number of Muslim leaders were Mecca-oriented. They always found that the true homeland of the Muslims is not Subcontinent. (as Shah Waliullah says: we are strangers whose ancestors have fallen here), but the sacred city, the centre point of Islam. While the others, more mystically inclined, took over more ideas from the Indian tradition. You need just look at the two sons of Shah Jahan, Dara Shikoh, the mystic, and Aurangzeb, the Mecca-oriented, prophetically-minded, in whom this dilemma becomes most clearly expressed. Iqbal, as can be understood, was, of course, a strong defender of Aurangzeb and found in Dara Shikoh the one who reaped the seed of heresy which his ancestor had sown into the soil of India.

But at the same time that Iqbal was active in writing beautiful poetry in Persian and Urdu, he was also active in politics, particularly in the Muslim League and he was also preparing his great work on Islamic Philosophy. In between he published a Persian book of poetry, *Zabur-i 'Ajam,* (the Persian Psalms), which contains his perhaps most beautiful but certainly most daring prayer poems in which he expresses his longing for God but also his problems why God could not create a better world. That are poems which are written in the strong antagonism and in the strong wrestling with the problem: Why God has created things as they are and why should'nt they be better?

One year later he gave his lectures, which I mentioned in the beginning, in Aligarh, Madras, Delhi and the lectures proved again like his first poetical works, both successful and subject to criticism. Because it was quite unusual that someone with such an excellent knowledge of Western philosophy, both German and English, should try to explain, the difficulties of Islam with the help of modern European philosophy and psychology. But if you read the lectures carefully in context with the poetry, I personally think that they are an ingenious work of many strengths and they are thought-provoking to our day. Particularly his ideas about the importance of prayers and his strong description of the differences between the

mystical and the prophetic experience of the Divine are absolutely in tune with history of religions in general.

And this is one point, which I think, one should stress time and again, namely, Iqbal had, of course, a solid knowledge of European philosophy. Many of the ideas which he expresses in his lectures as well as in his poetry are such that he was not aware that virtually the same topics were discussed in Christian theology and philosophy at the same time. There are almost verbatim quotations, or rather verbatim coincidences, between some of his sentences and sentences by Western theologians and philosophers. The parallels between them are amazing, and one of the parallels which is particularly important in our context is the concept of God.

We have mentioned that for him man is a small individuality, a small *Khudi*, or self, and God is conceived of as the all-embracing *Khudi*, in which or whom, whatever we want to say, the small *Khudis* of everything created are contained. This seems to be a contradiction. The human *Khudi*, I would like to keep this word because it is much more expressive than ego or individuality, as we saw, can grow stronger and stronger in fighting its environment, in taking into itself as much power as possible and it is only the personality which is fully developed which will be able to survive the shock of the corporeal death. This is, of course, an idea which sounds very strange to anyone who believes that immortality and eternal life, be in Heaven or in Hell, are the right of every human being.

For Iqbal, and that he expresses already in his *Stray Reflections*, immortality, eternal life, are not rights of man. They have to be acquired by strengthening the personality to such an extent that it will continue living though in different shapes after death. And here again Iqbal is very close to Goethe who once said in 1829 that nature has a duty to give me a new form if my present form can no longer be contained here. Goethe believed that the personality and individuality after having grown to its full stature can develop and has to develop in the next world in a different but congenial way. Iqbal takes up this idea and he goes so far as to state in *Lectures* that heaven is no holiday. Even there we have still to grow and perhaps to work. These ideas came of course very surprising from the pen of a Muslim philosopher and so again the *Lectures* were criticised both in the subcontinent and also in Europe.

Sometimes after the lectures had been published in 1932, Iqbal came up with his *magnum opus*, the *Javidname*. It is dedicated to his

son, Javed, and it showed that the poet on a heavenly journey in the company of Maulana Rumi who acts for him just like Virgil acted for Dante in the *Divine Comedy*. And Iqbal himself has acknowledged his indebtedness to Dante's work which he always admired greatly. He also acknowledged a certain indebtedness to Goethe's *Faust* and to Milton's *Paradise Lost*. But the way how he describes his journey through the different spheres is absolutely original. He speaks of his calling Maulana Rumi and then after listening to the words of Zurvan, the Spirit of Time, he breaks the girdle, the *Zunnar*, the pagan's girdle, of Time and goes on into the moon's sphere and then continues through the classical spheres and the stars. In each of them he meets politicians, sages, poets, not only from the Islamic tradition but rather from everywhere. He meets Indian sages like Vishwa Mitra and later Bhartihari. He meets modern Muslim thinkers like Jamaluddin Afghani. He meets also in great visions, the great prophets of the previous times, the Buddha, Zaratushtra, Jesus and Muhammad whose stories and peculiarities are described in most poignant pictures. Perhaps the most touching of the scenes is the scene of Jesus which he described as vision of Tolstoy. You see how far his imagery was flying. And here he sees Judas' chariot in a river of mercury which turns into ice - remember Judas in the *Divine Comedy* is also in the ice-hell - and young woman Miss Afrungen, the European, teases him and complains that he has been a traitor to the son of Mary. But Judas scolds her that she, Europe, who claims to defend Christianity is in reality doing much worse things than he has ever done because she is cheating the spirit of Christ while he was only concerned with his body. This is a criticism which occurs several times in Iqbal's work and which can be understood very easily from the political situation of a country that was under British rule.

The criticism of Christianity and, particularly, and this seems to be very important to me, of the Western women who do all kinds of terrible things, is a topic which is not only found in Iqbal but which is found, among all the modernist writers.of British India in their novels, in their poetry and in their criticism.

The *Javidname* is certainly a book which needs much commentary. And you can find in it virtually all the ideas of Iqbal expressed in most beautiful Persian verses he brings us. For instance, to the planet Mars where he has a marvellous vision of a country which uses the sun rays to do every thing-there are no beggars, there are no unemployed people and it is really a Utopia and most attractive. But its peace is disturbed by a European woman, who preaches women's

lib, already then, and who speaks of tube babies and things like that, which in 1932 were certainly not yet invented. But it is strange when you read this vision now-a-days. And he takes us to the Jupiter where he finds the great heretical spirits, Hallaj, the martyr mystic, the martyr of love, Qurrat-ul 'Ain Tahira, the great Poetess of the Babi-Baihai movement, and Ghālib, the poet of Delhi whom he highly venerated.

The Jupiter scene is no doubt, poetically and religiously, the high point of the whole work and Hallāj appears here as the great preacher of burning love. For the ascetic this paradise is the goal. But for the lover even the paradise is still a stone in the road because he wants to go further and further.

Poetically, as I said, the songs and the marvellous hymn in honour of the Prophet belongs to Iqbal's greatest writings in Persian.

In Saturn we meet two traitors to India–Ja'far of Bengal and Sadiq of Deccan.

And beyond the spheres we find no one else but Nietzsche who is flying around repeating all the time one single verse…… and Iqbal learns that this man to whom he had devoted poetry earlier was a mad man, an inspired man. But he did not find the right cure for his madness. He wanted man and he forgot God. In connection with Nietzsche, we meet one of Iqbal's favourite topics. He says, he stayed in the *la*, namely the *La-Illaha*, there is no deity, and did not proceed to the 'Illullaha', but Allah. The same thing, the same figure of speech he applies also amazingly for us to the Russian nation. There is a long speech put into the mouth of Jamaluddin Afghani, the great reformer to the Russian nation, where he praises the Russians that they have done away with the Czarism and Capitalism and so on, but they have not yet reached the *illa* - the acknowledgement that there is a divine ruler of the whole world. And here again Iqbal's hope that some new system might emerge is expressed in an interesting form.

Finally, as it behoves, the two travellers reach Paradise and talk to different masters of earlier times from a Punjabi princess to Nāsir Khusrau, Ismaili missionary. The political questions are particularly voiced in the discussion with Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali and Sultan Tipu of Mysore, the three rulers of the 18th century, who for Iqbal incorporate the fight of the Muslims against the foreigners. Finally, Iqbal reaches the Divine Presence Rumi had to stay behind and in the Divine Presence his questions are not religious, his questions are political. He asked God about the fate of the Muslims,

about revolutions, about the future of India, but finally is overwhelmed and becomes quiet.

The *Javidname*, as I said, contains in a nutshell Iqbal's philosophy, poetology and also his political ideas. Because it was two years before this book appeared that he had made the famous statement in the annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Allahabad in December, 1930, that he would like to see a consolidated Muslim State in the North-West of the subcontinent, a state, which formulates very succinctly, was not at all meant as threat to India but rather as a kind of protecting belt against the powers that might threaten the subcontinent as they had done so often from the North-West. Unfortunately this second part of the statement is usually not reproduced. And I think if it had been better known some of the relations between India and Pakistan might have been a little bit better. It was certainly a daring speech and Iqbal made his way into international politics with it. He visited twice the Round Table Conferences in London and used the opportunity of visiting Bergson to whom he was deeply indebted for his doctrine of the two levels of time.

In 1933 he went to Afghanistan because he along with two of his faithful friends, Sir Ross Mas'ud and Saiyid Suleman Nadvi, were called to find out the possibilities of a university in Kabul. After his return, King Nadir Shah was assassinated and Zāhir Shah came to power. The journey to Afghanistan yielded a beautiful fruit in a small booklet of Persian poems which he wrote visiting the sacred places of Afghanistan, the *Kharqa Sharif*, the mantle of the Prophet, in Kandahar and other places. And he was so impressed by the simplicity and by the faithfulness of the Afghan people.

The last collection he himself made was *Zarb-i Kaleem*, (the Stroke of Moses), which is very largely influenced by the deteriorating political situation in the subcontinent and contains many critical political poems.

His last visitor on the 20th of April 1938 was a German writer, with whom he talked for hours about German culture and Goethe. A few hours later he passed away. And his death created a wound not only among the Indian Muslims but in Indian culture in general. And it was only two years later that the Muslim League accepted the Pakistan idea as he had drawn it up in his famous speech.

Later, after his death another collection of poetry, *Armaghan-i Hijaz* was published. The title 'Gift of the Hijaz' points to the fact that Iqbal always wanted to go to Mecca and Medina. His love of the

prophet was very deep and very sincere and during the last years of his life he tried to produce new work on Qur'anic interpretation. Already in 1925 he speaks of a book which he planned in English *Islam As I Understand It*. And it is one of the great losses that this book has never been published, never been even written, because, I am sure, we would learn a lot from it today.

Where do we see Iqbal now-a-days? He himself claims in one of his letters that he is not a poet, that he has taken poetry only because it was common in his country and in his society to say poetry is much more memorable than prose. This is, of course, a very strange execuse because we all know that his poetry, both in Persian and Urdu, is extremely good and very memorable. It is certainly not the poetry of a butterfly's wing, it is not light poetry - there is no love-poetry in the mundane sense in it, but it is poetry in the prophetic spirit with constant repetitions with certain set symbols, which he repeats time and again, and with a very strong rhythmical equality so that people can learn his verses by heart without great difficulties.

Two of his favourite symbols should be mentioned here because they throw somewhat more light on his whole approach to life. One is the tulip *Lala*. You know, all of those who have read Persian poetry know, that the rose, the romantic rose, is a real flower of Persian poetry. 'Gul and Bulbul', (the Rose and the Nightingale,) they talk always together. But for Iqbal it is the *Lala*, which appears in the desert, which is not a garden flower, which struggles hard to show itself and which then in its red form resembles to him the fiery bush (the burning bush) on Mount Sinai. And so his poetry is permeated with the allusions to this fiery tulip, the fire of manifestation, the fire of showing itself in full glory but after very hard struggle. And we have to keep in mind that tulips in classical poetry were often associated with the blood-stained shrouds of the martyrs and so this idea plays also a role in his symbolism.

While the classical Persian poets loved the *Bulbul*, the "Nightingale", for Iqbal it is a *Baz* or *Shahin* (the "Falcon" or the "Hawk") which represents the free man's spirit better than anything else, because before the *Shahin* there are always new horizons. He builds his nest on the steep rocks and he does not go to hunt sparrows and other lowly things. The developed human-being, The *Mard-i Momin*, the true believer should be like a falcon and even more he should be like a falcon that does not hunt sparrows but hunts Gabriels and Angels and finally with an expression borrowed from Maulana Rumi, will be able to have even God in his snare. These two

images, Tulip and Falcon, seem to me particularly characteristic of Iqbal's approach.

Whatever he says, is taken from old classical Persian and Urdu traditions but he filled the old symbols with new contents. If he had chosen to write in a very modern style, in free rhythm, for instance, he would not have had much success, because people were not willing to take up new forms. So he filled the old forms with new contents and sometimes the new contents almost spilling over and creating an intoxicating effect. He has in his early times some very sharp articles about art which is not good to strengthen life in individuality. Such an art, he said, is worse than the hordes of Genghis and Timur for the life of the Muslims. Poetry, thus, he writes, in his own verse and his articles around 1915, has to serve to the building up of a sound Individuality and a sound Community. Otherwise, it is not worth writing it or reading it, and his poetry is certainly of this kind.

In the *Javidname* we have a beautiful scene when Iqbal and Maulana Rumi are flying through the spheres and Iqbal asks his guide what the duty of a poet is and what the relation between poetry and prophecy is. And Rumi says if the building up of mankind is the goal of poetry, then poetry is certainly the heir to prophecy, and this is what Iqbal believed of poetry. He has in the *Javidname* called himself *Zindarud*, the living stream. That is his poetical name given to him by Maulana Rumi. And it is this concept of the living stream that is visible in all his works, because the living stream is an old symbol of the prophetic activity. And in his *Payam-e-Mashriq*, Iqbal had translated, very freely to be sure, Goethe's famous poem, *Mahomets Gezang*, in which he compares the Prophet to a stream that begins at a small fountain and then finally carries away with it whatever it can find to bring it home to the father, to the ocean. This idea of the Prophet as the stream has fascinated Iqbal. It occurs in small nuances throughout his work. But the very fact that he calls himself *Zindarud*, the living stream, shows exactly, like his image of the caravan bell, that he felt that his inspiration came out of the prophetic tradition, that he felt bound to the Prophet of Islam who was his true guide. And it is this aspect of Iqbal which one should always keep in mind. His poetry may sometimes sound almost boundlessly subjective, sometimes he surpasses all the rules of decent talk to God and to the Prophet. But still there is his deep, deep love and deep conviction that only by binding oneself at the revealed religion one can achieve something. For him it was the message that formed indeed the centre of his life, to teach his

compatriots, to teach his co-religionists that a life without relation to the highest principle, to God, the living God, is not worth whatsoever. A life which is devoid of the Divine, which has, as Nietzsche would say, the claim that God is dead, cannot be considered real life. And this is to my feeling one of the central messages of Iqbal.

We know him as the spiritual father of Pakistan. We know him as the rediscover of *Khudi*, of human individuality, and we should keep in mind that this individuality, the small *Khudi*, can exist only in connection with the larger *Khudi* with God. And this, as I understand, is a message which is not only valid for the Muslims but for everyone. But for the Muslims and particularly for the Pakistanis, who, a nation which was born out of his vision, Iqbal means even more. In the *Javidname*, when he speaks to his spiritual guide, Rumi, the question is again posed: What is role of the poet? And Rumi answers the poet is the heart in the breast of the nation. And Iqbal is the heart that throbs in the breast of Pakistan.

(Talk given on January 20, 1989 by Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, at the Residence of the Ambassador of Pakistan to the Netherlands, The Hague.)

THE PLACE OF THE PROPHET OF ISLAM IN IQBAL'S THOUGH

A. Jeffery [d. 1959] writes in his interesting article on Ibn 'Arabi's *Shajarat al–Kawn*, that

> many years ago…the late Shaikh Mustafa al–Maraghi[1] remarked on a visit to his friend the Anglican Bishop in Egypt, that the commonest cause of offence, generally unwitting offence, given by Christians to Muslims, arose from their complete failure to understand the very high regard all Muslims have for the person of their Prophet.

The fact that Muhammad has been depicted in European controversial literature from the Middle Ages up to very recent times in the most depraving manner, and that it took the non–Muslim world centuries to describe him and his work with justice, has perhaps unconsciously clouded the mind of students and scholars from understanding the great importance of Muhammad for Muslim religious life.

Even the average European Orientalist is often unaware of the veneration in which the Prophet is held in Islamic countries; and Constance Padwick has acutely said:

> No one can estimate the power of Islam as a religion who does not take into account the love at the heart of it for this figure (i.e., the Prophet). It is here that human emotion, repressed at some points by the austerity of the doctrine of God as developed in theology, has its full outlet–a warm human emotion which the peasant can share with the mystic. The love of this figure is perhaps the strongest binding force in a religion which has so marked a binding power…

Whole books are devotion, from West Africa to Indonesia, like the *Dala'il al–Khayrat* and the formula of Blessing itself is being used sometimes just as a magic spell.

"Only a human to whom was revealed" –that is the idea the Qur'an gives of the Prophet, and there is no doubt that Muslim theology and Muslim piety have always strived to maintain the human personality of Muhammad the Prophet in contrast to the term 'Son of God' which seemed to express for them the greatest

deviation from true religion of the Christian neighbors; and as long as Muhammad is mentioned by millions of tongues every day as *Rasul Allah* in the witness formula, there is no danger of his deification. Yet, as a human the Prophet Muhammad has been described in the words of the Qur'an itself, and through the numerous traditions which depict him in all his humanity, there was, from the very beginning of Islamic history, a strong tendency to emphasize his personal traits to attribute miracles to him, and in a slow but intense development which has been shown excellently by Tor Andrae in his famous study *Die Person Muhammad in Glauben und Lehre seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm 1918), the veneration of the Prophet reached mystical height. Starting from certain verses of the Qur'an, Muhammad's future rank as *shafi'*, intercessor for his followers on the Day of Judgment, became one of the centres of popular piety: it is he whom the sorrowful implore, on him is the hope that they may be released from the fire of Hell, and enter the presence of God, and already in rather early mystical theology the greatness and pre–eternity of Muhammad is maintained, for instance, in the *Kitab al–Tawasin*[2] of Hallaj (d. 922 A.C.).

It is quite natural that the repetition of Muhammad's name in the second part of the Confession of Faith, just after the name of God, led to the conclusion that his spiritual place was far above that of other beings, that he was prior to Creation, and that the worlds would not have been created but for his sake. The *hadith qudsi lawlaka* – "If thou werest not, I would not have created the spheres"–has become, in mystical literature and poetry, a widely used *chiffre* for the Prophet's pre–eternal glory. This mystical theology was crowned by the idea that Muhammad was the *insan al–kamil*, the Perfect Man *par excellence,* the central point in which divine and human spheres meet, the source of light from which the lights of all the other prophets have emerged.

It seems that approximately from the 12th century onwards a new side of Muhammad–veneration became more and more popular–at least we do not yet know how long it was already in use to celebrate the *mawlud,* the birthday of the Prophet, for which poets and mystics composed heartfelt hymns and which was, in some periods, a real popular festival with illuminations of towns, etc. The *mawluds,* which were composed for these occasions, are still extant–it is sufficient to mention the most famous example of this kind of poetry in Turkey, Suleyman Celebi's (d. 1429 A.C.) *mawlud–i sharif* which is still living in the hearts of almost all Turks, and which is recited not only on the birthday of the Prophet on 12

Rabi I but also as a kind of Soul's Mass at the 40th day after death and at the anniversary of death. There are *mawluds* all over the Islamic world, and in their simple verses and their loving devotion, they belong to the most touching expressions of Islamic religious life. Also, poets used to put at the beginning of the works–after the poetical praise of God–the *na't,* a praise poem in honour of the Prophet, which also developed into a poetical form in its own right; still is the *na't* of Mawlana Rumi "well–known in Turkey and the countries where Rumi's mystical poetry is read. So Iqbal is perfectly right when he puts the praise of the Prophet into Rumi's mouth and makes him describe the greatness of the Seal of Prophets (*Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*: 152).

The mystical tradition about the Prophetic virtues has lived in India as strong as elsewhere; to mention only one example: in the folklore of a comparatively small Province like Sind, the *mawluds,* the versified stories of the miracles of the Prophet, the prayers which were addressed to him since centuries, fill large volumes, and in many cases the Western reader could simply replace the name of Muhammad by that of Christ, and could, then, recite the same poem for himself.

But in this mystical atmosphere the knowledge of the real human life of Muhammad had been nearly forgotten. Not earlier than the last decades of the 19th century, the Indian Muslim intelligentsia felt the necessity–as a counter–weight against the Christian missionary activities–to inform their fellow–Muslims about the life and deeds of the historical Prophet. Classical sources, like the *Life of Muhammad* by Ibn Hisham, the collection of traditions, were largely used. Syed Ameer Ali's famous work *The Spirit of Islam* is essentially called "The Life of Muhammad", and its importance for a new presentation of the Prophet as the unsurpassable model of behaviour cannot be estimated too highly. Then followed the great *Biography of the Prophet* by Maulana Shibli the first monumental work on this topic in Urdu which was completed (in 5 vols.) by Syed Suleyman Nadvi, Iqbal's venerated friend, and was partly translated also in other Indian vernaculars. All over the Islamic world more biographies of Muhammad written by Muslim scholars were published in recent decades than in the same number of centuries, and still this interest in the historical figure of the Prophet is continuing. In 1920, a special *sirat*–movement was started in India which aimed at the publication of books and pamphlets on

the Prophet for distribution among the population especially in the Punjab.

Also certain later mystical orders, in order to avoid pan theistic trends in Sufism, like the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Brelawi in India and the *Tariqah Muhammadiyah* of the Tijan or the *Mirghaniyah* in North Africa–taught as the highest goal the unification of the soul not with God but with the essence of the Prophet.

These two currents: the mystical veneration of the Prophet and the investigation of his life in order to show the Muslims that they, just as the Muslim community in times of old, should live in complete harmony with the way of life, the behaviour the ideal which Muhammad had put before the Faithful: these two currents together form the basis of Muhammad Iqbal's prophetology which is sounding like a *basso ostinato* through his work the different periods of his life. "He says:

The dust of Madinah and Najaf is collyrium for my eyes.

(*Bal-i Jibril*: 61)

Although some other problems which are most vividly expressed in Iqbal's poetry and his philosophical work are rarely touched in his letters, the love for the Lord of Beings is felt in his private correspondence, too, and his friends tell that he often was shedding tears from emotion when the Prophet's name was mentioned The visit of 'Abd al–Majid Quraishi, the founder of the *sirat* movement, in 1929 was most welcomed by him (*Makatib*. II:93), .and in the same year he mentions with satisfaction the fact that the Birthday of the Prophet had been celebrated by the Muslims in South India. "In order to bind together the Islamic nations of India the most holy personality of the honoured Prophet can constitute: as our greatest and most efficient power."— (*Makatib*. II: 93), Iqbal's poetry, too, turns to the Prophet often in a new and unexpected way, and the role of Muhammad is important from the *Asrar* up to the *Armaghan*; perhaps with the exception of *Payam–i Mashriq* where–except the introduction–only merely literary allusions to the Prophet are found. There is the tune of perfect trust in the Prophet which is characteristic of the normal Muslim devotions:

Thy love is greater for the rebels–
It is, in forgiving sins, like the love of a· Mother.

(*Pas Che Bayed kard*: 69)

It is however worth mentioning that one side of the Prophet which is most frequently focused by other poets, and especially in folk–poetry, and which makes him so dear to all fearful souls, is not often met with in Iqbal's poetical works: it is his role as *shāfi*, as

intercessor at Doomsday. Though, in the *Asrar* (1383) the poet sings:

> In him is our trust on the Day of Judgment, and in this world too he is our protector;

This tune is scarcely repeated, since Muhammad Iqbal's conception of death, resurrection and final judgment in the later stages of his theological thought widely differs from the accustomed theological and popular beliefs and dogmatic details. However, his confidence in every human affair rested upon the Prophet whom he had asked in the end of *Rumuz* (p. 193 ff.) to grant him the power of activity. It is rather significant that during his last long illness when he was staying at Bhopal[3] he saw in a dream the reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan–the grandfather of his host–who advised him to tell his illness to the Prophet (*Makatib*, I:414), and indeed Iqbal composed a long poem (*Pas che bayad kard*:64 ff.) in which he, after having described the sad situation of the Muslims, asks the Prophet to help him in his illness–just as seven centuries ago the Egyptian al–Busairi (d. 1296 A.C.) had composed his famous *Qasidat al–Burdah* in honour of Muhammad, and was cured: an example which has become a model for pious Muslims throughout the centuries.

"Interior medicine for me is only that I recite blessings (*durud*) on your ancestor (i.e., Muhammad)" he writes, in 1935, to a Sayyid (*Makatib*, I:248)–but even this recitation is felt by him to be a daring work:

> from shame my body because like water–
> Love said: Oh you who are subjects to others...
> As long as you have not yet got colour and scent from Muhammad, don't dirty his name with your blessings.
>
> (*Pas che byad kard*. 49; cf. *Bal-i-Jibril*:130)

Muhammad was for Iqbal the visible tide of God's activity. God could not be seen by mortal eyes–as the Qur'an says: *Lan tarani* (thou wilt not see Me), whereas this word is not applicable to the Prophet (cf. *Armaghan-i-Hijaz*: 32)

> God is my Hidden One, thou art my Open One!
> With God I talk in veils, with Thee openly .
>
> (*Pyam*:221)

And according to an apocryphal tradition, quoted by Rumi and many other mystics, "Who sees me, sees God" the poet turns to the Prophet for help as well as for praise (cf. AH: 71).

Just as the Muslim feels the nearness of God when reciting the Qur'an, Iqbal admits to have felt a spiritual connection with the Prophet when working on the subject of Islamic history, and history of Islamic law:

> The differences of juristic questions and the argumentations of the jurists of Islam in which the love of the Seal of Apostleship is concealed–the study of all these things gives me an endless spiritual delight.
>
> (*Makatib,* 404, 1936).

And how much more the presence of something which was said to have belonged to the Prophet! The exhibition of the *khirqah–i sharif*, the cloak of the Prophet, at Qandahar during his visit to Afghanistan inspired Iqbal to one of the finest Persian hymns (Mis., 29 ff.) in which he compares his heart to Gabriel who was able to see the Prophet– in flesh, and tells how his heart started singing and dancing and reciting poetry in front of the sacred relic.

The cloak of the "bar which both of them do not transgress". *(*Sura, LV: 20)

> I saw it in the light of "I have two cloaks,"
> His religion and his ritual are the effect of the All.
> In his forehead is written the destination of everything.

It goes without saying that a visit to the Prophet's tomb–combined with the performance of the duty of pilgrimage–was one of Iqbal's greatest and most ardent wishes from early times onward (cf. *Makatib*, 11: 36, 1911). To die in the blessed country of the Hijaz–that was his dream during war–time (R: 198), and not without reason his posthumous poems have been called 'Gift of the Hijaz' *(Armaghan–i* Hijaz). His letters in the last years of his life are full of sentences which express the nostalgia for the Prophet's country most ardently, and he was sure that a visit to that place would bring innumerable spiritual benefits to the visitor (cf. his . letters to Sayyid Ghulam Miran Shah, *Makatib*, I:222, 1937 ; *Makatib*, I:232, 1938). He had intended to go to Madinah on his way back from Europe in 1932, but was of the opinion

> that it would be bad manners to dare visit the Holy Presence of Prophethood in connection with a journey made for worldly purposes.
>
> (*Makatib*, II:397).

He wrote, then, the great ode to the Prophet which ends with the line.

> Thou art the Preserved Tablet, and Thou art the Pen.
>
> (*Bal-i Jibril*: 151).

The more painful his illness grew, the stronger was the wish to visit the Holy Places.

> What other place is there left for sinners like me but the threshold of the Prophet?
>
> (*Makatib*, II: 341, 1937),

and even in the last months before his death he did not give up hope that

> I can perform the pilgrimage in the following year and be also present in the Presence of Prophethood and bring from there such a gift that the Muslims of India will remember it.
>
> (*Makatib*, I: 382, 1937).

But that dream was not fulfilled–only a whole chapter of the quatrains in *Armaghan–i Hijaz* is called "In the Presence of the Prophet."

In Muhammad–whom he, as most of the mystic poets, often calls with his surname Mustafa, the Chosen One–Iqbal saw the source of everything good and useful in human life; poverty. (in the religious sense, according to the tradition "My poverty is my pride") and sovereignty belong to the manifestations of Mustafa (cf. *Musafir*: 3; *Pas che byad kard*, 23: ff.) ; he is the model for every Muslim (*Pas che byad kard*: 27), the visible witness of God's beauty and power. His way is the only way to choose (*Armaghan-i Hijaz*: 89) for the Muslims of this century who are strangers to his beauty (*Pas che byad kard*: 29). This idea, which animates the quatrains of the *Armaghan*, is expressed as early as the *Jawab–i Shikwah* in 1913, where God is made to say:

> Thou a Muslim art, and Destiny thy edict must obey,
> Be thou faithful to Muhammad and We yield Ourselves to the – Not this world alone – the Tablet and the Pen thy prize will be.

From here we reach the mystical ideas of Muhammad's pre–existence, and can understand, in the light of the development of mystical praise, the great hymn which Iqbal has sung in honour of him who is the perfect manifestation of Love (*Bal-i Jibril*: 151). Already in the *Asrar*, when showing that "Self is strengthened by Love" Iqbal turns to the person of the Prophet:

> There is a beloved hidden within thine heart...
> By love of him the heart is made strong...
> In the Muslim's heart is the home of Muhammad,
> All our glory is from the name of Muhammad.

The idea that Muhammad's name' itself is holy which is common in Muslim piety, is already found in the *Jawab–i Shikwah*:

Light the world, too long in darkness, with Muhammad's radiant name!

It is a common idea in all religions that the name of a thing designates the thing itself, and that to possess the name means to possess the thing itself. Name contains a certain power, a *barakah,* and that is the reason for calling so many children with the name of the Prophet in order to make them participate of the Prophet's spiritual power–but it is also the reason for the taboo on pronouncing the name Muhammad in Turkey, and its being changed into Mehmet, lest the most holy name be polluted by daily use and misuse.

In the *Asrar* Iqbal says:

Eternity is less than a moment of his time,
Eternity receives increase from his essence.
He slept on a mat of rushes,
But the crown of Chosroes was under his peoples' feet...

And more than 20 years later the poet goes on in the same strain:

He is the meaning of Gabriel and the Qur'an,
He is the watchman of the wisdom of God,
His wisdom is higher than reason...

(*Pas che byad kard*: 12 ff.)

In the *Rumuz,* which is, essentially, the treasure–house of Iqba1's prophetology, he compares Muhammad to "the lamp in the darkness of Being...;" who was when Adam was still in water and clay (*Rumuz*: 130, cf. 121), alluding to a famous tradition which the mystics have used in order to indicate the pre–existence of Muhammad: "I was a prophet while Adam was still between water and clay" i.e., not yet made.

One of the most beautiful and significant passages in honour of the Prophet is found in the *Javidname* in the scene in the Heaven of Jupiter, where Hallaj teaches Iqbal the secrets of Prophethood. In these verses, Iqbal's ideas about the spiritual and mystical personality of Muhammad are expressed with perfect clearness. That he has chosen Hallaj as the interpreter of his ideas is due to the fact that this mystic had made the first substantial contribution to the Muhammad–mysticism, and some formulae of the Iqbalian poems may have been translated or at least inspired by the passages in Hallaj's *Kitab al–Tawasin*, especially *Tasin al–Siraj* which was with Iqbal since the First World War, and which he had studied with increasing interest and understanding.

"His Slave" is higher than thy understanding,

Since he is both man and essence.
His essence is neither Arabic nor Persian,
He is a man, and yet previous to Adam.
"His Slave" is the painter of destinations,
In him is the repair of ruins.
"His Slave" is soul–giving and soul–taking,
"His Slave" is both bottle and hard stone.
"Slave" is different, and "His Slave" is different.
We are completely waiting, he is the waited for.
"His Slave" is Time, and Time is from "His Slave",
We all are colours, he is without colour and scent.
"His Slave" is without beginning, without end,
"His Slave"–where is for him morning and evening?
Nobody is acquainted with the secrets of "His Slave",
"His Slave" is *nothing* but the secret of "but God".

That Muhammad is conceived both as man and as essence, shows the relation with Ibn 'Arabi's and [Abdul Karim] Jili's ideas of the Perfect Man who unites in himself the aspects of the divine and the worldly life. And why the stress which is laid on the expression "His Slave"? According to old mystical traditions which are found already in the earliest writings on Sufism (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, pp. 105, 280) like Qushayri's *Risalah,* and which was very common in Sufi circles and not the least in India, as the example of the Punjabi mystic Bullhe Shah shows. *'Abduh,* "His servant" shows the highest rank of the Prophet because this term is used in the Qur'an in connection with the ascension of Muhammad: "Praised be He who traveled at night with His servant" *(*Surah, XVII: 1) –and since the night–journey means the culmination of Muhammad's ro1e as Prophet, being brought into Divine Presence without veils, the term *'abduh* hints at the highest degree of prophet hood, and, consequently, the highest rank man can attain; not sonship of God; but the rank of the faithful servant is the highest goal (cf. *Pas che byad kard*: 33). Iqbal is, in these lines, completely in agreement with the great Indian theologian whom he considered to be one of the most important figures in Islamic history, Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi[4] (d. 1624), who held that the highest experience of annihilation is only transient, and that the mystic has to come back to the stage of *'abdiyah* or servitude which is the *summum bonum* of the spiritual life of one who believes in transcendental God. We may also quote another personality whose influence on Iqbal has not yet been examined but whose ideas display many similarities: it is Mir Dard (1720–1784), who ha expounded a mystic theory of his own which he called *'ilm–i Muhammadi*–knowledge of God based on the teaching of Muhammad–in which he calls those men real

unitarians who remain, in spite of their divine vision, "slaves of God". And so, for Iqbal, too, not only the secret of the Prophet lies concealed in the word "His Slave", but also the secret of every man–for man has developed his spiritual faculties in such a way that he may come closest to the ideal of the Prophet in his aspect as Perfect Man. In the aspect of "His Slave"––the Prophet teaches man the mystery of the tradition, "I have a time with God", starting from the experience of ascension, i.e. the immediate contact with God–the famous word which has formed a favourite basis for meditation for innumerable mystics, since it points to the experience of human communion with God, when the spell of time is broken, and eternity–is realized–already in this life. So, the aspect of His Slave is the model for man in his aspirations towards perfection, in which his hand, like that of Muhammad 'becomes God's hand, the moon is split by his fingers' (*Asrar*: 483 ff.) The same chapter in the *Javidname* contains another description of the Prophet which is more complicated. The Qur'an has described Muhammad as *Rahmatan li'l 'Alamin*, Mercy for the Worlds (Sura XXI: 107), and this phrase has been used often as diagram for the Prophet and his activities. That is also the case in a verse of Ghalib [d. 1869], the great Indo–Muslim poet of the early 19th century who had written a *mathnawi* about the question whether God could create another Muhammad or not:

> Wherever a tumult of the worlds arises,
> There is also a Mercy for the worlds."

Iqbal was fascinated by this verse, but a letter to Sayyid Suleyman Nadvi (M. I: 117) in 1922 shows that he had difficulties in finding out its right meaning. He concludes:– "The present astronomers say that in some stars human beings and creatures of even higher order may live. If it is like that, then the manifestation of a Mercy for the Worlds is necessary there too. In this manner the transmigration or *buruz* would be least necessary for the Muslims. Suhrawardi, the Sheikh of the Ishraq (illumination) philosophy, was in a way convinced of the transmigration of soul..." This might lead to unexpected consequences for the finality of Prophethood, and so Iqbal has left this idea when he inserts the verse–quoted by Ghalib in the Jupiter–Sphere–into the *Javidname* ten years later, though he is well aware that these lines, if continued, may prove dangerous. Ghalib is made to answer (alluding to Sura LXXXVII: 2) i.e. Creation, Destiny and Guidance are the beginning–"Mercy for the

Worlds" is the end;i.e. the finality of Muhammad's. Prophethood is maintained, but Ghalib himself thinks that further investigations of the meaning of this verse might lead to "infidelity which lies behind poetry". Anyhow, by the attribution of this verse to its real author Ghalib it becomes clear why this poet–who was neither very religious nor a heretic–is put into the same Sphere as the great heretics Hallaj and Tahirah. Iqbal would rather–as we can gather from other poems–accept this appearance of the Mercy for the Worlds as the single manifestation of the Muhammadan Reality (similar to Jili) though this expression, so dear to mystics, does not occur in ' his work.

But Muhammad is more than the individual soul

"who has given faith to this handful dust" (*Pas che byad kard*: 53),

more than a mystic light illuminating this dark world–he is the leader of the community of the Faithful, – the model not only of personal behaviour but that of political conduct–

who with the key of religion opened the door of this world. (*Asrar*: 189)

a poetical statement which is completely to the point. It is interesting to read the discussion between Iqbal and his friend Suleyman Nadvi about the role of the Prophet in worldly and religious affairs. Iqbal had asked him about the *ijtihad–i Nabawt,* i.e. the power of deciding juridical or other matters outside the Qur'an (*Makatib*, I: 153, 1922), and Nadvi replied that the "prophetic intelligence is higher than normal human intelligence" and that the Prophet is guided in his decisions towards the absolutely right way. This faculty enabled him to become the divinely guided leader of his community, and more than anything else it is this political role which Iqbal has underlined in his picture of the Prophet. Contrasting him with the self–centered recluse, the mystic who is not interested in social life, he shows in vivid colours how the prophets have always emerged from retreatment and given a proper shape to political and social events, and how Muhammad has fulfilled this prophetic mission completely:

'On his forehead is writ the destiny of nations' (*Pas che byad kard*, 33). Taking into consideration the idea of Sprenger[5] that Muhammad was a psychopath, Iqbal says ironically:

> Well, if a psychopath has the power to give a fresh direction to the course of human history, it is a point of the highest psychological interest of search his original experience which has turned slaves into leaders of men, and has inspired the conduct and shaped the

> career of whole races of mankind. Judging from the various types of activity that emanated from the movement initiated by the Prophet of Islam, his spiritual tension and the kind of behaviour which issued from it, cannot be regarded as a response to a mere fantasy inside the brain. It is impossible to understand it except as a response to an objective situation generative of new enthusiasms, new organizations, new starting points. If we look at the matter from the standpoint of anthropology it appears that a psychopath is an important factor in the economy of humanity's social organization … (*Lectures*: 190).

Iqbal has seen–and he is perfectly right here that the peculiarity of the prophetic mission consists of freeing the people from the traditional concepts of life, to pass from *Volksreligion* to *Weltreligion*, and that means in the case of Muhammad to oppose, with energetic consistency, those tenets of the Arabian philosophy of life, and to form a spiritual_ community which is no longer bound to prejudices of race, blood or colour. Iqbal has poetically depicted this side of Muhammad's activity in the Tasin–i Muhammad, in the *Javidname*, where the doctrines of to Prophet are reflected through the reaction of Abu Jahl, one of his grimmest enemies at Mecca:

> We are utterly heart–sick because of Muhammad;
> His teachings have put out the lights of the Ka'ba!
> His religion abolishes distinctions of race and blood, Though himself from. Quraysh, he disowns the superiority of the Arabs.
> In his religion the high and low are but one,
> He ate out of the same dish with his slave!

To leave earth–rootedness and narrow patriotism, that is,. for 1011, the meaning of Muhammad's *Hijrah* from Mecca to Madinah: by cutting the relations with his beloved hometown the Prophet wanted to give an example to the generations to come. Already in the note–book of 1910 that idea had been expressed:

> Islam appeared as a protest against idolatry. An what is patriotism but a subtle form of idolatry… The fact that the Prophet prospered and died in a place not his birth–place is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect.
>
> (*Stray Reflections*: 19).

The tension between nationalism in the modern sense of the word–as he had witnessed it in Europe and saw growing in the Near East after the First World War (without understanding, however, that this was, again, a protest against the Western ruling powers)–and the "higher nationalism" of the Faithful which unites human beings

all over the world: this tension forms a favorite subject of both his letters and his poetry till the end of his life:

Native country (*watan*) is something different in the right doctrine of the Prophet, and Native country is something different in the words of politicians.' (*Bang*-i Dara: 174).

Leaving the homeland for spreading one's ideas all over the world, that is the ideal of the Muslim: just as the scent of the rose becomes widely known after it has left the rose–bud, so the individual and the "spiritual nation" can work properly only after – having given up the clinging to the piece of earth which they call fatherland in the political sense. Iqbal never got tired of preaching that Islam is opposed to blood–relationship which is considered earth–rootedness (L: 146) and therefore incompatible with the lofty ideals of the Prophet. "The greatest miracle , which the Prophet has performed is that he has produced a nation" *(Tenk.,* 133). The whole concept of the *Rumuz* centres round this nation building work of the Prophet, and 15 years later Iqbal expressed the same ideas that the Prophet was able to perform the miracle of restoration by his word *qum* – Rise! –in awakening the cry *.Allah–hu* in the heart of a nation'. (*Pas che byad kard*: 66).

He believes that a people, by turning back to the simple and proper teachings of the Prophet, the centre of which is the message of God's unity, and sovereignty, can begin a new life after centuries of slumber and decadence.

Iqbal takes over here ideas which had been expressed by a Muslim philosopher whom he admired greatly; the ideas Ibn Khaldun (d. 1405) had expressed in his *Muqaddimah* about the *'asabiyah* – the binding power in socio–political life which is strengthened by religion. The adherence to the same prophetic revelation will create, in a group of individuals, the strongest possible feelings of solidarity and inspire the group with unexpected activities.

Muhammad has, according to Iqbal, not only given the example of how a supra-national society should be built, but is, at the same time, the symbol for the unshakable unity of this nation "We are like a rose with many petals but with one perfume–

He (Muhammad) is the soul of this society, and he is one." (*Asrar-i Khudi*: 305 ff., cf. *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*: 152),

> and in the *Payam–i Mashriq* he has repeated
> 'We all the nurslings of one springtime be."
>
> (*Lectures*: 83, cf. 82).

The Prophet is "the heart in the handful of dust which we are" (*Musafir*: 32), i.e., the life–giving power which makes mankind a true living organism.

The Islamic nation thus conceived as a sanctuary in which the Unity of God, the unity of the Prophet, and the essential unity of all human beings are maintained as the basis and centre of life, all the manifestations of nationalism which tried to break up this unity seemed to be for the poet nothing more than new idols, a new *Lat* and *Manat*–as he calls them: we may translate adequately that political nationalism is Ba'alism. The Islamic nation (*millah*) has other roots than that of dust and water, of race and blood, is built on fundamentals which are concealed in man's heart–and:he main fundamental is "Love of the Prophet which runs like blood in the veins of the community." (*Rumuz-i Bekhudi*: 190).

Since Iqbal saw under the shining surface of the Nationalist movements in the Near–East a return to pre–Islamic, or rather pre-monotheistic Ba'alism (only in a refined, but therefore more dangerous form), his attacks against Persian nationalism, and Turkish westernization are so bitter and aggressive, and therefore he loves the Afghan nation which is still untouched by these dangers. The *Javidname* contains, in the Mercury–Sphere, long discussions about the nation–concept in prophetic meaning, and even Iqbal's last statement and a related poem (cf. *Asrar*:'278) is directed against the Deobandi and pro–Congressite the late Husayn Ahmad Madani who bad as he saw it confused the terms nation (*millah*) in the Islamic sense, and nation (*qawm*) in the nationalist sense:

Before his call to Prophethood, the nation of Muhammad (peace be upon him) was no doubt a nation and a free one, but as Muhammad's *ummah* began to be formed, the status of the people as a nation became a secondary one. Those who accepted Muhammad's leadership, became part and parcel of the Muslim or Muhammadan community irrespective of the fact whether they belonged to his own nation or other nations. Formerly they had been slaves of land and race land and race did not become their slaves… It is a peculiar greatness of the Holy Prophet that the self–invented distinctions and superiority complexes of the nations of the world are destroyed and there comes into being a community which can be styled *ummatun muslimatun laka* (امة مسلمة لك) and to whose thoughts the Divine dictum *shuhada 'ala 'al–nas* (witness for the people شهداء على الناس) justly applies. (Surahs 235, cf. 238).

The ideal *millah* which Iqbal aimed at should be the realization of the universal *Tawhid*, the confession of unity which the Prophet had preached, who had founded, by his own example the universality of freedom, equality and brotherhood (*Rumuz-i Bekhudi*: 101 ff.)

> On Prophethood is in the world our foundation,
> From Prophethood has our religion its ritual,
> From Prophethood are hundred–thousands of us one,
> Part from part cannot be separated.
> From Prophethood we all got the same melody,
> The same breath, the same aim. (*Rumuz-i Bekhudi*: 116 ff.)

Iqbal's ideal of nationhood is a striking example of that which Nieuwenhuize has underlined in an interesting article in *Studia Islamica* when he writes:

> To a Muslim the problem of nationhood cannot to envisaged but in terms of what scope can be practically and empirically allowed to the operative effect to the concept of nation – within the coordinates of the permanently valid comprehensiveness of the *ummah*.

The factor which should form the ideal Islamic nation is the burning love of the Prophet which would enable both the individual and the community to live according to the Divine Law (cf. *Payam-i Mashriq*: 8), and it was Iqbal's idea that, just as Muhammad was the leader and completer of the long line of the Messengers of God, so his nation should also be the leader of nations and the most perfect model of a community:

He is the Seal of Prophets, we that of nations', and as he was *Rahmatan* (Mercy for the Worlds), so are the Muslims who are related to him "the sign of Mercy for the people of the Worlds" (*Rumuz*: 116). Iqbal went even further in his analogy: the fact that this world is the heritage of the Free, is understood from the Divine word *lawlaka*–"if thou hadst not been" (*Bal-i Jibril*: 97) which was revealed to the Prophet and is, according to Iqbal to be applied to every Faithful, and, as a logical consequence, to the ideal Muslim nation (cf. also *Bal-i Jibril*: 117, 119).

That the aspiration to this leadership among nations involves also strength and the will to expand, is implicitly understood (cf. *Makatib*, II: 163), and might even lead to a new interpretation of the concept of *Jihad,* the Holy War. But as much as Iqbal dreamt of the ideal Islamic nation, he clearly saw in the twenties the danger that Imperialistic trends might spoil those' ideas (cf. *Bang-i Dara*: 117, 126), and has warned the Islamic peoples of the consequences of blending the "poverty" of the Prophet and the

splendour of mundane reign. He first dreamt, as did so many of his contemporaries, of the alleged ideal rule of the four Caliphs after Muhammad's death, the Golden Age of Islam.

Yet, in our context, it is not the political importance of Iqbal's ideas on religion and nationalism but simply their relation to his concept of Prophethood and the way how these ideas unfolded logically from his love for the Prophet who combined worldly and religious talents, and was conceived as a model of all qualities which are necessary for the happy life of the individual and nation.

The above–mentioned aspects of the prophetic life and prophethood are more or less common to all Muslim thinkers, and neither in the mystical interpretation nor in depicting Muhammad as the model for every Muslim, in preaching the *imitatio Muhammadi* for individuals and nations Iqbal has uttered new or unexpected ideas But he has contributed one very interesting point of view to the problem of Prophethood. Islam has always held the doctrine that Muhammad is the last Prophet after whom no other Prophet will come, his message is enough for the world now and till eternity. Iqbal writes, commenting on the Qur'anic dictum, "Today we have completed your religion for you." (Sura, V: 5; cf. R: 163)

> Now God has finalized for us the Divine law,
> and has finalized for our Prophet prophethood.
> Now the service of the cupbearer has been transferred to us,
> He gave us the last cup he possessed…

That means that the Islamic nation has to carry on the lines indicated by Muhammad. But what is the meaning of the Finality of Prophethood? Would not a new prophet who translates the Divine Will into the language of our time or the time to come, be necessary? Iqbal answers this question in a highly interesting way:

> …The Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient . and the modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned, he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned, he belongs to the modern world. In him life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islam...is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition… (L: 126).

That means, for Iqbal, that the Qur'an has opened for man the vast field of scientific methods, realizing the importance of the careful observation of nature and history. For Iqbal, Muhammad was the first critical observer of psychic phenomena, as is proved by the example of his interest in a psychic Jewish youth whom the

traditions describe (*Lectures*: 16). The Prophet was thirsty for knowledge, and this thirst made him the first to encourage studies.

> Though he saw the essence of Being without veil,
> Yet the word 'God increase me' (in knowledge) came from his lips.

this verse was written in order to kindle the interest of the Afghan ruler Amanullah Khan in studies and scientific work in his country (*Payam-i Mashriq*: 6). We can understand the importance of this statement better when we confront it with the traditional attitude of the mullds in Islamic countries who were hostile to every kind of secular learning and saw in science only Satanic inventions.

And on the other hand, Iqbal wanted to prove–as Sayyid Ameer Ali and others had already done before him–that the European science –which now threatens the Eastern countries and succeeds in seducing the ignorant masses, is based essentially on the –scholarship of the Islamic peoples who introduced the scientific ways of thinking into Medieval Europe: Later on, 'Inayat Allah Khan Mashriki has in his commentary on the Qur'an even gone so far as to declare the, modern research workers as successors and substitutes of the Prophet. This is the one side–the cultural one–of the Finality of Prophethood. On the other hand, it means, in Iqbal's words:

> No spiritual surrender to any human being after Muhammad who emancipated his followers by giving them a law which is realizable as arising from the very core of human conscience. Theologically the doctrine is that the socio–political organization called Islam is perfect and eternal. No revelation, the denial of which entails heresy, is possible after Muhammad. (SS: 120).

These words were written against the modernist movement of the Qadiyanis; which had emerged in the Punjab and whose role grew more and more important in the twenties. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had declared himself the promised Messiah and claimed to be the Mahdi in 1908; and since then, the tension grew between the orthodox Muslims and the Qadiyanis who split up in 1914 into the Lahore group and the Qadiyan group. As to the moderate Ahmadiyahs of Lahore, Iqbal acknowledges their activity for spreading Islam through their missionary organizations in different countries (cf. *Makatib*, II: 232, 1932), yet he considered them even more dangerous than the other group because they claimed their founder as a *Mujaddid*; and such a claim most Muslims were prepared to accept–yet, the heterodox teachings remained the same. The Qadiyanis and their refutation form an important subject in his correspondence with the late Professor Ilyas Barani

who had published a book against them (*Makatib*, I: 410,419 in 1936 and 1937), and with Sayyid Suleyman Nadvi. He never ceases reiterating that the belief in the Finality of Muhammad's Prophethood "is really the factor which accurately draws the line of demarcation between Muslims and non–Muslims and enables one to decide whether a certain individual or group is part of the community or not ... "According to our belief Islam as a religion was revealed by God, but the existence of Islam as a society or nation depends entirely on the personality of the Holy Prophet." (*SS*: 108). Further, "Any religious society historically arising from the bosom of Islam which claims a new prophethood for its basis… must be regarded by every Muslim as a serious danger to the solidarity of Islam. This must necessarily be so; since the integrity of Muslim society is secured by the idea of the' Finality of Prophethood alone." – (*SS*: 94).

Iqbal's *Open Letter to Pandit Nehru*[6] about the question of the Qadiyanis is an important document (SS: 111–44), and contains many an important statement about the juridical status of the Qadiyanis whom he regarded as violating the fundamental doctrine of Islam, as more dangerous to Indian Islam than was Spinoza to the. Jewish community in Amsterdam (*Ibid.* 114). In his correspondence with Sulayman Nadwi, Iqbal put his finger on the question whether "in Islamic law the defamation of the Prophet is an offence which has to be punished, and if yes, what is the punishment?" (M, I: 189 ff., 1935). His. correspondent answered in the affirmative and stated that even the death–penalty could be imposed. Iqbal wanted at that time–in the beginning of the thirties–that the rulers of India should declare the Qadiyanis a separate community. "This will be perfectly consistent with the policy of the Qadiyanis themselves and the Indian Muslim will tolerate them just as he tolerates the other religions." (SS: 100). The problem, however, remained unsolved, and when Iqbal wrote, in 1936, that 'thank Heaven the *fitnah* (disturbance, mischief) of the Qadiyanis is growing weaker in the Punjab' (*Makatib*, I: 199), he could not possibly foresee that the same problem was, in 1953, to form one of the most serious problems in the politico–religious history of the young state of Pakistan in which the orthodox claim to declaring the Qadiyanis a non–Muslim minority led to heavy disturbances in the Punjab.

Iqbal's aversion against this group who denied the Finality of Prophethood was so strong that he has even in his poem *Session of the Satan* which was written in that very year 1936 but published

posthumously, inserted some allusions to the Qadiyanis who despise the Holy War (*Jihad*) and juggle about the question of the Messiah, in order to weaken the unity of Islam, and helping, in that way, the diabolic powers of– destruction (*Bal-i Jibril*: 227). For him there was the unshakable confidence that[7]

For us Mustafa is enough. (*Armaghan-i Hijaz*: 81).

From this central place which the "Arabian Friend" held in his system of thought and personal faith, many symbols and ideas of Iqbal's work can be interpreted, for instance the central concept of love which often contains the idea of love of the Prophet, or love inspired by the Prophet.

The Arab countries, the language of the Beloved, and many allusions to Najd and the Hijaz gain their true significance in the light of his Muhammad–veneration, and it can easily be understood that he wished his words to be translated into Arabic. But after all the praises of the Prophet in ardent hymns, or verses full of theological depth or social and political ideas, Iqbal turns, in one of his last verses (*Armaghan-i Hijaz*: 29) once more to the Prophet as a dear and compassionate friend;' and with a simplicity which is rarely met with in his poetry he shows himself on the road to Madinah, to the threshold of, the Beloved, in complete stillness and calmness

'just like a bird who, in the desert–night
preads out his wings, when thinking of his nest.

Notes and References

[1] 1881-1945, obituary by Muhammad Hamidullah, in *Islamic Culture*, January 1946

[2] Ed. Louis Massignon, Paris 1913, and Paul Nwyia: Hallaj: *Kitab al-Tawāsin*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph,* 47(1972), pp. 186-237.

[3] عبدالقوی دسنوی: علامہ اقبال بھوپال میں، بھوپالی، ۱۹۶۷ء

[4] مسعود اقبال: اقبال اور حضرت مجدد الف ثانی (اقبال ریویو، جنوری ۱۹۶۴ء، ص ۱۰۹- ۱۳۲)

[5] Alois Sprenger (1813-1893), an Austrian orientalist who spent thirteen years in India as a Principal of Delhi College, Calcutta Madrassah etc. see for detail my book *Qadeem Dehli College*, Lahore, 2012.

[6] علامہ اقبال اور جواہر لال نہرو، سیاسی فکر و نظر کا تجزیاتی مطالعہ از علی ظفر، لاہور، ۲۰۱۷ء

[7] On the subject of Iqbal and Qadiniyyah, see Shoaib Kashmiri: *Iqbal and Qadiniyyah*, Lahore, no date and the Urdu books by the Ahmadis such as Sh. Ijaz Ahmad and Sh. 'Abdul Majid and non-Ahmadis such as Bashir Ahmad Dar, Javid Iqbal, Muhammad Mateen Khalid etc.

THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD IN MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S WORK

All the different aspects of the veneration of the Prophet seem to converge in the work of Muhammad Iqbal, the Indo-Muslim philosopher-poet who for the first time expressed the idea of an independent Muslim state in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent and who is therefore acclaimed as the "spiritual father" of Pakistan. That nation came into existence nine years after his death (21 April 1938), on 14 August 1947.

Iqbal's work is a fascinating web of diverse strands that range from Islamic fundamentalism to the most recent scientific theories of the West, from mystical flights into the Divine presence to rational analyses of spiritual phenomena. This multifariousness is evident in his major English prose work, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (which almost certainly owes its title to Ghazzali's *Ihya' 'ulum ad-din*), The Revivification of the Sciences of Religion) and in some English articles; but it is also, and indeed predominantly, expressed in Urdu and Persian verse. Old images, with which Muslim readers have been familiar for centuries, are taken up in this poetry and given new content. The Prophet of Islam appears in Iqbal's work as in that of thousands of earlier poets and thinkers as the central figure of Muslim spiritual life, a figure who reveals himself in constantly changing facets and whose description by Iqbal culminates in the daring remark in the *Javidname* (which tells of the poet's own *mi'raj*):

You can deny God, but you cannot deny the Prophet!'

After completing his studies in philosophy and law at Cambridge, Iqbal spent about six months in Germany in 1907; there he turned into an enthusiastic admirer of Goethe, whose work constitutes for him the highest manifestation of creative poetry. It is therefore understandable that he felt a particular attraction to the figure of Faust, the ever-striving man in search of self-realization, and to the *West-Oestlicher Divan*. In 1923 he composed the *Payam-i Mashriq* (The Message of the East) as a Persian reply to the *West-Oestlicher Divan*, and he points out in his foreword that Goethe had shown interest in

things Islamic from his early days.[1] Goethe's poem "Mahomets Gesang," written when the young author was planning a drama about the Prophet of Islam in 1773, inspired Iqbal to such a degree that he offered his readers a Persian version in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, which he himself characterizes in a footnote:

> It is an extremely free translation of Goethe's famous "Mahomets Gesang." In this poem, which was written long, long before the *West-Oestlicher Divan*, the German poet has shown the Islamic idea of life extremely beautifully. Originally it was part of an Islamic drama which he intended [to write] but could not complete. The intention of this translation is nothing but to show Goethe's viewpoint.

Iqbal begins his translation with the lines

> Look at the stream of water, how it runs, intoxicated, Like a galaxy in the middle of the meadows!

And he finishes the rather long poem with a matching couplet:

> O wonderful! The ocean without shore–how it runs, intoxicated,
> Unique in itself, alien to everything else, it runs![2]

This image of the river as a metaphor for prophetic activity is indeed quite close to Islamic mystical thought. The medieval Shiite theologian al-Kulayni even quotes a saying attributed to Ali Ibn Abi Talib, the first imam of the Shia: "Who is the great river? The messenger of God and the knowledge that has been granted to him." And when Iqbal, nine years after the *Payam-i Mashriq*, describes his own heavenly journey in the *Javidname* he is given the heavenly name Zindarud, "Living Stream." This name clearly points to his relation to the Prophet, whom he ardently strove to follow in all walks of life, and whose dynamic message he wanted to renew in the world.

Iqbal's praise of the Prophet is often traditional. In an early Urdu poem, which he excluded from publication and which is therefore presented only in a collection published long after his death, he even uses an allusion to the traditional *hadith qudsi* "I am Ahmad without m, *Ahad*, One," claiming that the "veil of the m is lifted for the lover's sight," that is, that the lover sees God through the Prophet. Later he carefully avoided this *hadith* because it seems to lead to pantheistic consequences, which he, in his mature years, thoroughly disliked.

With hundreds of poets throughout the history of Islam Iqbal also sings:

> The dust of Madinah and Najaf is collyrium for my eyes!

Therefore, as he states, the glittering and seductive charms of European knowledge cannot confuse him or make his eyes deviate from the right direction.

It is remarkable how clearly Iqbal's love for and trust in the Prophet is manifest in his private correspondence with friends, in which he generally touched upon numerous matters of personal and scholarly interest. His friends tell that he often shed tears when the Prophet was mentioned, "[at] the name of whom–a shivering of excitement fills every strand of my soul when I think of that elevated name! –at the name of him who has brought mankind the final message of freedom and equality," as he wrote in an article in 1909. The *sirat* movement, which strove to impart a deeper knowledge of the Prophet's biography and of the historical person of the Prophet in general, had all his sympathies. During 1929 he received its then leader in his home in Lahore, and in the same year he mentioned in one of his letters with great satisfaction that the Prophet's birthday had been recently celebrated in southern India in a festive style, saying that to connect the Islamic nations of India, the most holy person of our venerated Prophet can constitute the greatest and most effective power.

Even though he wrote in truly classical style only the aforementioned *na't* that was excluded from publication, Iqbal's poetry contains numerous verses in honor of the Prophet. One of the most obvious themes of his verse is absolute trust in the Prophet, expressions of which permeate his work from beginning to end.

> Your love is greater for rebels–
> In forgiving sins it is like a mother's love.

Thus he wrote around 1936 to express a feeling that, as we have seen, was central in Islamic piety. It is, however, remarkable that Iqbal speaks rather rarely of Muhammad's role as the shade, the intercessor at Doomsday, for it was this role of the Prophet that both classical urban and, more especially, folk poets had emphasized in their prayer poems. To be sure, in the *Asrar-i Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self), which he published in 1915 in Persian, and which is the first manifestation of his new dynamic philosophy of the Self, he does say:

> We trust in him at the Day of Judgment. And in this world too he is our protection.

But the remark is rarely, if ever, repeated, probably because Iqbal's concept death, resurrection, and Last Judgment during his later years was fundamentally different from the traditional

eschatology of theologians and popular preachers. For him, the Prophet was much more a support in this life: at the end of his second Persian *mathnawi*, *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), composed in 1917 to convey his ideas about the role of the perfected individual in an ideal Islamic state, he asks the Prophet, typically to grant him the strength for activity.

Still, his faith in the supernatural powers of the Prophet was apparently as strong as that of millions of faithful before him. While he was staying it Bhopal in 1936, afflicted with serious illness, he saw in a dream the reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the grandfather of his host, Sir Ross Masood. "Sir Sayyid advised him to turn to the Prophet and ask him to heal him. Iqbal immediately composed a rather long poem; in it he first describes the sad political situation of the Muslims and then implores the Prophet's help for his illness. Evidently he was influenced by Buseiri's *Burda* and the belief in its healing power, as he mentions this poem also in other connections.

One year earlier he had written to a *sayyid*: "Interior medicine for me is only that I recite blessings (*durud*) for your ancestor [the Prophet]." But like the poets of earlier centuries he too felt at times that he was not even worthy to pronounce Muhammad's sacred name:

> I recited the blessing for the Prophet
> From shame my body became like water.
> Love said: "O you who are submitted to others
> As long as you have not received color and scent from Muhammad, Do not sully his name with your blessings!

Muhammad was for Iqbal, as he had been for the theologians and mystics before him, the visible aspect of God's activity. God cannot be seen with human eves, as the Qur'an states (Sura 7:139), but the Prophet is visible and palpable:

> O Messenger of God, with God I speak through veils, with you openly
> He is my hidden one, you are my evident one!

Therefore Iqbal turns to Muhammad both to implore him for help and to praise him, as is particularly evident in his last verses, which were posthumously published as *Armaghan-i Hijaz* (The Gift of the Hijaz).

The Muslim knows that he can experience God's presence best when he recites the Qur'an, for then God's own words become audible to him Likewise generations of pious Muslims have felt that the study of themes from the Prophet's life, of *hadith* or of juridical

topics based on his words, grant them a certain proximity to the Prophet. Iqbal felt the same way when he worked on subjects connected with Islamic history and Islamic jurisprudence, as he did mainly toward the end of his life:

The differentiation of juridical problems and the argumentation of Islamic jurisconsults, in which the love of the Seal of Prophethood is hidden the study of all these things gives me endless spiritual joy!

Thus he wrote in 1936. And how much greater was his joy when he saw something that belonged to the Prophet! The experience of visiting Qandahar, where a cloak of the Prophet, *khirqa-i sharif*, is preserved, during his sojourn in Afghanistan in the fall of 1932 led him to compose a fine Persian hymn just as in former times the sight of the Prophet's sandals or even of their picture had inspired numerous poets to glowing verse. In his poem about the *khirqa-i sharif* Iqbal compares his heart to Gabriel, who has seen the Prophet in the flesh; he also tells how he began to dance, to sing, and to recite poetry in the presence of the sacred relic:

That coat of the "*barzakh* which the two cannot transgress" (Sura 55:20)

I saw it in the light of the *hadith* "I have two coats." To see him, is our heavenly night journey,

His religion and his ritual are the commentary of the universe. On his forehead the destiny of all things is written.

The interpretation of Muhammad as the *barzakh*, the borderline between the two worlds, had been applied to the Prophet much earlier: in Jami's verse, he stands between the ocean of pre-eternity and that of contingency; that is, he forms the meeting point between the Divine and the human spheres. The "two coats" are Poverty and the Holy War; the tradition that Muhammad saw the "coat of poverty" during his *mi'raj* lies in the background of the second and third lines of Iqbal's encomium.

It is natural that Iqbal ardently aspired to visit the Prophet's *Rauza* in Medinah, together with fulfilling the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, and he mentions this hope repeatedly in his letters and poems. As early as 1903 he wrote praises of Yathrib (hMedina), where "the prince of laulcaka" rests and which therefore constitutes the veritable center of the life of the human race. During the Balkan Wars [1912-13] he dreamed of dying in Medinah, the hope of many pious souls who long to be buried close to the beloved Prophet. It was for this

reason that his posthumous collection of poetry was called *Armaghan-i Hijaz* (The Gift of the Hijaz), for the older the poet grew, the stronger waxed his longing to visit the last resting place of the Prophet. He felt sure that such a journey would result in immense spiritual benefits. Had he not spoken in one of his early poems of the *shifakhana-i Hijaz*, "the healing place of Hijaz," where the weary soul would find new hope?

Once, on his return from a Round Table Conference in London, Iqbal stopped in Jerusalem to attend a Muslim conference. At this point he contemplated a journey to Medinah but then considered it bad manners to combine a pilgrimage with a journey undertaken for political reasons.[3] It was in those days that he composed the great Urdu hymn to the Prophet, which closes with the line:

> You are the Well-preserved Tablet, and you are the Pen!

In the hymn, he takes over the style of earlier mystical poets and even seeks to surpass their praise by applying the most high-flown comparisons to the Prophet.

Like many writers, especially in the mystical and poetical tradition, Iqbal preferred to call the Prophet by the name Mustafa, "The Chosen One." Muhammad Mustafa was for him the source of everything good and useful in human life, and like the reformist poets of the nineteenth century he too saw one cause of the present miserable situation of the Muslims in the sad fact that they had been alienated from "the Prophet's beauty." They should know that his path is the only path that should and must be chosen! This thought permeates the quatrains in Iqbal's last poetical work; but he had already expressed it decades earlier in one of his great Urdu poems, *Jawab-i Shikwa* (The Answer to the Complaint). In this poem of 1912 God addresses the Muslims, to whose *Shikwa* (Complaint) he gives a long, powerful answer that ends with the command:

> Be faithful to Muhammad, then We too belong to you,
> Not only this world but Tablet and Pen belong to you! (Cf. *Bang-i Dara*, 1924)

A few years after writing these lines, Iqbal continued this thought in his *Asrar-i Khudi*. There he teaches no longer, as the majority of Sufi poets before him had done, the submersion of the human self in the ocean of the Divine Essence, where it would disappear like a raindrop, but rather the strengthening of the human personality (or individuality), which grows in increasing proximity to God, finally to reach a person-to-person encounter with Him, the Greatest Self. The

human self, however, can be strengthened only by love, and this love is inseparably connected with Muhammad. Therefore, Iqbal turns to the Prophet:

A beloved is hidden in your heart…
In the Muslim's heart, there is Muhammad's home,
All our glory is from Muhammad's name.

This same blessing power of the name of Muhammad, which as we have seen is a traditional topic of Islamic literature, had been mentioned in the end of the *Jawab-i Shikwa*, when Iqbal hears God's command:

Make high everything low with the strength of love, illuminate the world by Muhammad's name!

In the enthusiastic description of the Prophet in the third chapter of the *Asrar-i Khudi*, Iqbal goes even farther:

Eternity is less than a moment of his time,
Eternity receives increase from his essence.
He slept on a mat of rushes,
But the crown of Khosroes was under his people's feet.

In these lines Iqbal, following many not poets and in particular, it seems, Naziri, juxtaposes poverty and power, a contrast that serves him again and again in characterizing the Prophet's comprehensive character. We find it in verse written twenty years later:

Poverty and kingdom are Mustafa's inspirations;
They are the manifestations of Mustafa's essence.

This is an allusion to one of the favorite *hadith* in the Sufi tradition:

Poverty is my pride.

This poverty is not, however, destitution, or even less the neediness of the beggar; it is rather the state of someone who completely rests in God, the Eternally Rich (*al-ghani*), and therefore does not need secondary causes any more. In this twofold quality as "poor" and "powerful" the Prophet becomes the locus of manifestation of God's beauty, *jamal*, and His majesty, *jalal* those two complementary Divine attributes whose interplay alone can maintain the flow of created life. And the combination of these two aspects makes Muhammad the ideal prophet who (as is implied in this description) surpasses both the mildness of Jesus and the lawbound sternness of Moses, thus providing the exemplar of most perfect humanity.

In the hour of battle, iron melted before the radiance of his sword;
In the hour of prayer tears dropped from his eyes like raindrops.

This comprehensive greatness of the Prophet inspired Iqbal's poetry throughout his life. In his last years he returned to old mystical imagery to express this mystery of the Prophet's personality:

He is the meaning of Gabriel and the Qur'an
He is the watchman of the wisdom of God;
His wisdom is higher than reason…

Iqbal's more practical views on prophetology which, however, still preserve a strongly mystical flavor, are laid before the reader most clearly in the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*, the poem in which he discusses his social and political ideals. Here, Muhammad is compared, in the classical metaphor of light, to the lamp in the darkness of creation, a lamp that already existed when Adam was still "between water and clay."

Iqbal's purely mystical interpretation of the essence of the Prophet has been expressed most impressively in the *Javidname*. Here, in an ingenious turn, the poet puts a hymn in honor of the Prophet in the mouth of the martyr-mystic al-Hallaj, who, more than a thousand years before him, had composed the first grand description of the primordial Prophet, the source of light and of wisdom. In the poem Iqbal takes up once more the classical idea that '*abduhu*, "His servant," is the highest possible rank man can strive to reach, for during his heavenly journey the Prophet was given this same epithet (Sura 17:1). Moreover, Sura 53:10, which as we saw earlier is often interpreted as pertaining to the *mi'raj*, states that "God revealed to His servant what He revealed." In the Sphere of Jupiter in the *Javidname* Hallaj is asked about the mysteries of the Prophet and answers in a long poem:

"His servant" is higher than your understanding,
Since he is both man and essence.
His essence is neither Arabic nor Persian,
He is a man, and yet previous to Adam.
"His servant" is the painter of destinations,
in him lies the repair of ruins.
"His servant" is both soul-giving and soul-taking;
"His servant" is both glass and hard stone.
We all are waiting; he is the awaited one.
"His servant" is without beginning, without end,
"His servant"-where for him is morning and evening?
Nobody is acquainted with the secrets of "His servant"-
"His servant" is nothing but the secret of "but God."

The last line here once more takes up the idea that the Prophet, as God's most perfect servant, is the manifestation of God's activity, and the only way through which one can find the secret of the profession of faith: "There is no deity save God."

In Iqbal's thought this role of Muhammad as "His servant" is of special importance, for his ideal man, the *mard-i momin*, emulating the Prophet's example, is the most perfect servant of God and can reach the greatest possible approximation to God by assuming that role. This is basically the concept of the "sober" mystical orders of *qurb al-fara'iz*, "proximity to God brought about by sincerely following the Prophet's example" and doing one's duty in this world.

For Iqbal, the Prophet is much more than a luminous mystical figure who mediates the true faith to "this handful of dust," man; he is even more than the "servant of God" who stands beyond time and space and yet never becomes deified. He is also the leader of his community, the "beautiful model" not only for personal but also for political and social conduct, he "who opens the door of this world with the key of religion."

One should read such verses they occur frequently, for instance, in the *Asrar-i Khudi* and even more in the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*, in light of the correspondence that Iqbal conducted much later, in 1933, with Sayyid Suleyman Nadvi. He had asked his scholarly friend about the problem of *ijtihad-i nabawi*, that is, the capacity and power of the Prophet to decide independently juridical and other problems that are not discussed in the Qur'an. Sayyid Suleyman Nadvi replied that "the prophetic intelligence is higher than normal human intelligence" and that the prophet is guided in all his decisions on the absolutely right path. It is in fact this very capacity that made him the divinely guided leader of the community.

This political and social role of the Prophet becomes at times more central to Iqbal than his mystical aspects; and here he stands in the succession of the modernists. He speaks up most daringly in his poem *Nubuwwat* (Prophethood), written late in his life, when he asserts that though he cannot discuss the essence of nubuwwat as do theologians and mystics,

> That kind of prophet hood is hashish for the Muslim
> In which there is not the message of power and energy!

The poet-philosopher never tired of comparing the prophet who works in this world to the mystic who, as he says in the *Javidname*, is seduced by Satan to devote himself entirely to a retired life of

asceticism and to claim that only by such an otherworldly occupation can he reach his goal. At the beginning of the fifth lecture in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam Iqbal* has stated this problem with unusual clarity while interpreting the experience of the *mi'raj*:

> Muhammad of Arabia ascended the highest heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should have never returned.

These are the words of a great Muslim saint, 'Abdul Quddus of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will probably be difficult to find words which, in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of "Unitarian experience," and even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of "unitary experience" is something final; for the prophet it is the awakening, within him, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world. The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the prophet. Thus his return amounts to a kind of pragmatic test of the value of his religious experience.

Certainly, such a punitive experience during the *mi'raj* can be attained only by those with "high ambition" (*himmat*). Yet for them, it is only a moment away:

> For high ambition, it is just one step to the highest Throne!

For Iqbal, as for the other Indo-Muslim reformist theologians, the way in which the Prophet of Islam was depicted in European books was utterly repellent. Among the biographies available to him he selected for a special attack that of Aloys Sprenger[4], the Austrian orientalist who had worked for years in India and was, on the whole, more sympathetic to Islam and especially to the Islamic revival in India than most other Europeans. But Sprenger had claimed that the Prophet had been a psychopath[5], and this remark spurred Iqbal to a biting reply in one of his essays in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*:

> Well, if a psychopath has the power to give a fresh direction to the course of human history, it is a point of the highest psychological interest to search his original experience which has turned slaves into

> leader of men and has inspired the conduct and shaped the career of whole races of mankind. Judging from the various types of activity that emanated from the movement initiated by the Prophet of Islam, his spiritual tension and the kind of behaviour which issued form it, cannot be regarded as a response to a mere fantasy inside the brain. It is impossible to understand it except as a response to an objective situation generative of new enthusiasms, new organizations, new starting-points. If we look at the matter from the standpoint of anthropology it appears that a psychopath is an important factor in the economy of humanity's social organization.

Iqbal rightly saw that the true peculiarity of the prophetic message consisted in its power to free a people from traditional world views, to lead them from *Volksreligion* to *Weltreligion*, and "to oppose, with energetic consistency, those tenets in the Arabian philosophy of life" (as Goldziher wrote) that were entrenched in the old structures of family and clan. By destroying them the Prophet could form a spiritual community that was no longer based upon blood, race, or nation. The philosopher-poet expressed this idea in a fascinating chapter of the *Javidname* in which he makes the reader listen to the complaint of Abu Jahl, one of the bitterest adversaries of the Prophet among the Meccan aristocracy. This representative of pre-Islamic ideals of conduct curses the revolutionary activities of Muhammad, which run counter to all that was accepted by Bedouin and Meccan society:

> We are utterly heartsick because of Muhammad!
> His teaching has put out the lights of the Ka'ba!
> His religion abolishes the distinctions of race and blood-
> Though himself from Quraish, he disowns the superiority of the Arabs.
> In his religion the high and low are one,
> He ate out of the same dish with his slave!

And after enumerating a number of other "crimes" of the Prophet, the old Meccan chieftain concludes his long poetical sermon with a curse upon Muhamamd. Iqbal is certainly right in highlighting the supermational aspects of the Prophet; but he himself, like many other poets of Muslim India, also emphasizes the "Arabic" character of the Prophet and the Arabic roots of Islam.

On the whole, the negative portrayal of Abu Jahl fits well! With Iqbal's general attitude. Like most modernists, he stresses the antiracist, "democratic" teachings of Islam, particularly when contrasting them with the Hindu caste system. As early as 1910 he had interpreted the meaning of Muhammad's Hegira from Mecca to Medinah in a new, political sense. Mystics such as Maulana Rumi had

long used the same event as a paradigm for man's pilgrimage from this world to the spiritual realms. But Iqbal notes in his diary the interesting remark:

> Islam appeared as a protest against idolatry. And what is patriotism but a subtle form of idolatry; a deification of a material object?

What was to be demolished by Islam 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.

The choice of he Hegira as the beginning of the Muslim calendar was for Iqbal deeply meaningful had the Meccans immediately accepted Muhammad's message the course of history would have been different; by severing the bonds of family and clan the Prophet wanted to give an example to future generations. That is why Iqbal wrote (at about the same time that he jotted down similar thoughts in English prose as *Stray Reflections*) an Urdu poem, *Wataniyyat* (Patriotism), in which he states:

> To leave one's native country is the *sunna* of the beloved of God!

The growing nationalist tensions that he had witnessed as a student in England and Germany from 1905 to 1908, and that became such a dangerous factor in Near Eastern politics after the First World War, had incited Iqbal rather early on to develop an attitude that is incompatible with narrow political nationalism:

> Native country (*watan*) is something different in the right teachings of the Prophet,
> And native country is something different in the words of the politicians.

He therefore never ceased repeating that Islam is opposed to racism; indeed, "the greatest miracle which the Prophet performed was the formation of a (spiritually united) nation." One may see in this remark an echo of Sir Sayyid's statement that the "greatest miracle of Islam was the formation of a true community of believers out of gangs marauding Bedouins." The entire argument of the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* is based upon the nation-building power of the Prophet, and two decades after publishing that didactic poem Iqbal still was moved to repeat his point:

> The Prophet was able to perform the miracle of restoration by his word *Qum*, "Rise!"
> By awakening the call "God is greater [than anything else]" in the heart of a nation.

This conviction made him believe that humanity could begin a completely new life if they would only turn back to the same revelations brought by a God-sent messenger will create the greatest possible feeling of solidarity in a group of individuals, a feeling that will then spur the emerging group to unexpected heights of activity. Iqbal's argument here reminds one some-what of the teachings of the medieval North African philosopher of history, Ibn Khaldun, for whom the concept of '*asabiyya*, "esprit de corps, solidarity," formed the pivot of his philosophy; he too believed that this esprit de corps is strongest in a group motivated by religious fervor.

According to Iqbal, Muhammad has not only provided an example for the way such a supernational community of the faithful can and should be built; he is at the same time the symbol of the unshakable unity of that community. As early as in the *Asrar-i Khudi* the poet states, in his great encomium on the Prophet:

> We are like a rose with many petals but with one perfume:
> He is the soul of the society, and he is one.

The Prophet "is the heart in this handful of dust" of which mankind consists. That is, he is the life-giving power that transforms humanity into a living organism. Therefore all manifestations of singular, politically; based nationalist movements are for Iqbal nothing but new idols, national ism being a modern brand of Baal-worship. The ideal Muslim nation however, will not succumb to the temptation of Baal and the idols, a. described in the *Javidname* (in the Sphere of Venus), but will be kept alive by its heart, the Prophet.

From this vantage point Iqbal directed his hard criticism against various, nationalist movements in the Middle East, among them Iran under Raza Shah Pahlavi and Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (much though he had praised Atatürk after his victory over the Greeks in 1922). In the 1920s and early 1930s, Afghanistan seemed to him the only country in which the teachings of the Prophet were preserved in purity; that is why this country is specially mentioned in "Iblis's Advice to his Political Children" in *Zarb-i Kalim*, a poem in which Iqbal addresses the Spirit of Muhammad to inquire where his Muslims have gone, and where the camel driver, who leads the caravan with his song, has gone.

The *Javidname* contains in the Sphere of Mercury a long discussion about the concept of nationhood as conceived by the Prophet; and at the very end of his life Iqbal wrote, in a more prosaic style:

> It is a peculiar greatness of the Holy Prophet that the self-invented distinctions and superiority complexes of the nations of the world are

destroyed and there comes into being a community which can be styled *ummatan muslimatan laka* ["as a Muslim community for thee," Sura 2:122], and to whose thought the Divine dictate *shuhada 'ala'n-nas* ["witnesses for the people," Sura 22:78] justly applies 58.

The ideal community, *millat*, of which Iqbal dreamed should become the realization of all-embracing *tauhid*, the confession of Divine Unity that the Prophet had preached in his lifetime, and this community would follow the Prophet, who had shaped and realized by his example the ideals of universal freedom, equality, and fraternity. Therefore Iqbal said in the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*:

From Prophethood is our foundation in the world
From Prophethood has our religion its ritual,
From Prophethood are hundreds of thousands of us one,
Part from part cannot be separated.
From Prophethood we all have the same melody,
The same breath, the same aim.

The most important factor that can contribute to the formation of these ideals is glowing love for the Prophet, which would enable both the individual and the community to live in harmony, according to the exigencies of Divine love. Indeed, Iqbal maintains that dynamic love, the center of his poetical theology, is "all Mustafa"; analytical intellect can be equated with the archenemy of the Prophet, Abu Lahab. (The tendency of medieval Sufis to contrast Muhammad, the embodiment of love, to the philosophers, immediately comes to mind.)

Iqbal also develops another important idea: as Muhammad was the leader and the completion of a long line of God-sent messengers, so too should the nation created by him be the leader of nations and the final, hence most perfect, exemplar of a community based exclusively upon God.

He is the Seal of the Prophets, we that of the nations!

And as the Prophet was sent *rahmatan lil-'alamin*, "as Mercy for the worlds," the Muslims who belong to him should also be a manifestation of mercy for the people of the world. Iqbal went even farther in his analogy between the Prophet and the community. That God addressed the Prophet with the word *Laulaka* implies that every believer who strives to emulate the Prophet's example participates in this word as well. The world has been created for his sake and he has to act in it; and if this holds true of the Muslim individual it also holds true for the ideal community of the faithful, which, in succession to the Prophet, is expected to rule' the world supreme.

This leading role necessarily includes power: here too the individual Muslim as well as the community should realize in themselves the Prophet's power, as much as they seek his poverty, which rests in God's absolute richness. But Iqbal was certainly aware of the dangers that would oppose the realization of this Prophetic ideal, and he knew well that his dream of a return to the Golden Age of the first four caliphs could not really materialize; for he saw clearly that the Islamic peoples of his day were all too eager' to forget the Prophet's "poverty" and confuse "power" with mundane advantages.

Iqbal's interpretation of the Prophet in the mystical, religious, and political realms is generally similar to that of earlier mystical poets on the on hand, of modernist reformers on the other. But his ingenious way of combining these two major aspects of the tradition almost without a seam makes his work fascinating. Besides, the poet-philosopher also had specific contributions to offer to the field of prophetology, primarily in his interpretation of the doctrine of the finality of Muhammad's prophetship. Because the Koran states (Sura 5:5) that "Today We have perfected for you your religion," it had always been accepted that the revelation was indeed finished with Muhammad, the Seal of the Prophets. Iqbal himself expressed this conviction poetically in the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*:

> Now God has completed for us the Divine law,
> And has completed Prophethood for our Prophet.
> Now the office of cupbearer is given to us:
> He gave us the last goblet He had."

But what does the finality of Prophethood mean for Iqbal? Would not a new prophet be required to translate the message of the Koran into the language of our time? Iqbal's reply to this rhetorical question is very thought-provoking:

> The Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world. In him life discovers other sources of knowledge, suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islam… is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. 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 Qur'an has opened for mankind the endless field of scientific knowledge and methods because it teaches the importance of exact observation of natural and psychological phenomena; the admonition to observe God's signs "in the horizons and in themselves" (Sura 41:53) appears as the beginning of true scholarly research. Likewise the Prophet is, for Iqbal, the first critical observer of psychic phenomena, as he concludes from a hadith that tells of Muhammad's interest in observing a mentally deranged Jewish boy. It was this thirst for knowledge that led the Prophet to encourage studies and research. This interpretation of the Prophet's attitude is offered at the very beginning of the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*:

The search for rational foundations in Islam may be regarded to have begun with the Prophet himself. His constant prayer was: "God grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things!"

In poetical language, Iqbal had expressed this same conviction some years earlier in the dedicatory poem of the *Payam-i Mashriq*:

Even though he had seen the Essence of the Essence without veil, Yet the words "O God, increase me in knowledge!" came from his lips."

This verse was written to kindle the interest of Amanullah[6], then king of Afghanistan, in scholarly research and scientific activities. Iqbal's response to the problem of education is all the more remarkable when one remembers the traditional attitude of many *mullahs* in most Islamic lands, who were absolutely opposed to "worldly" knowledge and saw nothing but satanic insinuations in acquaintance with Western scientific methods. Iqbal however, following the earlier modernists, sought to prove that science had been brought to Europe during the Middle Ages by Muslim philosophers, physicians, and astronomers; in Europe it was developed to its present standards; and since it is a legitimate heirloom of the Muslims, it should be taken up again without hesitation for the benefit of the community.

The finality of Muhammad's prophetic office meant for Iqbal at the same time the opening of new ways in scientific research and a scientific world view. For this reason one of Iqbal's more radical interpreters, 'Inayatullah Mashriqi, the founder of the militant Islamic faction of the Khaksar in the North Western Frontier, went so far as to declare that modern scientists are the true successors of the Prophet. Somewhat later another interpreter of Iqbal's thought, Ghulam Parvaiz, claimed that only the door of *nubuwwa*, the

"personal" aspect of Muhammad's work, was closed, whereas the *risala*, the "ideology," was left to the Muslims to act upon and elaborate.

Thus Iqbal's unusual interpretation of the finality of Prophethood led to unexpected conclusions in certain progressive circles. Some leftists in India have drawn even more far-reaching conclusions from the paragraph quoted above, which has been misunderstood as condoning a purely scientific approach to life without the necessity of any prophetic guidance which meant, for such authors, the introduction of a plain Marxist scientific world view. Iqbal would have been horrified by such an atheistic interpretation of his words, for he had defined his viewpoint concerning the finality of Muhammad's message in another passage very lucidly:

> No spiritual surrender [is possible] to any human being after Muhammad, who emancipated his followers by giving them a law which is realizable as arising from the very core of human conscience. Theologically the doctrine is that the socio-political organization called Islam is perfect and eternal. No revelation, the denial of which entails heresy, is possible after Muhammad.

These words are directed against the modernist movement of the Qadianis, which had emerged in the late nineteenth century in the Punjab and whose founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, had uttered certain remarks that could be interpreted as arrogation of prophetic or, perhaps, messianic claims. Iqbal fought against this movement with all his strength, for he believed that the acceptance of the finality of Muhammad's message is really the factor which accurately draws the line of demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims and enables one to decide whether a certain individual or group is part of the community or not… According to our belief Islam as a religion was revealed by God, but the existence of Islam as a society depends entirely on the personality of the Holy Prophet.'

This is probably the most categorical definition of the political role of the Prophet in Iqbal's work. Iqbal's aversion to the Qadianis and the Ahmadiyya (as the more liberal group is called, which split off in 1914) is also expressed in a poem in which he voices his anger about those who refute the concept of "holy war" and instead discuss useless problems connected with the Messiah and the Mahdi. For he was deeply committed to the unquestioning trust that

For us, Mustafa is enough!

One should add here, out of fairness, that the chapter entitled "Muhammad, the Excellent Exemplar" in the book on Islam by Sir

Zafrulla Khan, a prominent jurist and member of the Ahmadiyya, is written with such heartfelt devotion that it would be difficult to see why it should be unacceptable to an orthodox Muslim. Iqbal, however, would have been happy to know that the Ahmadiyya was declared a non-Muslim religion in 1975.

When one recognizes the central position that the Prophet occupies in Iqbal's thought and poetry, many of his metaphors, images, and symbols appear in a new light. Thus the word "love" in his verse often denotes love of the Prophet or love inspired by him because he is the true embodiment of Divine Love, as Iqbal sings in the succession of Rumi and other mystics: the great ode "The Mosque of Cordova," like numerous other verses in the collection of his most mature Urdu poems, *Bal-i Jibril*, repeatedly equates "Love" with "Mustafa."

Likewise, Iqbal's constant allusions to Arabia, to the Najd and Hijaz, gain their real value in the light of his deep veneration of the "Arabian friend," as he loved to call the Prophet, following the example of many Indian poets before him. A key to Iqbal's way of thinking in this context is the final verse of his *Tarana-i Milli*, the "National Song," composed in the early years of this century:

> The caravan leader for us is the prince of Hijaz,
> By his name our soul acquires peace!
> This line is followed by the revealing words:
> Iqbal's song is as it were the sound of the caravan bell!

These words, which gave his first Urdu book its title, *Bang-i Dara* (The Call of the Caravan Bell), especially reveal the poet's close relation with the Prophet: acting as the bell on Muhammad's camel's leg, he guides with his sound the erring Muslims back to the central sanctuary of Mecca, and calls them to return, under his guidance, on the Prophet's way, leaving behind them the glittering streets of European life as well as the fragrant rose gardens of Persian mystical dreams.

Iqbal's work comprises theological and political, mystical and sociological interpretations of the Prophet. But toward the end of his life he turned once more to the Prophet as the faithful, loving, and consoling friend and sang in simple words, almost like one of the folk poets of his native Punjab, of his longing for the last resting place of the Prophet:

Just like a bird who in the desert night, Spreads out his wings when thinking of his nest.

And in an unforgettable image Iqbal sums up what millions and millions of pious Muslims have felt over the centuries and still feel about the Prophet:

Love of the Prophet runs like blood in the veins of his community.

(*And Muhammad in His Messenger. The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*, London, Chapel Hill, 1985, pp. 236-256)

Notes and References

1 Cf. M. Ikram Chaghatai: *Iqbal and Goethe*, Lahore, 1999.

2 "*Ju-i ab*", in *Payam-i Mashriq*, Lahore 1972, pp. 129-130.

۳ رحیم بخش شاہین: تیسری گول میز کانفرنس اور اقبال (اقبال ریویو، جولائی ۱۹۷۷ء، ص ۷۹-۱۲۵)

4 (1813-1893), see my *Qadeem Dehli College*, Lahore, 2012, op. cit.

5 *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, 3 vols. Berlin, 1865.

6 Cf. my *Iqbal, Afghan and Afghanistan*, Lahore, 2004.

IQBAL-A BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

In the early 1960's a Pakistan hockey team came to Germany and the first thing they asked after landing in Frankfurt was to see the Goethe House because the name of Goethe was known to them as he was one of the two great figures to inspire Iqbal, the national poet of Pakistan. I sometimes ask myself a German hockey team that comes to Lahore would go immediately to the mausoleum of Iqbal that is located so beautifully the steps of Badshahi Mosque do not think that would happen. And yet they would have every reason to do so. Because among all the Islamic modernists Iqbal seems to be the only one who was able to form a bridge between Eastern and Western culture and civilization.

Many of us here (in the West) time and again talk about fundamentalism and the resurgence of militant Islam and on and so forth. We are often confronted with remarks in the newspapers or in the news media about the dangers of Islam. We often hear stories of modernists who tried to interpret Islam in a different way than it was common until now. When one studies, however, the words of most of these scholars in the Islamic world between Morocco and Indonesia, and nowadays even in the United States, one feels that they may know their own tradition very well and they may know either French or English traditions in the philosophical field. But to my knowledge there is no one who has tried to grasp not only the philosophical aspects of European thought, but also to deeply delve into the literary and poetical aspects. And it is here that Iqbal has played a remarkable role in bringing the best of European, and here in particular, of the German culture to the Subcontinent.

When I was a very young student at Berlin University I happened to read Nicholson's article on Iqbal's *Javidname* R. A. Nicholson was the first European orientalist to become interested in Iqbal's work. We owe him the translation and introduction of Iqbal's major first/and Persian *masnavi* – the *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Sell) add in later times, he has worked to make the thoughts of the great thinker and poet better known in the West. This article which was

published in 1924-1925, in the journal *Islamica* in Germany, dealt with a very Special work by Iqbal, *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East). Written or rather published in 1923, it was his answer to Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan*. And when Goethe had echoed Islamic culture, in the years 1815 to 1819 by writing his Divan under the influence of Hāfiz and other oriental thinkers and poets, then, more than a century later, Iqbal look up this idea and began to write a book, dedicated to King Amanullah of Afghanistan, and conjuring up the spirit of Goethe, who seems to be his twin brother, the one who is closest to him in his but as he said, he has lived in the beautiful gardens. He is like a sword that has been taken out of a scabbard and is shining in the sunshine. I am still in the scabbard shining here in a country full of dust. The idea that Goethe is buried in the *Gulistan* (The Rose Garden) of Weimar, occurs incidentally already in a rather early written poem by Iqbal, when he compares the admired German thinker to one of the greatest Urdu poets of India, namely Mirza Ghalib.

It is amazing to see that a philosopher and poet from the Subcontinent should become so interested in German and western culture. Let us first have a very brief look at the development that led to this interest. Iqbal was born in 1877 in Sialkot, in the Punjab. After studying in Lahore, he obtained a scholarship to go to England, thanks to Sir Thomas Arnold, one of the leading orientalists of the time. It was not only his studies of Philosophy and Law in Cambridge that made Europe so interesting for him. He was at that time deeply influenced by Hegelian philosophy. But a stay of several months in Germany made him completely ecstatic about German culture and literature. His spiritual friend, the famous 'Atiya Begum of Bombay, wrote, "He was all for German culture."

The weeks in Heidelberg where he learned German, remained in his memory for a long time. And in Munich he finally submitted his thesis to Professor Hommel, a scholar of semitic languages who had to rely completely on Sir Thomas Arnold's positive evaluation of the work, because the topic was very far away from his own interest. And here again we have one of the vantage points from which Iqbal took his flights into higher spheres. The topic of his thesis was, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. With this book he has for the first time in the history of Oriental Studies, tried to show that there is an underlying current in the history and spiritual life of Iran beginning in ancient Persia and ending up with modern movements like the Babis and Bahais.[1]

His studies into metaphysics of eastern thinkers were so interesting that they form in a certain way the bases on which scholars like Alexander Bansent and Henry Corbin [1903-1978] have built up their systems in which they try to show in detail the thought of the great illuminators.

Iqbal returned to Lahore where he was greeted warmly in 1908. And his stay in Europe had not only made him aware of philosophical and literary currents but also of the problems in politics and economics. Something that shocked him, like the movement of the Suffragettes in London, is noted down in his *Stray Reflections*, a note book of 1910, as also his admiration for Goethe whose *Faust* is only short of divine workmanship.

Goethe was the Great Spirit who influenced him and with whom he tried to compare himself, discovering that he was only a small person compared with such world-encompassing spirit.

Iqbal had been known in his home country as a poet in Urdu. He had published his first poems in the beginning of the century mainly in the journal *Makhzan* [Lahore, 1901]. And slowly his at that time still romantic kind of poetry took a different form; it was a disappointment with the political situation. It was the problems of the growing communalism in Indian Subcontinent under English rule. And it was also the Balkan war in which the Turks were defeated so miserably and the Indians had sent out a medical mission to help them. Then came out of this disappointment his great poem *Shikwa* (The Complaint) and *Jawab-e-Shikwa* (The Answer to the Complaint). These are poems written to remind the Indian Muslims of the greatness of their previous culture.

It is the first great scolding poem that Iqbal wrote. And his main idea that became clearer and clearer, namely, that man has to strive and to struggle is already expressed in a nut shell in these lines as in his other poems written between 1910 and 1914 in Urdu.

But it was in 1915 that the work appeared by which he shocked (many of his admirers). It was called *Asrar-e-Khudi* (The Mysteries of the Self). The word '*khudi*' has, generally, in Islamic mystic connotation, rather pejorative meaning. It means ego, an ego that has to be done away with, has to be annihilated, so that the soul can emerge again in the infinite ocean of the Divine, But for Iqbal this word *khudi* has a different meaning, And as it is the central concept which stands from 1915 to the very end of his life in 1938, in the centre of his theology and philosophy, we may as well ask what did

he mean by *Khudi*. He himself in his *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, which were published after he gave those lectures in Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh, usually translates the word with ego. That is correct of course, but many of the misunderstandings that have arisen from this translation could be removed if we would choose the translation "individuality" or "personality." Because what he aims at is not a strengthening of the ego in its negative and material aspect, rather he wants to teach man to develop his individual self, his immortal part, so that he finally is able to overcome the shock of the bodily death and continue developing in the spiritual world.

This interpretation seems to be perhaps a little bit novel, but interestingly, I could find the same use of the word *khudi* in a work which Iqbal may have read after 1910 namely the great book by Maulana Rumi *Fihi ma Fihi*, which contains a collection of Rumi's talks. And there is one of the passages, he speaks of *khudi* exactly in this sense, that this is the immortal part, the unchanging part in man which should be' purified until it becomes purified, like gold and then continue in eternity.

And here we come to a name which becomes very central for him in his future years, the name of Maulana Rumi. In *Payam-e-Mashriq*, we find one scene which, incidentally, induced me to devote, my work to Iqbal, a scene in which our poet makes Goethe and Maulana Rumi meet in Paradise. Because both of them, as he says, are not prophets, but they have a book. Goethe has his *Faust*. Maulana Rumi has his great *masnawi*-Persian poem of some 26,000 verses in which he collected the mystical wisdom and lore as it was found in the Islamic world up to the thirteenth century.

Goethe himself was not particularly fond of Rumi because he had only a few translations which had appeared in 1818 and he could not really have picture for himself of Rumi's poetry. But as Iqbal in a footnote of the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, this must have been rea11y a mistake, because someone who was fond of Spinoza and had befriended Jorlano Bruno must be definitely fond of Maulana Rumi as well.

So he bridges the gap and puts the two together in paradise. Both of them he feels are the representatives of divine love and are against cold intellect. "From Adam love, from Satan cunning intellect," this line from Rumi's *masnawi* forms the end of the beautiful meeting between his two spiritual guides.

I think the interpretation of this poem leads us indeed into the heart of Iqbal's thought. When he published the *Asrar-i-Khudi*, one had claimed that he must have been under the pernicious influence of Nietzsche. Nietzsche's superman had become quite well known everywhere in the world. Although we should not target that in the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, a number of philosophies developed which postulated the development of something like a superman.

Nietzsche's superman, however, was the most famous of all. And the people who had a little idea of European philosophy would read Iqbal's *Asrar* and say, oh! He speaks of the necessity of being hard, he uses words known from Nietzsche, namely that you should be a diamond not a piece of charcoal. He tells you not to be a dew-drop, not a soft little bird, but a strong falcon. These are all Nietzschean ideas. And when he speaks of the fully developed man, that is definitely the Nietzsche's superman.

However, there is an enormous difference between Nietzsche's superman and the *Mard-e-Momin*, the man, the true believer, the true faithful as Iqbal shows him in his poetry. The *Mard-e-Momin*, is, as he repeals, time and again in his poetical work both in Persian and Urdu, is the one who is the most perfect servant of God. In the *Javidname* in a famous story, he makes the martyr-mystic Hallaj sing a hymn, in honour of the Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h.). And here the highest name of the Prophet is *Abduhoo* (His Slave). A term found twice in the Qur'an in the beginning of Sura 17 and Sura 53. Both of them speaking of the highest visionary experiences of the Prophet.

And the Sufis, the Islamic mystics, had from the very times onward always emphasized that if the Prophet, in the highest mystical experience, is still *Abduhoo* (The Slave of God) then this must be the highest possible rank a human being could aspire to. And so for Iqbal, the true *Mard-e-Momin* is the one who has realized in himself his position as the true servant of God moat perfectly. Only then is he capable of ruling time and space, because having purified his individuality and having lost his own will completely.

In the will of God, he has to have come, so to speak, on the same wave-length as of God. Whatever God reveals to him during the time of prayer he has to implement on earth. The contrast between *Khalwa*, the intimate loneliness in which mankind can speak with God, and *Jilwa* the manifestation of the experiences which have been made during this period of dialogue, is one of Iqbal's central points.

That means Iqbal's Perfect or Perfected Man, is someone who appears only, to use Nietzsche's concept, after God has 'died,' rather he is the one who has come closest to God in his realization of his perfect servanthood. And think this is the difference that is much too great to be glossed over or to be misunderstood.

In fact, Iqbal's image of the human personality is much more in tune with Goethe's image than with that of Nietzsche's. Nietzsche appears time and again in his publication in 1932, where he is seen work up to the *Javedname*, swinging beyond the spheres in eternal repetition of one single verse in which he expresses his unfulfilled longing for something else, namely, as we may assume, for the God he had supposed had died.

But Goethe had given Iqbal many of his central concepts. Those who know Goethe well will immediately find that Iqbal's concept of *khudi* as much as we can trace it back to Rumi's *Fihi ma Fihi*, is a kind of personality and we all know in the *Westoostlicher Divan*, the line that "the highest happiness of human beings is personality, the development of personality." And we can also remember from the line in the *Westoostlicher Divan* that "I have been a human being and that means I have been a struggling being."

This is one of Iqbal's main ideas when he speaks of man. Man's entire life should consist in his fight with the lower potencies, with the lower quality, with that which is manifested and personalized in the figure of Satan, of *Iblis*.

For Iqbal, the Qur'anic story of Satan refusing to fall down before man, after Adam's creation, becomes quite different from what it is in normal theological interpretation. Adam was thrown out of paradise. But that was not. It was to give him the chance of development. Paradise is a kind of periodical state, and by being thrown on the earth, this handful of dust was called to fight and to struggle and develop from stage to because of a sin he had committed stage until, perhaps at the end of time, he will reach a state of the perfected human being.

Iqbal has sung of this myth in various works. Especially in great five-part poem *Taskhir-i-Fitrat*, in *The Message of the East*, where you can find the earth waiting for this strange being which will come and you can find how Adam finally thanks for this opportunity to develop himself constantly fighting with the powers of evil. It is the *Jihad-i-Akbar* that the prophet had called, the struggle against Nufs, one's lower soul, which is required reach to spiritual heights.

And here again with *Iblis*, the satan, as the spirit, who enables man to develop his best sides just by struggling with him, we have again an echo of Goethe's Mephistopheles. The spirit that constantly denies and that is sent by God in order to give life a little bit more colour just by pricking the human being and spurring him to do something better.

And it is also the idea that Mephistopheles is after all necessary counterpart of the Faustian human being. That what Iqbal's satan does. It is this context that one part of the *Javidname* was particularly which was inspired by *Faust*, as well as by Milton and by Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Iqbal in the company of Rumi, travels through the different heavenly spheres and talks to theologians and thinkers touchy in highest Persian poem and poets not only of Islam but the whole world. And at the end the Jupiter sphere, after having met those who are burning in love like the martyrs of lore Hallaj, Tahira and Ghalib. Hallaj is asked say something about Iblis. And we have to remember in classical Islamic lore, Hallaj was the first who invented the story that the refusal of Satan to prostrate himself before the newly created Adam is basically a kind of acknowledgement of God's unity, He refuses to bow down for anyone but God. And so he becomes in the theology of Hallaj, the great lover who will rather be separated from his beloved than disobey him by falling down for someone else, This idea of satan as the great lover was of course objected to by the orthodox, but it has left its traces in various Muslim mystics such as Ruz Bihyan Baqli, and interestingly in India, in the work of Sarmad, the poet who was executed in 1661[2], and even in the work of great Sindhi poet 'Abdul Latif, as in his *Risalu*, where '*Izazil* (Satan), was the real lover.

Iqbal does not go that far. But he makes *Iblis* appear all of sudden from the darkness of the falling evening, an old man, sad and unhappy just as in the description of Nietzsche Then atan begins to pray to God. He prays complaining about mankind which is much too obedient. It's really no fun, he says, for an old man like him to have these and unhappy just as in the playthings around, who do everything he wants. And he implores God to send him a strong man with whom he can struggle and who finally will break his neck and overcome him so that he can no longer do anything evil.

This is the same idea that we have in the *Taskhir-e-Fitrat*. At the end of time, man will overcome Satan and he will perform the prostration which he had not done at the beginning of time. It is a most ingenious mythology with elements from both Islamic mystical

thought and also from Goethe's *Faust*. And the morel read Iqbal, the more! Feel that he was perhaps the one who had understood the Faustian spirit better than anyone else.

We were once told by someone whom Iqbal had known for a long time that he claimed to be able to interpret many difficult passages of the second part of the *Faust* to the Germans, because he lived in this atmosphere in the spiritual wells of allusions and of classical form and of mystical ideas which was so common to the time of Goethe and which modern people have completely forgotten certainly a ring of truth in it. Someone who knows the classical Islamic literature, particularly Islamic mysticism, so deeply, be much more conversant with the idea of the late Goethe than I think. This statement has someone who has grown up in non-mystical and visually non-religious environment in the late 20th century.

Notes and References

[1] A. Schimmel: "Iqbal and the Babi-Baha'i" (in: *Baha'i Faith and Islam*, Ed. Heshmat Moayyad, Ottawa 1990, pp. 111-119)

[۲] رقعاتِ سرمد کا ایک کم یاب مخطوطہ از محمد سہیل عمر اور خالد ندیم (ر: تحصیل (کراچی)، نمبر ۷ (جولائی تا دسمبر ۲۰۲۰ء)، ۷۹-۱۰۶،

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IQBAL AND HALLAJ

The climax of Muhammad Iqbal's *Javidname* is, without doubt, the appearance of the three "zindiqs", Hallaj, Ghalib and Tahira, in the Heaven of Jupiter – the sphere which was always considered that of the greatest fortune, the dwelling place of religious leaders and Gnostics. The pure spirits of those three great lovers lead the poet to the deepest mysteries of Being and Not – Being, of predestination, of the role of the prophets and that of Satan. It is – the two sweet songs of Tahira and a few lines of Ghalib excepted – Hallaj who appears here as speaker; Hallaj, against whose mysticism Iqbal had written 25 years ago in his thesis.

What are the teachings of Hallaj, and what is his role in the history of Sufism?

Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj[1], the wool-carder, in Sufi literature often quoted only as Mansur, the "victorious," was born in the same year in which the great Egyptian mystic Dhu'n-Nun died, i.e. in 859. From his native province, Fais, he came to Baghdad the centre of mystic life during the 9th and early 10th century. Here, the classic *tasawwuf* had developed, beginning with the austere ascetic preacher Hasan al-Basri, and Rabia, the ardent lover, to Muhasabi with his sober self-control, to Sari as-Sakati and, at last, his nephew Junayd– to mention only the most famous teachers beside whom there lived numberless Sufis trying to experience the gnosis, the love of God, the *tauhid* in its different aspects, and, striving for the *fana fillah* and its positive side, the *baqa billah* Hallaj joined them, but was not on very good terms with his master Junayd who is said to have cursed him. For a year or so, Hallaj stayed at Mecca, performing some miracles there. Then he went to the East, we are told, embarking for India in order to learn something of the Yogi practices there, he is also said to have gone to Turkistan.

After having returned to Baghdad he was prisoned in 913; the Government and most of the "fuqaha", and even a great part of the Sufis, accused him of conspiracy with the Carmatians, and of impiety. In 922, on March 26th, he was cruelly put to death. This execution, said the Sufis, was a punishment sent by God because

Hallaj had openly announced the ineffable mystery of Divine Lovehe had exclaimed "*Ana-l Haqq*", "I am the creative Truth –a word which must be unacceptable for both strict orthodoxy and moderate mysticism. And therefore, even most of the Sufis of his time, with the exception of the pious Sheykh Ibn Khafiq of Shiraz and the great Abu 'Ali Rudhbari, did neither agree with his mystic theories of the *huwa huwa* (which means that man is the personal, living witness of God) nor did they understand the deeper meaning of his famous utterance *Ana-l Haqq*, which is not at all the cry of an intoxicated lover who has lost his self-control, but the quintessence of his mystic doctrines, which must not be interpreted in a pantheistic sense, as was done after Ibn 'Arabi's time.

But some time after his death the personality of Hallaj was transformed by legend and, perhaps, by deeper understanding,

He now "stands out, pre-eminently as a man of sorrows striving with all his heart to fulfill the Divine Command, no matter at what cost of suffering to himself". (Nicholson, MC 328)

He becomes the prototype of the great lover who sheds his blood in endless love and who becomes "Mansur" (victorious) in his death on the gibbet: –Maulana Rumi has once compared the red rose on its bough to Mansur…

The influence of Hallaj's ideas, the impression left by his personality, is very clearly felt in the poetry and prose of Fariduddin 'Attar who considered him his spiritual guide. As to Jalaluddin Rumi, both the *Mathnavi* and the *Diwan-i Shams-i Tabriz* are filled with allusions to the martyr of love (TXXXV, M II 1398).

مامست الستیم بیک جرعه چو منصور

اندیشـــه فتـــولی ســـردار نـــداریم

Turkish poetry from its beginnings sings the story of Mansur's love, of the dangerous way of love and affliction, and a lot of details from Hallaj's life are quoted by such poets as Nesimi who, like him, was killed for heterodoxy and those, like his admired master, "performed the ablution for prayer with his own blood". And Pir Sultan Abdual, in the 16th century, too, is during his imprisonment and suffering "not wounded by the stones thrown at him but only by the rose thrown by his friend" – just as Hallaj sighed only when his disciple Shibli threw a rose at him. "For he knows what he does", said he. And even though Hallaj's name be not mentioned, a symbol used by most of the Oriental poets is borrowed from his work: the

story of the moth throwing itself into the fire of the candle – a centuries old symbol of the annihilation, the *fana fillah*. It is written in the famous *Kitab at-Tawasin* where Hallaj tells us in short harmonious sentences the lot of the lover who, having reached the point of union, will never return to his companions.

الفراش يطير حول المصباح الى الصباح و يعود الى الاشكال فيخبرهم عن الحال يا لطف المقالثم يمرح بالدلال طمعا الوصول الى الكمال ضؤ المصباح علم الحقيقة و حرارته حقيقة الحقيقه و الوصول اليه حق الحقيقة.

But we must not forget that Hallaj during the Middle Ages had become not only the poetical hero of painful love but also, in the view of later Sufism, a representative of pantheistic monism, of *wahdat al-wujud*. Since in the 13th century the mystical philosophy of Ibn-ul 'Arabi had fully developed the idea of *wahdat al-wujud*, the Islamic mystics became deeply submerged in those theories, and the words and doctrines of classical Sufis like Junayd, Hallaj and so on were interpreted according to this monistic philosophy which was actually not contained in their monistic philosophy which was actually not contained in their teaching. The classic *tasawwuf*, even Hallaj's has always – or nearly always – stressed the transcend once of God, and seen the relation of man to Him as the relation of Creature to his Creator, later on as that of Lover to the Beloved. But after Ibn-i 'Arabi these thoughts were completely transformed and interpreted according to the great Spanish Sheikh's views, those views which Iqbal did not appreciate at all, because he clearly saw the dangerous consequences of monistic pantheism and understood that it was not compatible with the prophetic spirit of Islam. That is why he wrote in his thesis on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, in 1908:

"This streaming became measureless pantheistic in Hallaj who, in the spirit of the Upanishads, cried: *Ana-l-Haqq* – that means: 'Aham Brahmasmi'", a statement which is re-echoed in the re-echoed in the verses of the *Zabur-i 'Ajam*:

Do not speak of Shankara and Mansur!
Search God always in the way of the Ego!
Be lost in thyself in order to realize the Ego –
Say 'Ana-l-Haqq' and become the 'Siddiq' of the Ego!"

Here, Iqbal confronts Hallaj again with the most erudite and consequent commentator of the Vedic Upanishads, Shankara, who was his contemporary and who is perhaps the greatest representative

of the pure "mysticism of infinity", the most important philosopher of the "advayta".

In the meantime, between the writing of his thesis and that verse from the *Zabur*, Iqbal had become acquainted with the important studies' of the French scholar L. Massignon who had edited the *Kitab at-Tawasin* after 1913, after publishing, in 1922, his enormous work *La Passion d'al Husayn ibn Mansur l-Hallaj*, *martyre mystique de l'Islam* and several other valuable works on the same subject. Iqbal must have read the *Kitab at-Tawasin*[2] in 1918 or 1916, for he mentions it in a letter to Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, dated the 17th May 1919, where he says that the fundamental ideas o£ Mansur had now become clear to him, but nevertheless he did not show any sympathy for the famous martyr of love. We cannot guess at what time Iqbal began to change his attitude towards Hallaj; we only see the reorientation o£ his attitude in the *Javidname*. Here, the *Kitab at-Tawasin* has inspired the poet to invent the beautiful "tawasin of the Prophets" in the Moon-Sphere –"tawasin" being the plural of "tasin", the mysterious letters at the beginning of Sura 26-28.

As to Massignon, he has succeeded in proving that in the theology of Hallaj the pure transcendence of God is maintained at the same time as is the presence of God by His grace in the heart of the Believer when it has been purified by the observance of spiritual discipline and rites, (*Passion*, 116). Man is created in order that the love of God may be apparent in the world; he is an image of God Himself, and God has chosen him from Eternity to Eternity by looking at him in love. So he becomes, endowed with the Divine attributes, *huwa huwa* (He, He). It is important that Adam is said to be created from the Not-being, not having emanated from God, and that his spirit also is created. And, even more important, Hallaj holds that "the Divine Unity does not result in destroying the personality of the mystic-but it makes him more perfect, more sacred, more divine, and makes him its free and living organ".

For according to Hallaj, the mystery of creation can only be understood if we realize that the essence of the Divine Essence is Love, creative Love, "essential desire", as Massignon, has pointed out in an important article. It is quite typical that Hallaj, in order to describe this Divine Love, uses the term '*ishq*; a term that means dynamic love and was quite suspect at that time even among the Sufis. The term *muahabbat*, a more static conception, had not even then been accepted by the pious of the 9th century for expressing the relation' of man and God. This '*ishq*, as Hallaj calls the Divine

Essence, tries to draw man nearer to God and the last goal of Divine Grace is that man may partake of this Essential Love. But love involves numberless afflictions, separation from the people, grief, tears, sighs–the word "to live without wounds means not to live-one must live with fire under the feet" are quite correctly put in Hallaj's mouth by Iqbal. This kind of love means longing for death, and the hope to be slain is an offering the ignorant bring to their Lord. Therefore, the beautiful poetical prayers of Hallaj are filled with the cry:

> Kill me, my intimate, for being killed is my life...

A *qasida* which has been studied by Suhrawardi Halabi, Ibn 'Arabi and other mystics, and especially by Jalaluddin Rumi who has alluded to it several times in his *Mathnavi* (pass. 928). The most touching story explaining the identity of love and suffering can be read in the *Tazkairat ul-Auliya*:

> They asked Hallaj: 'What is love?' He answered: 'You will see it today and to-morrow and the day after tomorrow'-That day they cut off his hands and feet, the other day they killed him, and the third day they gave his dust unto the wind...

In the *Javidname* a verse sung by Tahira is reminiscent of the legend and the symbol of the moth which after having, experienced complete union with the Beloved, will never return:

> At last the gibbet and rope were his lot –
> He did not return alive from the street of the Beloved.

But the most interesting question which arises when we remember the name of Hallaj, is that of the famous *Ana-l Haqq*. We do not know precisely whether Hallaj pronounced that word in the presence of his master Junayd or not; it is now preserved in the 6th chapter of the *Kitab at-Tawasin*. The meaning of *Haqq* is here, according to Hallaj, the Creative Essence of God, the Creative Truth. It is the cry of some one who feels that the "ruh natiqah", the uncreated Divine Spirit, has transformed him and that he is now the living witness of God, the uncreated Spirit of God being united by Divine Grace with the created spirit of man.

It is clear that the following generation of Sufis have tried to explain this dangerous statement of the martyr mystic in different ways, its theological foundation being forgotten by most of them. According to some of them Hallaj in ecstasy completely lost his personality and it was God who spoke through his mouth. As to Ghazzali, who always takes the orthodox attitude, this exclamation

has been a delusion, and–if announced in public-dangerous illusion, an exaggerated utterance of the loving heart when it is intoxicated with love so deeply that it cannot feel the difference between itself and the Beloved. But is may also be the illumination brought by the divine name *al-Haqq* into the heart of the believer meditating on this name. Only in the *Mishkat al-Anwar* Ghazzali agrees that the vision of Divine Beauty can have led Hallaj to that cry. But even when quoting his sayings and prayers he seldom mentions the name of Hallaj.

The most charming explanation of *Ana-l Haqq* is given by Abdulqadir Gilani. We quote it, because some of the metaphors used by the great Iraqian mystic (who, nevertheless, did not accept Hallaj as a saint) are very close to those used by Iqbal:

> One day the reason of one Gnostic flew away from the tree of his outward form and came into Heaven where he broke through the ranks of the angels; it was one of falcons of the world whose eyes are covered hood called 'Man has been created weak'. (Qur'an IV), and he did not find in Heaven anything he could hunt, and when he saw the prey `I have seen my Lord' he was bewildered that his goal might say to him 'Where so ever turn (Qur'an 2:278) and he descended again, in order to gain a fling which is more precious than fire at the bottom of the sea; and he turned the eyes of his reason and did not see but his traces, and he returned and did not find in this world and in the other world another goal than his Beloved. And he became glad and said, with the intoxication of his heart, 'Ana-I Haqq' singing tunes which are not allowed to mankind, and whistling in the garden of Existence in a way that is not given to the sons of Adam, and he modulated with his voice such a modulation that it brought him to death…

It is interesting to see in this commentary of Gilani the motif of the bird. Iqbal has, in the Jupiter-Sphere, painted Hallaj as an always-flying bird-like spirit; an allusion to the beautiful saying of Hallaj's commentator Ruzbihan Baqli who called his spiritual master "the king of the birds of love". And the idea that angels and even God are the "prey of the longing heart"; occurs often in Iqbal's poetry.

What Gilani expressed is seen from the standpoint of the "*wahdat-al-shuhud*": the vision of God is the real prey of the seeker. He has, on the other hand, touched the problem of the "ifsha as-sirr". Since it is forbidden to tell people: the great mysteries of Divine Love and Union, Hallaj, who did not refrain himself from doing so, had to be punished.

We need not say that, contrary to those of Gilani, the explanation given by Ibn 'Arabi to "*Ana-l Haqq*" is completely formed by his

monistic philosophy-but healters the expression *al-Haqq* into *Haqq* and can thus say: "I am Truth, I am the mystery of God's Truth in visible things". As to Maulana Rumi, Iqbal's spiritual guide, he has compared the situation of one who cries "Ana-I Haqq" to that of iron cast into the fire (*Math* II 1347): the colour of iron lies in the colour of fire; iron calls: "I am the Fire, you may touch me and understand that I am really fire..." That means that the union is not a sentential one (for iron remains materially and substantially iron), but a union of the attributes, iron takes the heat, the colour of fire. It is interesting that this 'Iron-and-Fire Symbol" has been used by mystics of all religions, from orthodox Greek, Catholic and Protestant mystic writers to the Hindu saint Lal Das, a friend of Prince Dara Shikoh, to express the union of the human and the divine.

But Rumi has even another important verse about the "Ana-1 Haqq"

> To say 'I' in due time is Divine grace, To say `I' in undue time is curse –
> The 'I' of Mansur became grace,
> That of Firaun became curse.

We may find here an interesting parallel to Iqbal's problem of the Ego!

And therefore, I think, it will be interesting to quote the important passage from the six *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought* in which Iqbal, acknowledging especially that Divine side of Hallaj's "I", shows how his attitude towards the great mystic has changed:

> Devotional Sufism alone tried to understand the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Qur'an declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge, the other two being History and Nature. The development of this experience in the religious life of Islam reached its culmination in the well-known words of Hallaj: 'I am the creative Truth'. The contemporaries of Hallaj, as well as his successors, interpreted these words pantheistically; but the fragments of Hallaj, collected and published by the French Orientalist M. Massignon, leave no doubt that the martyr saint could not have meant to deny the transcendence of God. The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realization and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality. The phrase of Hallaj seems almost a challenge flung against the *Mutakallimin*. The difficulty of modern students of religion, however, is that this type of experience, though perhaps perfectly normal in its beginning, points, in its maturity, to unknown levels' of consciousness...

And in another passage, when Iqbal describes what he calls *Iman* and its "living assurance begotten of a rare experience", he points out that:

> this is one way in which unitive experience expresses itself.

In the history of religious experience in Islam which, according to the Prophet, consists in the creation of divine attributes in man, this experience has found expression in such phrases as "I am the creative truth" (Hallaj), "I am Time" (Muhammad), "I am the speaking Qur'an" ('Ali), "Glory to me" (Bayazid). In the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite Ego; it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite." (110)

Iqbal has seen here in Hallaj the great example of living fait and it is, therefore, not astonishing that in the, *Javidname* the famous Sufi is shown as a kind of representative of dynamism, as a fore-runner of the poet himself. Iqbal has even put in his mouth a *ghazal* which had been published a decennium earlier in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, and has called him the ardent preacher of desire and of free will. But more than that: two subjects in the Heaven of Jupiter are especially interesting and their being discussed in connection with Hallaj may, at first sight, seem somewhat strange to those readers who are not acquainted with the philosophy of Hallaj. But here we must admire Iqbal's great erudition and art: not mentioning the notorious and perhaps dangerous "Ana-l-Haqq" in connection with the martyr mystic, he has chosen two other main subjects of his thought, subjects to be found in the *Kitab ut-Tawasin*. They are the prophetology and the idea of Satan as the only true worshipper.

The beautiful passage in the *Javidname* in which Hallaj praises the Prophet in sweet and ardent verses and discovers the meaning of *abduhu*, His servant, is without doubt, written under the influence of the *Kitab at-Tawasin* in which a kind of "Muhammad-mysticism" is taught. There, the chapters called *tasin al-fahm* and *tasin an-nuqta* praise the high qualities of the Prophet, alluding to his mi'raj and to the mysterious words of the *Surat an-Naym*, and in the first chapter, the *tasin as-siraj*, Hallaj sings the beautiful attributes of him, "whose light was created before all things, whose being preceded the Not-being, whose name existed before the Divine Pen, and who came before all mankind, who is the Lord of Mankind, whose name is Ahmad ... " and so on.

And "*abduhu*" is, according to an old mystic tradition ascribed to Qattani, the most honoured rank man can reach – for in the *Surat-al-Isra*, the deepest mystery of the ascension is alluded to with the words سبحان الذی اسری بعبده It is therefore impossible to imagine a rank higher than that of ('*abduhu*).

Though in some verses on mysticism, and especially on the doctrine of Jana Iqbal is not very faithful to the historical Hallaj, he has summarized the idea of early Islamic mysticism on Paradise in the words of Hallaj:

> The ascetic is a stranger in this world, the lover is a stranger in the other world.

For the real lover does not wish anything but God Himself–a subject often treated in Sufism, beginning from Rabia and her fellow-mystics, often repeated also in Iqbal's poetry. Paradise is only a veil which separates the lover from his beloved. Those who adore God in the hope of Paradise are like hirelings, wanting from their Lord a good reward. Even the ascetic, giving up this world, longs for paradisean rewards and hopes to find in Paradise all the pleasures he refrains from enjoying here. But the real lover flies from Paradise towards the vision of the Beloved and is never satisfied with the created pleasure of future life.

Just as Iqbal has developed the thoughts of Hallaj in the '*abduhu*' verses, he has laid stress upon another point of Hallaj's thought, the idea of Iblis.

What about the appearance of Satan at the end of the chapter "Heaven of Jupiter"? Hallaj, answering a question put by the poet, says before vanishing:

> We are ignorant-he knows Being and Not-being his impiety has opened for us that mystery.

What kind of mystery?

In his commentary on Sura 2, verse 32, Ruzbihan Baqli writes:

"Hallaj says: 'When *Iblis* was ordained to prostrate before Adam he said to the Almighty: Has somebody else taken away the hunour of the prostration from my heart so that I should prostrate before Adam? If Thou hast ordained that, Thou hadst forbidden it first. God said: 'I will punish Thee with everlasting punishment!' Satan asked: 'While punishing me, wilt Thou look at me? God answered: 'Yes!' And Satan said: '"Thy looking at me is enough to let me bear

Thy punishment. Do whatever Thou wilt!' He said: 'I will make Thee *rajim*, 'I He said: 'Do what Thou wiliest.'

That means that, according to Hallaj, *Iblis* was glad to be honoured by the "garment of curse", as later Sufism has expressed it; that he-the true lover-would gladly accept punishment from the hand of his beloved provided that the beloved continues to look at him while chastising him. In this form 'Attar and some other Sufis, even Shah Abdul Latif, have accepted Iblis as the lover who would never adore anyone other than God-though outwardly disobeying His order, he obeyed the hidden will of God who has not allowed anyone to be worshipped besides himself. So; Iblis becomes the only true worshipper of all.

But that is only a small part of the great problem of Iblis and his act of disobedience as shown in Hallaj's work. In the *tasin al-azal wa'I-iltibas* (*Tasin VI*), the same problem has been pointed out even clearer and sharper. Here Hallaj writes expressly that there is no real "muwahhid" (confessor of God's Unity) in the world, except *Iblis* and Muhammad. But the latter being the treasurer of Divine Grace, *Iblis* must be called the treasurer of Divine Wrath; he remained in himself whereas the Prophet went away from himself. *Iblis*, in this chapter, goes so far as to declare that,

his denying is the declaration of God's holiness;

but he saw Adam only in his outward form, as a figure of clay and water, and did not see the Divine spark in him, nay, he did not, as the true believer in God's Unity must, see only God and nothing besides Him. *Iblis*, according to Hallaj, boasts of his service to God before the creation of man, and because of his pride he prefers everlasting separation to one loving prostration. In the continuation of this chapter of the *Kitab at-Tawasin Iblis* meets Moses and tells him that he does not only always recollect his Beloved but is recollected together with Him-both in some verses of the Qur'an (like Sura 38, verse 78 وان عليك لعنتى الى يوم الدين and at the being of every recitation of the Holy Book when the اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرحيم is recitation before the بِسْمِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ And he accuses Moses of polytheism because he has bowed his head before the burning bush and has looked to the mountain, i.e. to created things besides God.

And at the end of the chapter Hallaj himself compares his situation to that of *Iblis* and of Pharaoh-all of them pretend something and do not turn from their pretentions-be it the "I do not prostrate" of Iblis, the "I am God" of Pharaoh, the "Ana-I Haqq" of

Hallaj. All of them are ready to die or to be punished but not to give up their pretentions. From this chapter we understand better the meaning of the above quoted verse from the mathnavi, that the "I" of Hallaj and the "I" of Pharaoh are two different things?

These ideas of Hallaj can help to grasp the meaning of the great scene "Appearance of Satan" and "Satan's Complaint" at the end of the chapter on the Jupiter Sphere. Many famous Sufis have shared these ideas with Hallaj and have interpreted them in their own words. Ahmad Ghazzali goes so far as to say, completing the story of Iblis and Musa:

> He who does not learn the *tauhid* from Iblis is a *zindik*.

Iqbal has in beautiful words expressed these positive characteristics of Iblis, as shown in the *Kitab at-Tawasin*:

> Since he is earlier in love and service,
> Adam is not acquainted with his mysteries.
> Rend the garment of *taqlid*,
> So that thou mayst learn from him, what *tauhid* means.

That is the last advice given by Hallaj to the poet before he continues his flight in eternal desire and love.

Once more the name of the martyr-mystic occurs in the *Javidname*. It is again a spirit which flies in never ending circles between the heavenly spheres and Paradise: the spirit of Nietzsche, whom Iqbal calls "a Hallaj without a gibbet", not killed, like the Eastern mystic, by the fanaticism of ignorant theologians who feared his living experience of God, but by the doctors of the West who did not understand the intoxication of Ego-love and failed to appreciate the truth of his doctrine, failed also in leading him to the real goal of all quest, to God.

Iqbal became acquainted with Nietzsche's work quite early but it was only a milestone on his way; for he saw the imperfection of Nietzsche's one-sided doctrine which never leads man to the noble rank of *abduhu*. He later learnt to understand the deep truth hidden in the mysterious sayings of Hallaj and found it useful and even discovered a close affinity to his own thoughts. When Hallaj, in his great monologue in the Jupiter Sphere, tells the poet that in his breast was the sound of the trumpet of Resurrection, but his people went towards the grave; when he complains that the "fuqaha" of his time did not know the Spirit, the "ruh Allah", to be from the "amr Allah", we at once remember the beautiful lines in the *Diwan* of Hallaj:

بـــالله يـــنفخ نفـــخ الـــروح فى جلـــدى
بخـــاطرى نفـــخ اســـرافيل فى الصـــور

By God, the breath of the (untreated) spirit breathes into my body like Israfil's blowing into the trumpet!

Love is for him the real Resurrection. Whoever does not feel that love is dead, whoever has read the poetry of Hallaj will never forget his great ghazal with the beginning: الفى اليك نغوسا طاح شاهد ها the great funeral ode for all those who are spiritually dead, who have never felt the enrapturing force of love which is ready to bear even the greatest afflictions without complaint. This brave love, this message of desire–Loving Desire being the Essence of God Himself–, this witness of living religious experience are admired by Iqbal in the great mystic, and now we understand why he compared himself to Hallaj, who addresses him in the Sphere of Jupiter with the words:

I have informed the world of His light and fire
Look, my intimate friend: that is my sin!
And what I did that doest Thou too-take care!
Thou hast also brought a Day of Judgment on the dead take care!

Notes and References

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[2] Louis Massignon: *Écrits mémorables*, ed. Christian Jambert, Paris, 2009, pp. 381-529; Le livre "*Tawasin"* de Hallaj. Trans. Stéphan Ruspoli, Begouth, 2007; Paul Nwyia: "Hallaj, Kitab al-Tawasin" (in *Melanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 47 (1972), pp. 186-237).

EAST-WESTERN POETRY

Iqbal stands at a critical point of European-Asian relations. Hermann Hesse, the German poet, who was born in the same year as he, rightly claims that Iqbal belongs to three realms of spirit: the Indian world, the world of Islam and the world of European thought.[1] After the centuries of Western interest - though a negative interest! - in the world of Islam, as 'it manifested itself in the Arab rule in Spain, and, in a different form, in the meeting of the Crusaders with the Muslims, and, eventually, in the wars of Western Europe with the Ottoman Turks, a new evaluation of Eastern thought and culture emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries. The attacks against Islam and its Prophet were slowly giving way to a deeper understanding of culture and literature of the Islamic East, and the Oriental current in German literature, inaugurated by J. G. Herder (1744-1803) culminated in Goethe, whose *West-Oestlicher Divan* is the first genuine response to the influences that had been coming from the Islamic worlds throughout the centuries. The enormous quantity of translations from Arabic, Persian and Turkish, which was produced by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856)[2], and the beautiful and unsurpassable verse translations from these and other literatures by Friedrich Rückert [1788-1866], the introduction of the *ghazal* into German poetry - all this marked the era of a more genuine understanding of Islamic Culture in the West, particularly in Germany.

It should not be overlooked, however, that the main interest of German scholars from around the year 1800 was devoted to the world of ancient India. The Latin translation of the Upanishads which the French scholar Anquetil-duPerron had published in 1801 on the basis of Dara Shikoh's Persian translation of this very work, proved a source of unending enthusiasm for the philosophers and the Romantic poets. But no one did realize that this translation was made by a Muslim prince, just as the Taj Mahal was, and still is, usually seen as Indian art, not Muslim-Indian art. In fact the field of Indian Islam was sorely neglected by most scholars of both Islamic and Indian studies, and it is all the more surprising to find a leading representative of the Indian-Muslim World, Muhammad Iqbal, turn

to German literature and culture, preferring it by far to the British tradition in which he has been educated. Iqbal's *Stray Reflections* very clearly show his deep admiration for Germany, particularly for Goethe; but the names of Hegel and Nietzsche and that of Heine do not jack either. Goethe, whom he had once praised in a lovely poem on Ghalib as the brother of this 19th century poet who sleeps in the dust of Delhi, becomes the model of creativity, and the best expression of the German mind, and his *Faust* seemed, to him, 'humanity individualized'. In fact, he was deeply interested in Dr. Abid Husain's Urdu translation of *Faust*, and once remarked that an Easterner could grasp the manifold meaning of *Faust* II much more easily than could a normal German reader.

That is the reason why he produced an answer to Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan* in his *Payam-i Mashriq*, (the 'Message of the East), dedicated to King Amanullah of Afghanistan [1892-1960 reigned 1919-1929]. The central piece in the *Payam-i Mashriq* is the meeting in Paradise of Iqbal's two spiritual, guides, Goethe and Maulana Rumi, - when they discuss the mystery of man and agree that, as Rumi said in the *Masnawi*: "Intellect is from Satan, love from Adam". Although Goethe himself was not fond of Rumi, Iqbal rightly understands that there were quite a few ideas which both poets shared, and Goethe's negative judgment about the great Persian writing mystic is probably born from the impression he got from Hammer's raw translation; Rumi seemed to lack the truly architectural and clear exposition of his thought.

Iqbal was particularly interested in Goethe's way of depicting Satan, Mephistopheles, or *Iblis*, in his work, and has taken over some of the peculiarities of the image of Satan. The same is true for Goethe's thoughts about the Prophet Muhammad; his beautiful hymn *Mahomets-Gesang* inspired one of Iqbal's poems in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, did Goethe's *Book of Paradise* in which the constant growing of the human soul appealed to Iqbal. It is echoed in both the *Payam-i Mashriq* and at the end of *Javidname*: for it expressed exactly his own ideals. Even in the *Six Lectures* an English quotation from one of Goethe's religious poems appears.

But there are other spirits in the *Payam-i Mashriq* as well: Hegel, once admired by Iqbal, is now blamed for his all too, abstract philosophy in a verse whose final quotation is taken from a medieval Persian poet: the idea that chicken, or rather partridges, can produce eggs by just looking at the roosters' fighting was well known in medieval Islamic lands. Karl Marx, "who has brought a book without

being a Prophet", as Iqbal says in the *Armaghan-i Hijaz*, is mentioned in the *Payam-i Mashriq* only once: in this book, the mystical mountain-digger Farhad is made the representative of the pressed workers. Bergson who was close to his heart is mentioned once in the poetry, but more in the *Lectures*. The greatest share among the European philosophers is given to Nietzsche. Iqbal's relation to the German philosopher has often been discussed. Iqbal admired his courage by which he, an enraptured man, 'smashed the European glass-house'; he saw him as a tragic figure who would have needed a true religious guide to lead him to his goal. He was well aware of the deep religious craving of Nietzsche which resulted, then, in his violent 'hatred of a God whom he could not find'. A leading German philosopher, Rudolf Pannwitz [1881-1969], has stated that Iqbal's view of Nietzsche is perfectly correct. One should not forget that Iqbal's *momin* or Perfect Man As not, as it has been claimed time and again, an adaptation of Nietzsche's Superman; for the Superman appears after 'God has died', while the Perfect Man is rather the most perfect in the service of God, the *abduhu* par excellence.

It is also worthwhile to look at Iqbal's allusions to Tolstoy [1828-1910], whose vision of Judas Ischarioth and the European lady forms an important part of the *Javidname*. Judas is shown here as deeply sunk in ice, a reminiscence of the *Divina Commedia*; but the major point is that Iqbal as many of his Muslim contemporaries is deeply impressed by the criticism of Western Christianity as voiced by the Russian sage.

As Judas' image is taken from Dante's vision, we can also discover other influences of Dante in the form of the *Javidname*, the journey through the spheres - a form, which Dante may have taken over, in turn from medieval Islamic sources, as E. Cerulli[3] has shown. There are allusions to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a book which Iqbal liked very much; the discussion of the ancient gods in the Sphere of Venus in the *Javidname*, and even a few of their names, are inspired from Milton, and some trends of Milton's Satan can likewise be detected in the many–faceted Iqbalian *Iblis*. The 'Prologue in Heaven' and 'Prologue on Earth' of the *Javidname*, again, are taken over from Goethe's *Faust*; but the whole concept of the Heavenly journey belongs to the old traditions of the Middle East. Bayazid Bistami was the first to use the image of the flight of he soul for his mystical experience and ever since mystical poets have followed the example of the Prophet in their more or less poetical ascents to higher spheres. On the purely worldly plan, Ma'arri's (d. 1057) *Risalat al-Ghufran* is a most witty Arabic description of Heaven and Hell and

conversations with their inhabitants; the Iraqi poet Jamil Sidqi az-Zahawi has written his satirical "Rebellion in Hell" in the same year as Iqbal published his *Javidname*. Contrary to these two Arabic satires, Iqbal's journey through the spheres in Rumi's company is a deeply religious work, and contains some of his most beautiful passages, not to mention the amazing-amount of allusions to philosophy and history of religions. We can find many parallels to the works of European thinkers of the 1920ies, of whose work Iqbal was knowingly not aware, when one ponders his thoughts about immortality, eternal life, dialogue between man and God the names of Eucken, Buber [1878-1965], Heinrich Scholz [1884-1956], Friedrich von Huegel, Paul Tillich come to mind: that shows the *innate* affinity between the religious thinkers of one period, even though they will be separated by space. The idea of constant growth even after the corporeal death was Iqbal's favorite topic; he is here in tune with the great mystics of Islam, such as Ghazzali (d. 1111) and Qushayri (d. 1074), with mystical poets such as Sana'i (d. ca. 1131), Attar (d. 1220) and Maulana Rumi, as much as he is in tune with Goethe, Heinrich Scholz, Hermann Hesse and Tor Andrae [d. 1948]. The German reader will particularly notice the similarities between some of Iqbal's central thoughts with the system of Rudolf Pannwitz, a similarity which the aged German philosopher gladly admitted: both believed in the full realization of the Ego by its interior activity, an activity which is, however, not mystical; both agreed in their criticism of Europe, and aimed at the same goal, the integration of the various aspects of the world by combining carefully what Iqbal would call *'ilm u 'ishq*, rational analysis and loving synthesis.

Iqbal's poetry follows the traditional patterns of Persian and Urdu, and his imagery is oriental, even though he introduced Western names at times. His predilection for strong pairs of contrasts, and for meters which can be easily split by caesura into two halves and are, therefore, very memorable, is remarkable, and so is his selection of traditional images and their interpretation. It was certainly wise of him to use the traditional forms and fill them with new contents, for the *ghazal* or the *musaddas*, particularly when written in a strong rhythm, is much more easy to memorize than modern forms of poetry, not to mention free verse. Iqbal wrote poetry in order to convey a message, not for the sake of poetry. Therefore his choice of meters and symbols is most appropriate. He was aware that all too week poetry might endanger or hamper the active life of a people, and follows here the verdict of the Qur'an

against the poets; but he would have agreed with Rudolf Pannwitz definition of what he calls *Zeitgedicht*, i.e. a poem that is not part of history but creates history by unlocking hidden powers from the depths of the soul and activating them. Goethe's words in the West-*Oestlicher Divan* about the difference between prophet and poet come to mind: when Iqbal says in the *Javidname*:

> If the formation of humanity is the goal of poetry then poetry is an heir of prophecy.

Notes and References

[1] Gr. Tr. of *Javidname* of Schimmel, Preface, 1957.

[2] Cf. my *Hammer-Purgstall and South Asia*, Lahore, 1994.

[3] See Enrico Cerulli: *It 'Libro della Seala'e la questione delle fonte arabo-spagnole della 'Divina Commedia'*, Vatican City, 1949.

IQBAL AND GERMANY

There is no need to enumerate the manifold, relations of Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) with Germany. Everyone knows about the short weeks in Heidelberg in 1907 during which the poet spent some time with 'Atiya Begum [d. 1967], the intelligent Indian lady whose brilliance enchanted even the learned scholar Shibli Nu'mani (d. 1914). The lasting memory of Iqbal's Heidelberg days is the sweet little poem *Ek Sham*, One Evening, which describes in the style of Goethe's *Nachtlied*.[1]

Ober allen Wipfeln ist Ruh

the peaceful dusk at the bank of the Neckar. Then came Munich where the young scholar - exempt from the general rule of staying for two semesters in an university in order to obtain a doctorate - collected material for his thesis which he offered to Professor [Fritz] Hommel, Trumpp's [1828-1885] successor in the chair of Semitic languages; a thesis which was reprinted in Germany by Internationale Bonn in 1965.

Iqbal's relations with German culture remained alive all through his life, as can be witnessed from the admiring and it penetrating remarks in the *Stray Reflections* of 1910 about the German nation, and about Goethe's *Faust*, the book which he considered to be the most perfect expression of the German character. The finest results of his spiritual meeting with Germany, the human race and Goethe's idea of *Weltliteratur* had been echoed in the so-called 'Oriental Current in German poetry, but the *Payam-i Mashriq* was the first voice in the East to respond to these songs. Iqbal was well aware of the development' of this Oriental Current; concerning his representatives from Rückert to Bodenstedt and other, minor poets he relied upon Remy's thesis *The Influence of India and Persia on German Literature*, published in 1901 in New York. His admiration for Goethe was deep and sincere, and his way to combine classical and modern Persian forms, sheer lyricism and critical approach to problems of the 20th century is remarkable.[2] Thanks to R. A. Nicholson's article about the *Message of the East* in the first issue of the journal *Islamica*, published in Leipzig in 1925, German scholars

became aware of the existence of this usual poetical collection by an Indo-Muslim poet.

Iqbal's *Six Lectures* became known in Germany shortly after they were published; but while R. Paret[3] in his review in the OLZ [Orientalistische Literatuzeitung (Vienna)] 1935, p. 531, was rather critical and expressed the opinion that as a non-Muslim one will only, rarely be able to follow his conclusions, G. Kampffmeyer [1864-1936][4] had given a much more appreciative eview two years earlier, in the *Welt des Islams* XV, 1933 p. 212-214. The author, noted for his excellent knowledge of the modern Middle-East, seems fascinated by Iqbal's approach and thinks:

It would be interesting to follow in detail the differences which exist at present between the Persian-Indian circle and the development of Islam in the Arabic East, and in this connection particularly to sketch the personality and work of a man like Muhammad Iqbal.

Indeed, the knowledge of the Arab Muslims concerning Iqbal is not as profound as one would wish, mainly due to the linguistic differences between the poetical ideals of Arabic and Persian-Urdu. Kampffmeyer gives then a few excerpts from the *Six Lectures* and closes his review with the sentence:

We have to refrain to these excerpts, which are, however, typical of the way of thinking, the all embracing view and the method of Iqbal. "All through the book we find the same *Weitblick*, the same acrimony in research. He draws from the best sources of both oriental and occidental literature; and in the latter one also from the German (Horten, -A. Fischer, Naumann)...

It was a strange coincidence that the last visitor who saw Iqbal before his death was a German, Baron Hans Hasso von Veltheim who had widely travelled in India and, although like most Westerners in favor of 'Mother India' rather than of the Indian Muslims, he could not help being impressed by Iqbal's work. Apparently a rather long standing acquaintance had existed between the two men, both of whom were ardent admirers of Goethe. The German globetrotter-philosopher writes in his *Tagebuecher aus Asien* (Diaries from Asia) (Vo1.I, Hamburg 1956, p. 138 f):

> In the afternoon I visited the famous poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He received me, being in his bed, to which he was confined by illness for some months. He was suffering from asthma, angina pectoris and was nearly blind as a result of cataract. Most heartily he thanked me for the felicitations which I had sent him on his 60th

> birthday in January. (sic!), and took most lively interest in my recent travels. For hours we discussed philosophy and art and spoke of the political situation in the world. As a good friend of Germany, which he knew well, he had agreed with me already for some years previously that closer spiritual bonds between Indians and Germans would now be an even more important demand of the times. Although I spoke to my friends in Lahore about my impression of Iqbal as one who was nearing his end I had no idea that I was to have been his last visitor. The next morning special editions of the papers of India brought the news of his death on Thursday, April 21, 'early in the morning at 5.30 a.m. only a few ' hours after my visit. Schools, universities, law courts and the bazaar were closed all over India as a sign of homage and all Muslims wore mourning for some days.

After quoting the news items in the press the last verses of Iqbal, Veltheim continues:

> It is not for me to give here an appreciation of the personality and work of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Undoubtedly he is one of the great stars, of the Asiatic and in particular the Islamic Indian-Persian spiritual firmament, a philosopher and poet of transcendental importance. His death was felt in India as tremendous national loss and was mourned by Muslims all over the world. I was particularly privileged by fortune to have been his last visitor; indeed we happened to speak of different attitudes, toward death of peoples and individuals. I wrote a letter of condolence to his son Shaikh Javid Iqbal, which I found published in the papers' later. His father was buried in a special grave, not in the cemetery but near the great Badshahi Mosque in Lahore. The burial ceremony was most impressive with a procession of more than 10.000 people.

At another occasion, e. g. a few days later during his stay in Srinagar, Veltheim once more gives a short account of Iqbal's biography, and in still another connection he quotes one of his Persian verses which the poet had written into the notebook of some European visitor.

Iqbal's poetry was, at that time, only little known outside the Subcontinent, and had been translated, if at all, mainly into English. A few poems of his Urdu poetry in *Bang-i Dara*, the collection published first in 1924, were translate A into German verse by Otto von Glasenapp [1853-1928], the father of the well known ideologist Helmut von Glasenapp[5] in his anthology: *Aus 4000 Jahren indischer Dichtung* (Berlin 1925). Here Iqbal is the only Muslim poet at all, and the author expresses his thanks to him for having sent him some, specimens of his poet Otto von Glasenapp's translations comprise lyrics such as One Evening, Sicily, and Complaint of a Bird. He also

translated from the Persian the introductory verses of the *Payam-i Mashriq*, e.g. the fine passage devoted to Goethe. His translations are, of course, slightly old fashioned in style, but reveal well the poetical beauty of the original.

The *Payam-i Mashriq* was the work that attracted German orientalists more. Even scholars otherwise not so deeply interested in things Persian or Indian showed interest in this unusual work, and so, a German translation of the book was prepared by the professor of classical Arabic in the University of Erlangen, Josef Hell (1875-1950)[6]. The translation was never published; I once had an opportunity of examining it but found, it too unpoetical for a publication. Still, the very fact that Professor Hell undertook this venture-probably in the 1930ies, and in any case long before any other translation outside the English language appeared.- proves that there was indeed some interest in Iqbal's work in German academic circles.

The first scholarly analysis of Iqbal's work in German was made by Professor J. W. Fuëk (d. 1974), who devoted a study to *Muhammad Iqbal und der indo-muslimische Modernismus* (M. Iqbal and Indo-Muslim Modernism) in a presentation volume *West-Oestliche Abhandlungen*, edited by Fritz Meier and dedicated to the Swiss scholar Rudolf Tschudi (Wiesbaden 1954). (pp. 356-365)

After a short historical introduction which deals with the various reactions to the problem of Westernisation in India through the 19th century, Fuëk states that "the most important-figure in this Indo-Muslim modernism is Muhammad Iqbal, 1877-1938, and offers a short biographical sketch. Following that he sums up the contents of the *Six Lectures* in a masterly way so that his article constitutes, probably the best brief introduction to Iqbal's thought in the German language. Starting out with a description of the situation in Europe at the turn of the century–Bergson [1859-1941], Freud, William James [1842-1910], Einstein [1879-1955] he continues:

> All these movements found an attentive observer in Iqbal. His conviction of the truth of his Islamic faith, deeply rooted in youthful experiences, protected him from losing himself completely to the West; yet, he desirously accepted those stimuli which could serve as a support for his own convictions. His strict monotheism excludes on principle all the purely mechanical explanations of natural events which rest upon the laws of classical physics, explanations as had found adherents, even in the circles of Islamic intellectuals after the penetration of European science, Darwinism, Monism, and Materialism (into the East) during the 19th century. That is why Iqbal sees in Einstein's theory of relativity...

not only the beginning of a new world view but hopes that it would also answer questions which are related to both, philosophy and religion. Yet Einstein's idea of Time as the fourth dimension does not fit into Iqbal's image of the world since for him Time (as pure duration which only human reason segments into past, present, and future) is an essential part of Reality. He therefore follows in this point Bertrand Russel, who, based on George Cantor's doctrine of the continuum, regards movement as real. With this view Iqbal combines the philosophy of Bergson, who sees the essence of Reality in movement ... From Bergson, Iqbal takes also over the concept of creative evolution and the conception of nature, as an uninterruptedly billowing flood of creative acts, which is divided into motionless, temporally and spatially fixed by the creative- acts of human rational activity.

However, Iqbal's concern is not so much of philosophical but of religious nature. He is well acquainted with Kant's critique of pure reason and extremely highly appreciates his overcoming of rationalism. But contrary to Kant Iqbal regards inner experience as a source of knowledge independent of all sensual perception; he believes that the mystic as well as the prophet possesses it-the various degrees of his mystical and prophetical conscience a means to attain to the last reality, e.g. God, and he bases on this assumption (the concept of) a religion which is completely independent of all science and metaphysics. Here, too, Iqbal takes over some results of Western psychological research, but refuses to accept the conclusions drawn from them as far as they contradict his own world view. Thus he takes over from William James the idea that prayer is an instinctive act, but he does not follow him in the assumption that spiritual changes which are constantly accompanied by corporeal changes are caused by these very corporeal changes. According to his opinion both can run parallel. Again, he decidedly denies, in contrast to James, that mystical experience presupposes a break with the normal rational consciousness; for him it is established that various states of consciousness correspond to the various degrees of inner experience and that the mystic returns from them without difficulty to his normal consciousness. Completely alien to him is the theory of pragmatism which James had developed...

After discussing Iqbal's attitude to the religious experiences and his assertion that the inner experience which are noted down in religious literature, even though in somewhat antiquated words, have an absolute value, and that even a so called psychopath may be destined to solve major problems of the human race Fuëk turns to some European philosophers who have been quoted by Iqbal for a certain similarity of thought, such as A. N. Whitehead with his book 'Science and the Modern World', and A. St. Eddington. His idea that human reasons acts as a kind of prism that filters out the meaningful matter from the chaotic appearance of all the things perceived, and that only the search of the spirit for the Permanent had created the world of physicists and their concepts of time, space, gravitation, etc., seemed, for Iqbal, to

> form an analog on to his own conviction, that the search of the intellect for the Permanent points to a higher Ego as its original, and that this higher Ego combines in itself the attributes of change and permanence. Nevertheless, the gap which separates Iqbal from the representatives of a Christian-colored idealism can not be bridged, since for him true religion is Islam…

Fuëk analyzes Iqbal's concept of the Ego, and his conviction that constant development will continue even after death-'Heaven is no holiday'. This leads Iqbal to new formulations of predestination and free will; pure time comprehends not only present and past, but also future as an open possibility.

The Koran is not only the constituent for Iqbal's religious ideas, it is likewise the source for his general view of history Islam is the religion of progress, containing the foundations of modern science.

Iqbal is not less anti-classical than the Koran. To be sure he cannot deny the great influence which Plato has exerted on Muslim thought during the Middle Ages, but on the whole he finds his influence disadvantageous. He blames in Plato as well as in his teacher Socrates the fact that they have restricted themselves exclusively to man, neglecting the world of nature; that they have despised sensual perception and have allotted to cognition gained from his source only the value of mere guess, not of true knowledge. Only Plato's ideal of the state (in the Republic) has something attractive for Iqbal. Even more severely he declines Aristotle. Here, too, he cannot deny that particularly the Organon had a deep reaching influence on Muslim thought in the Middle Ages, but he finds the reception of Aristotelian logic obnoxious because it tries to deduce the complicated movements of life with the help of some fixed rules from general ideas and thus presses the rich colorfulness and overloading abundance of the world into an immobile mechanism...

Therefore there is no Islamic Hellenism for Iqbal. Everything is based upon the Koran, and the development of Occidental cultural history is seen completely different from the accustomed Western view. Fuëk does by no means deny the deep influence of Islamic culture and learning on medieval Europe, but Iqbal goes much farther and claims that scientific thought in general had been stimulated by the translation from Arabic into Latin, so that (the existence of) present-day occidental science is basically the merit of Islam.

That leads him to a short but poignant analysis of Iqbal's attitude toward Christianity, and his harsh criticism of nationalism, be it in Europe or in Asia.

Iqbal is of the opinion

> that after World War I the half millennium is finished which the world of Islam has spent in political weakness and spiritual lethargy. The advantage which the European states have gained during this period is not, as he sees it, founded upon the changes and shifts in economics' and power politics, as they resulted from the discovery of the sea route to India, sailing around Africa and the discovery of America, but rather from the fact that the European nations had made better use of the information and knowledge which the Muslims had conveyed to them than the Muslims themselves had done...
> His ideal is an Islamic confederation of nations, formed by the voluntarily joining together of all individual state. He believes that the democratic form of state is most beautifully consonant with the principles of Islam... Iqbal shows the same open mindedness in his attitude towards the reform of Islamic law. He does not enter not details of a legal reform, as in general every occupation with daily problems was far away from his universal spirit...

And Fuëk closes with the remark that the state which Iqbal had prophetically visualized, e. g. Pakistan, had now to stand the test of the hard realities of every day struggle.

Fuëk's article is remarkable for the clear and sympathetic analysis of Iqbal's main ideas, and proves how deeply the scholar had studied modern Indo-Muslim problems during his stay in Dacca in the early 1930ies.

Two years later, a small study on Iqbal was published by a Turkestani scholar who had settled in Germany, Baymirza Hayit, *Muhammad Iqbal und die Welt des Islam* (M. I. and the world of Islam), Cologne 1956. Without offering new thought-provoking material, Hayit gives a solid picture of Iqbal's position among Muslim thinkers, and one feels his sincere admiration for the spiritual father of Pakistan.

However, most of the publications in Germany or by Germans appeared after 1957. A. Schimmel, who had become interested in Iqbal's poetry thanks to R. A. Nicholson's above-mentioned article already during her student days in Berlin, received one day in 1952 a gift from a German poet who was a great admirer of Iqbal. It was Hanns Meinke (1884-1972),[7] a member of the poetical circle that had been formed at the turn of the century around the poet Otto zur Linde. In 1952 Meinke was a retired school teacher, cherishing deep

love for Maulana Rumi and Iqbal. Inspired by something he had read about him most probably again Nicholson's article-many years ago he had written to Iqbal, and had received from him both the *Payam-i Mshriq* and the *Javidname*. Since the German poet was not acquainted with Persian he later presented these two books to A. Schimmel, for whom they became the true working copies. Meinke himself had translated after some English version some of Iqbal's verses, but they exist only in a few beautifully calligraphed manuscripts. Another member of the same group of intellectuals, but much more philosopher than a poet, was Rudolf Pannwitz (1881-1969) whose interest in Iqbal's work grew stronger during the 1950ies. A. Schimmel had the good fortune to discuss Iqbal's thoughts rather often with this philosopher who started, in a certain way, like Iqbal's, reaches very similar conclusions. She sent him translations and drew his interest to Iqbal's *Six Lectures*. The response was warm and enthusiastic, and Pannwitz wrote to her:

> I am sorry that I did not know him and that he is no longer among the living! It would have been a good and deep mutual understanding (November 1, 1961).
> Indeed, the similarity of approach of the two thinkers is remarkable. What Pannwitz says about the role of poetry for a new turn of history could have been written by Iqbal:
> Every great poetry is out of its time and yet more than its time. It completes the time, lifts out of its undeveloped layers of germination that what it lacks, what future shall bring, and what is valid in eternity. It is its mirror, its cutting and judging sword, and its spur. Thus, (poetry) is not passive but active history, prophecy that is instrumental in causing history...
> Great poetry unchains in the souls of the contemporaries a productive process which is stronger than any present time and is capable of tearing from it, or to deliver from it, the Future...

Pannwitz, too, dreamt of man as a co-worker with God, 'not a superman but more humble than ever' - thus he saw this last manifestation of will-to-life which is the goal of the whole gamut of ego hood. That is why he, after studying the *Six Lectures*, expressed the view that:

> Once more I find confirmed what you have stressed e. g. that the correspondence (between Iqbal and myself) is remarkable. Especially this: the complete exhaustive realization of the Ego by its inner activity which is not mystical. He comes to meet Europe as far as it is possible at all, and his criticism is largely also our own criticism. Decisive is the parallel of both methods with the same goal: the Reality, and the supervision which he demands for both, e. g. for science and for

> religion. For me very important his attitude towards Descartes and Kant, the line from flume to Einstein, and where he sees Nietzsche there - although it is correct - rarely one among us sees him. (December 17, 1961).

Under these auspices, A. Schimmel translated first Iqbal's major poem, the *Javidname* into German verse (*Buch der Ewigkeit*, Munich 1957). Since she was teaching during those years in Turkey she also translated the same work into Turkish prose with an extensive commentary- a result of numerous lectures and articles in Turkish about the spiritual father of the befriended country. The first visit to Pakistan in 1958 encouraged her to continue research into various aspects of Iqbal's role; the religious component and Iqbal's position in the tradition of Islamic mysticism seemed to be particularly interesting to her. Out of these studies, a great number of lectures in various countries resulted, further articles dealing with the place of the Prophet in Iqbal's thought, the role of Satan in his philosophy, and his attitude toward Hallaj, the martyr-mystic of Islam. She found that without appreciating Iqbal's deep love of the Prophet of Islam it would be difficult to judge his work correctly; but she discovered also how interesting the colorful picture of Satan, as offered in Iqbal's various poetical work, is for the historian of religion. As already the eminent Italian orientalist A. Bausani had shown, and as could be elaborated in more depth, the image of Satan, who induces man to constant activity in the 'greater *jihad*' and is, thus an important factor in the development of man toward the stage of Perfect Man, central in Iqbal's thought; he has adopted elements from certain Sufi ideas - such as Ahmad Ghazzali's rehabilitation of Satan - as well as from Goethe's Mephistopheles, the counterpart of *Faust*, who always wants evil and always produces good'. With great ingenuity has Iqbal put the central words about Iblis in the *Javidname* into the mouth of Hallaj, the martyr-mystic of Baghdad, who indeed, had claimed that Satan was the treasurer of God's wrath and had out of overstressed monotheism accepted God's curse willingly. Iqbal's insight into hidden threads of Islamic mystical thought, as much as into the currents of contemporary history of religion, proves itself in such passages very clearly. His evaluation of Hallaj belongs to the same intuitive approach to historical facts; the martyr-mystic for centuries praised in the literature of Iran. Turkey and Muslim India as the proclaimer of essential Unity of Being emerges from Iqbal's poetry the way he should be understood, e. g. as the man who called his Muslim contemporaries to awake from the sleep of heedlessness and to interiorize the duties of Islam, as Louis Massignon has shown during Iqbal's lifetime. (This French scholar once told me how

deeply he was impressed with Iqbal's interpretation of Hallaj). The mystic of Baghdad appears in Iqbal's work almost as a forerunner of the modern poet-philosopher, although some critical remarks about his claims are not lacking either.

These and other studies were elaborated in a book by the title of *Gabriel's Wing. A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal* (Leiden 1963), in which the author tries to develop Iqbal's religious thought as reflecting the essentials of the Muslim creed without, however, entering into the difficult field of Iqbal's social and political ideals.

In the same year–twenty–five years after the poet's death –a German verse translation of the *Payam-i Mashriq* was published: *Botschaft des Ostens* (Wiesbaden 1963). Five years later, an anthology from all of Iqbal's works was printed under the title *Persischer Psalter* (J. Hegner, Cologne, 1968). It contains translations from Iqbal's English prose works, beginning with the *Stray Reflections* to his last New Year's Message, further from his Urdu poetry (parts of *Shikwa*, Elegy for his mother), to the Mosque of Cordova and other pieces from *Bal-i Jibril* and *Zarb-i Kalim*, and, finally, sections, from *Payam-i Mashriq*, *Zabur-i 'Ajam* and *Armaghan-I Hijaz*, each part introduced by a short characterization. Besides, A. Schimmel published numerous articles on Iqbal in journals in various countries, among them a major Arabic article in *Fikrun wa Fann* III, 1964.[8]

One would be happy if some more scholars in Germany would turn to Iqbal, for the various strands of his thought, his relations with the Islamic past and the modern West are by no means completely elucidated: I mention only parallels with Martin Buber; with Shri Aurobindo [1872-1950], and last not least with Teilhard de Chardin [1881-1955].

That his poetical work can appeal to the German reader and that his philosophy is intriguing for the scholar, has been widely acknowledged. .Perhaps the finest evaluation of Iqbal has been written by Hermann Hesse (1877-1968), the great German author, in his succinct foreword to A. Schimmel's German translation of the *Javidname*.

> Sir Muhammad Iqbal belongs to three kingdoms of the spirit; three kingdoms of the spirit are the sources of his mighty work: the world of India, the world of Islam, and that of occidental thought A Muslim of Indian descent, trained spiritually by the Koran, by the Vedanta and by Persian-Arabic mysticism, but also strongly touched--by the problems

of Western philosophy and conversant with Bergson and Nietzsche, leads us in ascending spirals through the provinces of his cosmos.

No longer a mystic, he has still been consecrated by Rumi. No longer a Hegelian or Bergsonian, he has still remained a speculative philosopher. The source of his strength, however, lies some where else, in the religibus sphere, in his faith. Iqbal is a pious; is one who has devoted himself to God; but his faith is not a child's faith; it is all masculine, glowing, fighting. And his faith is not only a wrestling with God (*Ringen um Gott*) but also a wrestling with the world. For Iqbal's faith absolutely raises the claim of catholicity. His dream is a humanity united in the name and in the service of Allah.

For the spiritual travellers to the East (*Morgen landfahrer*) it is not lqbal's comprehensive education and his desire of speculation, full of subtle nuances that will be the most important and truly supreme aspect of his powerful genius, but rather his poetical power of loving and giving shape (*Gestaltungskraft*). They will venerate him because of his heart's fire and his world of images, and will love his work as the *East-Western Divan*.

(Iqbal Commemoration Volume, eds. Ali Sardar Jafari and K.S. Duggal. n.d., New Delhi, pp. 242-253.)

Notes and References

1 Christina Oesterheld: "Iqbal's Poem "Ek śām Nekar ke Kināare" and Goethe's "Wanderers Nachtlied"/Ein Gleiches: A Comparative Study" (in Ali Usman Qasmi *etal* (eds.): *Revisionary Iqbal: As a Poet and Political Thinker*, Karachi: OUP, 2010, pp. 37-58.

2 Cf. my article on the preface of *Payam-i Mashriq* in: *Iqbaliyat* (Lahore), 2020.

3 Cf. my book *Iqbal aur Germany*, Lahore, 2020, pp. 142-149.

4 See Ibid., pp. 203-208.

5 Cf. *Iqbal aur Germany*, op., cit., pp. 23-24.

6 Cf. *Iqbal aur Germany*, op., cit., pp. 71-75.

7 Cf. *Iqbal aur Germany*, op., cit., pp. 36-44.

8 Cf. my *Bibliography of A.Schimmel*, Lahore, 1998.

MYSTIC IMPACT OF HALLAJ

Iqbal appreciated the ideas of Hussain Ibn Mansur (known to history as Hallaj, i.e., the wool carder), the ninth-century mystic, only in the later period of his life. Earlier he had written a sharp condemnation of Hallaj's mystic doctrines in his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (1908). This change in attitude is evident in Iqbal's *Javid Name* (The Book of Eternity), which he composed toward the end of his creative years.

In the last sections of *Javidname* appear the three zindiqs Hallaj, Ghalib, and Tahira. In the Heaven of Jupiter, generally considered to be the dwelling place of religious leaders, the three mystic-poets wander about. The pure spirit of these great lovers leads Iqbal to probe the deepest mysteries of being and not-being, of predestination, and of the role of the Prophets and Satan. Here in the firmament of Jupiter Hallaj is the train speaker, whereas Tahira and Ghalib sing only two brief songs.

The late discovery of Hallaj by Iqbal helped crystallize the poet's ideas of love and its significance for Muslim India. To understand the influence of Hallaj and his work on Iqbal, it is necessary to examine his life and his mystic ideas.

Hussain Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj was born in Bayza, a little town in Iran in 859. From his native province, Fars, he went to Baghdad, the center of mystic life during the ninth and tenth centuries. In Baghdad the classical *Tasawwuf* (mysticism) had developed, beginning with the austere, ascetic preacher Hasan al-Basri (d. 728) and the ardent lover Rabi'a (d. 801), and leading to the sober, self-controlled al-Harith b. Asad al-Muhasibi (d. 837), to Sari al-Saqati, and finally to al-Junayd (d. 910). Besides these great teachers there lived a great number of Sufis, trying to experience the gnosis, the love of God, the *Tawhid* (belief in one God), and striving for the *fina fillah* (the passing away from self) and the *bagel MIA* (remaining in God).

Hallaj joined other mystics, but was not on very good terms with his master, al-Junayd (who is said to have cursed him). He then journeyed to Mecca. After about a year's stay, Hallaj went to India, perhaps with a view to acquiring some knowledge of Yoga practices.

Upon his return to Baghdad in 913, the government, in concert with most of the *Fuqha* (jurists) and even many Sufis, accused him of impiety and conspiring with the Karmatians. Hallaj was imprisoned, and on March 26, 922 he was cruelly put to death. Most of the contemporary Sufis contended that Hallaj's execution was a punishment, willed by God, because the mystic had openly announced the mystery of divine love. He had exclaimed, "Ana' 1-Haqq" (I am the creative truth), a statement utterly unacceptable to orthodox Muslims and moderate mystics. Therefore, most of the Sufis of the time (with the exception of Shaikh Ibn al-Khafif and 'Ali Rudhbari) neither agreed with Hallaj's mystic theories of the *huwa huwa* (man is the personal and living witness of God) nor understood tile meaning of his famous statement "*Ana'l Haqq*." This is not at all the cry of an intoxicated lover who has lost self-control, but the quintessence of his mystic doctrines, which should not be interpreted in a pantheistic sense.

Legend of Love

Sometime after his death the personality of Hallaj was transformed by legend, and perhaps by deeper understanding. He now stands out "pre-eminently as a man of sorrows striving with all his heart to fulfill the Divine Command no matter at what cost of suffering to himself. He has become the prototype of the great lover, who sheds his blood in endless love and becomes *Mansur* (victorious) at his death on the gibbet. Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (d. 1273), the greatest mystical poet of Persia, once compared the red rose on its bough to Mansur al-Hallaj. His famous *Mathnawi* and his *Diwan* are filled with allusions to the martyr of love. The impact of Hallaj's mystic personality, and ideas is most clearly felt, however, in the poetry and prose of Farid-ud-din 'Attar (d. 1220). He considered Hallaj his spiritual guide and once again made his name famous in the Persian-speaking world.

From its beginnings, Turkish poetry sings the story of Hallaj's love and the dangerous ways of love and affliction. A number of details from Hallaj's life are quoted by the poet Nesimi (d. 1417), who was killed for heterodoxy, and thus, like his master, "performed the ablution for prayer with his own blood." In the sixteenth century, Pir Sultan Abdal was imprisoned and suffered wounds "not by the stones thrown at him but only by the rose thrown by his friends," just as Hallaj had suffered when his disciple Shibli threw a rose at him. Without mentioning Hallaj's, works, Oriental poets have borrowed the symbols of true love; the story of the moth throwing

itself into the flame is a centuries old symbol of the *fana fillah* (the passing away from self). In his famous work, *Kitab al-Tawasin*, Hallaj describes in short harmonious sentences the lot of the lover who, after reaching the point of union, will never return to his earthly companions.

During the Middle Ages Hallaj had become not only the poetical hero of painful love, but also, in the view of later Sufism, a representative of the concept of *Wahdat al-Wujud* (pantheistic monism). This doctrine had been fully developed till the mystical philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi in the thirteenth century. Later Muslim mystics became deeply submerged in the idea of *Wahdat al-Wujud*, and the works of classical Sufis, including al-Junayd and Hallaj, were interpreted in the light of Ibn al-'Arabi's monistic philosophy. The development of Indo-Muslim poetry (especially the songs of the Punjabi and Sindhi mystics), is the most charming expression of these thoughts.

After Ibn al-'Arabi's time, the ideas of classical *Tasawwuf*-stressing the transcendence of God, and the relation of man to Him as that of a creature to his creator or a lover to his beloved-were completely transformed and interpreted according to the system of great Spanish theosophists. It was this distorted picture of Hallaj, as seen in the mystical poetry of India and Persia, which Iqbal knew from his early childhood.

Iqbal's Attitude Toward Hallaj: 1908

In the poems of the Punjabi folk poet, Bullhe Shah, Iqbal could see Hallaj praised as the first man openly to announce the essential unity of God and the soul, and the first martyr of love killed by the fanatical theologians, who were far from understanding the mystery of divine love. From Persian and Urdu poetry Iqbal must have known the confrontation of the pulpit (the seat of the dry-as-dust theologians), and the gibbet (the place where the ascension of the great mystic Hallaj occurred).

Iqbal did not appreciate these mystic ideas, however, when he saw the dangerous consequences of a monistic system of thought, realizing that such an interpretation was not compatible with the prophetic spirit of Islam. Discussing different aspects of Sufi metaphysics, Iqbal wrote in his doctoral dissertation (1908) that the *Sufi* "school became wildly pantheistic in Hussain Mansur al-Hallaj who, in the true spirit of the Indian Vedantist, cried out-I am God-'Aham Brahma Asmi.'" He echoed similar sentiments about Hallaj in the verse of the *Zabur-i 'Ajam*, first published in June 1927:

Do not speak of Shankara and Mansur!
Search for *God* always in the *way* of the Ego!
Be lost in thyself in order to realize tile Ego!
Say "Ana' 1-Haqq," and become the Siddiq of the *Ego!*

Here, Iqbal brackets Hallaj with the most erudite commentator of the *Upanishads,* Shankara, who is perhaps the greatest representative of pure "mysticism of infinity" and the most important philosopher of Vedanta.

Between writing his doctoral dissertation and composing tile *Zabur-i 'Ajam,* Iqbal became familiar with French Orientalist Louis Massignon's studies on the mystic doctrines of Hallaj. Massignon introduced the scholarly world to the Persian mystics in 1914 when he edited and published Hallaj's *Kitab al-Tawasin.* Eight years later he published his monumental treatise on Hallaj, *La Passion d'al-Hosayn ibn Mansour al-Hallaj* (1922). Iqbal probably read the *Kitab al-Tawasin* in 1918 or 1919. He referred to it in a letter (May 17, 1919) to Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri, admitting that the fundamental ideas of Hallaj had now become clear to him. Nevertheless, as yet, he showed no sympathy for the famous martyr of love.

Massignon, however, had succeeded in proving that in the theology of Hallaj the pure transcendency of God is maintained at the same time as is His presence by his grace in the heart of the believer when it has been purified by the observance of spiritual discipline and rites. Man is created in order that the love of God may be apparent in the world. He is an image of God Himself, and God has chosen him from eternity to by looking at him in love. Thus man becomes endowed with the divine attributes, *huwa huwa* (He He). Adam is said to have been created from the not-being (not emanated from God), and from that his spirit is also created. Hallaj holds that "the Divine Unity does not result in destroying the personality of the mystic, but it makes him more perfect, more sacred, more divine, and makes him its free and living organ." According to Hallaj, the mystery of creation can only be understood if one realizes that the fundamental nature of the divine essence is love, creative love, "essential desire," as Massignon pointed out.

Hallaj, in order to describe divine love, uses the term *'ishq*, a word that means dynamic love, but its connotation was in Hallaj's days suspect even among the Sufis. For the relationship between man and God not even the term *mahabbat*, a more static conception of love, had been accepted by the pious Muslims of the ninth and early tenth centuries. This *'ishq,* which Hallaj describes as the divine essence, is

an active and creative force; it tries to draw than nearer to God. The goal of divine grace is to make man partake of this essential love.

Love involves numerous afflictions-separation from people, front family and friends, as well as tears, grief, and sighs. Iqbal has rightly given the following words to Hallaj in *Javidname*:

No life
It is to live without a Secret
Do learn to hold a fire beneath thy feet.

This type of love means longing for death; the real lover hopes to be slain as an offering, thus fulfilling religious duty. That is why Hallaj's beautiful prayers repeat the cry: "Kill me, my intimate, for in being killed is my life." These passionate words are the beginning of Hallaj's well-known *qasida* (*Diwan* No. 10), which was studied by later mystics, including Suhrawardi, Halabi, Ibn al-'Arabi, and especially Maulana Jalal-ul-din Rumi. The Maulana has alluded to this *qasida* several times in *Mathnawi* (V, 2675; VI, 4062), making it familiar to later generations of mystical poets.

However, it is doubtful that Hallaj uttered his controversial statement "Ana' 1-Haqq" in the presence of his master, Junayd. It is preserved in the sixth chapter of *Kitab al-Tawasin*. The meaning of *haqq* in this context is the creative essence of God, the creative truth. It is the cry of someone who feels that the *ruh natiqah* (the untreated divine spirit) has transformed him and that he is the living witness of God, the untreated spirit of God being united by divine grace with the created spirit of man.

Following generations of Sufis have tried to explain this dangerous statement of the martyr-mystic in different ways, its theological foundation being forgotten by most of them. According to some of the Sufis, Hallaj in ecstasy completely lost his personality, and God spoke through his mouth. In the view of Abu-Hāmid al-Ghazzali (d.IIII), the great scholastic theologian who always took the orthodox attitude, Hallaj's exclamation was a delusion, and–if announced in public–a dangerous delusion, an exaggerated utterance of the heart when it was intoxicated with love so deep that it could not feel the difference between itself and the Beloved. But it may also be the illumination brought by the divine name *al-Haqq* into the heart of the believer meditating on it. Only in the *Mishkat al-Anwar* does al-Ghazzali agree that a vision of divine beauty could have led Hallaj to that cry. Nevertheless, when quoting Hallaj's sayings and prayers, al-Ghazzali seldom mentions his name.

The most charming explanation of *Ana' l-Hrqq* is given by 'Abdul Qadir Gilani (d. 1166). Some of the metaphors used by this great Iraqi mystic are very close to those used by Iqbal:

One day the reason of one gnostic flew away from the tree of his outward form and came into Heaven, where it broke through the ranks of the angels. It was one of the falcons of the world whose eyes were covered by the hood called "Man has been created weak" (Qur'an, IV, 32). He did not find in Heaven anything he could hunt, and when he saw the prey "I have seen any Lord" he was bewildered that this goal said to him, "Where so ever turn there is the Face of God" (Qur'an, If, t22). He descended again, in order to gain a thing which is more precious than fire at the bottom of the sea; and he turned the eyes of his reason and did not see but his traces, and he returned and did not find in this world another goal than his Beloved. And he became glad and said, with the intoxication of his heart, *Ana'l Haqq*, singing tunes which are not allowed to mankind, and whistling in the garden of Existence in a way that is not given to the Sons of Adam, and he modulated his voice in such a manner that it brought him to death.

In the commentary of Gilani the motif of the bird is clear Iqbal has, in the Jupiter-Sphere, painted Hallaj as an always-flying, birdlike spirit an allusion to the lyrical words of Hallaj's commentator, Ruzbihan Baqli, who called his spiritual master "the King of the birds of love." And the idea that angels and even God are the "prey of the longing heart," occurs often in Iqbal's poetry.

Gilani's ideas are viewed from the standpoint of the *Wahdat al-Shahud*: the vision of God is the real prey of the seeker. He has, on the other hand, touched the problem of the *ifsha as-sirr*. Since it is forbidden to tell people the great mysteries of divine love and union, Hallaj, who did not refrain from revealing these secrets, he had to be punished.

Contrary to the ideas of Gilani, the explanation of *Ana' l-Haqq* offered by the Spanish mystic Ibn al-'Arabi (1115-1240) is in the light of his monistic philosophy. He alters the expression *al-Haqq* to *Haqq* and says: "I am truth, I am the mystery of God's truth in visible things." Like Maulana Rumi, Iqbal's spiritual guide, he compares the situation of the one who cries "Ana'l-Haqq" to that of iron cast into the fire (Math. II, 1347): the color of iron lies in the color of fire; iron calls: "I am the fire, you may touch it and understand that I am really fire…" That means that the unions is not substantial (for iron remains materially acid substantially iron), but is

a union of attributes: iron takes the heat and the color of fire. In order to express the union of the human and the divine, the iron-and-fire symbol has been used by mystics of all religions, from orthodox Greek, Catholic, and Protestant writers to the Hindu sage Lal Das, a friend of Prince Dara Shikoh. Dwelling upon the theme of *Ana'l-Haqq,* Jalal-ud-Din Rumi offers a fascinating explanation in his verses:

> To say "I" in due time is Divine Grace,
> To say "I" in undue time is a curse,
> The "I" of Mansur became grace,
> That of Pharaoh became a curse.
> (Math. II, 2522)

Iqbal's Attitude towards Hallaj: 1928

In Hallaj's concept of *Ana'1-Haqq* may be found an interesting parallel to Iqbal's problem of the ego. Discussing Hallaj's mystic ideas in one of his lectures delivered in Madras in 1928, Iqbal revealed his changed attitude toward the martyr, acknowledging especially the divine side of Hallaj's "I":

Devotional Sufism alone tried to understand the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Qur'an declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge, the other two being History and Nature. The development of this experience in the religious life of Islam reached its culmination in the well-known words of Hallaj: "I am the creative Truth." The contemporaries of Hallaj, as well as his successors, interpreted these words pantheistically; but the fragments of Hallaj, collected and published by the French Orientalist Massignon, leave no doubt that the martyr saint could not have meant to deny the transcendence of God. The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realization and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality. The phrase of Hallaj seems almost a challenge flung against the *Mutakallimuan.* The difficulty of modern students of religion, however, is that this type of experience, though perhaps perfectly normal in its beginning, points, in its maturity, to unknown levels of consciousness.

Furthermore, Iqbal compared Hallaj to his respected teacher, professor John McTaggart of Cambridge University, saying that "Hallaj's phrase-I am the Creative Truth-was thrown as a challenge to the whole Muslim world at a time when Muslim scholastic

thought was moving in a direction which tended to obscure the reality and destiny of the human ego. He never ceased to utter what he had personally seen to be the truth until the *mullas* of Islam prevailed upon the state to imprison him and finally to crucify him." However, McTaggart's emphasis on personal immortality, as Iqbal pointed out, "even at the expense of the transcendent God of Christian theology at a time when this important belief was decaying in Europe," forms the tertium comparationis between the modern British philosopher and the medieval Muslim mystic.

Defining the nature of *iman* (belief) as "a living assurance begotten of a rare experience," Iqbal also discussed Hallaj's divine "I" in relation to other luminaries of Islam:

In the history of religious experience in Islam which, according to the Prophet, consists in the creation of divine attributes in man, this experience has found expression in such phrases as "I am the creative truth" (Hallaj), "I am Time" (Muhammad), "I am the speaking Qur'an" ('Ali), "Glory to me" (Bayazid). In the higher Sufism of Islam, unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite ego; it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite.

However, it is more than doubtful whether a comparison of the above-mentioned theopathic utterances is justified, since the genuineness of two of them is highly questionable. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note how Iqbal managed to use these estatic words to prove his theories. Further, he saw the application of *Ana'1-Haqq* not only to the individual (who may preserve his personal self in union with God), but also to the community of the faithful. In a group of quatrains in his posthumous work *Armaghan-i-Hijaz* (p. 97ff.), Iqbal maintained that an ideal nation was that which realized *Ana'l-Haqq* in its striving and proved to be the creative truth, a living and active reality which witnessed God's reality by its own national or supranational life. He said:

If the individual says . *Ana'1-Haqq*, punishment is justified,
If a nation says it, it is not improper.

Having overcome his first, critical interpretation of Hallaj's ideas, Iqbal saw in the mystic a sublime example of living faith. It is therefore not astonishing that in the *Javid name* the Sufi is presented as representative of a truly dynamic individual, perhaps a forerunner of the poet himself. Iqbal even put into Hallaj's mouth a *ghazal* (lyric) (which had appeared earlier in *Payam-i Mashriq*), and called him the ardent preacher of desire and free will. More than that, these two

topics in the chapter "Heaven of Jupiter" are especially interesting, although their discussion in conjunction with Hallaj may at first sight seem strange to those readers who are not acquainted with his philosophy. Nevertheless, one must admire Iqbal's erudition and art because he chose, in addition to the notorious and perhaps dangerous doctrine of *Ana'1-Haqq*, other important ideas of Hallaj, including the prophetology and the concept of Satan as the only true worshiper. (These concepts are discussed by Hallaj in his *Javidname*.

The beautiful lines in *Javidname* explaining the meaning of *'abduhu* (His servant), in which Hallaj praises the Prophet in sweet and ardent verses, were no doubt composed by Iqbal under the influence of the *Kitab al-Tawasin*. The chapters "Tasin al-Fahm" and "Tasin an-Nuqta" of the *Kitab al-Tawasin* praise the high qualities of the Prophet Muhammad, alluding to his *Mi'raj* (ascension) and to the mysterious words of the *Surat an-Najm*. In the first chapter, "Tasin as-Siraj," Hallaj sings in very exuberant language the attributes of the Prophet, "whose light was created before all things, whose being preceded the not-being, whose name existed before the Divine Pen, and who came before all mankind, who is the Lord of mankind, whose name is Ahmad..." According to an old mystic tradition, '*aluluhii* is the most honored rank that man can reach; in the *Surat al-Isra* the deepest mystery of the ascension is alluded to with the words "Praised be He Who travelled at night with His Servant".

It is, therefore, impossible to imagine a rank higher than that of . Its importance was again underlined by the furious Indian reformer of the seventeenth century, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, and his followers in the Naqshbandiya order. He even contrasted the rank of '*abduhu*, the modest status of the Prophet, to the arrogance of Hallaj, who claimed to be "the creative truth," without properly recognizing the role of the Prophet in Hallaj's system of thought.

Although Iqbal was not very faithful to Hallaj, especially in his treatment of the mystic's doctrine of *fana* (annihilation), he was able to summarize the ideas of early Islamic mysticism on Paradise in the alleged words of Hallaj:

> The ascetic is a stranger in this world,
> The lover is a stranger in this world.

For the real lover does not wish anything but God himself, a subject often treated in Sufism, beginning with Rabi'a and her fellow-mystics and continued by Iqbal. Paradise is only a veil which separates the lover from his Beloved. Those who adore God in the

hope of paradise are like hirelings, expecting from their Lord a good reward. Even the ascetic who has given up this world longs for paradisean rewards and hopes to find in paradise all the pleasures he refrains from enjoying on earth. As for the real lover, he flies from paradise toward the vision of the Beloved and is never satisfied with the created pleasures of a future life.

Just as Iqbal developed the thoughts of Hallaj in the *'abduhu* verses of *Javidname,* he similarly stressed his idea of *Iblis* (Satan). In the chapter "Heaven of jupiter" Satan appears at the end. Hallaj, answering a question of the poet, says before vanishing:

> We are but ignorant; he [Satan] knows reality
> And nothingness. His old revolt has taught
> To us this secret: that the fallen know
> Delight of rising and that from the pain
> Of less flows forth the joy of more.

What kind of secret is this, and what is the nature of this mystery? The clue to understanding it is provided by Ruzbihan Baqli, who explains Hallaj's ideas in his commentary on the Qur'an. Discussing the meaning of Sura II, verse 32, Baqli writes:

Hallaj says: "When *Iblis* was ordained to prostrate before Adam he said to the Almighty: 'Has somebody else taken away the honor of the prostration from my heart so that I should prostrate before Adam? If Thou hast ordained that, Thou hadst forbidden it first.' God said: 'I will punish Thee with everlasting punishment!' Satan asked: 'While punishing; mc, wilt Thou look at me?' God answered: 'Yes!' And Satan said: 'Thy looking at me is enough to let me bear Thy punishment. Do whatever Thou wilt!' He said: 'I will make Thee rajim!' He said: 'Do what Thou willest!'"

According to Hallaj, *Iblis* was glad to be honored by the "garment of curses." Later Sufism expressed the view that *Iblis,* the true lover, would gladly accept punishment from the hand of his Beloved if the Beloved continued to look at him while chastising him. In this form 'Attar and some other Sufis, including Shah 'Abdul Latif, the great mystical poet of Sindh, accepted *Iblis* as the lover, who would never adore anyone other than God. Although outwardly disobeying His order, *Iblis* obeyed the hidden will of God, who never allowed anyone to be worshiped besides Himself. Thus, in this strange manner *Iblis* becomes the only true worshiper in the two worlds but that is only a small part of the great problem of *Iblis* and his act of disobedience as shown in Hallaj's work. In the "Tasin al-Azal wa-l-iltibas" (Tasin VI), this problem is discussed with greater clarity.

Here Hallaj points out that there are no real *muwahhids* (confessors of God's unity) in the world, except *Iblis* and Muhammad. Since the latter is the treasurer of divine grace, *Iblis* must be called the recipient of divine wrath, who remained in himself, whereas the Prophet went away from himself. *Iblis*, in Hallaj's words, goes so far as to declare that an individual's denying is the declaration of God's holiness, but he makes the mistake of seeing Adam only in his outward form, as a figure of clay and water, not perceiving the divine spark in him. According to Hallaj, *Iblis* boasts of his service to God before the creation of man, and because of his pride he prefers everlasting separation to one loving prostration. In this chapter of the *Kitab al-Tawasin, Iblis* also meets Moses and tells him that he not only remembers his Beloved, but is always mentioned along with Him, both at the beginning of the recitation of the Holy Book (when the *"a'udh Bi-Allah min al-shaytan al-rajim"* is recited before the *"bi-smi Allah al-rahman al-Rahim"*) and in other verses of the Qur'an (i.e., *"wa-inna alayk la'nti ila yawm al-din*"). True to his logic, *Iblis* accuses Moses of polytheism because he bowed his head before the Burning Bush and looked at the mountain, and thus saw created things beside God.

Finally, Hallaj compares his situation to that of *Iblis* and Pharaoh each of them pretended to something, be it the negation ("I do not prostrate") of *Iblis*, or the pride ("I am God") of Pharaoh, or Hallaj's "I am the creative truth." All of them ate ready to die or to be punished, but not to give up their pretentions. Reading "Tasin al-Azal wa-l-iltibas," one understands better the verses from Rumi's *Mathnawi,* in which "I" of Hallaj and that of Pharaoh are held to be two completely different things.

The ideas of Hallaj formulated in the *Kitab al-Tawasin* help in appreciating the significance of the great scenes "Appearance of Satan" and "Satan's Complaint" in the Jupiter-Sphere of *Javid-namah*. Many famous Sufis have inherited these seemingly strange ideas of Hallaj and interpreted them in their own light. Al-Ghazzali goes so far as to say in his account of the story of *Iblis* and Moses: "He who does not learn the *tawhid* (acknowledgment of God's Unity) from *Iblis* is a heretic (*zindiq*)." Iqbal expresses these positive qualities of *Iblis* in wonderful words when he has Hallaj say:

> To burn in his fire is to love; without his flame
> No burning be. He is antecedent in
> service and love, therefore, unschooled.
> Man in his mysteries remains. Tear off

The cloak of orthodoxy that constrains;
And from him learn the unity of God.'

That is the last advice given by Hallaj to the poet before he continues his flight in eternal desire and never-resting love.

The name of the martyr-mystic occurs once more in the *Javidname*. It is in connection with a spirit that flies in never-ending circles between the heavenly spheres and paradise-the spirit of Nietzsche, whom Iqbal calls "a Hallaj without a gibbet"

"Who is this frenzied man?"
I asked. And Rumi said, "The German seer
Is he, who lives betwixt two worlds. His flute
Contains an ancient melody. Nor chains
Nor cross did come his way; yet he too gave
The antique message that once Hallaj brought.
His speech is bold, his thought sublime, his words
I Live like a sword cut up the West in twain
His coevals his emotions could not track;
And thought him mad whom ecstasy possessed.
A Hallaj, lonely in his town,
whose life, the *Mullahs* spared, physicians claimed.
"None was there in the West who concord knew
And so his music broke his harp. None showed
The wanderer his way; so chaos grew in his experience."
All life explains the signs
Of self, whose stages are the "no" and "but."
He lingered at the point of "no" and failed
To gain the stage of "but"; nor realized
The rank and reach too of "His worshipper."
A light illumined him, yet unaware
He was of it, as of the roots remains The fruit.

Iqbal became acquainted with Nietzsche's work quite early. Although the ideas of the German philosopher deeply influenced his philosophy of activity, they could not be more than a milestone on his spiritual journey. He saw quite clearly that the imperfections of Nietzsche's one-sided doctrine prevented man from achieving the noble rank of *'abduhu*. The Iqbalian superman becomes perfect as he draws closer to his creator. The Nietzschean superman, on the contrary, enters a world where God is dead. Yet, a certain admiration for the tragic figure of Nietzsche is always visible in Iqbal's poetry and prose.

Hallaj and Nietzsche were both conceived by Iqbal as fighters against fossilized and petrified religious systems, and this similarity led them toward the same fate. And this is what Iqbal felt about

himself. Already in 1917, Iqbal warned some friends not to explain his concept of the ego (which had appeared in the *Asrar-i Khudi* [The Secrets of the Self)]. He couched this warning in a Persian verse, pointing to the fate of Hallaj:

> On the gibbet thou canst say it,
> But on the pulpit thou canst not say it.

And two decades later he summed up:

> The mystery is unfolded in two words:
> The place of love is not the pulpit but the gibbet.

Iqbal openly compared himself to Hallaj. He put into the mouth of the martyr-mystic (in the great scene in Jupiter-Heaven in *Javidname*) verses of unforgettable beauty. Hallaj, in his memorable monologue, tells the poet that the sound of the trumpet of resurrection had been in his breast, but his people had preferred to go toward the cemetery, and lie complains that the theologians of his time do not know that the Spirit, the *ruh Allah*, is from the *amr Allah,* as stated in the Qur'anic revelation (Sura, XVII, 8f). The same sentiments were expressed by Hallaj in the beautiful lines of his *Diwan*:

> By God, the breath of the (uncreated) Spirit breathes
> into my body like Israfil's blowing into the trumpet!

(*Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, Ed. Hafeez Malik, New York, 1971, pp. 310-324)

IBLIS IN IQBAL'S POETRY

One of the most fascinating figures in Iqbal's work is Satan, *Iblis*, who boasts in a famous poem in *Bal-i-Jibril* that he is 'a thorn pricking God's heart'. Satan has always played a prominent role in the Islamic tradition. As the Qur'an attests he refused to bow down before Adam and therefore was cursed by God. On the other hand we find mystical speculations, probably originating with Hallaj, in which *Iblis* becomes the great lover who does not want to share his eternal love of God and his complete surrender to His will with anyone else. Echoes of this attitude can be found in the poetry of Sanā'i and in the sayings of Ahmad Ghazzali (d. 1126), and have reached the Subcontinent where mystical poets like Sarmad (executed 1661) and even Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (d. 1752) speak of *ashiq Azāzil*, (Satan the lover) A thorough study of these developments is at present being made by one of my Ph. D. candidates at Harvard in order to elucidate the background of Iqbal's Satanology.

In Iqbal's work the various strands of the Christian and Islamic attitudes toward Satan are woven together into a highly interesting fabric. A. Bausani, who has devoted a fine Italian article to this problem, discerns five different aspects of Iqbal's Satan: the promethean side, which Iqbal may have taken over from Milton; the Judoao-Islamic aspect according to which Satan is and remains a creature and instrument of God; the Gnostic Christian ideas, originating in Iran, that Satan is an independent power in the world; the idea common in some mystical trends in East and West that Satan is the manifestation of God's *Jalal* side, and eventually the aspect of Satan as the pragmatic politician. Iqbal's interest in Satan is visible already in his thesis, but the most important source is the *Javidname*. There, he shows *Iblis* as pure the *Javidname*. There, he shows *Iblis* as pure monotheist who spoke his 'Yes' to God's unity in the veil of a 'No'. These ideas go clearly back to Hallaj and his Persian commentator, Ruzbihan-i-Baqli (d. 1209), whose work was well known in the Subcontinent. *Iblis* appears here as the lover who does not want union, but rather prefers the burning of separation because only by longing the creature remains active. *Iblis* is the poor

creature that God can order something which He, basically, does not will, or *vice versa*? But in such an approach, one danger of this satanic position becomes also clear; *Iblis* is short-sighted, and ascribes his own misfortune to the working of predestination, *taqdir*. Thus, he can be regarded as the fore-runner of those who ascribe their own evil actions to the pre-eternal destiny and try to get rid of their spiritual responsibility. In the same line Iblis may appear as the model of envy-he, after serving God for thousands of years as the most perfect ascetic, nay as the preceptor of the angels, envied Adam who was given a higher rank by being invested as God's *Khalifa*, His vicegerent: And since he regarded himself as better than Adam maintaining that his element, fire, was superior to Adam's element, clay, he is also the representative of one-eyed *qiyas*, analogy, unable to see the divine spark in the form of clay and water.

Iqbal's *Iblis* appears sad when he emerges from his dark clouds (*Javidname*, Jupiter Sphere). This, again, is a trend well known to the Islamic mystical tradition; but it has also been mentioned by Nietzsche, who sees in Satan 'the spirit of heaviness though whom everything is bound to fail'. In the *Javidname Iblis* complains that man too willingly lends his ear to his insinuations. It would rather be man's duty to struggle against him and to try to overcome him. Thus, Satan becomes an active and activating power, and is required for the development of the world in general and of man in particular. It is he who leads Adam out of the sweet gardens of pre-logic, of the primordial Paradise, into life. That is lucidly expressed in Iqbal's great poem *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* (تسخیر فطرت) in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*. About this picture of Satan one may well say-as has been said about Milton's Lucifer, that he is a trespasser, hence a sinner, yet represents our aspirations toward higher levels of existence. As Goethe has put it, Satan is the manifestation of error, but of an error which is necessary for man's spiritual maturing. From this angle, the image of Satan can develop into two different directions: either he becomes the power of radical evil, or the representative of that intelligence which helps man to overcome the powers of chaos, and thus assists him in his highest goal, that of individuation. *Iblis*'s role as the representative of intelligence is again twofold: it may be the power that clears up the chaos of man's lower instincts step by step, thus leading him upward, or the power of loveless intellect which defends itself with its head and is therefore represented by the serpent.

But if Satan is, on the one hand, the dangerous yet necessary intelligence, he is, on the other hand, also a representative of the chaos, of the unbridled instincts which to overcome man is called. It

is this aspect of *Iblis* which to overcome man is called. It is this aspect of *Iblis* which was most familiar to the Muslim mystics who relied upon the Prophet's world aslama shaitani, (اسلم شیطانی) 'My Satan has surrendered to me' or: 'has become a Muslim'. That means that he had tamed his lower instincts in such a way that they became useful instruments in the struggle of life: Satan, touched by the power of the Perfect Man and, even more, by the power of Love which is manifested through the Prefect Faithful, can become a helper for man (as already Maulana Rumi had said in the *Mathnawi*). That is why *Iblis* in the *Javidname* and in *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* asks man to overcome him; as in the works of Nietzsche and Valery, he wants to be a victim of the Perfect Man before whom he will eventually perform the prostration which he refused to perform in front of the immature young Adam. As the power that tries to seduce man *Iblis* becomes, for Iqbal, the advocate of lovely mystical dreams and opium-like poetry; the scene in the *Javidname* where he tries to hinder Zoroaster from going out and preaching is indicative of this aspect of his role. He is the advocate of *Weltflucht*, of seclusion, and thus the mouthpiece for Iqbal's criticisms of decadent Sufism and decadent Sufi literature. Again, he appears in the Sphere of Venus as the happy leader of the old deities who have been dug out of their tombs by the European archeologists, and who represent the worship of Baal in all its aspects, thus threatening the Muslims in their firm belief in one God.

The fact that Iqbal sees the European archeologists responsible for the revival of satanic powers in the Middle East leads to the final aspect of his satanology: it is the political Satan. He manifests himself in the various types of Europeans, be they men or women, and is perhaps depicted best in the figure of the would-be prophetess in the Sphere of Mars in the *Javidname* who embodies the loveless attitude of European women, and in Miss Ifrangin, who talks to Judas Ischarioth and is blamed by him for selling the spirit of Christ in every moment. Iqbal had called the politicians of our age 'Satan's prophets' while he was still a student at Cambridge, and these blows are taken up once more in his last poetical works, where we find the Parliament of *Iblis* and many other poets against those Satanic powers which try to seduce the Muslim people by various means in order to establish their own rule instead of the rule of the one God.

One cannot see *Iblis* in Iqbal's poetry simply as Intellect, as materialist, as determinist, or as Adam's adversary. His figure is woven together from many strands, taken from the books of Islamic mystics and European thinkers and poets (Jacob Boehme. Goethe,

Milton, Nietzsche), and eventually Satan became the fitting symbol of Iqbal's criticism of the loveless Western world. But one should remember that Iqbal, faithful to the Islamic and Judeao-Christian tradition, sees *Iblis* never as absolute evil, or as God's enemy; he is rather the enemy of man, the power with whom man has to struggle in order to grow. It does not make any difference whether we understand this power as the dark feminine element of chaos which has to be tamed in order to serve man, or as the lucid masculine element of luciferian intellect which is necessary for man's individuation although it can grow into a hypertrophy of intellect once it is separated from love and becomes an independent force, we may also understand this power as the seducer into useless dreaming, mystical introspection, unsocial attitude, or as the protector of a civilization that is devoid of Divine love. In each of these aspects *Iblis* is a necessary companion of man who is called to overcome him and thus to develop into the Perfect Man, whose model is the Prophet of Islam.

TIME AND ETERNITY IN THE WORK OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

As a young student in Cambridge, Iqbal stated that "life is the beginning of death; death is the beginning of life". The problem of life and death, of time and eternity never ceased puzzling the mind of this eminent Muslim thinker.

Islam, in itself, is essentially eschatological to believe in God and in the Last Judgment is the most important duty of the believer. The Qur'an contains numberless allusions to the "Hour", to paradise and Hell, and all of them have been painted by later popular piety in the most impressive colours, be it the balances, the lot of man in the tomb before resurrection, or the possibility of the beatific vision in Paradise. On the other hand, the Qur'an stresses the problem of creation, and in the statement (7:171) that God addressed the yet uncreated humanity with the question "am I not your Lord?" and the positive answer of mankind to this question, the whole history of man is seen as the realization of the pre–eternal dialogue, which finds its consummation on the Day of Judgment. Theological and philosophical thought has pondered upon the cause for God's creating the world, and the creation of man.

As to Iqbal, the Qur'an stresses man's vice-regency on earth, and the burden which was offered by God to the whole world, and was taken at last by man (33:72) is the burden of individuality, and growing individualization, which makes man both higher than everything created, and more susceptible to the attacks of Satan, whose role in Iqbal's work is of special interest. The duty of man is, during this life, to develop all his higher faculties, so that he becomes a more and more perfect Ego (of the theories of R. Pannwitz about man's individualization) and becomes similar to God who is conceived– agreeing with Lotze and F. von Huegel— as the highest Ego, the most perfect personality. In God, time is non–serial (cf. Bergson's durée); in Him, there exists a change without succession, whereas in the moment of creation, serial time appears. So, the statements of the Qur'an that the world was created in one moment (54:60) and in six days (25:60) are to be understood. Serial time is

described by Iqbal as the *Zunnar*, the Magian's girdle: H. Corbin has recently shown that the *Zunnar* is the special symbol of Zurvan, the old Iranian God of Time, who is represented in Iqbal's work at the beginning of the *Javidname*, the great poem describing the poet's ascension to Heaven. Since time is not a line, Iqbal criticizes the idea of the Eternal Return, and stresses the importance of the experience of loving ecstasies, in which the soul realizes what the Prophet expressed in the Hadith: "I have a time with God". Love frees the soul from the bondage of time, and leads it to the *mi'raj*, the ascension, just as Angelus Silesius says:

> Ich selbst bin Ewigkeit, wenn Ich die Zeit verlasse
> und mich in Gott und Gott in mich zusammenfasse.

But only the Ego which is strengthened by love can stand the experience, can "die before dying," and realize the spiritual resurrection without the trumpet of Israfil. The attitude towards corporeal death differed in the history of Islam, but mystics mostly agreed that it "brings the lover to the Beloved" and, thanks to the example of Hallaj, the death of love became the ideal of Sufism, and his gibbet the equivalent of the nuptial bed. Iqbal, too, holds that the believer will smile at the time of death, but eternal life, according to him, will be granted only to those who have gained it by their deeds, and whose Ego is strong enough for the shock of death. Immortality is no right, but can only be hoped for (*Reconstruction*, 117).

In complete tune with his spiritual master, Maulana Rumi, Iqbal thinks that death is the mirror, or the awakening to a higher life. Paradise is, for him (like for the mystics from Rabi'a upward) only a veil which hinders the lover from seeing properly; the paradise of the *mullah* may consist of nice houses and huris– however for the lover, eternal wandering in Paradise (*Javidname*). This is symbolized by the fact that through his poetical wandering though the meadows of Paradise in *Javidname* Iqbal meets with people of different ranks, and at the last even leaves the) Huris (cf. his answer to Goethe's "Dichter und Huri" in the *Payam–i–Mashriq*), until he reaches the Divine Beauty. Nevertheless, as in life, even in Paradise he does not wish a complete union and thinks that "to be free from seeking the searching would be worse than the darkness of the tomb." In this idea, he is surprisingly close to the words of Tor Andrae on Eternal Life as continued real life, with sorrow and with development (*Die letzen Dinge*, p.98). And the idea that, after having reached God, the wandering in God begins, and will never end, has been expressed as well by Ghazali as by most of the other great Islamic mystics.

This development can be reached only thanks to the love of God which was prior to our love, and which attracts man, and all created beings with never failing energy–just as God first addressed man in the Day of the primordial pact.

For Iqbal, the resurrection of all beings plays an unimportant role in his philosophy; he concentrates on the question of the possibility of a real life in eternity which can be gained by the perfect Ego. And in his ideas about the never ending activity of the Ego even after the so–called corporeal death, he is quite close to Goethe, whom he admired most among all Western poets and thinkers:

> Wirken wir fort, bis wir, vom Weltgeist berufen, in den Ather zurückkehren. Moge dann der ewig lebendige uns neue Tätigkeiten, denen analog, in welchen wir uns schon erprobt, nicht versagen.
>
> (In: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress for Religions, Marburg, 1961. pp. 55–57.)

THE IDEA OF PRAYER IN THE THOUGHT OF IQBAL

According to a familiar tradition of the Prophet, prayer is the essence of worship. To understand the deepest feeling, and the most lofty ideas of any great religious genius or poet we must discover the role that prayer plays in his life and how he conceives of it. Not least is this true in respect of the spiritual father of Pakistan, the philosopher-poet of the Muslim subcontinent, Muhammad Iqbal (1873 [1877]-1938). Prayer was the keystone of all his ideas.

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

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

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

> …Religious ambition soars higher than the ambition of philosophy. Religion is not satisfied with mere conception, it seeks a more intimate knowledge of and an association with the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is the act of worship ending in spiritual illumination… You will see that, psychologically speaking, prayer is instinctive in its origin. The act of prayer as aiming at knowledge resembles reflection. Yet prayer at its highest is much more than abstract reflection. Like reflection it, too, is a process of assimilation, but the assimilative process in the case of prayer draws itself closely together and thereby acquires a power unknown to pure thought. In thought the mind observes and follows the working of reality: in the act of prayer it gives up its career as a seeker of slow-footed universality and rises higher than thought to capture reality itself with a view to becoming a conscious participator in its life. There is nothing mystical about it. Prayer as a means of spiritual illumination is a normal, vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a larger whole of life.
>
> …The quest after a nameless nothing, as disclosed in Noe-Platonic mysticism–be it Christian or Muslim–cannot satisfy the modern mind which, with its habits of concrete thinking, demands a concrete living experience of God. And the history of the race shows that the attitude of the mind embodied in the act of worship is a condition for such an experience. In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature…
>
> (pp. 89-91)

From these sentences, we understand the deep importance Iqbal ascribes to prayer. Furthermore, he takes prayer as proof of two of the most central themes in his whole philosophy, namely the Ego and the two levels of time.

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

Though we may find in Iqbal's conception of the Ego, the development of man, and the final, spiritual station of Superman, some traces of Nietzsche's philosophy (as well as from the Islamic conception of the Perfect Man as it is found in the works of Ibn 'Arabi, Jili, and other mystics), the difference between the Nietzschean superman and the ideal man of Muhammad Iqbal is enormous.

For Iqbal's ideal personality, the true *faqir*, lives in close thought with God who is shown–in the same way the great prophets had seen Him–as the greatest Ego of all, the Personality "*kat' exochen"*, to whom man can speak, and who has promised to answer. "Call upon me and I will answer thee". It is especially on this verse of the Qur'an that the Muslim thinker builds his proofs of God's Egohood. For only an Ego can speak to another Ego. Man, who is yearning not for perfection but for a direct contact with the Ultimate Reality, tries to pray, asks for a companion, a being to whom he can open these inmost mysteries of his heart: "Prayer", says Iqbal, "is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the Universe". In many of his poems, Iqbal has expressed what as philosopher he had explained by means of psychology. The longing for the presence of God is one of his favorite subjects:

Either opens this veil of mysteries,
Or take away this soul that has no vision,

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

Too old are those stars, over consumed the firmament:

I need a fresh, new born world.
Who knows the end of the world, the Judgement?
As for me, when Thou lookest once, that is Resurrection.

From the philosophical angle, Iqbal's conception of prayer as the sole refuge from that frightful emptiness enveloping man, finds support in the views of the German vitalist, R. Eucken, to whose ideas Iqbal's thought shows a frequent affinity. Eucken remarks:

> It seems as if man would never escape from himself. And yet, when shut into the monotony of his own sphere, he is overwhelmed by a sense of emptiness. The only remedy here is a radical transformation of the concept of man himself, and to distinguish within him the narrower and the larger life, the life that is straitened and finite and can never transcend itself, and an infinite life thought which he enjoys communion with the immensity and with the truth of the universe. Can man rise to this spiritual level? On the possibility of his doing so rests our only hope of giving any meaning or value to life.

When Iqbal finds (*Der Sinn und West des Lebon)* proof of God's Egohood in this possibility of man's coming in touch with Him and speaking to Him, he shares the view of one of the leading philosophers of modern Germany, Heinrich Scholz (1884-1956) who writes, in his *Religions philosophie:*

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

The "Contact with the Absolute", as sought by many of the most influential mystics is only possible on quite other levels of consciousness and ultimately involves a passing away from all qualities of thought and from "life", in the normal sense of the word.

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

> Unitive experience is not the finite Ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite Ego: it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite.

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

Though it seems strange to oen who is acquainted with the famous teaching of Islamic mysticism that: "None saith 'I' except God," and that real personality belongs to God alone, we can find

the foundations of Iqbal's thought in some Traditions attributed to the Prophet, especially in the famous *Hadith qudsi* when God says: "Heaven and earth do not contain Me, but the heart of my faithful servant contains Me."

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

> Thou hast no room in the *Haram* of Mecca nor comest Thou into the temple of the idol-woshippers-
> But how quickly comest Thou, longing, to longing people!

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

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

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

> Indeed we can safely hold with Lotze, not only that Personality is compatible with Infinitude, but that the personality of all finite beings can be shown to be imperfect because of their finitude, and hence that perfect Personality is compatible only with the conception of an Infinite being; finite beings can only achieve an approximation to it. (*Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie*, ed. 1884).

The experience of God in prayer is, according to Iqbal, the deepest experience of the Ego as Ego.

> Man's perfection can be determined in proportion to the degree of his self-possession in the presence of God.

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

> If you want to see God openly,

learn to see your Ego more openly!

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

Neither do I know myself nor Him,
but I know that my I is in His embrace.

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

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

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

Jalaluddin Rumi quoted it both in his *Mathnavi* and in a famous passage of his prose-work *Fihi ma fihi*.

Jalaluddin was asked:

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

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

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

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

> In the solitude where words would be a veil,
> I tell the story of the heart with the tongue of my eyes.

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

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

The Presence of God, according to Iqbal, is "a growth undiminishing." When man has reached the climax of prayer, and stays eye to eye, brow to brow with the Absolute Self, so experiencing the infinite possibilities in God, his word may be heard

by God, and he may ask from God the altering of His will and the granting to him of a new life and a new destination.

Here a question rises that has interested the whole of Islam since the beginning of theological thinking and mystical feeling: the question whether, if prayer is allowed, it is efficient? How can prayer be compatible with the everlasting decrees of God? In the Qur'an, as is well-known, the ideas of free will and of absolute predestination stand, side by side. Some Sufis in the middle ages, like 'Abdullah Ibn Mubarak and Wasiti, boasted of never having asked God for anything. And when Ibrahim Ibn Adham, one of the most notorious quietists among the eldest generation of Muslim mystics, came into a tempest and the friends asked him urgently to pray for the salvation of the crew, he answered "This is not the time for praying, this is the moment for surrender." But the greater part not only of Islamic theologians but also of mystics clung to the promise given in the Qur'an ادعونی فاستجب لکم "Call upon me, and I will answer your prayer." So a prophetic Tradition related by Al-Tirmizi (*qadar* 6) teaches that "nothing wards off the decree (*qadha*) but prayer." The greatest Muslim thinkers and saints, like Al-Ghazali and Jilani were sure that prayer, too, was preordained and belonged to the *qadar*, and that it is not forbidden to use the shield of prayer against the arrows of evil. The famous Persian saint, Al-Kazeruni, was asked: "When food and sustenance are provided, why does prayer exist, and why do we ask?" He answered: "In order to show clearly the greatness and high rank of the believer, as God has said: 'If I give Thee without being asked by thee, the perfection of thy honour would not be revealed! And, therefore, I ordained prayer, so that thou shalt call to Me and I shall answer thy calling.'" And even more: the greatest religious leaders of "prophetic" type have been sure that prayer can change the world, can alter the decrees of God. Luther often expressed this idea: "After prayer, God altereth His decree and Will, what you may remember well. And here, one must not discuss the secret and veiled change of the Divine will, but learn it, as Psalm 145 enjoins us: 'He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and will help them.' He will leave His will and do their will. That is a Christian's greatest dignity and his priesthood that he can come with his prayer into God's presence and prevail upon God:" The same idea is expressed by Muhammad Iqbal in most of his poetry and prose work. It is the problem of *jabr*, or predestination. What do predestination, destiny, Divine Decree mean to him? "Destiny is the inward reach of the Ego," he assures us. Every Ego is, of course, limited by its inner possibilities, and free will

or changing of destiny can only be imagined within those given limits. The possibilities of a tree are not set, and those of a bee are another, those of a simpleton or an uncivilized pygmy are another and those of a full-grown, well educated personality yet another. The more man knows himself and his inner richness, the stronger will be the efficiency of his prayers. He stands then as a real personality in the presence of God, and can ask him even the greatest things. It is the level, where man does not ask for earthly goods nor for angelic bliss but for God Himself. Rumi pointed out this truth:

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

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

> In the wilderness of our madness is Gabriel only a mean prey–take God in your snare, ye heroic man!

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

> We have suited Thee,
> now, suit us!

This mutual understanding, the revaluation of man's will that has suited to God's will, the creative activity gained in prayer, these are, according to Iqbal, the meaning of Islam, which means, a religion of heroes. The *jabr*, or destiny, changes in proportion to the spiritual situation of man, in proportion to his nearness to God. Even Maulana Rumi laid stress on this point:

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

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

'Iman' is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind; it is living assurance begotten of a rare experience. Strong personalities alone are capable of rising to this experience and the higher 'fatalism' implied in it."

The extreme nearness that man feels in this last experience o prayer, leads him sometimes to such a boldness of expression that it comes close to impiety. Iqbal, thus dares to utter harsh words that would be unthinkable in the mouth of a contemplating lover, intoxicated by the cup of Eternal Beauty. But this boldness and even harshness in prayer is a fact that is often to be found even in very religious people. Even Junayd al-Baghdadi (d. 910), the leader of the Iraqi Sufis, the "peacock of the poor" who always preferred mystic so briery to ecstasy-even he is related to have said: "When love becomes right, the conditions of fine education no longer apply." 'Attar and Rumi also told many stories of people who spoke angrily, even offensively, and without any respect, to God. Turkish popular mystical poets often criticized God's decrees and especially the many-coloured conceptions of the Last Judgment, of Paradise and Hell. It is sufficient to recall the interesting, sweet poem of Yunus Emre (d. 1307) "Aye Lord, if you once would like to ask me…" or some verses of Kaygusuz Abdal (15th century) or other Bektashi poets. Even to day Turkish popular piety knows the saint who has reached the level of *naz* (coquettery), and can scold God without being punished.

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

Thou didst create night and I made the lamp,
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup.
Thou didst create the deserts, mountains and forests,
I produced the orchards, gardens, and the groves;
It is I who turned stone into a mirror,
And it is I who turned poison into an antidote!

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

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

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

> A thousand worlds blossom like roses in the meadow of my imagination,
> Thou hast created only one world, and that even from the blood of man's hope.

Since the whole creation is incomplete, man, its highest goal, is not as he should be. Satan, in the wonderful lines of the "Lementation of Satan" in the *Javidname*, asks for a stronger and more active companion, *i.e.* a superman, who does not yield feebly to seduction and temptation but grows by his resistance. The poet-philosopher likewise deplores that man is so weak a creature, a plaything of worldly forces:

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

Iqbal, who had sung in his first poetic prayers, like a hundred Persian poets before him:

> I am the plaintive nightingale of a forsaken garden,
> I ask for effective help for one in need,

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

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

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

> My madness has a grievance against Thy Divinity:
> For Thyself Thou hast the spaceless, for me the four dimensioned space,

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

> Thou hast thrown me in the desert of madness and made me true.
> My sin was (that I tasted) the forbidden corn.
> His (Satan's) sin was from prostration (he did not make)
> Thou didst not reconcile him, the wretched, nor didst Thou us.

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

"When the scroll of my deeds is brought upon the Day of Reckoning, Look into it, and be ashamed as Thou wilt shame me," an idea not too remote from the protests of early Muslim mystics. Man feels himself not responsible for the astrayness of the world – "When the stars of the heavens go astray, is it my sake or Thine?" he asked, but in the same moment he is ready to adorn the world of phenomena by his work, to embellish the hitherto dark and tasteless earth. In one of his most beautiful prayers, Iqbal, summons the Creator:

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

The so-called fall has enabled man to work in this world, and to develop, to reach new spiritual levels. Man is the representative of a world of longing, a longing for perfection, a longing for knowledge.

Iqbal once addressed God in this way:

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

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

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

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

Religious life, according to Muhammad Iqbal, is determined by the strength of love and longing man can bear. Only uninterrupted searching, a never-resting quest for the Divine Nearness can help man to win, one day, intimate knowledge of God. "The sleepless eye and the passionate heart" were requested by the poet in his first great Persian poem, the *Asrar-i Khudi* (xviii), and the sigh of the longing

soul is, to him, more precious than the throne of Jamshid. This longing, ardent heart is the prerogative of man; thanks to it his rank is higher than that of the angels.

> Gabriel does not know this *Ha* and *Hu*
> For he does not know the place (*maqam*) of searching.

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

> Though he (Muhammad) has seen the Essence without veil,
> Came the cry 'O God, give me more' from his tongue!

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

> Because the Divine things are infinite, and only a small part of them will be unveiled to man, infinite possibilities being always hidden from him, though he knows their existence and though he knows that more things are hidden from his knowledge than those that he knows–therefore he never ceases longing…

The great mystical philosopher of Islam has expressed the same truth that Iqbal sings in his most ardent verses-the truth that the "way in God" has no end because "the creative power of God is intensively infinite." To realize some of those infinite possibilities hidden in the depths of God, is, as we have seen, one of the most

important duties of mankind, and does not cease with man's death but has to be continued on a higher spiritual level. But just as man is in endless quest for God, so is God in quest of man:

> We are gone astray from God,
> He is seeking upon the road,
> For like us, He is need entire
> And the prisoner of desire.
> sings Iqbal in the *Zubur-i Ajam*.

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

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

> When I make Myself known unto a servant, and he repels Me, I return, as if I had need of him. It is my preventing generosity that does this, as manifested in my favours: while on his part it is the miserliness of his soul towards himself that does this, that soul which I make to rule over him, but which he does not make to rule over Me. And if he repels Me, I return unto him: I continue to return, and he continues to repel Me; yea, he repels Me, though seeing Me to be the most generous of the generous, and I return unto him, though seeing him to be the most miserly of the miserly, fashioning an excuse for him when he is before Me. Nay, but I make a beginning with forgiveness, before ever the excuse is fashioned, so that I say to him in his secret soul 'I have afflicted thee.' All this I do, that he may depart from the vision of that which estranges him from Me… And so, whenever he repels Me, I do not cease to convict him of his repelling, and whenever he says: 'I do not repel Thee' I accept it from him… (*Math*. II, 16)

And how often do we find the idea that God Himself gives prayer, that He causes prayer to grow in us like roses grow from out the dust, that in each: "O Lord" of the slave are a hundred "I am at your service" from God's side; that not only the thirsty are seeking water but water also is seeking the thirsty (*Math* I 1741) –All those examples are taken only from Jalaludin Rumi's works, and could easily be multiplied.

In a *hadith qudsi*, God is related to have promised: "When my slave comes nearer to me; a span, I will approach him a yard, and when he approaches one yard, I will approach him one fathom." That is just what Muhammad Iqbal wants to indicate: the deepest mystery of prayer is this mutual approach of man and God.

The mystic becomes silent when he has experienced the union with God through prayer; he is not able to explain the mysteries of the boundless ocean of God, and, notwithstanding, often tries to express the ineffable experience in sweet verses, in paradoxes that can give only a shadowlike reflection of the Absolute. But the prophetic type not only will but must speak of the overwhelming experience of God's presence (cf. the fine characterization of both types in the Dialogue between Zoroaster and Ahriman in Iqbal's *Javidname*). The great prophetic spirits of all times have always been forced to inform people of what they have heard, to tell them that God the Lord is near, and that man is responsible for his deeds. So does Iqbal (using in this poem the refrain of one of Jalaluddin Rumi's *ghazals*: "that is my wish;" a poem which was a favorite and which he often quoted in his works):

> They said: 'Close thy lips and do not tell our mysteries!

I said: 'No! My wish is, to try the Allah-u-akbar!'

And in the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal contrasts the two types of believers in a psychologically interesting passage (p. 124): "'Muhammad of Arabia ascended the highest Heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point I should never have returned.' These are the words of a great Muslim saint, 'Abd-al Quddus of Gangoh. In the whole range of Sufi literature it will probably be difficult to find words which, in a single sentence, disclose such an acute perception of the psychological difference between the prophetic and the mystic types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary experience'; and even when he does return as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of "unitary experience" is something final; for the prophet it is the awakening, within it, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world. The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the prophet…"

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

> In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature. The scientific observation of Nature keeps us in close touch with the behavior of Reality, and that sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it…
>
> The truth is that all searches for knowledge are essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer.
>
> For scientific researches may bring man to a point where he feels the mystery of the Creation, where, at last, ardent quest for knowledge approaches to adoration. That is the point on which Iqbal's interest is concentrated: the point where *Ishq*, the ardour of love, and *Ilm*, the ardour of science, may be united; and thus help mankind to reach a higher spiritual and moral level. Since Iqbal includes all kinds of searching in his conception of prayer, it is not astonishing to find the statement, that "in great action alone the self of man becomes united

> with God without losing his won identity, and transcends the limits of time and space. Action is the highest form of contemplation.

Prayer is the greatest action; action the greatest prayer – so we many summarize Iqbal's view. He has expressed this paradox in a famous passage of his *Lectures*:

> Prayer…is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching Ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation, and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the universe. True to the psychology of mental attitude in prayer, the form of worship in Islam symbolizes both affirmation and negation…

This last sentence leads us to the question of Islamic prayer as seen by Muhammad Iqbal. He has, of course, attributed a very great importance to the ritual prayer, which is, in his interesting expression, a means freedom:

> The timing of the daily prayer which, according to the Qur'an restores 'self-possession' to the Ego by bringing it into closer contact with the ultimate source of life and freedom, is intended to save the Ego from the mechanizing effect of sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is the Ego's escape from mechanism to freedom.

Daily prayer is thus the most important prescription given by the Qur'an to the believers, and is their most precious property. It is both jewel and weapon:

> The profession of faith is the shell, and prayer is the pearl within it.
> The Muslim's heart deems prayer a lesser pilgrimage
> In the Muslim's hand prayer is like a dagger,
> Killing sin and forwardness and wrong.

Muhammad Iqbal follows strictly the traditional view according to which every prayer is a kind of *mi'raj*, or ascension to Heaven; for Muhammad, when he longed for the beatitude and bliss he had known in the Presence of God, used to ask his Ethiopian *mu'adhdhin*, "Oh Bilal, refresh us with the call to prayer." Though the daily prayer may be said alone, it is to be preferred to perform it in common. For:

> The real object of prayer is better achieved when the act of prayer becomes congregational. The spirit of all true prayer is social. Even the hermit abandons the society of men in the hope of finding, in a solitary abode, the fellowship of God…it is a psychological truth that association multiplies a normal man's power of perception, deepens his emotion, and dynamites his will to a degree unknown to him in the privacy of his individuality. Indeed, regarded as a psychological phenomenon, prayer is still a mystery; for psychology has not yet

> discovered the laws relating to the enhancement of human sensibility of spiritual illumination through associative prayer is a special point of interest.

Iqbal thinks that the form of prayer ought not to become a matter of dispute, but does not ignore,

> that the posture of the body is a real factor in determining the attitude of the mind. The choice of one particular direction in Islamic worship is meant to secure the unity of feeling in the congregation, and its form in general creates and fosters the sense of social equality inasmuch as it tends to destroy the feeling of rank or race-superiority in the worshippers!... From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all Egos follows the essential unity of mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations, and tribes, according to the Qur'an, is for purposes of identification only. The Islamic form of association in prayer, besides its cognitive value, is further indicative of the aspiration to realize this essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man.

Though Iqbal pays attention to the outward congregational form of prayer, he always points out that the most important matter is not a beautiful temple or a richly ornamented church or mosque, but the inner approach to God, wherever, it be. In the great scene "Lenin and God", he puts in the mouth of the Russian leader the question, to which people God belongs, and why he allows himself to be venerated in wonderful buildings, the poor having no home to live in. and God's "Command to the Angels" runs:

I am disgusted with all these places of worship built in marble. Go and build a lowly hut of clay for my worship!" a command which reminds us the harsh words against superabundant offerings and splendid forms of worship that can be found in the Old Testament prophetical books.

In spite of the great importance which Iqbal attributes to the prescribed prayers, he knows that his wishes, his lvoign and longing words, can find no room in their forms.

> Wherever I bow my head into the dust, roses rise –
> My asking will not find room in two rak'ahs of prayer!

It surely will not. For Iqbal, the whole life must be sublimated into prayer; since the greatest prerogative of man is his searching, his ardent pilgrimage towards God. He would not like to be God –

> This being God must be a headache –
> But this being Servant, I swear, that is not headache but heart-ache!

The rank of the slave of God (‘*abduhu*) is, in Iqbal’s view, the highest point that ever can be reached. To be the servant of the Almighty Lord, a servant who helps his Master in embellishing the world by enfolding all the hidden possibilities of life, must be the most beautiful life:

In Thy world, I am servant,
In my world, Thou art Sovereign and Lord!

Every religious poet has symbols and words which he prefers, because they fit best to his teachings. A poet praising the eternal beauty, and its expression, in this world, will prefer the symbol of Yusuf of Egypt who is known in Muslim theology and poetry as the most beautiful of mankind; and the use of symbolic figures may change according with psychological changes. As for Muhammad Iqbal, he has chosen especially the symbolical use of the name of Moses, the *Kalim Allah* “the man with whom God spoke.” The name of this prophet occurs not only in the title of one of Iqbal’s greatest Urdu poems (*Zarb-i Kalim*) but also elsewhere throughout his verses. For in Moses he found, it would seem, the idea of prayer and of the revelation of God to man, expressed in very adequate form.

The story of Sinai never grows old,
Because every heart is stirred by the desire of Moses.

Everybody longs for the revelation of God’s presence. But as the story of the burning bush teaches us, Moses did not lose himself in the flames, but stood before them, receiving from out of them the Divine command to lead his people to new horizons, both earthly and spiritual. Here we may see the very ideal of Iqbal. But the poet-philosopher goes even further. Combining the story of Moses with his own philosophy of the Ego, he asks:

How long will you beg for light like Moses on Mount Sinai?
Let a flame like that of the burning bush leap out from the self.

Only those who have realized the inward powers of personality can partake of the Divine fire, the fire of creating and working, the fire that can change the world completely. Man’s destination is that co-operation with God that lies within the capacity of the developing of the Ego. In prayer – and only in prayer – (if we give the word its largest possible connotation) is such realization feasible.

Why should I ask the wise about my origin,
I am always wanting to know about my goal.
Develop the self so that before every decree
God will ascertain from thee: ‘What is thy wish’?

(*The Muslim World*, 48/iii (1958), pp. 205-232)

THE FIGURE OF SATAN IN THE WORK OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

One of the most fascinating figures in the work of Iqbal is Satan, *Iblis*, who boasts, in a poem of the *Bal-i Jibril*, that he is 'a thorn pricking God's heart'. Satan has always played a prominent role in the Islamic tradition; as the Qur'an attests he has refused to bow down before Adam, and therefore was cursed by God. On the other hand we find mystical speculations, originating probably with Hallaj, where *Iblis* becomes the great lover who does not want to share his eternal love of God and his complete surrender to His will with anyone else; echoes of his attitude can be found in the poetry of Sanai and the sayings of Ahmad Ghazzali (d. 1126), and have then reached the Subcontinent where mystical poets life Sarmad (executed 1661) and even Shah 'Abdul Latif Bhitai (d. 1752) speak of '*ashiq 'Azazil*, 'Satan is the lover.'

In Iqbal's work the various strands of the Chritian and Islamic attitude toward Satan are woven together into a highly interesting fabric. A. Bausani, who has devoted a fine Italian article to this problem, discerns five different aspects of Iqbal's Satan: the prometheian side, which Iqbal may have taken over from Milton; the Judaeo-Islamic aspect according to which Satan is and remains a creature and instrument of God; the Gnostic Christian ideas, originating in Iran, that Satan is an independent power in the world; the idea common in some mystical trends that Satan is the expression of the *jalal* side of God, and eventually the aspect of Satan as a pragmatic politician.

Iqbal's interest in Satan is visible already in his thesis, but the most important source is the *Javidname*. He represents him as the pure monotheist who spoke his Yes to God's unity in the veil of a No. These ideas go clearly back of Hallaj and his famous commentator, Ruzbihan Baqli (d. 1209). *Iblis* is show here as the lover who does not want union, but rather prefers the burning of separation because only by longing he remains active. He is the poor creature that had been caught between God's order and His will. How should he know that God can order something which He, basically, does not will, or vice versa? But here, a danger of this

satanic position becomes also clear: he is short-sighted, and ascribes his own misfortune to the working of predestination, *taqdir*. Thus, he can be seen as a forerunner of those who ascribe their own evil deed to God's destiny and try to get rid of their spiritual responsibility. It is in the same line that *Iblis* appears as the model of envy – he, having served God for thousands of years as the most perfect ascetic, envied Adam who was given a higher rank by being created, he is also the representative of one-eyed *qiyas*, analogy, unable to see the divine spark in the form of clay and water.

Iqbal's *Iblis* appears sad when he is emerging from his dark clouds (*Javidname*). This, again, is trend well-known to the Islamic mystical tradition, but has also been mentioned by Nietzsche who sees in Satan 'the spirit of heaviness through whom everything is bound to fall'. In the *Javidname*, *Iblis* complains that man too willingly lends his ear to his insinuations. It would rather be man's duty to struggle with him, to try to overcome him. Thus, Satan becomes an active and activating power, and is required for the development of the world and of man. It is he who leads Adam out of sweet prelogic gardens of paradise into true life. That is perfectly lucidly expressed in Iqbal's poem *Tashkir-i Fitrat* in the *Payam-i Mashriq*. About this picture of Satan one may well say, as it has been said about Milton's Lucifer, that he is a trespasser, hence a sinner, but he represents our aspirations toward higher levels of existence. As Goethe put it: he is the manifestation of error, an error which is necessary for man's spiritual maturing. From this angle, the image of Satan can develop into two different directions: either he becomes the radically evil power, or the representative of that intelligence which defend itself by its head, and is therefore represented by the serpent.

But if Satan is, on the one hand, the dangerous yet necessary intelligence, he is, on the other hand, also a representative of chaos, of the unbridled instincts which to overcome man is called. It is this aspect of *Iblis* which was most familiar to the Muslim mystics who relied upon the Prophet's word *aslama shaitani*, 'My Satan has surrendered to me', or: 'has become a Muslim'. That means, that he had tamed his lower instincts in such a way that they became useful instruments in the struggle of life: Satan, touched by the power of the Perfect Man, and by the power of Love, can become a helper for man. That is why *Iblis* in the *Javidname* and in *Tashkir-i Fitrat* asks man to overcome him; as in the works of Nietzsche and Valery, he wants to be a victim of the Perfect Man, before whom he will perform the prostration which he did not perform before the immature young Adam. As the power that tries to seduce man, *Iblis* becomes for Iqbal

there advocate of lovely mystical dreams and opium-like poetry: the scene in the *Javidname* where he tries to hinder Zoroaster to go out and preach is indicative of this aspect of his role. He is the advocate of *Weltflucht*, of seclusion, and thus the mouth piece for Iqbal's criticism of decadent Sufism and decadent Sufi literature. Again, he appears is the Sphere of Venus as the happy leader of the old deities who have been dug out of their tombs by the European archeologists, and who represent the worship of Baal in all its aspects, thus threatening the Muslims in their firm belief in one God.

The fact that Iqbal sees the European archeologists responsible for the revival of Satanic powers in the Middle East leads to the final aspect of his satanology: the political Satan. He manifests himself in the various types of Europeans, be they men or woemen, and is perhaps depicted best in the figure of the would-be prophetess in the Sphere of Mars in the *Javidname*, who embodies the loveless attitude of European, women, and in Miss Ifrangin who talks to Judas Ischarioth and is blamed by him for selling every day the spirit of Christ. Iqbal had called the politicians of our ages 'Satan's prophets' when he was still a student at Cambridge, and these ideas are taken up once more in his last poetical works, where we find the *Parliament of Iblis* and many other poems against those Satanic powers who want to seduce the Muslim peoples by various means in order to establish their own power.

One cannot see *Iblis* in Iqbal's poetry simply as intellect, as materialist, as determinist, as Adam's adversary. His figure is woven together from many strands, taken from the books of Islamic mystics and European thinkers and poets (Jacob Boehme, Goethe, Milton, Nietzsche), and, eventually, Satan became the fitting symbol of Iqbal's criticism of the Western loveless world. But one should remember that faithful to the Islamic, and also Judaeo-Christian tradition, *Iblis* is never absolute evil, he is not God's enemy but rather the enemy of man, the power with whom man has to struggle in order to grow. It does not make much difference whether we understand this power as the dark feminine element of chaos which has to be tamed in order to serve man, or as the lucid masculine element of chaos which has to be tamed in order to serve man, or as the lucid masculine element of luciferian intellect, which is necessary for man's individuation, although it can grow into a hypertrophy of intellect once it is separated from love and becomes an independent force; we may also understand this power as the seducer into useless dreaming, mystical introspection, unsocial attitude, or as the protector of a civilization that is devoid of Divine love. In each of

these aspects *Iblis* is a necessary companion of man who is called to overcome him and thus develops into the Perfect Man, whose model in the Prophet Muhammad.

MUHAMMAD IQBAL AND GERMAN THOUGHT

Beginning from the Middle Ages, Muslims culture and literature has influenced European literature, especially European poetry, in its various forms. Eastern thoughts, Eastern stories and symbols were to be seen–though often distorted–in manifold forms. This literary influence reached its climax in the famous *West-Oestlicher Divan*, Goethe's response to the poems of Hafiz (1819). But it took a century more to produce an echo of Goethe's poetry in the Muslim world; this echo is Muhammad Iqbal's *Payam-i Mashriq*, his *Message of the East*. But it would be quite erroneous to try to limit the affinity between those tow genial personalities to some outward resemblance of a *West-Oestlicher Divan* and Persian *Divan* called *Payam-i Mashriq*. Iqbal's interest in Goethe was very much deeper and, as it seems to me, transcended the field of pure poetry, rising to the heights of spiritual understanding and likeness.

Iqbal must have felt great love and admiration for Goethe's genius. In an early poem of the *Bang-i Dara*, called "Mirza Ghalib", he reminds the great Indo-Persian poet of his "companion sleeping in the garden of Weimar". And it is a very typical fact that Iqbal, in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, confronted his Muslim spiritual leader, Maulana Rumi, with the German poet. For both of them (to use Mulla Jami's words) have "a book, though they cannot be called prophets": Rumi's book is his *Mathnavi*, the textbook of Persian-Turkish mysticism, that of Goethe his *Faust*–both of them, according to Iqbal, are some of the most important documents of love and spiritual development, of longing and searching, and of desire. This conception of desire, of striving after the highest goal, unites the ideas of Goethe and Iqbal. Love is for both the moving and uplifting force in life. This conception has found its magnificent expression in the "Book of Paradise" of the *West-Oestlicher Divan* as well as in the last words of Pater Seraphicus in *Faust*, *Part II*. The personality of Faust himself is also a characteristic manifestation of the development of human personality by restless seeking and striving; and we may conclude that Faust's death in a moment when he is

working for the freedom and happiness of his people is accepted by Iqbal as an ideal death.

As to the whole of the Faust-drama, it is not only the personality of the hero himself but also the conception of Satan which may have influenced Iqbal's idea of the Devil. For, in the "Prologue in Heaven" (the form of which is imitated in the 'Prologue in Heaven" of Iqbal's *Javidname*), God tells Satan that man very quickly tends to lose his activity and to become lazy; therefore He has given him a companion inciting him, working on him, lest he sleep; this companion is the Devil. The same idea, Satan as the dynamic principle of life, plays a very important role in Iqbal's work. On the other hand, we may suppose that perhaps the philosophy of the 17th century German mystic, Jacob Boehme, has somewhat influenced Iqbal's conception of God and of Satanic forces–that he has studied the work of the shoemaker-mystic is evident from his thesis. And again, on the question of evil, we may remember the story of Nietzsche's Zarathustra who has disappeared and, one of his pupils asking if perhaps the Devil had taken away Zarathustra, another man answered: "Nay, it seems to me more probable that Zarathustra has taken away the Devil"–is it not the ideal of Iqbal's "Perfect Man" to conquer Satan in a lifelong strife? For Iqbal, Satan is not only the dynamic force of life by whose resistance the sword of man's will is to be sharpened, but also the dark and sorrowful spirit of pure reason and lovelessness-like Nietzsche's picture of the Fiend.

Iqbal has often shown the opposition of satanic logic and Divine love; we can even maintain that the problem of love and reason is one of the corner-stones of his poetry and philosophy. And in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, when he confronts Rumi and Goethe, it is just this point of view that unites the two agreeing with the Muslim mystic in this most important question.

But we may go further and note–without regard to the idea of personality common to both Goethe and Iqbal that one of Goethe's poems has especially found a very interesting echo not only in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, but also in the *Javidname*. It is the so-called *Mahomets-Gesang*. Goethe, intending to write a drama concerning the Prophet of Islam, has shown in a dialogue between Ali and Fatima the way of the Prophetic genius under the symbol of the living stream which takes in its breast all the brooklets and rivers, carrying them away to the Divine Father, the all-embracing ocean. Muhammad Iqbal has translated the poem; but he has also understood its symbolism as an expression of all prophetic activity. And since the Prophet is for him

the "Perfect Man", the duty of everybody is to follow him, to imitate him as far as possible. This symbol of the living stream may be used also for the "Momin", the true believer. Therefore, he is right in giving himself in the *Javidname* the name of Zinderud, or Living Stream, thus pointing to his religious ideal.

To show the influences which had molded some of Iqbal's conceptions is not to disparage his merits. On the contrary such a study only proves the greatness of Pakistan's philosopher-poet who has succeeded in vivifying Islamic theology. European and especially German thought has hoped him to clear some positions of contemporary Muslim thought; by sifting and criticizing the systems of Hegel and Marx, of Schopenhauer [1788-1860] and especially of Nietzsche ("the Hallaj without cross"), as well as of Bergson, by penetrating into the depths of Einstein's thought and by seeking its connection with the Qur'anic wisdom, he has built a spiritual bridge between Islam and Western thought.

Iqbal's work, well-known in the English-speaking world and in most of the Islamic countries, has not yet aroused sufficient interest in Germany, the country where he had spent some months before graduating from Munich (1907), months inspiring some of his early fine Urdu poems. Only a few articles about his work have been published in Germany, and the late Prof. Hell's prose-translation of the *Payam-i Mashriq* has not yet been printed. The *Javidname* has now been published in German verse-translation, and the *Payam-i Mashriq*'s verse-translation will come out soon (both by the present writer).

But we hope that Muhammad Iqbal, the admirer of German thought and poetry, will soon be known in the country of Goethe and Hegel, of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, as one of the greatest contemporary thinkers and poets of the Eastern world, and that his *Message of the East* will find many who are able and willing to listen and to continue the great dialogue between East and West.

(Mohammad Iqbal, *Poet and Philosopher*, A Collection of translation, Essays and other Articles, Karachi: The Pakistan German Forum, 1960, pp. 96-98)

THE *JAVIDNAME* IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

A characteristic of the work of a genius is, that it reveals some of the mystery of the creative power which has its origin in God. Since the genius is a "second creator", a collaborator of God, his work always presents new features; and the more we, try to penetrate into the nature of genius, the more are we dazzled by the ever changing. ever new appearances.

Since the worth of a masterpiece depends on the manifold possibilities of its interpretation, small wonder that a work like Iqbal's *Javidname* can be treated from different points of view. It has been interpreted as a work of high art, as a theological, philosophical, political book. And all interpreters are right in doing so. Today we shall try to show another side of the *Javidname*: its ideas, as seen in the light of the comparative history of religions.

The ascension to heaven is a subject common to most religions. The shamans of the primitive peoples describe their ecstasies in the form of an ascension through the spheres, through heavenly and demonic areas where they have conversed with spirits and mysterious beings. And mystics of all great religions have realized a similar experience, though in sublimated form, and all describe that experience in very similar words. That proves the existence of one true reality beyond this visible world, a reality that shows itself to every believer in similar forms. We remember Blake's words from "Jerusalem" that the pilgrims are always wandering, and the landscape never changes. As to the differences in their reports, we must remember the fine remark of Evelyn Underhill, that the divine reality and the word that tries to describe it are as far from each other as a map from the real, three-dimensional world. But in the same way as the mystics saw: their ascension to the Divine Truth, some of the great prophetic personalities too have experienced an ascension to heaven; the Swedish scholar, G. Widengren, has in his recent book, *The Ascension of the Prophet and the Heavenly Book* has shown that some Prophets were granted, at the end of their ministry, a heavenly book, a prescription, or like Moses, the tablets of law. Of

course, in the Islamic world the "Mi'raj" of the Prophet has played an important role and has, as R. Hartmann proves, been the prototype of some interesting works both of mystics and poets ("Die Himmalsreise Muhammads und ihre Bedeutung in der Religion des Islam", 1930). The whole problem has been treated especially by Bousset ("Die Himmelsreise der Seele" ARW4) and, in the field of Islamic studies, by the Swedish theologian, Tor Andrae and the Spanish orientalist, Asin Palacios.

In the field of world literature, the Persian *Arda Viraf Name* belongs as well to this kind of heavenly journeys as the pious Englishman John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. A Chinese parallel has been shown by Duyvendak (*Toung Pao* XL1); and Attar's *Mantiq-ut-Tayr* leads to the same goal as Dante's inexhaustible *Divina Commedia* in the Christian medieval church (The often discussed problem of the Islamic influence on Dante's immortal world has been recently treated in an extraordinarily useful work of E. Cerulli, *11 Libre della Scala*, 1949). Iqbal follows with his *Javidname* this broad and deep stream of tradition as also the poetical intention to use the symbol of a journey through Heaven and Hell, in order to criticize religion and society, and to develop the poet's own political or cultural ideas in a similar manner as Lucian did in the 2nd century on the shores of the Mediterranean Al-Ma'arri the blind poet, told his adventures in Paradise in the ingenious *Risalat alghufran*, making "Paradise a glorified salon haunted by immortal but immoral Bohemians" as Nicholson says: and in 1932, the Iraqi poet, Jamil Sidi az-Zahawi, wrote the poignant satire Revolution in Hell – but there is no religious feeling at all in it.

This symbol of a journey through the different spheres corresponding–according to Jili and other mystics–to the states of the soul, is the most convenient way for Iqbal to express his philosophy of desire, of striving of love and motion. The longing for the heavenly goal be it in order to return to that eternal home or to be lost in the ocean of Divinity like a river is lost in the bottomless sea, in the hope to see the face of the Divine Beloved, this is as old as mankind, and has found its expression in more than one political work. This journey has been praised by Maulana Rumi in unforgettable verses "If a tree could move by foot and wing, he would not suffer the pain of the saw or the blow of the axe."

And before him Imam Ghazzali had laid the theological foundation for the idea of everlasting desire:

> Since the divine things are without end, and only one part of them is revealed to each man, endless parts veiled from him, and he knows that they exist, and are known by God, and knows that the things he does not know are much more than the things he knows, he always continues longing…
>
> (*Ihya ulum addin* IV)

That means that the Everlasting Beauty nourishes the Everlasting as a German poet has expressed it ("Und'es kann die ew'ge Schönheit nur die ew'ge Schönsucht naehren"). The Swedish theologian Tor Andrae, and with him many Christian theologians, hold, as Iqbal does, that Paradise too is always a desire, a development, a growing in love; for the journey to God being accomplished, the journey in God begins, and this is without end in eternity of eternities.

And as the journey of the keen; ardent, loving spirit is drawn in the symbols of the "murg-i-i-jan", the soul's bird, by 'Attar and others, so it can be seen also under the symbols of running water, of the river rolling in eternal motion towards the ocean. The name given to Rumi by lqbal-Zinderud, living stream-shows the importance ascribed by the poet to this- very old symbol: did not Heraclitus 2500 years before, compare-life and being to a river, changing and never resting? Did not the Buddha at the same time find the highest wisdom when he was sitting in contemplation on the river Neranjare whose waters may have told him the mystery of life? And in Iqbal's work, the Martyr Sultan Tippu sees in the Cauvery River such a symbol, and cannot help teaching him the mystery of life, love and death, by means of the other "Living Stream," the tongue of the poet. In the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, Iqbal has given a free translation of Goethe's wonderful poem "Mahomet Gesang" where the German poet compares the life of the Prophet to a stream, bearing with him all rivulets and brooks to the breast of the ocean. This too may be a reason for lqbal's taking the nom-de-plume Zinderud: he too is a prophetic spirit who tries to move the forces of his nations.

But there arises a question: can the bird fly without having been called? Can the nightingale fly without having felt the fragrance of the rose garden? Can the water flow if there is no waiting ocean?

As the greatest religious personalities of all times and religions have answered this question, Iqbal too answers with a. firm No. He himself asks:

> The subtlety has not yet been solved: Am I the prey or is He?

And he himself answers:

Like us, He is need entire.
And the prisoner of desire.

The character of a living personality is this desire, and the mutual seeking of man and God has been described by Maulana Rumi in his *Mathnavi* (1:174)

When the thirsty seeks the water in the world, the water also seeks the thirsty.

And even more: God needs man as the great German mystic Eckhart, the English recluse Julaine of Norwich, and many others have pointed out. Man is the aim of creation, as is to be seen in the famous "hadith-i-qudsi":

And God liked to show His beauty, His love to somebody.

God's love of man is prior of man's love to God; all mystics have expressed the importance of the Koranic word. His love pursues man, as witnessed by Niffari, the Muslim mystic of the 10th century and Francis Thompson, the Catholic poet of the 19th century to give only two examples.

And one day, man stands face to face with God.

Iqbal's heavenly journey is in accordance with the experiences and descriptions of the greatest personalities in the field of religion and art (cf. M. Eliade, "Symbolisms du Magique," *Numen*, 1956). His ideas concerning the different events and problems, about the religious leaders and their characteristics, also are most weighty and interesting.

In the personality of Zoroaster, Iqbal has shown the type of the prophet in the widest sense of the word. Zoroaster is, as recent researches have shown, a typical representative of the so-called "prophetical" type in religious experience (a type which has been discussed in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, chapter V) The centre of his experience of God is the feeling of God's Holiness, and the conviction that just as He has created the world in the beginning so He will bring it to an end. Also He has told mankind the duty of working together with the powers of the good God. That means that man has to help God in his struggle with the devils, the demonia, destroying powers of falsehood and treason (van der Leeuw). That is, of course, in other words. the idea of Iqbal too, who lays stress upon the fact that man has to be a co-worker with God, developing all his good qualities in struggle with the satanic forces.

Man has, according to Zoroaster, to decide whether he will choose darkness or light, and in consequence of this choice he will get to Paradise or Hell. Zoroaster is, as is well-known, the first prophetic genius proclaiming the reality of a Judgment at the end of the world. To him. God's being shows itself in Creation and in the Last Judgment, as we read in the "Gaths" *Yasna* 43,5:

> I have known Thee as the Holy One, first creating life, deciding a reward for every act, ordaining a bad destiny for the wicked, and a good destiny for the good, at the end of creation.

The work Zoroaster is marked by social as well as religious factors, and, therefore, Iqbal is right in making him a defender of the social character of religion. It is a well-known truth that the psychological type known as prophetic always is forced to reveal the truth he has seen or heard in extensor and to call people to the word of the living, personal God, while the so-called mystic type would prefer losing himself in the depths of the ineffable Godhead. They prefer a "khilvat", as Iqbal would say; but the prophetic type is not satisfied with the seclusion which gives man the deepest experience of life but desires revelation, work, and testimony of God's activity. It is a very ingenious idea of Iqbal to show Ahriman trying to seduce Zoroaster by means of a quietistic, and therefore fruitless, mysticism, maintaining that loving seclusion is better than preaching; that people would not understand the work of the prophet, and that (contrary to the opinion of the orthodox Islamic community) the saint rates higher than the prophet. Ahriman is a very fine example of the temptation that came overmuch of the great religious geniuses: the most typical story in this field is the dialogue between the Buddha and his temptor Mara, after Buddha's illumination. The ideas put by Iqbal in the mouth of Ahriman come from the same source as Mara's seductive invitation to the Buddha; to leave public preaching, and to enter at once the great "Nirvana."

In this way, the chapter on Zoroaster and Akriman is of great importance for the comparative study of religions, for it shows very clearly the fundamental difference between the two types of religious experience but does not forget that in spite of all those differences both of them are only two sides of the divine revelation, completing one another.

Another of the figures in the *Javidname*, taken from the Zoroastrian (or to be more exact, post-Zoroastrian religion) is Zervan [Zeitschrifteler Deutschear Morganländischan Gescllschaft]. Zervan (on whom philologists like H. H. Schaeder' in *ZDMG* 95,

contributed long articles, and others, like Widengren in *Hochgottglaube to Iran*, important book) lived in the Achaemenid Iran about 400.

The idea of such an "impersonal" Time and Fate as the ruling power in the world has been held in Islamic times by the "dahriye" sect, and here we can clearly see the struggle of the orthodox Islamic personal conception of Allah with this impersonal "dahr" whose followers were known as materialists. Since Zervan, "dahr," time, seems to be from the materialistic point of view, the only cause of change, growing, and fading, he is to be called a sorcerer, a chameleon like magician whose spell has to be broken. The "mu'min," recognizing the personal creative activity of God, and realizing this power in his own Self, can be saved from the endless flux of time, can escape the charm of Zervan's colourful wings, and recognize that not he but the personal God is the highest principle in the world; and can thus participate in God's time.

The third divinity from the Zoroastrian religion shown by Iqbal is Sarosh, one of the Amesha Spentas, the angelic powers surrounding Ahura Mazdah as attributes. He personifies the hearing of both God, and man, and also the obedience. Sometimes he is represented as the messenger of Ahura Mazdah, or as a kind of priest mediating between man and God, and in the later Zoroastriam he is also the power which carries the soul of the dead to the bridge of Judgment. Iqbal's Sarosh is quite far from this conception, and closer to idea of a fallen angel. Until now I cannot explain for what reason he has chosen this divinity in this connection, but I am sure that it has not been a blind accident.

Besides the representatives of Iranian religion, those of India's different religions are also presented in the *Javidname*. The picture of the Buddha, as it is exquisitely drawn in the beautiful poem with the radeef "is nothing", and "is something" is in many peculiarities quite close to the attitude of the historical Buddha. I suppose some readers of the *Javidname* have been astonished to find the Buddha, known as the pessimistic negative philosopher, in Iqbal's work as a defender of active and dynamic ideas. But that is not as strange as it seems. Buddhism has always laid stress upon the act, the deed: for it is by action that the "karma" for the next birth is prepared:

> As sure as a die, thrown into the air, will come to earth and stand there firm, as sure it is that the beings by their works will come into a new existence.
>
> (Buddha, in *Angutta Nikaya*).

And since the Buddha maintains the moral arrangements of the world, he teaches his followers to do good works:

> As to me, I am teaching the deed, the action, and the power of will. (*Angutta and Dighanikaya*).

But is not the action which creates new life, but the will, the intention. And the intention then, of course. has to be directed towards the goal at the other side of the world of changes, of being, that is to the Nirvana where action and will are silent. It is very typical that Iqbal ascribes to the Buddha the remark, that the tear of compassion is something. As is well known, compassion plays a very important role in Buddhism, and the meditation of compassion and all embracing pity is one of the most beautiful features of this religion.

On the other hand, in Buddha's song we are told that all things are flying. changing, without stability, only man's Self being stable. But according to Buddhist philosophy there is nothing stable in the world; all aspects of being–be it body or soul, feelings or colours–are continuously flowing, and even what we call "immortal soul" does not exist at all. Here, Iqbal has changed the idea of the Buddha in order to throw more light upon the idea of active personality as the only surviving power in the world.

As to the charming "ghazal" of the dancer maid, it has been probably inspired by the songs of the nuns, Therigathta, who tell in touching verses the happiness and bliss they feel after having left behind them all worldly good, and sensual lust.

The wise man Jahandost, identified by A. Bausani with Vishvamitra, is a very typical representative of Indian thought. The legend tells us that he, a rich and powerful king, went to a yogi's hut, and there found a miraculous cow. He intended to take the fabulous beast (a weak reflex of the heavenly cow of the oldest Indian tradition, the symbol of divine power, of fertility) but could not succeed. The cow sent out of her body soldiers, weapons, and armies. By this miracle the king learned that man only by systematic yoga-exercises can reach the highest degree, and so he gave himself to centuries and centuries of the most difficult and efficient yoga training until he reached his goal the German poet Heine has derived this story as an example of useless worship and exercise, in one of his poems. But in Iqbal's view, Vishvamitra-Jahandost is one of the religious thinkers who have found God in their own heart; who have, to take the Sanskrit term realized the identity of the "atman" and the "Brahman" and like the great Vedanta theologians understood the

world as a dreamlike thing, as the veil of the "Maya" behind which the unqualified reality is hidden, for "God is colourless", as he says.

As to the second representative of Hindu piety, Iqbal has chosen Bhartrihari, the famous poet who is said to have lived in the 7th century A. D., and shows him even in Paradise. Bhartrihari shows himself in his poems as an adorer of the "karma", the power of deed. In the edition of his work by Bothlingk, the poems No. 3367 and 4497 show this idea, presented by Iqbal in the verses of the Indian sage, very clearly: neither the Gods nor Fate is adorable; the Gods are subject to Fate, and Fate is created by actions (3367); therefore, "karrua" is the only subject worthy of adoration (4497). It proves the intensity with which Iqbal maintained the idea of action, that he inserted this Hindu wisdom too in his many-sided work.

Iqbal's conception of the Gods of the ancient peoples is a very interesting one. All the old Gods, and their worshippers (as Abu Jahl, complaining beside Ka'ba) deny the possibility of serving an unseen God, God has to be adored in statues and pictures, and nobody can imagine that it is very attractive to bow the neck before an invisible divine being. Most of the Gods presented in the Venus-sphere are well-known; there is Baal "the Lord", the God of most of the Semitic peoples, connected with agriculture and fertility, and often honoured with cruet sacrifices. He is `the representative of the heathen God par excellence; for in the old Testament it is told how the prophet Elia condemned the worship of Baal, and killed 300 priests of his in order to establish the true religion of Yahve, the One, the Powerful. And I think it is not without reason that Baal is singing hymn convening the triumph of the old heathen Gods and the disappearance of true monotheism; for Baal-worshipping (*Baalsdienst*) is an expression often used in Europe for many forms of idolatry be the idol money, science, or imperialism. Iqbal was deeply indebted in his philosophy to Henri Bergson. The great Swedish scholar and archbishop Nathan Suderblom in his book *The Living God*, German trans p. 3 found in his idea of the creative evolution a "typical prophetic" view. And since it is the "Prophetical" conception of life and God, that Iqbal tried to show and to realize in all phases of his life, on each page of his writings, small wonder that he accepted Berg, son's idea, and widened it according to the ideals of Islam.

What we have tried to show is that the genius never comes and God, that Iqbal tried to show and to realize in all phases of his life,

on each page of his writings, small wonder that he accepted Bergson's idea, and widened it according to the ideals of Islam.

What we have tried to show is that: the genius never comes in an unprepared world; he finds ideas and ideals, traditions and figures of speech and thought; and is forced to live among them. But while other people live in "taqlid", in blind imitation of the old patterns the genius, burning in the fire of divine love and endless desire, melts all those element together, uses them for supporting his own ideas, and in this way creates a very important new organism of thought and work. To melt the world in the fire of his heart, and to create a new, living philosophy and practical code of life, that was the aim of Iqbal, and this ideal of his is seen even in such a subject as ours which a is far from the centre of his work.

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THE 'SECRETS OF CREATIVE LOVE': THE WORK OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

It is a wonderful occasion to speak on Iqbal, all the more as lqbal's birthday was just two days ago on 9 November. On 9 November 1877 he was born in Sialkot in the Punjab and he died in Lahore in 1938. Much has been written about Iqbal. Books and books in English, in Urdu, in various languages, books that are critical of him, books that call him a reactionary and others that call him a progressive. There are not two scholars or lovers of Iqbal who completely agree about him because his work has a very strange but important combination of eastern and western thought. But I personally think he has described his own way and his own work his ideals in a sentence he spoke in 1930 at the All India Muslim League meeting in Ahmedabad. He describes himself as a man, "Who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as that of states, and who believes that Islam in itself is destiny and will not suffer a destiny."

Let me just say a few words about Iqbal as a poet and a philosopher so that what I am going to say later falls in place. Born as I said in Sailkot, he was educated in Lahore, and then in Cambridge where he studied law and Hegelian philosophy: then after a short while in Germany, he returned to Lahore and worked there first as a lawyer but mainly as a poet and thinker. He was invited to various great occasions including the Round Table Conferences in London in 1931 and 1932; but in 1930, before that he had pronounced his great wish. "To see the Punjab, the North Western Forntier (which includes, of course, also Kashmir), Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state." That was the birth of today's Pakistan. He dreamt of a kind of state that should be a bulwark for India against the destructive forces that always came from the north–west—thinking of Genghis Khan and Timur and of ever so many conquerors. Iqbal knew very well the role of the Punjab and the North Western Frontier, in the history of India. It was that part that had always been overrun by the conquerors and he wanted– that was his idea– to create a state in which these dangers were kept away from mainland India. He was also of the opinion that

the Muslims should have a say in the building up of their own educational and legal ideals. This was behind his famous 'Pakistan speech' of 1930.

But Iqbal was much more than a politician. He was a philosopher and he was a poet. His first collection of poetry in Urdu *Bang-i-Dara* appeared in 1924, one year after his second Persian collection was published, the *Payam-i-Mashriq*. But his first Persian poems, as we shall see, were of a different character. His early Urdu poetry follows classical models. In 1912, however, for the first time, he cried out against fate; after seeing the situation in Europe he found that he had to give some strength to the Muslims of India and so in his great poem *Shikwa* of 1912 he made the Muslims complain that everything in life is too difficult and that their old civilization has no role to play anymore, that God indeed seems to have forgotten them: but in the great poem *Jawab-i Shikwa* (Answer to the Complaint), God teaches them what they have done and what they were supposed to have done. They should no longer neglect the duties of their faith, no longer neglect the love of God, and the Prophet. This poem was a kind of entrance into his new phase of life.

It is told, and he said it himself, that one night the great Sufi poet Maulana Jalal-uddin Rumi appeared to him in a dream and bade him write a Persian *mathnavi*, a poem modelled on Rumi's own great book, the *Mathnavi*. Iqbal complied and he wrote in Persian, not in Urdu, and it is this *Asrar-i Khudi* and its sequel the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* which made his fame, but which also earned him many attacks from those who thought that he should have rather stayed with the classical tradition of Urdu and Persian poetry, where according to the poet's dreams the self dissolves itself like a fragrance of a rose, and not write things in which the weak dewdrop is juxtaposed with the strong diamond: the dewdrop dissipating, disappearing, being eaten by birds, and the diamond always stable, always radiant, whatever its fate may be. It is power that enables everything to survive.

These ideas seemed very alien to many of the Indians who read his books, but they show a new approach to life in Iqbal's work. Formerly being a Hegelian, a follower of the Cambridge neo-Hegelian McTaggart, he now turned to the ideals of Bergson and his *élan vital,* his powerful philosophy, and tried to embody that in the tradition of Islam. It was not an easy task for him, but he was certainly right in what he was doing.

In 1923, as I mentioned briefly, his great Persian work appeared, *Payam-i Mashriq,* a book that is dear to us Germans because it was the

first and only answer of a Muslim thinker to Goethe's famous collection *West-Oestlicher Divan* which in turn was the first German response to Muslim and particularly to Persian poetry. Then follows another Persian group of poems, the *Zubur-i 'Ajam* (Persian Psalms) and in 1932 a poem which to this day is for me Iqbal's most important work, the *Javidname,* a story of man's traveling through the spheres under the guidance of Mawlana Rumi. He comes from the earth and finally reaches eternal beatitude after having talked with the inhabitants of the seven spheres about politics, poetry, mysticism, religion, and so on and so forth. It is a book which contains an almost inexhaustible wealth of ideas and when I translated it into German (and also into Turkish [1957, Ankara, 1958]) I thought - and I must say I still think – it is a book which everyone should read– perhaps with a commentary.

Then follow Urdu collections, *Bal-i Jabril* (Gabriel's Wing) and a very critical political collection called *Zarb-i Kalim* (The Stroke of Moses), in which he voices his criticism of the Western world and its imitators in the East. And finally, in 1938 after his death, on 21 April his posthumous poems were collected and published under the title *Armaghan-i Hijaz* (Gift of the Hejaz) thus showing that his heart was longing to go to the Hejaz to visit the sacred places of Islam and especially the *Rauza* of the Prophet.

Iqbal's poetry began as a continuation of the tradition of Persian and Urdu poetry, but all of a sudden, at the time when he wrote the *Asrar-i Khudi* in 1915 he discovered the Arabic anti-classical tradition and shocked his contemporaries with his criticism of Hafiz and of Plato. He warned his compatriots not to graze any longer in the beautiful gardens of Iran but rather return to the sands of Arabia and to drink the wholesome water of *Zamzam* instead of imbibing intoxicating Persian wine which might be useless to enable them to face the difficulties of life. You can well imagine how a culture that was used to this kind of poetry - singing of roses, nightingales and wine and whatever is beautiful and soft - was shocked at hearing these new messages but Iqbal reminded his readers that the deer once it leaves the Haram of Makkah becomes a prey of the hunters; likewise Muslims who forget the centre of their religion can easily be caught by the Europeans and can fall a prey to them.

His interest in the Arab aspect of Islam, something that is rarely mentioned in the books about him, permeates his whole life, and I think it is not an accident that at the very end of his life he returned to this point. His last letter written six weeks before his death in 1938, closes with a line of the great Persian poet Khaqani who died

in 1199 and this line says: "Do not put the mark of Greek philosophy on the crupper of the steed of religion which is of Arab origin". Religion was for him something born in Arabia and just as the Muslims of old, and the Sufis, worked against the application of too many Greek ideas on the interpretation of Islam, thus Iqbal has as his last word the warning not to become too much enthralled by Greek thought and not to interpret the Qur'anic message in the terminology of Greek philosophy. That is certainly an important message and it shows you how his main ideas remained the same throughout his whole life.

It is natural that a man like Iqbal should find the centre of his faith and of his whole life in the Qur'an. In the *Javidname,* that great vision of his journey through the spheres, he has a whole chapter about the '*Alam al-Qur'an* in which he shows or tries to show that the Qur'an, if it is indeed God's eternal word, must be eternal like God, it must be as manifold as God is; in every moment it will give you new wisdom. He himself followed the classical Sufi maxim that unless the Qur'an is revealed to you personally, just as it was revealed to the Prophet, then neither the commentaries of Razi or the *Kashshaf* of Zamakhshari are of any use for you.

As early as 1917 he had written in an article that, "The Qur'an is brimful with joy of life and light and there is no place in it for pessimistic mysticism, for something gloomy and dark," – a sentence which certainly is highly interesting in the light of his later philosophy. This joy of life, this complete enthusiasm about the words of the Qur'an as they have been revealed to the Prophet is typical of his work.

And that brings us quite naturally to the role of the Prophet of Islam in his work. Iqbal was deeply in love with the Prophet. To be sure, he has not written classical *na't* poetry and yet in one of his later works we find a poem that is inspired by the great *Burda* of al-Buseïri, because when he was ailing he was reminded (again in a dream) by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the reformer of Islam (d. 1897), to turn to the Prophet and ask him for help, just as al-Buseïri in the 13th century was miraculously cured and then wrote his great *Burda* in praise of the Prophet.

But there is more to it for Iqbal. The Prophet is the most important manifestation of the spirit of Islam. In the *Javidname* you find the very daring sentence, "You can deny God but you cannot deny the Prophet." The Prophet is the one who brought Islam to the fore and who interpreted what he had received in his revelations; he

was, as Iqbal repeats time and again, the ideal person, not the *al-Insan al- Kamil* of Sufism, but his quality is that of '*Abduhu* as he is called in the Qur'an (God's servant) [e.g. *Sura* 17:1; *Sura* 53:10], who is according to Iqbal (as he was to the classical Sufis) the ideal personality. It is this love of the Prophet which permeates his whole work, and it is much more important to see this than many other aspects of his work. Of course, Iqbal has used in his interpretation of the Qur'an the figures of the previous prophets and he has praised Abraham, the one who is the first true monotheist, because he believed that the survival of the Muslim nations really lies in the ethical monotheism which is represented by Abraham. But even dearer to him was Moses, the 'Kalim Allah', and it is not astonishing that he called his last great poetical work in Urdu, *Zarb-i Kalim* (The Stroke of Moses), because just as Moses cleft the mountains asunder to bring water out of the rock, just as he cleft the Red Sea so that his people could pass, thus our poet wanted to show that with a hard stroke one can certainly save the believers or at least come closer to the salvation of the Muslims of our days.

Moses, who had *al- Yad al-Bayza* (The White Hand), is for him the model of the miracle-working prophet. And both of them — Abraham and Moses –- appear, as is correct, as forerunners of the Prophet of Islam. Jesus, however, does not play any important role in Iqbal's work, He was certainly an admirer of him as we can see from his *Javidname,* but Christianity was too much connected in the minds of the Indian Muslims of the 19th and 20th centuries with colonialism and with imperialism, and therefore the role of Jesus in the works, not only of Iqbal, but also of other thinkers and poets of that period is not as great as it is in classical Persian poetry.

The figure of the Prophet of Islam, however, is central to his whole thought. Already in 1912 he writes in the *Answer to the Complaint:*

> Light the world so long in darkness with Muhammad's radiant name.

But perhaps the most beautiful description of the role of the Prophet is found in his second Persian *mathnawi*, the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness) which is his most political and at the same time most Qur'an-oriented work, where he says, "Love of the Prophet runs like blood through the veins of the community." And, another verse, which I always found particularly beautiful, is when he compares the *ummah*, the community of the Muslims, to a rose with a hundred petals, a true centifolia with one fragrance, and this

fragrance is the spirit of the Prophet. I have rarely found any more beautiful description of the role of the Prophet than this simple line.

And even more, Iqbal felt that he was very closely related in spirit to the Prophet. It is his conviction that the Prophet, who is the true manifestation of *'Abduhu* (God's servant [slave]) who is free and at the same time bound to God, is the ideal of humanity, and when you look at Iqbal's poetical language, you will find that in two very conspicious places he alludes to the role of the Prophet. One is rather easy to understand, the other one is a little bit more difficult to detect but even more important.

The title of his first Urdu collection *Bang-i Dara* means 'the sound of the caravan bell'. The poet found himself in the role of the little bell that is bound to the feet of the camel of the Prophet in order to show by its sound the way back to the centre, to Makkah. This is an image that can be easily understood by everyone. The second one occurs in the *Javidname*. Rumi is asked by some of the spirits in the spheres about his fellow traveller, i.e. Iqbal: "What is his name?" And he answers, "His name is Zindarud," Now *Zindarud* means 'living stream', and that would be a beautiful poetical name in any case. However, go back to Goethe, Iqbal's great master, and you will find in Goethe's early works the description of Muhammad as a stream, a mighty river. In the poem *Mahomets Gesang,* this image is elaborated: just as the stream begins from a small fountain and then becomes larger and larger and finally ends up in the all-embracing ocean, thus the Prophet can also be seen as beginning from a small source and then widening to embrace by his message more and more people and countries to leave their home to God.

Iqbal had translated this poem in a very free version in his *Payam-i al-Mashriq* as he had found it extremely expressive. What neither Goethe nor Iqbal could know is that exactly this image had been used already in the 10th century by the Shi'a theologian Kulayni in order to describe the Prophet with a wonderful symbol. Thus Iqbal himself feels that in his work he is an 'imitator' of the Prophet, not a prophet of course, but someone who follows closely his steps. And I think when we keep that in mind we understand much more of his ideas.

One of his last poems expresses his wish to go to the *Rauza* in Madinah where the Prophet is buried. He never performed the *Hajj*, nor did he perform the visit to the tomb of the Prophet in Madinah, but in one of his last lines he writes,

Old as I am I'd still go to Madinah

To sing my song there full of love,
Just like a bird who in the desert night
Spreads out his wings when thinking of his nest.

That was his central thought.

However, there is also something else in his love of the Prophet. In the fifth chapter of his famous *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* he begins with a tale from an Indian Sufi of the mid-16th century. This sentence runs: "Muhammad of Arabia went to the highest heaven and returned. I swear by God, if I had reached this place, I would have never returned." And then he continues that this is the attitude of a great Sufi. The Sufi wants to remain in the eternal happiness of being close to God, and not to return to that world, while the Prophet comes back in order to preach what he has experienced in the immediate neighbourhood of God, and to teach mankind what God has inspired to him. Now this is of course a very interesting application of a category in the history of religion which distinguishes between the 'mystical' and the 'prophetic' approach to religion. And Iqbal was most certainly a great representative of the so-called 'prophetic' approach to religion. He was someone who wanted to preach what he had felt and experienced.

In the history of Islam, you can see this model very clearly in the life of the Prophet. I do not know if Iqbal thought of it but it is certainly a fact that after his experiences in the cave of Hira where the Prophet had the first revelations he went out to preach what he had learned, and in a second case, after acting only in Makkah, he left his home town in order to go into the world and create a state, a basis for the political life of the community. This alternation of what Iqbal calls *Jalwah* (manifestation) and *Khalwa* (being with God in seclusion) is also visible in other aspects of his thought, namely in his great emphasis on the two aspects of life. Everyone knows that life can exist only in polarities, the heartbeat, the breathing, everything is certainly bound to be twofold; as Goethe says,

In breathing there are two kinds of blessings,
Once you take in the breath and then you take it out again.

You inhale and you exhale, and the same is true for the systole and diastole, the heartbeat. Nothing can live without this twofold activity. That also can be applied to God in his manifestations.

I remember when I was a professor at Ankara, I tried to teach my Muslim students that our German philosopher Rudolf Otto [1869-1937] had described God in categories of the *mysterium tremendum,* the

tremendous, frightening mystery and the *mysterium fascinans,* the fascinating mystery. One of my students got up and said, "But we Muslims have known that for the last 1,000 years, we speak of God's *Jalal* (Majesty) and his *Jamal* (Beauty): these are the two aspects under which He has revealed Himself." That is an idea which Iqbal also takes up, although we have to say that in his concept of the Divine, the *Jalal*-side appears to be somewhat stronger than the *Jamal*-side.

But how does he see this God, whom he describes like that? God is for him the greatest Ego. His philosophy of *khudi,* of egohood, is something that has been criticised by many western scholars and also by eastern scholars because the word *khudi* in Persian usually means 'egotism', 'selfishness' and so on and so forth. However, if you go back to the 13th century, and you read Mawlana Rumi, you will find that in his prose work *Fihi ma Fihi* he uses *khudi* exactly in the sense that Iqbal uses it, namely 'the innermost being' of a person or of a thing. It is the essence par excellence. And thus for Iqbal everything in the world consists of smaller and greater egos, of *khudis* in various forms, God being the greatest all-embracing Ego. One cannot describe Him. We all know that it is impossible to reach the *deus absconditus,* the hidden God who is never to be reached by intellect, or by love or by any possibility, but we can at least approach Him when He reveals Himself in His word. What we know, says Iqbal in his *Lectures*, is that God has described himself as an individual, as an ego, by calling himself in the Qur'an by the name of Allah. This shows that he is something or someone who is personal, to whom I can turn. We are reminded of modern European philosophers of religion such as Paul Tillich, the great Protestant theologian, who said, "The divine has to be given as a thou, because there is no possibility for me to come into a loving encounter with an indescribable and faraway neutral being." God is the greatest ego in which everything is contained, and after all, as the Qur'an says, he invites man to call upon him, *ud'uni 'astajiblakum,* "And your Lord says: Call on Me; I will answer your [prayer)" (Sura 40: 60). That is for Iqbal the proof of God's great egohood, and what he says about him in his poetry is mainly one aspect that he calls *Kibriya'* (Divine Grandeur)--an expression which he has taken doubtlessly from the poetry of Rumi in which God is often circumscribed with the form *Kibriya* (Grandeur). Most of you will know the beautiful *Hadith Qudsi* which runs *al-Kibriya' rida'i* (Grandeur is my cloak), that means, it is one aspect which we can hope to touch at least a little bit.

Religion for Iqbal has to be wedded to power. Power is dangerous and satanic when it is separate from religion, but the two

have to work together to build up a better new world, For Iqbal, God is the one who is *al-Hayy al-Qayyum* and he loves the Qur'anic saying, *"Kull yawmin huwa fi shan"*. He interprets this Qur'anic verse in a philosophical way in his *Lectures* when he says, "The not-yet of God means unfailing realisation of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains Its wholeness throughout the entire process." That means God creates constantly, He works constantly, but He never changes in His innermost being.

It is also important to see Iqbal's interpretation of the word of the *Shahadah*. The interplay of the *La Illa*, which has been interpreted very often by the medieval mystics, seems to be extremely important for him. Because without a *La,* without negation, there cannot be an affirmation. From the *La* you go up to the *Illa* and as Persian poets would say, "From the *La* you go to the *Bai-La,* to the 'higher"'. Again the play between the *La* and *Illa* forms an important aspect of his poetry and his philosophy, and here we come to an interesting interpretation of life by Iqbal.

Many people have claimed that he was strongly under the influence of Nietzsche, the German philosopher. Iqbal has placed him in the *Javidname* in a place beyond the spheres. He shows that Nietzsche remained in the *La,* in the negation, by denying God and failed to reach the affirmation. But had he done one step further towards the *Illa.* 'except Allah'– thus says Iqbal– then he would have found the real religious attitude– he would have found the God who he thought 'had died'.

Here we come to Iqbal's interpretation of the human being. Nietzsche was supposed to be responsible for Iqbal's ideal of man as the great fighter as a kind of superman. Similar concepts were very common in European philosophy at the beginning of our century. However, Iqbal's *Mard-i Momin* that is *al-Insan al-Momin* has nothing in common with Nietzsche's superman, because Nietzsche's superman appears only 'after God has died'. This idea was of course inconceivable for a pious thinker like Iqbal. Nor has Iqbal's ideal man anything of the *Insan al-Kamil* as he was developed in the Sufi philosophy. Rather Iqbal's ideal believer is the one who is a co-worker with God and thus completes many unfinished things in this world, on this earth, and ameliorates what remained unfinished.

One of the most famous poems in the *Payam-i Mashriq* is a discussion between God and man. Man proudly addresses God:

You made the night and I the lamp,
You made the clay and I the cup.

You made the deserts, forests, mountains high,
I flowerbeds and orchards and the park.
It is I who grinds the mirror out of stone.
It is I who makes from poison, antidote.

You could say that this is a very high ambition of man and perhaps even a dangerous one, and many critics especially in the West have accused Iqbal of portraying a very self-conscious human being who has no respect for God. That is not true. I would say that the *Mard-i Momin,* the *al-Insan al-Momin* is the one who in himself has realised the paradox of freedom and servantship, and thus he is the ideal person as manifested first by the Prophet, namely as *'Abduhu,* (God's servant), which means servantship in freedom. That is how Iqbal, according to my understanding, defines the role of man.

Something that is absolutely important and which belongs to our theme of creative love is that this man is nothing of a static being. There is a constant growth. For Iqbal the whole universe is growing in every minute, in every second. Even the smallest ego wants to show itself, wants to assume a higher place, and this rising gamut of egohood goes through everything created.

In this rising gamut of egohood, in this manifestation of the best qualities of man one finds one important aspect: that is the struggle against *Iblis*, against Satan. It may sound strange that Iqbal has given such a prominent role to the satanic powers. We may be shocked when we read his descriptions of *Iblis*. However, Iqbal's Satan shows in himself trends from various literary and religious traditions. On the one hand he is the haughty person who said, *"Ana khayr* (I am better) than Adam" and was then cursed. On the other hand he has much of Goethe's Mephistopheles who is sent by God to man in order to test him and thus to help with his growth. This is the favourite aspect of Satan in Iqbal's work. He has described his activities in a great five-part poem in the *Payam-i Mashriq* called *Taskhir-i Fitrat* (The Overcoming of Nature). Here he describes how Adam was cast out of paradise and then spent his life in struggling with the powers of evil, and it was only through this struggle that he assumed a real human personality. This fight against heavy odds, the fight against the satanic powers - that is what man is called to. So Satan in one of Iqbal's poems can proudly say. "It's I who gives colour to life."

The most impressive description of this satanic aspect is found at the end of the *Falak al-Mushtari* (the Sphere of Jupiter), in the *Javidname*. There Satan appears as a very sad old man just as

Nietzsche had described him, and he complains of man. Why? Because man is much too stupid to understand his temptations and it is no fun for an old devil to fight with such a silly creature! What Satan wants and what he prays to God for is, "Please give me a mature human being, one who fights with me and who overcomes me at the end." Then, and this is Iqbal's ingenious solution, *Iblis*, overcome by the perfect believer, will finally perform the *sijdah,* the prostration, which he refused at the beginning of time.

It is very touching to read this complaint of poor *Iblis* who feels so bored with us human beings. But Iqbal knows of course that the '*Iblis* of fire', the one who once did not perform the prostration before Adam, is comparatively interesting and even useful for the development of human beings. However, there are other *Iblises*, they are made of clay, human devils who are much worse than the real devil. With the expression '*Iblis* of clay' he takes up an expression which was used as early as in the 11th century by the great Ismaili philosopher Nāsir-i Khusraw to whom Iqbal owes a lot of inspiration. It is this kind of devil who appears more and more in his later work, and one of his most tragic poems deals with the 'discussion of Satan with his political disciples', a poem in which many of the developments we have witnessed during the last decades are foreseen with a visionary power.

And yet, I would say that the role of *Iblis* as the one who brings man to higher stages of life is extremely important because, as I said, there is always the wish to reach higher and higher spheres and the development of the self is strengthened by the fight with forces of evil. The more we fight the higher we can reach. It is this aspect which is most important in Iqbal's work and he thinks– and again here he takes up classical ideas– that, "In great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing its own identity". This sentence has to be kept in mind. It is not a fading-away of the mystic in God, it is the development of the self which comes closer and closer to God. So united with God without losing its own identity it transcends the limits of time and space. "Action is the highest form of contemplation." Thus he says, in the *Lectures*, after describing the importance of prayer and communal prayer in most beautiful words. But in the previous sentence, I would ask you to look at the word 'time'. The self, in a great struggle, transcends time and space. And Iqbal's concept of time is of great importance for our understanding of all his thoughts. He has seen time on a twofold level - *afaqi* and *anfusi,* the one that is connected with the outward world, and the other one which we carry ourselves in our hearts. In

the *Javidname,* he makes appear the old Iranian deity of time, Zurvan, who teaches man that it is important to tear the *zunnar* (The Infidel's Girdle) of Time. Because once time comes into existence, once it is here and we see it second after second, year after year, then it looks like a long, long belt, a belt as, according to the tradition, the infidels would wear. The true faithful believer is the one who tears this *zunnar,* this girdle, this belt and for a single moment finds himself in the 'Time of God' which is without before and without after. And then one can say with the Prophet, *'Li ma'a Allah waqt* (I have a time with God)." It is the great experience of love when we grasp infinity in a single moment.

Iqbal knows that our life develops not just by accident. "It is our actions and especially our thoughts and our dreams which colour our development." It is our unconscious ideas which slowly come into consciousness and form and shape our lives.

Again this is an idea which has been expressed by Goethe in very beautiful words. It is the man who dreams up something who finally will be able to realise it or at least to come close to his goals. For Iqbal this is also true for our attitude to God and to life and most importantly to death.

As early as 1910 in his *Stray Reflections,* a little notebook, he had noted down: "Personal immortality is not a state, it is a process." And he goes even further: he believes that personal immortality is not something that is there for everyone, rather it is something that is given only to the strong– the person who has overcome the shock of corporeal death can develop, in the end, further and further in the divine presence. This is of course an idea that was unacceptable to many of his orthodox contemporaries and is still a matter of criticism even for many who otherwise like Iqbal. However, death and eternity have to be seen from a completely different angle. Death is man's experience of what he has done in life and thus for Iqbal Hell is nothing but the complaint and the suffering of the human ego which has failed to fulfil its ambitions and has not realised its goals. Heaven, however, he says, "is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration". Heaven is not a static paradise. Heaven is growing without diminishing, and he even coins the lovely sentence, "Heaven is no holiday,"

We still have to develop ourselves in eternity, because if eternity means eternal life then movement must be continued through eternity. Interestingly, and I was always fascinated by this coincidence, almost verbatim the same ideas are found in a book that

was written in Sweden at the same time as Iqbal was writing his *Lectures* by the Swedish Lutheran Bishop, Tor Andrae, who was a great Islamicist and who has in his book, *Die letzten Dinge,* developed the idea that death is not the end of our life but just the beginning of a new stage. That is something which you also find in classical Sufism, "When the journey *to* God is finished, the journey *in* God begins". But of course such an interpretation of Hell and Paradise was considered dangerous by many of the old fashioned believers.

Yet I personally think it is something that is extremely important in our appreciation of Iqbal's work, and here the creative love comes in. What is this love? Love is in Iqbal's work that which Bergson, the philosopher, whom he appreciated very much, calls the *élan vital*: it is the power that creates values, and is never satisfied with what it has created. It is a power that changes every moment what is in man. It is the symbol for the experience of intuition, "in which the mystic grasps reality in its wholeness in a single indiscernible moment." Love is this experience which the believer may have in the middle or at the end of his road. Love is the desire to assimilate, to absorb. It is, as he writes, "The highest form of the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them." So when we speak about the rising gamut of egohood or whatever word we want to use, this is impossible to achieve without creative love Every moment, everything we do, it has to be done with this *élan vital* in the Bergsonian sense.

Rumi, who was Iqbal's great master in Sufism and in spiritual thought, has very similar ideas; some of Iqbal's hymns to love, as we may call them, are almost word by word taken from Rumi's *Mathnavi*.

On the other hand, I may just add here, the philosophy or theosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi was very alien to him. He praised Ibn al-'Arabi in his dissertation of 1908; however, in the long run he found him tinged by neo-Platonic ideas, too much theosophical and not vital enough. But Rumi appears time and again as his great master who teaches him not only the secrets of the Self, but also the secrets of love. "Love is to live with fire under one's feet," and it is the power that moves people into true religion. In a very daring verse at the end of his life Iqbal says that, "The burning and unrest of one real *Allahu Akbar* does not fit into the five ritual prayers," that is, it transcends even the prescribed religious forms because it is so powerful that it is much stronger and much more impressive that anything else. When you read such a line, you understand why Iqbal, who himself was deeply interested in Islamic law and who has tried to interpret Islam from the most different, modern viewpoints, was

very much against 'Mullaism' and Pirism. He thought that Pirism, the role of the *Pirs*, that is the most influential leaders of Sufi brotherhoods in the modern Islamic world, was very dangerous because it was against true love and true life. The fact that the 'mystical leader' completely ruled over the minds of his often illiterate followers would of course be not very helpful in introducing new ideas such as Iqbal wanted.

And 'Mullaism', the role of the *mullas*, the interpreters of the law, who created layer over layer of interpretations, of *hashiyah* or commentaries and so on and so forth to the books of law and to the Qur'an, seemed to him equally dangerous because the *mullas* did not understand anything of the burning power of love. And he has a wonderful comparison of the *mulla* who looks like Qarun. (Qarun, as you know, was buried alive under the weight of his wealth.) For Iqbal, the *mulla* is, "A Qarun of Arabic dictionaries." He has only these hundreds of dictionaries out of which he tries to find the meaning of the Qur'an and the *Hadith* and is thus bound to remain in the dust, not to glow in the fire of love.

Iqbal knows that this burning love is something that shows itself in human prayer, but prayer is not done for the sake of the individual. The individual may pray as much as he wants, but he should not complain when God does not grant his wish. The most important is that in prayer, in contact with the divine, with the living God, man should be changed himself. Prayer is useful when God gives man the possibility of becoming his co-worker and of accepting the Divine Will as his own will, and only then he too will be able by his prayers to change the world. I think that is another aspect of Iqbal's thought which is worthy of our investigation.

It is natural that this love, *'ishq,* as Iqbal calls it is contrasted very frequently with *'ilm,* with scholarship and science and also with *'aql,* with intellect. He uses *'ilm* mostly in the English sense of 'science', as natural science. *'Ishq* is synthesis. *'Ilm* is analysis. Both of them have to work together. In a great Persian poem in the *Payam-i Mashriq,* Iqbal shows that without love, without this synthetical approach, *'ilm,* science, is something satanic. But if both of them co-operate they can create paradises on Earth. It is one of his finest expressions of his belief in synthetical thinking instead of a dry analytical approach. In his poetry he has compared the man who relies only on science to a bookworm who lives in the beautiful pages of philosophers like al-Farabi and al-Razi, but never knows anything of real life. He is contrasted with the moth, the butterfly, who casts itself into the

flames in order to experience one moment of ecstasy. *'Ishq* for Iqbal is comparable to the Prophet, Mustafa, while *'aql,* the dry intellect, is Abu Lahab. In a poem in which he brings together Goethe and his own eastern guide, Mawlana Rumi, he quotes a line by Rumi to which both agree: "Cunning intellect is from Satan, but love, *'ishq,* is from Adam."

Perhaps even more beautiful and more understandable, at least for a Muslim audience, is his verse that, "Science is the son of the Book, but love the Mother of the Book." Love is *umm al-kitab;* that means: love is what is behind everything, behind every revelation. Intellect, he says, is the open question, love the hidden answer. He has never tired of describing this love in the most beautiful and sometimes also very exotic images. I think the secret of this daring love is very well expressed in a verse from his later period, when he says:

Love leaps into Nimrod's fire without hesitation,
Intellect is still busy with looking from the roof.

Intellect ponders and does not dare to annihilate itself in the flames of love, but love is careless because it knows that the real way is to burn oneself in the flames of God.

In another verse, in which he uses an image very dear to classical Persian poetry, that of the great conqueror king, Mahmud of Ghazna, who conquered the idol-temple of Somnat in India, he says.

The whole world bows in adoration to love.
Love is the Mahmud that conquers the Somnat of intellect.

That is, intellect is something like an idol temple which has to be conquered by the all-embracing love. We find very similar ideas in Mawlana Rumi's work, but they are put here in a more modern context, and therefore are more relevant to all of us.

He knows also, and that is important to keep in mind that love should never be fulfilled. When Paul Tillich, whom I quoted already once, the German theologian of our time, says, "Fulfilled love is at the same time extreme happiness and the end of happiness, because only through separation can one become active." Iqbal says,

The Reed started to sing when it was cut off from the free bed,
Without separation there cannot be activity, and fertility.

Thus, we find in Iqbal's work one of the most important aspects, what he calls in Persian, *Kushish-i Natamam* (Never Finished Striving). Here again he is close to Goethe, and the poetry which he writes for

instance about his meeting with the virgins of paradise or with anything else is always permeated by this constant burning of unfulfilled love. Only while still waiting to reach the goal can a human being become active and create values. The stronger his longing is, the stronger and the greater are the values he may be able to create.

It is this *Kushish-i Nātamām,* this longing, this constant search for more and more closeness for approximation to the highest values that colours Iqbal's thought. He has expressed his ideas not only in the philosophical prose of his *Six Lectures* which were given in 1928, but even more in his poetry.

Many people, especially western critics, have found contradictions in Iqbal's philosophical prose. That is possible. Perhaps for some people it was too strange to understand how he welded together European philosophy and classical Islamic thought. Yet I personally think that one always has to read together his poems, be they in Urdu or in Persian, and his philosophical writings. Only then can we understand the breadth and the width of his greatness.

Strangely enough he himself has claimed that he wrote poetry only for practical purposes. Poetry as he saw it was an art which is only valuable when it makes people creative. "The highest art is that which awakens our dormant willforce and nerves us to face the trials of life manly." That is his idea, and for this reason did he, as I mentioned in the beginning, criticise the most beautiful poetry by Hafiz. His own poetry was written as he claims for practical purposes, because the people in the subcontinent were not used to reading philosophical statements or listening to many long sermons, but they wanted poetry. They could be approached by poetry and Iqbal's poetry, as everyone who has read him will agree, is extremely impressive, has a very strong rhythm and could be memorised immediately; thus his ideas became more and more known.

He has transformed in his poetry many of the old symbols, without discarding them, because after all people were used to listening to *bulbuls*, to nightingales and looking at roses. These traditional symbols have been changed in their meaning and have also been partly replaced by others. His bird of love, his soul bird is not so much the complaining nightingale, rather it is the falcon, the powerful bird who carries away his prey and who carries away man's heart. For the falcon there is no end to searching, he is not soft, not weak, but every moment there are new horizons before him, horizons that stretch from stars to sun and moon and beyond all the

spheres into eternity. Many Pakistanis of our day have painted this falcon in front of the blue sky and have written the lines on their paintings, "Before you there are still many new horizons." When the falcon is his 'soul bird', so to speak, as it was incidentally also in Rumi's poetry, then his beloved flower is the *lalah,* the tulip. One of his first collections of Persian poetry in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* is called the *Tulip of Sinai,* because the tulip resembles a flame– just as Moses saw the flame of God in the burning bush. In spring, the whole desert, all the hillsides are covered with the small red tulips which remind the poet of the manifestation of God's *Kibriya',* of God's grandeur in the world. He often compares the faithful believer to a tulip which is lonely and which opens her bloom with all her willpower to shine in the darkness. He even says that on his tomb there will grow tulips to show that a burning heart has been buried here.

The same way of speaking of classical symbols is also used in his transformation of figures. Just to give you one example: the martyr mystic al-Hallaj who was killed in Baghdad in 922 and who is notorious in Islamic history for his words, "*Ana'l Haqq* (I am the creative truth)", appears in the *Javidname* as the great master of creative love. It is he who tells Iqbal in the Sphere of Jupiter that he is a sort of forerunner of him, because it is he who wanted to bring resurrection to a mentally and spiritually dead people, and Iqbal wants to do the same through his verse. Hallaj becomes the prototype of his own attempt to bring spiritual resurrection to people who seemed to him spiritual1y dead. I think this too shows the depths of his feeling for the past and for the future likewise.

It is interesting to see that a German philosopher Rudolf Pannwitz, who came from the school of Nietzsche, developed a great liking for Iqbal. We often discussed him in previous years, before his death, and in one of his books he has written a chapter with a title, *Das Zeitgedicht*. The word can be translated only with great difficulty. It is a poem that really means something that is more than a poem; it is a spiritual political message and as Pannwitz writes, "The *Zeitgedicht* discharges in the hearts of the contemporaries a productive process which is stronger than any present time and is able to tear out the future from the womb of the present." I think that is exactly what applies to Iqbal's poetry, because he was a poet who wanted to create new values and to show his people a new way.

It is this kind of poetry of which he himself says in the *Javidname.*

If the aim of poetry is to create and to shape true man,

Then poetry is the heir to prophecy.

That is a daring word and he says it in the context of his own role in the world.

Iqbal was certainly one of those poets whose poetry was an heir to prophecy. Hermann Hesse, our great German writer, wrote a wonderful introduction to my German translation of the *Javidname* in which he says of Iqbal, among other things, that, "He dreams of a human race that is united in the name of Allah and His service." I think that is an excellent description of our great poet–philosopher. Iqbal himself said in the *Lectures*, "The world life intuitively sees its own needs and at critic moments defines its own direction; that is what in the language of religion we call prophetic revelation." Of course he does not mean that anyone after Muhammad is a Prophet because for him the abolition of prophethood is the birth of inductive intellect. But he knows that there are powers in the world, in the world spirit, if we may say, that know what the world needs. Perhaps taking his inspiration from this sentence in the *Lectures*, perhaps also from a different viewpoint, Bishop Kenneth Cragg has said about Iqbal that he is, "The spokesman of something deep within the contemporary soul. The age then must have felt its need of him." If this is true, then we can certainly say that for Iqbal it is valid what he says about the ideal poet, namely that, "The poet is the heart in the breast of the nation." A poet who teaches us this mystery, the secret of creative love, can certainly be called a heart in the breast not only of his own nation, but of all nations.

Let me close with his hymn to creative love as he has written it in his great Urdu poem, the *Masjid-i Qurtuba* (The Mosque of Cordoba), which he wrote when he was in Spain, and which is one of his most famous poems. Here he sees in the mosque of Cordoba the great power of creative love which has formed the civilization of Muslim Spain and of Islam in general. He says,

> Love is Gabriel's heart. Love is Muhammad's strong breath.
> Love is the envoy of God. Love is the clear word of God.
> Even the clay figures see, touched by love's ecstasy glow.
> Love is the new pressed wine. Love is the goblet of kings.
> Love that is Makkah's jurist. Love the commander of hosts.
> Love is the son of the road, thousands of places are his.
> Love is the plectrum that plays tunes on the taut strings of life.
> Love is life's radiant light. Love is the fire of life.

IQBAL IN THE CONTEXT OF INDO-MUSLIM MYSTICAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

Much has been written about Iqbal's relations with the cultural heritage of East and West. When we think of Iqbal as a reformer we should remember that he was not influenced solely by European philosophy, which as J. Fuëk [1894-1974] has lucidly shown in a much too little-known article, he interpreted most intelligently according to Islamic theological premises; we can understand his sayings much better by tracing back his ideas to his own Muslim, and particularly Indo-Muslim, tradition.

A. Bausani has clearly shown how Iqbal made use of the philosophical and theological tradition of Islam in general in his fine article "Classical Muslim philosophy in the Work of a Muslim Modernist", where he highlights, among other points, Iqbal's appreciation of Ash'arite thought. Iqbal's attitude towards Sufism however has been a matter of controversy and of many–not always very scholarly–publications. The topic still fascinates the Pakistani audience.

It is certainly too easy to simply collect Iqbal's early statements against Neo-Platonic mysticism and the all-embracing system of *wahdat-al-wujud;* the interesting aspect of his relation with Sufism is rather how he shifted his center of gravity. While still under Hegelian influence, he praised Ibn 'Arabi in his thesis and contrasted him favorably with the dry theologians of the 12th century, only to discard the system of *wahdat-al-wujud* completely a few years later. Likewise, 'Iraqi, appearing during the period of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* as a representative of the dangerous personalizing influence of Muslim culture, is quoted or alludded to in Iqbal's later work, and eventually appreciated in the *Six Lectures* (p. 137) as an interesting representative of a dynamic view of space. As Iqbal's early admiration of Ibn 'Arabi gives way later to severe criticism, his early aversion to Sana'i expressed in some depreciative remarks in a letter (M I 35, 1916) was changed into praise some twenty years later (Bat 37) after one of Iqbal's finest hymns in Persian (Mus. 18 ff.) was devoted to Sana'i

during the poet's stay in Ghazni in 1932. There he heard Sana'i's answer from heaven:

> in the colour and character of a tulip,
> in his heart the *la ilah*…

meaning that he had realized the freshness of Sana'i.s mystical poetry, which is certainly more earthbound than that of Iraqi and resembles not so much a delicate rose but rather a desert tulip, to use Iqbal's favorite imagery.

It becomes clear that in spite of his severe criticism of several aspects of the Sufi tradition, Iqbal was well a ware of the deep insight of some of the mystical leaders. This is particularly clear from some of his psychological remarks in the *Six Lectures.* He liked to read their works or to make use of some of their thoughts, as when he asked for a work by Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliari (probably the *Jawahir-al-khamsa)* while writing the *Javidname.* For his verdict against the decadence of Sufism and its lack vital dynamism as voiced especially during the period of the *Asrar* and of *Rumuz* and in the letters written during those years of World War I, does not conceal the fact that the 'wise men of the East' were more important for Iqbal than Europeans who talked about many secrets of being and not-being. (AH 157)

Iqbal was a great believer in Data Ganj Bakhsh Hujweiri and, as is said, often came there before morning prayer for inspiration. He even told the author of the most recent book on Data Ganj Bakhsh, Professor Masud ul-Hasan, that the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims had occurred to him while praying at the shrine of Data Sahib. On the other hand, his letters to Khwaja Hasan Nizami of the *Dargah* in Delhi show his deep admiration for the great Chishti saint, and he even urged the Nizami *Pir* to attend the *urs* of Baba Farid in Pakpattan in May 1931 in order to contact mystically-inclined personalities to bring about a spiritual revival of Islam.

In connection with the veneration of the saints of his native province, it would be highly interesting if a specialist in Panjabi mystical literature would devote a study to Iqbal's indebtedness to the Popular Panjabi Sufi tradition. Although the classical figures of Hir Ranjha or Sohni Mehinval do not occur in his imagery-contrary to Shirin and Farhad-, yet, Iqbal's images convey at times more of the rural atmosphere of the inherited Panjabi folk-poetry than of the well-trimmed gardens of Shiraz, which were, in his view, so dangerous for the striving human soul. When he praises in one or his later works the miraculous power of *sohbat,* spiritual company,

through which the seed of the heart can grow out of the clay and water of the body (Pas 35)

It is difficult not to be reminded of the first lines of Sultan Bahu's *Siharfi,* which speaks of Allah, the jasmine twig which the perfect guide has planted in man's heart and waters with the water of negation and affirmation, i.e. the words of the profession of faith:

الف اللہ چنبے دی بوٹی مرشد من میرے وچ لائی ہو
نفی اثبات دا پانی ملیس ہر رگے ہر جائی ہو

And Sultan Bahu's warning not to enter under Khidr's obligation *(minnat)'* since one has the water of life in oneself' is a typical Iqbalian thought:

نہ کر منت خواجہ خضر دی تیرے اندر آب حیاتی ہو

To be sure, Iqbal has stressed in the *Stray Reflections* the importance of Bedil and Mirza Ghalib for his spiritual formation, and not that of the native poets of the Punjab; yet a certain innate affinity with the tradition of his province may account for the strong rhythmic character and the use of memorable allterations in his poetry (as are also found, incidentally in Maulana Rumi's lyrics). Ghalib was for him a spiritual brother of his favorite Western poet, Goethe, and BediI impressed him by his dynamic outlook, which has still to be studied in full by modern scholars. Both these can be understood, to a certain extent, by tracing back some of their favorite expressions to the Delhi Naqshbandi tradition.

It is well-known that Iqbal had a strong predilection for Ahmad Sirhindi, the *mujaddid-i alf-i thani,* and he writes in a letter to Sayyid Suleyman Nadvi (1917)

> Khwaja Naqshband and the *mujaddid* of Sirhind hold a very high rank in my heart thought it is deplorable that this order has also come nowadays under the sway of personalization: that holds true even for the Qadiriyya order in which I myself have been initiated.

The Qadiriyya, established in the Subcontinent first in Uch in the 15th century, had indeed played a role in the development of one aspect of Indian Islam which Iqbal basically disliked: his praise of Aurangzeb implies the blame of his elder brother Dara Shikoh. And yet, some of the most touching lines in the *Asrar-i Khudi* (1344 f.) are devoted to the second patron saint of Lahore, Mian Mir Sehwani (d. 1635), the protagonist of the Qadiriyya in the Punjab and spiritual guide of Dara Shikoh. In this connection it is interesting to read

some of Dara's *ruba'iyat,* which are strongly reminiscent of Iqbal's ideas. The verse:

> In every moment new taste reaches the gnostics *(arif)*;

They are-themselves *mujtahids* and do not belong to the people of imitation *(taqlid)*:

> Lions do not eat anything but their own prey;
> the fox eats the fallen and rotten meat!

could be easily taken for a quatrain from Iqbal's *Lala yi Tur* And some of the quatrains by Dara's extravagant friend, the Jewish convert to Sufism, Sarmad (exec. 1661) strangely resemble Iqbal's verse about the role of *Iblis* and his fate.

However, in his whole spiritual formation Iqbal is closest to the most 'prophetical' order, the Naqshbandiyya or rather the tradition which goes back to the sober Junayd-i Baghdadi and the later exponent of *wahdat ash-shuhud,* 'Ala'ud-daula Simnani (d. 1335), as he himself admitted in a letter to Akbar Allahabadi (Simnani's attitude towards Ibn Arabi has recently been studied by Hermann Landolt). 'Ala'ud-daula was a member of the Kubrawiyya order which, as Fritz Meier has shown, gives priority to the 'way of Junayd' as the center of the novice's education. But Najmuddin Kubra, the founder of the order, has written also some highly interesting remarks about will as energy' and 'the growth of activity and extension of consciousness', thoughts which are reminiscent of some of Iqbal's ideas about the growth of the possibilities of the Ego. Likewise, Najmuddin Kubra, as his followers, has underlined the importance of *shuhud,* vision, as the last possible step on the mystical path. This approach may also account for Iqbal's interest in Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani, the Kubrawi leader, whom he has introduced in the *Javidname* as the mystical guide of Kashmir, the country where he migrated in 1311. The fact that 'Ali Hamadani also composed a book of Counsels for Kings, thus combining the attitude of a spiritual guide and counsellor in political ethics is important for Iqbal's positive remarks about him. As for Sirhindi, he shows some similarities with the Kubrawi tradition or rather the peculiar stress on *shuhud,* as elaborated mainly by Simnani. A remark in the *Javidname* shows Iqbal's admiration for the *mujaddid* very well. It is the word about Nietzsche (1372)

> Wish that he had lived in Ahmad's days!

Nietzsche appears here, as elsewhere in Iqbal's work, as the *majdhub,* the man, who has reached only part of the Truth. The fact that the German philosopher who, as it has been said 'was brimful

with religious feeling' and 'denied God as a revenge for not finding Him', is called by Iqbal' 'a Hallaj without gallows' explains the remark about Ahmad's time in the context of Naqshbandi tradition. The leading Naqshbandi master of Sind in the 18th century, Makhdum Muhammad Zaman of Lunwari said about Ha1laj. whom he still saw in the realm of intoxication:

> If one of the children of Khawaja 'Abdul Khaliq (–Ghidjduwani) had been alive in his time, Mansur's head would not have been given to the gallows, for be would have led him beyond the state of *Ana 'l-haq*.

This saying was probably common among the Naqshbandis in connection with Hallaj (as it is still today in Turkey), and could be most cleverly employed by Iqbal for the German *majdhub* Nietzsche. The personality of the great leader Ahmad Sirhindi is sometimes difficult to understand, particularly his ideas about the role of the *qayyum* for the constitution and continuation of the world. It seems to me that Iqbal follows even more closely the line of the great Delhi mystics in the 18th century. They, like him, had to face grave problems in a time of utter destitution of the Muslim community in India and tried to help this community to find a new way towards self-identification. These three leaders were Shah Waliullah, Mazhar Jan-i Janan and Khawaja Mir Dard. All three were initiated in the Naqshbandi Mujaddidi *silsila*, although they held other affiliations as well; all three defended the importance of the unmitigated *shari'a* and believed in the political activity of the mysticl leader, although this is not very conspicuous in Mir Dard. All of them, too, fought against extremist Shia ideas and wrote in the tradition of the Mujaddid that Shia claims are batil, vain–Mazhar even fell victim to his outspoken anti-Shia convictions. Iqbal, too, wrote against some of the popular concepts such as the role of the Mahdi, which seemed for him part of the dangerous Persian heritage. (But he accepted the Ismaili community under the Agha Khan and with Quaid-i-Azam, as he, on the whole, tended to overlook the discrepancies that separated various Muslims groups).

Among the three Delhi mystics Iqbal mentions particularly Shah Waliullah, who, indeed saw himself as the Prophet's vicegerent 'in blaming' (*mu'ataba*) and saw his special duty, to which he devoted most of his writings and also his Persian translation of the Qur'an, as the purification of the Muslim community so that they might reach prosperity in this world and the next. His struggle led him not only to a remarkable political correspondence but made him also issue wrathful remarks, which are at least as negative as Iqbal's statement

from 1915. The pilgrimage to Ajmer or Salar Mas'ud seemed to him worse than adultery and murder, asn he does not hesitate to write:

> The treaties and the books of the Sufis may be an alchemy of wonderful effect for the elect, but for the ordinary people they are deadly poison.

Does this not sound like Iqbal's remarks that mysticism, wrongly interpreted and given through lovely poetry to the uneducated masses, can prove more dangerous than the hordes of Ghengis Khan? And he would have certainly agreed with Shah Waliullah's long and amazingly straight forward scolding address to the men of various professions, enumerating their sins without mercy. To be sure, the complaint against the would be Sufis is almost as old as Sufism itself. Hujweiri, the patron saint of Lahore had uttered harsh words about those who imitate only the empty shell and indulge in music and dance, just as shortly afterwards Sana'i pours out in his *Hadiqa* most vulgar curses over the self-styled Sufi. Whether Amir Khusraw, who saw in the rites of Sufism all falsification *(tazwir)* and 'Urfi who says that 'the Sufi is busy with deceiving men and omen', are no different from Shah Waliullah, who blames the shopkeeper shaikh who sells miracles, or from Mir Dard, who warns the pious not to mix with the pig-natured sufis, or from Iqbal who saw the dangers of Pirism and complained:

> There are no more goods of Islamic conduct left in the shops of the Sufis (1915).

Another common problem is the confrontation of the pious Muslim with the *falasifa,* the philosophers. These thinkers, taken as representatives of the analytical mind or of a dangerous attempt to reach the truth without the intermediation of the Prophet, have been the scapegoats of the mystics from early times onwards. Sana'i has condemned them in many a verse, and so has Rumi, who in this respect, as in many others, remained faithful to the Khwrasanian mystical tradition. Shah Waliullah, too, went on to call those who follow the philosophers who contradict the religious tenets of the prophets of God' almost dogs, rather they are worse than dogs, for the dog does not smell old bones, but these unworthy people smell bones 2000 years old and lick them... Dard refuted in well worded philosophical terms, to be sure, the claims of those who try to approach God by using philosophical concepts instead of His names as revealed in the Qur'an. Iqbal, like Waliullah, a philosopher and trained in the different systems of Western and Eastern philosophical traditions, has more often than not confronted the loveless, dry-as-dust, slow-footed philosopher as represented by

Avicenna or Hegel with the spiritually alive, active and loving faithful Man symbolized by Maulana Rumi ; the book-worm with the burning moth. Intellect, pure analytical dissection, is dangerous, but wedded to love, to the synthetic faculty, it can produce miracles.

Shah Waliullah has also interpreted some of Muhammad's miracles in such a rationalistic way that he almost seems to foreshadow Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's later writings. Thus he writes that during the *mi'raj* Muhammad's human perfections were materialized in his pure body, and his animal perfections in Buraq, or explains the 'Splitting of the Moon' (Sura 54/1) as a perfectly natural event - only to sing then glorious Arabic hymns in honor of the Prophet in which the whole vocabulary of traditional mystical prophetology is used. Iqbal, likewise, combines rational and mystical elements in his prophetology.

One of the special elements in the Junaydian way of mysticism is the preference of *sahw*, sobriety, to *sukr*, intoxication. According to the usual interpretation, which is taken up once again by Shah Waliullah, intoxication is the aspect of the saint, while the 'second sobriety' is the quality of the prophet who returns, spiritually changed, after his meeting with God to the world in order to shape it according to his experience. The classical statement of the difference between these two approaches to the last religious experience is the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Six Lectures* in Iqbal's work, where Abdul Quddus Gangohi is taken as the typical representative of mystical unification, an attitude which Hujwiri had very well described in his *Kashf-al-mahjub.*

Similarities of Iqbal's thought with some ideas of Khwaja Mir Dard have been mentioned several times. It is certainly no accident that the metaphor of light for God, derived from the *ayat an-nur* (Sura 24,35) is central for both thinkers. For Dard it suggests both 'Absolutism and Omnipresence which covers both transcendentalism and all-immanency' (Yusuf Husain). For Iqbal it is used mainly to prove God's absoluteness, relying upon the absolute speed of light which, of course, was unknown to Dard. Comparing both poets we may also think of Iqbal's explanation of time as an attribute of Reality, as A. H. Kamali has shown; but it seems to me that the main influence of Dard's ideas lies in the concept of the *tariqa muhammadiyya,* the Muhammadan Path. However, it is interesting to see that even in the fragile and truly mystical poetry of Mir Dard there are lines which one would rather expect in Iqbal's work. Take the Persian quatrain:

The rose of the world withered due to our withering;
the heart of mankind froze due to our freezing.
We were the cause of the consideration of the world-
the world became nothing due to our dying,

or Dard's daring statement about the high rank of man as the true representative of God, as elaborated in his *'Ilm-ul-kitab* and summed up in the Urdu line; Whatever we have heard of Thee, we have seen in man!

We may ask ourselves whether the subconscious influence of Dard's poetry (whose expressions are sometimes found in Ghalib's verse) and his theology may not have inspired Sir Sayyid (related to Dard from the maternal side) to call his famous journal by the name of *Tahdhib ul-akhlaq*; for in the Naqshbandi tradition, explained by Dard in *'Ilm ul kitab,* the degree of *kashf 'aqli,* intellectual revelation, can be reached by polishing the moral faculties *(tahdhib-ul-akhlaq)* and can be experienced by the philosophers. This means that the term belongs to the traditional theological language of the Naqshbandis. And was it not intellectual revelation to which Sir Sayyid wanted to lead his co-religionists?

The most important aspect of Dard's teaching however is the formulation of the ideals of the *tariqa muhammadiyya* which, some decades after his death, inspired Shah Waliullah's grandson, Isma'il Shahid, and the freedom fighter Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly. It ushered in a period in which the importance of the figure of the Prophet grew from year to year because the Muslims came to understand that he was not only the spiritual lawgiver of the community, the beloved of God and intercessor for his *umma* at Doomsday but also the model of a state builder who led his followers through adversity and darkness to their final victory.

It would be possible to see the axis of religious thought in the Indo Muslim reform movement from Ahmad Sirhindi onward in the interpretation of the role of the Prophet. Sir hindi's strange theory that Muhammad had two individuations manifest in the two loops of the *mim* in his name (the first *mim* had been replaced in the course of the first millenium by the Divine letter *alif,* thus becoming *Ahmad;* and the common believer should be called to restore the teachings of Muhammad to their pristine form) seems to inaugurate a new prophetology. We may not be mistaken to surmise that Sirhindi, Ahmad by name, saw himself as this mysterious 'common believer' who was called to reform the community of the faithful. Shah Waliullah's feeling that he was called to be the required *mujaddid* of

his time, and had been invested by the Prophet himself to guide a certain group of the *umma marhuma* to salvation, as well as to represent the Prophet 'in blaming', belongs to the same trend of thought. Dard, the first initiate in the *tariqa Muhammadiyya,* which his father Nasir Muhammad 'Andalib founded as a fundamentalist order in 1734, saw himself likewise invested by the N" Prophet, his ancestor, to lead the Muslims back to the true teaching of the and the Qur'an and the *sunna.* When Iqbal praises Shah Waliullah as

> perhaps the first Muslim who felt the urge of a new spirit in Islam (*Lectures*, p. 97),

he may have had in mind the theologian's thoughts about the role of the Prophet, who, as he says in the *Six Lectures* (p. 171), is sent

> to train one particular people and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal *shari'at.*

Shah Waliullah's 'very illuminating discussion on the point', as Iqbal calls it, consists of quite a few thoughts of the role of the Prophet in his political role. He held that prophets were sent to polish the raw material of a people to the utmost perfection, be the material clay or a candle: hence prophets have to be of different character in order to bring particular parts of the all-embracing Divine law to each people according to their innate qualities, their 'raw material'.

However, not only Shah Waliullah but all three Delhi mystics of his time developed a theory of prophecy which sounds very modern and which has been taken up also by Iqbal. According to Mazhar Jan-i Janan, the truth of the prophetic leadership is proved by the growth of the community (an idea that served for him to establish the righteous claims of the Sunni faction as the strongest group inside Islam). Shah Waliullah saw the Prophet endowed with a particular intelligence by which he could discover the proper means institutionalizing a healthy society; and Iqbal, in the fifth chapter of the *Lectures,* claims that

> One way of judging the value of a prophet's religious experience would be to examine the type of manhood that he has created and the cultural world that has sprung out of the spirit of his message (p. 124).

This means that the strength of the prophetic experience is revealed in the strength of the community and the success of its members.

Iqbal, following the Delhi mystics and the numerous authors of books and pamphlets about the Prophet during the decades after

Syed Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam* had appeared, uttered the opinion that:

> in order to bind together the Islamic nations of India the most holy personality of the honored Prophet can constitute our greatest and most efficient power.

The Prophet's nation-building activity is mainly highlighted in the *Rumuz* but other aspects of Muhammad have likewise been mentioned in various places of Iqbal's work. The theological doctrine of the *khatm an-nubuwwa* led him to the conclusion that in Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition.

The birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect. The same doctrine led him also to reject the claim of the Qadianis, as he clearly stated in his "Open Letter to Pandit Nehru". The finality of Muhammad's message was the center of his faith, for he felt that as Muhammad was the last of the prophets, the Muslim *umma* too should be the 'seal of nations', the most perfect, all-embracing community of believers. And when he alludes in the Jupiter Heaven of the *Javidname* in Ghalib's words to the question discussed by this poet, i.e. whether another Muhammad could be born if other worlds would come into existence, he elegantly evades a clear-cut philosophical answer and states that *rahmatall lil-'ala-min* (Sura 21:107), 'mercy for the worlds', will always be the end of creation. Since Muhammad was sent as mercy for the worlds his community should also constitute a mercy for this world; for the Prophet's personality is reflected in his community: that he is one points to the One God and has created one community, being 'the heart in this handful of dust'. Or, as Iqbal says elsewhere in a beautiful poetical image: the hundred petals of the rose are one, and the Prophet is the one fragrance of this rose, i.e. the ideal community of faithful. In fact, the poet voices the feelings of millions of Muslims about the central role of Muhammad (so often disparaged by Western missionaries and even orientalists) in his famous verse in the *Javidname*:

You can deny God, but you cannot deny the Prophet! a verse which has certainly inspired Wilfred Cantwell Smith's [1914-2000] remarks about the role of the Prophet in *Modern Islam in India.*

But Iqbal has not only elaborated the politico-social role of the Prophet; in many of his verses he has also maintained the old mystical tradition of the term *'abduhu.* The sober mystics and the Naqshbandiyya in particular, had always stressed the fact that a true

deification of man is impossible: *al-'abd 'abd, wa'r-rabb rabb,* Man remains always the servant of God, the eternal Lord. Ahmad Sirhindi had seen the *summum bonum* in man's return to the state of servantship, *'abdiyat,* after the perfect vision, of Unity; Mir Dard, likewise, sees the true *muwahhid* in man who comes back to the *'abdiyat* after the unitive vision. It shows Iqbal's deep understanding that he has put the finest hymns about the state of *'aha* and *'abduhu* in the mouth of al-Hallaj, whose *Kitab at-Tawasin* indeed contains one of the first great praise poems in honor of the Prophet.

The importance of the term *'abduhu,* 'God's servant', is understood from its occurence in the beginning of Sura 17, the allusion to Muhammad's nightly journey. Qushayri, probably following earlier models, deduces from this Qur'anic saying that *'abduhu* is the last possible state a human being can attain in the imitation of the Prophet: if he was called *'abduhu* in the moment of his *mi'raj,* which allowed him to speak with God without veils, in the last possible intimacy, what higher rank can be imagined! Hence, the more perfected man becomes the closer he is drawn to the ideal state of *'abduhu,* 'God's servant'; the Perfect Man is His perfect servant, and has nothing to do with the Nietzschean Superman who emerges only 'after God has died'.

Iqbal's attitude towards the Prophet of Islam shows all the shades of possible veneration, from deep felt trust and mystical praise of the highest order to very practical facets of his political and social message. He was the true leader of his community, the model of man's behaviour, as stated in the *Stray Reflections:*

> It is the man with the single idea who creates political and social revolutions, installs kingdoms and gives laws to the world.

This sentence is strongly reminiscent of Goethe's remark about the difference between poet and prophet; while the poet (as Sura 26 attests) 'roams about in every valley and, in Goethe's words, squanders his talent in various ways, the prophet is the man with a single idea, an idea which he carries 'like a flag' in order to gather people around it. Iqbal may have known this remark from the *Noten und Abhandlungen zum West-Oesilichen Divan,* which fitted exactly into his critical observations of the activities of many poets and his idealization of the prophetic charge.

He definitely knew another saying of Goethe connected with prophetic activity, the great poem called *Mahomets-Gesang* from the German poet's youthful days. Here, the Prophet of Islam is seen as a mighty river which, from modest beginnings as a tiny brooklet,

grows into a stream by taking into his bossom rivulets and rivers to bring them home to the father, the unfathomable ocean. Iqbal loved this poem, a free Persian translation of which he offered to his readers in the *Payam-i Mashriq*. Some ten years later, in the *Javidname,* he called himself, or is called by his spiritual guide Rumi, *Zindarud,* 'Living Stream'. I wonder if we should not see here an allusion *to* his assumed role as a prophetic preacher who, following the prophet's example, works and acts like a spiritual river life giving (for it is nourished by the rain of Grace which is sent as Mercy for the Worlds), and carrying everything with him; endowing the dried-up steppes with new life, and showing the friends the shortest and safest way to God in whose abysses this stream, impossible for man to imagine will eternally continue to participate in the Divine life.

This interpretation of the nom-de-plume "Zindarud" would fit in with some other more or less transparent allusions which seem to point to the poet's role as leader of the community. There is the often used *bang-i dara,* the sound of the caravan-bell, a longstanding term for the loud voice of the prophet in the desert; to see Muhammad or his spirit as the *hadi,* the caravan leader with a beautiful voice, is a common image in the poetry of Arabic my tics. But Iqbal's song is not only the sound of the caravan-bell by which the stray Muslims are guided toward the sanctuary of the Ka'ba. We find several allusions to Israfel, the angel of resurrection, and Sarosh, the counterpart of Gabriel in Persian mythology. Sarosh, the old Persian Sraosha, was in the Zoroastrian tradition the *psychopompos* who leads the spirits to the Otherworld: and is hence connected with resurrection; that is why he has become in some later Persian Sufi speculations the locus of the *quth,* the axis of the world. Ahmad Sirhindi's theory of the common believer and his high claim of being the *qayyum;* Dard's abundant descriptions of being invested by God Himself as the leader of the community of his ancestor Muhammad; Shah Waliullah's remark that he was the representative of the Prophet *'in* blaming' come to mind when we read some of the poetical descriptions Iqbal gives of his role.

The importance of resurrection should be particularly stressed: in the mystical tradition resurrection was interpreted in a spiritual sense the order *mutu qabla an tamutu,* 'die before ye die', leads man to a resurrection on the spiritual plan. The word *qum,* so often used in mystical literature, represents the power of the Prophet, or the perfected saint, whose voice can revive the hearts of the spiritually dead.

This role of the Perfect Man as the bearer of such a power of revivification becomes particularly clear from Iqbal's introduction of Hallaj in a very important scene in the *Javidname.* After some critical remarks about the martyr-stylistic of Baghdad in his earlier stage Iqbal had become aware-mainly thanks to Massignon's research – of the dynamic personality of Hallaj, who is taken in most of the popular Sufi tradition of the Subcontinent as the representative of measureless pantheism. Iqbal, however, introduces him as the master who sings the most beautiful praises O: the Prophet in his aspect as *'abduhu,* but also as the mystic who was aware of the 'tragic' aspect of *Iblis* (as it is clearly stated in the *Kitab at-Tawasin.* Both aspects of Hallaj are related to Iqbal's sown religious ideas, and it is not surprising that the martyr-mystic is made to say at the end of his monologue, when he tells that he has revealed both light and fire of the Divine;

Seest thou not my sin,
My friend, my confidant? Fear for thyself
Thou too repeatest what I did, thou too
wouldst lief attempt to resurrect the dead!

This is the clearest expression of Iqbal's wish to identify himself with those who teach resurrection to the Muslim community.

The clamour of the Day of Judgment is one of my minions, he said in the *Asrar-i Khudi* (49), and twenty years later, in *Bal-i Jibril,* he jokes that Israfil has complained about me in God's presence (p. 39). He saw himself in the line of the great reformers of Indian Islam and his use of the symbolism of death and resurrection shows how well he was versed in the tradition of mystical poetry. Whatever name he assumes for himself and no matter into which religious figure's mouth he puts his ideas, he must have been sure that his word could perform the miracle of *qum* in his people and lead them to a spiritual resurrection, which was needed if they wanted to survive under better circumstances.

(Islam in Asia, Ed., Y. Friedmann, The Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Vol-I, pp. 208-226)

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN MODERN ISLAM

The intellectual forces of Islam had been declining since long, after the first centuries, when the young and vigorous Muslims were able to open new sites in the field of scholarly research, when their works were translated into European languages and served Western science through centuries. In particular in the field of theology and jurisprudence, the one thinks within which the development would so on, were drawn very early. And the more the intellectual outlook of the Muslim was widened through the new countries they invaded, and through the new ways of thinking they met with, the more this stern and harsh framework of medieval theological thought; of juridical intrinsically a hindrance for the development of Islam. Especially when, in the 19th century, the touch with the already modernized European powers became closer and closer, this medieval burden was felt as a kind of spiritual prison from which the Muslim world would have to escape one day, if it wanted to live a modern life at all.

In the Middle Ages, it had been the representatives of the sternest of the four juridical schools, the Hanbalites, who had tried to set free Islam from the many new customs which had been introduced silently because none of the scholars opposed them. The Hanbali school, founding their doctrines completely on the Qur'an and prophetic tradition, saw in all kinds of mysticism, and especially the veneration of the Sheikh, the pilgrimage to the graves of religious leaders etc. a great for the spirit of Islam, and Ibn Taimiyya, the great and energetic leader of this movement in the early 14th century, fought against these and other dangerous currents in the Islam of his time. The same ideas, even sterner, were propagated by Ibn Abdal Wahhab in Central Arabia during the 18th century, and through his connection with the family off the Sa'ud rulers his movement, known as Wahhabism even succeeded in capturing the holy cities Mecca and Medina but were driven out by Turkish and Egyptian troops, since the government of the Ottoman empire could not tolerate there exaggerated rigorists among them. Only after World had War One had the Wahhabi movement become a powerful factor

in History, when the Sa'ud family became ruler in Central Arabia where still the ideals of earliest Islam are maintained-but at the same time combined in an astonishing way with the civilization of the Americanized 20th century.

In other parts of the Islamic world, too, reactions against the normal religious policy had taken place, especially in India, where the conflict between Muslim rulers and Hindus respectively the problem of their cooperation had always troubled the pious scholars. Just as Islamic mysticism has influenced the Bhakti-movement in Hinduism, so the Vedanta could be confounded with the monism of Ibn 'Arabi. For scholars who wanted to keep Islam clean from all those influences it became necessary to strive against the pantheistic tendencies in Sufism; and the first great theologian who took this way was Ahmad Sirhindi, who died in 1624, just at the culmination point of Muslim-Hindu friendship. This learned. man who was affiliated to the Naqshbandi order, has set up a system of his own, which he calls not "essential monism" but "testimonial monism" and in which he tries, as the earlier mystics had done, to maintain the difference between Creator and creature, His ideas have influenced, as we shall see, the thought of modern Indian Muslim thinkers deeply. One and a half century after him, the great Shah Waliullah of Delhi tried to give a new impetus to the completely broken down Mughal Empire which was threatened by the British on the one hand, by the Sikhs on the other hand.

It is not astonishing, that especially in India, which became more and more a British influence sphere, and where now the centuries long oppressed Hindu groups as well as the Sikhs tried to sweep away the last Mughals, in several parts of the country faithful Muslim leaders arose who, filled with enthusiasm, fight on different fronts, and tried to realize in their lives the simple ideals of the first generations of Muslims prayer, fasting, charity, and struggle against those whom they thought to be unbelievers. The brave Ahmad Brelwi who died at the Afghan frontier, the Sikhs, is a typical example for this type of religious warrior.

However as time passed the peoples of Islamic countries understood that more and more clear that no they could win back the lost territories Europeans.

They themselves, or at least some enlightened leaders, understood that there was something wrong inside Islam. And when the British founded their educational system in India it were mostly Hindus who gratefully used the new possibilities given to them; they quickly

became acquainted with European civilization, with language and modern thought, and got the posts which all British had reserved for indigenate people. As for the Muslims, they refused to send these children to the British schools, still maintaining the old dream of, the superiority of Islamic culture and civilization, and of Muslim rule. This attitude caused a setback for them in every respect. And it was very necessary that a clever Indian Muslim, who had been always loyal to the British, namely Syed Ahmad Khan, tried to persuade his countrymen that Islam and modern European education could go together without any difficulty. So he founded in 1873, an historical moment for the development of modern Islam, the Anglo-Muslim College in Aligarh near Delhi, which was changed into a University later on. Here most of the educated Indo-Muslims have come in touch with Western ways of thinking. And when, after the first World War, the anti-British campaign in India started, Aligarh, and the newly founded Jamia Milliya in Delhi were centres of political activity. At the same time with Syed Ahmad Khan another Indian Muslim, Syed Ameer Ali, tried to show, in his fatuous book *The Spirit of Islam*, that all essentials of modern culture are contained in the teaching of the Qur'an, and that it is only due to the lack of understanding that Muslims have not yet realized this truth, nor have Christians acknowledged the high spiritual range of original Islam.

These movements showed that the Islamic world was starting to find a way of its own for competing with the Western civilization and culture. Especially thanks to the efforts of Jamaluddin Afghani a propagandist of Islam who came probably (from Afghanistan to India, then went to 'Egypt, visited Russia, and stayed, at last, in Istanbul where he was poisoned in 1899) the modernist ideas spread all over the countries which sought a remedy for the weakness of Islamic thought. In Egypt, pupils of Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh and Muhammad Rashid Riza, the editors of the interesting monthly *al-Manar*, went, practically, the same way as the Hanbalites had done: they tried to shake off the medieval commentaries and commentaries' of commentaries which did not but veil the real meaning of Qur'an, tradition and classical jurisprudence. And after going back to the real sources of the' faith it did not seem difficult to them to interpreter the Qur'an completely according the necessities of the 20th century. We may sometimes laugh at their attempts, or ridicule the results found by them, but we must confess that their work was of the greatest importance for new understanding of Islam.

This kind of reinterpretation of the holy texts, however, was not only in use in the *Manar* movement. It was also used by the newly

appearing Ahmadiya movement which was founded in India at the end of the last century, and which is regarded by Muslim orthodoxy as heretic (the riots in Lahore against the Ahmadiya in 1953 are only one expression of this feeling), but which has, through a world-wide propaganda, founded several mosques in Europe and the United States, and tries, in its translation and commentaries of the Qur'an, a completely modern interpretation. Especially the mythical expressions in the early Surahs are interpreted in a flat rationalistic sense which does not leave in them the grandeur of eschatological revelations. And in modern Turkey too, there exist some friendly and harmless faithful who write long commentaries on the Qur'an, explaining that everything beginning from the atomic bomb, of course, up to the dangers of modern dances can be traced from the Qur'an.

This, of course, is not the right way of interpreting the holy book of Islam. But other efforts, starting in the first years of this century in Turkey, are worth mentioning interpretation of Islam seems childish to us who forget that an 'Indian or Egyptian Muslim can scarcely understand the deeper roots of Western culture, and that for many of' the West means nothing but comfort and ways for a more luxurious life. It was, therefore, necessary that the Islamic world once. try to understand European thought in its best representatives, and then build a new way for its self interpretation. This task has been made by an Indian Muslim, Muhammad Iqbal, whom the Pakistanis use to call the spiritual father of their nation, and who is without doubt, one of the most interesting personalities Islam has brought up. As much as European scholars have criticized in which he, as we shall see, mingle, Qur'anic surahs with those of Einstein, and his political point of view, I think it is worth while to read and reread his prose and poetry, and to admire the great spiritual power of this poet-philosopher who tried to reconstruct the religious thought in Islam. The existence of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan since 1947.

Iqbal was born in Sailkot, not far from Lahore, as son of a family who had, in old times, immigrated from Kashmir hence his live interest in the question of Kashmir, which was even at his lifetime a crucial one. The intelligent boy early started writing poetry in his native town, and in the college at Lahore he had the good luck of finding in the famous English orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold the mentor who introduced him into the storehouses of both Eastern and Western thought. It was in 1905, that Iqbal, who had been already teaching in Lahore, got the opportunity of going to Europe,

and he spent two years in Cambridge, partly busy with the study of jurisprudence, partly engaged in the philosophy of McTaggart, the famous neo-Hegelian philosopher. After having obtained his juristic degree, Iqbal went to Germany, first to Heidelberg the romantic atmosphere which had him least untouched, and then to Munich, where he obtained his Ph.D., in 1908 with a thesis on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. It was a remarkable work, which brought together much still unpublished information from Persian manuscripts, and also showed, an astonishing knowledge of European theology and philosophy from Thomas Acquinas up to Adolf von Harnack. But the most interesting fact for those who have read Iqbal's later publications, is that he is till a full-fledged pantheist, who sees e.g. in Hallaj a brother of the mystics of the Upanishads, and in Maulana Rumi the most brilliant exponent of pantheism, in Ibn 'Arabi whom he disliked so greatly in later times, a new driving force in the dust-dry world of medieval Islam etc. But it seems, that after his return to Lahore his mind started slowly changing slowly. More, and more he stressed the duties of the Indian Muslims, and pointed some dangers which faced the whole Islamic world. But it was not earlier than that a completely new way of thinking is to be observed in him, and even then, he opened his mind only to his nearest friends. His poetry became, in its tendency, similar to the poems of Mehmet Akif in Turkey: social criticism, and quest for a new ideal, a real Muslim ideal, are its subjects. The first practical work, however, which shows his new philosophy openly was the *Asrar-i Khudi* (Secrets of the Self), published in 1915 but this time not in Urdu but in Persian. The poem was a shock for most of Iqbal's admirers. For it contains a very strong attack against Ibn 'Arabi, Neoplatonism, mystical poets like Hafiz addresses Plato as an old sheep which has seduced the tigers and taught them to eat grass etc. The ideal of Iqbal in 'this book is the creation of man, of superman, and his expressions are clearly influenced by Nietzschean ideas. But it would be incorrect to attribute the whole *Secrets of the Self* to Nietzschean influence. Iqbal was, as we shall see, interpreted only partly to the German philosopher's ideas. He merely wanted precisely to restore the old dynamic spirit of Islam as it was in the time of the Prophet and his companions and the Superman was for him not a being cut off from God but, on the contrary, the man who has received the nearness to God and is His co-worker. But the major differences were, at first moment, not clear to his readers who could not understand this attack on ideas which had been dear to them and 'their ancestors. In a second poem, written, as the first one, in Persian, and in the metrum of Maulana Rumi's spiritual *Mathnawi*,

Iqbal explains the *Rumuz-i Bekhudi*, (the Symbols of Not-Self), that means the duties of the individual in the community. In 1923 the *Payam-i Mashriq*, (The Message of the East) were published a Persian collection of poetry in different styles, meant by the poet as an answer to Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan*. His first Urdu poems, showing the development of the intoxicated mystic to the defender of the Ego, were collected in 1924.

There who later, a new collection 'of Persian verses, the *Persian Psalms*, appeared, and in 1932 the opus magnum, the *Javidname*, called by himself a kind of Persian *Divina Commedia*, and dedicated to his youngest son Javid. This interesting work, which leads the reader through the different spheres of Heaven, has been translated into Italian by Alessandro Bausani [1921-1988] under the title *It Poema Celeste*, and by the present writer into German and Turkish, whereas other poetry of Iqbal has been translated into English and different oriental languages. Iqbal's collections of Urdu poetry were published in 1935 and 1936, The *Bal-i Jibril* (The Wing of Gabriel) and the *Zarb-i-Kalim*, (The Stroke of Moses), and besides two smaller poems, a collection of both Persian and Urdu poetry, were published after the poet's death in 1938.

Iqbal was not only a poet, but spent his life as a Barrister-at-Law, though he did not like this profession look active part in the politics of his country, 'first in the Parliament of the Punjab, then in 1930 as President of the annual meeting of the Muslim League, the party which maintained the interests of the Indian Muslims against the Hindus Congress Party, and which was responsible, at last, for the creation of Pakistan. In 1931 and 1932, Iqbal attended the Round Table Conference in London, and visited Spain and Italy; in 1933 he was invited to Afghanistan, The result of his philosophical work was laid down in his lectures at Hyderabad Aligarh and Madras in 1928, published under the title *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, and in some of his interesting speeches and statements and shorter articles. A book which he intended to write on the reconstruction of jurisprudence in Islam was not written because of his long illness which made it nearly impossible for him to talk, and later on also to read.

The 1ong list of Iqbal's poetical publications is very important not only because of their contents, but also because carefully chosen titles which show some of the influences under which the poet has worked - from Goethe the medieval mystic Suhrawardi Maqtul with his booklet *The Sound of Gabriel's Wing*, and show also the intention of

the poet: to give the West a true picture of the East and West with the same miraculous power as Moses his most beloved prophet besides Muhammad fought against the Egyptian sorcerers.

To ask, about the most important sources of, Iqbal's thought means to enumerate not a long last of thinkers from East and West. But we must never forget that his first and most important source of inspiration was the Qur'an. He al-ways took book at the last and infallible authority in all questions of life, for it is fresh in every century, and answers every problem of life without, difficulty. To create the world of the Qur'an means to live in the ideal world in which neither communism nor capitalism, neither pride of difference races or castes is existent. Only those ideas which are compatible with the Qur'anic teaching are accepted by Iqbal. We must confess that his translation of some verses is different from the orthodox translation: he reads the holy book as if it was revealed the same day to him.

The second spiritual guide from the East is, surprising enough, Maulana Rumi, the great mystic of Konya whom he had shown in his thesis as pantheist. Later on, he discovered more and more the personal mysticism, the living relation between man and God, in his work; and the idea of longing and leave which form the *leitmotif* in Rumi's mysticism, became also the cornerstones of Iqbal's system. Rumi who appeared to Iqbal, as his family told me, one night, forcing him to write a poem in Persian *mathnavi*-form who leads him through the gates of the spheres, and teaches him the highest mysteries of love and death. And it is typical for Iqbal's way of thinking that he confronts him, in one poem of the *Payam-i Mashriq*, with Goethe, both of them being nearly prophets, and having written a book (namely the *Mathnawi* and Goethe's *Faust*) were the triumph of longing and striving love over the satirical powers of reason is warated told. Just as the Influence of Maulana Rumi is to be seen in the outward form of the *mathnavi* which allows Iqbal's easy allusions or quotations, from Rumi's work, so Goethe's, influence is to be felt not only in the stress which Iqbal lays on the striving and but even in the form of the Prologue in Heaven and prologue on Earth in the *Javidname* which is borrowed from Goethe's *Faust*.

Among the oriental thinkers we may mention the great mystic Mansur Hallaj, the martyr of love, executione in 922, who, in different parts of Iqbal's work, is seen first as a typical pantheist and later on as the representative of personal mysticism and who had, influenced Iqbal's conception of Satan deeply. In the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Hallaj and his saying "I am the creative

Truth" are praised as 'expressions of a living contact with the Divine Reality which must be the goal of the pious.

Among European scholars, it is especially the vitalist current which has attracted Iqbal- though the name of Eucken is not mentioned directly in his work, the influences of this thinker seems to me very clear and that Iqbal has studied Lotze's work carefully, can be understood both for his thesis and his later concept of the ago. Nietzsche is but one though the most outstanding among those vitalists who were able to attract the mind of the Muslim thinker: but neither idea of eternal recurrence nor the concept of superman without God could satisfy the deeply religious mind of Iqbal. He has - not once but several times - used a very nice symbol for the state of mind in which he saw Nietzsche, and other representatives of the West: Nietzsche has remained, he says, in the *la*, that means in the negation with which starts the Islamic credo *la ilaha ilia Allah* There is no God - and has not attained the second part of the confession of faith, the words "but God". From this point of view we understand that Nietzsche could influence Iqbal only to a certain extent. What was common to the vitalist philosophy, the dynamism which according to Evelyn Underhill the first step towards mysticism, because it seeks to being man into living contact with the Divine reality this was very close to Iqbal's Islamic ideals, and the anticlassical spirit which he found in Nietzsche was just what he needed for his own attack against Greek spirituality. Let us admit that he is right in describing the Qur'an and early Islamic thought, as completely anti-classical, and that for him the influence of Greek philosophy has broken the first vitality of Islam, leading people to abstract ways of thinking, and making out of the living and powerful Allah of the Qur'an a mere static being who will be grasped the rational formula. These suggestions had surely come to Iqbal through European philosophy. The idea of teleology which he missed in Nietzsche's philosophy of eternal return, could be found at least to a certain extent in Bergson, from whom he learned the conception of *durée*, and the two levels of time who play an important role in his later philosophy. And the display of his system was found through the contact with Einstein's theory of relativity which seemed to Iqbal explain many mysteries of Qur'anic expression. Einstein is perhaps the modern thinker whom Iqbal admired most, and a Pakistani pupil of the great mathematician thinks that Einstein's ideas have never been expressed in a clearer and more poetical way than in Iqbal's poem "Song of Time".

It was Iqbal's high goal to teach religion in its essential meaning, not as the saying of theologians of one school or the other one, and not as a blind surrender the power of an unknown and far away God, but as the living contact between human soul and God. He stands here, of course in the tradition of the great religious personalities of all times, and in order to express this idea, has often symbols which mystic poets in Islam who already used before him so that one has accused him to attack mysticism and yet to be bound with tradition. Now, this depends on how to define mysticism at all. Iqbal has attacked the monism of Ibn 'Arabi, and is a follower of the testimonial unity which was preacher by Ahmad Sirhindi in they 17th century. His type of piety is prophetical if we use the discrepancy made by European scholars of the History of Religion, like Söderblom and Heiler. God is, for him, not a static Being the boundless ocean, or the desert of Godhead, the Nothing from which everything emanates and deeds back again lost like the drop in the ocean nay God is for him-as He was for the Hebrew Prophets, the Christians, the Prophet of Islam the living, working, ardent God, a personal Being, in Iqbal's expression The Greatest Ego. That is proved, Iqbal maintains, from the Qur'an which gives him a certain name, and shows him as a free personality who can answer the prayer of the human Ego. Even philosophers like F. von Hügel and Lotze had held that complete personality is completely consistent with the idea of an infinite being. This world is real, it is finite, as Einstein says, because, in Iqbal's word, it is only one phase in the infinite process of creation; but it is without limits, because it is part of the unlimited Divine creative power. Inside this world, which is created by God and is still being created, man and every being lives and works, each of them, beginning from a ego of its own, and each of these Egos, striving to develop. What Nietzsche calls the "Will-to-power", is not unknown to Iqbal, for he sees the striving in every being, and think it natural, and an innate law of all being. But according to him, it is not will to Power which is the last agent in this process, but the striving power of love which wants to create more and more worlds. Even being has in itself a certain amount of possibilities, which it wants to realize in so far as life bound to ascertain goal. But the goal is different for man and animal, for stone and plant. None can, in this life, surpass the border given to him by the creative power. But every higher being contains all the possibilities of the lower stance an idea expressed also by Rudoll Pannwitz in his recent philosophical work. The higher the potentible of being are, the lonelier will the being become: growing is the tragically process of individuation which has found its highest

expression in man. The famous verse of the Qur'an that God showed burden to Heaven and earth and mountains, and all of them refused to accept it, only man was ready to take it over, is applied by Iqbal to the burden of individuality which is both prerogative and the danger for the human being. He goes even so far that he does not acknowledge immortality as a right for everybody, but appropriate his teacher McTaggart that only those who have strengthened their Egos in this life so much that they can stand the shock of death, are worth to become people in Islam and the theologians who hope to win in Paradise the pleasure which they have renounced here a state of everlasting quietude: it is again a search and striving, a longing for God. With this idea, Iqbal stands in the great tradition of religious thought, not only in Islam but also in many Christian thinkers the most famous example from the Islamic world is the great mystic teacher al-Ghazali, who dies in 1111, and who tried to reconcile orthodoxy and moderate Sufism. In his great work *Ihya ul-Ulum-al-Din*, (the Revival of the Sciences of Religion) he tells, in the chapter on longing, how the soul longs for God, because she knows how splendid beautiful and grandiose he is, and the man who knows about him, the deeper grows her longing and that has no ed, because God and his possibilities and depths are endless. For Iqbal just as for the great mystical poets of Islam it is true that the way to God having ended the way in God begins.

So is to philosophy of Ego and not the philosophy of dry egoism but on the contrary a lesson in practical religiosity. That's shown also through the important place which prayer takes in his work. Prayer, which is praised highly in the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, for him, the only means for a contact between the small human Ego and the all embracing Divine Ego. God himself has ordered, in the Qur'an, to pray to him, and promised to answer not as some quietistic Muslim mystic thought, that prayer be incompatible with piety. In Iqbal's own poetry we meet with many prayers and prayer-like verses, and some of them many sound shocking for a pious ear. There is seldom the longing of the soul for God, but merely the proud cry of man who has been sent into this world, and is now busy with embellishing it, and who does not want to return to paradise too quickly. These attestations are not without examples in the history of religions and especially with the prophetical minded type of people who often argued with their Lord. But the essential idea of Iqbal about prayer is that in this act of the loving and longing heart man is capable for a single moment to embrace the infinite Deity not man is submerged in the Divine ocean, and extinguished there in

wordless ecstasy, but God himself comes near to him and dwells in his heart. Iqbal, who has sung this mystery of grace in many a beautiful verse, relies here on the prophetical tradition according to which God spoke "Heaven and Earth do not contain me, but the heart of my faithful servant contains me". And prayer we must not forget, is for Iqbal not only the act of ritual prayer in which, according to him, the Muslim is brought into touch with eternity five times a day, but every act of pious striving and even of scientific quest can be acknowledged as prayer because it is a act of searching of the eternal truth. It would be very useful that if the concept of search and longing of never resting striving could form an essential part of modern Islamic thought which is partly still overwhelmed by the old quietistic concept of "Insha Allah, God will help us". This attitude towards the duties of daily life was something which Iqbal has often blamed in his poetry. To wait for better times, meant for his to act change the destiny of a people until it changes itself" a verse which has got a paramount importance in the foundation of Pakistan. Life means for Iqbal the realization of the powers of the self by love and longing and strife. This world is the stone on which the sword, which is man, is sharpened, and the more man strives with the different difficulties around him the stronger he becomes. From this point of view, we can also understand what the person of Satan plays such an important role in Iqbal's work. The roots of his conception of Satan lie, however, in different spheres. On the one hand, he: acknowledges in him, like the early mystic Hallaj, the real witness of God's unity: because Satan refused to prostrat before any but God himself. So he is seen, sometimes, as in reversal classical Islamic mystics, as the real and faithful lover of God who wears with praise the garment of curse which has God laid upon him. On the other hand is Satan in Iqbal's poetry, a representative of the one-eyed reason who is bound to the material side of this world, and not able to reach Divine mysteries. But the most important side of the fallen angel is just as in the poetry of Goethe and also to a certain extent, in Milton, the fact that only Satan brings man to the realization of his true nature. It is only after the temptation in Paradise that man, in his daily strife and pains on earth, realizes the possibilities of free choice that he can prove his strength in never-ending quarrel with Satan. So Satan becomes the dynamic element in life, and is necessary for the development of human qualities. There is one of the most touching parts of Iqbal's *Javidname* the Complaint of Satan, where he tells God that mankind are to weak and to meek for resistance, and that everybody, instead of fighting with him, comes at his first call; and he asks God to give him a stranger mate, a real superman who will

try to break his power. This leads us again to the concept of superman which was mentioned in connection with Nietzsche. For Islam, the idea of a superman is not new; mystics, and later on theologians, and especially the pious common people have, from very early times on, regarded the Prophet Muhammad as the superman, the highest human being ever created. In mystic circles, the Sheikh himself became transformed into a kind of superman, and the ideal of the *insan-i-kamil*, the Perfect Man, has been developed especially by Ibn 'Arabi and under his influence by Jili. This ideal man is a kind of mediator between the two' sides of existence, the Divine one and the human one. As to Iqbal, he cannot accept this merely mythical idea of the Perfect Man, just as he cannot accept a superman without God. For him, again, the Prophet is the prototype of awe Perfect Man; but how was he called by God? He was called *abduhu*, "His Servant" at the beginning of the 17th Surah of the Qur'an where the mysterious ascension of Muhammad is alluded to. Iqbal interprets this coincidence that, since God calls the prophet "His Servant" in the form of highest exalatation, the rank of His Servant must have the highest rank for a human being. Only he who has completely surrendered his will to the will of God, not in a passive weaning but as an expression of co-operation, can be the Perfect Man. The highest stage of personality is attained when the closest relation to God has been reached. In such a moment, man is free to choose relation own destiny: God will give him from among the millions of possibilities that which gives him the greatest opportunity for organic development. So the relation between man and God is an ever-living, never-ending contact of love and grace.

It was very necessary to stress these ideas in a world which had lost faith in the creative powers of man, and which understood religion only in the sense of following old worn out a terns of medieval behaviour and thought. Not by interpreting the Qur'an according to the necessities of his century, or by applying the measures of modern civilization to it could a new spirit develop, but only by the feeling that the essence of religion is the contact with the Divine reality. Iqbal has tried, in so many verses, to show how man, through an act of enrapture, or through simple prayer, can be separated from the level of our serial time, and lifted up to the lights of eternity, where exists only an eternal Now.

As attractive, and in its mainlines, right is the theology of Iqbal, as difficult is it sometimes to under-stand his political views. Here too, he tried to reduce the ideals of a modern state to the concept of from Egohood and deduced the confession of God's Unity as well as

on the acknowledgement of prophecy, as law he wants only the divinely inspired Qur'anic law, and has attacked, Turkey violently when she applied Qur'anic *shari'a* and introduced Swiss law. It is difficult to realize these and other ideas in a modern state that we can see today in Pakistan which tries to remain as possible to the spiritual testament of the man who has first, in the Muslim League Session of 1930, thrown the idea of a separate Muslim state in India in the discussion.

On the other hand, in Iqbal's political ideas many resentment against Europe have played a role. Many of his poems which attack especially British policy in are to be understood today only as expressions of a representative of a revolting nation. Europe was, for him, a traitor to the spirit of Christ which is daily crucified by the politicians of the West. The imitation of Western pattern of life is, according to him, as wrong as the slavish imitation of medieval Islamic customs: but it is even more dangerous, because people Air", blinded by the outward lustre of the victorious civilization Iqbal's sharp and merciless attacks against the Turkey of Ataturk in whom he as Mehmet Akif, had seen first the reformer of Islam, arose from this angle of his thinking. He was however, broadminded enough to praise Turkey as the first Islamic country which has shaken off its dogmatic slumber of countries, and tried to find a new way - and to find a new way even if it is wrong, is a more meritor deed that to on the path prepared by others and not sinted for one's physical needs.

It may be easy for Westerners to lay the finger on the inconsistencies of Iqbal's system, especially his political system, but that does not matter. We must admire his versatility and his broad and deep knowledge of European philosophy.

History of religion and psychology of religions enabled him to formulate religious insights which are shared by many a scholar in Europe in our own days. The fact that he has expressed his thoughts mostly thorough the medium of poetry in two languages, makes it difficult to see at once the whole of his system. But poetry seemed to be, far him, a better means for attaining the truth than dry philosophy - the poet is, as he says, the heart in the breast of the nations Art too must be a means for strengthening the powers of man; otherwise it can destroy a nation completely, We may agree or not with this definition of poetry, and may find at far from real artistic understanding; but we meet confess that Iqbal himself has helped to create a whole nation with his pattern. That is no small success and shows that his ideas have led his people on the right way.

Most of the Islamic nations have, during the last two centuries, won political freedom, and have freed themselves from that what they felt as Western influence. But political independency does not necessarily mean spiritual independence, and not at all reinterpretation of the fundamental religious ideas which have shaped them for centuries. Many different currents were active in the Islamic world, and try to reconcile Islam with the modern world; but most of them remain on the outside of the problem. The question has been put by European scholars if Islam, void of the whole ballast of medieval thought and of medieval civilization, of the hundreds and thousands finesses of the tradition, can still be called Islam.

I should like to answer with Yes, it can. The problem is how to give people the fresh impulse of living contact with God, which was characteristic of early Islam, and to interpret all the commands and prohibitions from that from a legalistic point. Iqbal has and therein his immense importance for Islamic thought showed this way, the way of the cooperating of man with God, strengthened through the mystery of prayer and love.

IQBAL AS I SEE HIM

The hundredth anniversary of Iqbal's birth seems to me a good date to remember the way how I, as a Western orientalist, became acquainted with his ideas, and to ask myself which were the aspects of his thought that attracted me most.

Let me begin with a very personal reminiscence: when I was still in High School, having started my private tutorials in Arabic and Islamics at the age of fifteen, I felt I had to go East, and since my love belonged, from my very childhood, to the world of Indian Islam, I wrote a letter to the then Imam of the Berlin Mosque, asking him to find a place in a family in Lahore where I could stay for a year as an exchange student. The poor man was quite taken aback by this unusual idea of a sixteen years old girl, and expressed his regrets that he could not arrange anything for me. But even if it has worked out, there was no hope to leave my country, because Germany soon afterwards entered the War. Still, in spite of the hardships of life in wartime Berlin I continued my 'passage to more than India' as a student, and discovered one day in our Seminar in Berlin University that copy of the journal *Islamica* (1925), in which R. A. Nicholson had published his article on Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Being a lover of German poetry in general and Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan* in particular; being also a disciple of the great German orientalist Hans Heinrich Schaeder [1896-1957] whose book on Hafiz and Goethe (*Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1938) is still a classic, I read Nicholson's article with enthusiasm, copied it, and was inspired by the Persian verses which I found there. "This is my poet, and I am going to work on him", that was my reaction, the reaction of a person who was already then deeply in love with Maulana Rumi, and attracted by the figure of Mansur Hallaj. I then studied Iqbal's thesis on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, which we had in our library. Otherwise, it was next to impossible to get hold of his works. But the few excerpts from the *Payam-i-Mashriq* proved sufficient food for thought.

After surviving the war and imprisonment and starting my teaching career in Marburg University, I gave my first public lecture in the small, historical city of Marburg in February 1947–six months

before Pakistan came into existence–on 'The Oriental Current in German Literature, ending with quotations from Iqbal; the same was repeated, on a much larger scale, when I gave a full term lecture course on the same topic one year later.

By that time Pakistan had emerged, and soon the editors of the *Pakistan Quarterly* approached Western orientalists to write for the new journal [1952]. I gladly responded; but instead of a honorarium I asked for books on Pakistan and on Iqbal, which I received with great joy. And as things usually move in certain patterns I have soon met Rudolf Pannwitz, the philosopher whose system resembles that of Iqbal in many respects, and who then began to be interested in Iqbal's works, particularly of course, in the philosophy of the *Six Lectures*, which he highly appreciated. Pannwitz introduced me to a friend of his, an elderly German poet, Hanns Meinke, who was one of the strange romantic dreamers of olden times enamoured by the mystical flights of Maulana Jalalddin Rumi and likewise by Iqbal, whose works he knew, again, through Nicholson's article. In the 1930ies he had written to the poet-philosopher to express his admiration for his work, and Iqbal had sent him copies of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* and the *Javidname*. Since Meinke could not read Persian, but was inspired by sheer love, he presented the two books to me, having bound the *Payam-i-Mashriq* artistically in purple brocaded silk. They became my working copies out of which my translations were made.

All this lead me to writing some articles on Iqbal and to prepare translations of his works into my mother tongue. In 1957 the German verse translation of the *Javidname* appeared one year later the Turkish prose version with commentary; later followed the German verse translation of the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, made on request of the Iqbal Academy, and an anthology, further articles and the study *Gabriel's Wing* (1963).

But in 1958 came first visit to Pakistan, where I enjoyed the hospitality of S. A. Vahid, the Iqbal specialist, and the unshakable friendship of our deplored friend Mumtaz Hasan, and visited the long dreamt-of Lahore to meet there Javid Iqbal, his sister, and most members of their circle. All these experiences added to my interest in the poet-philosopher's work, and made me feel a living relationship to him.

But what was the main feature that I found so attractive in Iqbal's I think it was first of all the fact that after centuries of misunderstanding between East and West an Indo-Muslim poet

developed such a love of German culture and particularly of German poetry as to write a whole *Divan* of his own in response to Goethe's work, which attracted me, since my prime interest is the development of poetry and poetical expression rather than philosophy. I saw here, for the first time, a genuine endeavour to understand some aspects of the West, and the artistic way how that was done was fascinating for everyone who enjoys the eternal charm of Persian and then means largely also Urdu poetry. It seemed to me the longer the more that the way how Iqbal makes use of classical forms and symbols by using them as vehicles for his own thought makes his poetry worth studying in detail.

After becoming acquainted with Iqbal's other works, and especially the *Javidname* my interest shifted from the *Payam-i-Mashriq* and its poetical charm to another aspect of the poet-philosopher, e.g., his place in the history of religion. Since I was teaching during those years History of Religion at the Islamic Faculty of the University of Ankara I had more than enough opportunities to discuss the various aspects of Iqbal's thought with my Turkish students. They were extremely eager to learn more about him; but it was not only the students but also–after the publication of the annotated Turkish translation of the *Javidname* in 1958–people from all over the country and from every strata of society who wrote enthusiastic letter to me (including, as I distinctly remember, a waiter from a small restaurant somewhere in Eastern Anatolia!) to tell how deeply they were impressed by this new interpretation of Islam, by the strength and dynamism of Iqbal's world view.

For the scholar, however, the problem poses itself differently. I often found that even in Pakistan the *Javidname* is considered to be Iqbal's intuition, when he develops ideas parallel to spiritual movements that grew during his life-time in the West not as a knowing borrowing but because he lived on the same wave length as let me say Thilhard de Chardin, Martin Buber, Rudolf Eucken or Heinrich Scholz; or when he grasped the most important aspects of certain religious movements, such as Zoroastrism, to incorporate them into his system.

One example may suffice: the scene in *Javidname* in the *Tawasin* of the Prophets is interesting, first of all, for its very name, which is derived from Hallaj's *Kitab-at-Tawasin*. Here, the dialogue between Zoroaster and Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, is poetically beautiful; but it is also correct from the point of phenomenology of religion. I do not know whether or not Iqbal was aware of the version of the *Vendidad* according to which Zarathustra was tempted to leave his

proclamation of religion, but history of religion proves that in the life stories of most great prophets there is a moment in which the temptation comes to give up spiritual claims with all the trouble they entail and to retreat into the purely spiritual realms of mystical contemplation. We have the famous scene of Buddha's temptation at the hand of Mara, and we have the account of the Gospel how Satan tried to tempt Christ. Every prophet has to undergo this moment of temptation in order to emerge stronger and to preach more successfully. Iqbal has realized this and therefore created the discussion between Zoroaster and Ahriman. He could have done the same in the case of the Buddha; but the very name of Zarathustra is, of course, reminiscent of a book which he, as he mentioned once, would have liked to emulate, e.g., Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarthustra.* But much more than that the whole discussion between the tow speakers points also to the problem of *wilaya,* 'saintship', and *nubuwwa* 'prophethood' in the classical Islamic sense; Iqbal, representative and defender of the superiority of the prophetic experience over the mystical experience (as he has shown so beautifully in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Six Lectures*) follows here exactly the traditional view that the prophet is superior to the saint, because does not dwell for ever in the sweet, fragrant gardens of ecstasy, far away from the people, or remains lost in the ocean of the Godhead, but return from his unitive experience in order to call people to the right path.

Again, Ahriman appears as one of the various manifestations of the Iqbalian *Iblis*. He calls to lulling poetry and tender mysticism, and does not want man to fight his way through this world. Zoroaster, however, tells him that only by his blood the picture of this world can be nicely coloured, for it is the struggle against *Iblis* that makes human life real life. Iqbal's Zoroaster certainly does not like the idea (and this is, again, fully in tune with original Zoroastrian teachings)of yielding to the powers of evil: constant strife, the *jihad-i-akbar* is required, and the Ahriman in this chapter of the *Javidname* will certainly have no opportunity to complain of man's laziness and soft-heartedness, which blacken his, Satan's, book of deeds ever more, as does the *Iblis* who appears at the end of the scene in Jupiter Heaven in the same book.

All these aspects can easily be found in the barely two pages which are devoted to discussion of Zoroaster and Ahriman in the *Javidname*. And one could easily comment upon each line in order to exhaust all the possible implications of such verses. But it would be wrong to think, as some people do who see in Iqbal only the moral

philosopher of the Muslim world, that he offers these ideas with the heaviness of a teacher of history of religion; on the contrary, it is amazing to see with which case he introduces ideas of greatest importance, wrapping them in flowing verses so that the reader may first enjoy, perhaps memorize, the verse and then slowly descend into the various layers of thought which are hidden behind these lines. It would be useful, though extremely difficult, to comment upon each of his lines by placing them into the context of both classical Islamic tradition (poetical be it or philosophical) and modern thought. His way of appropriating figures from the Islamic tradition and making them alive is highly fascinating-take, for example, Maulana Rumi, first, in Iqbal's thesis, seen as the exponent of Hegelian pantheism, and then appearing as the spiritual guide toward the highest mysteries of faith, who knows the real Man of God as much as he knows the place of *Kibriya*–a word which, as far as I can see, belongs to the central concepts in Rumi's poetry, and was taken over by Iqbal *intuitively* into his poems praising Maulana as his spiritual guide, for he certainly did not bother to make word counts and statistics of Maulana's work as we poor orientalists do. Yet, the result remains the same.

We might dwell, as we did elsewhere, upon his representation of Hallaj as the dynamic leader towards realization of many loving surrender to God and not, as it had been done during centuries and in the songs of hundreds of poets in the regional languages of the East, as the pantheist par excellence. Iqbal sees him as the daring lover, and as such as the antagonist of the dry-as-dust *mullas*, who cling to the letter and lack the spiritual power that builds the true Man of God.

In short, there are new surprises in Iqbal's work, and every reading leads us to new levels of understanding. It may well be that other readers will understand from his verses more of his political aims, or will interpret his work as an expression for the search of self-identification which was so typical of the Indian Muslim science from the days of Mir Dard and Shah Waliullah. Many learned scholars will be able to explain this or that verse as an expression of Iqbal's philosophy, and connect it with the great problems of Muslim and Western philosophy to understand his peculiar stance in this current.

Other critics may try to dissect his work and find out what he took, why, from whom, but the secret of a true thinker and poet cannot be found by dissecting his work mercilessly. It is natural that no poet and no philosopher lives in an empty room; he rather grows

out of the earth of his own tradition, and if he is strong enough he may and will appropriate certain ideas and assimilate them into his own life and his own thought; but they will be his, and not something alien. Iqbal himself has warned people of the danger of dissecting rationalism, of the loveless intellect which is the quality of the one-eyed *Iblis*. And I still believe that the poem '*ilum-u-'ishq* in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, which I loved as a very young girl and still love today, expresses his views best. The critical scientist may like to pluck out and analyze one feather or two from Gabriel's Wings; but I still belong to those who enjoy their fullness in beauty and strength. And if the Sufi tradition attests that man can fly only with two wings, e.g. that of fear and that of hope, then Iqbal, I think, attests that man can reach the state of a perfect *momin* only with the combined wings of scholarly research and dynamic love.

THE WESTERN INFLUENCE ON SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S THOUGHT

It happens only a few times in a century, and perhaps even less, that a great personality either from East or from West tries to combine the most characteristic features of both Eastern and Western culture. One of these outstanding personalities in our century is the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the spiritual father of Pakistan, a man whose work has interested Western scholars more than that of any other contemporary oriental thinker. In him:

> East and West met though it would be too much to say that they were united.
>
> (R. A. Nicholson)

Iqbal was born in [1877] in the Punjab, in NW India where, then, the first attempts had been made to reconcile Islamic thought with Western civilization. He had the great luck to find a teacher like the famous Orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold who introduced him in both Eastern and Western thought, and gave him–who had already shown his skill as a poet in his native tongue, Urdu–the opportunity of finishing his studies in Europe. Iqbal, whose first lyrical poetry contains inter alia translations from Longfellow, Emerson, and Tennyson, became, in 1905, a student of the Hegelian philosopher McTaggart in Cambridge, and became deeply submerged in Hügelian thought which he, nevertheless, criticized in the later period of his life as the produce of artificial reasonment–Hegel is characterized in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (1923) as "a hen that by dint of enthusiasm lays eggs without assistance from the cock." After finishing his studies in England, Iqbal went to Munich where he was graduated with a thesis on the *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, in 1908, a work which shows not only a deep knowledge of important, and in the West hitherto almost unknown Muslim thinkers, but also an astonishing insight into Christian theology from Thomas Aquinas up to Harnack, as well as into the problems of the History of Religions. It must be confessed that Iqbal, after the great spiritual conversation which took place after 1908, at last in 1911, changed his view in many a point completely; but the solid knowledge of European thought was useful for him in all his later poetical and philosophical work. It is

especially the vitalist philosophy which seems to have impressed him most. In the *Asrar-i Khudi* (Secrets of the Self) which appeared in 1915 and caused an immense shock among pious muslims and pseudo-mystics, Iqbal shows for the first time his Philosophy of the Ego, of the self which is not, as pantheistic mysticism wants, to be extinguished in the ocean of the Absolute Being, but is to be developed by means of love, working, and restless striving. In the beautiful Persian couplets of this work as well as in his following Persian and Urdu poetry, until the last verses published after the poet's death in 1938, the influence of vitalist philosophy is clearly to be seen. Not the Being, but the Becoming is the ideal of Iqbal; not an Absolute, Neuter Godhead but a personal God who answers man's prayers; not a man who is bound by the strings of blind predestination but who is a co-worker with God, able to change his own destiny. We meet here as well as in the famous Lectures on the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* which were given in 1928– ideas of Eucken and Lotze, and even Friedrich von Hügel, though I do not know whether Iqbal has studied the work of the famous catholic writer, or whether the affinity is only an accidental one. Bergson is the favorite philosopher of Iqbal who, in a very ingenious way has tried to explain by means of the Bergsonian idea of the two levels of time the–outwardly–incompatible words of the Qur'an who says in one verse that the world has been created in a single moment (i.e. non-serial Divine time), and in another verse that it has been come into existence in 6 days (human serial time).

The greatest affinity, however, which often has been exaggerated, shows Iqbal with Nietzsche, "the mad-man in the European chinashop" as he calls him. The anti-Christian as well as the anti-classical attitude of Nietzsche was quite sympathetic to the Indian Muslim who had even, at the end of his life, intended to write a book in the style of Nietzsche's Also *sprach Zarathustra*, called *The Book of an unknown* (or forgotten) *Prophet*. But as much as he admired the German philosopher–whom he locates in the Heavenly journey pictured in the *Javidname* (1932) beyond the Saturnic sphere of Heaven-so much condemned he his anti-religiosity in itself. Neither the idea of the Eternal Return (as opposite to his own teleologic view of history) nor the will to Power can satisfy Iqbal's idealism. Will to power must be, according to Iqbal's later philosophy, will to love, and to the unfolding of the good potencies of the Self. The Nietzschean *Übermensch* is only for a certain moment an ideal for Iqbal; but the Superman's denial of God is not tolerable for the Muslim thinker. The superman he wants to see is the Perfect Man of Islamic mysticism, personified once in the Prophet Muhammad; and

the highest rank this Perfect Man can reach is that of *abduhu*, "slave of God, that means, that he is always acting in complete harmony with his Creator, and never forgets the Divine command. Nietzsche, as well as the Russians after the revolution, has remained, as Iqbal expresses it, in the *la*, the negation of God, without reaching the *illa* (the affirmation of God's being, in the second half of the Islamic Credo. Whatever Iqbal's criticism of Nietzsche may be, it is very interesting to see that quite similar ideas (only devoid of the Islamic framework) have been recently expressed by Rudolf Pannwitz, no doubt the best interpreter of Nietzsche in our time.

But even a deeper influence of Nietzsche–though outwardly not as visible as his–was that of Goethe on Iqbal. In his first lyrics, the poet has praised Goethe, and the *Payam-i Mashriq* (published in 1923) was thought as an answer of the East to the *West-Oesticher Divan*, similar to him in its form, containing even a very free rendering of the Goethean *Mahomets Gesang* into Persian verse. Goethe is, just like Iqbal's Eastern spiritual guide, Maulana Rumi, "not a prophet but has a book" i.e. the *Faust*, this drama of striving, longing, and love. It is perhaps that *Faust* which was admired most in European literature by Iqbal, who found his own ideas of love and development in it. Its *Prologue in Heaven* has been imitated in the *Prologue in Heaven* of the *Javidname*, the *opus magnum* of Iqbal (1932), and in this work, which was thought to be an oriental *Divina Commedia* and shows some traces of Dante's influence, the poet takes the nom-de-plume "Zindarud", Living Stream–no doubt an allusion to the symbolism of *Mahomet Gesang* where the prophetical spirit is compared to a living stream. Not to forget that the personality of Satan who plays an utmost important role in Iqbal's work shows traces of Goethe's Mephistopheles.

In Satan, the fallen angel, the dynamic force in life, we can also see the influence of Milton whose *Paradise Lost* was deeply admired by Iqbal who even intended to write a similar work. The idea that the Fall of Adam enabled him to work in this world, and was the cause for man's development, leading him from paradisical innocence to real life and strife, is both Miltonian and Qur'anic. The Qur'an attests that Adam is the *khalifa* of God, his vicegerent on earth who has to work as well as possible in order to give back the property of God to its owner in a good estate–an idea which has often been forgotten in Islam because of quietistic currents, and which was emphasized by Iqbal who never got tired in preaching the Gospel of everlasting activity which he found both in Western philosophy and in the right interpretation of the Qur'an.

It is astonishing how he was able to use for his goal even the results of modern science. He was a great admirer of Einstein whose theory of Relativity and the idea of the Universe is limitless but finite were found to agree completely with the Qur'anic teaching.

But all those deep Western influence did not blind Iqbal's eye to the dangers of a complete surrender to Western civilization. On the contrary, his work is filled with sharp criticism of Western thought, and, more that that, Western politics. We must confess that some of his political views are one-sided, and belong to a passed historical situation. For Iqbal, the West is, in its present situation, the personification of intellectualism, without the spark of Divine love, and therefore dangerous, satanic. East knows the Divine love but is submerged in sweet dreams, and is not aware of the dangers of Western infiltration. It is inclined to an imitation of the outward form of Western life without understanding its inner meaning. The outbursts of the poet against modern Turkey and Iran must be understood from this point of view. He himself acknowledged gratefully the methodical work of Western thinkers, and the education he had received there. But the fact that the West "crucifies the spirit of Christ every day" by unsocial behaviour and colonisatory method–this fact, expressed in the *Javidname* by the spirit of Tolstoy, has caused the bitterest attacks of the poet-philosopher.

And on the other hand, Iqbal was not aquainted very well with "the humanistic foundations of European culture", and his criticism of Plato and Platonism is "sometimes lacking in breadth." He is, faithful to the essentially dynamic and completely anti-classical spirit of the Qur'an, far away from Greek philosophy. Perhaps it was this radical one-sidedness of Iqbal in this fundamental point of view which gave him the possibility to open new ways for the development of Islam which had, under the influence of even that philosophical spirit, forgotten its original dynamic character, and forgotten also the word of the Qur'an (Sura 23, verse 11) "Verily God does not change the destiny of a people unless it does not change itself". Iqbal has used all the life-giving forces he found in East and West for the changing of the destiny of his people, just as he sings in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*:

Open thine eyes, if thou hast eyes to see!
Life is the building of the world to be!

(*Proceedings of the IX International Congress for the History of Religions,* Tokyo and Kyoto, 1958, Tokyo, 1960, pp. 705-708)

INTERVIEW WITH DR. ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

Modern civilization can be beautifully described in few lines by T. S. Eliot,

> The ENDLESS cycle of idea and action
> Endless invention, endless experiment
> Brings knowledge of motion but not of stillness
> Knowledge of speech but not of silence.

This endless action, experiment and invention accelerates the pass of life into lands where everything wears a distorted image. Human life, victim of this endless activity, has come to cross-ways. It has to decide the path which would shape its eternity.

According to Andre-Malaurax renowned genius from West, civilization has undergone a change in its basic concepts of thinking. The idea of an ideal man is no longer there. In its place a new god, the science god, reigns supreme. He has everything to do with technology, armaments and tyranny yet-hardly anything to do with the sufferings of human.

This god constantly seems to grow in power, feeding on its own ambitions. More a nation bows its head to it; more is her consequent status in community of nations.

Thus resources of developing and under-developed countries are being exploited to no end. Uncontrolled experimentation in nuclear field by callous viewed nations threaten the life on this cannot be allowed to continue. This bleak situation has shocked many out of peaceful slumber.

Politician's world over talk to contain the nuclear race. Psychologists are trying to investigate the seemingly loss of social values. Sociologists are trying to recarve the status of "Ideal Man". Man himself is being drawn to God as never before. Thus the year 1977 was observed as the year which marked the revival of Islamic

ideology. Muslims prostrated before Ka'ba, "Oh, Almighty, bring the dawn of Islam for this century as thou hath promised in Qur'an."

Year 1977 was also acclaimed as birth centenary year of Allama Iqbal, which is yet another proof of close connection of Iqbal with Islam.

Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, a native of Germany paid a return visit to Iqbal's land. A blue eyed, gray hair lady with enormous vitality and love for Oriental and Islamic philosophy has always caused feelings of fascinations, reverence and love in Pakistan. These feelings drew us to her. The interview took place in her Intercontinental suite now Pearl Continental.

Dr. A. M. Schimmel was born in Erfurt on April 7, 1922, started learning Arabic when 15 years old, got her Ph.D. in Persian, Arabic and Turkish when 19 years old. Since then she has been teaching in various institutions. Her publications consist of

1. History of Memluk Empire
2. Edited critical edition of *Sirat-Ibn'e-Khafif*.
3. Translation of *Javaid Nama* & *Payam-e-Mashriq* in German poetry.
4. Translation of *Javaid Nama* in Turkish prow.
5. A book about Rumi.
6. Translation of *Muqadama-Ibn-Khuldoon*.
7. Has written *Gabriel's Wing*

A study of religious ideas of Iqbal along with a number of articles on Iqbal, Rumi, Hallaj and *Tussawaf*.

Dr. Schimmel had been terribly busy. It was her sheer to kindness to give us the opportunity to talk to her.

We were probably the third group who knocked at her door asking for a talk. She consented to give us a half hour.

A half hour! My God! What would we be able to talk to her. Will we be able to over come the shakiness of our nerves awed by the dignity of her personality.

She asked us to be seated, took her seat, and with a smile beckoned us on.

We started talking, up tight at first but gradually shyness under the constant exposure of rays of love seemed to emanate from her eyes.

The interview carried on with utter disregard of time, exhausting the questions in our minds yet adding to the thirst in our hearts to know more about her and her works.

ECHO: My First question will be, how were you introduced to Iqbal?

Dr. Schimmel: It was very simple, I read Nicholson's article on *Payam-i Mashriq* (پیام مشرق) when I was a student of Islamic study. I was 18 then. I became so enthusiastic about it that I thought I should work on Iqbal. For many years I had only Nicholson's articles. Because in Germany not many books are published about foreign countries. But then in early 50's, I had the good fortune of getting Iqbal's books from a poet of Germany who was a great admirer of Iqbal and Maulana Room. He had once read some translation of Iqbal and had written to him, in reply Iqbal sent to him Javaid Nama (جاوید نامہ) and *Payam-i Mashriq* (پیام مشرق). Since he could not follow the language, he gave them to me.

These two copies were probably full of *barkat* (برکت) as they came from Iqbal himself. So I started my work on Iqbal.

ECHO: What in particular made you interested in Iqbal?

Dr. Schimmel: It was probably *Payam-i Mashriq* His interest in Western thought. Because having studied some of the contemporary thinkers of Turkish and Arab world, was fascinated that someone should have understood Germany and Modern philosophy so well. Secondly it was his spiritual connection with Maulana Room. These two aspects attracted me most in beginning.

ECHO: How would you define this "Spiritual Relation" between Maulana and Iqbal?

Dr. Schimmel: He has, as you know in his thesis rated Maulana Room as the precourses of a kind of Hegalian Neoplatonism. But later on he learnt to see him with a different angle. It was probably Maulana Shibli Naumani's book (سوانح مولانا روم), the Biography of Maulana Room, which caused this new outlook in Iqbal. Because then we find him as a representative of dynamic world, of evaluation, of developed man. And apparently Iqbal more deeply dealt in Maulana's works particularly in *Diwan-i Shams* (دیوان شمس). The way he deals with Maulana's central ideas and the way he explains key

concepts of Maulana Room is quite stunning. Thus I think he is very right in calling Maulana as his *murshid* (مرشد).

ECHO: Iqbal as said; was influenced by German philosophers. Has he influenced any thinker in Germany?

Dr. Schimmel: No, I am afraid not as yet. The only German philosopher deeply interested in Iqbal was Rudolf Pannwitz. He read Iqbal through translations. In correspondence with me, he showed how much he was influenced by Iqbal. But being in his 80s, he did not write anything about Iqbal particularly. This year, I have published translations from *Javid Nama*, *Payam-i Mashriq*, and about every work of Iqbal, in one volume as our German contribution to Iqbal's centenary. Now we have to see if any one becomes interested in him.

ECHO: How do you estimate his popularity in the West?

Dr. Schimmel: I am afraid it is not a very great number of people who read. It may be in Great Britain. We try very hard to make him better known. But in our school system *Islamic History and Civilization* has a very small place. Even many of the very learned friends, have not heard about Iqbal & Maulana Room. This always makes me very angry but what can be done. It is the educational system which is at fault. They don't know their own literature and history. I am pretty sure that you Pakistanis know more about Goethe than your students. They know, of course, the names of their football stars. It is one of my grievances that we have been unable to make the culture and history of Muslim world better known in Europe. In Germany we had a great movement for orientalism in the 19th centaury. But people lost their interest under the pressures of early 20th century post-world war period. They get ready made pictures from T.V. and so give up thinking.

ECHO: Should we call it media dependence?

Dr. Schimmel: Yes, but this time I think, I am very lucky as the greatest paper in German "Frankfurt er Allegemein Zeitung" have published a full front page article on Iqbal. This has never been done for any poet or a philosopher before. They asked me to write it. This paper is read by millions of people in Germany; I think and hope for positive results.

ECHO: Let us keep our fingers crossed. A question arises that when Iqbal went to Europe, his outlook changed.

How do you elaborate this change?

Dr. Schimmel: To me the reason was the direct confrontation with so many of the divergent currents, present, inside European civilization, which were quite contrary to what he had learnt at home. I think he underwent an identity crisis when he went back to Lahore. That made him change his whole position about Sufism, Islam, Science and Westren Thought. Out of this he found his own way to salvation, namely the return to the sources of Islam. Thus his more nationalistic views were changed and everything was channeled in one direction. It was this time when he became aware that he might be the leader of his community in this darkness.

I see him in a similar situation as that of the great reformers in 18th century in Delhi when Mughal Empire was crumbling down and there was British, French, Murhatas, Sikhs and Dutch everywhere just destroying Mughal glory. And at that time we had a very similar movement in Shah Wali Ullah (شاہ ولی اللہ), Mazhar Janjanaan (مظہر جانجاں) and Meer Dard (میر درد) who also went through a similar indentity crisis, at a lower level. So they chose and channeled their activity in return unmitigated faith of Islam, and towards a new veneration of Prophet (peace be upon him) as the leader of Muslim community. They chose an expression very similar to Iqbal against this sleepy mysticism, shop-keeper Sheikh so on and so forth. Because they thought that they endangered the Muslim community. If you see Iqbal as I see him, let me say that first step in identity crisis and identification was in 18th century. Then in after 1857 period by Hali & Sir Syed and then on third level when danger becomes particularly serious and clear it was Iqbal as an ascending step.

ECHO: But should we call it identity crisis; As I see it, it was an attempt for Muslim Renaissance?

Dr. Schimmel: Yes but he had to find the stand for himself and his people under very difficult circumstances. On one hand, there was a very tempting imitation of the west, of its science and philosophy. On other hand the feeling that there was still a glory of Islam, which was to be revived. This was very nicely expressed by Iqbal in "Shikwa" and "Jawab-e-Shikwa" (شکوہ اور جواب شکوہ) that poor Muslim is lost, between, so what to do. And he has to struggle. So if we see his earlier works from this point of view, we come to understand the seemingly contradiction in his works. He had to fight practically - at all fronts against so many currents of positive and negative nature.

ECHO: Ideal man of Iqbal, his *Mard-e-Momin* or Insane Kamil has been compared with Nietzsche's Ideal Man or Superman. How are they related?

Dr. Schimmel: The quest for an ideal man is probably inherent. As for Nietzsche's Superman, I know, there have been many remarks about similarities but I do not accept them. After all the Nietzsche postulates his Superman who will be there the ruler of Earth when the God has died which of course Iqbal, being a Muslim, can never accept. So were the other currents in Europe "Boris Parais" and `Much' who preached an absolutely crazy individualism, who is even more outspoken than Nietzsche's Superman. All these currents were there in late nineteenth century. Iqbal of course did take the notice of them. If Prophet (peace be upon him) in his highest stage of elevation can be called "Abduhoo" (I.a.s) then that must be the highest stage of man at all. So more per perfect man is more perfect in his stage of "Abdeat" or servant ship. This is indirect contrast with Nietzsche For his Superman has no relationship with God who is there when there is no God. Iqbal's concept of man can be best understood from the ideals of classic Islam. The word here means category rather than masculine. I don't think that women are excluded from *Mard-E-Momin*.

ECHO 'Doctor! I do you assume that Iqbal had a direct relation with God?

Dr. Schimmel: He certainly had the experience of directs relation with Allah. Otherwise, he could not have spoken so beautifully about the man's attitude in prayer where he eventually rediscovers his relationship with God in prayer. Long long ago, I had written an article on Iqbal and his prayers. I understand him from his prayer life which he begins in a very sweet and traditional prayers in "Bang-e-Dara" (بانگ درا) and then shows him in his stages of rebellion as in *Zabur-i 'Ajam* (زبور عجم) and *Payam-i Mashriq* (پیام مشرق) and then comes to complete surrender as he knows that man, even if his wish is not granted, his personality will be changed through the living contact between him and Allah.

As I feel, Iqbal's "Mard-e-Momin" (مرد مومن) is much closer to the classical sources of Islam as after it had been expressed by the popular mystics and posts, going back to the times of "Junaid Baghdadi" (جنید بغدادی) and "haft Sher Khani" (شیر خانی) of early times, have an expression very similar that they are looking for the

real man in contrast with others who are like animals may even worse than them. Who do not understand anything about the working of the divine spirit through Islam. As Maulana Roomi in his "*Masnavi*" and "*Diwan Shams*" (دیوان شمس) three times recourses the story of philosophers who went out with lantern in search of Man (انسان آرزو من است). It is this "Murd-e-Kamil" (مرد کامل) or in Turkish mysticism "Arr" that was always the goal of mystical search. Iqbal goes rather back to these sources than to Nietzsche. This is very clear from his remarks in "*Javaid Nama*" (جاوید نامہ) about Abd and Abduhoo (عبد اور عبدہ) Because the most perfect man in Iqbal's philosophy is Prophet (peace the upon him) and most perfect stage of man is when the holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was called *Abduhoo* (عبدہ) "God traveled with His servant in night". And then there will be a uniformity of will. I think a man who does not have this religious experience does not possibly write it.

ECHO: While studying Iqbal, one is confronted with words like 'Ishq (عشق), Ilm (علم) "Junoon and Khird" (جنون و خرد), What does he really mean with "*Ishq*" or dynamic love?

Dr. Schimmel; Dynamic love is probably the best translation of the word. It is the principle guiding the man to right path. As you have read in Iqbal's beautiful poem when he compares moth to the book worm who burows himself in Rāzi's (رازی) or Farābi's (فارابی) manuscript without attaining any illumination. At places, he compares Maulana Room with Hegel when former represents dynamic love and later the analytical reasoning. It would be very difficult to find a comprehensive translation of the word '*Ishq* but dynamic love comes closest to it. It is a very personal power. In order to define it, we would have to go back to the history of whole Islamic civilization. You see when first Sufis started to talk about the love of God, they used the word *Mahabbat* (محبت) they found the proof of it in Qur'an. Surat 5: "They love Him and He loves them". But this contrasted the belief that God can only be obeyed. In 1st and 2nd century (Hijri) this became very popular and the whole theory of love was evolved. For the first time word '*Ishq* is attributed to "Hassan of Basrah" (خواجہ حسن بصری) who died in 728 A.D. But it was 1'Noori"(نوری) and "Hallaj" (حلاج) who used it more intensely. With Hallaj (حلاج) it became as he called "Essential Desire in God."

But other sufis were against the use of this word '*Ishq* (عشق) It became more popular in Persian tradition thereafter remained only word to describe the relationship between man and God. As to Hallaj it is '*Ishq* (عشق) that caused God to create man, the world. It is Ishq (عشق) that reflects in man, thus draws him closer to God. Thus, it is very simple why man should participate in this love. Thus with God possibilities of love are infinite.

ECHO: Iqbal can be viewed and analyzed in three different perspectives, as a poet, as a philosopher and as a Sufi. As a Sufi, we find him non-believer in Wahdat ul Wujud" (وحدت الوجود)?

Dr. Schimmel: No, he follows very carefully the ideas of Wahadat ul Shuhud (وحدت الشہود), As Ahmad of Sirhind and even before the mystics of sober orders expressed that feeling of self can not be forgotten even for a moment. There is always *Rubb* is *Rubb* (رب رب ہے) when '*Abd* is '*Abd* (عبد عبد ہے) as their teaching goes. This was what Iqbal fought so relentlessly against. Even Ahmad Sirhindi has some praise for Ibn-e-'Arabi which is rather surprising. In fact, it was the Oneness he fought so relentlessly against.

ECHO: Did Iqbal have the Acquisence of his Murshad in it?

Dr. Schimmel: You see, interesting thing is, Nicholson makes Maulana Rum a great follower of Ibn-e-'Arabi while that was not so. They were neighbours in Qunia and good friends. An interesting story is narrated about Maulana while sitting with some friends, one of them exclaimed "Oh, the *Futhuhat-e-Makia* (فتوحات مکیہ) of Ibn-e-'Arabi is a strange book." At that moment the *Rubab* player Abu Bakar entered and started tunning his *rubab*, "Listen" said Maulana Room, "*Futhuhat-e-Bakar* are much better than Ibn-e-'Arabi's I think this is very typical of him.

Strangely, the technical term *Insan-e-Kamil* never occurs in his work, neither in *Mussnavi* nor in bi vane-e- Shams, yet Nicholson and many others wrote learned articles about Maulana-and *Insan-e-Kamil*. Maulana is much more lively to be imprisoned in narrow field of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* (وحدت الوجود).

ECHO: But I would say that in Sufis' sect it is but a stage.

Dr. Schimmel: Yes exactly, one comes back to *Wahadat ul-Shuhud*. And the last, stage is not a complete loosing oneself but as one of

Naqshbandi (نقشبندی) leader has said so beautifully. However, I will be very careful in the case of these words. The definitions are so very difficult and even now when we read books on Sufism we find that they almost contradict themselves. In former days I was very fond of use of these terms. The problem is that we have not yet the access to all possible sources. Even now a new interpretation of Sheikh Ibn-e-'Arabi may lead to new research problem is that people picked up the two terms and used them rather indiscriminately. So Iqbal was rather inclined towards what we call "وحدت الشہود".

The problem is that Ibn-e-'Arabi has developed this incredible system of unity of being. But when you read him and some good interpretation of him, you find him much more subtle and complicated than thought. It were probably the poets, along with popular writers, who brought it to a level of "ہمہ اوست" (Every thing is He). But in Ibn-e-'Arabi, there always a certain transcendence of God is maintained. The world is not God's essence but just a refection of His name and attributes. This is not complete monoism, but for poets it became one vast ocean without distinction.

Eventually when you go through in the *Ziker* (ذکر) through the letters of word Allah (اللہ), the last stage in that, the heart is surrounded by the light of alphabetical letters at the end of word "اللہ". This is a very beautiful definition. Iqbal could have believed in such a definition.

ECHO: Well. A very holy saint Khawja 'Alaudin 'Ali Ahmad Sabri who initiated the "سلسلہ" Sabri's and lived in Kaliar Sharif used to pray "دعائے نور" expressing the same idea. "To be engulfed in the light of Allah" His follower a Majaddid in time was Khawja Abdul Qudoos Gangohi (خواجہ عبد القدوس گنگوہی) was a staunch believer in *Wahdat ul Wujud*. His disciple Sheikh Abdul Ahad, who was also his *Khalifa*', his son Mujaddid Alf Sani of Sirhind contradicted " وحدت الوجود".

Dr. Schimmel: Yes, he is a typical representative of the same thought. Have you ever gone to any Sabri shrines? I went to Ruodoli (رودولی) at the shrine of Sheikh Ahmad Abdul Haq. It was a very interesting experience. We went to Dewa Sharif, Kuchoocha, Ruodoli.

ECHO: As in Sufis, the disciple believes steadfastly as his Murshad. It is rather different in this case as Alf Sani '(الف ثانی) was also initiated in Sabris by his father.

Dr. Schimmel: I did not know about it. At present some one in England is working on Gungohi's dohas. It is not out as yet: I am waiting to read it.

ECHO: In Dr. Iqbal, we have a different mode of expression. Where as Mazhar Janjanan, Meer Dard, Shah Wali Ullah, Ghulam Fareed and Bulleh Shah used the expression of human metaphors in love, why not Iqbal?

Dr. Schimmel: Perhaps he might have been afraid of too much, misunderstanding. I mean he uses the term "عشق" but does not use the metaphors of human love as for instance Bulley Shah "بلھے شاہ" and other poets of Sindh and Punjab. That brings me to a question perhaps you may be proper person to ask. May I ask you a question?

ECHO: Sure' It will be a pleasure.

Dr. Schimmel: I am always struck by the similarity in some of the Punjabi poets, "Sultan Baahoo's" (سلطان باہو) dynamic approach of Iqbal and of some other poet mystics of Punjab. Do you think there is a genuine relation between the two as my problem is that I do not understand Punjabi.

ECHO: Yes as I think the approach and expression of the poets, underlines the same path and religious experience for instance when Sultan Bahoo talks about heart and connection with Divine, he comes very close to Iqbal.

Dr. Schimmel: Oh yes! At one place when Bahoo writes about Khizer, he is very near to Iqbal.

ECHO: I think both pots and as other mystics also do, narrated the point of self illumination through connection with divine spirit.

Dr. Schimmel: Yes, I agree, it is probably quite normal. One should not stretch these similarities very far, but one is tempted to be happy when one comes across verbal similarities.

ECHO: While reading *Javaid Nama*, Iqbal narrates an experience of meeting persons like Halaj, Jamal Afghani, Tahira, Nadir and Tipu. Are they symbols?

Dr. Schimmel: I think he uses them as symbols. Jamal Afgani was very near his own time and very near his message. While he speaks of Hillaj, the importance of Prophet (peace be. upon him) and of *Iblis*, he is very much representing his own ideas. In some cases, he takes the original ideas from original works developed to 1s taste like in "Tipu",Nadir Shah. These are in fact his symbols. But the way be chooses them is very interesting For instance, Syed Ali Hamadani who is "Kibraya" (کبریا) leader is very important to him for his negation of *Wahadat ul-Wujud*. Moreover, he wrote; a book, "A Guide for Ruler" where he combined religion with practical aspects of a teacher. I have not been able to find out why he chooses Nadir with a quotation from his work.

ECHO: It has been suggested by some people that Iqbal experienced unity with Maulana Room on spiritual plane. Would you agree?

Dr. Schimmel: I think that he chose Maulana Room as he was much closer to his message. Other people appear and disappear like figures in a shadow, expressing some views which were important for Iqbal. But he is not very near to them. I think the people close to him are those in *Falak-e-Mushtari*, Tahira, Ghalib, Hallaj, where he expresses his personal views. But otherwise these people become players to express his ideas. They are not as close to his heart as Maulana Room.

ECHO: While discussing Nietzsche, Hallaj and *Iblis*, he concludes that there is very little difference between the three. It is rather shocking.

Dr. Schimmel: You see the comparison between Nietzsche and Hallaj comes against from the Naqshbandi (نقشبندی) tradition. Nietzsche has stayed in the stage of 'LA' (لا) here I wish that he would have stayed in later days he would have gone to Hillaj stated "انا الحق" As said by leaders, had he lived in the days of Irdwani, a great *Naqshbandi* leader, than they would not have allowed to give him to gallows. But would have lead him to right path. As for *Iblis* (ابلیس) on one hand I think Iqbal had a soft corner for him after all. *Iblis* is much more interesting than all of other angels. He makes life most colourful. In traditions Hallaj of *Iblis* is one of the great lovers. He loved God so much that he refused to prostrate himself before anything created. So he rather be cursed by God than give up this

pre-eternal love. There is a beautiful poem by Hakeem Sanai (حکیم ثنائی) where he complaints that he has been *Muallim ul Mulkoot* " معلم الملکوت" for seventeen thousand years. He had hoped to have been selected for his exhuberant love. But God laid a share on him in shape of Adam. And *Iblis* in just one moment of disobedience lost all the credit of obedience and love. Now he is longing to be reuniter to God. This tragic aspect of *Iblis* is what I think attracted Iqbal in 'ابلیس' in his *Javaid Nama*. The old man, sad man, who complaints about the man who is too obdient. But the common denominator between the three would be, especially Hallaj and *Iblis* that they have an overwhelming love for God and yet not reached God. Hillaj has written beautiful that by not obeying God's order to prostrate himself before man, he declared God much to holy that anyone besides him could not be worshiped. He failed to see that there was a divine spark in Adam. *Iblis* in Hillajian tradition is a tragic figure. When Iqbal speaks of him in *Javaid Nama*, he sees *Iblis* a tragic figure like Hillaj, like Nietzsche.

This was not the last question. It was never meant to be, but we had to give in the bargo of knocks on the door by other groups also begging a talk.

We had to leave her with heavy hearts and with a promise too see her once again if her schedule permitted.

Outside the door, we wonder, as if she was not like mother. We were almost sad in asking permission from her.

The Echo staff interviewing Dr. Schimmel consisted of:

1. Imran Siddique Malik
2. Khalid Qayum
3. Rizwan Mirza
4. Ayesha Ali
5. Shahnaz Arshad
6. Zafar (Photographer)