THE
WESTERN INFLUENCE IN IQBAL

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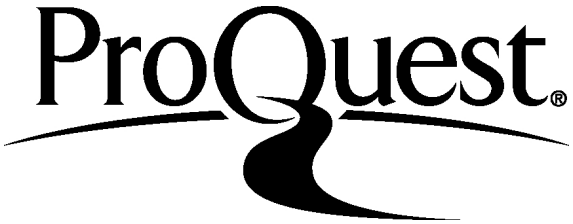

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P R E F A C E

This study is an attempt at bringing to light the contribution that the west seems to have made to the poetry of Muhammad Iqbal. Most of the critics of Iqbal have admitted that there is a marked difference between the poetry written by him before his leaving for Europe and that composed during his stay there and after his return home. This noticeable and marked difference created in me a curiosity to look for the image of the west in him. Since the critics have not gone beyond mentioning the western influence only casually I don't think I have been anticipated in the systematic study of the topic. There are critics like Dr Yusuf Husain Khan, S.A.Vahid, Dr Waliuddin, A.Anwar Beg - to mention only a few - who trace every thing great in Iqbal to Islamic sources and gloss over the influences other than Islamic by describing them as 'similarities' or 'affinities'. While comparing and contrasting Iqbal with any western thinker or poet they emphasise the differences in the respective view-points and thus brush aside any influence on Iqbal. What is lost sight of is the fact that the influence exercised by one great man on the other does not imply a total identity of views; an influence may appear in the form of assimilation, stimulation, acquiescence or revolt. Iqbal's genius assimilates some impressions, gets stimulated by some thoughts, acquiesces in some view-points, revolts against some opinions: influence is thus a process that continues making an impact on one's sensibility. No man of genius can be immune to the world of thought around him: Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Dante, Rabindranath Tagore, T.S.Eliot and

Rammohan others have a good deal in them traceable to different sources. Tagore's borrowing from western sources is well-known and he himself has testified to its veracity. Iqbal too, in a letter to Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, wrote : 'Most of my life was passed in studying the history of Western philosophy and the angle of vision has become a second nature to me. Consciously or unconsciously, I study the truth of Islam from this point of view.'[1] Iqbal's diary, published posthumously, edited by his son Javid Iqbal, contains innumerable entries relating to western poets and thinkers; his book The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam is full of references to western philosophers and as a matter of fact he has read western philosophy into Islam; his Development of Metaphysics in Persia was a thesis written in Germany and submitted to a German university. Iqbal's sensibility was that of a philosopher and a poet rolled into one, and consequently its keenness and intensity can be better imagined than described. The time he lived in was a time of strain and stress. India could not face the political challenge posed by the west and the uprising of 1857 ended in the establishment of British hegemony. The post-mutiny period posed a cultural challenge. English education began to expand; fresh ideas from the west caused a stir and a shake-up in the traditional way of thinking. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Maharishi Devendranath Tagore, Gandhi, Tilak, Nehru, Iqbal and such others were all product of the tensions in the society

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1. Iqbal Namah Pt I (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf) edited by Sh.Attaullah, p. 47

on account of its being influenced by English education. They all reacted to the conditions, some in the sphere of politics, some in the domain of literature and some in other spheres of activity. It was a period of Indian Renaissance and we discovered ourselves through English language that created a feeling of oneness in the country; every walk of life came under the western influence. The impact was bound to have an impact on Iqbal as well; he was touched to the quick and he, consciously or unconscious-ly, assimilated a good deal from his education in India and in Europe, besides his getting influenced by the factors then obtaining in the society. Not only was Iqbal himself a great poet he also made Urdu poetry great through his poetry. His greatness lies in the fact that he drank deep at both the eastern and western sources: the knowledge of the world of his time is clearly reflected in his writings. My thesis is confined to the tracing of the West in him. Almost all the available material bearing on the topic has been drawn on and a good number of books on western philosophy and poetry have been consulted: the bibliography given at the end consists of a selection of these books and periodicals. Examples from the poetry of Iqbal have been given mostly from translations by Dr R.A.Nicholson, Dr A.J. Arberry, V.G.Kiernan, Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad, A.Anwar Beg; the verses not referred to any translator have been rendered into English by me. Besides, quotations from the Urdu critics have been translated by me. Since the influence exerted by Rabindranath Tagore on Iqbal can hardly be called western

influence the chapter entitled 'Iqbal & Rabindranath Tagore' has been included as an Appendix. The inclusion of this chapter even as an appendix has its own reason: the influence of Tagore on non-Bengali poets of different Indian languages, except those of Assamese and Oriya which are akin to Bengali, has been through English translation of his works. It may therefore well be regarded as an English influence.

I am indebted to my guide Dr Amaresh Datta without whose guidance, and personal interest this work would not have assumed the shape that it has done. I must also acknowledge with thanks the encouragement that I received from Padma Bhushan Nawab Mirja Jafar Ali Khan 'ASAR', Ex-Acting Dewan of Jammu & Kashmir State during the reign of late Maharaja Hari Singh, and Munshi Bisheshwar Prasad 'MUNAWWAR' - both of them Urdu poets of All India repute. My association with these two great poets over many years in connection with the poetry I wrote, and the resultant taste for Urdu poetry is perhaps an indirect contributory factor to this work on the 'Western Influence in Iqbal'.

Tara Charan Rastogi.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Doctor Sir Muhammad Iqbal, "a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry",[1] was a creative genius who is described as "a confluence of the oriental and occidental streams of knowledge and philosophy"[2]. While there is a spate of books dealing with oriental, particularly Islamic influences, there is not a single book attempting to trace the western influences in Iqbal in a systematic manner. Before dividing these western influences into conscious and unconscious ones permeating his poetic work it will be apt to quote the remark made by Dr R.A.Nicholson in his Foreword to The Poet of the East, and that by John C. Reeme in the introduction to this book:

"Born in the Punjab, Iqbal completed his education in England and Germany. East and West met; it would be too much to say that they were united. No one, however, gifted, can hope to partake on equal terms and in full measure of two civilisations which have sprung up from different roots. While Iqbal has been profoundly influenced by western culture, his spirit remains essentially Oriental. He knows Goethe, Byron and Shelley; he is as familiar with Also Sprach Zarathustra and L'evolution Creatice as he is with the Quran and the Mathnawi. But with the Humanistic foundations of European culture he appears to be less intimately acquainted, and we feel that his criticism, though never superficial, is sometimes lacking in breadth".[3]

And J.C.Reeme writes:

".... There will be considerable difference of opinion in regard to the measure of the influence which Iqbal's

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1.Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's words quoted at page 55 in A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore, Sh. Md.Ashraf, 1961)
2.Dr Yusuf Husain Khan: Roah-i-Iqbal (New Delhi, Maktaba Jamia, 1962, reprint V), p. 12
3.A.Anwar Beg:The Poet of the East (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, . 1961) vide foreword by R.A.Nicholson, page XI

excursions into the realm of Western philosophy exerted over his work as a poet of the East. There is evidence in abundance in his works that he did not cast aside as worthless the knowledge he had gained as a student in Europe. ... In Iqbal's works we see the reactions of the mingling of the currents of the East and the West. For the first time, we see in them the result of a conscious effort on the part of a serious Eastern thinker to analyse the two systems and also to synthe-sise them".[1]

Such opinions bearing on different aspects of Iqbal's poetry and thought may be gleaned from the writings of other critics as well. But before proceeding further it will only be proper to turn to Iqbal's life-sketch. In the introductory note to his doctoral thesis The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, submitted to Munich University (Germany), Iqbal writes:

"I was born on the 3rd of Dhi-Qa'd, 1294 A.H. (1876 A.D.) at Sialkot - Punjab (India). My education began with the study of Arabic and Persian. A few years after I joined one of the local schools and began my University career, passing the first Public examination of the Punjab University in 1891. In 1893 I passed the Matriculation and joined Scotch Mission College Sialkot, where I studied for two years, passing the Intermediate Examination of the Punjab University in 1895. In 1897 and 1899, respectively, I passed my B.A. and M.A. from the Lahore Government College. During the course of my University career I had the good fortune to win several gold and silver medals and scholarships. After my M.A. I was

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1.Ibid, Introduction by J.C.Reome, page XIV

appointed Malcod Arabic Reader in the Punjab University Oriental College where I lectured on History and Political Economy for about three years. I was then appointed Assistant Professor in the Lahore Government College. In 1905 I got leave of absence for three years in order to complete my studies in Europe where I am at present residing."[1]

To this may be added a few things from The Poet of the East. "... In London and Cambridge he studied higher philosophy, economics and politics and in Germany he got his Doctorate in philosophy from the Munich University. His visit to Europe and higher education in the west coupled with his experience of European life and politics made him a keen observer of social events and problems of which he made ample use in forming his views..."[2] Besides, he came in direct and close touch with many westerners of note who exercised profound influence over him. At Lahore, he made the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Arnold "who initiated him to ([illegible]) the literature and thought of the west."[3] Arnold, who had been his teacher at the Government College Lahore, "was one such educationist to whom India owes a debt of gratitude. ... In Iqbal he immediately recognised an unusual talent and intellectual potentiality. He befriended him, encouraged him in his pursuits, and gave him sympathy so essential to a growing mind. ... He opened for Iqbal the world of western thought and literature and the vast riches of its achievements in the humanities....."[4] Mention may here be made of an incident that shows the profundity of influence wielded by Arnold over Iqbal. Once during the course of conversation

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1. contained (at page 28) in Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964) edited by Syed Abdul Vahid
2. A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961) p. 286
3. Luce-Claude Maitre: Introduction to the thought of Iqbal (Iqbal Academy, Karachi), translated by M.A.M.Dar, p. 1
4. Iqbal Singh: The Ardent Pilgrim (Orient Longmans,1951) pp. 27, 28

with Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Barrister -at- Law, whose stay in London coincided with Iqbal's, Iqbal hinted at his decision to give up writing poetry. Shaikh Abdul Qadir did not appreciate Iqbal's decision and consequently advised him to continue writing. The matter, in short, was ultimately referred to Arnold who, agreeing with Mr Qadir, advised Iqbal not to part company with the Muse. And Iqbal nodded assent."[1]

At Cambridge he came into close contact with two leading figures in the world of philosophy, Prof. McTaggart and Prof. James Ward. "Iqbal all his life valued McTaggart's friendship, though his influence on his own thought was less marked than that of Ward whose ideas left a much more abiding impress on Iqbal's mind - so much so that Prof. M.M.Sharif in an article in the Islamic Culture has gone so far as to describe Iqbal as 'Ward's disciple' ".[2]

From England, Iqbal, on Arnold's advice, went to Germany to study at the University of Munich as a research student. Besides completing his thesis The Development of Metaphysics in Persia and acquiring his Ph.D., he attended a course at Heidelberg.[3]

To have some glimpses of Iqbal and his achievements in Germany it would be better to turn to Atiya Begum who has edited the letters she received from Iqbal. The introductory chapter and her notes here and there in the book throw a flood of light on this aspect of his career. Relevant excerpts are reproduced below.

1.Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Complete works of Iqbal), Lucknow, Maktaba-i-Adab-i Jadid, p. 22 from foreword by Sh.Abdul Qadir.
2.Iqbal Singh:Ardent Pilgrim (Orient Longmans,1951), p. 37
3.Ibid, pp. 45 - 48

"Iqbal was in Heidelburg to complete the philosophical research work he had undertaken. Heidelburg provided every kind of facility to such scholars. ... Iqbal had hardly taken three months to master the German language which in itself made him appear an intellectual freak in the eyes of the Professors.[1] ..... Prof. Herr Schaecent, ... myself, and Iqbal read and discussed poetry and higher philosophy with absorbing interest. Iqbal was all for German knowledge, and said, 'If you wish to increase your understanding in any branch of learning, Germany should be your goal.' He further declared, 'By discussing with others, a new world opens, and it is with this method that I acquired all that I know.' The following day Iqbal presented the original Ms. of Political Economy to me, and also the Thesis which secured him his degree. This work was later translated in (sic) German and was published. It was a learned work that brought him considerable prestige.[2] .... The two beautiful women professors (Prof. Frau Wegenast and Prof. Fraulein Semeschal) were Iqbal's teachers, from whom he was receiving instructions in weighty subjects. Apart from the University work every student had to learn boating, classical music, singing, gardening, hiking, and climbing, etc., and this intermingled with University studies, made a delighful course. Iqbal had to join all branches, and was intelligently interested. ..."[3]

All the foregoing excerpts describing Iqbal's stay at Cambridge and in Germany bring into relief the fact that the

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1.Atiya Begum : Iqbal (Academy of Islam Publication,1947) p. 9
2.Ibid, p.10
3.Ibid, p.22

Philosopher & poet did not confine his attention to studies and libraries alone but the search for knowledge led him also to form personal contacts which, with the passage of time, deepened into friendship. This aspect, inasmuch as it opened up the sources of fresh visions of knowledge before Iqbal, should not be lost sight of. These sources brought him under new influences, and these were conscious influences.

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For an appraisal of unconscious influences of the west on Iqbal one has only to turn to the top-most critics of Urdu Literature like Dr Ebadat Brelvi, Prof. Majnu Gorukhpuri, Khwaja Ahmad Faruqi, to mention a few among a legion.

Dr Ebadat Brelvi remarks: "Modern Poetry (Urdu) came into being with Hali and Azad. Hali and Azad were the standard bearers of a movement but this movement was not the outcome of their innovating mind. It owed its existence to a historical need. Hali and Azad put Urdu poetry into the paths of modernity. There is, it cannot be gainsaid, no greatness in their poetry and this is perhaps due to the fact that their poetry is only an experiment that gains in greatness with the passage of time. These new experiments attempted by Hali and Azad created a new atmosphere for the modern poetry which began adding to itself new styles and themes. Many poets trod the paths laid out by them and each of them in one way or the other helped in the growth of new experiments. After Hali and Azad, Iqbal and Josh were very conspicuous for bringing before the vision new paths.

entirely new way and adapting these to the needs of our life".[1] This innovation in right earnest seems to have begun towards 1908 and gain in intensity from the time of Tagore's getting Nobel Laureateship in 1913. Prof. Abdul Qadir Sarwari, speaking about the impact of the west on Iqbal's point of view, observes that his poetry "written prior to his leaving for Europe compares and contrasts with the poetry written after his return"[2]. While there is among the critics a consensus of opinion on this point no one has yet cared to notice the pervasive influence of Tagore's poetry.

To turn to the other points set forth in Qazi Abdul Hamid's article: he describes Tagore's mysticism as 'negative mysticism'. Nothing can be farther from truth. Tagore, on the other hand, "was at once a great idealist and a practical man"[3]. This is the opinion of Aldous Huxley, a writer of international fame. About Tagore's mysticism Huxley observes: "Tagore was a mystic - a mystic, I would say, of the Tantrik school, a mystic of the kind who does not wish to achieve liberation outside the world, but aspires to achieve it within the world. He aspired to see the absolute within the relative, the infinite in the finite object, eternity within every moment of time. ... His ideal was to be a [illegible] rather than an Arhat, to achieve Nirvan while working in the world."[4] Dr Safamatullah expresses a similar opinion when he observes: "Tagore is essentially an idealist, but his idealism

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1. Majnu Gorakhpuri: Iqbal (Delhi, Azad Kitab Ghar, [illegible]), p. [illegible]
2. Abdul Qadir Sarwari: Jadid Urdu Shairi (Amritsar, [illegible] Book Depot), p. 200
3. Aldous Huxley: Reflections on Tagore, an article in Indian Literature Vol. IV, [illegible] Tagore Number (Sahitya Akademi, N.Delhi) p. [illegible]
4. [illegible]

There were of course other poets also who vanguarded the movement for modernity but taking into consideration all the things, one can see almost all the trends of the post - Hali poetry in the poetry of Iqbal and Josh.[1] Dr Brelvi, discussing the role of Hali in the evolution of modern Urdu poetry, concludes: "An Iqbal without a Hali was not possible, and had there been no Iqbal there would not have been Josh and other modern poets".[2] This opinion is shared among many others critics by Prof. Majnu Gorakhpuri who writes that "the new symphony introduced by Hali and Azad in Urdu poetry and Urdu prose was completed by Iqbal. We may describe Iqbal as the completed and cultured specimen of Hali School of Poetry".[3]

What was, then, the role played by Azad and Hali ? - may well be asked. The search for a reply to this question would bring out what may be termed the unconscious influences of the west on Iqbal. Let us therefore listen to Khwaja Ahmad [illegible] "The harbingers of the new movement were Azad and Hali. At the suggestion of Col. Holroyd they started in 1874* poetical gatherings in which new types of poems were recited.

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1. Ebadat Brelvi, M.A., Ph.D., Jadeed Shairi (Lahore, Urdu Duniya, 1961) p. 563
2. Ibid, p. 182
*Sardar Mohan Singh dates Modern Urdu Poetry from the year 1867 for the following reasons:
(1) The new ideals of Urdu Poetry were enunciated and elaborated publicly under inspiration .. from Col. Holroyd, then Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, by Muhammad Husain Azad at Lahore in a meeting of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, held on 15th August 1867
(2) The first translations into Urdu verse from English were made by Ismail Merathi in 1867

vide page 31 Sardar Mohan Singh: Some Characteristics & Tendencies of Modern Urdu Poetry (Thesis submitted to the Calcutta University for Doctor of Philosophy), The Lahore Electric Press, 1934.

3. Majnu Gorakhpuri: Iqbal (Delhi, Azad Kitab Ghar, 1955, Sec. Ed.) p. 8

Hali wrote Barkharut, Umeed, Insaf and Hubbe Watan (i.e. poems entitled Rainy Season, Hope, Justice and Patriotism) which represents a new conscious trend in Urdu poetry. .... Hali evaluted the old literature in the light of social consciousness and purposeful activity. He believed that if literature was to have any significance it must serve and reflect life. Great credit should be given to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (d.1900) who changed the very course of Urdu Literature by his initiative, influence and reforming zeal. Contact with English literature melted the ice in Urdu which had accumulated owing to the frigid ardours of the court. Old values were relegated to the background and literature was freed from its cumbersome shackles. Thus began a true renaissance in Urdu."[1]

Dr Ghulam Mustafa Khan, in an article, quotes Hali as writing that: "After the death of Nawwab Shefta I got employed in the Punjab Government Book Depot, Lahore and my duty was to look over and correct the language of the translations made into Urdu from English. For about four years I continued doing this at Lahore. This created among other things a taste for English Literature, and with the passage of time the esteem for the Eastern, particularly Persian, literature began to wane."[2]

Hali, it may here be pointed out, was "the poetic argument for the Aligarh Movement",[3] a name given to the activities and strivings of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for an all-embracing social and cultural uplift of the Muslim community. That is to

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1. vide. p. 300 (Urdu Literature an article by Kh. Ahmad Faruqi) Indian Literature (Sahitya Akademi, N. Delhi, 1960)
2. vide. p. 41 Barg-i-Gul (Sir Syed Number), Urdu College, Karachi, 1954-55
3. Iqbal Singh: The Ardent Pilgrim (Orient Longmans, 1951) p. 20

say, the movement had among other objectives an educational and literary aim as well. "His activities", in the words of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, "attracted Munshi Karamat Ali, Munshi Zakaullah of Delhi, Dr Nazir Ahmad, Maulana Shibli Nomani, and the poet Hali, who is one of the outstanding figures of Urdu literature."[1] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who pioneered the Muslim Renaissance, wanted, as would be evident from the following excerpts, Urdu literature to be at par with the literatures of European languages and with this aim in view he encouraged several Urdu writers and poets to turn to English for thought and expression. In his letter to Azad, Sir Syed, on being presented with a copy of Masnawi Khwab-i-Amn, wrote: "..... Now, pay no heed to the taunts and censures hurled by the people. It is high time the thought of English poets should be expressed in Urdu literature. This task, though stupendous, should be faced as a challenge."[2] Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, praising Azad and Hali, wrote in a letter: ".. These masnawie bring to one's notice that attitudes have changed very little and, if our community remains attentive to the themes of Nature and looks up for the thoughts of Milton and Shakespeare and understands the difference between themes of love and imagination and those of realism and Nature, it may well be expected that through the endeavours of these persons a day would dawn to find our literature pretty good, and we too would take pride in some such poets of ours as the people of Europe do in Milton and Shakespeare....."[3] And Iqbal fulfilled his dream. His poetic

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1. Nehru, J.L. : The Discovery of India (London, Meridian Books Ltd., edition, 1960) p. 348
2. vide. p. 54 Barg-i-Gul (Sir Syed Number), Urdu College Karachi 1954-55 from Dr Ghulam Mustafa Khan's article entitled 'Sir Syed Aur Muqadma-i-Sher-o-Shairi'
3. Ibid, p. 54-55

career began when the literary atmosphere was surcharged with western influences. Mention may be made of the remark made by Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member, Hyderabad (Deccan): " ... conservatism in literature is perhaps more [illegible] than in other things. People feel a natural diffidence in making a bold deviation from approved and accepted forms. There is no sudden revolution here as there is in politics. It therefore took nearly fifty years ..... (and) at last the Persian Muse burst the bonds forged for her by convention. In Urdu literature a similar change from the past is represented by such poets as Hali, Akbar and Iqbal."[1]

Iqbal had "a deep tinge of the west"[2] and in his letter of September 2, 1925 addressed to Mustafa Tabassum he acknowledged his debt to western thought: " ... Most of my life was passed in studying the history of Western philosophy and the angle of vision has become a second nature to me."[3] Hali and Azad, under the impact of the west and inspired by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, had doubtless provided social and cultural background to poetry but this background was bathed in emotional colour and tinged with a deep and consistent philosophy by Iqbal. That is to say, in pre-Iqbal poetry the contours were almost blurred and, though the poetry of Durga Sahai Sureer and Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast cannot be ignored, it was Iqbal who made the social, cultural and natural outlines in

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1.vide,Foreword by Hon.Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur (page No. not given) to M.Ishaque, B.Sc.,Ph.D.(London): Modern Persian Poetry (Calcutta, Md.Ismail, 1942)

2.A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961) [illegible], p. 290

3.Iqbal Nama edited by Sh. Ataullah (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf) p. 47 (The book contains letters written by Iqbal from time to time)

poetry prominent. His Muse had breathed in the atmosphere created by Hali and it was to this extent that western influences unconsciously touched it. During his stay in England and Germany from 1905 to 1908 in connection with higher studies he had an opportunity to observe all walks of western life at first hand. The thoughts and feelings evoked as a result of this observation and study gave his poetry a new turn; and these stemmed from what may be termed conscious influences. Western influences in Iqbal, therefore, deserve an analytic look. Iqbal was a prodigious and eclectic genius. Any influence, whether exercised by a poet or a philosopher, does not retain its original shape in him for he assimilates it and gives expression to it in such a way that it looks quite new. Through his assimilation of western thoughts and impressions he ushered in a new era in Urdu poetry. His death in 1938, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, "creates a void in our literature that, like a mortal wound, will take a very long time to heal. India, whose place to-day in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss a poet whose poetry had such universal value."[1]

The criterion for tracing the influences on the works of a literary genius can hardly be reduced to a formula with mathematical precision. "The impact", rightly remarks V.K. Gokak, "may be one of stimulation or assimilation, of acquiescence or revolt".[2] A poem may be written under the influence of one or more than one poets and philosophers

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1. quoted in A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore, Sh. Md.Ashraf, 1964) p. 54
2. V.K.Gokak: Tagore's Influence on Modern Indian Poetry an article contained in Indian Literature, Tagore Number, vol. IV (N.Delhi, Sahitya Akademy, 1961) p. 90

but a genius puts a new stamp on it. Iqbal, gifted as he was with an eclectic genius, borrowed from different sources, eastern and western, but assimilated these in such a praise-worthy manner that the finished product was always typically Iqbalian.

Chapter 2

Iqbal And the Western Philosophers

Even a random picking of a book on Iqbal and turning over of its pages would show some western philosophers mentioned here and there, a fact which proves that Iqbal's poetry has a philosophical backdrop. But there are critics who fly off at a tangent as soon as one points out the influence of any western philosopher; they perhaps regard any such attempt as an underestimation of the genius of Iqbal. "The cult of Iqbal," rightly observes Dr Amarnath Jha, "is still not far removed from idolatory".[1] Impartial opinions of critics, both foreign and Indian, are however there to point out the western influences in Iqbal's works. Even Iqbal acknowledged his debt to the study of western philosophy.[2] The opinions of a few critics are reproduced below.

V.G.Kiernan writes: " .... There (in Europe) he absorbed new ideas, and was influenced by several thinkers, notably Hegel, Bergson, and above all Nietzsche. He took from them what was congenial to his own needs as a member of a community growing conscious of its own backwardness - the sense of evolution and history, of advance through effort and struggle. ...."[3]

M.M.Sharif, in his article 'Iqbal's Conception of Art', writes: "His studies in Western Philosophy for his M.A. degree in India and his research work in Muslim Philosophy in England and Germany, prepared the ground for Iqbal's

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1.vide. p. XXXVII (Appreciation), Dr S.Sinha: Iqbal, The Poet & His Message (Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal, 1947)
2.see page 10, Iqbal's letter to Mustafa Tabassum
3.V.G.Kiernan: Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), p. XV - Introduction.

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philosophy in general and the problem of Divine reality in particular; and his early religious training supplied the seed, out of which has grown a beautiful plant of the root of which I have given a rather dry and colourless account. Owing to the inner possibilities of the seed itself, the richness of the soil, the suitability of the climate or temper of the then current thought, the plant began to grow vigrously. But it was trained to take its present shape by the philosophies of Rumi, McTaggart, James Ward, Bergson and Nietzsche. Whatever the influence of others in other directions, with regard to the solution of the problem in hand, Iqbal's thought was moulded chiefly by Ward."[1]

And, Prof. Majnu Gorakhpuri, in his book Iqbal, says: " Among the western thinkers, Goethe, Nietzsche, Hegel and Bergson, and among the western poets Wordsworth, Goethe, Heine, Browning and Emerson seem to have influenced Iqbal profoundly. The mysticism of Rumi and the idealism of western philosophers, it may be generally said, enter prominently into Iqbal's poetry. All the thoughts of Iqbal are especially permeated with and dominated by German idealism known as Voluntarism and Activism."[2]

Dr Ishrat Hasan Enver testifies: " .... his visit to Europe energised his spirits, strengthed his will, and brought in its wake a political reaction in him. He began to emphasize action, activity and self-assertion, rather than passivity, indifference and self-negation. He gained

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1. from the article by M.M.Sharif, M.A.(Cantab) included in Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore, Ashraf Publication, 1960, 3rd ed.) see pp. 124-5
2. Majnu Gorakhpuri: Iqbal (Delhi, Asad Kitab Ghar, Sec.Ed., 1955) p. 16

strength for his thought from the study of Bergson, Nietzsche and McTaggart .... "[1]

It may however be pointed out that apologists like Ishrat Enver and Syed A.Vahid try to by-pass the influences of western thinkers and poets on Iqbal by describing these influences only as 'affinities'.[2] As a matter of fact criticism in Urdu literature is still not fully developed. Prof. Aal-i-Ahmad Surour referred to the state of Urdu criticism when he delivered Extension Lectures at the University of Delhi, on January 29, 1965. He said: " .... Partisanship still dominates our criticism. ... The critic should not make standard of his personal likes and dislikes. ... "[3]

The following chapters would bring to light the influences of various western philosophers and poets on Iqbal.

1.Ishrat Hasan Enver,M.A.,Ph.D.,: The Metaphysics of Iqbal (Lahore, Md.Ashraf,1944) page VIII (from Preface)
2.for example see
(a) Ishrat Hasan Enver: The Metaphysics of Iqbal (Lahore, Md.Ashraf,1944) p. 51 (affinity with Bergson ...)
(b) Syed Abdul Vahid: Iqbal, His Art & Thought (London, John Murray, 1959) p. 82 (affinities touched upon)
3.Hamari Zuban (Urdu Weekly published by Anjuman Taraqqi-i Urdu, Hind, Aligarh), issue dated March 8, 1965. p. 5

Chapter 3

Iqbal & Kant

"In the sphere of human thought", writes Iqbal in his diary published posthumously, "Muhammad, Buddha and Kant were probably the greatest revolutionaries ..."[1] This is a significant entry inasmuch as it brackets Kant with Muhammad and Buddha. Iqbal, being a staunch Muslim, had full faith enshrined in the Holy Koran. God Himself commands Muslims to believe in His messenger, that is Prophet Muhammad:

> O, believers, fear God, and believe
> in His messenger, and He will give you
> a twofold portion of His mercy, and
> He will appoint for you a light whereby
> You shall walk, and forgive you; God is
> All - forgiving, All compassionate.
> (Koran 57: 26 - 28) [2]

Why, then, Kant is mentioned alongwith the Prophet? It is perhaps due to the fact that Iqbal was impressed with the Kantian way of thinking to a great extent. In his prose work The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam he praises Kant in the following words:

"It cannot, however, be denied that Ghazali's mission was almost apostalic like that of Kant in Germany of the eighteenth century. In Germany rationalism appeared as an ally of religion, but she soon realised that the dogmatic side of religion was incapable of demonstration ... His

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1. Stray Reflections (Iqbal's Note-book) edited by Javid Iqbal (Lahore, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961) p. 88
2. quoted on page 25 in John Alden Williams: Islam (New York, Washington Sq. Press, 1962) The quotation is from A.J. Arberry: The Koran Interpreted (New York, 1955)

the moral realm occupied by all human beings is deeper than the intellectual realm occupied by the elite. If the moral life is paramount, then as moral beings we must be free; if our moral tasks are endless, we must be immortal; if justice is to be rewarded, then there must be a God. God, Freedom and Immortality are of course, supersensible realities that cannot be proved by the theoretical reason. Then they must be implied or postulated by the practical reason, by the moral law within us. They must be objects of unconquerable faith. That is what Kant meant by the second half of his famous sentence - 'to make room for faith'."[1]

Iqbal seems to have been much influenced by this thrust of Kant's philosophy. Kant does not belittle reason but he limits its role to understanding the phenomena; it can never get to the thing-in-itself, noumena. Our knowledge thus takes in appearances alone. It is faith alone that holds to God, the soul, the human immortality. All these ideas occur in Iqbal's works. Examples are legion: a few are given below -

Go beyond Reason's light; here is the lamp
That shows the road, not marks the destination. 2

* * *

Reason provides the traveller with the means to see.
What is reason ? It is, as if, a wayside lamp-post.
What turmoil rage within
Little can it understand. 3

* * *

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1. see page 166 Houston Peterson: Essays In Philosophy (New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1959)
2. Poems From Iqbal , translated by V.G.Kiernan, (London, John Murray, 1955). p. 37 (Gabriel's Wing)
3. quatrain in Iqbal's Bal-I-Jibril.
see p. 376 Kulliyat-I-Iqbal (Complete works of Iqbal) (Urdu), Delhi, New Taj.

Rise ! and upon the thirsty land
Sprinkle life's wine with lavish hand;
Kindle anew the spirit's fire,
And bid the flame in us expire.

The tavern wine is drained and gone,
The drinkers find oblivion;
The school re-echoes to the shout
And every lamp has flicker[illegible]out.

Reason's a knot-resolving slave,
Faith mid convention's laid to grave,
For in the breast there beats a heart,
The unseen target of love's dart. 1

* * *

Then canst pass, like morning's breeze,
Deep into the anemones,
With a single breath disclose
The locked secrets of the rose.

What is Life? The world, and all,
To make spirit's captive thrall;
Since the world has prisoned thee,
How shalt thou bring this to be? 2

* * *

1.A.J.Arberry: Persian Psalms (Translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam), Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961) pp. 13 - 14
2.Ibid, pp. 55 - 56

New and new Mind breaketh through
What idols it designed;
Come, for Love believeth true,
And infidel is Mind.

Thou has closed thine eyes, and said
"The world's a dream, no less"
Ope thine eyes; this dream-abed
Is all of wakefulness. 1

* * *

Shall knowledge fall the phoenix in thy net?
Be less assured: let Doubt imprison thee.
Wouldst work ? Then let thy faith be more mature
One be thou seeking, One behold, One be. 2

* * *

" ... Crafty Reason sets a snare;
Love overthrows the prey with strong right arm.
Reason is rich in fear and doubt; but love
Has firm resolve, faith indissoluble." 3

* * *

It may here be added that 'love' in above lines implies faith. This word "plays a large part in his (Iqbal's) philosophy: it is creative passion, high emotion, divine spark, enthusiasm for an ideal, ardent self-dedication, or the force that drives the individual to realise himself ..."[4] The Kantian impress on Iqbal's works would be abundantly clear if a few relevant ideas from Kant's works are reproduced:

1.Ibid, p. 67
2.A.J.Arberry: Tulips of Sinai (translation of Iqbal's Lale-i-Tur) London, The Royal India Society, 1947. pages 10
3.A.J.Arberry: The [illegible] of the Selflessness (translation of Iqbal's Rumuz-i-Bekhudi), London, John Murray, 1953. pages 28
4.Poems From Iqbal translated by V.G.Kiernan (London, John Murray, 1955). p. 106 (notes)

"Human reason has this peculiar fate that in one species of its knowledge it is burdened by question which ..., it is not able to ignore, but which ... it is also not able to answer ..." [1]

* * *

"It (Critique of Pure Reason) is a call to reason to undertake anew the most difficult of all its tasks, namely, that of self-knowledge, and to institute a tribunal which will assure to reason its lawful claims, and dismiss all groundless pretensions. ..." [2]

* * *

" ... the chief question is always simply this: What and how much can the understanding and reason know apart from all experience? not: how is the faculty of thought itself possible? The latter is, as it were, the search for the cause of a given effect, and to that extent is somewhat hypothetical in character. ..." [3]

* * *

"Whether the treatment of such knowledge as lies within the province of reason does or does not follow the secure path of a science, is easily to be determined from the outcome. For if after elaborate preparations, frequently renewed, it is brought to a stop immediately it nears its goal; if often it is compelled to retrace its steps and strike into some new line of approach; ... (it) is indeed a merely random groping." [4]

* * *

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1. Immanuel Kant: Critique of Pure Reason (London, Macmillan & Co., 1963), translated by Norman Kemp Smith, p. 7 (from Preface to the First Edition).
2. Ibid, p. 9 " "
3. Ibid, p. 12 " "
4. Ibid, p. 17 " Second Edition

" ... We can ... have no knowledge of any object as thing in itself, but only in so far as it is an object of sensible intuition, that is, an appearance ....."[1] Iqbal, too, following in the footsteps of Kant, holds that reason, which is so important in the sphere of natural world, cannot but fail if it begins to encroach upon metaphysical issues. Iqbal seems to have before him the aim that is Kant's: 'I have ... found it necessary to deny knowledge, in order to make room for faith.' Before citing examples from Iqbal poetical works to bring to light the Kantian influence a little more need be said about Kant's views, especially about 'the moral law within': The knower cannot know reality as reality actually is; the knower can know reality as it may be reflected in his own conscious experience. Realities like God and Immortality, being beyond all possible experience, can never be objects of knowledge. Man, in the opinion of Kant, is not merely a being that knows but one that feels and acts. Besides scientific capacities, man has religious and moral capacities. To seek the truth about experience is one of his impulses. He has other and equally important functions to fulfil - those of duty and conscience and a search for the beautiful. Religion, ethics, and aesthetics owe their existence to these non-scientific types of experience. How can their occurrence be understood? Only by having faith that God exists, that a moral law governs the universe, and that man is immortal. Where nothing can be said one

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1.Ibid, p. 27 (from Preface to Second Edition)

way or another on rational grounds, we are justified in interpreting our moral and religious experiences as requiring something more. In fact our nature demands it and we must do so. We cannot know the higher realities. But we must have faith that there are higher realities, in order to make intelligible what we find in human nature.[1]

The same conception of faith and reason is to be met with in Iqbal. He too emphasizes faith which 'like the bird sees its trackless way unattended by intellect ...'[2] A few lines, touching on faith, from his poetry are reproduced below:

Faith is like Abraham at stake: to be
Self-honouring and God-drunk, is faith. Hear me,
You whom this age's ways so captive!
To have no faith is worse than slavery. 3

* * *

Strange ways have reason, wit, and intellect,
Sworn foes to faith and feeling in Love's sect;
I know, when subtle quirks ensnare its teachers,
On what sharp reefs my people must be wrecked!
The singing - bird my flutter about my door,
But from her song no notes of mine expect. 4

* * *

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1. vide, pp. 7-37, [illegible], 125, 129-30, 239-44, 290, 313, 379-80, 383, [illegible], 528, 534-5, 538, 577, 526-7 632-34, 635 - 44, 658-9. of Immanuel Kant: Critique Of Pure Reason (London, Macmillan & Co., 1968) translated by N.K.Smith.
2. Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1962) p. 1
3. Poems From Iqbal, translated by V.G.Kiernan (London, John Murray, 1955) p. 36 (Gabriel's Wing)
4. Ibid, pp. 35-6 "

All space and all that breathes bear witness; truth
It is indeed; Thou art, and dost remain.
How could I know that God was or was not,
Where Reason's reckonings shifted hour by hour. 1

Such examples may be multiplied.It would, however, be relevant to quote a portion of the Foreword to the Pilgrimage of Eternity: " ... Reason while it has extended man's mastery over Nature, has snapped his contact with the urges of his soul. ... But reason cannot go beyond this preparation and the realms of the mind and the soul remain beyond its ken. Reason can only give us static snapshot of reality but cannot see its flow and continuity. It is rooted in selfishness and leads to exploitation of man by man. ... Iqbal's remedy ... is to accept the basic unity of life which is spiritual in its origin and nature. ..."[2]

Iqbal, following Kant, holds that reason, despite its role in phenomenal spheres, cuts a sorry figure if it attempts to approach non-phenomenal or noumenal matters. Reason, by its nature, gets lost into blind-alleys. Faith is is the only medium through which God, soul, and immortality may be comprehended. Iqbal, it may be pointed out, often speaks of phenomenal world as a stepping-stone to spiritual regions. But such utterances may have been inspired by the influences exercised by Leibnitz, Bergson, Nietzsche, and such others too. Kant's influence upon him is most profound only when he speaks of faith. Both, Iqbal and Kant, bend knees to faith; but, Kant's faith is universal whereas Iqbal's

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1.Ibid, p. 42 , the poem is entitled 'Lenin Before God' ((Gabriel's Wing)
2.Pilgrimage of Eternity (English translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama by Sh.Mahmud Ahmad). Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961.
p. XIII from Foreword

to Islamic. To Iqbal the 'thing - in - itself' is comprehensible through _wajdan_ (insight) or _ishq_ (love): to Kant, the 'thing - in - itself' is supra sensible and consequently he takes recourse to faith. That Iqbal goes a long way with Kant is almost undeniable yet he parts company after traversing a little distance with him. Iqbal, it should always be borne in mind, makes use of impressions and influences in such a way that his borrowings are stamped with originality. His eclectic genius is doubtless a marvel in this sense.

The next chapter would bring to light the thoughts and impressions traceable to Leibnis whose writings exercised profound influence on Iqbal.

*** Kant, in his _Critique of Pure Reason_ - Preface to Second Edition (vide p. 20), describes the resultant advantages of 'pure reason' and says: 'The less affects only the monopoly of Schools, in no respect the interest of humanity.' Iqbal too uses _Madrasa_ or _Maktab_ (i.e. School) in the sense of 'School of thought'.For example,

> Now more the tavern and the school
> I venerate;
> I do not reckon worship
> The brow-swept gate.
> [A.J.Arberry:Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam). p. 107]

This word came to have this amplitude of meaning only at the hands of Iqbal. He seems to be an innovator in this respect since as this word was never before used in this content. Maybe this innovation stemmed from his study of Kant's works.

Chapter 4

Iqbal & Leibniz

Prof. Majnu Gorakhpuri, in his book Iqbal, makes a passing reference to Iqbal's being influenced by Leibniz and remarks: " ... Leibniz conceives an individuality in every thing, whether animate or inanimate. This individuality finds its perfection in man. Iqbal too believes that Khudi (self, ego, monad) in man is capable of attaining to the desired perfection and his foremost duty consists in his endeavours for perfecting Khudi because the preservation of human life and its progress depends upon its [illegible] perfection alone. These are what constitute, to Iqbal, the secrets of the self."[1]

Iqbal pays tribute to Leibniz; one entry in his diary runs:" Modern science ought not to mock at metaphysics, for it was a metaphysician - Leibnitz* - who first gave science her working idea of matter. The "substance", said he, is essentially "force", "resistence". Borrowing this notion from metaphysics, science devotes herself to the study of the behaviour of this force. And it is clear that she could not have discovered it for herself".[2]

Besides this entry, there is a note dictated by Iqbal which too makes a passing reference to Leibniz: " ... Leibnitz is nearer to truth than either Kant or Nietzsche - the monad or the I-atom, according to him, is an ultimate fact. His mistake, however, is that he regards the I-atom as something closed and windowless. This, however, is contradicted by

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1.Majnu Gorakhpuri: Iqbal (Delhi,Anad Kitab Ghar,1966), p. 18
2.Stray Reflections (Iqbal's note-book) edited by Javid Iqbal. (Lahore, Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1960). p. 88

* Iqbal, like many others, too, spells Leibniz with ' t ' before ' z '.

experience, because we know that the 'I' grows and expands by education."[1] Then, a few lines after Iqbal says that his Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) makes out that " the human ego can be made permanent by adopting a certain mode of life and thereby bringing it into contact with the ultimate source of life."[2] The foregoing entry and the reference to Leibnis in the note abundantly bring out that Iqbal has a liking for Leibniz's Theory of Monads; he criticizes it in so far as it represents the monads as closed and windowless. Perhaps it would not be irrelevant if the theory is briefly set forth:

Leibniz's fame as a philosopher rests on the theory of monads. He was impressed by the concept of motion and he felt that force must be the ultimate principle of the universe.[3] According to his arguments, the universe, though complex and many sided, must be composed of 'simple substances' which he describes as monads. In his own words, "the Monad ... is nothing but a simple substance, which enters into compounds".[4] These monads are spiritual units of energy. "Substance is a being capable of action. It is simple or compound. Simple subtance is that which has no parts. Compound substance is the combination of simple substances or Monads. Monad is a Greek word, which means unity, or that which is one. Compounds or bodies are pluralities (multitudes); and simple substances, lives, souls, spirits, are unities. ... The Monads, having no

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1.Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal, edited by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, [redacted]
p. 240 from 'Note On Nietzsche' dictated by Iqbal to M.Niyazi
2.Ibid, p. 240
3.vide.p. 221 J.H.Randall, Justus Buchler: Philosophy, An Introduction (New York, Barnes & Nobles, 1961)
4.Leibnis: The Monadology & Other Philosophical Writings translated by Robert Latta (O.U.P. 1925 - see.ed.)
p. 217 from 'The Monadology.'

parts, can neither be made nor unmade ... they last as long as the universe, which will be changed, but which will not be destroyed ...".[1] Each monad is a set of activities. These activities "cannot be other than its perceptions (that is to say, the representations of the compound [illegible] that is to say, its tendencies to pass from one perception to another), which are the principles of change,..."[2] The monads have an unlimited capacity, potentiality, to change. Leibniz's is an idealistic atomism. In this atomism no monad can interact with any other. That is to say, "the Monads have no windows, through which anything [illegible] and go out".[3] These monads are created Monads and might be called Entelechies. That is to say, these are individual substances or forces containing within themselves the principle of their own changes; they contain in germ an infinity of perfections.[4] Though the universe is a hierarchy of windowless monads yet there is pre-established harmony among them.[5] And this harmony, according to him, is a proof of the existence of God, the supreme monad and the uncreated monad.[6] He observes: " It follows from the supreme perfection of God that in producing the universe He has chosen the best possible plan, in which there is the greatest variety along with the greatest order. ... It follows from the perfection of the Supreme Author not only the order of the whole universe is the most perfect that can be, but also that each living mirror representing the universe according to its point of view, that is to say, each Monad ... must have its

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1.Ibid, pp. 406-7 (from 'Principles of Nature & of Grace)
2.Ibid, p. 407 " "
3.Ibid, p. 229 (from 'The Monadology)
4.Ibid, p. 326 (from 'Explanation of the New System')
5.Ibid, p. 316 (from 'New Explanation')

perceptions and its desires as thoroughly well-ordered as is compatible with all the rest. Whence it also follows that souls, that is to say, the most dominant Monads ... cannot fail to awake again from the condition of stupor into which death or some other accident may put them. For all is regulated... The present is big with the future, the future might be read in the past, the distant is expressed in the near ..."[1] It may also be pointed out that Leibnis regards a Monad as a " concrete unity of soul and body, of entelechy and materia prima."[2] This unity constituted by body and soul is of great importance. The body of every created substance is the point of view of its soul; "the body is like a special lens through which the soul sees the universe..."[3] Something need be said about the relation of God to the other Monads. This relation is the crux of Leibnis's philosophy. God alone is the primary unity or original substance. Monads are products of His "continual fulgurations"[4] That is to say, He through the

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1. Ibid, pp. 417-18 (from 'Principles of Nature & Grace')
   NOTE: Leibnis roughly divided created Monads into three main classes (1) Unconscious or bare Monads, (2) conscious Monads and, (3) rational or self-conscious Monads. This division is on the basis of perception. The unconscious Monads are those that have merely confused or unconscious perception, and for these only the general name Monads or Entelechies would suffice. Then there are Monads with conscious sensation or feeling, accompanied by the simpler forms of memory; for these the name souls may be specially applied. The third category consists of higher Monads which have self-consciousness and reason or thought proper; to these he refers as 'rational souls' or spirits. Each of the two higher classes possesses, in addition to its own specific qualities, the characteristics of the inferior monads. All have potentiality to develop. See pp. 50-2 (Introduction) and pp. 409 - 11 (Principles Of Nature & Grace)
2. Ibid, p. 109 Introduction, & Monadology p. 253
3. Ibid, p. 112 "
4. Ibid, the expression used by Leibnis and defined by him. See p. 344, and foot-note of page 244. The 'continual fulgurations' are the continual exercise of God's will in allowing the Monads ... to unfold or develop their nature"

continual exercise of His will allows the Monads to unfold or develop their nature. Monads have the faculty of Perception and Appetition, but these are Perception and Appetition absolute and infinite or perfect. In the created Monads these are limitations of God's attributes.[1] "The influence of one Monad upon another", writes Leibnis, "is only ideal, and it can have its effect only through the meditation of God, in so far as in the ideas of God any Monad rightly claims that God, in regulating the others from the very beginning of things should have regard to it. For since one created Monad cannot have any physical influence upon the inner being of another, it is only by this means that the one can be dependent upon the other".[2]

Iqbal seems to have assimilated in his poetry the following conceptions:

(a) Iqbal regards, as Leibnis does, man as a monad. But he does not regard monad as windowless.

(b) The Ego (i.e. Monad), according to Iqbal, may be either conscious of its individuality or may not be conscious of its individuality. In other words, the Egos, according to Iqbal, are of two kinds. Leibnis too divides [redacted] the basis of perception; all monads have perception but all are not self-conscious.[3]

(c) Iqbal nods assent to Leibnis's conception of a hierarchy of monads and the Ultimate Ego.

Iqbal, one would agree with Sir Denison Ross, "sought to

1.Ibid, pp. 268-69 (from 'Monadology')
2.Ibid, p. 266
3.see footnote, p. 29

reconcile the most recent philosophical systems, into which he gathered up the latest scientific conclusions, with the teaching of the Koran."[1] This is doubtless a very correct appraisal of Iqbal's prose work The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam. If we turn to third and fourth lectures contained in this prose-work we find several things from Leibnis. To illustrate, the summaries of these two lectures are reproduced below:

"In his third lecture, The Conception of God & The Meaning of Prayer, Iqbal starts with 'a rationally directed creative will which may be described as an ego, which leads to the Ultimate Ego, and 'is therefore neither infinite in the sense of the quantitative infinity nor finite in the sense of the space-bound human ego whose body closes him off in reference to other egos. The infinite of the ultimate Ego consists in the infinite inner possibilities of His creative activity of which the Universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive. It involves an infinite series, but is not that series. 'I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego, and I must add now that from the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed'. ... In his fourth lecture, 'The Human Ego, His Freedom & Immortality', Iqbal describes the individuality and uniqueness of man as supported by the Quran, making it impossible for one individual to bear the burden of another and this suggests the destiny of man as a unit of life. The unity of inner experience is one of the three sources of knowledge* ... Unfortunately, the value of such an experience

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1. quoted on page 152 in Dr S.Sinha: Iqbal, The Poet & His Message (Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal, 1947)

* Three sources of knowledge according to the Koran. vide p. 235 A.Anwar Beg: The Poet Of The East (Lahore, Sh.Md. Ashraf, 1961)

was seldom investigated except by devotional Sufism. This experience found full expression in the famous phrase of Hallaj - 'I am the creative truth'.* The expression did not mean, or, the experience could hardly be the result of merging into a bigger whole, as Iqbal put it: 'The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realisation and bold affirmation in ... reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality; and the inner experience is nothing but the ego at work and we appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging and willing.' [1]

The observation made by Sir Ross about Iqbal's prose-work The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam is applicable to his poetry also. Let us therefore sift out the ideas from Leibniz. Iqbal aims at the development of an individual ego to the extent that it may be able to absorb God into itself; he does not see eye to eye with the mystics who aim at extinction of the individual ego by merging it in the Ultimate Ego, God.[2] Here are a few lines about 'Self' :

'Tis the nature of the Self to manifest itself:
In every atom slumbers the might of the Self
(lines: 229 - 30) 3

** **

1.A.Anwar Beg: The Poet Of The East (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961) p. 225

* Al-Hallaj was a Persian Mystic who was imprisoned for heresy on the ground that he identified the individual soul and the divine spirit, and was tortured to death in 922. vide V.G. Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955), p. 194. Hallaj used to say: Anal-Haq, that is I am God, or I am Truth. Iqbal has added the word 'creative' to God/Truth. Amir Ali in his book The Spirit Of Islam (London, Methuen & Co.Ltd. 1935) translates Hallaj's expression as 'I am God - I am the Truth', vide p. 161. And A.J.Arberry in his book Sufism (London,George Allen & Unwin,1950), vide.p. 58, translates the expression as 'I am the Truth'

2.see p. XIX Introduction, The Secrets Of The Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi) by R.A.Nicholson (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, [illegible] The Secrets Of The Self by R.A.Nicholson Lahore, [illegible]

Save thyself by affirmation of Self,
Compress thy quicksilver into silver ore.
Produce a melody from the string of Self,
Make manifest the secrets of Self. 1

(lines: 1187-1190)

** **

Do not abandon Self. Persist therein.
Be a drop of water and drink up the ocean.

(Lines: 1389-1390) 2

** **

Though I have little of rhetorician's art,
Maybe these words will sink into your heart:
A quenchless crying on God through the boundless sky-
A dusty rosary, earth-bound litany -
So worship men self-knowing, drunk with God;
So worship priest, dead stone, and mindless clod. 3

In this six-line poem, Iqbal underlines the ego-consciousness, a 'spiritual dynamism'; the way a priest worships is ego-denying.

Two stanzas from a short poem entitled 'Azan' (The Prayer-call), contained in Bal-i-Jibril (Gabriel's Wing), are quoted below to show Iqbal's belief in the immensity of the human monad:

Let him once learn the joy of
Outwatching nights' brief span -
Higher than all the Pleids
The unfathomed dust of Man!

1.R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi). (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 - reprint of Macmillan's 1920)
2.Ibid,
3.Poems From Iqbal, translated by V.G.Kiernan (London, John Murray, 1955). p. 54 (Sextet)

Closed in that dust a radiance
Lies hidden, in whose clear light
Shall all the sky's fixed tenures
And orbits fade from sight. 1

A few more illustrations may also be given:

Lest I remained in the Self-privacies
As if I were not in the presence of God,
I cared not to look at the friend's (God's) epiphany
On the day of Resurrection I became a thing to be
wondered at. 2

** **

Mustafaai (true Islamic quality) lies in Self's
manifestations;
Divinity consists in Self's privacies.
The earth, the sky, and the angels,
The whole creation is under Self's control. 3

** **

Maybe in every atom resides heart (Self)
Behind every manifestation is Self.
Though subject to the passage of time
The Self is not a slave to the flux of time. 4

** **

Why should I ask the wise: What is my origin ?
Since I am at a loss to understand my limit.
Raise your Self to such a sublimity that before
His every decree
God should ask: What is thine opinion ? 5

1.Ibid, pp. 53-54
2.Rubai: 'Khudi ki khalwatun mein gum raha mein ....'
Bal-i-Jibril
3.Rubai: 'Khudi ki jalwatun mein mustafaai ....' Bal-i-Jibril
4.Rubai: 'Har ek zarray mein hai shayad makan dil ...'
Bal-i-Jibril
5.first two couplets from Ghazal No.33 (Khiradmandan se kya
poochhun ke meri ibtida kya he .....) in Bal-i-Jibril

What is Self ? It's life's inmost secret.
What is Self ? It's awakening to truth.
Self, epiphany-ecstatic and reticence-loving,
Is (so to say) an ocean lodged in a single drop of water.
It's illuminating, in light and darkness.
It manifests itself in You and I while transcending You and I.
It is from the very beginning, and has before itself immortality.
It is unknown to limit, unbounded from behind and in-front. 1

Two passages from the Masnawi Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid rendered into English by Iqbal himself may also be reproduced:

If you say that the 'I' is a mere illusion -
An appearance among other appearances -
Then tell me who is the subject of this illusion ?
Look within and discover.
The world is visible;
Not even the intellect of an angel can comprehend it.
The 'I' is invisible and needs no proof
Think awhile and see thine own secret
The 'I' is Truth, it is no illusion.
When it ripens, it becomes eternal
Lovers, even though separated from the Beloved live in blissful union.
It is possible to give wings to a mere spark,
And to make it flutter for ever and for ever.

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1. couplets 71 - 74 from 'Saqi Nama', contained in Bal-i-Jibril

The eternity of God is elemental and not the reward
of His action.
That eternity is superior, which a borrowed soul
Wins for herself by love's frenzy.
Why fear that death which comes from without ?
For when the 'I' ripens into a Self,
It has no danger of dissolution.
There is a more subtle inner death which makes me
tremble.
This death is falling down from love's frenzy,
Saving one's spark and not giving it away freely to
the heaps of chaff. 1

And Anti,

My heart burns on the loveliness of God,
In order, therefore, to maintain intact His Ego Society,
I sow in my dust the seed of self-hood
And keep a constant vigil over my 'I'. 1 2

The last two lines only mean that he does not let his Ego merge in God's. It is therefore clear that Iqbal distinguishes between individual Ego and Ultimate Ego but whereas Leibniz favours merger in the Ultimate Monad Iqbal guards his Ego against any such merger. He, as else where mentioned in this chapter, rather wishes to absorb God into his Self. But Iqbal favours the merger of individual Ego in the Social Ego, or Social Monad. A few verses from Rumuz-i-Bekhudi (The Mysteries of Selflessness) as translated by A.A.Beg are given below:

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1. Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal edited by S.A.Vahid, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964). see pp. 122-3 (from Iqbal's article on 'McTaggart Philosophy')
2. Ibid. p. 127

The connection of an individual with society is a
been;
Its reality attains perfection through society.

** **

When the individual loses his identity in society;
The drop that seeks vastness turns into the (Red ?) *
Sea.

** **

His nature is obsessed with'oneness'.

His protection is due to his appearance in society. 1

Thus Leibnis's conception of monads influenced Iqbal. As there is similarity between Leibniz's Monad and Fichte's Ego the next chapter would be devoted to the impact made by Fichte on Iqbal.[2]

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1. lines from Iqbal's Rumuz-i-Bekhudi; English translation as given inA A.Anwar Beg: The Poet Of The East. (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961) p. 127
   * Red is only redundant. In the original Persian line, Qatra-i vusat talab qulzum shwad, there is no word for red. There is qulzum, which means: sea, ocean,..
2. Chronologically, Leibniz precedes Kant. His influence on Iqbal has been dealt with after Kant's only because of similarity that to a little exists between Leibniz's and Fichte's views.

Chapter 5

Iqbal & Fichte

Quoting a few lines from Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self), Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim remarks: " The whole of this is Fichte's philosophy of 'I' and life. So far as the bases of Iqbal's philosophy are concerned, he is more influenced by Fichte than by Nietzsche. In Fichte's struggle of life are also to be found touches of morality and spirituality, which are not so apparent in Nietzsche. In Fichte [illegible] a type, whereas Nietzsche denies God." [1]

Whether Iqbal is influenced more by Fichte or Nietzsche cannot but be a controversial issue as the influences exercised by these philosophers are so profound that either line of argumentation would appear to hold water. This chapter would, in the main, attempt to bring to light Fichte's influence on Iqbal. A beginning should therefore be made by reproducing the main ideas of Fichte's philosophy:

Fichte holds that the Ego is the only ultimate reality. To Kant, the thing-in-itself is unknowable; to Fichte, this thing-in-itself is Ego. In Ego, self-consciousness, both knowledge and existence are identified: to know and to exist are not two things but one and the same. The principle of self-consciousness, because all proof presupposes it, cannot and need not be proved. In every act of our experience we have immediate consciousness of ourselves. This immediate consciousness of ourselves is described by him as intellectual

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1. Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim, M.A., Ph.D. ; Rumi, Nietzsche & Iqbal. an essay contained in 'Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1960) p. 187

intuition. His fundamental thesis is that (1) the ego posits the non-ego. The ego requires an object. So along with the thesis there is the antithesis, (2) the ego posits the non-ego. But the unlimited ego and the unlimited non-ego conflict with each other and give rise to a contradiction. The contradiction is resolved by the synthesis, (3) the ego posits itself as limited by the the limited non-ego. We have the ego and the non-ego here as limited or determined by each other. Fichte seems to bring out that self-consciousness involves both subject and object as mutually determined and inseparable from each other. This synthesis provides the foundation for theoritical as well as practical philosophy. In the sphere of knowledge (theoritical) the determining factor is the non-ego or the object because the ego posits itself as determined by the non-ego. But the object (non-ego) is not [illegible] other: it is something posited by the ego itself. In the practical or volitional sphere, the object is as we desire it to be and is determined by the subject. For Fichte there is the mutual opposition and limitation of the ego and the non-ego. The original nature of the ego is free activity. This activity is mere self-position - an activity that returns upon itself. The direction of the ego's activity, as far as it reflects, is centripetal; so far as the ego is reflected upon, its direction is centrifugal. It is not mere free infinite activity: nothing would result from it if it were so. The outgoing activity receives, as it were, a check (anstoss) and it returns upon itself, and the pure activity of the ego or the ego as pure act is, then, no longer actual but only

potential. It is then a task, an ideal we ever strive to fulfil. We have, as it were, two egos, one ideal and the other real. The ideal or the pure ego or the ego as idea, as Fichte sometimes calls it, does not exist in ordinary sense and is not certainly conscious. It becomes conscious when, through the shock, reflection sets in and there occurs a division in the ego; and it appears as the subject with the object pitted against it. The 'shock' (anstoss) is not to be taken literally: it is only a figurative description. It is the consciousness of obstructed activity inherent in moral experience. This consciousness of obstructed activity, according to him, implies free activity as ideal as well as the presence of obstacles which we seek to overcome. Besides, Fichte holds that we know ourselves as real because we have a sense of duty; our self-consciousness is bound with a moral demand. Man knows and exists as a moral subject; the world exists only as the field of his moral activity.[1]

Let us compare this conception of Ego and Non-Ego with that of Iqbal. "After Kant", writes Syed Abdul Vahid, " we find some resemblance between Iqbal and Fichte. Fichte's system of philosophy arose out of his criticism of Kant's analysis of our process of knowing. Kant looked upon this as a construction of the mind's activity in relation to an element which is quite alien to it, called the 'thing-in-itself'. Fichte rejects this alien element, and is thus left with the knowing mind alone, the self. Thus according

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1. see pp. 263 -66: , History of Philosophy: Eastern & Western, Vol. II, edited by Editorial Board with S.Radhakrishnan as Chairman (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.1953)
&
see pp. 744-45 Bertrand Russell: A History of Western Philosophy (London, George Allen)

to Fichte there must be a self that knows; in other words the ego posits itself. But if ego is to know it follows that there must be something to be known, and thus the ego posits non-ego. But non-ego which the ego contemplates and which is necessary to make knowledge possible is not something alien to the ego, its source is self itself. The non-ego is posited by the ego to render evolution possible through moral struggle and inter-action. Beyond this conception of ego there is complete divergence between the views of Iqbal and Fichte. While Iqbal insists on the ego maintaing its individuality, according to Fichte 'There is but a single virtue - to forget oneself as individual. There is but a single vice: to look to oneself".[1]

This avowal on the part of Mr. Vahid, who is one of the chief apologists of Iqbal, is a clear indication of the fact that Iqbal was impressed by Fichte's point of view, at least to a certain extent. What Mr.Vahid describes as 'resemblance', as would appear from the following discussion, is nothing but Iqbal's having been influenced by Fichte. There are no such ideas in Iqbal's poetry written before his going to Europe; such ideas permeated his poetry after his return from there or during his stay there. Instances from his works may now be given to bring to light the impressions left by Fichte's ideas on Iqbal. Let us first turn to Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of The Self):

The form of existence is an effect of the self,
Whatsoever thou seest is a secret of the Self,

1.Syed Abdul Vahid: Iqbal:His Art & Thought (London, John Murray, 1959), pp. 84-5

When the Self awoke to consciousness,
It revealed the universe of Thought,
A hundred words are hidden in its essence:
Self-affirmation brings Not-self to light.
By the Self the seed of opposition is sown in the word:
It imagines itself to be other than itself.
It makes from itself the forms of others
In order to multiply the pleasure of strife.
It is slaying by the strength of its arm
That it may become conscious of its own strength.
Its self-deceptions are the essence of Life;
Like the rose, it lives by bathing itself in blood.
For the sake of a single rose it destroys a hundred
rose gardens
And makes a hundred lamentations in quest of a single
melody.
(lines 187 - 202)

** **

The excuse for this wastefulness and cruelty
Is the shaping and perfecting of spiritual beauty.
(lines 205 - 206)

** **

Its flames burned a hundred Abraham+
That the lamp of one Muhammad might be lighted.
(lines 213 - 214) 1

In the [illegible] above-cited Iqbal seems to have accepted

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1. R.A. Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi), (lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1960 - reprint of Macmillan's 1920)

+ Abraham is said to have been cast on a burning pile by order of Nimreed and miraculously preserved from harm (vide. p. 18 footnote: The Secrets Of The Self)

Fichte's point of view that non-ego is nothing but a postulate of our ego; it is the ego creating a non-ego. And, this non-ego is not alien to the ego: that is, the world of objects confronting us is part and parcel of ourselves. This idea reverbrates in Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The [redacted]):

"You look upon the world as existing outside you.
These mountains, deserts, oceans and mines.
(No), this world of colour and smell is our nosegay;
It is beyond us and yet closely connected with us.
A single glance of the Ego possesses all these
The earth, the sky, the moon and the sun.
The world is nothing but the splendour of ours
For without us there would be no light-and-sound
phenomenon (i.e.,world) 1

"In vain shall we look", says Fichte, "for a link or connection between subject and object, if they are not the first and simply apprehended as a unity ... The ego is not to be regarded as a subject merely, but at once as subject and object".[2] This unity of subject and object is touched upon by Iqbal in The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam: 'It is however, possible to take thought not as a principle which organises and integrates its material from the outside, but as a potency which is formative of the very being of its material. Thus regarded thought or idea is not alien to the original nature of things; it is their ultimate ground and constitutes the very beginning of their career

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1. English rendering of [redacted] 11-13, 21 couplets from Jawab (answer) to Sawal (Question) 2. page 111 Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nasirea, 1962)
2. vide. page 128 R.Adamson: Fichte (Philosophical Classics). Fichte is quoted.

and inspiring their onward march to a self-determined end. .. Every act of human knowledge bifurcates what might on proper enquiry turn out to be a unity into a self that knows and a confronting 'other' that is known'.[1]

The Ego, to both Fichte and Iqbal, originally posits absolutely its own being and it posits itself as being because it is. In other words, the Ego is real and its existence is proved by the affirmation implied in 'I am'. Iqbal poetizes this idea as follows:

If you say that 'I' is nothing but figment of the brain,
(And) its manifestation is this and that
Tell me (then): What is this that doubts?
Just look within, (and see) what this (I) is? 2

This Khudi (Ego), to Iqbal, is the innermost active essence of our being and can be perceived through free activity and what he calls spiritual 'in-look'. He says:

Self does not belong to the phenomenal world of colour and smell,
Our senses come not between us and it.
Sight(physical) has no access to the inmost chamber of self:
You can see yourself without its help. 3

That is, the Ego is perceptible to the spiritual eye alone.

Fichte considers Ego and non-Ego necessary to each other. The non-Ego, according to him, is experienced by Ego alone; there would be no non-Ego in the absence of the Ego. There is thus a reciprocal action between the Ego and the

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1. Muhammad Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (reprint: Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1962). p. 88
2. couplets: 16, 17 from [illegible] (Answer) to [illegible] (Question) 8 Iqbal: Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (reprint- Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) p.126
3. couplets: 13,14 from Answer to Question 8, Gulshan-i-Raz-i Jadid (Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962). pp. 126-6

non-Ego. The Ego is not passive and is not determined by the external world. In Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden of Mystery) all this is to be met with:

> Ego is (so to say) an amulet for the protection of the universe,
> Life is the first ray of Ego's essence.
> Life wakes up from its dream sweet
> Its interiority, which is one, becomes many,
> Neither it develops without our developing it
> Nor do we develop without its development. 1

How the Ego posits itself and how it goes along is beautifully expressed in the following lines:

> Subject, object, means and causes -
> All these are forms which it assumes for the purpose of action.
> The self rises, kindles, falls, glows, breathes,
> Burns, shines, walks and flies.
> The spaciousness of Time is its arena,
> Heaven is a billow of the dust on its road.
> ...
> It divided its flame into sparks
> And taught the understanding to worship particulars.
> I dissolved itself and created the atoms,
> It was scattered for a little while and created the sands.
> Then it wearied of dispersion

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1. couplets 1 - 3 from Jawab (Answer) to Sawal (Question) 5 Iqbal: Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (reprint- Kutub Khana Nazirea Delhi, 1962) pp. 117-8

And by re-uniting itself it became the mountains.

...

Power that is unexpressed and inert
Chains the faculties which lead to action. 1

(lines 215 - 232)

These lines bring to light the development of Ego through a succession of definite acts which tend to bring non-Ego into existence and ultimately reveal the inter-relation between Ego and non-Ego. In Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid occur the following lines:

The life of the Ego consists in bringing non-Ego into existence,
The separation of the knower and the known is good.
Separation endows this handful of dust (i.e. man) with insight.
Makes a straw as resourceful as the mountain.
Separation holds up mirror to love
(And) goes well with lovers. " 2

" The ultimate aim of the ego", says Iqbal, "is not to see something but to be something. It is in the ego's effort to be something that he discovers his final opportunity to sharpen his objectivity and acquire a moral fundamental 'I am', which finds evidence of its reality not in the Cartesian 'I think' but in the Kantian 'I can'. The end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which

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1.R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi) (reprint: Sh.Md.Ashraf, Lahore, 1960)
2.Iqbal:Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden Of A Mystery) (reprint: Kutub Khana Nazirea, Delhi, 1962)
p. 115-16, from Answer to Question IV, last couplets: 1,7,8

deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and remade by continuous action. It is a moment of supreme bliss and also a moment of the greatest trial for the ego:

Art thou in the stage of 'life', or 'death', 'death-in-life' ?
Invoke the aid of three witnesses to verify the 'station'.
The first witness is thine own consciousness -
See thyself, then, with thine own light,
The second witness is the consciousness of another ego -
See thyself, then, with the light of an ego other than thee (sic).
The third witness is God's consciousness -
See thyself, then, with God's light.
If thou standest unshaken in front of this light,
Consider thyself as living and eternal as He!
That man alone is real who dares -
Dares to see God face to face!
What is 'Ascension' ? Only a search for a witness
Who may finally confirm thy reality -
A witness whose confirmation alone makes thee eternal.
No one can stand unshaken in His Presence!
And he who can, verily, he is pure gold,

Art thou a mere particle of dust ?
Tighten the knot of thy ego;
And hold fast to thy tiny being!
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!
Re-chisel, then, thine ancient frame;
And build up a new being.
Such being is real being;
Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke.
(Javid Nama) 1

The Ego is thus a constant striving in the face of obstacles and hindrances put up by the so-called non-Ego. The Ego goes on struggling against the heavy odds of the non-Ego to attain to what Fichte calls freedom, and what Iqbal describes as 'hyat-i-jawidani', i.e. life eternal. The goal, to both Fichte and Iqbal, is therefore constant striving itself. Here is an example from Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid:

If you open your eye to your heart
You will see your destination within your breast.
Journeying while being at rest is this
(And) it is also journeying from self to self.
Don't look for the journey's end, further is none
(And) when the end is reached, you may cease to be.
Not reaching the goal is alone life
(For) our travel is towards life immortal. 2

The Ego, through self-discipline born of poise and equanimity in the face of success or failure, becomes

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1.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (reprint: Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1962). pp. 196 - 98
Note: the translation of lines above-cited is by Iqbal himself and is given in his prose-work.
2.Md.Iqbal:Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) pp. 122-23, from 'Answer to Question VII', couplets: 1, 2, 4, 6

deterministic. It becomes conscious of its determining role that brings it face to face with tasks involving continuous struggle against other men standing in its way, against the present shape of things not to its liking, against the forces of Nature for their being harnessed to man's use. All this is doubtless optimistic. "To have character and to be German undoubtedly mean one and the same"[1], said Fichte in one of his speeches contained in his famous Addresses to the German Nation. In these he developed at length the notion of an 'elect race' and appealed to the Germans to resist Napoleon; consequently it undoubtedly led to the upsurge of German nationalism.[2] In the like manner, Iqbal used his poetry to rouse his Muslim brethren to great fervour, so much so that he defended even fanaticism. An entry in his diary runs:" All nations accuse us of fanaticism. I admit the charge - I go further and say we are justified in our fanaticism ... Fanaticism is patriotism for religion; patriotism, fanaticism for country."[3] "His object", admits his son Javid Iqbal, "was to stir the Muslims to act [illegible] for the acquisition of power because only their action could save them from their condition of political subjugation and moral decay".[4] Thus, 'Be up and doing' was the message of Fichte and Iqbal both; the philosophy propounded by the former and the poetry written by the latter centre round the idea of Ego and non-Ego. Iqbal's assimilation of this philosophy is so,masterly that the ideas borrowed seem to emerge as original ideas. Wherever

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1. quoted in Bertrand Russell : Wisdom of the West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications, Inc.,1964) p. 318
2. vide. p. 285 S.Radhakrishnan : Eastern Religions & Western Thought (O.U.P. Sec.Ed.) 1940). Vol.II & p.318 Bertrand Russell: Wisdom Of the West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications.Inc.,1964) & pp. 215 - 16 E.W.F.Tomlin: Great Philosophers Of The West (London, Arrow Books, 1959 - reprint of 'The Great Philosophers: The Western World published by Skeffington & Sons)
3. Stray Reflections ed. by Javid Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961). pp. 23-25
4. Ibid, Introduction p. XXVI

Khudi (Ego) and Ghair Khudi (non-Ego) appear Fichte seems to have spoken through Iqbal. Urdu and Persian poetry it may be said, would have remained almost ignorant of Fichte's ideas had Iqbal not clothed them in his immortal verses.

Fichte's theory is a 'precursor of Hegelianism'[1]. The next chapter would therefore be devoted to the influence of Hegel on Iqbal.

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1. It is the opinion of Russell. vide.p. 819 Bertrand Russell: Wisdom Of The West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications, Inc. 1964)

Chapter 6

Iqbal & Hegel

" I confess", writes Iqbal, " I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth. The first led me into the 'inside' of things; the third and fourth taught me how to remain in spirit and expression oriental after having assimilated foreign ideals of poetry, and the last saved me from atheism in my student days"[1]. Along with this entry in his note-book entitled Stray Reflections (published posthumously) there is another jotting on Hegel: "Hegel's system of philosophy is an epic poem in prose"[2]. But inspite of this confession no serious attempt seems to have as yet been made at bringing to light how Iqbal was led by Hegel into 'the inside of things'. This is perhaps due to the fact that most of the critics have come to regard any such attempt as profane and sacrilegious; though still fighting shy of acknowledging the assimilated western influences some of them have at times referred casually to such influences. For example, one may come across a remark like the following:

" ... Iqbal presents a compilation of the quintessence of the latest western thoughts and the Quranic teachings. He drew on different and contradictory sources to construct his philosophy. If, on one hand, he benefited from modern philosophers like Nietzsche, Hegel, Bergson and McDougall,

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1. Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal) edited by Javid Iqbal (Lahore, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961). p. 54
2. Ibid, p. 11

on the other, he illumined the torch of his thoughts with the thoughts of Rumi from among the 'sufis' (mystics) of the mediaeval period. And the greatness of his creative genius lies in the fact that he welded all these sources into a philosophy with an impress of his personality".[1]

Before proceeding to tracing Hegelian influence it would be relevant to reproduce what Iqbal says in detail about Hegel: " To the great German idealist Hegel creation means the Absolute Reason leaving its absoluteness and returning to itself by visualising or objectifying itself in the form of a Universe which, in its essence, is more than the unity of the Absolute Reason powered up in a visible, perceptible plurality. Whether this process of return is temporal or non-temporal (for on this point Hegelians differ) it is clear that according to the Master its motive-force is the necessarily self-contradictory categories through which the Absolute Reason has to pass synthetically to regain its primeval Absoluteness. At the beginning of the process, since we are distant from the original Absoluteness the contradictions are sharp and mutually exclusive, but when we approach the end of the process their sharpness begins to disappear until we reach the Absolute Idea in which all contradictions embrace each other, and are transformed into a single unity. Thus the central idea of Hegel's Philosophy can be summed up in a few words - Infinite becoming Finite and regaining itself through a synthesis of self-evolved oppositions. The life of the universe, then,

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1. An article entitled 'Iqbal Ka Tasawwur-i-Irtiqa' (Iqbal's Conception of Evolution) by Masharuddin Siddiqi, contained in Falsafa-i-Iqbal (The Philosophy of Iqbal), Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1962 pp. 193 - 94

is necessarily constituted by a perpetual conflict of opposing forces. ... The endless conflict of Nature's creative forces is too palpable to escape the observation of poets and thinkers ..."[1]

This brief sketch of Hegel's doctrines is perhaps very helpful in tracing their influence in the poetry of Iqbal. Let us begin with the view that diversity issues from a Unity; this unity ramifies itself with the result that One becomes Myriad:

It divided its flames into sparks
And taught the understanding to worship particulars.
It dissolved itself and created the atoms
It was scattered for a little while and
created the sands.
(lines: 224 - 226) 2

These lines imply that all the objects in the universe are born of one original. This may be traced to Hegelian line of thought concerning the spirit externalising itself. Hegel holds the view that Nature is that phase in the development of the Idea (or God) in which the spirit externalises itself; Nature, according to him, is the idea in the form of otherness and we reach the philosophy of Spirit through the philosophy of Nature.[3]

'Tis the nature of the Self to manifest itself
In every atom slumbers the might of the Self.
....
Inasmuch as the life of the universe
comes from the power of the Self,
Life is in proportion to this power 4

1.Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal ed. by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964). pp. 87-88, from 'Touch of Hegelianism ...'
2.R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets of The Self (tr. of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi) Reprint: Sh.Md.Ashraf, Lahore, 1960
3.see pp. 274-75 S.Radhakrishnan:History Of Philosophy: Eastern & Western (London,George Allen & Unwin,1953) Pt.II, & see 230 E.M.F.Tomlin:Great Philosophers of The West (Grey Arrow,1961)
4.R.A.Nicholson:The Secrets of the Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi by Iqbal) Reprint: Sh.Md.Ashraf, Lahore,1960),lines: [illegible]

"By the Self the seed of opposition is sown in
the world:
It imagines itself to be other than itself.
It makes from itself the forms of others
In order to multiply the pleasures of strife.
It is slaying by the strength of its arm
That it may become conscious of its own strength.
Its self-deceptions are the essence of Life;
Like the rose, it lives by bathing itself in blood.
For the sake of a single rose it destroys
a hundred rose gardens
And makes a hundred lamentations in quest of a
single melody.
For one sky it produces a hundred new moons,
And for one word a hundred discourses.
...
The pencil of the Self limned a hundred to-days
In order to achieve the dawn of a single morrow.
(lines:193-204, & 211-212) 1

In these lines Hegel's philosophy finds its echo; all the ideas of opposition, conflict, contradiction and reconciliation are writ large. Hegel, from his early interest in mysticism, "retained a belief in the unreality of separateness. ... The apparent self-subsistence of finite things appeared to him to be an illusion; nothing, he held, is ultimately and completely real except the whole. ... The apparently separate things of which the world seems to be composed are not simply

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1.Ibid,

an illusion; each has a greater or less degree of reality, and its reality consists in an aspect of the whole, which is what it is seen to be when viewed truly. ..."[1] In Hegel's own words, " the universal Idea exists ... as the [illegible] totality of things on the one side, and as the abstract essence of free volition on the other side. This reflection of the mind on itself is individual [illegible] - the polar opposite of the Idea in its general form, and therefore subsisting in absolute limitation. This polar opposite is consequently limitation, particularization, for the universal absolute being; it is the side of its definite existence; the sphere of its [illegible] specific, the sphere of the reverence paid to God... To comprehend the absolute connection of this antithesis, is the profound task of metaphysics."[2] It may also be pointed out that the Absolute, according to Hegel, is a process: " Pure being and pure nothing are the same, although we mean different things by them; both are absolute indeterminateness, The transition from nothing to being is becoming. Becoming is the unity, and hence the truth of both. ... Being and not-being are so meditated and sublated in becoming that they are no longer contradictory. ... The essence and the phenomenon are mutually inseparable, inasmuch as the latter is always the appearance of an essence, and the former is essence only as it manifests itself in the phenomenon."[3] Iqbal too holds that the essence and the phenomenon are inseparable:

Thou hast closed thine eyes, and said,

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1. See - Bertrand Russell: A History of Western Philosophy (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1964). p. 731

2. Hegel: Introduction to the Philosophy of History, contained in Hegel: Selections (Chicago, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929) edited by J. Loewenberg, University of California. p. 371

3. see - Richard Blackenberg: History of Modern Philosophy (London, 1895) pp. [illegible] pp. 495 - 496

"The world's a dream, no less":
Ope thine eyes; this dream-abed
Is all of wakefulness.

In thy solitude, alone,
Create a company;
Love, that's made to know the One,
The Many loves to see. 1

** **

Rise like a wave, and surging flow
In the ocean eternally;
Thou seek'st the shore, and dost not know
Where ever the shore may be 2

** **

On the tulip's petal He writes
The message His heart indites,
Yea, and His voice is heard
In the passionate song of the bird. 3

These lines are self-explanatory: the essence and the phenomenon are inseparable, the One and the Many are not different, it is all a process. Such ideas may be seen in Urdu and Persian poetry but one would not come across a sustained note; it is not more than a chance note in other poets under the impact of conventional Sufi thoughts. In Iqbal this note is a sustained one.

Let us pass on to another aspect. According to Hegel, strife and evil are real; they are not mere negative

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1. Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam) by A.J.Arberry, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961 reprint) pp. 67-68
2. Ibid, p. 70
3. Ibid, p. 85

imagings; but they are, in wisdom's perspective, stages to fulfilment and the good. "Struggle is the law of growth. The storm and stress of the world build up man's character and he reaches his full height through compulsions, responsibilities and sufferings. Pain, inasmuch as it is a stimulus to reconstruction and is a sign of life, constitutes its rationale. "Nothing great in the world", says Hegel,"has been accomplished without passion, ... the whole energy of will and character devoted to .... attainment. ... The History of the world is not the theatre of happiness. Periods of happiness are blank pages in it, for they are periods of harmony,- periods when the antithesis is in abeyance...[1]." Life should therefore be devoted to efforts for achievements. Let us now compare these ideas with those of the following lines from Asrar-i-Khudi:

Whosoever knows the states of the Self
Considers a powerful enemy to be a
blessing from God.
To the seed of Man the enemy is as a rain cloud;
He awakens its potentialities. .
If thy spirit be strong, the stones in thy
way are as water :
What recks the torrent of the ups and
downs of the road ?
The sword of resolution is whetted by
the stones in the way
And put to proof by traversing stage after stage.
(lines: 1121 - 1128) [2]

1.Hegel:Selections, edited by J.Loewenberg, University of California, (Chicago, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929) pp. 366 - 373

2.R.A.Nicholson: The Secret Of The Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi) Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960 reprint)

To Hegel, art, religion, philosophy are the manifestation of the spirit. The "spirit of a people is a determinate and particular spirit. ... This spirit ... constitutes the basis and substance of ... other forms of a nation's consciousness. ...For spirit in its self-consciousness must become an object of contemplation to itself, and objectively involve, in the first instance, the rise of differences which make up a total of distinct spheres of objective spirit; in the same way as the Soul exists only as the complex of its faculties, which in their form of concentration in a simple unity produce that Soul. It is thus the Individuality which, presented in its essence as God, is honoured and enjoyed in Religion; which is exhibited as an object of sensuous contemplation in Art; and is apprehended as an intellectual conception, in Philosophy. In virtue of the original identity of their essence, purport, and object, these various forms are inseparably united with the Spirit of State. ... Universal history ... is the exhibition of the divine, absolute development of Spirit in its highest forms, - that gradation by which it attains its truth and consciousness of itself. The forms which these grades of progress assume are the characteristic 'National Spirits' of History; the peculiar tenor of their moral life, of their Government, their Art, Religion, and Science."[1] Thus the whole complex of our institutions owes its existence to the Spirit.[2] Here is this idea translated into poetry by Iqbal:

'What are social organisations, customs, and laws ?

1.Hegel:Selections edited by J.Loewenberg, University of California, (Chicago,Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929) pp. 407-408

2.Ibid, p. 435

What is the secret of the novelties of Science ?
A desire which realised itself by its own
strength
And burst forth from the heart and took
shape.
(lines: 299 - 302) 1

An ardent desire, according to Iqbal, gives birth to social organisations, customs, laws and Science; and this ardent desire is the very essence of activity. This is, more or less, like Hegel's conception of Spirit. Ardent desire and love are used by Iqbal to convey the same meaning:

Love instructs it to illumine the world.
Love fears neither sword nor dagger,
Love is not born of water and air and earth.
Love makes peace and war in the world,
Love is the Fountain of Life, Love is the flashing
sword of Death.
(lines: 330 - 334) 2

Love, in the views of Iqbal, is "creative passion, high emotion, divine spark, enthusiasm for an ideal, ardent self-dedication, or the force that drives the individual to realise himself through wrestlings with the world and with God".[3]

Reference may also be made to two poems, 'Sohbat-i-Raftagan' (The Company of the Departed) and 'Jalal-wa-Hegel' (Jalaluddin Rumi & Hegel), contained in Iqbal's Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East). These two poems

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1.R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi), Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint.
2.Ibid.
3.vide.p. 106 V.G.Kiernan: Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955)

inasmuch as they contain direct reference to Hegel are important. The first poem 'Sohbat-i-Raftagan', as its very name suggests, brings together a few Great Men: among the westerners, Tolstoy, Karl Marx, Hegel, and among the easterners, Mazdak and Kohkan.[1] The venue of this 'meet' is heaven."In this poem", comments Prof.Salim Chisti,"Iqbal sides with the labour-community and, through Kohkan, emphasizes the need for its due rights. The long and the short of the poem is that Tolstoy and Karl Marx condemn capitalism. Intervening, Hegel says that capital and labour are only two sides of the same coin. We should therefore put up with the struggle between them for this struggle is in keeping with the Law of Nature. To this replies Tolstoy and, in defence of labour, says that Hegel's is a wrong philosophy for it preaches slavery on the part of labour. ... Mazdak falls in line with Tolstoy's views; and Kohkan, in the end, gives labour the message of Revolution. ...."[2] The second poem describes an experience which may be put thus: "One night I was reading Hegel. Hegel has almost divested Absolute Being of all material attachments; he, brushing aside matter, concentrates on Spirit which, according to him, manifests itself in the universe. Limited seems to be the universe before his boundless philosophy! Closer attention made me wonder-struck and in a state of restlessness I fell asleep. In dream, I saw Rumi ... (who)... said to me: How foolish to attempt rowing in the mirage! Are you trying to learn Reality from Hegel. ... Hegel's is a

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1.Mazdak was a Persian Philosopher. He was killed in 528 A.D. for propagating equal distribution of Zar, Zamin, Zan (wealth, land, women) to make all persons virtuous.
Kohkan's real name was Farhad. He loved Shyrin, a beloved of the Persian king Khusru Parvez.He was promised the hand of Shyrin on his successfully cutting a mountain and making a canal. The inspiration of love spurred him to vigorous action and he succeeded.The king then cunningly apprised him of his beloved's death. Overpowered with grief Farhad committed suicide.
vide,pp. 388, 554 Prof Salim Chisti: Sharh-i-Pyam-i-Mashriq

philosophy based on reason alone. ... Reason can lead you to any success but it cannot guide you to Divine Presence. ... Trying to reach God through reason is hardly wise. ...[1] In other words, Iqbal follows Hegel's reasoning valid for resolving the mytery of the wordly phenomena alone. He journeys with Hegel ever distances; a point reaches where Iqbal parts company with him. He owes a great deal to Hegel who led him 'into the inside of things'[2]

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continued from the previous page:
vide.pp: 553 & 555 Prof.Yusuf Salim Chisti:Sharh-i-Pyam-i-Mashriq (Lahore, Ishrat Publishing House,1961)
" 2.Prof.Yusuf Salim Chisti:Sharh-i-Pyam-i-Mashriq (Lahore, Israt Publishing House,1961). pp. 545-46.
Note: This book is a commentary on Iqbal's Pyam-i-Mashriq,ie. The Message of the East.

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1.Ibid, p. 579
2.see page 51

Chapter 7

Iqbal & Schopenhauer

Schopenhauer was, in the opinion of Iqbal, a pessimist. In his prose-work, The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, Iqbal refers to him in the following manner:

'To the optimist Browning all is well with the world: to the pessimist Schopenhauer the world is one perpetual winter wherein a blind will expresses itself in an infinite variety of living things which bemoan their emergence for a moment and then disappear for ever.'[1]

From this let us pass on to one of his poems, 'Schopenhauer-wa-Nietzsche' (Schopenhauer & Nietzsche) contained in Pyam-i Mashriq. Its English translation is given below:

A bird flew from his nest to a garden;
A rose-thorn ran into his tender body.
He (consequently) spoke disparagingly of the nature
of the garden.
He bewailed of his grief and those of others as well,
(And) said: The foundation of this world is but
ill-laid;
Where is the morning that does not roll towards
an evening!
The songester, with all his might, lamented so loudly
That blood, into which his song had turned, gushed
from his eyes.

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1. Muhammad Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961) p. 81

These poignant bewailings reached a hoopoe
Who, with his beak, removed the thorn;
(And) advised: 'Make your loss yield gain,
(Just as) the rose, by ripping open its breast, gets
pure gold (i.e. golden pollen)
If you are grief-stricken, turn your ailment into a
cure:
Familiarise yourself with the thorn so as to bloom
like a garden.'[1]

Prof. Yusuf Salim Chisti, in his commentary on Pyam-i-Mashriq, explains the above-cited poem in these words: When Schopenhauer (the bird in the poem) observed the world he saw nothing but pain (thorn in the poem) resulting in sorrows. He therefore inferred that the world was only an abode of evil. He consequently kept before him only one aim - to bewail over griefs. Since he fancied the world to be 'an abode of evil' he could see nothing but misfortunes and sorrows here and there. For example, seeing the tulip he concluded the tulip to be sorrowing over the massacre of the innocent. And, when he saw a woman he instead of regarding her as Nature's masterpiece thought her to be Nature's fraud. This has been well explained by Schopenhauer in one of his articles entitled 'Woman'. ... The philosophy of Schopenhauer is that evil and misfortunes form integral part of the world..... (and) the life of every person therefore is a long tale of woe. Convinced of this he began preaching renunciation, and with all the force at his disposal

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1.Md.Iqbal: Pyam-i-Mashriq (reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962)
poem: Schopenhauer wa Nietzsche, pp. 160-161

condemned the world and worldly attachments. The result was that his life was embittered: the world seemed to him terrible beyond measure. He remained single and passed a miserable life. Instead of having a lady as his life-partner he made a dog his companion ... and for enjoyment had recourse to the Upanishads rather than Nature. A hoopo (Nietzsche), hearing his bewailings (pessimistic philosophy), contradicted him ... and advised him to be a little wiser and observe the world closely. He (the hoopo) further added: The world is so created that every sorrow hides within itself a joy; with a little patience and perseverance you can make sorrow and misfortune yield great benefits. That is, the more we struggle ... the more would our character be firm and the prospects of success brighten up according to the measure of firmness attained. This would, if seen with attention appear to be only good curtained by evil. ... The purport of all this is that a man when overtaken by misfortune should not begin lamenting and should not fight shy of it; he should, on the other hand, welcome difficulties ... and regard the ailment as a cure. ..."[1] Iqbal does not see eye to eye with the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer; he, on the other hand, invites attention to the optimist note sounded by Nietzsche. Difficulties, when encountered, melt away; they grow in dimension only when one fights shy of them. Constant struggle against heavy odds brings in success. But this does not mean that Iqbal has nothing in common with Schopenhauer. There are many Schopenhauerian things in which Iqbal seems to

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1.Prof.Yusuf Salim Chisti: Sharh-i-Pyam-i-Mashriq (Commentary on Iqbal's Pyam-i-Mashriq i.e. The Message of the East) Lahore, Ishrat Publishing House, 1961. pp. 541 - 43

acquiesce. What are these things, then ?

' ... Two things are important about Schopenhauer: his pessimism, and his doctrine that will is superior to knowledge. ... More important than pessimism was the doctrine of the primacy of the will. It is obvious that this doctrine has no necessary logical connection with pessimism, and those who held it after Schopenhauer found in it a basis for optimism. In one form or another, the doctrine that will is paramount has been held by many modern philosophers, notably Nietzsche, Bergson, James, and Dewey. ...'[1] In his principal work The World As Will & Idea Schopenhauer emphasizes the role of 'will'. He maintains that the fundamental reality is not being but will. 'This and this alone,' writes Schopenhauer,' gives him (man) the key to his existence, reveals to him the significance, shows him the inner mechanism of his being, of his action, of his movements ...'[2] He has some very original observations to make about the manner in which the world as we knew it has come into being; it is the direct product of will. Take, for example, our bodies: 'teeth, throat and bowels are objectified hunger: the organs of generation are objectified sexual desire: the grasping hand, the hurrying feet, correspond to the more indirect desires of the Will which they express.'[3] What is Will ? Schopenhauer holds: 'The will, which, considered purely in itself, is without knowledge, and is merely a

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1. see pp. 788 - 89 Bertrand Russell : A History of Western Philosophy (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1964)
2. Arthur Schopenhauer : The World As Will & Idea translated by R.B.Haldane & J.Kemp (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948).Vol.I. p. 129
3. Ibid, p. 141

blind incessant impulse, as we see it appear in unorganised and vegetable nature and their laws, and also in the vegetative part of our own life, receives through the addition of the world as idea, which is developed in subjection to it, the knowledge of its own willing and of what it is that it wills. And this is nothing else than the world as idea, life, precisely as it exists. Therefore we called the phenomenal world the mirror of the will, its objectivity. And since what the will wills is always life, just because life is nothing but the representation of that willing for the idea, it is all one and a mere pleonasm if, instead of simply saying 'the will', we say 'the will to live'. Will is the thing-in-itself, the inner content, the essence of the world. Life, the visible world, the phenomenon, is only the mirror of the will. Therefore life accompanies the will as inseparably as the shadow accompanies the body; and if will exists, so will life, the world, exist. Life is, therefore, assured to the will to live; and so long as we are filled with the will to live we need have no fear, for our existence even in the presence of death.'[1]

Iqbal takes from Schopenhauer the notion of Will as the continuous upsurge of creative desire; but he does not regard it as evil and blind. To Schopenhauer 'will' is thoroughly evil.[2] How the world is, to Iqbal, 'the will incarnate' would be borne out by the following verses:

What is the source of our wakeful eye ?
Our delight in seeing hath taken visible shape.

1.Ibid, p. 354
2.vide.p. 335 Bertrand Russell : Wisdom of the West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications, Inc.,1964)

The partridge's leg is derived from the elegance of
its gait.
The nightingale's beak from its endeavour to sing.
(lines: 289 - 92)

...

Nose, hand, brain, eye and ear,
Thought, imagination, feeling, memory and understanding-
All these are weapons devised by life for self-
preservation,
In its ceaseless struggle.
(lines: 303 - 306) 1

Iqbal, it is evident, acquiesces in the view that the body is the Will objectified: various organs of the body correspond to the principal desires.

The other viewpoint of Schopenhauer's imbibed by Iqbal seems to be this: 'We can', Schopenhauer held,' never arrive at the real nature of things from without. However much we may investigate, we can never reach anything but images and names. We are like a man who goes round a castle seeking in vain for an entrance, and sometimes sketching the facades'.[2] Let us therefore enter within. Iqbal advises likewise in the following lines:

Look within, rising above all (worldly) hustle and
bustle;
Drop yourself deep into the depths of your conscience.[3]

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1.R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets of the Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi) Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint.
2.Arthur Schopenhauer: The World As Will & Idea tr. by R.B.Haldane & J.Kemp (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948). Vol. I. p. 122
3.Md.Iqbal:Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden of Mystery) reprint:Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1958. p. 113, couplet 15, Answer to Question 3

If you seek the mystery of the Eternal, look at
yourself:
(And you would discover) the mystery behind One and
Many, Apparent and Hidden. 1

** **

Come and learn to look within yourself;
Learn to examine your heart diligently.
If you long for the Reality
Learn to look at the Self. 2

Man, according to Schopenhauer, is 'the metaphysical animal': other animals, in his opinion, are without metaphysics.* His vision is always hitched to a star; he aspires after the knowledge of reality. According to both Schopenhauer and Iqbal, reality should be sought 'within'. Both Iqbal and Schopenhauer belittle the value of reason in unravelling the secrets of reality. Both of them prefer 'heart knowledge' to 'head knowledge'. 'All religions', writes Schopenhauer, 'promise a reward ... for excellences of the will or heart, but none for excellences of the head or understanding.... Brilliant qualities of mind win admiration, but never affection..'[3] And, Iqbal writes: 'In the interest of securing a complete vision of Reality sense-perception must be supplemented by ... qalb i.e., heart. ... The 'heart' is a kind of inner intuition or insight. ...'[4]

Both are in quest of one abode
And both would lead upon the road:

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1. Md. Iqbal: Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East), reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nasirea, 1962. p. 135, Ghazal 26, couplet 2.
2. Iqbal: Armughan-i-Hejaz (The Gift of Hejaz), reprint: (Delhi, Kutub Khana Nasirea, 1962) p.89 (Huzoor-i-Aalam-i-Insani 3;2)
3. A. Schopenhauer: The World As Will & Idea (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948) Vol. II. pp. 449-50, & *vide 359-395
4. Md. Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (reprint: Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1961) p.15

Reason tries every strategem
But love pulls gently by the hem. 1

The foregoing discussion concentrates upon the Schopenhauerean note in Iqbal to the extent to which the latter seems to have benefited from the study of the former. Iqbal, following Schopenhauer, regards various organs as 'objectified will' ;he seems to agree with Schopenhauer that 'we can never arrive at the real nature of things from without'. But whereas Schopenhauer advises to 'flee, flee from the noumenon'[2] Iqbal strives to strengthen; Ego, that is will. Iqbal's emphasis on strengthening the Ego is born of a totality of impact made on him by Leibnis, Fichte and Nietzsche. The thoughts and impressions assimilated by Iqbal from the study of Leibnis and Fichte have already been brought to light; the following chapter would trace the influence of Nietzsche on Iqbal. Nietzsche, it may be pointed out, adopted the Schopenhauerean view of the 'will' to the extent of its importance, from his (Nietzsche's) point of view.[3]

1.A.J.Arberry: Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam) Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961. p. 14
2.vide.p.388 S.Radakrishnan:History of Philosophy, Eastern & Western. Vol.II (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1953)
3.vide.pp. 336, 337 Bertrand Russell: Wisdom of The West (Greenwich,Fawcett Publications,Inc.,1964)

Chapter 8

Iqbal & Nietzsche

There are a few external evidences available and therefore it would be only in the fitness of things to refer to them first. 'There is', writes Khalifa Abdul Hakim, 'no doubt that during that period of his poetry which gave birth to Asrar-i-Khudi Iqbal was under the influence of Nietzsche. Besides the internal evidences of Asrar-i-Khudi, which are many and clear, I have also some personal knowledge to go upon. During his sojourn in Europe, Iqbal was much impressed by the philosophy of Nietzsche whom he later described as a believer in heart and a disbeliever by intellect. ...'[1] And Sir Abdul Qadir, who was intimate with the poet and whose stay in England coincided with that of the latter, is quoted by Dr Sinha as commenting: 'His philosophy was coloured by his study of Nietzsche and Bergson, but at heart he remained a mystic, with ideas attuned to those of the Persian Sufis, and his dominant note is abhorrence of the materialism of the [illegible].[2]

Besides, there are references to [illegible] poems written by Iqbal. Before bringing to light the thoughts and ideas of the German philosopher and their influence on Iqbal let us turn to some such poems as contain direct reference to Nietzsche:

" Who is this frenzied man ?"
I asked. And Rumi said, "The German Seer

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1. Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim: [illegible]Nietzsche & Iqbal, an article contained in 'Iqbal As A Thinker' (Lahore, Ashraf Publication, 1960) pp. 149 - 50
2. vide p. 304 Dr S.Sinha: Iqbal, The Poet & His Message (Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal, 1947)

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."
(Pilgrimage of Eternity: Lines 2872-2877) 1

** ** **

" ... A coin of gold
He was, which none could then evalute,
Him none could utilise. A lover was
Enraptured in his own sighs, a traveller
Thus lost his path. His wine all beakers broke,
He snapped himself from God, and so was torn
From self. He yearned to see, with naked eyes,
The spectacle of power fused with love.
He longed that from this dust and dross may grow
The wine that, from the human heart alone,
Doth suffer to outsprout. The rank he sought
Belongs to God, a stage beyond the ken
Of intellect. 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 realised
The rank and reach too of 'His worshippers'.
A light illumined him, yet unaware
He was of it, as of the roots remains
The fruit. His eyes but sought the sight of man,

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1. Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad: Pilgrimage Of Eternity (versified English translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama). Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961
Note: for Hallaj see page 104 V.G.Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955). Al-Hallaj ... was a Persian mystic who was imprisoned for heresy on the ground that he identified the individual soul and the divine spirit, and was tortured to death at Baghdad in 922.

He shouted boldly, 'Where is he?' for of
The earthly men he had despaired, and searched
For visions, as did Moses. How I wish
That he had lived in Ahmad's day, for then
A consummation he could have attained.
(lines; 2895 - 2919) 1

Besides these, there are two short poe[illegible]both captioned Naitsha (Nietzsche) in the Naqsh-i-Firang (impression of Europe) section of Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East).

His heart melted at the sluggishness of man
The philosopher conceived Superman
(And) thus caused confusion and commotion in Europe
(Just as) a lunatic may cause severe disturbance in
the glass - workshop. 2

** ** **

Avoid him, if you are given to soft lay
(For) his pen's scratch is (so to say) a thunder.
He thrust lancet deep into the heart of West
His hands are blood-smeared on account of his
murderous assault on the Church.
He built (so to speak) a temple on the lines of Ka'ba
His heart is believer but mind Kafir.
Enter the fire of this Nimrod
The fire will become a garden if you have true faith. 3

Then, there is a short poem entitled 'Hakim Natsha' in Iqbal's Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses). It is also reproduced in

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1.Ibid,
Note: Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was a great saint and mystic. vide foot-note p. 141 Pilgrimage of Eternity.
2.Md.Iqbal: Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East) Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962 reprint.
p. 164
3.ibid, p.166
Nimrod:a despotic king who is said to have cast Abrahim on the fire, see pp 72-3 Abid Ali: Talmihat-i-Iqbal (Lahore Bazm-i-Iqbal,1959)

English translation:

The philosopher failed to understand 'tauhid' (unity
of God)
(For) it requires perception (intuition) to take in
'la ilah'(i.e. there is
no God except God)
His philosophic speculations go beyond the high heavens;
His imagination can reach the moon and the sun even.
Despite the purity of his imagination
He lacks the joy of mystery. 1

These foregoing quotations show how Iqbal reacts to some of Nietzsche's ideas. He has a soft corner for some of the ideas; and consequently he makes Rumi, whom he describes as his preceptor, praise Nietzsche and equate him with Hallaj.[2] "That a really 'imperative' vision of the Divine in man did come to him (Nietzsche) cannot be denied. I call his vision 'imperative' because it appears to have given him a kind of prophetic mentality which by some kind of technique, aims at turning its visions into permanent life forces".[3] - this is what Iqbal has said about Nietzsche in the chapter 'Is Religion Possible' in his famous prose-work The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam. To him he is the 'German Seer', an epithet used in the lines already quoted from Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity). And 'his philosophic speculations' and imagination were not ordinary, and 'a light illumined

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1.Md.Iqbal:Zarb-i-Kalim (included in Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, (Urdu) Iqbal's Complete Works published by New Taj Delhi 6) p.267

2.For Hallaj see foot-note page 71
Rumi: Jalal ul-Din Rumi, the great Persian poet of the Sufi or or mystical tradition, represents for Iqbal the highest possible reach of inspiration or insight. vide p. 103 V.J.Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955) & see lines 101-104 R.A.Nicholson:The Secrets of the Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi)

3.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (reprint:Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962) p. 195

him'. Despite all this, Nietzsche, according to Iqbal, remained a failure. Why ? The reply that Iqbal would give is: Nietzsche reached the stage of the Koranic 'no' but he failed to get at the Koranic 'but'. That is, he did not know the full truth: 'There is no God but He, the Living, the Ever-lasting (2:255 The Holy Koran)[1]'. That is what Iqbal means. Iqbal has borrowed from Nietzsche a number of ideas and the following discussion would bring them to light.

Let us first turn to Iqbal's poem that is hardly more than a poetized version of Nietzsche's story entitled 'Diamond & Charcoal' contained in his Thus Spake Zarathustra. For ready reference the story from the book is reproduced below:

"Why so hard"! - said to the diamond one day the charcoal; "are we then not real relatives"?

Why so soft ? O my brethren; thus do I ask you: are ye not- my brethren?

Why so soft, so submissive and yielding? Why is there so much negation and abnegation in your hearts? Why is there so little fate in looks?

And if yewill not be fates and inexorable ones, how can ye one day - conquer with me?

And if your hardness will not glance and cut and chip to pieces, how can you one day - create with me?

For the creators are hard. And blessedness must it seem to you to press your hand upon millenniums as upon wax,-

-Blessedness to write upon the will of millenniums as upon brass, -

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1. vide translation - A.J.Arberry: The Koran Interpreted O.U.P. 1964

harder than brass, nobler than brass. Entirely hard is only the noblest.

This new table, O my brethren, put I up over you;

Become hard! 1

Now, here is the Iqbal's version of the story contained in Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self):

"Now I will open one more gate of Truth,
I will tell thee another tale.
The seal in the mine said to the diamond,
"O thou entrusted with splendours ever-lasting,
We are comrades, and our being is one;
The source of our existence is the same,
Yet while I die here in the anguish of worthlessness,
Thou art set on the crowns of emperors,
My stuff is so vile that I am valued less than earth,
Whereas the mirror's heart is rent by thy beauty.
My darkness illumines the chafing-dish,
Then my substance is incinerated at last.
Every one puts the sole of his feet on my head
And covers my stock of existence with ashes.
My fate must needs be deplored;
Dost thou know what is the gist of my being?
Thou art a condensed wavelet of smoke,
Endowed with a single spark.
Both in feature and nature thou art star-like,
Splendours rise from every side of thee.
Now thou becomest the light of a monarch's eye,

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1. Nietzsche: Thus Spake Zarathustra, translated by Thomas Common, (New York, Carlton House)
chapter 56:29, pp. 239-40

Now thou adornest the haft of a dagger."
"O sagacious friend!" said the diamond,
"Dark earth, when hardened, becomes in dignity
as a bezel.
Having been at strife with its environment,
It is ripened by the struggle and grows hard like
a stone.
'Tis this ripeness that has endowed my form with
light.
And filled my bosom with radiance.
Because thy body is soft, thou art burnt.
Be void of fear, grief, and anxiety;
Be hard as a stone, be a diamond!
Whosoever strives hard and grips tight,
The two worlds are illumined by him.
A little earth is the origin of the Black Stone
Which puts forth its head in the Ka'ba:
Its rank is higher than Sinai,
It is kissed by the swarthy and the fair.
In solidity consists the glory of Life;
Weakness is worthlessness and immaturity."
(lines: 1191 - 1230) 1

The similarity between Nietzsche's description and Iqbal's hardly needs any comment. The quintessence of Iqbal's poem is the same as that of Nietzsche's philosophy; it is hardness that gives glamour to life. That is, strength and greatness go hand in hand. It is just a re-incantation of the idea propagated by Nietzsche; the soul is the same, only the

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1.R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (translation of Asrar-i-Khudi) Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint.

body-garment has undergone change. Nietzsche preaches:' O my brother, become hard.' Iqbal, in the same vein, admonishes: 'Be hard as a stone, be a diamond.' This theme of hardness appealed to Iqbal so much that it became one his favourite themes. For example, it was repeated in a poem entitled 'Abul-' Ala al-Ma'arri', contained in Bal-i-Jibril (Gabriel's Wing). Al-Ma'arri is described in the poem as one who abstained from eating meat and who entirely lived on a vegetarian diet. A friend of his sent him a roast partridge expecting that the dish might tempt him to take to a non-vegetarian diet. But Al-Ma'arri asked the roast partridge what sin merited the punishment awarded to it, and himself answered:

> Since the day of creation God's decree has been
> (That) a sudden death is the punishment for the crime
> of being weak. 1

Iqbal, in this poem, is again the monthpiece of the Nietzschean doctrine.

Nietzsche's philosophy has also contributed a few threads to Iqbal's conception of an ideal character called by several names such as Mard-i-Momin (A valiant Believer), Mard-i-Kamil (Perfect Man), Mard-i-Mujahid (A valiant Crusader), Mahdi (Leader-Guide), and so on. This conception is to a very great extent is patterned on Nietzsche's conception of Superman/ Overman. Regarding Iqbal's conception of Mard-i-Momin the observation made by Mazheruddin Siddiqi is worth-mentioning: 'His (Iqbal's) idea of the superman is obviously derived from the philosophy of Nietzsche, but it is given a new form by Iqbal who called his Superman the Man of Belief....'[2] Let

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1.Md.Iqbal: Bal-i-Jibril (poem entitled 'Abul Ala Ma'arri')
Note: Abul-Ala al-Ma'arri was a great poet and philosopher. He 'is propably the greatest freethinker of Islamic literature and one of the most pessimistic philosophers.' (vide p.50 Najib Ullah:Islamic Literature, published by New York, Washington Sq.Press,Inc.1963)

2.Mazheruddin Siddiqi:Muslim Culture In Pakistan & India, contained in Islam-The Straight Path, ed. by K.W.Morgan, New York, The Ronald Press Co.,1950. page: 321

us first therefore see what the Nietzschean conception is. This Superman/Overman is to be met with in Nietzsch's Thus Spake Zarathustra. The principal ideas advanced are these: 'Life is the will to power, and he who would truly live must overcome the beliefs and conventions of common men; he must become an overman (or 'Superman'). Those who teach the Christian virtues of pity and meekness seek to corrupt man, to destroy his will to power, and to make him submit to those who prosper from the conventional way. Men who do not have the courage to live seek to escape by sleeping, by prizing the soul more than the body, and by seeking peace instead of war. The overman is virtuous when he frees himself from the belief in God and from the hope of an afterlife; he is nauseated by the rabble, and his joy comes from surpassing those who live by false hopes and beliefs. Worship of any sort is a return to childhood; if men must worship, let them worship donkeys if that suits them.'[1] Nietzsche's Superman is, in short, a being of superabundance of strength, out to war on those living peacefully in a submissive and conventional way; besides, he is an Atheist. How far these ideas find echo in Iqbal should therefore be seen. To begin with, Iqbal assimilates the doctrine: will to power, will to overpower. In Asrar-i-Khudi, he says:

> Life is power made manifest,
> And its mainspring is the desire for victory. 2
> (lines: 1045-1046)

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1. vide.p. 686 Frank N.Magill: Masterpieces Of World Philosophy (in summary form). London,George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963
2. R.A.Nicholson:The Secrets Of The Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi). Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint.

Both Iqbal and Nietzsche believe in aye-saying to life; nay-saying to life is detestable. Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi abounds in examples of his views:

"Weakness is the plunderer of Life,
Its womb is teeming with fears and lies.
(lines 1051-52)

** **

Strength is the twin of Truth;
...
Life is the seed, and power the crop:
Power explains the mystery of truth and falsehood.
A claimant, if he be possessed of power,
Needs no argument for his claim.
Falsehood derives from power the authority of truth,
And by falsifying truth deems itself true.
Its creative word transforms poison into nectar.
It says to good, "Thou art bad", and Good becomes Evil.
O thou that art heedless of the trust committed to thee,
Esteem thyself superior to both worlds!
Gain knowledge of Life's mysteries!
Be a tyrant! .....
(lines 1067 - 1080) 1

The thoughts gleaned from the above-mentioned lines may be compared with the qualities of Nietzsch's Superman. Describing Nietzsche's Superman, Will Durant, among other things, says: ' A man so born and bred would be beyond good and evil; ... he would be fearless rather than good. "What is good? ...

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1. Ibid,

To be brave is good". "What is good? All that increases the feeling of power, power itself, in man. What is bad (schlecht)? All that comes from weakness." Perhaps the dominant mark of the superman will be love of danger and strife, provided they have a purpose; he will not seek safety first; he will leave happiness to the greatest number ... all war is good, despite the vulgar pettiness of its causes in modern times; "a good war halloweth any cause. ... Energy, intellect, and pride,- these make the superman. But they must be harmonized: the passions will become powers only when they are selected and unified by some great purpose which moulds a chaos of desires into the power of a personality. ... To discipline one's self- that is the highest thing. "The man who does not wish to be merely one of the mass only needs to cease to be easy on himself." To have a purpose for which one can be hard upon others, but above all upon one' self...' [1] And Iqbal at one place openly praises Nietzsche's Superman. In his poem entitled Mahdi, contained in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses), Iqbal equates Nietzschean Superman with Mahdi, the mighty leader-guide according to Muslim eschatological belief:

> The Western mystic (i.e. Nietzsche) in western style
> Revived his country by the conception of Mahdi.
> O you who hate this conception
> Don't make the deer despair of its Tartarish home.
>
> (lines 3 - 6) [2]

"Iqbal", in the words of Bashir Ahmad Dar, " praises Nietzsche for once again reviving the idea of the appearance of such

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1. vide.426-7 Will Durant: The Story of Philosophy Pocket Books, New York, 1957 reprint.
2. Md.Iqbal: Zarb-i-Kalim. poem 'Mahdi'

enigmatic man (Mahdi) in the modern world and criticizes those who fight shy of it. This Mahdi will be ... a true mujahid (crusader) whose sole life mission would be to combat the forces of Darkness and help in establishing the kingdom of God on earth . He will create new values and give new interpretations; he will bring about a radical change in the attitude and outlook of the people, prepare them for a new social revolution, and impart to each and every one the fire and passion of his personality. The present world undoubtedly needs such a peaceful (sic) revolutionary:" [1]

The world needs to-day that Mard-i-Mahdi
Who produces a commotion in the world of thought.
(lines 7-8) [2]

There is therefore close resemblance between Nietzsche's Superman and his Iqbalean counterpart. Both stand for power and conquest. The only difference between them is that while Nietzsche's Superman is 'Beyond Good and Evil'[3] Iqbal's would be 'the viceregent of God on earth'. To attain to the elevated status of Mard-i-Momin (Valiant Believer) one has to pass through the three stages of development:[4] 1. obedience to the law, 2. Self control, 3. Divine Vicegerency. "In the first stage," writes Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim, "the self is likened to the camel, which is taken directly from Nietzsche, while the other two are taken from Islamic literature. Nietzsche

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1. Bashir Ahmad Dar: Iqbal & Post-Kantian Voluntarism (Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1956) pp. 337-38
Note: Mr. Dar has not elaborated how a votary of power patterned on Nietzsche's Superman model can be regarded as peaceful.
2. Md. Iqbal: Zarb-i-Kalim, vide poem Mahdi-i bar haq.
3. It is also the name of one of Nietzsche's books.
4. vide. p. XXVII (Introduction), R.A. Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (tr. of Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi). Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1960.

tte, speaks of three stages and says the soul passes through three stages, or in other words assumes three successive states in its upward journey. In the first stage it becomes a camel, in the second stage a lion, and in the third the child. In the camel stage the soul takes upon itself with great patience and fortitude the load of obligations, commandments and inhibitions. Having done with direction and compulsion the soul arrives at the stage of self-determina-tion when it becomes a lion, and its own free will becomes its laws. But to create new values it is necessary that it should become a child which stands, in Nietzsche's thought, for innocence and forgetfulness, when it forgets the previous stages and regards life as innocent play. At this stage the soul begins anew, turns the wheel of life like the wheel of a toy, and becomes a solemn affirmation, a new motion to a new life, not the effect of what has gone before. Out of the three stages of Nietzsche Iqbal took over only the camel. ... The camel also stands in Islamic thought and culture as a national symbol. The fact, however, is that two of the three stages of Iqbal, namely, obedience and self-control, are found in the camel. Iqbal omits Nietzsche's long-stage in the present connection, but speaks of it elsewhere. In place of Iqbal's Divine Vicegerency Nietzsche has a new creation on a new beginning which he characterises as the stage of childhood."[1]

This, besides being erudite and discerning, is a bold

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1. Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim: Rumi, Nietzsche & Iqbal .... an article contained in Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1960). pp. 190 - 191

Note: Since there is no evidence that Nietzsche borrowed the 'camel stage' [redacted] from Islam it will have to be believed that Iqbal borrowed this stage from Nietzsche.

criticism coming from the pen of a Pakistani writer in whose country Iqbal is sought to be shown as a genius deriving inspiration from only Islamic sources. One is of course likely to be surprised at Khalifa Sahib's overlooking the fact that some heroes of Nietzscheam brand are also venerated by Iqbal. One poem entitled 'Napoleon Ke Mazar Par' (At Napoleon's Tomb) reminds us of Nietzsche's feelings for Napoleon. The English translation of the poem is as follows:

Strange, strange the fates that govern
  This world of stress and strain,
But in the fires of action
  Fate's mysteries are made plain.

The sword of Alexander
  Rose sun-like from that blaze
To make the peaks of Alwand
  Run molten in its rays.

Action's loud storm called Timur's
  All-conquering torrent down-
And what to such wild billows
  Are fortune's smile or frown ?

The prayers of God's folk treading
  The battlefield's red sod,
Forged in that flame of action
  Become the voice of God.

But only a brief moment
  Is granted to the brave-

One breath or two, whose wage is
The long nights of the grave.

Then since at last the valley
Of silence is our goal,
Beneath this vault of heaven
Let our deeds' echoes roll. 1

And Nietzsche's feelings for Napoleon are thus expressed by Bertrand Russell: 'What Caesar Borgia was to Machiavelli, Napoleon was to Nietzsche: a great man defeated by petty opponents."[2] Nietzsche could not praise one having slave-morality; he was all praise for Napoleon because the latter was an embodiment of master-morality.[3] To Iqbal, his 'deeds' echoes roll beneath the vault of heaven. Who can be an Iqbalean Here may be deduced from the piece of advice the poet gave in his Presidential address at the annual session of the All India Muslim Conference at Lahore on the 21st March 1932: ' ... Concentrate your whole ego on your self alone, and ripen your clay into real manhood if you wish to see your aspirations realized. Mussolini's maxim was: He who has steel has bread. I venture to modify it a bit and say: He who is steel has every thing. ...'[4] If Nietzsche is obsessed by Will to Power and stands for what he calls master-morality, Iqbal seeks Self or Ego, that is, 'personality in a state of tension.'[5] The ideal, according to him, should not be 'self-negation but self-affirmation.'[6]

1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan. pp. 55-6 (the poem is in Gabriel's Wing)
2. vide p. 762 B.Russell: A History of Western Philosophy (New York, Simon & Schuster,1964 reprint)
3.for slave-morality & master-morality see pp.199-206 Nietzsche: Beyond Good & Evil, tr. by Marianne Cowan (Chicago, Henry Regnery Co.,1955)
4.Speeches & Statements Of Iqbal, compiled by Shamloo (Lahore, Al-Manar Academy,1948) p. 55
5. vide p. XXI (Introduction) R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets Of Self (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960 reprint).
6.Ibid,P. XVIII.

This self-affirmation, which is nothing but Will to Power, is capable of making one so potential as to absorb not only 'the world of matter' but 'also God Himself.'[1] Besides, there seems to be similarity between Nietzsche's criticism of Christianity and Iqbal's of Muslim mysticism, i.e. Sufism. Why Nietzsche opposed Christianity would be brought out by a look at the following eloquent passage from his work:

"What is it that we combat in Christianity? That it aims at destroying the strong, at breaking their spirit, at exploiting their moments of weariness and debility, at converting their proud assurance into anxiety and conscience-trouble; that it knows how to poison the noblest instinct and to infect them with disease, until their strength, their will to power, turns inwards, against themselves - until the strong perish through their excessive self-contempt and self-immolation."[2]

Iqbal since his return from Europe became an apostle of power and read into mysticism the causes of enervation. How like Nietzsche's is his criticism of mysticism would be evident from the following observation:

" ... Religion in this sense (that is, Sufism) is known by the unfortunate name of mysticism, which is supposed to be a life-denying, fact-avoiding attitude of mind directly opposed to the radically empirical outlook of our times ..."[3]

His tirade against 'speculative mysticism and inactive

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1. Ibid, p. XIX. Iqbal is quoted.
2. quoted in: B. Russell: A History of Western Philosophy (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1964 reprint). vide p. 766
3. Md. Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1962 reprint). p. 182
   Note: Here he discusses the outlook of a Muslim Sufi.

quietism'[1] started with his poetical work Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) which appeared in 1915.[2] In the first edition there were lines against Hafis. 'His criticism of Hafis', writes Nicholson, 'called forth angry protests from Sufi circles in which Hafis is venerated as a master-hierophant. Iqbal made no recantation, but since the passage had served its purpose and was offensive to many, he cancelled it in the second edition of the poem. It is omitted in my translation.'[3] Now these omitted lines are available in Baqiyat-i-Iqbal [illegible] containing the poems not found in any of his published books). To show Iqbal's criticism of Hafiz the English translation of a few omitted lines is given below:

Beware of Hafis the drunkard!
His cup contains nothing but poison.
...
So much intoxicated with the wine of slavery he is
That being a master he is devoid of asserting his mastery.
...
He is sheep-headed, and has taught only a tune
(And) has taught graceful coquetry and amorous playfulness.
...
His company is not befitting to the holy;
His cup is not for the free.

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1. vide. p. 97 Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal, ed. by S.A.Vahid, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964)
2. for year of publication of Asrar-i-Khudi see p. 119 A.Anwar Beg: The Poet Of The East.
3. vide. footnote p. XIII , R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets of the Self (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint)

Beware of Hafiz and his company;
Beware of the sheep, O Beware! 1

These are representative lines from the lines dropped by Iqbal; Hafiz is condemned because he, according to the poet, was responsible for enervating the masses. And this condemnation smacks of Nietzsche's condemnation of Christianity and Plato and Socrates.[2] A few lines concerning Plato would perhaps be relevant here to show Iqbal's attitude towards Plato:

"To die", said he, "is the secret of Life:
The candle is glorified by being put out."
He dominates our thinking,
His cup sends us to sleep and takes the sensible
world away from us.
He is a sheep in man's clothing
The soul of the Sufi bows to his authority.
He soared with his intellect to the highest heaven
And called the world of phenomena a myth.
'Twas his work to dissolve the structure of life
And cut the bough of Life's fair tree asunder.
(lines:637-646)

...

The peoples were poisoned by his intoxication:
He slumbered and took no delight in deeds.
(lines 671-72) 3

'This bitter criticism', observes Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim, 'owes itself to that powerful attack on Plato's

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1.Baqiyat-i-Iqbal (The remaining poems of Iqbal),compiled by Syed Abdul Wahid MuA'ni,M.A.(Oxon), New Taj,Delhi year not mentioned. pp.219-224
It is surprising that Sarood-i-Rafta, which also contains unpublished poems of Iqbal, does not contain the lines omitted in the second edition of Asrar-i-Khudi. Khalifa Abdul Hakim has referred to Hafiz and out of the lines omitted by Iqbal he, in his article entitled 'Rumi, Nietzsche & Iqbal, has given one of the couplets.
2.Nietzsche condemns all Greek philosophers from Socrates onwards. vide p.761 B.Russell:A History of Western Philosophy (New York,Simon & Schuster,1964)
3.R.A.Nicholson:The Secrets of the Self (tr.Asrar-i-Khudi) Lahore.Sh.Md.Ashraf.1960 reprint

rationalism which was delivered by Nietzsche ...'[1] Iqbal, it may be pointed out, criticizes Islamic mystic code which he finds counter to the ideas embodied in his Mard-i-Mujahid. Here are a few lines from other works of his. For example, in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses) there is a poem entitled 'Faqr-e-Rahibi' (Ascetism & Monkery) from which four lines are reproduced below in translation:

Yours is perhaps a little different conception of Islam:
To you ascetism and monkery are one.
Ascetism does not see eye to eye with the tranquillity-worshipping recluse,
An ascetic's ark is always tossed on the stormy waves.
(lines 1 - 4)

And in Bal-i-Jibril there is a poem 'Pir-o-Murid' (Preceptor & Disciple) in which Iqbal makes his preceptor Rumi deliver his message:

In our religion war and majesty constitute true path;
In Christianity 'caves and hills' (i.e. retired life of a recluse) carve out the righteous path.
(Pir-o-Murid, Couplet 22)

Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Pan-Islamism[2]. He added to the movement of Islamic solidarity a vision of Muslim Brotherhood consisting of Mardan-i-Mujahid (valiant crusaders) almost patterned on Nietzsche's ruling race of Supermen. 'He is a religious enthusiast, inspired by the vision of a New Mecca, a world-wide, theocratic, Utopian

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1. Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim: Rumi, Nietzsche & Iqbal, an article contained in 'Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960) p. 148
2. Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal), ed. by Javid Iqbal (Lahore, Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons., 1961). vide p. XVII (Introduction by editor)

state in which all Moslems, no longer divided by the barriers of race and country shall be one.'[1] He ceased to be a nationalist and began to profess allegiance to such a Muslim state and it was for this reason he joined issue with Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani who said that 'nations are formed by lands.'[2] The Nietzschean stamp on the works of Iqbal is so deep and unmistakable that sometimes even apologists like Bashir Ahmad Dar are constrained to acknowledge it. For instance, Mr. Dar admits: ' Iqbal follows Nietzsche in the psychological analysis of the weak and the slave ... Iqbal, following Nietzsche, advocates the panacea of power, more, and full power. ... He goes so far with Nietzsche as to say that power is synonymous with truth and determines the standard of values.'[3]

But before this chapter closes one thing more merits mention. On the publication of the translation of Asrar-i-Khudi into English under the title The Secrets Of The Self in 1920 there was criticism of the work by Mr. Dickinson. Iqbal, in his letter dated 24th January, 1921, referred to this criticism: this letter is addressed to Dr R.A.Nicholson.[4] In this letter he denied to have drawn on Nietzsche for the conception of his Perfect Man. It is therefore essential to say something on this aspect of the matter. A study of this letter brings out three points:

1. "I wrote on the Sufi doctrine of the Perfect Man more than twenty years ago, long before I had read

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1. vide. p. X (Introduction) R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets Of The Self (tr. of Asrar-i-Khudi), Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960)
2. Speeches & Statements of Iqbal, compiled by Shamloo, Lahore, Al-Manar Academy, 1948. p. 223.
3. Bashir Ahmad Dar: Iqbal & Post-Kantian Voluntarism (Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1956). p. 300
4. This letter is contained in 'Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal' ed. by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf) pp. 93-102

or heard anything of Nietzsche. This was then published in the Indian Antiquary, and later in 1908 formed part of my Persian Metaphysics.

2. Mr. Dickinson thinks ... that I have deified physical force in the poem. I am afraid he is mistaken in his view. I believe in the power of the spirit, not brute force....

3. Mr. Dickinson further refers to my 'Be hard'. This is based on the view of reality that I have taken in the poem. According to my belief, reality is a collection of individualities tending to become a harmonious whole through conflict which must inevitably lead to mutual adjustment. This conflict is a necessity in the interests of the evolution of higher forms of life, and of personal immortality. Nietzsche did not believe in personal immortality... My interest in conflict is mainly ethical and not political whereas Nietzsche's was probably only political ..." [1]

The article[2] referred to in (1) was entitled 'The Doctrine Of Absolute Unity As Expounded By Abdul Karim Al-Jilani' (sic), and it appeared in 'Indian Antiquary', Bombay, September, 1900. Iqbal took his M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1899 and was awarded a medal of distinction. It therefore passes one's comprehension why Iqbal had up to that time not 'read or heard anything of Nietzsche.' Let us, however, pass over it, though the fact is not without significance. The matter set forth in the article,

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1. Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal, ed. by S.A. Vahid (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1964) pp. 8 - 27
2. Ibid, p. 8
   Note: Attention is invited to the footnote:
   'Iqbal has in the course of this article described the author as Abdul Karim al-Jilani, although he is better known as 'al-Jili'. (cf. S.A. Vahid)
   Attention is also invited to the fact that in his The Development Of Metaphysics In Persia (Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1959 reprint) Iqbal describes him Al-Jili and not al-Jilani, vide p. 116 and heading 'Reality As Thought - Al-Jili'

as Iqbal has himself pointed out, is also incorporated in his research thesis entitled The Development of Metaphysics In Persia. The Insan al Kamil (Perfect Man) of Al-Jili's conception, even as described by Iqbal, is far removed from Nietzsche's as well as from Iqbal's for Iqbal follows mainly Nietzsche's conception of the Superman. Al-Jili holds that "[illegible] existence or Pure Being, when it [illegible] its [illegible] three stages:- (1) oneness. (2) Heness. (3) [illegible] ... In correspondendence with these three stages of the absolute development, the perfect man has three stages of spiritual training. ... In the first stage of his spiritual progress he meditates on the name, studies nature on which he is sealed; in the second stage he steps into the sphere of the Attributes, and in the third stage enters the sphere of the Essence. It is here that he becomes the Perfect Man; his eye becomes the eye of God, his word the word of God and his life the life of God - participates in the general life of Nature and 'sees into the life of things'.'

To this may be added: ' The absolutely Perfect Man or Heavenly Man is Muhammad (Nuru'l - Muhammadiyya) or the Idea of Muhammad (al-Haqiquatu'l - Muhammadiya). ... He appears in the form of different saints in different ages and are called by these names. He exists before the creation of the world. He is the mirror of God and God is his mirror. In fact, other Perfect Men throughout the ages do not directly receive the Illumination of Essence, the highest form of Illumination, but only through Muhammad, whom they represent.

1.Md.Iqbal: The Development Of Metaphysics In Persia (Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal,1950 reprint) pp. 118 - 19

& see pp. [illegible] of Iqbal [illegible] Sh.Md.[illegible]) Ed. S.A.Vahid.

Ethically, the Perfect Man is the mediator between God and men. He is the spiritual guide who alone can lead men to God, by making them realise their essential oneness with Him. Thus, he is not only a cosmic force, but also the spiritual governor of the world.'[1]

The Parfect Man, as envisaged by al-Jili, has, it would be evident, nothing in common with the Iqbalean Perfect Man. Iqbalean Perfect Man[2], like Nietzscean Superman, is aggressively assertive and for the persuance of objectives would even be a tyrant; he is always out to fight his way to success with no scruples because what he does is right - all this has already been dealt with. There can be no doubt that Iqbal borrowed the conception from Nietzsche - a fact which is also proved by the absence of any such conception in his poetry written before his leaving for Europe. One point more, raised by Iqbal in his letter, remains to be scrutinized: claiming [illegible] in personal immortality Iqbal says that 'Nietzsche did not believe in personal immortality ... My interest in conflict is mainly ethical and not political whereas Nietzsche's was probably political.' This too is not worthy of credence inasmuch as Iqbal is opposed to the idea of drawing a line between religion and politics. He says in Bal-i-Jibril (Gabriel's Wing) :

Whether it is monarchy or a show of [illegible]
If religion is kept away from politics it degenerates
into tyranny.
(Ghazal 17, couplet 4)

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1. vide. pp. 148 - 49 Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil (Oxon) : Sufism & Vedanta (Calcutta, Praeyavani Mandir, Pt.I 1945, Pt.II 1948) Vol. I (Pt. II)
2. Attention is invited to the following observation made by Asaf A.A.Fyzee in his book 'A Modern Approach To Islam' (Asia Publishing House, 1963), vide. p. 77
'Iqbal ... was profoundly influenced by such German thinkers of the 19th century as Hegel, Fichte, and Nietzsche... He He advocated a philosophy of action based upon the teachings of [illegible] and the [illegible] of Islam [illegible]
[illegible]

Besides, he [illegible] in an article that 'according to the law of Islam there is no distintion between the Church and the State.'[1] And in the same article he also observed:'The mosque, it must be remembered, is the Muslim Forum, and the institution of daily prayer is closely connected with the political life of Muslim communities...'[2] In this context of thinking Iqbal could not but blend political and ethical values. The absence of personal immortality in Nietzsche may of course be offered as an instance of disagreement but on this score alone it cannot be maintained that Nietzsche exercised no influence on Iqbal. It is not necessary that one may go the whole length with the man who has exercised influence; one may assimilate all the ideas or only a few things from the writings of a great author or even authors. The impact may be manifested in acquiescence or revolt. The opinion of Mr. V.K.Gokak on the point, which has already been mentioned elsewhere,[3] may be [illegible] of. There is much in Iqbal that may be traced to Nietzsche; and, wherever Nietzschean influences are traceable Nietzsche appears as Nietzsche converted to Islam of Iqbal's conception. In closing, it seems relevant to invite attention to one of the entries in Iqbal's diary because it also shows what Iqbal thinks of Nietzsche: 'God created things; man created the worth of things. The immortality of a people depends upon their incessant creation of "worths", said Nietzsche. Things certainly bear the stamp of Divine manufacture; but their meaning is through and through human.'[4] The next chapter

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1.Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal, ed.by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964) pp. 60-61 from 'Political Thought In Islam' contributed to Hindustan Review Vols.XXII & XXIII 1910-11

2.Ibid, p. 66

3.see page 11

4.Stray Reflections, ed. by Javid Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961) p. 88

would bring to light Bergson's influence on Iqbal. It is said that "the Muslim foundation of Iqbal's theology is derived from Sufistic philosophy, which he reinterpreted in terms of the Nietzschean superman and Bergson's theory of creative evolution."[1] Let us look for the Bergsonean influences.

1.vide. 185 H.A.R.Gibb: Mohammedanism - An Historical Survey (O.U.P. 1954)

Chapter 9

Iqbal & Bergson

'From classical Greek philosophers down to the philosophers of the modern age,' writes Nias Fatehpuri, 'Iqbal studied philosophical concepts with close and concentrated attention. He was neither awe-struck by any one nor did he ever decline to accept what was good. He was not like an ordinary pedestrian but he was, as it were, a champion striving to reach the destination according to his own lights, competent to distinguish between a guide and a robber'.[1] V.G.Kiernan too remarks that Iqbal ' 'absorbed new ideas, and was influenced by several thinkers, notably Hegel, Bergson, and above all Nietzsche.'[2] As a matter of fact, towards the first quarter of the present century Nietzsche and Bergson were two dominant voices in the world of philosophy. Iqbal, as pointed out in the introductory chapter of this work went to Europe in 1905 and stayed till 1908. Bergson was then alive. Nietzsche was, however, dead; he died in 1900. Iqbal paid a visit to Bergson who was very pleased to see him.[3]

Before tracing in the works of Iqbal impressions from Bergson it is perhaps relevant to say something about the basic principles of the French philosopher:

According to the opinion of Bergson, our intellect

1.Iqbal Ka Falsafa-i-Khudi (a Urdu article entitled in English translation 'Iqbal's Philosophy of the Self') vide.p. 49 Nigar (Special Issue - Iqbal) Jan., 1962
2.V.G.Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955) p. XV (Introduction)
3.vide.p. 77 A.Anwar Beg:The Poet Of The East (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961)

is fashioned by our practical needs; it is an obstacle to the apprehension of truth. We have, however, another faculty called 'intuition' which, if we take the trouble of using it, enables us to know 'everything past and present, though apparently not the future'. Truth is arrived at by a mystic contemplation; we cannot arrive at truth by the thought of practical advantage, i. e. utility. Nevertheless he, like the pragmatists, prefers action to reason. A great part of his philosophy is merely traditional mysticism expressed in slightly novel language. The doctrine of interpretation, according to which different things are not really separate, but are merely so conceived by the analytic intellect, is to be found in every mystic. Bergson has given an air of novelty to this doctrine by means of two devices. First, he connects 'intuition' with the instinct of animals; he suggests that intuition is what enables the solitary wasp Ammophile to sting the larva in which it lays its eggs exactly so as to paralyse it without killing it. .. Secondly, he gives the name 'space' to the separateness of things as they appear to the analytic intellect, and the name 'time' or 'duration' to their interpretation as revealed to intuition. 'Matter', being that which is in 'space', is ofcourse a fiction created by the intellect, and is seen to be such as soon as we place ourselves at the point of view of intuition.' He owes his popularity to his doctrine of the 'elan vital' and real becoming. He combines mysticism with a belief in the reality of time and progress. Traditional mysticism, in his opinion, has been contemplative, convinced of the unreality of time

and this makes it essentially a lazy man's philosophy. But Bergson sought to adapt mysticism to those who believe in the reality of progress, and are not disillusioned about our existence below. His theory of time tells us that 'time' is a continuous growth and is not a series of separate moments or events; in this continuous growth the future, since it is genuinely new and therefore unimaginable, cannot be foreseen. Everything that really happens persists and the world is perpetually growing fuller and richer. Bergson seems to divide 'memory' into (1) the pure memory of intuition, and (2) the pseudo - memory of the brain. Everything that has taken place persists in the pure memory of intuition, as opposed to the pseudo - memory of the brain. This regular [illegible]s 'duration' and the impulse to new creation is the 'elan vital'. To recover the pure memory of intuition self-discipline is required.[1]

To turn to influences, let us begin with the phenomenon of non-stop mobility, or better, constant flux. Iqbal agrees with Bergson when the latter says : " I pass from state to state. I am warm or cold. I am merry or sad. I work or do nothing. I look at what is around me or think. I think of something else. Sensations, feelings, volitions, ideas - such are the changes into which my existence is divided and which colour it in turns. I change, then, without ceasing."[2] To Iqbal also, there is an unceasing flux of states, all is constant mobility, a perpetual flow

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1. vide.pp. 236 - 39 Twentieth Century Philosophy (New York, Philosophical Library) edited by Dagobert D.Runes, from 'Philosophy of the Twentieth Century' by B.Russell.
2.Bergson: Creative Evolution (London, Macmillan, 1954) p. 1

with no halt and resting:

Life-stream flows unceasingly
Everything manifests life's flux. (couplet 44)
...
Rest and immobility are but illusions
Every particle in the universe pulsates.
The caravan of life does never stop
Every moment it manifests itself in new and new forms.
(couplets 57, 58) 1

This continuous, ever-changing, developing phenomenon is described by Bergson as Duration. This Time or Duration, which is merely another change, has been defined by Bergson as "the continuous progress of the past which gnaws into the future".[2] Consequently, it is the vehicle of perpetual novelty. ... The ultimate reality is Duration. Every thing flows.[3] Iqbal is very fond of describing this continuous, ever-changing, developing phenomenon:

Day succeeding to night - moulder of all time's works!
Day succeeding to night - fountain of life and of death!
Chain of the days and nights - two-coloured threads of silk
Woven by Him that is, into His being's robe!
Chain of the days and nights - sigh of eternity's harp,
Height and depth of all things possible, God revealed.[4]

1.Md.Iqbal: Bal-i-Jibril. see poem 'Saqi Nama'
2.Bergson:Creative Evolution (Macmillans, London, 1954) p. 5
3.vide pp. 12, 229, 287 Bergson:Creative Evolution (Macmillans London, 1954)
4.V.G.Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (John Murray, London, 1955) p. 37, from 'The Mosque Of Cordoba' (translation of Iqbal's Masjid-i-Qurtuba.)

There is in Bal-i-Jibril a poem the title of which is 'Zamana' (Time). Its opening lines are here worth-quoting:

What was has faded: what is, is fading: but of
these words few can tell the worth;
Time still is gaping with expectation of what
is nearest its hour of birth.
New tidings slowly come drop by drop from my
pitcher gurgling of time's new sights,
As I count over the beads strung out on my threaded
rosary of days and nights. 1

Bergson's Creative Evolution begins with these words: "The existence of which we are most certain is incontestably our own, for we perceive ourselves internally, deeply."[2] Iqbal's quest of Reality proceeds from looking within self; that is, we get into direct contact with Reality first in our conscious experience. For instance -

Come and learn to look within your self;
Learn to examine your heart diligently.
If you long for the Reality
Learn to look at the self. 3

** **

If desirous of knowing the secret, look within,
(And) you will see the One and the Many, the manifest
and the unmanifest. 4

Iqbal advises 'journeying - within'. It is 'in-look'that,

1.Ibid, from poem'Time', p. 50
2.Bergson: Creative Evolution (Macmillan London, 19 54) p. 1
3.Md.Iqbal:Armughan-i-Hijaz (reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) p. 89 (Husur-i-Aalam-i-Insani 3:2)
4.Md.Iqbal:Pyam-i-Mashriq (reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) p. 135, Ghasal 26, couplet 2.

according to him, brings us face to face with Reality. A few lines from Iqbal's Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden of Mystery) are reproduced below in English translation:

To travel into Self ? It is (so to say) taking birth
without parents;
Bringing Pleides down from the heavens;
Holding eternity in a restless (fugitive) instant;
Seeing without the sun;
Transcending Hope and Fear;
Cleaving the water like Moses;
Breaking the spell of sea and land;
Performing a miracle (like splitting the moon); (and)
Returning thus from the inexistent
With Reality in the heat and the world under one's hold.[1]

This 'travel into self' is opposed to the intellectual comprehension of the world and reality. Intellect, though it has an important role to play, is to be surpassed by 'intuition'. Iqbal, like Bergson, cries down intellect and lays stress upon cultivating an in-look. Bergson calls it 'intuition' and Iqbal, ishq, that is love. This Bergsonian note is clearly heard in the following lines:

Infinity is not amenable to our intellect;
One becomes a thousand to intellect.
Intellect, like a lame man, trudges along.
It does not see the kernel, it looks towards the husk
alone.
As we divide Reality into hundreds of parts

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1. Md. Iqbal: Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (Reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) from Answer to Question 5, pp. 118-19

We get to dintinguish between change and stablity.
...
We saw the one so much divided
That we created numerals to count. 1

We should therefore outgrow intellectual outlook and go down into the depths of our being, heart. We should not build on intellectual sand. But it does not mean that intellect is altogether useless. Intellect too guides us; but 'heart' (dil), that is 'intuition', is a better guide:

The philosophers (as it were) tend to adorn a corpse,
They lack the Hand of Moses and Breath of Jesus.
Familiarise yourself with Aristotle a-while,
(And) be in tune with Bacon's music for another while.
But pass beyond their ways also,
Don't get lost: journey on.
With the aid of intellect that divides and sub-divides,
(And) that knows the depth of mines and oceans;
Conquer this world,
Strike the moon and Pleides of the sky,
But also acquire wisdom of another sort:
Free yourself from materialism (the snare of night and day) 2

What is, then, this wisdom 'of another sort' ? This wisdom consists in intuition:

Reach your self and rise above commotion (i.e. of intellect
(And) drop into the inner depths of your conscience. 3

1.Ibid, pp. 113-14, a few lines from Answer to Question 3
2.Ibid, pp. 114-15, " " "
3.Ibid, p . 113, a couplet from " "

This is almost like Bergson's view on intuition. To him, the highest form of instinct is intuition. Intellect cannot grasp experience as it is; intellect distorts it. In his opinion, intellect is adequate only to the 'discontinuity of the material world'. Since life is essentially continuous the intellect cannot understand it. Intuition alone gives us potentiality for a proper understanding of life. As a matter of fact, Bergson seems to suggest that if we refrain from rational thought we come to have an intuitive grasp of the experience as it is, that is, we get to know reality.[1] And,Iqbal does, more often than not, poetise the conflict of Ishq (love) or Dil (heart) and Aql (reason). What 'elan vital' is to Bergson, 'love' is to Iqbal. How vital a force love is may be guessed from the following couplet:

> The nation whose Love (ishq, vital impulse) is bold
> and Ascetism (Faqr) self-respecting,
> Cannot come to disgrace. 2

How beautifully has Iqbal contrasted Love with Reason:

> Reason is ruthless; Love is even more,
> Purer, nimbler and more unafraid.
> Lost in the maze of cause and effect
> Is reason; Love strikes boldly in the field
> Of Action. Crafty Reason sets a snare;
> Love overthrows the prey with strong right arm.
> Reason is rich in fear and doubt; but love
> Has firm resolve, faith indissoluble. 3

1.vide.pp. 382-83 B.Russell: Wisdom of the West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications.,1964)
2.M.Iqbal: Zarb-I-Kalim
p.258 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal (Urdu), Delhi, New Taj Co., the last couplet of the Ghazal
3.A.J.Arberry: The Mysteries of Selflessness (tr. of Iqbal's [illegible]-i-Bekhudi); London, John Murray, 1953 p. 26

Iqbal upbraids 'ilm' (knowledge, i.e. reason) and applauds 'amal' (action, i.e. vital impulse, love):

Shall knowledge fall the phoenix in thy nest?
Be less assured: let Doubt imprison thee,
Wouldst work ? Then let thy faith be more mature
One be thou seeking, one beheld, one be. 1

This idea is to be met with at innumerable places in Iqbal. For instance, in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses) he says:

Knowledge lands in non-spirituality;
Philosophy implies only distance from life.
The melodies of thoughts, which are almost tuneless,
Bring about the death of the urge for activity. 2

Intellect based as it is on conjectures and calculations can never be a sure and reliable guide: it is 'ishq'(love: vital impulse, faith, intuition and other such qualities)[3] that reveals mystery. Bergson too holds the view: "Intuition ... pierces the darkness of the night in which the intellect leaves us. ..."[4] A six - line poem entitled 'Wahi' (Revelation) in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses) describes the shortcomings of intellect:

Poor intellect is not capable of giving a lead:
The guide who acts on surmises can hardly guide.
Your thought is devoid of illumination, and urge for action weak;
It is (therefore) difficult for you to dispel your darkness.

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1. A.J.Arberry: Tulips Of Sinai (tr. of Iqbal's Lala-i-Tur) London: The Royal Indian Society, 1947. p. 10 (stanza 48 Lala-i-Tur, contained in Pyam-i-Mashriq)
2. M.Md.Iqbal: Zarb-i-Kalim (from the poem 'Ek falsafa zda Syyaid zade ke nam' (vide p.236 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, Delhi: New Taj)
3. see p. 20
4. Bergson: Creative Evolution (Macmillan London, 1954) p.282

How can the problem of Good and Evil be resolved
If Life itself is not the revealer of life's mysteries. [1]

What part does 'intuition' play may be seen in the poem 'Aql wa Dil' (Intellect & Heart), contained in Zarb-i-Kalim :

Intellect rules over spheres, terrestial and celestial;
There is nothing beyond God-given Intellect.
The universe is the slave of its might existing from eternity:
It is only Dil (heart, i.e. intuition) that does every moment dispute with it. [2]

It is therefore intuition that provides one with the open sesame. Iqbal and Bergson thus effect the repatriation of the human spirit. The essential feature of intuition, according to Bergson, is that it is synthetic rather than analytic; intellect divides the world into separate things and consequently falls short of real comprehension.[3] The foregoing lines from Iqbal's poetry echo this Bergsonian view quite clearly.

The Bergsonian concept of elan vital as the motive force in evolution is also to be met with in Iqbal's poetry. Behind the evolutionary process Bergson finds this vital impulse which is supra-physical in character and which makes life march towards higher and higher efficiency. Bergson holds that it is elan vital that carves out divergent paths for the development of living organisms; under the tremendous urge of elan vital life grows enormously, meeting

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1. Md. Iqbal: Zarb-i-Kalim. vide p. 247 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, (Delhi: New Taj)
2. Ibid, p. 247 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, (Delhi: New Taj)
3. see p. 96
   & vide p. 882 B. Russell: Wisdom Of The West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications, 1964)

and overcoming the opposition of matter.[1] To Iqbal, love is more or less this elan vital. It would be perhaps relevant to quote in full the poem 'Ilm wa Ishq' (Reason & Love), contained in Zarb-i-Kalim :

Reason once said to me :
  Moonstruck is Passion!
Passion once said to me :
  Reason would fashion
More worms in her book,
  Men bloodless and pale!
- Passion, a look;
  Reason, a veil.

Passion, hot breeze on
  The world-strife's fervescence -
The attribute Reason
  Shows, Passion the essence!
She is peace and long-during,
  Life, death, the reply
In her silence immuring
  To Reason's shrill cry.

She moulds on her wheel
  The king's oath, the priest's vows,
Her poor thrall with the seal
  And the sceptre endows;
She is dweller and dwelling,
  And country and hour,
And victory-compelling
  Faith is her dower.

1.vide.pp. 355-58 S.Radhakrishnan : History of Philosophy Eastern & Western (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1953) Vol.II

By the path Love has branded
  Hearth-welcome is hidden,
The storm-wave commanded,
  The hugged shore forbidden;
No fruits in her season,
  But lightnings above-
The Book's offspring is Reason,
  Its parent is Love. [1]

Love's is, then, the vital way of life. It is the elan vital. Iqbal, in his doctoral dissertation The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, says: "Beneath this visible evolution of forms is the force of love which actualises all strivings, movement and progress. Things are so constituted that they hate non-existence and love the joy of individuality in various forms. The indeterminate matter, dead in itself, assumes, or more properly, is made to assume by the inner force of love, various forms and rises higher and higher in the scale of beauty."[2] All these forms are so many ways of the expression of Love, the elan vital. Two quatrains may be quoted:

It is love that imparts colour to the tulip
It is love that agitates our life.
If you could rip open the heart of the earth
You would see love's blood coursing through it.[3]

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The tavern would have been devoid of commotion,
(And) our clay, without spark,

1.V.G.Kiernan : Poems From Iqbal (tr. of selected poems) London, John Murray,1955. pp. 61 - 62
Note:'Passion' stands for Ishq, love.
2.Md.Iqbal:The Development of Metaphysics In Persia (reprint: Lahore,Bazm-i-Iqbal,1959) p. 28
3.Md.Iqbal:Pyam-i-Mashriq (reprint: Delhi,Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) p. 12
quatrain 5 from 'Lala-i-Tur'

Had there been no love and its commotion
(And) had heart been prudent like intellect. 1

Everything of this world owes its existence to Love. Love is 'creative evolution' ; it is constant striving. To Bergson, the elan vital is the sole reality; it evolves with no goal before it. And Iqbal too voices this view:

Life consists in struggling and marching alone.
Where is the goal of the caravan of waves! 2

But in his later poetry the goal-less journeying is replaced by an inward journeying and Iqbal began to regard this as an improvement upon Bergson's viewpoint. We get a laboured criticism of this aspect of Bergson's theory in Iqbal's book The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam. According to Iqbal, 'the forward push of life'cannot be called creative unless it is hitched to some goal; he seems to imply that Bergson advocates a purposeless journeying.[3] Evolution, to Bergson, is ofcourse an'open' process without a plan and without a goal; but life process is a great creative adventure working itself out in individual consciousness as well as in nature towards maturity.[4] "Creation ... is not a mystery; we experience it in ourselves when we act freely", when we consciously choose our actions and plot our lives; our struggles and our sufferings, our ambitions and our defeats, our yearnings to be better and stronger than we are, are the voice and current of the elan vital, that vital urge which makes us grow from achievement to achievement.[5] If this vital urge does not stop it may, it

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1.Ibid, p. 13 p.15. quatrain: 18
2.Ibid, p.138 couplet 5 from Ghazal 30
3.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (reprint:Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962)vide pp.52-54
4.S.Radhakrishnan: History Of Philosophy Eastern & Western (London,George Allen & Unwin,1953). vide pp. 358-59 Vol.II
5.vide pp. 262, 284-86, Bergson:Creative Evolution (London,Macmillans,1954)

seems to stand to reason, elude mortality as well. Iqbal, perhaps stimulated by Bergson's non-stop current of the elan vital, thinks that immortality, if self is properly developed, may too be within our reach:

If Self is self-perceiving, a self-architect and
self-conquering
It is very likely that you may transcend Death as well.[1]

S.A.Vahid, who is one of the main apologists of Iqbal, has touched upon the ideas of Iqbal and Bergson in a single paragraph in his book entitled Iqbal, His Art & Thought. After mentioning Bergson's'elan vital'and 'reality', he proceeds to describe differences between the thought of Iqbal and that of Bergson.He says: "There are numerous differences between the thought of Iqbal and Bergson. In Bergson the conflict of mind and matter means a dualism in the whole universe, which is never resolved into a unity. In Iqbal we have the all-embracing Ego which is God. Similarly Bergson's uncompromising condemnation of Intellect finds no parallel in Iqbal. Iqbal assigns to Intellect a position subordinate to 'Ishq', but visualises a perfect harmony of the two."[2]

This is perhaps not true for in the end Bergson, in the opinion of E.M.F.Tomlin, achieves a reconciliation between the dualism which runs through his work - between Intellect and Intuition, Thought and Action, Time and Duration. And in support, Tomlin quotes Bergson as saying: "... man will rise above earthly things only if a powerful equipment supplies him with the requisite fulcrum. In other words, the mystical summons up

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1.Md.Iqbal:Zarb-i-Kalim . vide p.248 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, Reprint: Delhi,New Taj
last two lines from the poem'Hyat-i-Abadi' (Immortality)
2.S.A.Vahid: Iqbal,His Art & Thought (London,John Murray,1955) 100-101

the mechanical ... We must add that the body, now larger, calls for a bigger soul, and that mechanism should mean mysticism ... Machinery will find its true vocation again; it will render services in proportion to its power only if mankind, which it has bowed still lower to the earth, can succeed, through it, in standing erect and looking heavenwards"[1]

Besides, the view held by Mr.Vahid that Iqbal is not an exponent of anti-intellectualism does not seem to hold water. There are testimonies to show that Iqbal upholds anti-intellectualism. H.A.R.Gibb, for instance, regards him as an exponent of anti-intellectualism.[2] And what W.C. Smith says is also worth-quoting: "... The transmutation of Muslim society from its early nineteenth - century stolidity to its twentieth century ebullience is no mean achievement. The change has been everywhere in evidence. It was given poetic expression by the Indo-Muslim Iqbal with an eloquence and inspirational fieriness that are artistically superb. But the modern situation can be understood aright only if one recognises how often this dynamic quality has been associated with no pattern of control or directional rationale. It can then become nothing more than the froth of frenzied ecstasy, or even the irrational fury of the mob. Iqbal himself lauded passion (ishq) as excellent in itself, and attacked the intellect (aql) which might not have checked but guided it. It is a deeply disconcerting experience to reread his throbbing poems of uninhibited Islamic drive in

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1.vide.p.271 E.W.F.Tomlin: Great Philosophers Of The West (London,Arrow Books Ltd.,1959 reprint of Skeffington & Son Ltd. publication entitled 'The Great Philosopher: The Western World)

2.vide.p.81 H.A.R.Gibb:Modern Trends In Islam (The University of Chicago Press,1951)

the light of Muslim violence in the subsequent 1947 massacres."[1]

Iqbal's poetry and thought are so indebted to Bergson that one cannot miss the Bergsonian note in his works. Leaving aside the influences and ipressions from Bergson, one might feel attracted to discover the raison d'etre for the Bergsonian note in him. What seems to have appealed to Iqbal most is the poetic language that Bergson has used in all his works. Iqbal was basically a poet and the poet in him must have responded to the poet in Bergson. It would be advisable here to refer to the remark made by Bertrand Russell towards the close of the chapter on Bergson: "Ofcourse a large part of Bergson's philosophy, probably the part to which most of its popularity is due, does not depend upon argument, and cannot be upset by argument. His imaginative picture of the world, regarded as a poetic effort, is in the main not capable of either proof or disproof. Shakespeare says life's but a walking shadow, Shelly says it is like a dome of many-coloured glass, Bergson says it is a shell which bursts into parts that are again shells. If you like Bergson's image better, it is just as legitimate."[2] Such an imaginative picture of the world and Bergson's style full of similes and metaphors woth a mystic vein running throughout, among other factors, seem to have attracted Iqbal's attention. And this resulted in many of his ideas being absorbed by Iqbal. 'Paigham-i-Bergson' (The Message of Bergson), a short poem contained in Iqbal's Payam-i-Mashriq

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1.Wilfred Cantwell Smith: Islam In Modern History (originally Princeton University Publication, 1950) reprint: New York, The New American Library of World Literature,1963. p. 95

2.B.Russell:A History Of Western Philosophy (New York,Simon & Schuster,1964). p. 810
Note: reference should also be made to the following observation:
"The number of similes for life to be found in his works exceeds the number in any poet known to me"
vide. p.799

(The Message of the East) beautifully epitomizes what Bergson, according to Iqbal, preached:

If you desire the mystery of life to be revealed to you
Don't part company with the 'Self' as does the spark from the flame.
Don't bring forth anything but insight to observe life;
Don't pass by your home like a stranger.
That which your Intellect has mapped out is quite false;
Cultivate the Intellect that is heart-disciplined. [1]

This is perhaps a poetic avowal of the influences assimilated by Iqbal.

The next chapter is devoted to bring to [redacted] influence of Marxism on Iqbal.[2]

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1. Md. Iqbal: Pyam-i-Mashriq (reprint: Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962) p. 171 (poem: Paigham-i-Bergson)
2. Note:
In view of the opinion that Iqbal reinterpreted Islamic doctrines in terms of Nietzschean Superman and Bergson's creative evolution (vide p.94) it was thought desirable to discuss Bergson's influence in this chapter. Chronologically, Karl Marx and William James precede Bergson.

CHAPTER 10

Iqbal & Marxism

There has been a controversy about Iqbal's political allegiance. Rajendra Nath 'Sheda' refers to it in an article contributed to Government of India Urdu periodical Ajkal, Delhi. The relevant portion from the article, rendered into English, runs as follows:

"For several years there has raged a controversy about Iqbal's political thoughts. Some of Iqbal's followers maintain that the difference between the teachings of Marx and those of Iqbal is only superficial. Both of them are fed up with the present day socio-political organisations. Both of them are pained at the down-trodden condition of the people and both of them give the message of a happy future. Both of them stress the necessity of doing away with the capitalist addicted to vice and pleasure. It is undeniable that there is a sort of similarity between Iqbal and Marx but to regard this similarity as fundamental would be erroneous...."[1] The writer concludes with the remark that "... one cannot be a communist and a follower of Iqbal at the same time because their principles and ideologies are poles apart."[2]

Ghulam Rabbani 'Anis' holds the opposite view. In his article Iqbal Aur Nazaria-i-Jamhuriyat, Istrakiyat wa Ishtemaliyat (i.e. Iqbal And The Conception of Democracy, Socialism and Communism), he observes: "No revolution could succeed

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1. Rajendra Nath 'Sheda': Iqbal & Aur Istrakiyat (Iqbal & Communism), an article published in Ajkal, Delhi, December, 1948, p.4
2. Ibid, p. 10

without depredation and massacre. The Russian Revolution was born of the efforts of Lenin. ... So long as he remained alive he kept his attention concentrated on a peaceful revolution. But among the Russian revolutionists there were also people who favoured violence so that humanity might soon be saved from the tyranny of capitalism. Iqbal (as it were) is also one of such violent revolutionists. Consequently Farman-i-Khuda. Farishtaun se (i.e. a poem 'God's Command To His Angels) reflects the programme of this section"[1] This remark is followed by the following lines from Iqbal's poetry, which, as translated into English by V.G.Kiernan, are reproduced:

Rise, and from their slumber wake the poor ones of My world!
Shake the walls and windows of the mansions of the great!
Kindle with the fire of faith the slow blood of the slaves!
Make the fearful sparrow bold to meet the falcon's hate!

....

Find the field whose harvest is no peasant's bread-
Garner in the furnace every ripening ear of wheat! [2]

To look at the other side of the medal, it would perhaps be better to cite from one more critic Muhammad Azim Ferozabadi who, in his article Iqbal Ek Mufakkir Ki Haisiyat Se (Iqbal As A Philosopher), seems to bear out the view held by Rajendra Nath Sheda. Mr.Azim writes:" ... I want to bring home the fact that conception and action do not part company. It is only correct to say that thought

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1.an article published in 'Nigar' Lucknow (Annual:Iqbal Number) January, 1962, p.64
2.V.G.Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955) 48. (from Gabriel's Wing)

leads to deed but it is deed that tests, like the touchstone, whether the thought is right or wrong. Some ideologies that to a superficial view seem to be advantageous and fraught with good prospects prove utterly worthless when an attempt to translate them into action is made. ... Iqbal who soars so high in the sphere of thought stoops so low in the field of action that he accepts the title of 'Sir' (knighthood) from government. A man who desires to burn every ripening ear of wheat of the field not capable of providing the farmer with a square meal allows himself to remain a puppet in the hands of zamindars and taluqadars. ... All these mistakes were committed by him because Iqbal was not a practical man. He had before him a lofty ideal but he did not know how to act on it. ..."[1]

In short, the controversy continues raging and the c ritics in the heat of passion generated have so far overlooked one fact. Iqbal, they forget, as a poet is an eclectic genius. The influences and impressions continue coming and going. He is at one time under the influence of one and soon after another impression holds him spell-bound. He drinks deep at the fountain of western philosophy and consequently he assimilates a few things from this philosopher and a few ideas from that thinker. It is therefore no wonder that the pendulum of his ideas continues to oscillate - a fact sufficiently borne out by the divergent views expressed by him from time to time. A few such examples are given below:

"Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised if, in the course of time,

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1.an article which appeared in the Shair Bombay, Annual Number 1960, with page: 41

either Islam would devour Russia or Russia Islam..."[1]

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"Followers of Socialism are everywhere opposed to religion and spiritualism. They consider religion to be a kind of opium. The first to use this word in connection with religion was Karl Marx. I am a Muslim and, God willing, I shall die a Muslim. In my opinion, the materialistic interpretation of history is totally wrong."[2]

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But if we read the following lines from the poem 'Sarmaya Wa Mehnat' (Capital & Labour) we hear a different note:

To the workman go, the toiler, and to him this message tell:
Words not mine alone, a message that the world's four corners swell -
Oh, the crafty man of capital has devoured you flesh and fell:
On the wild deer's horns for ages your reward has run astray!
In the hand that forges all wealth he has dropped a grudging pay
As the poor receive in charity what their betters throw away.
.....
For the bourgeoisie is cunning, and from country and from creed,
Colour, culture, caste and kingships, has brewed drugs to serve its need;

1.In a letter dated July 30,1931,addressed to Sir Francis Younghusband,contained in 'Speech & Statements Of Iqbal' compiled by Shamloo (Lahore,Al-Manar Academy,1948) p. 167
2.In a letter to K.G.Saiyidain, dated 17th October 1936, contained in 'Iqbal Nama' (Letters of Iqbal) I, compiled Sh.Ataullah (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,n.d.) pp. 318, 319

For these false gods, witless victim, you have rushed
upon your doom
And been robbed of life's bright treasure for the
taste of its mad perfume.
Your sharp paymasters have swept the board, they chant
and know no shame:
You, forever unsuspecting, have forever lost the game.[1]

In short, we meet with many such utterances. But, if we make allowance for poetic imagination which in its stretch can contain irreconcialiables, such contradictions are not irreconciliable. "Imagination", says S.T.Coleridge, "sees all things in one. It reveals itself in a balance or reconcilement of opposite or discordant qualities."[2] In any poet therefore discordant qualities may be met with. There are in Iqbal notes not in unison but through his art he keeps them in balance. That he does not subscribe to communist ideology is undeniable but it is also irrefutable that there are verses that bear a clear Marxism stamp. In this connection it seems relevant to turn to Dr Ebadat Brelvi who remarks: "Among the present-day theories of social organisation communism seems to have been regarded by Iqbal as very important. He does not subscribe to it. He has fundamental differences with this ideology but inspite of all this he pays homage to its greatness. ... Communism, to Iqbal, is doubtless a way of life that aims at doing away with superficial differences in caste, creed and colour. After removing class differences it does seek to

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1.V.G.Kiernan:Poems from Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955) from the poem 'Khizar, the Guide' (tr. of Khizr-i-Rah) pp. 21 - 22

2.vide.p. 98 Clive Sansom:The World of Poetry (London, Phoenix House)

usher in a social set-up free from hostility and animosity, imperialist designs, differences between the rich and the poor, and unequal distribution of wealth. Iqbal regards all these aims and objectives of communism as important yet he does not like its connivance* at (gis) spirituality."[1] And this basis, spiritual basis, is, in the opinion of Dr Ebadat Brelvi, provided by Islam which was looked upon by Iqbal as an important humanitarian movement.[2] Whether Islam complements communism or not is another question and this work is not in the least concerned with it. But one fact emerges very clearly from the discussion that Iqbal had a clear idea of the forces released by Marxian ideology and there are in his poetry undeniable traces of its impact. On him there are several influences that at times seem to follow one another and also run concurrently and simultaneously one fact that can be borne out even by one single poem 'Khizr-i-Rah' (Khizar, the Guide) from which excerpts have already been quoted. This poem was recited in 1922 by Iqbal to the annual gathering of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam at Lahore; it is full of mythological allusions and scriptural references.[3] There is in the poem mention of Gabriel, Mecca's faith, Judgment Day but the poem as a whole leaves upon the reader's mind the impressions of Marxian ideologies as the lines already quoted would abundantly prove.

To return to the influences. There is a poem 'Lenin Khuda Ke Huzur Men' (Lenin before God). Lenin hardly needs

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1. Dr Ebadat Brelvi: Jadid Shairi (Modern Poetry), Karachi-Lahore, Urdu Duniya, 1961. pp. 188-89
   *Dr Ebadat has used the word shamm pashi which means connivance. He seems to imply 'hostility'.
2. Ibid, p. 189
3. V.G. Kiernan: Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955) vide pp. 101 - 102

introduction. He is shown in the poem as addressing God. A few lines from this poem deserve to be cited:

Let me have leave to ask this question, one
Not answered by the subtleties of the schools,
...
Oh, of what mortal race art Thou the God ?
...
Europe's pale cheeks are Asia's pantheon,
And Europe's pantheon her glittering metals.
A blaze of art and science lights the West
With darkness that no Fountain of Life dispels:
In high-reared grace, in glory and in grandeur,
The towering Bank out-tops the Cathedral roof;
What they call commerce is a game of dice:
For one, profit, for millions sweeping death.
There science, philosophy, scholarship, government,
Preach man's equality and drink men's blood;
Naked debauch, and want, an unemployment -
Are these mean triumphs of Frankish arts!
...
Engines that crush all sense of human kindness! 1

What a denunciation of Capitalism and Imperialism! Iqbal pays homage to Bolshevik Russia in a short poem contained in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses). The poem is entitled 'Bolshevik Rees', the latter is the Urdu word for Russia:

Unsearchably God's edicts move; who knows
What thoughts are stirring deep in the world - mind!
These are appointed to pull down, who lately

1.V.G.Kiernan: Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955) pp. 42 - 43 (from Gabriel's Wing)

Hold it salvation to protect, the priests;
On godless Russia the command descends:
Smite all the Baals and Dagons of the Church. 1

We meet Karl Marx in Iqbal's Javid Nama. Iqbal describes Marx as

That prophet uninspired by Gabriel,
Belonging to the race of Abraham,
The author of Das Kapital, has truth
Of the believer and the heathen's brain
..... 2

It therefore follows that he is in agreement with Karl Marx to a great extent though he does not go the whole way with him. It is an overall view and is perhaps more adequately expressed by W.C.Smith in his book Modern Islam In [redacted] Iqbal, says Smith, "never got further than thinking of religion and socialism supplementary to each other. At best he thought of them as two distinct things, of which a good society should have both. He was never able (despite his theoritical disparagement of dualism) to integrate the two; never able to see the moral and religious implications of Socialism or the correct sociological implications, today, of vital religion."[3] It seems to be a fair appraisal as the contours of Iqbal's views on socialism are a little like those held by Oscar Wilde who was 'an intensified Individualist' and even then 'demanded a Socialist state'.[4] Iqbal too, following Nietzsche, Fichte, Leibnitz and such others, lays emphasis on Ego and is thus

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1.Ibid, p.72 (from The Rod of Moses)
2.Pilgrimage of Eternity (versified tr. of Iqbal's Javid Nama) by Sh.Mahmud Ahmad (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961) p. 52 lines: 1098-1108
3.W.C.Smith: Modern Islam In India (London, Victor Gollancz, 1961) p. 114
4.vide pp. 127-28 S.J.Ervine: Oscar Wilde (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951). The writer has expressed the opinion while discussing Wilde's 'The Soul Of Man Under Socialism'.

an intensified individualist; at the same time he seems to subscribe to a few ideas included in socialist programme. However, wherever the impact of this ideology appears Iqbal seems to be in tune with Marxism note:

Call in the soul of man a new fire to birth!
Cry a new revolution over the earth! 1

It would be only too relevant to refer in this connection to the remark made by Dr Aijaz Husain in his book Naiay Adabi Rujhanat (i.e. New Literary Tendencies). Under the heading 'Istirakiyat ki Tehrik' (i.e. Communist Movement) the critic writes: When socialism became a dominant factor in Indian politics the political tendency of our poetry too was revolutionized. Poetry came to have special topics; such as, labour, peasant, poverty, unemployment, rebellion, capitalism, state, imperialism. ... Public life knocked at the citadel of literature and demanded admittance. ... Urdu Literature picked up ... so many things placed before it by socialism. New topics and new thoughts entered into literature. Its tone became optimistic instead of pessimistic; a clarion call asking the persons to rally against imperialism was given. Words were not obscure; language was clear enough; and voice vibrated with sabre-rattling ... Perhaps Iqbal referred to Russian Revolution when he said:

From the womb of this old universe a new red sun is born -
Will you listen, new men's joy in democracy's new song ? " 2

Then, in conclusion, Dr Aijaz Husain writes: "... The tone of Urdu Poetry became intense and fiery with the advent of Iqbal".[3] This tone perhaps Iqbal acquired from Marxism.

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1. V.G.Kiernan: Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955) p. 57 (the Tartar's Dream, in Gabriel's Wing)
2. vide pp. 116-18 Dr Aijaz Husain: Naiay Adabi Rujhanat Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1957 (quoted verse: Kiernan's tr.)

CHAPTER * 11

Iqbal & William James

His stay in Europe and coming into contact with the dynamic life there perhaps made Iqbal realise that "the life-force of Indian Muhammadan .... has become woefully enfeebled,"[1] thus urging him to aspire after political power; the East, since he came of a deeply religious family, ran through his veins with its religion. These two factors seem to have made him amenable to influences of so many master-minds. William James may also be included in the list.

The Urdu literary circles, not to say of Pakistan but also of India, are very touchy with regard to the tracing of western sources of Iqbal's thinking. However, passing references to the influences exercised by Nietzsche, Leibnitz, Fichte, Bergson and such others are to be met with here and there but Iqbal's indebtedness to William James has almost gone unnoticed. A philosopher like William James who neglects neither 'Here' nor 'Hereafter'[2] could not but be noticed by Iqbal.

Let us begin with Iqbal's The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam. The first chapter is entitled 'knowledge & Religious Experience'. In this chapter what Iqbal says about the 'main characteristics of mystic experience seems to have been based on William James' treatment of mysticism in his book The Varieties of Religious Experience.

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1. Thoughts & Refections of Iqbal, ed. by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964) p. 41 (from an Article by Iqbal, Hindustan Review,Vol.XX,1909)
2. vide p. 500 Will Durant: The Story of Philosophy (New York,P.B.Inc., 1957) & vide p. 964-65 B.Russell: Wisdom of the West (Greenwich,Fawcett Publication,Inc., 1964

It is a wonder why Iqbal does not refer to William James while making "a few general observations ... on the main characteristics of mystic experiences."[1] Maybe, Iqbal was himself a little shy of acknowledging the debt; he mentions the name of William James just a few sentences before describing the main characteristics of a mystic experience but the manner in which he does so does not seem to point to the observations having been influenced by James. Iqbal mentions five points out of which as many as three correspond in spirit to the observations made by William James in connection with mysticism. Let us see these:

"The first point to note is the immediacy of this experience. ... The immediacy of mystic experience simply means that we know God just we know other objects".[2] This statement made by Iqbal corresponds to what James says under 'Noetic quality': "Although so similar to states of feeling, mystical states seem to those who experience them to be also states of knowledge."[3]

Iqbal's observation that "the second point is the unanalysable wholeness of mystic experience."[4] compares with what James describes under Ineffability: " ... mystical experience are more like states of intellect. No one can make clear to another who has never had a certain feeling... One must have musical ears to know the value of a symphony.."[5]

".... mystic experience ... cannot be communicated.

1.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint). p.18
2.Ibid, p. 18
3.William James:The Varieties of Religious Experience (Collins, The Fontana Library,1960- reprint) p. 367
4.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint). p.18
5.William James:The Varieties of Religious Experience (Collins, The Fontana Library,1960 - reprint). p.367

Mystic states are more like feeling than thoughts. ... The incommunicability of mystic experience is due to the fact that it is essentially a matter of inarticulate feeling, untouched by discursive intellect"[1], says Iqbal. The words - 'inarticulate feeling, untouched by discursive intellect'- are in themselves sufficient to remind one of James' statement that "mystical states ... are states of insight into depths of truth unplumbed by the discursive intellect."[2] Besides, the incommunicability of such states is hinted at by James when he says that this experience "cannot be imparted or transferred to others."[3]

The foregoing discussion, it is evident, brings to light only a few things that Iqbal borrows from William James. As a matter of fact there are echoes from William James down the whole corridor of the structure that Iqbal has built up in the chapter entitled 'Knowledge & Religious Experience' in The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam. Now, before looking for influence from James on Iqbal's poetry let us have a look at the salient features of the thoughts of William James:

His book Pragmatism appeared in 1907. Pragmatism, as a theory, claims that ideas are true insofar as they are satisfactory, ideas must be consistent with other ideas, conformable to facts, and subject to the practical tests of experience. Man, writes William James in his Pragmatism, needs "a system that will combine both things, the scientific loyalty to facts and willingness to take account of them ,

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1.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint). pp. 20-21
2.William James:The Varieties of Religious Experience (Collins,The Fontana Library, 1960 reprint). 367
3.Ibid, 0 p.367

the spirit of adaptation and accomodation, in short, but also the old confidence in human values and the resultant spontaneity, whether of the religious or of the romantic type."[1] Thus Pragmatism as a philosophy attempts to salvage the religious values of rationalism without perverting man's many sided awareness of facts. According to James, rationalist doctrines tend to emphasise the mental at the expense of the material; the empiricist theories, on the other side, tend to occupy themselves more with the material world. Rationalist doctrines are optimistic in character and strive for unity, and favour reflection to the neglect of experiment: empiricist theories, recognising separateness in the world, are pessimistic and prefer experiment to excogitation. Those who incline towards accepting rationalist doctrines James calls tender-minded; the empiricist theories are supported by the tough-minded. His pragmatism is a method with the empiricist attitude. It does not prescribe any particular results; it indicates a way of dealing with the world. Distinctions carrying no practical differences, according to this method, are meaningless. No issue should ever be regarded as finally closed.[2] James, to quote from Masterpieces of World Philosophy, " insists on the misleading nature of of traditional metaphysical disputes. Metaphysical arguments seem to concern problems which human intellect can solve if only that intellect gets them right. Yet they are really practical problems. They are significant only when found to express hidden religious and moral issues. The

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1.William James: Pragmatism (Longmans, Green & Co.,1907) p. 20

2.vide.pp. 362-64 B.Russell:Wisdom of the West (Greenwich, Fawcett Publications, 1964

pragmatist favours a decision for free will, belief in God's existence, faith in an increasing unity in a pluralistic universe, and hope that elements of design exist as grounds for one's belief in meliorism. Faith may rightfully decide when human reason proves insufficient. The reason is that such faith expresses confidence in the promise of the future and results in beneficial consequences for our present living. James rejects metaphysical monism for moral and religious reasons. Monism implies a certain completedness about the universe even now. This completedness requires the denial of free will and, if God exists, of a worthwhile God. Nonetheless, James pluralism includes the view that many kinds of unity compose the universe. ... The world contains important unities but it is not a total unity. Some parts of the world are continuous with others, as in space-time; practical continuities appear (as in the motion of physical gravity); and there are systems of influence and noninfluence which indicate existence of casual unities. Furthermore, there are generic unities (kinds), unities of social purpose, and aesthetic unities. These are experienced. Yet, James says, we never experience 'a universe pure and simple.' Pragmatism therefore insists on a world as containing just as many communities and disjunctions as experience shows to exist. The only ultimate unity may be an absolute knower of the system. Even the system may not always be considered to be a necessary unit, since the world may exist as eternally incomplete - actually subject to addition and loss. Our knowledge of such a world grows slowly, through scientific criticism, common sense, and philosophic criticism. No one can demonstrate conclusively which, if any,

of these views of knowing is the truest. ... His major is that 'all true processes must lead to the fact of directly verifying sensible experience somewhere, which somebody's ideas have copied.' "[1]

Thus William James advocates a golden mean. He neglects neither the temporal nor the spiritual. Iqbal seems to have evinced liking for some of the viewpoints of William James. To begin with, Iqbal, when under the influence of Kant, Bergson, Hegel and such others, criticises 'Reason' but when under the influence of William James, pays 'Reason' its due also. For example, Iqbal says:

Let madness surge not in thee so
When thou dost stand at prayer;
Keep firm thy reason; do not go
With shredded raiment there. 2

William James regards philosophy as a means to an end; nothing is important unless that can gide and stimulate our terrestrial career.[3] Iqbal made assent when he says:

Philosophy is taught
By manly zeal alone,
To whet the blade of thought
Upon the world for stone.

The living spirit's trust
Is no disordered dream,
But of this scattered dust
To build a braver scheme. 4

1.vide.pp. 780-84 Masterpieces of World Philosophy, ed. by Frank N. Magill (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1963)
2.Persian Psalms (tr.of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam) by A.J.Arberry, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint). p. 108
3.vide. p. 517 Will Durant: The Story of Philosophy (New York, P.B.Inc., 1957)
4.Persian Psalms (tr. of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam) by A.J.Arberry, (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint). p. 91

Iqbal shares the idea of melioriem that occupies a place in Pragmatism of William James. For instance, Iqbal says:

Labours ever new
Make man's dust to glow;
Moon and star still do
As long time ago. 1

According to Iqbal, the passage of time implies melioration:

What was, has faded: what is, is fading; but of these
words few can tell the worth;
Time still is gaping with expectation of what is
nearest its hour of birth. 2

The doctrine of free-will, as conceived by James, plays an important role in Iqbal's works. To James, " free - will pragmatically means novelties in the world, the right to expect that in its deepest elements as well as in its surface phenomena, the future may not identically repeat and imitate the past."[3] Iqbal too regards man as a free agent. He highlights 'free - will', for example, in a poem entitled 'Taqdir' (Fate), contained in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses). Satan, in the poem, attributes his fall to God's 'fore-ordaining will'; he says to God - "The cause was Your own fore-ordaining will."[4] God, referring to these words of Satan, says to His angels:

See what a grovelling nature taught him this
Fine theorem! His not kneeling, he pretends,
Belonged to My fore-ordinance; gives his freedom
Necessity's base title; - wretch! his own
Consuming fire he calls a wreath of smoke. 5

1.Md.Iqbal:Persian Psalms(tr. of Zabur-i-Ajam) by A.J.Arberry (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint) p. 114
2.Poems From Iqbal, tr. by V.G.Kiernan (London,John Murray, 1955) p.50, poem 'Time'
3.William James:Pragmatism (Longmans,Green & Co. 1907) pp. 118-19
4.Poems From Iqbal, tr. by V.G.Kiernan (London,John Murray 1955), p. 64
5.Ibid, p. 64

The idea behind the poem is that the freedom to choose either Good or Evil is not pre-determined. Man is free in his actions.

Regarding soul and reality, there seems to be a good measure of agreement between James and Iqbal. Speaking about the Human Ego and its Freedom and Immortality Iqbal, among other things, says: "... mind and body become one in action ... the body is not a thing situated in an absolute void; it is a system of events or acts. This system of experiences we call soul or ego is also a system of acts. ... The body is accumulated action or habit of the soul; and as such undetachable from it. It is a permanent element of consciousness which, in view of this permanent element, appears from the outside as something stable. What then is matter ? A colony of egos of a low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order. ... It is the world reaching the point of self-guidance wherein the Ultimate Reality, perhaps, reveals its secret, and furnishes a clue to its ultimate nature. ..."[1] All this seems to echo the ideas of William James. Consciousness, according to James, is a flux and system of relations; it is not an entity, not a thing. It is a point at which the sequence and relationship of thoughts coincide with the relationship of things and the sequence of events. The soul is merely the sum of our mental states and it is "good or true for just so much .."[2] The noumenon is simply the total of all phenomena. "Realities mean ... either concrete facts, or abstract kinds of thing and relations perceived intuitively between them."[3]

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1. Md. Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1961 reprint) pp. 105 - 106
2 & 3. William James: Pragmatism (Longmans, Green & Co., 1907) pp. 92 & 212 respectively
& vide. p. 511 Will Durant: The Story of Philosophy (New York, P.B. Inc., 1957)

A few examples from his poetry are given below:

This is a world, that like to it,
Each boundless is, and infinite,
An image each, a fantasy,
A smoke - wave from the torch in me.

Two moments this and that endure,
I only everlasting, sure;
That of but little worth, as this
My self the sole true sein is.

This world and that my path waylay,
In this and that is less my pay;
Each my brief nest and dwelling-place -
Both let me kindly, and both raze! 1

** **

The secret of the universe is hidden in life itself
The Body too is one of the forms of life's expression. 2

** **

To say that body and soul are two separate things is
open to objection
(And) to see these as separate entities is profane. 3

Iqbal has taken only a few ideas from William James and his Pragmatism. The absorbed impressions relate to leading a life of activity. Since Iqbal desired his community to be firm in faith and to be active participant in the struggle of life it was but natural to turn to William James who neglected neither 'Here', nor 'Hereafter'.

Now we pass on to study the influence of McTaggart on Iqbal.

1.A.J.Arberry: Persian Psalms (tr. of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam) Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, reprint 1961. p. [illegible]
2.Md.Iqbal:Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden of Mystery) Delhi,Kutubkhana Nazirea, reprint-1962. p. 113
Answer to Question 3, couplet 17
3.Ibid, couplet 16

CHAPTER 12

Iqbal & McTaggart

While a student at Trinity College, Cambridge Iqbal came into contact with two famous professors of philosophy, McTaggart and James Ward.[1] After his return from England Iqbal continued writing to McTaggart and this contact was maintained till the latter's death.[2] To see how and to what extent McTaggart influenced Iqbal one has only to turn to Iqbal's article entitled 'McTaggart's Philosophy' which he contributed to 'Indian Arts & Letters (1932) and which is contained in a compilation work entitled Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal edited by S.A. Vahid.[3] This article makes useful reading because it provides the reader with many points that facilitate the understanding of McTaggart's influence. To bring out [illegible] influence, relevant portions from the article are reproduced below:

" ... McTaggart reaches the Absolute by means of Dialectic method, but he does not stop at the Absolute. The Absolute, according to him, further differentiates itself into concrete egos. The universe is not an illusion, it is a system of real selves, which cannot be regarded as mere predicates or adjectives of the Absolute. ... The point of interest in McTaggart's philosophy ... is that in his system mystical intuition, as a source of knowledge, is much more marked than in the system of Bradley. ... Mystic revelation of Reality came to him as a confirmation of his thought. ... His system

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1. vide p. 37 Iqbal Singh: The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introdction To The Life & Work of Md.Iqbal. (Orient Longmans Ltd.,1951)
2. vide.p. 118 S.A.Vahid:Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964)
   Iqbal in his article 'McTaggart's Philosophy' refers to his correspondence with McTaggart.
3. S.A.Vahid:Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Md. Ashraf,1964)

is deductive. ... He started with a firm conviction in the power of human reason, and that conviction remained with him to the end of his days. ... Another point on which I would like to say a few words is McTaggart's view of the self. ... To McTaggart the self is a real substance. He reached the Absolute through the method of Hegel. But with him the Absolute has further determinations - i.e., egos of actual experience which participate in the elemental eternity of the Absolute. ... But while I agree that the self is more than a mere predicate of the Absolute, I cannot agree with McTaggart in the view that the self is elementally immortal. ... Personally I regard immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. Man is a candidate for immortal life which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaing the tension of the ego. .. But while I disagree with McTaggart in his view of immortality, I regard this part of his work as almost apostolic. He emphasised personal immortality ... In a letter he wrote to me; ' As far as the life of the individual remains the same in the course of amplification and expression, I am inclined to think (for an European, you know can also be a mystic) that the solution rests in loving the same persons. But indeed it still seems to me, as it did when we first knew one another, that the solution of all problems is found only in love.' ... He (thus) seems to oppose love to action. I do not see the opposition. Love is not passivity. It is active and creative. Indeed, on the material plane, it is the only force which circumvents death. ... It is

capable of being experienced as a unity embracing the entire universe. But the crucial point is whether this central unity is an all-inclusive self. This was perhaps McTaggart's real difficulty. The self is unique and impervious. How could one self, however superior, include other selves ? ... The real test of a self is whether it responds to the sall of another self. Does Reality respond to us ? It does; sometimes by reflection, sometimes by reflection rising higher than itself - i.e. the act of worship... If the Ultimate Reality, i.e., love has any significance for the life of its own ego-differentiations, it must be an all - inclusive ego which [illegible], responds, loves and is capable of being loved. In McTaggart's view there is no guarantee that the process of birth, death and rebirth will be endless. On the other hand, he himself suggests in his Some Degrees of Religion that 'it may be that the process will eventually destroy itself, and merge in a perfection which transcends all time and change.' In this eventually we come back to the Absolute again, and McTaggart's system defeats its own purpose. The possibility of ego-differentiations merging again into a perfection transcending time and change must be counteracted, however remote it may be. And this can be done only by taking immortality as a hope, an inspiration, a duty, and not as an eternal fact."[1]

The foregoing excerpts bring to light how Iqbal reacts to McTaggart's philosophy; he sets forth what he appreciates in McTaggart and what he does not. He calls McTaggart : 'philosopher - saint'[2] and his philosophy as 'almost apostolic'.[3] But one should not be carried away by the notion

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1. Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal, ed. by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964). pp. 116-127
2. Ibid, p.116
3. Ibid, p.123

that Iqbal has stated or hinted at McTaggart's views clearly; in fact the description is a little confused if not misleading. McTaggart's views seem to defy any attempt to summarize them. The terms Absolute, Reality, Substance, Love, and such others have a definite connotations and he has described these in his writings here and there. However, the following paragraph from his paper entitled 'The Further Determination of the Universe' seems to provide a bird's eye-view of his thoughts:

"... It is by love only that we can fully enter into that harmony with others which alone constitutes our own reality and the reality of the universe. We conceive the universe as a spiritual whole, made up of individuals, who have no existence except as manifestations of the whole, as the whole, on the other hand, has no existence except as manifested in them. The individuals, again, find their meaning and reality only in their connection with one another. As this connection is not to be conceived as a mechanical or arbitrary collection of particulars, but as exhibiting some plan or principle, in which the self-differentiation of the universal into the particular, has become so perfect, that from the idea of the whole we could determine any part, and from any part we could determine all the others. The relation in which each individual, as subject, finds himself to the others as objects, is one in which subject and object are in perfect equilibrium and perfect harmony. And in so far as love fulfils its own ideal, it has fulfilled this ideal also. Knowledge and volition, on the other hand, only represent the true connection adequately in so as they are approximations to and abstractions from love. ... Love is not only the highest thing

in the universe, but the only thing. Nothing else has true reality, everything which has partial reality has it only as an imperfect form of the one perfection. This love cannot be what is generally called love of God. ... We can, if we choose, say that our love is in God, meaning thereby that it cannot, at its highest, be conceived as merely subjective and capricious, but that it expresses the order of the universe, and is conscious that it does so. It is more than a religion, but it must include religion. ... Love is ... the relation which binds individuals together. Each relation it establishes is part of the ultimate nature of the unity of the whole. It does not require or admit of justification or determination by anything else. It is itself the justification and determination of all things. The nearest approach to it we can know now is the love for which no cause can be given, and which is not determined by any outer relationship, of which we can only say that two people belong to one another - the love of the Vita Nuova and of In Memoriam ..."[1] This love is made more explicit by McTaggart when he says: " ... We should find ourselves in a world composed of nothing but individuals like ourselves. With these individuals we should have been brought into the closest of all relations, we should see them, each of them, to be rational and righteous. And we should know that in and through these individuals our own highest aims and ends were realised. What else does it come to ? To know another person thoroughly, to know that he conforms to one's highest standards, to feel that through him the end of one's own life is realised - is this anything but love ? "[2] This conception of love - a love

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1.Philosophical Studies, edited by S.V.Keeling (London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1934), pp. 266 - 270

2.Ibid, pp. 223 - 224

conforming to that of the Vita Nuova and devoted to the to the realisation of highest aims and ends - can hardly be called passive. Iqbal is therefore mistaken in the view that McTaggart 'seems to oppose love to action.' Besides, Iqbal, in his appraisal referred to, has brought in the question of Immortality, birth, death, re-birth it is therefore relevant to turn to McTaggart's famous work The Nature of Existence for his views on these topics.

" ... This question (i.e. whether men are immortal) is not free from ambiguity. 'Am I immortal? may mean 'Is there any future moment at which I shall cease to exist ? Or it may mean 'Shall I have an endless existence in future time ?' Affirmative answers to these questions are not contradictions, for they may both be false. If time is unreal there can be no future in which I can have an endless existence. Now this is actually the case, for time is unreal. And so, if immortality is taken in the first sense, we must affirm that all men are immortal. If, on the other, it is to be taken in the second sense, we must affirm that no man can be immortal. In which sense shall we use the word ? It is certainly desirable that it should only be used of something of great importance and significance. But, in whichever sense it is used, this would be the case. If we call ourselves immortal because we are timeless, and so cannot cease in time, we are using immortality of a quality which has the greatest importance and significance for our moral and religious life ... To regard ourselves as substances which are, and which do not cease to be is correct. And this is very much ..."[1] Immortality, in McTaggart, is

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1.J.M.E.McTaggart: The Nature of Existence, Vol.II (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1927). p. 186 McTaggart defines substance in the Vol.I. :"Something must exist .. and have qualities, without being itself either a quality or a relation" p. 68 The Nature of Existence,Vol.I. (Cambridge,At the University Press,1921)

only 'immortality of a quality' which is not the same thing as described by Iqbal. The idea behind citing from McTaggart's, works is to clear off the misconception that seems likely to have been produced if only Iqbal's article is drawn upon. Now, let us turn to Iqbal's poetry for discovering the influences from McTaggart.

We have already discussed a few aspects of Love as conceived by Iqbal: it is Bergson's elan vital[1] and is creative passion, high emotion, divine spark, enthusiasm for an ideal, ardent self-dedication, or the force that drives the individual to realise himself'[2] This conception is not at all different from that of McTaggart's. As his poetry written prior to the period of his sojourn in England and [illegible] such a conception it may be presumed that McTaggart's views had made an impact on Iqbal. A few lines from his poem '[illegible] (Philosophy of Sorrow), contained in his [illegible] (The Call of the Road) are quoted [illegible]

Love is a preface to Eternity's ageless recipe;
Man's intellect is mortal, Love is Eternal.
Love's sun puts to shame Death's evening,
Being life's spark, it lives to Eternity.
...
With the demise of the beloved love does not die;
It permeates the soul, in the form of sorrow [3]

This poem is contained in the last portion of Bang-i-Dara, which is dated: from 1908. It is the year when Iqbal returns from the continent. From this time onward his conception of

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1.vide.p. 102 (of this work)
2.vide.p. 20 " "
3.Md.Iqbal:Bang-i-Dara (Dplhi, New Taj, 1961 reprint)
p. 90. the couplets: 15,16,18 from Falsafa-i-Gham

love began to have philosophical ideas, sometimes influenced by one philosopher and sometimes by another. Let us turn to one poem entitled 'Ishq' (Love), contained in Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East):

Intellect that can cause conflagration in the world
Learns from Love the ways to illumine the world.
...
This pleasure-giving word (love) gives me ecstasy
And my heart with all its restlessness is set at rest.
The words can hardly describe the intricate meaning
of Love.
Turn to your heart awhile, perhaps you may then get
at it. 1

It would perhaps illustrate this point the more if a few examples from his earlier poetry are given:

The one who traverses the path of love
Would weep, would smile, would strip oneself of clothes,
sometimes. 2

** **

Buy for me death, if it is available:
Why do the companions pray for my life!
This disgrace excels honour (that)
The beloved has me turned out of her society. 3

** **

O Iqbal, now sing of victory:
You have sung of so many love-tales. 4

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1. Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Persian (Complete Works of Iqbal-Persian) Delhi, Kutubkhana Nazirea, 1962 reprint. pp. 102-104: Ishq (Pyam-i-Mashriq), couplets- 1,3,4.
2. Sarood-i-Rafta (containing the poems not available in Iqbal's works), edited by Ghulam Rasool Mehr & Sadiq Ali Dilawari Lahore, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, [illegible], p. 148 first couplet,
3. Ibid, p.144, couplet 4,5, Ghazal beginning 'Jan de kar ...'
4. Ibid, p.154, the last couplet, from the Ghazal beginning from p. 153

O Separation, the recipe of death has not yet been availed of,
The physician who says that mine is a hopeless case is certainly mad. 1

In the later poetry such examples as quoted above can hardly be met with; love becomes a sustained note after his return from Europe, and comes to have philosophical connotations traceable to Bergson, Hegel, Kant, McTaggart and others.

Now, let us take up Time and Immortality. Iqbal's conception of Time as influenced by Bergson has already been dealt with; under Bergson's influence he begins to hold that the ultimate reality is [illegible] flows.[2] On the other hand, to McTaggart Time is unreal. And in the poetry [illegible] 1905 and 1908 there are many lines to support that Iqbal regards time and existence as unreal. For example -

Beauty asked God each day
This question: [illegible]
Didst Thou not make me, in Thy world, undying ?'
And God replying -
'A picture show is this world: all this world
A tale out of the long night of not-being;
And in it, seeing
Its nature works through mutability,
That only is lovely whose essence knows decay'. 3

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1. [illegible]qbal: Bang-i-Dara (The call of the Road), a couplet from Ghazal 8, from the portion written upto 1905. (Delhi, New Taj, 1961 reprint), p.61
2. vide, pp. 98 - 104 of this work
3. Poems From Iqbal, tr. by V.G.Kiernan (London, John Murray, 1955) p. 10, Beauty's Essence (tr. of 'Haqiqat-i-Husn')

Regarding Iqbal's conception of Time it would perhaps be relevant to refer to an article entitled Iqbal ka Nazaria-i-Zaman (Iqbal's conception of Time) by Shabbir Ahmad Ghori. Discussing whether Iqbal regards Time as real or unreal Mr. Ghori writes: " ... In so far as his (Iqbal's) poetic ideas are concerned these are a little more poetic; these are more dominated by sentiments than thoughts and deliberations. And therefore it cannot be asserted that these are his serious thoughts. It would perhaps be not irrelevant to say that there is a little confusion in the conceptions of Time [illegible] Iqbal's poetic works and these conceptions are contradictory..."[1] In support of his contention Mr. Ghori quotes a couplet from Iqbal's poem 'Laa-ilaaha il-laahoo' (There is no God save Him), contained in Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses). The couplet in English translation runs as follows:

> Intellect is subject to the heresy of Time and Space;
> (For) there is neither Time nor Space.(As a matter of fact) there is no God save Him. [2]

Mr. Ghori comes to the conclusion that " in view of Iqbal's changing thought it would be hardly proper to attempt to construct a conception of Time".[3] This is due to the fact that Iqbal in his poetry is a poet, and not a philosopher. It is therefore no wonder that in one poem he gives expression to one thought and in the other, another thought. He is a poet first and philosopher afterwards: a poet can hardly be consistent. He himself admits:

1.Shabbir Ahmad Ghori: Iqbal ka Nazaria-i-Zaman
article published in Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu Weekly
'Hamari Zuban', April 1, 1961
2.Md.Iqbal:Zarb-i-Kalim
p. 235 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, (Complete Urdu Works of
Iqbal) Delhi, New Taj reprint
3.as against:1

O Iqbal, What a combination of contradictions you
are!
Sometimes you are in company, and sometimes all
alone as well. 1

Now, coming to Immortality, Iqbal, in his article on McTaggart, asserts that he, unlike McTaggart, regards Immortality as an inspiration. That might be his view and faith but his poetry offers many examples which would only contradict him. For example -

Don't say that death brings a message of love and
ecstasy:
Don't tempt me with the heavenly wine.
...
That Heaven is an abode of peace is undoubtedly
correct,
But this message is hardly beneficial to the
youth.
How long should youth wait for pleasure!
The pleasure which is awaited can hardly be described
as pleasure. 2

Iqbal's regarding Immortality as inspiration is therefore nothing but a second thought on his part. Immortality, in the opinion of McTaggart, is 'immortality of a quality'[3] and, in the view held by Iqbal, is 'inspiration'[4]. There seems to be no difference in the idea behind these two expressions; 'immortality of a quality' may also be construed as 'inspiration'. Iqbal seems to have come upon this notion through McTaggart or Whitehead or both McTaggart and Whitehead.[5] To illustrate that he regards Immortality as

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1.Md.Iqbal: Bang-i-Dara (The call of the Road), the first couplet of the poem 'Aashiq-i-Harjai' (Inconstant Lover)- Section: poems written between 1905-1908.
p. 78,Delhi:New Taj, 1961 reprint
2.Ibid,p.78 couplets: 1,4,5 Poem:Ishrat-i-Imrooz
3.vide,p.135 of this work
4.vide,p.131 " "
5.This work contains a chapter 'Iqbal & Whitehead'

inspiration, Iqbal has quoted a portion of his poem Gulshan-i Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden of Mystery) in the article of 'McTaggart Philosophy'. A few lines are given below:

It is possible to give wings to a mere spark,
And to make it flutter for ever and for ever!
The Eternity of God is elemental and not the reward
of His action!
That eternity is superior, which a borrowed soul
Wins for herself by love's frenzy.
Why fear that death which comes from without ?
For when the 'I' ripens into a self,
It has no danger of dissolution.
There is a more subtle inner death which makes me
tremble.
This death is falling down from love's frenzy,
Saving one's spark and not giving it away freely
to the heaps of chaff. 1

Besides, M.M.Sharif testifies to the fact that " in about 1908 ... Iqbal begins to appreciate McTaggart's conception of personal immortality".[2] In view of Iqbal's cherishing 'personal reminiscences' and having 'the good fortune of coming into contact with'[3] McTaggart, it is no wonder that Iqbal assimilated many of McTaggart's ideas.

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1. Md.Iqbal: McTaggart's Philosophy, an article contained in Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal compiled by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964) p.123 (English translation of Persian verses by Iqbal himself)
2. Iqbal As A Thinker (Essays by Eminent Scholars), Lahore: Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960. p.111, article:Iqbal's Conception Of God, by M.M.Sharif.
3. Md.Iqbal: McTaggart's Philosophy, an article contained in Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal, compiled by S.A. Vahid (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964), p. 116

CHAPTER 13

Iqbal & Whitehead

Dr Sinha's remark - Iqbal reads into the Koran "as much of modern knowledge and philosophy as he himself had been able to assimilate"[1] - may well be applied to Iqbal's poetry as well. Iqbal as a matter of fact falls for every philosopher whose writings have a metaphysical vein running through them. In his prose-work The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam, Iqbal quotes Whitehead as saying that " the ages of faith are the ages of rationalism" and then proceeds to remark:"While sitting in judgment on religion philosophy cannot give religion an inferior place among its data. ... In the evaluation of religion, philosophy must recognise the central position of religion and has no other alternative but to admit it as something focal in the process of reflective synthesis. Nor is there any reason to suppose that thought and intuition are essentially opposed to each other ... "[2] This seems to call for a short resume of Whitehead's views, especially these having an impact on Iqbal's poetry:

Whitehead's philosophy brings to light the 'Modern Dilemma, the dilemma of a split man' and throws a bridge over the gulf between what he calls a'subjective half' (including the mind and the secondary qualities which it originates) and 'an objective half' (including a substratum of matter characterised by the primary qualities .. measurable

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1.Dr S.Sinha: Iqbal, The Poet & His Message (Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal, 1947) p. 153
2.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam) (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint). p.2

by mathematics). His is a theory of the world based on metaphysical reflection and scientific observation. He refutes the subjective-objective distinction. According to him, subjective-objective-perception constitutes true knowledge. For example, the mind of the man (or subjective sphere) and the primary qualities of the rose (i.e. objective sphere) are not two spheres. They, according to Whitehead, would form a unity; namely, the man-seeing-the rose. In this 'way, the bifurcation of nature' is wholly unacceptable to him. "An occasion of experience", writes Whitehead, "is an activity analysable into the modes of functioning which jointly constitute its process of becoming. Each mode is analysable into the total experience as active subject and into the thing, an object with which the special activity is concerned. This thing is a datum, that is to say, is describable without reference to its entertainment in that occasion. Thus subject and object ... are relative terms. An occasion is a subject in respect to its special activity concerning an object; and anything is an object in respect to its provocation of some special activity within a subject. Such a mode of activity is termed a prehension. .... All knowledge is conscious discrimination of objects experienced. But this conscious discrimination is nothing more than an additional factor in the subjective form of the interplay of subject with object."[1] Thus no knowledge would be complete without taking into consideration relatedness between subjective and objective and this relatedness consists in perception. This notion of

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1. Whitehead: Adventures of Ideas (Cambridge University Press, 1947). pp. 226 - 228

relatedness is the corner-stone of his philosophy. He applies this notion to 'finite' and 'infinite' also. Apart from the finite, he holds, the infinite is devoid of meaning. Infinitude in itself is meaningless and valueless; it comes to have meaning and value by its embodiments of finite entities. This notion of relatedness' or 'togetherness' is applied by him to the universe as well. The universe is 'a hierarchy of societies: the society of electrons that go to form an atom, the society of atoms that go to form a molecule, and so on up to human society and the even higher society of minds. Besides, along with intellect he takes into account intuition, passions, instincts, impulses and emotions. Otherwise,not only knowledge would cease to exist but also the whole edifice of culture and civilisation would collapse like a house of cards. He teaches us to be aware of the massive emotional currents which are working to produce a new life for society. He advises us to look below the superficialities of sense experiences that we may become aware of the deeper relationships which bring security to the individual because they bind him to his fellow men and to his God..God is the spirit of love and reason; God is the great companion, a fellow-sufferer who understands. Whitehead invites us to think of religion as essentially an experience of growth. The worship of God, according to him, should imply the companionship of all free participants in the unity of adventure. Religion should teach us duty and reverence.

In his words, "a religious education is an education which inculcates duty and reverence. Duty arises from our potential control over the course of events. ... (The) foundation of reverence is this perception, that the present holds within itself the complete sum of existence, backwards and forwards, that whole amplitude of time, which is eternity."[1] The religious vision is poetically described by Whitehead. He says: " (Religion) is the vision of something which stands beyond, behind, and within, the passing flux of immediate things; something which is real, and yet waiting to be realized; something which is a remote possibility, and yet the greatest of present facts; something that gives meaning to all that passes, and yet eludes apprehension; and yet is beyond all reach; something which is the ultimate ideal, and the hopeless quest."[2] Thus one cannot but agree with the view that the "basic principles of our knowledge and experience, physical, biological, sociological, aesthetic, religious, are in this (Whitehead's) philosophy given an intellectual integration".[3]

All this seems to have attracted Iqbal's attention for he himself likes religion to be included in knowledge and his making a reference to Whitehead's giving a central position to religion is an instance in point. It may also be mentioned that McTaggart, with whom Iqbal read Philosophy at Trinity College[4], had intimate relations with Whitehead and McTaggart

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1. Whitehead: The Aims Of Education (New York, The New American Library, Mentor Book, n.d.) p. 26
2. Whitehead: Science & The Modern World (New York, 1926 - with by permission of the Macmillan Co., & Cambridge University Press) p.267
3. vide p. 41 C.Hartshorne: Whitehead's Metaphysics, contained in Whitehead & The Modern World (Boston, The Boston Press, 1950)

** NOTE - Besides the books mentioned, the resume [illegible] contains points gleaned from the following:

W.F.Tomlin: Great Philosophers of The West (London, Arrow Books, 1959) pp.278-79

The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead, ed. by P.A.Schilpp (Northwestern University, New York, 1951) - the essays utilized:

L.S.Bixler: Whitehead's Philosophy of Religion.
Whitehead: Immortality, & 'Mathematics & The Good
S.C.Northrop: Whiteheads's Philosophy of Science.

4. vide p.116 S.A.Vahid: Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964)

had invited the latter's valuable criticism on several chapters of his famous work The Nature of Existence[1]. It may therefore be presumed that Iqbal too should have had some contact with Whitehead. Contact or no contact, it cannot be gainsaid that Iqbal had studied Whitehead's writings as evident from the reference made to him in The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam.[2] Now, a few instances from Iqbal's poetry are given below:

Iqbal too, like Whitehead, does not acquiesce in 'bifurcation of nature.' He says -

> To regard Body and Soul as two entities is wrong;
> It is profane to look at them as two.
> The mystery of the universe is hidden in the soul;
> Body is one of the modes of expression of the soul.[3]

There is a short poem entitled 'Jan wa Tan' (Life & Body) in which unity of Life and Body is emphasized:

> Since long Intellect has been grappling with the dilemma:
> What is the essence of the soul and that of the body ?
> ...
> What is the affinity existing between Word and Meaning? What is the association between Life (soul) and Body ?
> It is comparable to the relation between embers and ashes. [4]

This soul-and-body unity, it may be argued, might have come

1.vide.preface McTaggart: The Nature of Existence, Vol. I (Cambridge University Press, 1921)
2.vide.p. 142 of this work
3.Md.Iqbal:Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid (The New Garden Of Mystery) Delhi: Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962 reprint. p. 113, from Answer to Question 8
4.Md.Iqbal:Zarb-i-Kalim (The Rod of Moses) p. 285 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu (Complete Urdu Works of Iqbal) Delhi, New Taj

to Iqbal from the study of Muslim metaphysics. The question is doubtless difficult and calls for a penetrating look. There are many schools of Sufism (Islamic Mysticism), and it is hardly possible to attempt a resume here. But a look at the following paragraph, which is described by F.Hadland Davis as 'Sufiism in prose', would be useful in the context:

"The wise man recognise the idea of the Good within him. This he develops by withdrawal into the Holy Place of his own soul. He who does not understand how the soul contains the Beautiful within itself, seeks to realise beauty without, by laborious production. His aim should rather be to concentrate and simplify, and so to expand his being; instead of going out into the Manifold, to forsake it for the One, and so to float upwards towards the Divine Fount of Being whose stream flows within him."[1]

Attention is also invited to the following lines of Rumi:

Conceive the Soul as a fountain, and these
created things as rivers:
While the Fountain flows, the rivers run from it.
Put grief out of your head and keep quaffing
this River-water;
Do not think of the Water failing, for this water
is without end. [2]

** **

This is Love: to fly heavenward,
To rend, every instant, a hundred veils.
The first moment, to renounce life;

1.vide.p. 4 F.Hadland Davis: The Persian Mystics, Jalalu'd-din Rumi (Sh.Md.Ashraf, Lahore,n.d.)

This is a quotation from the letter of Plotinus to Flaccus on Ecstasy. Davis describes it as 'Sufuism in prose' because of similarities between this Greek and Sufi teachings. Note: Davis writes Sufism with two i's (i.e. Sufiism)

2.Ibid, p.46, lines from Rumi's Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabris

The last step, to fare without feet.
To regard this world as invisible,
Not to see what appears to one's self. 1

** **

Nothing is bitterer than severance from Thee,
Without Thy shelter there is naught but perplexity.
Our worldly goods rob us our heavenly goods,
Our body rends the garment of our soul.
Our hands, as it were, prey on our feet;
Without reliance on Thee how can we live? 2

There is hardly any reference to the soul-and-body unity. The idea that the association between Soul and Body 'is comparable to the relation between embers and ashes' seems to point to Iqbal's drawing on Whitehead's views. According to Whitehead, body influences mind, but mind affects what the body does.[3] Whitehead suggests a look within our experience.[4] Iqbal too advises to look within but for this he is perhaps not indebted to Whitehead. Urdu and Persian poetry is replete with expressions bearing on spirituality through Wajdan (intuition). Iqbal might have got this idea through traditional channels but he must have paid to it more concentrated attention when he came upon such ideas in philosophers like Bergson, Whitehead and such others.

The study of religion since the beginning of this century has been at a discount; it was rather regarded as a hindrance to the acquisition of knowledge. Whitehead did, in this connection, yeoman's service;he described religion as one of

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1.Anthology of Islamic Literature (Penguin Books,1964), ed. by James Kritzeck
p. 257 (lines from Rumi's Shams-i Tabriz)
2. vide p. 97,F.Hadland Davis: The Persian Mystics, Jalalu'd-din Rumi (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,n.d.)
lines from Rumi's Masnavi
It may be recalled that Iqbal regards Rumi as his preceptor.
3.vide, p.496, The Philosophy Of Alfred North Whitehead (Northwestern University,New York Tudor Publishing Co.,1951) article:Whitehead's Philosophy of Religion by Julia Seelye Bixler.
4.Ibid, p.496

the constituents of knowledge. To quote from him, "philosophy frees itself from the taint of ineffectiveness by its close relations with religion and with science, natural and socio-logical. It attains its chief importance by fusing the two, namely, religion and science, into one rational scheme of thought. Religion should connect the rational generality of philosophy with the emotions and purposes springing out of existence in a particular society, in a particular epoch, and conditioned by particular antecedents. ... Philosophy finds religion, and modifies it; and conversely religion is among the data of experience which philosophy must weave into its own scheme."[1] Iqbal since the time of his sojourn in Europe began to emphasize role of religion; his poetry written before this period has no such emphasis. This was perhaps due to the influence of McTaggart, Whitehead and such others. It may, however, be noted that they do not talk of any particular religion but Iqbal seems to think in terms of a particular religious belief and experience. Let us now turn to a few examples from Iqbal's poetry:

Where should a search for mature thought be made
(When) this age is such as keeps every thing immature ?
The school no doubt frees the intellect
But does nothing to give coherence or system to ideas.
Being irreligious, Love in West is lifeless;
Being incoherent, Reason in the East is in bondage. 2

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Devoid of love and with Reason coiled round him
snake-like
(The modern man) could not bring his Intellect under
the sway of intuition.

1.Whitehead: Process & Reality (New York, The Social Science Stores,1941 reprint) p. 23
2.Md.Iqbal:Zarb-i-Kalim
from poem 'Asr-i Hazir (The Modern Age)
p.266 Kulliyat-i Iqbal, Urdu, (Complete Urdu Works of Iqbal) Delhi, New Taj.

What a wonder! the explorer of the ways to planets
Could not explore the world of his experiences.
So enmeshed in his mode of thinking did he become
That he failed to distinguish between loss and gain.
The one who made the sun's rays captive
could not dispel darkness from his life. 1

All these lines underline the necessity of providing a religious or spiritual background to philosophical thinking. The ideas set forth in the above-quoted lines seem to owe their being to what Iqbal says about Whitehead in his The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam,[2] on [illegible] view that religion cannot be ignored by philosophy; he has therefore striven to point out the imperative concomitant of knowledge, that is, spiritual insight.

One more point deserves attention - the problem of immortality.[3] Iqbal in an article writes: 'Personally I regard immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. Man is a candidate for immortal life which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaing the tension of the ego. I venture here to translate for the English [illegible] reader one or two passages from my poem called The New Garden of Mystery:

If you say that the 'I' is a mere illusion -
An appearance among other appearances -
Then tell me who is the subject of this illusion ?
Look within and discover.
The world is visible;

1.Md.Iqbal:Zarb-i-Kalim, poem: Zamana-i Hazir Ka Insan vide p. 280 Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu (Complete Urdu Works of Iqbal) Delhi: New Taj
2.Please see page: [illegible]
3.Please see page: 140 regarding Iqbal's conception of immortality as inspiration.

Not even the intellect of an angel can comprehend
it;
The 'I' is Truth, it is no illusion.
When it ripens, it becomes eternal
Lovers, even though separated from the Beloved,
live in blissful union.
It is possible to give wings to a mere spark,
And to make it flutter for ever and for ever!
The Eternity of God is elemental and not the reward
of His action!
That eternity is superior, which a borrowed soul
Wins for herself by love's frenzy.
Why fear that death which comes from without?
For when the 'I' ripens into a self,
It has no danger of dissolution.
There is a more subtle inner death which makes me
tremble.
This death is falling down from love's frenzy,
Saving one's spark and not giving it away freely to
the heaps of chaff. 1

This is a portion of the article published in'Indian Arts & Letters,1932. What is important here is the view that Iqbal holds about Immortality which to him is inspiration alone. This too seems to be more or less an adaptation from Whitehead whose ideas in regard to Immortality point to its being an inspiration. A cursory look at Whitehead's views on the topic would perhaps be appropriate. Relevant

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1.Md.Iqbal: McTaggart's Philosophy, an article contained in Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964), edited by S.A.Vahid. pp.122-23

Note: Attention is invited to the fact that Iqbal held many such views as were hardly in keeping with orthodox opinion. For example, his view that 'Heaven and hell are states, not localities...'(vide. p.123 The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam), makes Alfred Guillaume observe:" It hardly needs saying that all this comes perilously near heresy in Islam."(vide. p.162 Islam, published by Penguin Books,1964)

portions from a lecture delivered by Whitehead are reproduced below:

" ... all entities or factors in the universe are essentially relevant to other's existence. A complete account lies beyond our conscious experience ... There is finitude - unless this were true, infinity would have no meaning. This contrast of finitude and infinity arises from the fundamenatal metaphysical truth that every entity involves an indefinite array of perspectives, each perspective expressing a finite characteristic of that entity. The infinitive background always remains as the unanalysed reason why that finite perspective of that entity has the special character that it does have. ... The two [illegible](Immortality and Mortality) refer to two aspects of the Universe, aspects which are presupposed in every experience which we enjoy. I will term these aspects "The Two Worlds". They require each other, and together constitute the concrete Universe... Description of one world includes characterizations derived from the other. ... .. 'evaluation expresses the elucidation of one of the a[illegible] abstractions by reference to the other. ... The world which emphasizes the multiplicity of mortal things is the World of Activity. ... It is the Creative World. It creates the Present by transforming the Past, and by anticipating the Future. When we exphasize sheer Active Creation, the emphasis is upon the Present - namely 'Creative Now' ... And yet Activity loses its meaning when it is reduced to 'mere creation new': the absence of Value destroys and possibility of reason. 'Creation New' is a matter of fact which is one aspect of the Universe ... The

notions of Past and Future are then ghost within the fact of the Present. The World which emphasizes Persistence is the World of Value. Value is in its nature timeless and immortal. Its essence is not rooted in any passing circumstances. The immediacy of some mortal circumstance is only valuable because it shares in the immortality of some value. The value inherent in the Universe has an essential independence of any moment of time; and yet it loses its meaning apart from its necessary reference to the World of passing fact. Value refers to Fact, and Fact refers to Value.... These worlds are abstractions from the Universe; and every abstraction involves reference to the totality of existence. There is no self-contained abstraction. ... Thus the World of Value must be conceived as active with the adjustment of the potentialities for realization. ..."[1]

Thus, as the excerpts would show, Immortality, according to Whitehead, is'an abstraction relative to another abstraction; and this connotes 'the adjustment of the potentialities for realisation. Towards the middle of his lecture, Whitehead equates such adjustments with 'our moral and aesthetic judgment.'[2] It would therefore be right to conceive of Immortality as an inspiration. Iqbal, in all likelihood, must have imbibed this view from Whitehead as the Holy Koran itself does not regard it as an inspiration. The Holy Koran is explicit enough: 'How disbelieve ye in Allah when ye were dead and He gave life to you! Then he will give you death, then life again, and

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1.Whitehead: Immortality, a lecture contained in 'The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead' ed. by P.A.Schilpp (Northwestern University, New York, Tudor Publishing Co., 1951) pp. 682 - 85
2.Ibid, p.685

then unto Him ye will return.'[1]

In the foregoing excerpts from Whitehead's lecture there is one more thing worthy of notice. Whitehead's 'Creative Now' and his view that 'the notions of Past and Future are ... ghost within the fact of the Present.' seem to have attracted Iqbal. A reference to Iqbal's 'Pure time' would bring out his indebtedness to Whitehead. Iqbal says: "Pure time ... is not a string of separate, reversible instants; it is an organic whole in which the past is not left behind, but is moving along with, and operating in, the present. And the future is given to it not as lying before ... it is given only in the sense that it is present in its nature as an open possibility..."[2] It is thus almost the same view as Whitehead holds. This may be attributed to Bergson's influence also. The fact is that Whitehead has several things in common with with Bergson.[3] It seems [illegible] that Iqbal is drawn to the view of one, influenced by that of the other. References to Iqbal's poetry are therefore not necessary as these would be the same as have already been given in connection with Bergson's Duration.[4]

1.vide.p.36 Mahammed Marmaduke Pickthall: The Meaning of Glorious Koran (New York, A Mentor Religious Classic,1961 reprint), lines: II : 28

2.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint), p. 40

Note: Attention is also invited to p. 250 Abdul Majeed Salik: Zikr-i-Iqbal (Iqbal's biography), Lahore,Bazm-i Iqbal,n.d.,Preface dated:June 1,1955.
During the course of his conversation with Bergson, whom he met at Paris, Iqbal described Time as [illegible]'

3.vide,p.205 The Philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (North-western University,New York,Tudor Publishing Co.,1951) ed. by P.A. Schilpp. from article 'Whitehead's Philosophy of Science by Filmer S.C.Northrop (Yale University, Deptt.of Philosophy)

4.[illegible] pp.98-99 of this work

CHAPTER 14

Iqbal & Einstein

In his book Iqbal, His Art And Thought, S.A. Vahid makes a passing reference to Iqbal and Einstein. He says: " ... Einstein has shown that the conception of an absolute Time and an absolute Space is untenable both on theoritical and experimental grounds. According to the Theory of Relativity, Time and Space are not absolute and separate from each other, but relative and mutually dependent. According to this theory, the universe does not consist of two separate categories, Time and Space, but of a single Space-Time continuum. Consequently our three - dimensional world has now become four-dimensional, because in addition to length, breadth and height we require time to determine an event completely. For Einstein, Space-Time is real but relative to the observer. Iqbal is in general agreement with the Theory of Relativity, but he raises an objection to the theory regarding Time as a fourth dimension of Space. According to Iqbal this would mean that the future is as indubitably fixed as the past, and Time would cease to be a free creative movement. This is not a correct view of the Theory of Relativity, for it does not regard Time as a fourth dimension of Space, but of the Space-Time continuum. But Iqbal proceeds to analyse further aspects of Time which the theory does not consider. For instance, he agrees with Bergson about duration in Time ..."[1] Presumably S.A.Vahid

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1.S.A.Vahid: Iqbal, His Art & Thought (London, John Murray, 1959) pp. 101 - 102 from chapter: Iqbal & Western Thought.

bases his observations on what Iqbal says about Einstein in his work The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam[1]. Mention should also be made of Iqbal's clear confession that it is not possible "for us laymen to understand what is the real nature of Einstein's Time."[2] However he concludes that "it is obvious that Einstein's time is not Bergson's pure duration."[3] He regards Einstein's theory as significant from two standpoints. "First, it destroys, not the objectivity of Nature, but the view of substance as simple location in space - a view which led to materialism in Classical Physics.... Secondly, the theory makes space dependent on matter. The universe, according to Einstein, is not a kind of island in an infinite space; it is finite but boundless; beyond it there is no empty space. In the absence of matter the universe would shrink to a point."[4] In one of his articles Iqbal describes Einstein as a scientist justifying metaphysics. He writes: "Happily it is not a Metaphysician but a scientist who justifies Metaphysics - I mean Einstein, who has taught us that the knower is intimately related to the object known, and that the act of knowledge is a constitutive element in the objective reality, thus confirming in a sense, the idealistic position of Kant."[5]

As a matter of fact, as pointed out by Hans Reichenbach, "Einstein's philosophy is not so much a philosophical system as a philosophical attitude; apart from occasional remarks, he left it to others to say what philosophy his equations

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1.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1962 reprint), pp. 37-39
2.Ibid, p.39
3.Ibid, p.39
4.Ibid, p.38
5.Md.Iqbal: Self In The Light of Relativity,an article contributed to Crescent,Lahore and contained in Thoughts & Reflections Of Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964) edited by S.A.Vahid. p. 111

entail and thus remained a philosopher by implication, so to speak."[1] It is consequently not at all easy to give a resume of his 'philosophical attitude.' However the points which seem to have appealed to Iqbal are given below, along with examples from his poetry.

1. The conception of time and space as propounded by Einstein is unique. His theory of relativity, in the words of Hans Reichenbach, "shows that space and time are neither ideal objects nor forms of order necessary for the human mind. They constitute a relational system expressing certain general features of physical objects and thus are descriptive of the physical world."[2] This is what Gaston Bachelard calls "the coupling of ... rationalism and realism."[3] Thus our three-dimensional world, as described by Mr.Vahid, becomes four-dimensional; and that space-time is real but relative to the observer. "The object observed," says Iqbal, "is varible; it is relative to the observer; its mass, shape and size change as the observer's position and speed change. Movement and rest, too, are relative to the observer."[4] Whatever the scientific and philosophical implications of the theory, the 'space-time' concept seems to have an impact on Iqbal. In his Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity) he introduced Zarvan embodying the spirit of time and space. There is in the work a section devoted to Zarvan entitled

Zarvan, The Spirit of Time and Space, carries
The Pilgrim to the Universe above. 5

1.vide. p.291 Hans Reichenbach:Philosophical Significance of Relativity, contained in Albert Einstein:Philosopher-Scientist (New York,Tudor Publishing Co.,1951) ed. by Paul Arthur Schilpp, Northwestern University.
2.Ibid. vide p.302
3.vide. p.575 Gaston Bachelard: Philosophic Dialection Of Relativity, contained in Albert Einstein:Philosopher-Scientist (New York,Tudor Pub.Co.1951)ed.by Paul Arthur Schilpp, Northwestern University.
4.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint) p.87
5.Pilgrimage of Eternity (tr.of Iqbal's Javid Nama) (Lahore,Institute of Islamic Culture,1961)by Sh.Muhammad Ahmad

Iqbal makes Rumi advise:

"Fear not the skies nor fear this space, but cast
Thine eye on space and time which are two forms
Of life. For time was born when life did love
Confront. The seed that's buried in the earth
That it can grow and blossom forth, The urge
To grow gives it its rank, its longing is
The essence of its being and its self.
(lines: 344 - 351) 1

Iqbal proceeds to depict Zarwan as follows:

" ..... From East
To West I gazed and found the sky all draped
In clouds of light from which a spirit rose,
With faces two: this one like fire, that one
Like smoke, that one as dark as night, this one,
Closed on that. His wings were all the hues:
Red, green and yellow, silvery and pink.
And motion did belong to him like thought
That ever linked the earth to Milky Way.
Each instant he conceived a new desire
To cross fresh climes and regions of the air.
He said, "Zarwan I am, who holds the world
In thrall, at once concealed and visible.
(lines: 367 - 380) 2

Zarwan is thus portrayed in a dual light, symbolising the spirit of space and time. Before proceeding to other influences it seems to be interesting to note that Iqbal

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1.Ibid, pp. 16-17
2.Ibid, p. 18

has perhaps picked up Zravan[1] (meaning eternity) or Zurvan[2] (meaning infinite time) of Zoroastrian conception since in Islamic mythology he is not to be met with. Iqbal has added space to time and thus his Zarwan becomes more or less Einstein's Space-Time Continuum embodied.

2. Along with Theory of Relativity Einstein propounded what is called the Quantum Theory. The Quantum Theory shows Energy as having Inertia as well. This 'inertia' is what is commonly known as 'weight'[3]. Einstein obliterates, so to say, the line of demarcation between energy and matter. Energy and matter, to him, imply one and the same thing; they are two different states of it. For example, water and ice are two different states of the same substance. He discovered a formula, and in accordance with it matter can be transformed into energy, and energy into matter. Between matter and energy, therefore, there is no intrinsic difference. This is the long and the short of the various articles contained in the book Albert Einstein: Philosopher-Scientist.[4] The summary given in Pears Cyclopaedia (1957 - 1958) may also be glanced at:" ... Einstein ... showed, mass is also relative. Now, classical physics distinguished between mass (which is a measurement of inertia, and was supposed to be a fixed amount), and weight (which varies from place to place). The mass of a body, the quantity of substance it contains, was theoritically invariable: its weight, which depends upon gravitation, was not. Thus a pound of butter at the equator weighs slightly less than the same

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1.vide.p.31 E.S.Dadabhai Bharucha: Zoroastrian Religion & Customs (Bombay,D.B.Taraporevala Sons & Co.,1928)
'In the Avesta we meet with two expressions,viz. Zravan Akarana and Daregho-Khvadhata. The first means Time without bound, i.e.Eternity, and the second signifies Time with long periods,i.e. a portion of time carved out of Eternity.."
2.Vide.p: 65 G.Parrinder:The World's Living Religions (Pan Books Ltd., London,1964)
3.vide.p.65 Albert Einstein:Relativity (University Paperbacks, Methuen & Co.London,1964) Tr.by Robert W.Lawson.
4.Edited by P.A.Schilpp,Northwestern University, (New York, Tudor Publishing Co.,1951
Articles drawn upon: (see the next page, foot-note)

amount in England, and at the North pole it would weigh slightly more. ... But, although this observation still remains true within any system moving at a constant velocity, Einstein has proved that mass increases with velocity... But Einstein's demonstration of the relativity of mass held an even more significant implication... this is the seemingly innocuous implication that energy has mass..."[1] Iqbal seems to have known most of these ideas as would be evident from the remarks made by him:

"The theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the universe and suggests new ways of looking at the problems common to both religion and philosophy."[2]

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" ... Physics ... has eventually found reason to break its own idol, and the emirical attitude which appeared to necessitate scientific materialism has finally ended in a revolt against matter. Since objects, then, are not subjective states caused by something imperceptible called matter, they are genuine phenomena which constitute the very substance of Nature and which we know as they are in nature. But the concept of matter has received the greatest blow from the hand of Einstein - another eminent physicist, whose discoveries have laid the foundation of a far-reaching revolution in the entire domain of human

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(continued from previous page)

Victor F.Lenzen: Einstein's Theory of Knowledge.
Leopold Infeld: General Relativity & The Structure of Our Universe.
Max Von Laue: Inertia & Energy

1.vide.pp.168-69 Pears Cyclopaedia, sixty-sixth edition, 1957-1958
2.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint) p.8

thought. The Theory of Relativity by merging time into space-time,... has damaged the traditional notion of substance more than all the arguments of the philosophers. Matter, for common sense, is something which persists in time and moves in space. But for the modern relativity-physics this view is no longer tenable. A piece of matter has become not a persistent thing with varying states, but a system of inter-related events..."[1]

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"He (Einstein) rejects the Newtonian concept of an absolute space... There is ... no such thing as a self - subsistent materiality of classical physics."[2]

The foregoing observations show that Iqbal came to have a liking for Einstein's views. Some of these views are also reflected in his poetry. Let us turn to a few verses:

What is the world? The temple of my thought,
The seen projection of my wakeful eye;
Its far horizons, instant to espy,
A circle by my spinning compass wrought.
As I behold, or not, is aught, or naught;
Time, space, within my mind audacious lie,
Movement, repose, are my heart's wizardry
Whereby are secrets known, and mysteries taught.
That other world, where reaped is all our sown,
Its light and fire are of my rosary made;
I am fate's instrument, whose antiphon
Responds to every string thought ever played,

1.Ibid, pp. 33 - 34
2.Ibid, p. 37

Where is thy sign ? In thee my life is stayed;
Where is thy world ? These twain are mine alone. 1

** **

One piercing glance can ne'er impart
The consummation of it all:
The gaze, the intellect, the heart,
Each needs its vision several 2

** **

Then in my heart I heard a soft voice sing:
The stream of time did from my fountain spring.
The is all my fever and fire of yore,
The future all that I am yearning for: 3

Such examples may be multiplied. The idea - the world is "the temple of my thought" - points to the view that there is "no such thing as a self-subsistent materiality". "The gaze, the intellect, the heart" come across several visions: that is, the poet hints at the view that the observation is relative to the observer. Time, Space, Past, Present, Future too are observations and consequently relative to the observer.

It should, however, be borne in mind that though Iqbal has borrowed from Einstein the conception of space-time and has drawn on Einstein's philosophy of relativity and other such concepts Einstein's impact on Iqbal is not that of a physcist and scientist. He feels attracted to Einstein's conceptions for their metaphysical implications. He benefits from Einstein to the extent the latter's views invest with

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1.Arthur J.Arberry: Persian Psalms (tr. of Iqbal's Zabur-i-Ajam) Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint. p.11
2.Ibid, p.104
3.Ibid, p.32

glamour his own metaphysical views. The influence of space-time continuum, for example, is very profound on him but Iqbal, unlike Einstein, gives time a Bergsonian character; that is, he conceives Time as constant flux.[1] In one of his poems Iqbal has compared Einstein with Moses; like Moses Einstein sought illumination of reality[2], says Iqbal. He means to say that Einstein's discoveries are almost equal in importance to Moses' seeking Divine Epiphany. This is perhaps the poetic homage he has paid to Einstein in the poem entitled 'Hakim Einstein' (Philosopher Einstein).[3]

How far, then, Iqbal keeps pace with Einstein would perhaps be brought out by his remark that "... Whitehead's view of Relativity is likely to appeal to Muslim students more than that of Einstein in whose theory time loses its character of passage and mysteriously translates itself into utter space".[4] We are here not concerned with the soundness or otherwise of this observation.

1.vide.pp. 96 & 99
2.vide.first couplet of Iqbal's poem Hakim Einstein, contained in Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East), Delhi, Kutub-khana Nazirea, 1962 reprint. p.164
3.Md.Iqbal: Pyam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East), Delhi, Kutubkhana Nazirea, 1962 reprint.
pp. 164 - 65 poem: Hakim Einstein
4.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint).
p. 133

CHAPTER 15

Iqbal & James Ward

"Perhaps with full justice", remarks Prof. M.M.Sharif, "one can regard him (Iqbal) as Ward's disciple ..."[1] The reasons for doing so are set forth in his article 'Iqbal's Conception of God'. The following extracts from this article is worth noticing:

" ... To measure this influence (Ward's influence) one has only to see the common elements in their respective views ... Both of them (Iqbal and Ward), after the manner of Kant, reject the [illegible].... arguments for the existence of God, discard Platonism, Pantheism and Absolutism and object to regarding omniscience as fore-knowledge of a pre-ordained reality and applying serial time to God and the finite self - and all this for exactly the same reasons. Both are Pluralist Theists and Spiritual Monists. Both hold Panpsychism against Berkley's occasionalism and windowed monadism, against Leibnitz's windowless monadism. Both believe in the creative freedom and immortality of the individual. For both the sensuous world is due to interaction between egos, the body is created by the mind to serve its own purposes, and serial time is only an act of the mind. Both hold on exactly the same grounds, and in exactly the same sense, that God is an infinite, conscious, omnipotent and omniscient spirit, which is immanent in the

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1.M.M.Shrif: Iqbal's Conception of God, contained in Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960) p. 127

finite egos and yet transcends them in the same way as every organism is immanent in its parts and yet transcends these parts. For both He is a perfectly free creative spirit that limits its own freedom by creating free finite egos, and for both this internal limitation is not inconsistent with His own perfect freedom. According to both, God is perfect throughout His creative progress, for this progress is progress in perfection, not towards perfection. Both hold that God's will functions through the will of the finite egos. Both believe ... that reason can prove the necessity of faith, but it cannot turn faith into knowledge. Both agree that belief in God is ultimately a matter of faith, though of a rational faith, that conviction or complete certitude about Him comes not from reason but from living, that direct communion with Him is gained only through rapport or love, and that it is only through love for Him that Immortality is achieved by the finite self."[1]
On the basis of Mr.Sharif's article, Dr S.Sinha comes to this conclusion: " ... Iqbal began as Platonist ... came under the influence of McTaggart, Rumi, Nietzsche, Bergson, and later Ward, with the result that on his return to India, in 1908, he expressed his views freely, as moulded by these influences in the three collections of poems issued between 1908 and 1920. Still later, he came more and more under the influence of Ward, to the extent of becoming 'Ward's Disciple', and his views during this period (1920 - 1938) are found in the eight collections of poems published during

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1.Ibid, pp. 125 - 27.

these eighteen years."[1]

A note of warning would perhaps be not uncalled for. On the basis of the foregoing extract one may conclude that Iqbal was influenced by Ward alone. This would be a wrong conclusion. But, why ? First, Mr. Sharif himself admits many influences on Iqbal; he makes it clear that Iqbal's genius "was trained to take its present shape by the philosophies of Rumi, McTaggart, James Ward, Bergson and Nietzsche. Whatever the influence of others in other directions, with regard to the solution of the problem in hand (i.e. Iqbal's Conception of God), Iqbal's thought was moulded chiefly by Ward."[2] Second, the influences exercised by various philosophers are dealt with in this work , drawing on external and internal evidences: for example, Khalifa Abdul,Hakim claims to have 'some personal knowledge to go upon'[3]to show Iqbal having been under the influence of Nietzsche while composing Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets Of The Self). Third, one only wonders why Ward is conspicuous by his absence in Iqbal's The Reconstruction Of Religious Thought In Islam when so many other philosophers are mentioned here and there. There is, however, an entry in his note-book, published posthumously by his son Javid Iqbal. The entry runs:"If you wish to study the anatomy of of the human mind, you may go to Wundt, Ward, James or Stout. But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone."[4] In short, Ward is one among many thinkers who have influenced Iqbal.

1.Dr S.Sinha: Iqbal, The Poet & His Message (Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal,1947), p. 76
2.M.M.Sharif: About Iqbal & His Thought (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture,1964) pp. 26 - 27
3.vide.page 70 of this work
4.Stray Reflections, ed. by Javid Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons,1961) p.139

Now, let us look for influence. Dr Sinha, in the observation referred to, dates the period of Iqbal's being under the influence of Ward - from 1920 to 1928. This is perhaps not correct. Iqbal's third publication entitled Pyam-i-Mashriq[1](The Message of the East) appeared in 1922. In this work there is a section captioned'Naqsh-i-Firang' (Impressions of Europe) which contains references by name to several philosophers such as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Hegel, Karl Marx, Einstein and others and they are eponyms to many poems; but Ward does not appear any where in the work. Iqbal's Javid Nama[2](Pilgrimage of Eternity) appeared in 1932. In this work Iqbal visits various planets and he meets the spirits of many great persons [illegible] does not appear any where in this work. Ward perhaps began to attract after the publication of Javid Nama. In other words, Ward's influence may be sought in the last four works: Bal-i-Jibril (Gabriel's Wing), Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ae Aqwam-i-Sharq (What to do [illegible] Asiatics of the East), Zarb-i Kalim (The Rod of Moses), Armughan-i Hijaz (The Gift of Hijaz).[3] The last was completed towards the end of his life and it appeared in 1938 after his death. The main reasons supporting [illegible] poems to be that since the publication of [illegible] the dominant influences of Nietzsche, Bergson and others began to [illegible] the poet's [illegible] stability in his [illegible] and consequently references to philosophers became scarce. And, besides from these four works [illegible] thinking similar to Ward's seems to emerge. This mode of [illegible]

1.Abdul Majid: Zikr-i Iqbal (Iqbal's biography), Lahore, Bazm-i Iqbal,n.d. p.292
2.Ibid, p.295
3.Ibid, pp. 295, 296
The years of publication: Pas Chi Bayad Kard Ae Aqwam-i Kard (1936), Zarb-i Kalim (1936), Armughan-i Hijaz (1938)

is nothing but a synthesis of the views of Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Bergson and others. Ward's is almost an eclectic genius. Iqbal too has a knack for assimilation. Being a student of Ward,[1] Iqbal must have been in the know of his professor's ideas and it is probable that he developed, consciously or unconsciously, liking for the synthesis that Ward's philosophy is. Let us take point-wise, in the light of the remarks made by M.M. Sharif:

Both, Ward and Iqbal, are 'Pluralist Theists and Spiritual Monists'. Pluralism is 'the doctrine that the world is not a unit in law and structure, but the scene of contrary forces.'[2] It may now be put like this. Both of them believe in a personal God and, while regarding world as the scene of contrary forces, hold that nothing is real but soul or spirit. To quote from one of Ward's essays, "conscious i.e., thinking, feeling and willing beings are real ... and matter, or - more generally - nature, is to be regarded as dependent on or as the manifestation, of, spirit."[3] Observe the spirit manifested in Nature:

Fabric of earth and wave!
  Who is the secret, You or I ?
Brought into light ? or who the dark
  World of what hides yet, you or I ?
Here in this night of grief and pain,
  trouble and toil, that men call life,
Who is the lead that Time and Space

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1. Iqbal was the student of MacTaggart and Ward. He liked talking about these two professors. vide p. 4 M.M.Sharif:About Iqbal & His Thought (Lahore,Institute of Islamic Culture,1964)
2. vide.p.533 (Glossary) Will Durant:The Story of Philosophy (New York,P.B.inc.,1957 reprint)
3. James Ward:Essays In Philosophy (Cambridge University Press, 1927) p.107

bear on their shoulder ? Who the prize
Run for with fiery feet by swift
daybreak and sunset, You or I ? 1

** **

Delve into your soul and there seek out life's
buried tracks;
...
World of soul - the world of fire and ecstasy and
longing:
World of sense - the world of gain that fraud and
cunning blight; 2

** **

Ka'ba is nothing save an object of veneration;
Circumvention does not consist in going round its
building.
Between God and us there is a mystery
Which is not known even to Gabriel. 3

** **

Pass through the World's garden cautiously;
Be like Bud's fragrance, hidden and manifest both.
This age is not known to the mysteries of the soul
(And) the people are attached to Not-God.
Even the philosopher does not know the mystery
(And) his vision is captive to materialism.
The eye not illumined by the heart's candle
Could not spy beyond colour and smell (i.e. material
beauties).

1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955), tr. by V. G.Kiernan. pp. 30 - 31 (from Gabriel's Wing)
2.Ibid, p. 31 (from Gabriel's Wing)
3.Md.Iqbal:Armughan-i Hijaz (The Gift of Hijaz), Delhi, Kutubkhana Nazirea, 1962 reprint.
p. 83 (beginning 'Haram juz qibla-i qalb-e-nazar nest ...)

Blessed is the heart that is devoid of visions alien
(And) that has snapped the shackles of not-God. 1

All these quotations are from the later works of Iqbal. The ideas expressed in these may well be traced to the traditional Sufi view Hama Aust (All is He) and the Urdu and Persian poetry has been ringing with this note. And Iqbal's poetry too has enough of it, especially his early poetry contained in Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road) and in Sarood-i Rafta (The Departed Melody) and Baqiyat-i Iqbal (Remaining Poems of Iqbal).[2] But in Asrar-i Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) this note was drowned in the fanfare of 'Be a tyrant'[3]. This Nietzscheam note began reverberating in his poetry so loudly that all other notes were almost muted. Although Nietzsche dominates Iqbal's thinking right up to the very last his last four works have no such message as 'Be a tyrant'. Since Ward's views are near to Sufi doctrine Iqbal must have been attracted to them the more. For example, Iqbal can never resist being influenced by such a view as this: " ... The collapse of materialism within the last half century, the present tendency of neutral monism towards the teleological and away from the mechanical side ... all this points to be the advent of a spiritualistic interpretation of the world that culminates in the notion of the Good."[4] Iqbal too stands for 'melierism, which recognizes a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory

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1.Md.Iqbal: Pas chih Bayad Kardd Ae Aqwam-i Sharq (Delhi,Kutubkhana Nazirea,1962 reprint) couplets 15-19 (Tamheed)i.e.Introduction). p.34
2.vide, p.86,87foot-note of this work
3.vide, p.79 of this work
4.James Ward:Essays In Philosophy (Cambridge University Press,1927). p. 252

over evil."[1]

Ward without belittling knowledge gives to 'faith' an important place. He thinks that 'faith can remove the mountains.' In one of his essays entitled 'Can Faith Remove Mountains ? ' he explains:" ... By mountains I mean chiefly all that in the light of modern science and philosophy constitutes the impossibility of this consumma-tion... By faith removing mountains ... I mean realising its object and so justifying itself by the actual experience and knowledge of what has been hoped for while yet unseen."[2] And therefore Ward has "personal trust and confidence in an Unseen Being to which the religious in all ages have attributed their power to 'overcome the world'."[3] Iqbal, as we have seen, sets great store by faith. This faith is born of insight:

Don't seek (everything) in books, O Unwary!
Books can give learning but faith comes from
insight. 4

**

O worldly persons, do you know what is meant by
asceticism ?
(It is) a sight perceiving right way, a heart alive
(i.e. full of faith) 5

**

If intellect were to see through 'heart's eye'

1.Md.Iqbal:The Reconstruction Of Religious Thoughts In Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1962 reprint). p. 81
2.James Ward:Essays In Philosophy (Cambridge University Press, 1927) p. 101
3.Ibid, p. 101
4.Md.Iqbal: Musafir (the Traveller), included in 'Pas Chih Bayad Kard'
couplet: 11 under 'Rooh-i Hakim Sinai ..'
p.15 [illegible] (Delhi,Kutubkhana Nazirsa,1962 reprint)
5.Ibid, p.48, first couplet under 'Faqr'

The universe is illumined by Divine Light,
The rise of the sun and the moon
Cannot show the world beyond the passage of
morning and evening. 1

Faith, in Iqbal, is an active phenomenon; it is love, "creative passion, high emotion, divine spark, enthusiasm for an ideal, ardent self-dedication ..."[2] It is then almost like Ward's discerning a spiritual world, a world beyond sensory level of experience. Ward says:" Of this world the lowest or sensory level of experience gives no hint and the lower animals never get so far. And yet it is there. Then, may there not also be a yet higher - we may call it a spiritual world - which mere intelligence cannot discern ? Nevertheless, we may have hints of it from other sides of our being, for intellect is neither the only nor the highest of human 'faculties'. And surely we find such hints - truth that wake to perish never ..."[3] The sense of a 'something beyond' does not bring on a feeling of 'helpless dependence' but "at length culminates in the Christian's faith in an indwelling presence as the source of a new life of peace and power. .. The 'something beyond' ... has become for him a Divine Personality ... It is the object of his faith and of its supreme reality he is convinced by the love which it awakens and the new life which it imparts."[4] Now let us see a few lines from Iqbal's famous poem 'Masjid-i Qurtuba', translated by V.G.

1.Md.Iqbal:Armughan-i Hijaz (Urdu), Bombay 12 p. 457 Kulliyat-i Iqbal (Urdu), Iqbal's Complete Urdu Works, Delhi: New Taj,n.d.
2.Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955), tr. by V.G.Kiernan. p. 106 (notes)
3.James Ward: Essays In Philosophy (Cambridge University Press, 1927). p.353
4.Ibid, p.355

Kiernan under the caption 'The Mosque of Cordoba':

Yet, in this frame of things, gleams of immortal life
Shew where some servant of God wrought into some
high shape
Work whose perfection is still bright with the
splendour of Love-
Love, the well - spring of life; Love, on which death
has no claim.
Swiftly its tyrannous flood time's long current may
roll:
Love itself is a tide, stemming all opposite waves.
Other ages in Love's calendar are set down,
Ages as yet unnamed, far from this new - flowing hour;
Love is Gabriel's breath, Love is Mahomed's strong
heart,
Love is the envoy of God, Love the utterance of God.
Even our mortal clay, touched by Lov's ecstasy, glows;
...
Love (is) the priest of the shrine, Love the commander
of hosts.
Love the son of the road, counting a thousand homes.
Love's is the plectrum that draws music from life's
taut strings-
Love'ásis the warmth of life, Love's is the radiance
of life. 1

What the Momin, a person having profound faith in God, is

1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955), tr. by V.G.Kiernan. p. 38 (Gabriel's Wing)

capable of is described by Iqbal in the following lines:

As is the hand of God, so the Believer's hand,
Potent, guided by craft, strong to create and to rule.
Fashioned of dust and of light, creature divine of soul,
Careless of both the worlds beats his not humble heart;
Frugal of earthly hope, splendid of purpose, he earns
Friendship with courteous mien, wins every voice by his glance;
Mild in the social hour, swift in the hour of pursuit,
Whether in feast or in fray pure in conscience and deed.
Round His servant's firm faith God's great compasses turn;
All this universe else shadow, illusion and myth.
He is Reason's last goal, he is the harvest of Love,
He in creation's hall sets all spirits ablaze. 1

In other words, the Momin is 'the source of a new life and power,' a man of faith of Ward's conception.

Ward, then, agrees and disagrees with Leibnis; he accepts his theory of monads but does not regard monads as 'windowless' as Leibniz does. Ward holds: " ... No one has followed Leibniz in maintaining that percipients (his monads) are without windows through which to look out on

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1.Ibid, p.40

this common world, but at least he was right in maintaining that they have no windows by which another can look in .."[1] Then he criticises monadology of Leibniz. " ... Like the well-known monadology of Leibniz, such theories deny the existence of any but animate and active beings; but they reject altogether the 'pre-established harmony' and absence of reciprocal action in which they believed. They, on the contrary, assume that all the constituent beings of the world, the monads - or souls as we might perhaps say - are linked together in the closest fashion by intercommunication and interdependence; while the only harmony in which they believe is a final harmony, which is the goal, not the starting point of history."[2] This brings him "to emphasize one characteristic of a conative as distinct from inert beings, such as the physicist contemplates. There will be no laws, prior to these agents, making them what they are; but they, being what they are, their action and interaction, will result in uniformity and order. Habit, dexterity, and familiarity do not precede experience, but arise in the course of it: language and custom, social status and obligation, originate and consolidate with the progress of society and are nothing apart from it. On the spiritualistic view then ... the agents are first: and law in every sense and evolution are but second. ... Laws are not real forces, but only abstract formulae. Bodies gravitate no doubt, but not because constrained to do so by an independent law: the law is but a generalization describing their behaviour: to know more about that we must know more about them. ..."[3] Let

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1.James Ward: Essays In Philosophy (Cambridge University Press, 1927). p. 238
2.Ibid, p. 242
3.Ibid, p. 247

us take into consideration the views expressed in 'Iqbal Review' (published by The Iqbal Academy, Pakistan, Karachi) in its October, 1964 issue: "The self-consciousness or Self of man is, according to Iqbal, the reality of his being. Self-consciousness is also the ultimate reality and the sole creative and directive force of the universe. This self-consciousness of the universe is known to the religious man as God. ... The essence of the human self-consciousness is its urge to love the universal self - consciousness. ... As the human self acts consciously and deliberately for the expression and satisfaction of its urge to love God, the universe changes and evolves gradually, at its highest level, which is the human level, towards the stage of its greatest perfection. But when the self is not aware of its true ideal or when it cannot feel or experience its beauty it loves substitute ideals which are really lacking in the qualities of beauty and perfection and cause the self's disappointment later on. Every ideal of life which is the final end of the activities of an individual is achieved by him through a series of smaller subordinate ends, purposes or goals which owe their existence to the ideal and lead upto the ideal. Whether the smaller ends and goals of an individual are right or wrong, true or false, good or bad depends upon the fact whether the ideal which gives birth to them is right or wrong, true or false, good or bad. The ideals and the resulting ends, purposes or goals whether right or wrong and true or false,

good or bad are thus according to Iqbal the very essence of the life of the human self. This means that the social activities of man cannot be understood and social services cannot be formulated apart from the understanding of their ideals. ..."[1] The idea behind the portion underlined is almost the same as we get in these words of Wardhe: "Laws are not real forces, but only abstract formulae ... the law is but a generalization describing their behaviour: to know more about that we must know more about them!"[2] Not only this, Iqbal regards Ego or Self, like Ward, as acting and inter-acting; ego is self-centred and has the capacity to respond to other egos; and, God is also an Ego.[3] This we have also seen under Leibnis and Fichte; and it need not be said again that Ward too borrows ideas on monads from these two. Iqbal is also influenced by these two thinkers and their influence combined with Nietzsche's influence makes the Ego very assertive and aggressive. But towards the later period of his poetry aggressiveness wears off to a great extent and the result is that Iqbal comes very near to Ward's conception. Here are a few examples from his later poetry:

Manifest your divine greatness;
Apply your alchemic touch to yourself.
Hold 'Self' and hold it tight and live happily:
Don't part with your Destiny (i.e. Self). 4

** **

Self is illuminated with Celestial Splendour;

1.Ataur Rahim:The Concept of Verstehen & The Philosophy of Self - an article published in 'Iqbal Review', Oct. 1964, The Iqbal Academy, Pakistan, Karachi. pp. 33-34
2.vide.p. 175
3.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1962 reprint) pp. 71-72
Note:In Iqbal, Ego and Self are interchangeable, being the translation of the word Khudi.
4.Md.Iqbal:Armughan-i Hijaz (The Gift of Hijaz), Delhi, Kutubkhana Nazirea, 1962 reprint.
Stanza 5, from Kunooz-i Millat

Its accesses are on account of non-access.
Separation is born of Union
And its Union is on account of Separation. 1

** **

The existence of Self is on account of the existence of Truth (i.e.God);
Its manifestation is born of Truth's manifestation.
I fail to understand where this priceless possession (i.e.Self)
Would have been had it not been a river (i.e. an ever flowing phenomenon). 2

** **

What is Self ? It is the mystery of life.
What is Self ? It is the awakening of the entire universe.
Self is lost in epiphany and is solitude - loving;
It is an ocean contained in one drop.
It is splendorous in light and in darkness;
It is manifest in differentiations and free from differentiations also. 3

Now remains the question of Immortality. Iqbal, in his article on McTaggart Philosophy, disagrees with the views of personal immortality and claims to regard Immortality 'as a hope, an inspiration, a duty, and not as an eternal fact.'[4] But according to M.M.Sharif Iqbal believes with

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1.Ibid, p.98. first stanza , under 'Khudi' - Huzoor-i Aalam-i Insani, Tamheed.
2.Ibid, p.99, stanza 3, " "
3.Md.Iqbal:Bal-i Jibril. p.407 Iqbal's Urdu Complete Works Kulliyat-i Iqbal (Delhi, Taj office,n.d.) couplets 71-73 from Saqi Nama.
4.vide.p. 122 of this work

Ward that "it is only through love for Him that Immortality is achieved by the finite self."[1] It is therefore a riddle which view is correct. Iqbal's believing in personal immortality is therefore open to question. In his later poetry, however, one may come across a few lines as follows:

(O God), You are a limitless ocean; and I, a streamlet.
Either take me in Your embrace or make me limitless. 2

But such lines are not numerous.

In closing, it may therefore be safely said that in his later works one meets with a conception very similar to that of Ward. It will have to be admitted that Iqbal, one may call him a 'disciple of Ward' or not, accepts and assimilates a good number of things from Ward.

In the following chapters the influence of a few theistic poets and playwrights on Iqbal would be [illegible]

1.vide.p. 165 of this work
2.Md.Iqbal: Bal-i Jibril
couplet 3, Ghazal 3
p. 312 Kulliyat-i Iqbal (Iqbal's Complete Works)
Delhi, New Taj,n.d.

CHAPTER 16

Iqbal & Dante

Iqbal's Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity), published in 1932,[1] provides, so to say, a poetic resume' of eastern and western thought, and is patterned on Dante's Divine Comedy. Discussing this work, A.Anwar Beg observes: " It is said that Iqbal had an idea to write a Mir'aj Nama after the style of Gulshan-i Raz (Jadid) with a view to throwing light on the ascension of the Prophet to the heavens in relation to modern thought. But in the mean time a good deal of valuable criticism on the famous Italian poet, Dante's Divine Comedy, was published which proved to the hilt that the whole of the celestial plot of Dante's work was directly based on the events that have been described in the traditions of the holy Prophet Muhammad in connection with his ascension and was mainly copied from Futuhat of Ibn-i-Arabi. This diverted Iqbal's attention to Iqbal's (sic) ascension after the style of Dante from a literary point of view to enjoy the height of flight in the sphere of thought and vision."[2] (emphasis mine) And, in reference to Javid Nama, Iqbal Singh, in his book The Ardent Pilgrim, observes: "There is some reason to believe that Iqbal looked upon Javid Nama, if not as his magnum opus, certainly as one of his major works: it is the book 'in the

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1. vide.p. 294 Abdul Majeed Salik:Zikr-i Iqbal (Bazm-i Iqbal, Lahore,n.d.) It is the most authoritative biography of Iqbal, published by an Instution devoted to studies in Iqbal. The biograper also observes that Iqbal wrote Javid Nama as a reply to Dante's Divine Comedy.
2. A.Anwar Beg:The Poet of the East (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961) p. 138

manner of Milton's Paradise Lost which he had once desired to write. ... Milton, perhaps, is not a good parallel. It would be more accurate to refer to Dante. That reference, however, raises controversy. Many Muslim admirers of Iqbal are very touchy about any suggestion that Iqbal borrowed any ideas from outside the orbit of Islam, or even to the suggestion that Iqbal borrowed any ideas at all. They claimethat Iqbal was inspired to write Javid Nama by an idea which is as old as the Qur'an - the idea of Miraj, ascension of the Prophet to the Presence of God; and though they admit that Iqbal could not have claimed the privilege of ascension which was reserved only for the Prophet, they maintain that Iqbal was following the tradition of Muslim mystics in describing his vision of heaven and the other regions. But all these arguments bulyenly reveal the imbecile (sic) level to which literary criticism has been reduced in India ... There can be no doubt that Iqbal was aware of the parallel of Divine Commedia while writing his Book of Eternity even though he was aware of Muslim parallels. After all, if Iqbal derived any inspiration from the great Florentine while tracing out his other-worldly itenerary, he was only returning a compliment. ... Despite ... differences, however, there is a fundamental identity of imaginative purpose. Both Dante and Iqbal have attempted to re-evaluate the significanceohistorical events in terms of their respective world view. But for Dante the task was relatively easier. He lived in a world where there was as yet no

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serious challenge to Christianity, its doctrines and its values. But Iqbal had to do his revaluation in a more trying and sceptical age; he had to apply Islamic values to historical experience while knowing that his readers were conversant with Marx and Freud; and he had to try to re-establish the validity of Islamic ideas at a time when Kemal had kicked the last relics of the second Caliphate into the dust-bin of history and when Bokhara and Samarkand, where once the crescent had flown had linked their destiny to the Red Star."[1]

The foregoing quotations from A.Anwar Beg and Iqbal Singh, though sketchy in providing glimpses into Iqbal's debt to Dante, leave one with no doubt that Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity) is patterned on the great Italian masterpiece The Divine Comedy. We should, to begin with, turn to what Iqbal says about his work: "The book opens with a Munajat (fervent prayer) and begins with the Poet standing on the sea-shore about evening - time, reading a few verses from Rumi.* This makes the soul of Rumi to appear. The poet puts all sorts of questions to the spirit of Rumi, the principal question being as to how the Soul of Man passes beyond Space And Time. The idea is to give a kind of philosophy of Mi'raj (ascension). Then appears the Spirit of Space-Time which is pictured by the Poet as a double-faced angel... This Spirit exercises some kind of charm on the poet and carries him up. But the spirits

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1.Iqbal Singh: The Ardent Pilgrim (Orient Longmans Ltd., 1951). pp. 185 - 87
Note: The author translates Javid Nama as 'Book of Eternity.'

* see page 73.

of Rumi and the Poet swim in Space ... until the mountains of the Moon become visible. ... They alight on the Moon and enter some of its caves. In one of the caves they meet the spirit of the great Indian ascetic, Vishwamitra, whose name the the Poet translates as Jahan Dost ... Rumi gives a short description of his companion. ... The ascetic puts some questions to the new comer in order to test his spiritual attainments. One of the questions, for instance, is: In what respect is Man superior to God? The answer is: In his knowledge of Death. Similarly he puts other questions and finding the answers satisfactory, he discloses certain truths about various things. ... They leave the cave and pass on to the valley of the Moon where they find a huge rock on which four pictures are carved. They are called the tablet of Buddha, the tablet of Jesus, the tablet of Zoroaster and the tablet of Muhammad. Descriptions of the tablets are given in the Poem. So they pass on from planet to planet. In Mars is shown a woman-prophet originally stolen from Europe as a child by the Devil. ... Her message is that the world will, eventually, be ruled by Woman and her practical advice to her sisters is ... not to marry and if they marry and have children to kill the male and retain the female children. This gives an occasion to Rumi to criticize some of the aspects of modern civilization. In the planet Mercury they find the spirits of Jamal-uddin Afghani and Saeed Halim Pasha, the head of the religious reform movement in Turkey. Afghani sends a message to the people of Russia ... and Karl Marx is described as a prophet without an angel. Passing on

to another planet they find three spirits, Mansur Hallaj, Ghalib and Qurrat-ul-Ain. ... Hallaj explains his position as a Muslim mystic. Certain questions of literary and religious nature arising from Ghalib's poetry are put to him. ... As a contrast to this in another planet two spirits are shown who went to seek a Home in the flames of Hell but Hell refused them admittance. They are Mir Jafar of Bengal and Mir Sadiq of Mysore. In another planet underneath a transparent sea are shown the spirits of the Pharaoh and Kitchener. ... Having passed through all the planets, the Poet enters Paradise and meets Saints as well as Kings. He finds there the palace of Sharaf-un-Nisa, daughter of Abdus Samad Khan, Governor of Lahore. ... The Poet further meets King Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali of Afghanistan and Sultan Tipu. ... He then leaves the Paradise and ... reaches the point where Rumi leaves him for man must enter the divine presence alone. Here the Poet puts some very serious questions to God and finally wants a complete revelation of the destiny of his own people which is granted to him. The book ends with a song from the spirits of Universe. At the end of the book the Poet addresses his son, which is virtually an address to the coming generation."[1]

The subject-matter of Divine Comedy, it may be pointed out, is also "a visit to the next world ... This theme was common to poets and visionaries in the Greco-Roman, and even more in the mediaeval Christian world. The general structure

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1. Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1964), ed. by S.A. Vahid
pp. 226 - 29
The above - reproduced outline of Javid Nama was given by Iqbal himself in London where he had gone to participate in the Round Table Conference. vide. p. 225.

Dante followed - a division into hell, purgatory, and heaven - was Christian; and so was much, though not all, of the theology and morality which Dante learnt during his descent and ascent. ... The essential point is that his guide into the next world, through hell, and through purgatory is the Roman poet Virgil. Before Virgil leaves him, the two are met by another Latin Poet, Statius - a pupil of Virgil, but described as a converted Christian - who takes Dante to paradise, where he is met, conducted, and taught by his own first love Beatrice, in whom the ideals of romantic love and Christian virtue are united."[1]

It would then appear that Dante and Iqbal begin scaling the heights. In his heaven-ward journey "Dante, travelling upwards from the earth, reaches 1 the Moon, 2 Mercury, 3 Venus, 4 the Sun, 5 Mars, 6 Jupiter, 7 Saturn, 8 the constellation of Gemini, 9 the invisible vault beyond the stars, 10 the Essential Heaven of Light and Love."[2] And, Iqbal in his vision first alights on the Moon, 2 Mercury, 3 Venus, 4 Mars, 5 Jupiter, 6 Saturn, 7 Beyond the Firmament. Thus there is a recognisable similarity in their respective routes to Heaven.

In her book entitled Introduction A La Pensee D'Iqbal, Miss. Luce-Claude Maitre quotes a passage from Iqbal's Javid Nama and says that the passage reminds her of Dante lost in dark forest.[3] The lines referred to by Luce-claude Maitre are reproduced below from the English translation of

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1.vide. p.72 Gilbert Highet: The Classical Tradition (O.U.P. 1951 reprint)
2.vide. 401 The Divine Comedy (Vintage Books, New York, 1950) Carlyle-Wicksteed translation. from Note on Dante's Paradise.
3.vide. pp. 37-38 L.C.Maitre: Introduction To Iqbal English translation by M.A.Majeed Dar (Iqbal Academy Publication, n.d.)

Javid Nama:

Man in this seven-coloured universe,
Ev'r given to lamentation like the flute,
With longings for a kindred soul, that burn
His being and instruct him to strike forth
Sweet melodies, looks at this universe,
Of lifeless matter formed, unattributed with
A throbbing heart. The seas, the moon, the sky
Itself in silence cast. Although the stars
Have thronged the sky, yet each is lonelier than
The rest, each, unavailing like ourselves,
A helpless wanderer of azure space.
They make a caravan, though unequipped,
Yet coursing in the boundless skies through long
Unending nights. Am I hunter wild
Who holds the universe as prey or just
A captive out of mind, none heeding to
His plaint: where Adam's son can meet a friend ?
The days which make man's dwellings bright I've lived
All o'er the world. A spinning planet makes
Them live, they terminate too soon. O for
A day, a different day, whose morn should have
Nor noon nor eve- a day whose light shall fill
The soul and make sounds visible like hues,
Revealing all that's dark, unknown; a day
That Ne'er shall cease to be. O Lord! grant such

A day to me, and take away the days
Which bring my heart and soul no kindling flame. 1

and here are the opening lines from the Divine Comedy:

In the middle of the journey of our life I came to myself in a dark wood where the straight way was lost.
Ah! how hard a thing it is to tell what a wild, and rough, and stubborn wood this was, which in my thought renews the fear!
So bitter is it, that scarcely more is death: but to treat of the good that I there found, I will relate the other things that I discerned.
I cannot rightly tell how I entered it, so full of sleep was I about the moment that I left the true way.
But after I had reached the foot of a Hill there, where the valley ended, which had pierced my heart with fear.
I looked up and saw its shoulders already clothed with the rays of the Planet that leads me straight on my road.
Then the fear was somewhat calmed. ... 2

The words and expressions of Iqbal and these of Dante are doubtless different but the breeding spirits are indeed one.

To pass on to the next point. Iqbal meets in the Firmament of Jupiter[3] the holy spirits of Hallaj, Ghalib and Qurat-al-'ain Tahira who declined to live in Heaven

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1. Pilgrimage of Eternity (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961), versified translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad.
   Invocation, lines: 1-28
2. Dante: Divine Comedy (English translation: New York, Vintage Books, 1950). Canto I, pp. 11-12
3. Pilgrimage of Eternity (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961) tr. of Javid Nama.
   pp. 105 - 130

and preferred Eternal-wandering.' Hallaj and Tahira were mystics and Ghalib was the famous Urdu and Persian poet.[1] They did not conform to the extant Islamic standards yet they enjoy posthumous veneration. To show them as ' 'wanderers' is not without significance and this fact cannot but remind one of Dante's Limbo in Divine Comedy. Limbo, according to Chambers Dictionary, is 'the border-land of Hell, assigned to the unbaptised ... for the righteous who died before Christ.' Dante meets in Limbo Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan whom he describes as 'lords of highest song.'[2] " ... The sages and poets whom he meets in limbo are infact most of these whom subsequent ages have agreed to regard as the supreme minds. ... It is a proof of Dante's vision that ... he saw the brilliance of the classical world, and knew at that distance who were the lesser lights in it, and who the greater."[3] Iqbal, being a careful and observant reader, seems to have noticed this quality of Divine Comedy and envisaged a similar description in his Javid Nama. He therefore placed the persons alluded to in a state of wandering, i.e. neither in Hell nor in Heaven. Iqbal's state of wandering is therefore more or less similar to Dante's Limbo, although there is a good deal of difference between Iqbal and Dante a propos of the description. This striking similarity points to Iqbal's

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1.for Hallaj, see p.71 foot-note
Tahira. Her name was Qurat-al-'ain Tahira, and before adopting this name her name was Zarrin Taj. She was a poet and mystic. She is reported to have been put to death in 1852 for plotting against king Nasiruddin Shah. vide pp.236-2441 Talmeehat-i-Iqbal (Lahore, Bazm-i Iqbal, 1959) by Syed Aabid Ali
2. [illegible], he settled down at Delhi. He died in 1869. vide 152 Talmeehat-i Iqbal.
2.Dante:The Divine Comedy (New York,Vintage Books,1950) p. 28 Inferno Canto IV
3.vide p.80 Gilbert Highet: The Classical Tradition (O.U.P. 1951) Chapter: Dante & Pagan Antiquity

borrowing Dante's plan; his eclectic genius was certainly stimulated to follow Dante and place the mystics and the poets in a state of 'eternal wandering'.

The fact that both Dante and Iqbal journey heavenward under the guidance of their respective teachers, Virgil and Rumi, should also be noticed. Moreover because many critics say that Rumi is to Iqbal what Virgil is to Dante.[1] This therefore calls for a comparative study of the probable motives that prompted Dante and Iqbal to chose their teachers. Let us begin with Dante first. Gilbert Highet observes: "Dante's selection of Virgil was prompted by many traditions (some trivial, some important) and by many revealing spiritual factors. First, Virgil was above all others the pagan who bridged the gap between paganism and Christianity. ... Mainly through this remarkable poem (Aeneid) Virgil acquired the reputation of having been a Christian before Christ. ... (His poem) was the expression of a real spiritual fact: of the profound longing for peace, the unvoiced yearning for a world governed by the goodness of God rather than the conflicting desire of men. ... Virgil's own character is the clue to this visionary power, and to his immortality as Dante's guide. Any one who reads his poetry with intelligence and sympathy, as Dante did, recognises that in all essentials ... he was a Christian soul. ... He hated bloodshed. He had ... a deep devotion to selfless moral ideals. ... A third great factor influencing Dante was that Virgil was a herald of the

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1. for example -
   vide. p. 158 S.A.Vahid: Iqbal His Art & Thought (London, John Murray, 1959)
   " p. 37 Luce-Claude Maitre: Introduction To The Thought of Iqbal (English translation: Iqbal Academy Publication, Lahore, n.d.)

Roman Empire. For Dante, the two most important facts in this world were the Christian Church and the Holy Roman Empire. ... Dante loved Virgil because Virgil loved Italy. ... although neither Dante nor Virgil was a Roman born, they both assumed and preached that the ideals of Rome should cover and vivify all Italy. ... Another factor ... was that for Dante Virgil was the greatest poet. ... It has often been said that, of Dante's two guides through the next world, Virgil represents Reason and Beatrice Faith. ... (If) we read the Comedy we do not find that the influence of Virgil is predominantly that of Reason - although he is conceived as having encyclopaedic, or divine, eternal knowledge. ... The sixth factor which determined Dante to make him his guide is the obvious one that Virgil had written a famous description of a journey through the world beyond this world ... and not only an account of its marvels, but a profound philosophical and moral exposition of the ultimate meanings of life and death. ..."[1]

Now, let us be apprised of the motives behind Iqbal's choice of Rumi as his guide. Dr Khalifa Abdul Hakim, in the course of an article, poses the question: "Why of all the great Sufis of Islam did Iqbal choose Rumi for his Master?" And he proceeds to answer: "The answer is that Rumi's mysticism has a distinctive position among the various types of Islamic mysticism. The confrontation of love and reason, to which Iqbal has devoted a large part of his poetry,

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1. vide. pp. 72-78 Gilbert Highet: The Classical Tradition (O.U.P. 1951), chapter 4, Dante & Pagan Antiquity

is a special theme of Rumi. Iqbal has not merely recapitulated the thought of his Master but has, instead, given additional charms of his own to the subject. One meets with an abundance of ideas of movement and evolution. Rumi believes in freedom of the will as against compulsion. Rumi's idea of Taqdir (i.e. destiny) is quite different from the generality of Muslim thinkers. The destiny of man, according to him, is Jihad or endeavour..Human nature and its possibilities of evolution are treated in Rumi's philosophy with such freedom that in boldness of thought he seems to be a forerunner of Nietzsche. Rumi believes in personal immortality and says that man does not get absorbed in God* like a drop of water in the ocean. Instead he retains his individuality. ... The ideas of fortification of the Self, creation and building of personality and assertion of 'I' which Iqbal loved so well and which are an outstanding feature of his poetry, are met with frequently in Rumi. ... Subjugation of the universe and the rise of man is ... also a favourite theme of Rumi ..."[1] Why Rumi is chosen as spiritual leader is also touched upon by M.M.Sharif in his article entitled 'Iqbal's Conception of God.' According to him, " ... it seems, however, that Rumi was adopted by Iqbal as a spiritual leader not only because he was a kindred spirit,

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1.Khalifa Abdul Hakim: Rumi, Nietzsche & Iqbal. an article contained in Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960) pp. 201 - 202.

* Note: This is a controversial view. There are lines in Rumi that do express the seeker's longing for absorption in Beloved (i.e.God). For example:

When Thou shalt become one entity with "Us" and "You",
Then wilt Thou show true affection for these lovers.
When these "We" and "Ye", shall all become One soul,
Then,they will be lost and absorbed in the "Beloved."

vide. p. 94 F.Hadland Davis:The Persian Mystics: Jalalu'd-din Rumi (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,n.d.).

Besides, Davis, commenting on Rumi's famous work Masnawi observes that "the key-note to the Masnavi may be found in the prologue to the first book. The poet sings of the soul's longing to be united with the Beloved." (pp.37-38)

speaking the same tongue and sharing with him a mystic philosophy, a poetic genius, an intense religious temper, a firm belief in God, and a deep love of the Arabian Prophet. (sic*) These merits could perhaps be found also in others. Iqbal took Rumi as his life-long guide because, and perhaps chiefly because, Rumi anticipates some of the fundamental ideas of ... Nietzsche and Bergson."[1] Thus the long and the short of all this is that Iqbal's choosing Rumi as his guide was a conscious act, and this choice seems to have been stimulated by the role Dante assigned to Virgil in Divine Comedy. Virgil, in Divine Comedy, is the mouthpiece of Dante; Rumi, in Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity, is the mouthpiece of Iqbal.

Besides, there seems to be one more probable reason for Iqbal's choice. Rumi, though he appears in the Prologue to the Secrets of The Self[2], is assigned the chief role in Javid Nama. Iqbal, in his zeal for reform of the Muslims, launched, in his Asrar-i Khudi (The Secrets of The Self), an attack on Hafiz and this "called forth angry protests from Sufi circles in which Hafiz is venerated as a master-hierophant."[3] So serious were the repercussions that the lines referring to Hafiz had to be omitted in the second edition of the work.[4] Iqbal thenceforth turned to Rumi the more because he too is'one of the most venerated Sufi-poets'.[5] And he might have been reminded of the role of Virgil in Divine Comedy and this is also likely that he then hit upon

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1.M.M.Sharif: About Iqbal & His Thought (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture,1964). pp. 13-14
* The sentence is incomplete. Maybe, printing error.
2.The Secrets of The Self (English translation of Asrar-i Khudi), by R.A.Nicholson (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960 reprint) lines 95-102
3.Ibid, p. XIII foot-note ... Introduction
4.vide. p.189 Iqbal As A Thinker (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1960) Khalifa A.Hakim's article, Rumi,Nietzsche & Iqbal
5.vide. p.248 J.A.Williams:Islam (Washington Sq.Press,New York,1963), regarding Rumi's position in Sufi circles.

the idea of a visionary heaven-ward journey under Rumi's guidance. Even an apologist like A.Anwar Beg is constrained to admit: " Rumi's guidance of Iqbal to various planets is a proof of the poet's flight of thought which he enjoyed in the company of Rumi. ... It is beyond doubt that when the poet refers to Rumi, it is often Iqbal himself who speaks ..."[1]

Now, let us see how Dante and Iqbal go into the Divine Presence. Iqbal has Rumi as his guide; Dante has three - Virgil, Statius, and Beatrice. These guides lead upto a certain stage: both Dante and Iqbal traverse alone thereafter to the Divine Presence. Iqbal describes the scene as follows:

All of a sudden I beheld my world
My earth and sky, immersed in scarlet light;
And glowing like a furnace. Then my soul
Was smitten with effulgence and I fell
Like Moses, drenched in ecstasy. The light
Ripped off all veils, but snatched my speech away
And from the bosom of this universe
That knew not how or why, there issued forth
A melody suffused with inner fire.

(Lines: 3886 - 3894) 2

This may be compared to Dante's ecstasy in the Divine Presence:

As a sudden flash of lightning which shattereth the visual spirits as to reb the eye of power to realise

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1.A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961), p. 220
2.Pilgrimage of Eternity (tr. of Javid Nama), by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad, (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture,1961). p.186

e'en strongest objects;
So there shone around me a light, leaving me
swathed in such a web of its glow that naught
appeared.
"Ever doth the love which stilleth heaven, receive
into itself with such like salutation, duly to fit
the taper for its flame."
So soon as these brief words came into me I
surmount my proper power;
and kindled me with such new given sight that there
is no such brightness unallayed that mine eyes might
not hold their own with it.
And I saw a light, in river form, glow tawny betwixt
banks painted with marvellous spring.
From out this river issued living sparks, and every
side into the blossoms, like rubies set in gold.
Then as inebriated with the odours they plunged
themselves again into the marvellous swirl, and as
one entered issued forth another.

(Canto : XXX) 1

Iqbal gets 'drenched in ecstasy' on account of effulgence; Dante gets 'inebriated' as the Divine Light kindles him with 'new sight'. Both of them, in other words, find Divine Light a source of spiritual ecstasy. Brushing aside similes and metaphors, the basic idea, in Iqbal and Dante, is almost the same.

Reference may now be made to that criticism which,

1.Dante: Divine Comedy (New York, Vintage Books,1950) pp. 586 - 588

according to Iqbal Singh, steeps down to the 'imbecile level'. Many critics of Iqbal strain their nerve to prove that the sources of Iqbal's poetry are not outside the domain of Islam. Their number is very large. Let us, for example, turn to Jagan Nath Azad who is one of the top-most Urdu poets now living. But Azad as a critic seems to play to the gallery especially when he, in reference to Javid Nama and Divine Comedy, says: "The very mention of Javid Nama is bound to remind one of Divine Comedy written by a famous Italian poet Dante. It is said that Iqbal borrowed from Divine Comedy the outline of his Javid Nama. We have a little hesitation in nodding assent to this claim because the sources of Divine Comedy itself consist in traditions describing ascension. Besides, Divine Comedy was preceded by Futuhat-i Makkia (The Meccan Revelations) by ... Al-'Arabi and Risalutulghufran (The Epistle of Pardon) by Al-Ma'arri. These works were there before Iqbal and Dante both. ... In Divine Comedy Dante sets out in search of his beloved Beatrice: Iqbal, in Javid Nama, sets out to seek Truth. ..."[1] Before commenting on Azad's observations, one mistaken notion of his may be dismissed first, namely Dante's going out in search of his beloved. The Divine Comedy is not an ordinary work. It is, in the words of Symonds, "the Epic of Man, considered as moral being, exercising free will under the eye of an inexorable judge, who punishes and rewards according to fixed laws. .. The real sublimity of Dante is not pictorial. It is moral

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1.Jagan Nath Azad: Iqbal Aur Uska Ahad (Iqbal & His Times) Allahabad, Edara-i Anis-i Urdu,1960.
pp. 102 - 103
The book contains papers prepared by the author as Extension Lectures for Jammu & Kashmir University.
Note:Attention is also invited to the observation made by Prof.Aaqay Mujtaba Menuwi in his Persian work Iqbal Lahori: "..This book (Javid Nama) is modelled on Dante's Divine Comedy and Ma'arri's Risalutulghufran and such others," vide.p.75 Allama Iqbal (Urdu translation of the book by Sufi Mustafa Tabassum),Lahore,Bazm-i Iqbal,n.d.

... The whole Purgatorio is a monument to the beauty and tranquillity of Dante's soul. The whole Paradiso is a proof of its purity and radiance and celestial love."[1] It seems to be still better to turn to World Literature for the nature and meaning of the Divine Comedy: "The Divine Comedy is an allegory of a human soul's journey through hell and purgatory and on to heaven. Lost and in danger, the soul is led by Reason (represented by Virgil) through the realms of torment; then, edified and chastened by witnessing such terrifying punishments, the soul - now led by Theology (represented by Beatrice) - makes a tour of the nine heavenly spheres. Many of the symbols may have a double or even triple meaning - ethical, religious, and historical; and some of the symbology is now obscure. Many historical and fictional characters are used to personify specific virtues or vices. ... Perhaps the most accurate label for the Divine Comedy is the Epic of the Middle Ages, inasmuch as its theme is preparation for the life after death - which was the principal concern of medieval man."[2] Beatrice, therefore, is not what Azad thinks she is; she is also a symbol for theology. She is, in the opinion of Dorothy L.Sayers, 'God-bearing Image'[3]; Dante, as a matter of fact, has 'systematically charted the mystical way which leads from the Vision of Beatrice to the Beatific Vision.'[4] Dante, observes Jacque Maritain, "never idealized carnal love. ... He knew perfectly the difference in nature which distinguishes the various kinds

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1.vide.pp. 105, 238, 161-162
John Addington Symonds: An Introduction To The Study Of Dante (London, Adam & Charles Black,1899)

2.vide.213-214 World Literature Vol I (New York, Barnes & Noble,1961) by Buckner B.Trawick, University of Alabama.

3.vide.p.52 Dorothy L.Sayers: The Poetry of Search & The Poetry of Statement (London,Victor Gollancz Ltd,1963) from his lecture 'The Beatrice Vision in Dante & other poets'

4.Ibid, p.49 Note:Attention is also invited to the observation made by Ch.Williams:"..Dante himself is the knower, and God is the known,and Beatrice is the knowing."vide p.176 Dante (New Jersey,Prentice Hall,1965),ed.by John Freccero.The book is a collection of critical essays on Dante.

of love, and especially divine love from human love."[1] The critic proceeds to point out:"Not to speak of his perfect craftsmanship, he (Dante) knew everything his time knew and took to heart all the conflicts, whether social, political or religious, in which his time was engaged. His work is a summa laden with a world of divine and human truths, yearnings, and violence. For ivory tower he has the earth and heaven. He describes, he narrates, he teaches, he preaches."[2] Now let us take up the other observations made by Azad. He refers to two books as having been the sources of Dante's comedy. This is not his 'find'. The fact of the matter is that Don Miguel Asin Palacios, a Spainish writer, wrote a book entitled La Escatologia Musulmana En la Divina Comedia which was rendered into English by H.Sunderland under the title Islam And The Divine Comedy (London,1926).[3] This stirred Indian Muslim imagination and interest, of course from the time of its English translation. This book seeks to throw light on the general plan and many small details borrowed by Dante from Islamic sources, especially the works mentioned by Azad. In his article entitled Dante Aur Islam (Dante & Islam), Dr Abdul Alim praises the observations made by Asin Palacios and concludes that "the idea behind this research is not to play down the worth of Dante's masterpiece. Dante transcends the limitations of country and nation and his greatest merit lies in the fact that he presents morality and mysticism

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1.vide.p. 468 Essays In Philosophy (New York,P.B.Inc.1958) Edited by Houston Peterson
from 'Dante's Innocence & Luck' by Jacque Maritain
2.Ibid, p. 466
3.vide.'Bibliography' An Introduction To The Study of Dante (London,Adam & Charles Black,1899), by John Addington Symonds.
& vide.228 (references and notes) J.A.Williams:Islam (New York,Washington Sq. Press,Inc.,1962)

known to the world in a beautiful manner and style."[1] The effect of this research was that even distinguished Muslims like Iqbal began to look upon Dante's work with appreciation - a fact that clearly emerges from A.Anwar Beg's view.[2] There seems to be weight in Beg's observation that Asin Palacios' research "diverted Iqbal's attention to describe (his own) ascension after the style of Dante from a literary point of view."[3] As a matter of fact Iqbal's access to Islamic themes was mainly through western sources, as would also be evident from the appraisal made by Shabbir Ahmad Khan Ghori in his article Allama Iqbal Aur Falsafa-i Dehriyat Ki Tajdeed (Iqbal & Renewal of Naturalism): "Inspite of his being an intelligent and talented student having an ardent desire to understand Islam he (Iqbal) could not get an opportunity for any detailed acquaintance with Islamic studies. He studied in schools and college with no arrangements for Islamic studies. When he went to Europe for higher studies he certainly chose to write a thesis on the history of Islamic philosophy with the subject Development Of Metaphysics In Persia. But all his material consisted of the works of western Orientalists or the books and the pamphlets suggested to him by the European teachers ..."[4] It is therefore worthy of credence that for writing his Javid Nama Iqbal turned to Divine Comedy and utilized it as a model especially when he came to know of the Islamic sources of Divine Comedy - a fact also mentioned by Beg.[5] There is nothing derogatory in having any work as model if one's own creation bears

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1.Muslim University: Aligarh Magazine 1959 Issue I p. 57 (the article was written in 1926,vide editorial note p.57)
2.vide. p.180 of this work
3.vide. p.180 of this work
4.Urdu Adab (Urdu Quaterly,ed. by Aal-i Ahmad Suroor, published by Anjuman Tarraqi Urdu Hind, Aligarh) p. 6 (1965 Issue I)
5.vide. p.180 of this work

one's own stamp. Javid Nama, although modelled on Divine Comedy, remains Iqbalian. If Divine Comedy, on account of its containing references to historical characters and modes of thoughts, is the 'Epic of the Middle Ages' or the 'Epic of Man', Javid Nama too on the same grounds may be regarded as an Epic of the Modern Man or an Epic of the Modern Times.

Chapter 17

Iqbal & Milton

"For a long time", wrote Iqbal to a friend as early as 1903, "I have been yearning to write in the manner of Milton (Paradise Lost, etc.) and the time for that seems to be fast approaching, because in these days there is hardly a moment when I am not thinking seriously of this."[1] Iqbal was then only thirty year old. The desire to do this gives an idea about the sublime heights Iqbal craved to scale. Although Iqbal does not attempt to paint on a canvas as vast as that of Paradise Lost he touches on its theme in several of his poems. The character of Satan with a Promethean halo round him, as depicted by Milton, seems to have appealed to Iqbal very profoundly and consequently in most of his poetical works Satan comes in to play some part. If his poems dealing with or having reference to Satan are viewed together a conception of Iblis, that is Satan, emerges. Why he feels attracted to Satan would be evident if we turn to one of his observations: " ... I hope I shall not be offending the reader when I say that I have a certain amount of admiration for the devil. By refusing to prostrate himself before Adam whom he honestly believed to be his inferior, he revealed a high sense of self-respect, a trait of character, which, in my opinion, ought to redeem him from his spiritual

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1. quoted on p. 5, in Syed Abdul Vahid: Iqbal His Art & Thought (London, John Murray, 1959)

deformity. ... And I believe God punished him not because he refused to make himself low before the progenitor of an enfeebled humanity, but because he declined to give absolute obedience to the will of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe. ..."[1] The punishment awarded to Adam for his transgression, in the opinion of Iqbal, was fraught with prospects and possibilities for his behefit. It was done "to defeat the object of Satan, who, as an enemy of man, diplomatically tried to keep him ignorant of the joy of perpetual growth and expansion. ... (For) the experience of finite ego to whom several possibilities are open, expands only by the method of trial and error. Therefore, error which may be described as a kind of intellectual evil, is an indispensable factor in the building up of an experience."[2] This is necessary to keep personality, as he puts it, in 'a state of tension.'[3] This is more or less the same view as Milton expresses in his Areopagitica : "Good and evil we knew in the field of this world grew up together almost inseparably."[4] And Iqbal's aim is also like Milton's to

> ... assert Eternal Providence,
> And justifie the wayes of God to man
> (Paradise Lost, I 25-26)

Iqbal justifies the ways of God when he says:

> How could an Angel dare, in time's first dawning
> to rebel ?

1.Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1964) ed. by S.A.Vahid.
p.42 (from Iqbal's article 'Islam As A Moral & Political Ideal')

2.Md.Iqbal:Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1962 reprint). p. 87

3.vide.p. XXI(Introduction) R.A.Nicholson:The Secrets of the Self (tr. of Asrar-i Khudi), Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint.

4.Milton: Areopagitica
p.691 The Complete Poetry & Selected Prose of John Milton (New York,The Modern Library,n.d.)

Should I know that ? whose confidant was Satan -
mine or Yours ?
Gabriel is yours, Mahomed Yours, Yours the Koran;
yet in
Their gracious words, whose inmost soul is written,
mine or Yours ? 1

Every thing, thus, belongs to God. He is All-wise, how man can have an idea of His Wisdom! Iqbal therefore prays to Him:

... Bid me traverse with speed
The paths that lie ahead. 2

Faith is the concommitant of life; the ways of God should not be questioned. Encompassed by such a faith Milton makes Adam sing the great paen of praise, joy and triumph:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness: full of doubt I stand;
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done and occasioned, or rejoyce
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring.
(Paradise Lost,XII,lines 469-476)

Before dealing with Miltonic features in Iqbal's Satan let us first see Milton's. "Nothing can exceed", says P.B. Shelley, "the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in Paradise Lost. It is a mistake to

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1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955), tr. by V.G.Kiernan.
p.24 (lines from a Ghazal in Gabriel's Wing)
2.Pilgrimage of Eternity (tr. of Javid Nama), by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad, (Lahore,Institute of Islamic Culture,1961)
p. 5, lines: 97-98

suppose that he could ever have been intended for the popular personification of evil. ... Milton's Devil as a moral being is as far superior to his God, as one who perseveres in some purpose which he has conceived to be excellent in spite of adversity and torture, is to one who in the cold security of undoubted triumph inflicts the most horrible revenge upon his enemy, not from any mistaken notion of inducing him to repent of a perseverance in enmity, but with the alleged design of exasperating him to deserve new torments. Milton has so far violated the popular creed ... as to have alleged no superiority of moral virtue to his god over his devil. And this bold neglect of a direct moral purpose is the most decisive proof of the supremacy of Milton's genius. He mingled as it were the elements of human nature as colours upon a single pallet, and arranged them in the composition of his great picture according to the laws of epic truth, that is, according to the laws of that principle by which a series of actions of the external universe and of intelligent and ethical beings is calculated to excite the sympathy of succeeding generations of mankind."[1] What Shelley praises is highly spoken of by most of the readers and critics. "Milton's Satan," writes R.J.Zwi Werblowsky, "has absorbed so many Promethean qualities that we are in danger of admiring him and sympathizing with him. Satan is in trespass and thus sinful; but at the same time he represents our ... aspiration towards new and higher levels of existence,

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1.vide.pp.358-360 Milton Criticism (London,Routledge & Kegan Paul,1965 paperback) edited by James Thorpe (from 'A Defence of Poetry)

our human battle against heavy and indifferent odds."[1] Prometheus symbolises love and friendship for mankind and the readiness to sacrifice and undergo untold sufferings for the cause.[2] Milton's Satan has round him a Promethean halo because of his indominatable courage and his perseverance in battling against heavy odds, steically indifferent to the tortures of Hell. Whether Promethean or not Satan's character is doubtless tragic. "How remote", writes Tillyard, "Satan is from essential evil can be seen, if you compare him with Macbeth and Iago respectively. Plainly he resembles Macbeth and not Iago ..."[3] Milton's Satan shows "courage never to submit or yield"[4] He revolts against the "Tyranny of Heav'n" because he cannot stoop so low as to "bow and sue for grace with suppliant knee."[5] Even the crushing defeat fails to cow him down; he sends a thrill of zeal down the spines of fallen angels with these words:

> ... What though the field be lost ?
> All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,
> And study of revenge, immortal hate,
> And courage never to submit or yield:
> And what is else not to be overcome ?
>
> (Paradise Lost I : 105-109)

All such qualities make Milton's Satan an admirable figure.

To turn to Iqbal. His Satan, Iblis, is equally courageous; he rejects the idea of reconciliation with God.

1.vide.p. XIX (Preface) R.J.Zwi Werblowsky: Lucifer & Prometheus (Routledge & Kegan Paul,London,1952)
2.Ibid, p.58
3.vide.p.60 E.M.W.Tillyard: Studies In Milton (Chatto & Windus,London, 1960)
4.Milton: Paradise Lost, vide p.94 The Complete Poetry & Selected Prose of John Milton (New York, The Modern Library,n.d.)
5.Ibid, p.95

He is too proud to lose his identity:

Of union I shall breathe not even a word,
For fusion if I seek, nor I survive
Nor He remains. [1]

Satan, when advised by Gabriel to seek reconciliation with God, retorts:

Ah, Gabriel! You have never guessed my mystery; alas -
Maddened for ever I lift upon Heaven's floor my broken
glass.
Impossible, oh! impossible I should dwell here again;
Silent, how silent all this realm - no place, no loud
lane!
I whose despair is the fire by which the universe is
stirred,
What should I do - all hope renounce, or hope yet in
in God's word ? [2]

Satan refuses to be guided. He does not bend a suppliant knee to God; undaunted he rushes into the thick of the fight to help Adam march from success to success. That is why, replying to Gabriel, he says:

Ask this of God, when next you stand alone within
His sight -
Whose blood is it has painted Man's long history so
bright ?
In the heart of the Almighty like a pricking thorn I
lie;
You only cry for ever God, oh God, oh God most high! [3]

1.Pilgrimage of Eternity (tr. of Iqbal's Javid Nama), by Sh.Mahmud Ahmad (Lahore,Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961). p. 129, lines:2672 - 2675
2.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955) tr. by V.G. Kiernan. p. 52 from 'Gabriel & Satan' in Gabriel's Wing
3.Ibid, p.53

He is bold enough to tell God roundly that his disobedience was born of God's fore-ordaining will:

... If I would not kneel to Adam
The cause was Your own fore-ordaining will.[1]

He is courageous, unwilling to give ground, determined to fight on - all these traits resemble those of Milton's Satan. Iqbal's Iblis like Milton's Satan, evokes sentiments of admiration in the reader's heart. Besides, like Goethe's Mephistopheles Iqbal's Iblis lends a helping hand in evolving good through evil; if Goethe's Mephistopheles can boast of his being

Part of that Power, not understood,
Which always [illegible] the [illegible], and always works the Good![2]

Iqbal's Iblis, as we have seen, arrogates to himself the strivings towards painting 'Man's long history so bright.' Iblis, in short, sustains the reader's interest as does Milton's Satan, and he constitutes what may be described as constructive force as does Goethe's Mephistopheles. Iblis, though to a great extent he is Satan and Mephistopheles rolled into one, retains his orginality and he is distinctly Iqbalean as well. Iqbal uses Iblis to satirize the people and the social set-up. For instance, he criticises priests and anchorites by describing Satan as

An ancient one who seldom smiles, speaks less,
Has eyes that pierce the flesh and the heart,
A drunkard and a theologian both,

1.Md.Iqbal: Zarb-i Kalim (Rod of Moses)
couplet 2, poem 'Taqdir: Iblis wa Yazdan (Destiny: Satan & God)

2.Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library,1950), tr. by Bayard Tayler.
p.46

Philosopher as well, at once he is;
Dressed as an anchorite, and diligent
Like priests in prayer busy. [1]

The poem entitled 'Iblis Ki Majlis-i Shawra' (Satan's Parliament) contained in Iqbal's Armughan-i Hijaz (The Gift of Hejaz) bitterly satirizes the religious orders, political institutions and social condition. In this poem Satan is seen holding consultations with this colleagues. Inasmuch as there is no such poem in Urdu - Persian poetry there is reason to believe that it is modelled on Milton's Satan addressing other fallen angels and holding consultations with them. Satan after his being 'hurled headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie'[2] discusses the situation with his associates, fallen angels and places before them

These thoughts
Full counsel must mature ...
(Paradise Lost I : 650 - 60)

After Satan's speech, his followers draw their swords, rage against the Highest, and hurl defiance toward the vault of heaven. The Infernal Peers there (in Pandaemonium) sit in Council. The Argument for Book II (Paradise Lost) says that "Satan debates whether another Battel be to be hazarded for recovery of Heaven."[3] Then several angels such as Molee, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub and others put forth their suggestions. Iqbal uses this infernal assembly as model for his poem. Patterned on Pandaemonium 'meet' Iqbal's poem shows Satan closeted with his five counsellors who are not

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1.Pilgrimage of Eternity (translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama), by Sh.Mahmud Ahmad (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture,1961) p.126, lines: 2612 - 2617
2.Milton: Paradise Lost, Book I, line: 45
3.Milton:Paradise Lost, Book II, Argument vide.p.114 The Complete Poetry & Selected Prose of John Milton (New York, The Modern Library,n.d.)

named in the poem. They take stock of the situation and express doubt for the sovereignty of Hell because

> Firm, beyond doubt, is the sovereignty of Hell.
> Through it the nations have grown rotten - ripe
> In slavishness: wretches, whose destiny is
> From age to age to kneel, whose nature craves
> A prostrate worship, no prayer uttered erect;
> In whom no high desire can come to birth,
> Or born must perish, or grow misshapenly.
> From our unceasing labour this wonder blooms:
> Priesthood and sainthood now are servile props
> For alien dominion. Opium such as theirs
> Was medicinable to Asia; had we needed,
> The sophist's art lay ready, no less potent
> Than dreaming psalm. And what if pilgrim zeal
> Still shout for Mecca and the Kaaba ? - blunt
> Is grown the sheathless scimitar of Islam!
> To whose despair stands witness that new - fangled
> In this age draws his sword in holy war! 1

Thus speaks the first counsellor after Satan's speech. Consultations follow, and they are satisfied with the outcome of the policy pursued by them. Towards the end of the poem, Satan sounds a note of warning. He advises his followers:

> ... let
> These theologian's graven images
> Content the Muslim of this century!

1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955), tr. by V. G.kiernan.
pp. 79-80, from 'Satan's Parliament' in Gift of Hejaz, Armaghan-i Hejaz.

2.

Keep him a stranger to the realm of action,
That on the chessboard of existence all
His pieces may be forfeit. ... 1
...
... Keep its wits bemused with dawn
Potations of its drugs of thought and prayer;
And tighten round its (religion's) soul the monkish
bonds! 2

This poem not only holds up to ridicule a few institutions it portrays Iblis as a hero as well. In an article, Taj Muhammad Khayal, referring to this poem, amongst others, observes: "In short, Satan is the embodiment of liberty of thought, freedom of will and dynamic power. The critics who regard Iqbal as only the representative of current religious ideas fail to do justice to his ideas about Satan. To such persons Satan symbolises evil and vice alone and they do not find in him anything worth-praising, albeit from the way in which Satan is depicted by Iqbal he seems to be a Hero striving for a dynamic and constructive change."[3]

Both Milton and Iqbal are against any form of servitude; they kneel to God alone. Milton makes Abdiel, the loyal angel, say:

This is servitude
To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebelled
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,

1.Ibid, p.84
2.Ibid, p.85
3.Falsafa-i Iqbal (Philosophy of Iqbal), compiled by Lahore, Bazm-i Iqbal,1961
p.82, from article 'Falsafa-i Iqbal' by Taj Muhammad Khayal

Thy self not free, but to thyself enthrall'd.
(Paradise Lost, VI, 178 - 81)

And Iqbal in Bal-i Jibril (Gabriel's Wing) says:

Bread earned by any servitude,
For the watchman soul is poisoned food;
If you can eat and hold your head
High among men, you eat good bread.
Honour your self, not fawn on the great,
Look down on Mahmud's pomp and state;
Kneel to God alone: that prostration
Forbids as impious such oblation
To others. ... 1

Now let us see how Michael, in Paradise Lost, bids good bye to Adam and Eve:

To whom thus also th' Angel last replied:
'This having learnt, thou hast attained the summe
Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the Stars
Thou knowst by name, and all th' ethereal Powers,
Or works of God in Heav'n, Air, Earth, or Sea,
And all the riches of this this World enjoydst,
And all the rule, one Empire; onely add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
Add Vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul
Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess

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1. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955) tr. by V.G. Kiernan.
p. 40 lines from 'To The Saqi' (Saqi Nama), in Bal-i Jibril

A Paradise within thee, happier farr.

...

That ye may live, which will be many dayes,
Both in one Faith unanimous though sad,
With cause for evils past, yet much more cheer'd
With meditation on the happie end.

(Paradise Lost,XII,574-605)

These lines find an echo in Iqbal's poem entitled'Firaste Adam Ke Jannat Se Rukhsat Karte Hain' (The Angels bid farewell to Adam from Paradise), contained in Bal-i Jibril (Gabriel's Wing):

You have been endowed with constant restlessness;
We know not whether you are earthen or mercurian.
We hear you are created from the earth
But your nature glitters like moon and stars.
As God Himself has attuned your organ
Your melody unfolds the mystery of life. 1

This echo becomes clear and distinct in another poem 'Rooh-i Arzi Adam Ka Istiqbal Karte Hain' (The Earth Welcomes Adam) contained in Bal-i Jibril

Behold: the earth, the heavens, the atmosphere
And the sun rising in the east.
Behold this manifest vision veiled in the clouds.
Taste of the anguish and torment of Separation.
Don't be restless, behold the contest of Hope and Fear.
Your possession extends over clouds,
Skies, and the silent space.

1.Md.Iqbal: Bal-i Jibril
see p. 410 Kulliyat-i Iqbal (Complete Urdu-Nazm of Iqbal)
Delhi,New Taj,n.d.

These mountains, this desert, these oceans are all
yours.
Till yesterday you had charming angels before you,
Look, to-day, into the Time's mirror and see your
charm. 1

Towards the latter portion of this poem there is a verse strikingly similar to Milton's: ' ... thou shalt possess A Paradise within thee, happier farr'[2], says Milton, and Iqbal says:

What comparison does the Paradise bear
To one within you. 3

This idea appears in '[illegible]-i Qurtaba' (The Mosque of Cordoba) also:

No less exalted than high Heaven is the human breast,
Handful of dust though it be, bounded by that blue
sky. 4

Both Milton and Iqbal regard Adam's Fall as fortunate because in their opinion it opened a new vista. It implied that man was gifted with freedom of choice and endowed with opportunities for the exercise of reason. Regeneration is implied in the so-called Degeneration. Milton's Adam comes to understand the Will of God and he 'replete with joy and wonder thus' replies:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that by which creation first brought forth

1.Ibid,p.410-411, first two stanzas.
2.vide.p.211 of this work
3.Md.Iqbal: Bal-i Jibril
p.411 Kulliyat-i Iqbal (Complete Urdu-Works of Iqbal)
Delhi,New Taj,n.d.
4.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955) tr. by V.G. Kiernan. p. 39

Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done occasioned, or rejoyce
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
To God more glory, more good will to Men
From God, and over wrauth grace shall abound.
(Paradise Lost,XII,469-478)

Iqbal's views on Fall veer round to the ideas expressed in the above-quoted lines. The Fall, according to him, was an indication of 'man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the consciousness of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience. The fall does not mean any moral depravity; it is man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness ...'[1] He clearly says in Bal-i Jibril (Gabriel's Wing):

How could an Angel dare, in time's first dawning to rebel ?
Should I know that ? whose confidant was Satan - mine, or Yours ?[2]

The angels inspite of man's transgression know the prospects that await him. They, in Javid Nama, sing:

Such glory shall the man of clay
Own far above the angels' light
That with his star of destiny
He'll make the earth like heaven bright.
Possessed of such a mind that feeds
On every storm that time may bring,

1.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam (Sh.Md.Ashraf,Lahore,1962 reprint). p. 85
2.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955). p. 24 (from 'Gabriel's Wing, couplet 3)

He'll fly and clear across one day
The whirlpool of this azure ring.
Consider what man signifies
Evolving to what's yet to be,
A subject heaving into form,
Of him why should you ask of me ?
Soon fashioned forth in rhythmic poise,
This subject old, this common man,
Will with his rapturous impact
The heart of even God attain. 1

Iqbal thus imbibes from Milton what seems to be assimilable to him. Although there is no such work of his as may be called the fulfilment of his desire to write a book in the manner of Milton's Paradise Lost Iqbal presents very many conceptions including these of Adam and Satan; his Iblis seems to be invested with a character comparable to Milton's Satan. Iqbal, to all intents and purposes, does not fall short of his ambition since the Iblis of Iqbal's conception cannot but attract the reader's attention.

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1. Pilgrimage of Eternity (tr. of Iqbal's Javid Nama), Sh. Mahmud Ahmad, (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961) lines: 161-176.
It may be pointed out that Iqbal's Adam is not passive; he seems to resemble Goethe's Faust. The next chapter studies, among others, this aspect also.
It may also be pointed out that Milton's "Adam plays a passive role". vide. p. 70 R.J.Zwi Werblowsky, Leeds University: Lucifer & Prometheus (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952)

Chapter 18

Iqbal & Goethe

Before proceeding to discover how and to what extent Iqbal was influenced by Goethe it is apt to reproduce a few portions from Iqbal by Atiya Begum whose stay in Germany coincided with that of Iqbal's. She writes: "Iqbal was in Heidelburg to complete the philosophical research work he had undertaken. Heidelburg provided every kind of facility to such scholars. Here the essence of every branch of knowledge known to the world was ... made accessible to the lover of learning, so that men of understanding and ambition made this spot their place of pilgrimage, and their work in this town changed the course of thought and and action of the knowledge-seeker.[1]..Iqbal was all for German knowledge, and said, 'If you wish to increase your understanding in any branch of learning, Germany should be your goal.'"[2] Iqbal began to write German with a literary flavour.[3] All this is perhaps sufficient to show that Iqbal must have consequently read the German master-minds in the original.

The influence of Goethe on Iqbal is profound. So deep was the influence of Goethe, whom Karl Vietor calls 'one of the Titans in the realm of literature'[4], that "the whole

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1. Atiya Begum: Iqbal (Academy of Islam Publication, 1947) p.9
2. Ibid, p.19
3. vide. pp. 19-20 Atiya Begum: Iqbal (Academy of Islam Publication, 1947)
4. vide. p.3 Karl Vietor: Goethe The Thinker (Cambridge-Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1950)

scheme of this volume (i.e. Pyam-i Mashriq) was suggested by Goethe's Westoestlicher Diwan.[1] Pyam-i Mashriq (The Message of the East), published in 1923, "was written when he (Iqbal) had fairly developed his poetic art and drunk ... deep of the Western fountains. ... (It) was completed in response to the Western Diwan of the German poet, Goethe. ... Iqbal's object in writing (it) was to present moral, religious and national truths that have their relation with the inner development of individuals and nations. ... The first part ... includes quatrains presenting some of his philosophical interpretations of the intricate problems of human life, such as eternity, manifestations of God, desire and its effects on the world, love and reason and their influence on man, life and materialism. A number of other poems, such as 'Life,' 'the World of Action,' 'Wisdom and Poetry,' are dealt with in the second part. Under the caption of Naqsh-i Farangi (i.e. Impressions of the West), there are a few short poems on the great men of Europe, such as Schopenhauer, Tolstoy, Karl Marx, Nietzsche, Einstein, Hegel, Goethe, Bergson and Lenin. Khurda (i.e. subtle point) brings (the book) to a close."[2] In the preface to Pyam-i Mashriq, Iqbal pays homage to Goethe's genius and praises his Western Diwan (Der westoestliche Diwan) for its Persian sources. Mentioning Goethe's holding Persian Poets like Hafiz, Sadi, Attar, Rumi in great esteem, Iqbal proceeds to remark: " ... Despite all this Goethe does not follow any Persian poet.

1.V.G.Kiernan: Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955) p. 111
Note: Werner P.Friedrich: An Outline Of German Literature (New York, Barnes & Noble, Inc, 1960) gives the name of Goethe's book as Der westoestliche Diwan. vide. p. 107

2.A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Sh.Md.Ashraf, Lahore, 1961). pp. 32 - 33

His poetic nature is entirely independent. His carolling in the oriental melody is only a passing phase. He does never part company with western spirit; he lights upon only these oriental values that can be well assimilated by his western disposition."[1] And with regard to his Pyam-i Mashriq he, in the same preface, says:" Pyam Mashriq ... has been written a century after the Western Diwan. Readers would, however, notice that the idea behind my book is to bring to light those moral, religious and national verities that are concerned with cultural upbringing of the people and nations."[2] Besides, the Western Diwan (Der westestliche Divan), Goethe's Faust is also a source of poetic inspiration to him. However, before turning to Iqbal's poetry for descovering Goethe's influence we may have a look at a few entries in his diary, posthumously edited by the poet's son Javid Iqbal:

"No nation was so fortunate as the Germans. They gave birth to Heine at the time when Goethe was singing in full-throated ease. Two uninterrupted springs! "[3]

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"Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realised the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breath of my own."[4]

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"Both Shakespeare and Goethe re-think the divine thought of creation. There is, however, one important

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1.Masameen-i Iqbal (Urdu articles by Iqbal), edited by Tasadduq Husain Taj (Azam Steam Press,Hyderabad,1362 Hijri) p.59 (from Preface to Pyam-i Mashriq)
2.Ibid, p.59
3.Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal),ed. by Javid Iqbal. (Lahore,Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons,1961) p.151
4.Ibid,p.2

difference between them. The realist Englishman re-thinks the individual - the idealist German, the universal. His Faust is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is hu humanity individualised."[1]

** **

"If you wish to study the anatomy of the human mind, you may go to Wundt, Ward, James or Stout. But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone."[2]

** **

"Nature was not quite decided what to make of Plato - a poet or philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in the case of Goethe."[3]

** **

"It is Goethe's Faust ... which reveals the spiritual ideals of the German nation. And the Germans are fully conscious of it."[4]

** **

"Goethe's Faust

Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century - nay, the entire experience of the human race. This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine Workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful universe out of the chaos of formless matter."[5]

These entries from Iqbal's Stray Reflections go a long way towards testifying to the critical acumen he was endowed

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1.Ibid,p.144
2.Ibid,p.139
3.Ibid,p.128
4.Ibid,p.66
5.Ibid,p.71

with. This penetrative insight seems to have helped Iqbal to imbibe from Goethe a good many things.

To discover the Goethe in Iqbal let us first turn to the poetic homage that Iqbal pays to him. The poem 'Jalal wa Goethe (Jalal & Goethe), contained in Pyam-i Mashriq (The Message of the East), is worth attention. Explaining this poem Prof. Saleem Chisti says:"Jalal stands for Jalaluddin Rumi who is regarded by Iqbal as his preceptor. ... Once, in paradise, Goethe waited on Rumi ... and recited to him his Faust. Rumi said: You have doubtless infused into Poetry a new lease of life. O Goethe, by revealing the mysteries of life you have enriched the world. Your insight has penetrated, so to say, into the pearl-oyster to observe pearl-formation. That is, you have thrown light on all the stages of spirituality. There is no gainsaying that every man cannot attain to this sublimity; that is, manifestation of love's attainments would elude many a poet. Fortunate is he who understands the mystery that man's distinguishing quality is not intellect but love. Satan made intellect his guide and that is why he was cursed; but Adam by treading the path of love could have access to Divine Presence."[1] This poem is not only indicative of Iqbal's being influenced by Goethe it also brings to the fore the points at which Goethe touches Iqbal. Intellect or Reason and Love are the main themes that strike every cord of Iqbal's heart. His jottings on Goethe, already reproduced from his note-book, bear testimony to the fact that Iqbal understands the

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1.Prof.Yusuf Saleem Chisti:Sharh-i Pyam-i Mashriq (i.e. commentary on Pyam-i Mashriq); Lahore, Ishrat Publishing House, Lahore, 1961.
pp. 587 - 588

meaning and philosophy behind Goethe's Faust.

Let us begin with Iqbal's Iblis (Satan) and Goethe's Mephistopheles. Iblis in Iqbal is not the Satan of traditional conception. In pre-Iqbalean Urdu-Persian poetry Satan symbolises only evil that an aspirant for spiritual uplift must guard himself against. That 'Evil' too constitutes a stepping stone to virtue is the mystery that Iqbal learns from Goethe . What is then Evil in Goethe ? Goethe's Mephistopheles himself says:

"Part of that Power, not understood,
which always wills the Bad, and always works the Good."[1]

And Mephistopheles pays attention to life and throws overboard the theories expounded by intellect. He says:

" ... gray are all theories
And green alone Life's golden tree."[2]

Iqbal in his poem 'Jibril aur Iblis'[3], contained in Bal-i Jibril (Gabriel's Wing), makes Iblis give the following reply to Gabriel when the latter advises him to seek reconciliation with God:

"But in Man's pinch of dust my daring spirit has breathed ambition,
The warp and woof of mind and reason are woven of my sedition.
The deeps of good and ill you only see from land's far verge:
Which of us is it, you or I, that dares the tempest's scourge ?

1.Goethe: Faust, translated by Bayard Taylor (New York, The Modern Library, 1950). p. 46
2.Ibid, p. 69
3.The title means 'Gabriel & Satan'

Your ministers and your prophets are pale shades:
the storms I teem
Roll down ocean by ocean, river by river, stream by
stream!
Ask this of God, when next you stand alone within his
sight -
Whose blood is it has painted Man's long history so
bright ?
In the heart of the Almighty like a pricking thorn I
lie;
You only cry for ever God, oh God, oh God most high![1]

Satan claims to have painted 'Man's history bright'.[2] This claim is almost the same as Goethe's Mephistophles makes. No Urdu - Persian poet of Pre-Iqbalean era shows the audacity to bring Gabriel and Satan together or God and Satan together. Not to say of other poets, even Iqbal's poetry written prior to his departure for Europe does not show any such confrontation. This is the way of Goethe's and Iqbal adapts it. Iblis, in Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity), complains to God:

O Lord of good and bad, man's company
And commerce has degraded me. No once
My bidding dares he to defy; his self
He realises not. And never feels
His dust the thrill of disobedience;

1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan.
pp. 52-53 from the poem 'Gabriel & Satan'
2.Syed Abid Ali Abid finds Iqbal in agreement with Goethe's conception of Satan. vide A Persian section, p.6
Talmihat-i Iqbal (i.e. Allusions of Iqbal), Lahore, Bazm-i Iqbal,1959

Unlit as it is by the ego's spark.

....

..... O woe

To me whose sinewy heart he has turned soft

And frail. His nature is effeminate

And feeble his resolve, he lacks the strength

To stand a single stroke of mine. A man

Endowed with vision would have suited me,

A riper rival I deserve. Reclaim

From me this game of chaff and dust, for pranks

And impish play suit not an aged one.

This Adam's son is just a heap of hay,

Whom my one one spark can all consume. If Thy

World had but straw why didst Thou light a lake

Of fire in me. Thou dost confront with glass

The one who could e'en mountains melt. Now for

The piling torture of these victories

I claim to be requited. Lead my way

That I may find a man of God, who dare

Resist my might, and who will twist and turn

My neck, whose single glance will make my flesh

To creep, and who will say to me "Begone",

Who will not weigh me by two oats. O God!

Confront me with a single faithful man,

May I perchance gain bliss in my defeat! [1]

(lines 2681 - 2712)

This confrontation of Satan and God cannot but bring to

1.Pilgrimage of Eternity (tr. of Iqbal's Javid Nama), by Sh.Mahmud Ahmad, (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961)

ones notice 'Prelegue In Heaven' in Goethe's Faust.[1] Mephistopheles, in Prelegue In Heaven, complains to the Lord that man is no match and consequently describes man as 'a long-legged grasshopper'.[2] And he ends up by saying:

No Lord! I find things, there, still bad as they can be
Man's misery even to pity moves by nature;
I've scarce the heart to plague the wretched creature.[3]

And, again, he observes, replying to God:

My thanks! I find the deed no acquisition,
And never cared to have them in my keeping.
I much prefer the cheeks where ruddy bleed is leaping,
And when a corpse approaches, close my house:
It goes with me, as with the cat the mouse. 4

In both these poets, therefore, Satan is sorry at man's plight and consequently ends up with a request for a better adversary capable of withstanding Satanic onslaughts. To Iqbal's Iblis, man 'is just a heap of hay'; to Goethe's Mephistopheles, man is 'a long-legged grasshopper'. If Iqbal's Iblis desires an opponent 'who will twist and turn my neck'; Goethe's Mephistopheles seeks a well-matched fight, not as 'it goes with me, as with the cat the mouse'. Iblis and Mephistopheles both arrogate to themselves the credit of having ushered in the world culture and civilization by stirring up love for life in human breast. At times Iqbal's Iblis becomes a little more saucy. How cheeky does he become

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1.Goethe: Faust, translated by Bayard Tayler (The Modern Library,1950). pp. 9-13
2.Ibid, p.10
3.Ibid, p.11
4.Ibid, p.12

the poem 'Taskhir-i Fitrat' (Conquest of Nature), included in Pyam-i Mashriq (The Message of the East), seems to give us a fair idea. Iblis, accounting for his refusal to prostrate before Adam, says to God:

It is I who make blood course in the arteries of the universe,
I am behind the [illegible] winds and thunders.
I organise the atoms and bring elements into harmony,
I impart life and passion to everything.
(Then) I destroy my own creations
To carve out a new image out of the old ashes.
You created the stars; I gave them movement,
It is thus I who am the life of every thing.
You breathed life into man; I made him dynamic
Yours is the path of passivity, mine that of activity.[1]

This is all in consonance with the Goethe's conception of evil. Discussing Goethe's conception of evil, Karl Vietor, in his book Goethe The Poet, observes: " ... Goethe ... in his Shakespeare's discourse (1771) says ... that what we call evil is only 'the obverse of the good', necessary for its existence and hence belonging to the entirety of the world. Without the opposition between good and evil there would be no struggle for the realization of the good, no moral decision, hence no moral activity. Thus along with everything in the world which we are pleased to call negative, the morally negative is likewise justified. 'If

1.Md.Iqbal: Pyam-i Mashriq (Delhi, Kutub Khana Nasirea, 1962 reprint). p. 58 from Taskhir Fitrat, Inkar-i Iblis (Satan's Refusal), couplets: 2,3,4,6,7

there were not this contrariety there would be no motion.' ... To be sure, the Devil can 'make' nothing, but he is involuntarily effective in another way: he calls creative forces into life. This is what the Lord means when he says in the Prologue in Heaven that man's nature is such that his activity easily slackens; hence He has given man an associate the demon of nothingness, who should act as a goad. Thus even the Devil must serve the eternal Becoming, unwillingly and eternally cheated out of his destructive intentions ..."[1] In another publication of his, Karl Vietor, throwing light on what Goethe calls 'charakter', writes: " ... He (Goethe) understands by that not the moral quality of the individual, but the definite peculiarity, the daimon in him, which reaches out into the world 'with unconditioned will-ing', the indefatigably vital activity and obstinacy whereby the monad seems to make its personal existence a reality ..."[2]

In 'Ighwa-ay Adam' (Seduction of Adam), the third canto of the poem 'Taskhir-i Fitrat', Iqbal makes Iblis speak as Mephistopheles speaks in scene IV, Part I of FAUST. A student calls on Faust in order to 'greet and know the man of fame',[3] since he craves

" ... The highest erudition;
And fain would make my acquisition
All that there is in Earth and Heaven,
In Nature and in Science too."[4]

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1. Karl Vietor: Goethe The Poet (Harvard University Press, 1949). p. 299
2. Karl Vietor: Goethe The Thinker (Harvard University Press, 1950). p. 145
3. Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor. p. 63
4. Ibid, p. 65

Disguised as Faust, Mephistopheles, expressing the shallowness of knowledge, says to him:

Of Metaphysics learn the use and beauty!
See that you most profoundly gain
What does not suit the human brain!
A splendid word to serve, you'll find
For what goes in - or won't go in - your mind.
...
I know what science this has come to be.
All rights and laws are still transmitted
Like an eternal sickness of the race, -
From generation unto generation fitted,
And shifted round from place to place.[1]

Likewise Mephistopheles goes on and, then, hits upon the nail:

My worthy friend, gray are all theories,
And green alone Life's golden tree.[2]

Iblis, of course in different words, says almost the same things in order to seduce Adam: The life of 'eternal peace' (Sukoon-i Dawam) such as you are leading in paradise is no life. Life consists in ceaseless striving, not in saying prayers. Good and evil are nothing but the figment of the brain. Don't get enmeshed in the controversy of virtue and vice. Let action be your ledestar to which you should hitch your waggon. Come along with me. If you act on my advice I can usher in a new world for you. Entering this world,

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1.Ibid, pp.66-67
2.Ibid, p.69

believe me, you will find your life revolutionized.[1]

Not only does Iblis resemble Mephistopheles, Iqbal's Adam too betrays some traits of Goethe's Faust. Let us begin with Faust. "The bearing of the Prologue In Heaven upon the subsequent plot," writes Victor Lange, "cannot be overemphasized - it is the key to every thing that is to come. ... The Lord insists that the sense of discrimination between good and evil, even though it may not easily be realised in a life of positive action, represents the true character of the human being. As long as the perception of values is active, it should entitle man to eventual salvation. This is the meaning of the term 'striving' which the Lord recognizes as the essence of man's character and which, not in the sense of aggressive and amoral ruthlessness, but of a persistent power of moral judgment, Goethe offers as the central concept of Faust's career."[2]

The Lord tells Mephistopheles:

As long as he on earth shall live,
So long I make no prohibition.
While Man's desires and aspirations stir,
He cannot choose but err. 3

There is a clear echo of these words in Javid Nama:

As man grows from a mould of dust, he grows
With longing in his heart. To savour sin
Is his desire, to taste its raptures sweet.
He searches for his ego; save with sin,
The ego but eludes one's grasp; until

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1. vide. Iqbal's poem 'Taskhir-i Fitrat' (Conquest of Nature), included in Pyam-i Mashriq, canto 3. Resume' of the ideas.
2. vide. p. XI Introduction (written by Victor Lange, Professor of German Language & Literature, Cornell University) to Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor.
3. Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor.
p. 11 Prologue In Heaven

Access be gained to it, frustration lies
In store for man ...
(Lines: 3560 - 3565) [1]

These two sets of lines from Goethe and Iqbal establish a family likeness between Faust and Adam. To Faust 'word' is "the metapher of life, the unfathomable vehicle of an inexpressible substance."[2] Puzzled over the expression - 'In the beginning was the word,' Faust exercises his brain and ultimately says:

... Now I see the Light!
'In the Beginning was the Act ...' 3

This reading of word into act or deed[4] is indicative of Faust's attitude towards life. Faust is throughout devoted to the highest form of life, he decides to live resolutely for he 'wants food which never satiates.'[5] He trips over many a hurdle yet he marches on non-stop. His voyage for mystery continues and ultimately he is redeemed. "Classical mythology," to quote from Victor Lange, "would hardly have conveyed the full meaning of the essentially modern, Christian transfiguration of Faust - the radical experience of inadequacy that must remain insubstantial without the constant 'striving' for an awareness of good and evil and that can be resolved, not in secular justice, but only in divine grace."[6] Iqbal, too, makes his Adam speak in this manner. In the fifth canto of the poem 'Taskhir-i Fitrat' (Conquest of Nature), Adam is shown before Divine Presence.

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1. Filgrimage of Eternity (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961), translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama, by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad.
2. vide. p. XIX Introduction (by Victor Lange, Professor of German Language & Literature) to Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor
3. Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor. p. 43, scene III, Pt. I.
4. Louis MacNeice translates as 'deed'. vide p. 93 Great Writings of Goethe (A Mentor Book: New York, American Library of World Literature, 1958), ed. by Stephen Spender.
5. Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor. p. 67, Scene IV, Pt. I
6. Ibid, Introduction (by Victor Lange) p. XXI

This canto is entitled '[illegible]' (Resurrection). Yusuf Saleem Chisti comments on it as follows:

"In this canto Iqbal, in a symbolical style, has thrown light on the fact that Adam, if he had not transgressed, could not have used his will, and could have never succeeded in conquering Nature. Since his disobedience was nothing but the use of will he was excused by God."[1] Both Faust and Adam, as evident from the foregoing discussion, got tempted but inspite of transgression they succeeded in gaining divine grace. God liked their strivings since these were the outcome of their free-will. Faust and Adam did not rest on their oars; they continued endeavouring according to their lights. Iqbal, in other words, agreed with Goethe's views on free-will which keeps man away from degenerating into an automaton. An entry in Iqbal's diary, in this connection, is worthy of attention: "Every experience evokes something from the soul of man. Even the experience of sin will reveal some aspect of your soul of which you were not cognisant before. Experience, then, is a double source of knowledge; it gives you an insight into what is without you, as well as an insight into what is within you."[2] This is what Goethe means by 'striving.' Karl Vietor observes: "Goethe rejects neither man nor life. He is convinced that an inclination to evil ... is as much inborn in man as ... the inclination to goodness and reverence. This faith Goethe retained to the end as firmly as his faith in the basically good nature of life. 'The Prologue In Heaven' gives clear expression to this faith, which is the

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1. Yusuf Saleem Chisti: Sharh-i Pyam-i Mashriq (Commentary on Pyam-i Mashriq). 2nd.(Lahore, Ishrat Publishing House, 1961) p. 208
2. Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal), edited by Javid Iqbal (Lahore, Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961). p.148

synthesis of Yea and Nay."[1]

Both Goethe and Iqbal, therefore, are exponents of 'free-will'. Man, in their opinion, is free to choose, according to his lights, between good and evil; if man had not been privileged with this freedom, he would be no better than machine propelled by an Omnipotent power. Not only this, Virtue and Vice would lose their content and meaning, if freedom of action is denied. And, evil, too, performs an important function. Striving should be the goal. Goethe's striving, as understood by Iqbal and rightly too, implies a series of experiences that gives 'an insight into what is without you, as well as insight into what is within you.'[2] Goethe is quite [illegible] to have written in one of his letters:" "Every return from error develps a man mightily in particular and in general, so that one can well understand how a repentant sinner can be dearer to the searcher of hearts than ninety-nine righteous men."[3] Goethe, it follows, has no love for cloistered virtue. Man should continue a life-long chase after a goal, a goal that too goes on changing:

On runs the man, pursuing
Forever a changeable goal. 4

In Goethe constant striving is a recurrent note:

Error will never desert us. A craving for what is
ennobling
Urges, however, our constantly striving minds gently,
towards truth. 5

1.Karl Vietor: Goethe The Poet (Harvard University Press,1949) p.226
2.See p. 229 of this work.
3.Goethe's letter to Riehetadt, Sept.15,1804, quoted in Karl Vietor: Goethe The Poet (Harvard University Press,1949), p. 214
4.lines from Goethe, translated by Morgan, quoted in Karl Vietor: Goethe The Poet (Harvard University Press,1949) p.222
5.Ibid, p.122

In Iqbal also this is an oft-repeated note. Let us, for example, turn to his poem 'Hoor - wa - Sha'ir' (Houri & Poet) written, according to Iqbal's note, in response to a poem of Goethe's under the same caption.[1] A few lines from Iqbal's poem are reproduced below. The poet, replying to Houri, says:

> While a mistress stands before me and her loveliness enchants me,
> Even then my thoughts are pinning for a mistress yet more lovely;
> In a spark I crave a star, and in a star a sun: my journey
> Has no bourn, no place of halting: it is death to me to linger.[2]

How beautifully do the above-quoted lines reflect the ideas given expression to by Goethe in Faust. It is as if in confirmation of Mephistopheles' statement - 'The way we take, our goal is yet some distance;- that Faust says:

> So long as in my legs I feel the fresh existence,
> This knotted staff suffices me.
> What need to shorten so the way ?
> Along this labyrinth of vales to wander,
> Wherefrom the fountain flings eternal spray ...[3]

Thus Faust stands for 'ideal striving'; he is even ready to lose to Mephistopheles 'if the urge to life in him should ever be stilled, if his will should, in eternal dissatisfaction, no longer strive for some thing higher and highest ... Such

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1.Md.Iqbal: Pyam-i Mashriq (The Message of the East). Delhi, Kutub Khana Nazirea,1962 reprint. p.96
2.Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955),tr. by V.G. Kiernan. p.96
3.Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library,1950),tr. by Bayard Taylor. p. 148

an ideal of life places enjoyment and profit of existence not in the results but in the process of life's activity. The goal is not important, but the striving for that goal, the energy for tireless movement, the courage for ever new beginnings. What does it matter whether a man arrives or not ? Always to be on the way - that is the thing."[1] This is what Iqbal too says:

You are a falcon born to soar,
Still with your wings new heavens keep pace:
Let day-and-night not snare your feet,
Yours are another Time and Space! 2

** **

Strange, strange the fates that govern
This world of stress and strain,
But in the fires of action
Fate's mysteries are made plain. 3

It is more or less like Faust realising that "life ... is a never - ending task. Over and over again it must be earned; and each day life's most precious good, an independent existence, must be conquered anew. To live with the valiant and capable would be a goal to make being and working worthwhile ...

I must still be mounting higher,
Wider vision must I win.
(Faust V, 9821) " 4

Goethe, however, knows the limitations of human nature and makes due allowance for man's frailities. But man has a

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1.Karl Vieter: Goethe The Poet (Harvard University Press 1949). p. 296
2.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan. p.34, from 'Gabriel's Wing'.
3.Ibid, p.55 from 'Gabriel's Wing' (At Napoleon's Tomb)
4.Karl Vieter: Goethe The Poet (Harvard University Press, 1949). p.296

distinctive quality. He, like Faust, goes on striving "without regard for right and wrong, for good and evil, for truth and evil ... because ... the act of willing .. belongs not to the realm of freedom but to that of nature. It relates to the outer world, to the deed. But this is only half the truth. For the natural necessity of a determined will, which comprises the heart of personality, meets another force which exists in indissoluble tension: the will to moral autonomy, 'that good will which by its nature can only be directed to the right.' It too is innate; it too belongs to the nature of man. Can one deny Faust this good will ? What else is the eternal feeling of insufficiency, which can be satisfied by no success, but the incessant endeavour to bring Would and Should into harmony."[1] Iqbal, too, holds: "good and evil ... though opposites, must fall within the same whole. There is no such thing as an isolated fact; for facts are synthetic wholes the elements of which must be understood by mutual reference."[2] In his Pyam-i Mashriq (The Message of the East) he gives poetic expression to this view:

> How should I resolve the mystery of good and evil -
> I shudder at the thought for the problem is knotty enough.
> The flower and the thorn are two on the twig
> (But) within there is neither flower nor thorn. 3

Iqbal is well - acquainted also with Goethe's idea - the incessant endeavour to harmonise Would and Should. How

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1.Ibid, pp. 321-322
2.Md.Iqbal: The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam (Sh.Md.Ashraf,Lahore,1962 reprint).pp. 85-86
3.Md.Iqbal:Pyam-i Mashriq (The Message of the East) Delhi, Kutub Khana, Nasirea,1962 reprint. p.32, rubai 86

Adam of Iqbal's conception brings into harmony these two would be evident from the following lines:

God said, "The world as lies,
And say not otherwise;"
Said Adam,"So I see;
But thus it ought to be!" 1

Iqbal's Adam is always conscious of his endeavours in the direction of 'Ought'. Here is one more example:

God & Man

God

I made this world, from one same earth and water,
You made Tartaria, Nubia, and Iran.
I forged from dust the iron's unsullied ore,
You fashioned sword and arrowhead and gun;
You shaped the axe to hew the garden tree,
You wove the cage to hold the singing-bird.

Man

You made the night and I lamp,
And You the clay and I the cup;
You-desert, mountain-peak, and vale:
I-flower-bed, park, and orchard; I
Who grind a mirror out of stone,
Who ~~brew~~ brew from poison honey-drink.[2]

"Attempts to found a creed on Goethe's ideas," says Stephen Spender, "and in some world religious movement like theosophy."[3] Goethe's theosophy, as the following

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1.Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i Ajam), by A.J.Arberry, (Sh.Md.Ashraf,Lahore,1961). p.122
2.Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan.
p.94. This poem is from Pyam-i Mashriq; the caption is 'Muhawara-i Mabain-i Khuda wa Insan' (Dialogue Between God & Man). Kiernan's translation is entitled 'God & Man'.
3.Great Writings of Goethe (New York, The American Library of World Literature,1958). Introduction:p. XVIII

lines delineate, is more or less a consummation of thought, deed and love. Faust's striving is ultimately in divine grace. "In stages of extraordinary rich meaning and poetic power Faust's earthly remains are at last transformed into pure perception, and Margaret, Mephistopheles' great metaphysical antagonist can now lead Faust to clarity. Her unselfish love merges with that of the Blessed Virgin to elevate him to forgiveness."[1] The last lines from Faust seem to bring home all this:

Chorus Mysticus

All things transitory
But as symbols are sent:
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to Event.
The Indescribable,
Here it is done:
The Woman-soul leadeth us
Upward and on![2]

Faust, Mephistopheles and Margaret constitute the whole drama of human life. The ideas about thought, deed, and 'eternal feminine' that is, the force of love abound in Iqbal, with a Goethean ring. Let us turn to the following lines from Javid Nama:

It (life) makes the march of time all dolorous,
And robs the nations of their wealth. Its strength
Befriends but Satan who its light doth turn
To his own fire. To murder him is hard

1.vide.p. XXI Introduction(by Victor Lange, Professor of German Language & Literature) to Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library,1950) tr. by Bayard Taylor.
2.Goethe: Faust (New York, The Modern Library,1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor. the last lines.

Because he lies all hidden in the depths
Of hearts ...
(lines 1390 - 1395) 1

But there is a way out:

But if it blends with love, it joins the ranks
Of celestial spirits. Love-bereft
All knowledge is but cold as death, the shaft
Of intellect its target fails to reach.
But let love's sight restore a vision fresh
To one who is blind and so in darkness gropes.
(lines 1402 - 1407) 2

Iqbal is very optimistic. 'The Song of Angels' (Naghma-i Malayak), included in Pilgrimage of Eternity(Javid Nama), too bears witness to the penetration of Goethe's views in his works:

Such glory shall the man of clay
Own far above the Angel's light
That with his star of destiny
He'll make the earth like heaven bright.
Possessed of such a mind that feeds
On every storm that time may bring,
H'll fly and clear across one day
The whirlpool of this azure ring.
Consider what man signifies
Evolving to what's yet to be
A subject heaving into form,
Of him why should you ask of me ?

1.Pilgrimage of Eternity (translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama), by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture,1961). p. 66
2.Ibid, p.66

Seen fashioned forth in rhythmic poise,
This subject old, this common man,
Will with his rapturous impact
The heart of even God attain.

(lines 161 - 176) 1

Iqbal realised in full measure, in his own words, "the infinitude of Goethe's imagination."[2] So impressed was he with the Goethe's ideas that there are in his diary many entries on Goethe.[3] He brought all these ideas to bear upon his poetry as well. He imbibed from Goethe that evil is not all useless; it is complementary to good. An awareness of these, good and evil, with constant striving ends in Divine Grace. This conception of evil is not to be met with in his poetry written before his intimate contact with Goethe's writings.

1.Ibid, pp. 8-9
2.vide p.217 of this work
3.vide pp. 217 - 218 of this work.

Chapter 19

Iqbal & Wordsworth

"Wordsworth...saved me from atheism in my student days,"[1] writes Iqbal in his diary. This entry is almost a finger-post pointing to the direction towards which one should go for tracing the Wordsworthean influence. There are three well-marked periods of Iqbal's poetry: 1. 1899 - 1905, 2. 1905 - 1908, 3. from 1908 onwards.[2] The first period came to a close in 1905 when Iqbal left for Europe. It was during the first period lingering a little into second as well that Iqbal was under the influence of English Romanticism and nature poetry.[3] In this connection the observation made by Mian Muhammad Sharif may be reproduced: "Following the political ties with England and English being made medium of instruction since the time of Macaulay the impact of British Romanticism on our literature was but natural. During Iqbal's studentship English Romanticism was included in the syllabuses of the Punjab University and other universities. This resulted in a wave of romanticism sweeping over the entire country. Nature poetry and neo-Platonic aesthetic conceptions, which had become a tradition in Urdu and Persian poetry, exercised a profound influence on Iqbal."[4] The spade-work done by Azad and Hali inasmuch as these two

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1. Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal), edited by Javid Iqbal (Lahore, Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons.,1961). p.54
2. Tarikh-i Urdu Adab (Urdu translation of History of Urdu Literature, now out of print, written by Dr Ram Babu Saxena), tr. by Md.Askari (Lahore,Ishrat Publishing House, n.d. reprint) p.841
3. 'In his experimental years he (Iqbal) was under the influence of English Romanticism and nature poetry.' vide. p. XIII - XIV V.G.Kiernan:Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray,1955)
4. Mian Md.Sharif: Jamaliyat-i Iqbal Ki Tashkil (i.e Components of Iqbal's aestheticism), an article included in Falsafa-i Iqbal (Philosophy of Iqbal), ed. by Lahore, Bazm-i Iqbal,1961. pp. 12-13

broke ground in Urdu poetry was doubtless significant.[1] But it was given to Iqbal and Pandit Brij Narain Chakbast to bring their knowledge of English Literature to bear on Urdu Literature. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru regarded it as a happy augury for the evolution of Urdu Literature to have two such poets (i.e. Iqbal and Chakbast) as were well-versed in English literature.[2] Iqbal's poetry of the first period is an admirable specimen of the poetry written under the new influence unleashed by the spread of English education.[3] Azad and Hali, encouraged and inspired by Col. Holroyd and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, did their best to turn the attention of the poets to Nature poetry.[4] Iqbal seems to have looked for models of Nature poetry in the works of Wordsworth whose poetry, in the light of Iqbal's jotting in his diary, [illegible] against atheism. This entry points to the influence of the pantheistic background of the Wordsworthian poetry.

To Wordsworth, "Nature was in very truth the living and visible garment of deity ..."[5] But "Wordsworth's [illegible] is is much more than a language, more than even a divine language. His religious attitude towards Nature arises from his intense joy in the life which every where he feels and loves, and knows as one life of which his own is a part. There is in Nature a 'soul divine which we participate', a living presence which would still subsist if the whole

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1. vide. pp. 6-10 of this work
2. vide. pp. 4,10 Brij Narain Chakbast: Subh-i Watan (Country's Morn). preface by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. (Allahabad, Indian Press, 1927). This book is a collection of poems written by Chakbast.
3. vide. pp. 6-9 of this work
4. vide. pp. 7-9 " "
5. J.C.Smith: A Study of Wordsworth (London, Oliver & Boyd, 1946). p.85

frame of things were consumed by fire ...

Ye Presense of Nature in the sky
And on earth! Ye Visions of the hills!
And souls of lonely places.
(The Prelude I, 464)

... The God of his happiest moment does not transcend Nature and speak through her, He is Nature ..."[1] A few pages later Mrs. Dodds proceeds to observe: "The mystery of Nature for Wordsworth is not that she links him to something beyond himself, but that she gives concrete shape to his noblest aspirations. Her forms indeed have an aptitude to express human feeling, for they are already expressive of something akin:[2]

the forms
Of Nature have a passion in themselves,
That intermingles with these works of man.
(The Prelude, XIII, 290)

In pre-Iqbal days such a conception of Nature, though not unknown in Urdu and Persian poetry owing to pantheistic vein running through it, was far from being dominant. A few lines here and a few couplets there in a poem can hardly be described as a conception. Iqbal, mainly during the first stage of his poetry, wrote a very large number of poems which portray Nature. Like Wordsworth, he regards Nature as alive, having mental and subjective states. This pantheistic attitude towards Nature persists till his stay in England.[3]

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1. A.E.Powell (Mrs.[illegible]): The Romantic Theory of Poetry (New York, Russell & Russell Inc, 1962). p.130
2. Ibid, p.140
3. Prof. McTaggart wrote to Iqbal: " ... Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheistic ..." vide.p. 147 Speeches & Statements of Iqbal (Lahore, Al-Manar, 1948), edited by Shamloo

If Wordsworth, to begin with, gets from Nature

... that blessed mood,
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened.

(Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey)

and Nature endows the poet's eye with a new vision to 'see into the life of things', Iqbal too finds in the Himalayas a 'beatific vision.' The ode to the Himalayas entitled 'Himala' opens with the following stanza:

O Himalayas, O rampart of India,
The heavens stoop down to kiss your brow.
There seems to be nothing old about you;
In the midst of time's flux you look young.
Moses saw an epiphany on mount Sinai
You are from crown to toe a beatific vision, to a seeing eye. [1]

If the 'two-fold shout' of the Cuckoo brings unto Wordsworth 'a tale of visionary hours' and re-creates 'that golden time again' the Himalayas so stirs Iqbal's imagination that he begins to long for ' ... the mornings and evenings of the past.' [2] If Wordsworth feels in his heart of hearts the might of 'Fountains, Meadows, Hills, and Groves' (Ode: Intimations of Immortality ...) and gets from the meanest flower 'thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears' (Ode: Intimations of Immortality...) Iqbal, in his ode 'Himala', finds in the

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1. Md. Iqbal: Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road)
vide stanza 1, poem 'Himala'
p.27 Kulliyat-i Iqbal (Delhi, New Taj, n.d.)
2. Ibid, p.28. vide last two lines of the poem.

Ganges a message:

The river comes down the mountain, babbling melodiously,
Putting to shame the streams of Paradise (Kosar -wa
-tasnim).
It comes down, holding up a mirror to Nature,
Gliding past here and striking against stones there.
O River, apply your plectrum to my lyre tuned to Iraq,
O Wayfarer, my heart understands your voice! [1]

This stanza may put one in mind of a few stanzas from Wordsworth's poems like 'Yarrow Visited' and 'Yarrow Revisited':

But thou, that didst appear so fair
To fond imagination,
Dost rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation:
Meek loveliness is round thee spread,
A softness still and holy;
The grace of forest charms decayed,
And pastoral melancholy.
(Yarrow Visited, 41-48)

And if, as Yarrow, through the woods
And down the meadow ranging,
Did meet us with unaltered face,
Though we were changed and changing;
If, then, some natural shadows spread

1.Ibid, p.[illegible]

Our inward prospect over,
The soul's deep valley was not slow
Its brightness to recover.
(Yarrow Revisited, 32-40)

Wordsworth hears in Nature "the still, sad music of humanity" and sees her "apparelled in celestial light". Yet he feels sorry:

But yet I know, where'er I go,
That there hath passed away a glory from the earth.
(Ode: Intimations of Immortality ...)

Iqbal finds Nature all Splendour and yet finds himself away from that splendour:

Watching at day-break the bright sun come forth
I asked the assembled host of heaven and earth -
Your radiant looks are kindled by that glowing orb's warm beams
That turn to rippling silver your flowing streams;
That sun it is that clothes you in these ornaments of light,
And whose torch burns to keep your concourse bright.
Your roses and rose-gardens are pictures of Paradise
Where the Scripture of The Sun paints its device;
Scarlet the mantle of the flower, and emerald of the tree,
Green and red sylphs of your consistory;
Your tall pavilion, the blue sky, is fringed with tasselled gold

When round the horizon ruddy clouds are rolled,
And when into evening's goblet your rose-tinted nectar flows
How lovely the twilight's soft vermilion glows!
Your station is exalted, and your splendour: over all
Your creatures light lies thick, a dazzling pall;
To your magnificence the dawn is one high hymn of praise,
No rag of night lurks on in that sun's blaze.
And I - I too inhabit this abode of light; but why
Is the star burned out that rules my destiny ?
Why chained in the dark, past reach of any ray,
Ill-faring and ill-fated and ill-doing must I stay ?[1]

Wordsworth knows how faithful and truthful is Nature:

... Nature never did betray
The heart that loved her; 'tis her privilege,
Through all the years of this our life, to lead
From joy to joy: for she can so inform
The mind that is within us, so impress
With quietness and beauty ....
(Lines composed A Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey)

So does Iqbal, but in his own style. He hears Nature's voice proclaiming the unity of Man and Nature. If this mystery, Iqbal says, is not allowed to go unheeded man's fate would no longer be 'Ill-faring' and 'ill-doing'. Let

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1. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan.
poem 'Man & Nature' (tr. of Insan Aur Banm-i Qudrat in Bang-i Dara). pp.2-3

us look at a few lines from the poem 'Insan Aur Nasm-i Qudrat' (Man & Nature), included in Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road):

Speaking, I heard a voice from somewhere sound,
From heaven's balcony or near the ground -
You are creation's gardener, flower live only in your seeing
By your light hangs my being or not-being;
I am its key, but you are Love's own scroll.
...
If you would weigh your worth at its true rate,
No longer would ill-faring or ill-doing be your fate.[1]

In his book Milton & Wordsworth: Poets & Prophets what Grierson says about Wordsworth seems to apply to Iqbal as well. Grierson observes: " ... (Wordsworth's) poetry of the heart of Man is in fact closely bound up with the poetry of Nature, for his treatment of Nature ... had always been essentially human. He lent his own sense of life to things or, to put it otherwise, in a prophetic intuition he apprehended the law of nature as ultimately the law of love. For what is law in the inorganic, and a great part of the organic, world is in the free nature of man Duty, and Duty is ultimately the law of Love:[2]

Flowers laugh before thee in their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;

1.Ibid, pp.3-4
2.H.J.C.Grierson: Milton & Wordsworth: Poets & Prophets (London, Chatto & Windus, 1960). pp. 177-178
This observation is followed by quotation from Wordsworth's 'Ode To Duty'. The lines quoted by him are reproduced.

And the most ancient heavens through thee, are
fresh and strong.
(Ode To Duty)

But:

Serene will be our days and bright,
And happy will our natures be,
When love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security.
(Ode To Duty)[1]

The companionship of Nature, therefore, leads one to spiritual wealth, boundless and inexpressible. Wordsworth longs for the joy that Nature gave him when he was a child. Age tells heavily upon him, and he is sorry to say: 'The things which I have seen I now see no more' (Ode: Intimations of Immortality ...). Still he has the discerning capacity to know that

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

Sweet is the love which Nature brings;
Our meddling intellect
Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things;-
We murder to dissect.
(The Tables Turned)

Wordsworth, besides, knows the harmony existing in the world of Nature and he feels the objects of Nature to be

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1. Ode To Duty by Wordsworth.

in communion with one another. He addresses them:

Ye blessed Creatures, I have heard the call
Ye to each other make; I see
The heavens laugh with you in your jubilee;
My heart is at your festival,
My head hath its coronal,
The fulness of your bliss, I feel - I feel it all.

(Ode: Intimations of Immortality ...)

Not only this, Wordsworth tells of the overwhelming effect which a scenery made on him and how different elements

Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first and last, and midst, and without end.

(The Prelude VI, 636 - 640)

Iqbal, pantheistic as he was till his stay in England, seems to have appreciated such poetic effusions and spiritual ebullience as in the poetry written upto 1905 we find many similar passages as take our mind to Wordsworth's poetry. For example, he finds 'moral impulses' in the world of Nature. His poem, 'Kenar-i Ravi' (On The Bank Of The [illegible] contained in Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road), opens as follows:

Rapt in its music, in evening's hush, the Ravi;
But how it is with this heart, do not ask -
Hearing in these soft cadences a prayer call,
Seeing all earth God's precint, here beside

The margin of the onward-flowing waters
Standing I scarcely know where I am standing.[1]

The knowledge that all earth is 'God's precint' is imparted by Nature. The river Ravi can impart this knowledge in a better way 'than all the sages can.' Besides, Iqbal finds unity in diversity as Wordsworth does. To Wordsworth, different elements 'were all like workings of one mind ...' Iqbal shares in this view. Towards the concluding portion of his poem 'Jugnoo' (The Glow-worm), included in Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road), Iqbal, for instance, says:

The secret of Unity has been shrouded in various ways,
That which is light in the glow-worm is perfume in the flower.
Why then this difference should be the seat of (sic) commotion;
Why there is the eternal silence (sic) hidden in every thing.[2]

Examples may be multiplied. Iqbal shows pantheistic bias till his stay in England,[3] and Germany.[4] This pantheistic bias seems to have been generated by the religious atmosphere of his family and by Urdu - Persian poetry which has so much of Sufi-background. Then, a question may well be posed - Where does Wordsworth come in ? The answer to this is not far to seek. In Urdu and Persian poetry there is

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1. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), tr. by V.G.Kiernan. p.8
2. translation by A.Anwar Beg. cf. The Poet Of The East (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961). p.97
3. 'When I am in the mood of Hafiz his spirit enters into my soul ... and I myself become Hafiz', said Iqbal to Atiya Begum. cf. Iqbal's Letters To Atiya Begum (Academy of Islam Publication, 1947). p.15
   Afterwards Iqbal began to disparage Hafiz. see p. XIII (Introduction) R.A.Nicholson: The Secrets of the Self (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint).
   For Hafiz see pp86-87 of this work. He was a poet and mystic (sufi).
4. For his thoughts upto his stay in England see p.340 (foot-note) of this work, i. e. McTaggart's writing to Iqbal.

doubtless pantheism and consequently the harmony between Man and Nature is also hinted at but this Man-and-Nature harmony is hardly a sustained note. In Iqbal it is not a chance note. He, like Wordsworth, utilizes Nature as a scaffold for his pantheistic ideas; he too uses Nature as a background against which he describes 'the thoughts too deep for tears.' In Urdu and Persian poetry there is, in pre-Iqbal era, no such Nature poetry as written by Iqbal.[1]

In the end, mention may be made of the fact that the critics still fight shy of tracing other than Islamic influences on Iqbal. Concerning Wordsworth such critics, like Iqbal's son Javid Iqbal, might maintain that " ... Wordsworth comes very close to the pantheistic teachings of Ibn al-Arabi."[2] Such a line of argument does not appear to be tenable. Internal evidences, such as presented in this chapter, in Iqbal's initial poetry and his entry[3] acknowledging his debt to Wordsworth are unfailing indications of the influence of Wordsworth.

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1. Search for the truths of Nature and the mysteries of the universe is one of the characteristics of Modern Urdu poetry. see p. 75 Abdul Qadir Sarwari: Jadid Urdu Shairi (Modern Urdu Poetry), Amritsar, Anad Book Depot, n.d.
2. vide. p. XX (Introduction), Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal), Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1961.
   Note: Ibn al-Arabi was born in Muraiya (Mursia), Spain, in 1165. The fundamental principle of his system is the 'unity of being'; he maintains that there is no real difference between God and the universe created by Him. His system sounds like pantheistic monism. see p.150 Najib Ullah: Islamic Literature (New York, Washington Sq. Press, Inc, 1963)
3. vide. p. 226 of this work.

Chapter 20

Iqbal & Browning

Despite being a student of philosophy, Iqbal, since he was basically a poet, knew that "philosophy is a set of abstractions shivering in the cold night of human reason. The poet comes and warms them up into objectivity."[1] And he held that "philosophy ages; poetry rejuvenates."[2] In Browning Iqbal came upon a poet whose poetry has a philosophical background. There is a significant entry in his diary: "The result of all philosophical thought is that absolute knowledge is an impossibility. The poet Browning turns this impossibility to ethical use by a very ingenious argument. The uncertainty of human knowledge, teaches the poet, is the necessary condition of moral growth; since complete knowledge will destroy the liberty of human choice."[3] All these entries read together point to the fact that Iqbal felt interested in Browning's works because of their fabric being woven with poetry and philosophy. Browning appealed to him because of the philosophical thoughts e- emerging from his poetry. What are these thoughts, then ?

Browning himself takes us into confidence about the purpose of his poetry:

'Twas in my plan to look on real life,
The life all knew to me; my theories
Were firm, so them left I, to look and learn

1.Stray Reflections (A Note-book of Iqbal) edited by Javid Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons,1961). p.127
2.Ibid, p.143
3.Ibid, p.157

Mankind, its cares, hopes, fears, its woes and joys;
And, as I pondered on their ways, I sought
How best life's end might be attained - an end
Comprising joy.

(Pauline)

Browning does not fight shy of life; he says 'Yes' to it. Tripping over pitfalls brings in experience. One should carry on, even in the face of heavy odds. Such strivings lead to immortality. In 'Rabi Ben Ezra', he says:

Then, welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the three!

And Iqbal says:

Whether the world be foul or fair,
With a smile fare on;
Forth from the nest, the cage, the snare,
The bower, be gone!

Though stranger thou art, and dost not know
How the way doth wend,
In a bold, familiar manner go
In the lane of the Friend! [1]

** **

If fluting thou thinkst is but taking breath,
How little truth thou hast guessed;

1.Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i Ajam), by Arthur J.Arberry, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint) p.90

The minstrel his skill accomplisheth
With the point of the sword in his breast! 1

Thus life implies continuous strivings towards a goal. Difficulties sharpen the edge. A new horizon opens itself to view. Life should be adjudged not by what it *is* but what it is *becoming*. Saul, in Browning's poem, is so overtaken by doubts and misgivings that he gives way to despair and consequently ceases performing even his daily duties.

For out of the black mid-tents' silence, a space of
three days,
Not a sound hath escaped to thy servants, of prayer
nor praise,
To betoken that Saul and the spirit have ended their
strife,
And that, faint in his triumph, the monarch sink
back upon life.
(Saul: lines 7 - 10)

David, the prophet-musician, walks into the king Saul's tent to apply a healing balm to the lacerated and agonised heart of the king. He awakens in the king a sense for humanity:

How good is man's life, the mere living! how fit
to employ
All the heart and the soul and the senses, for ever
in joy!
(Saul): lines 78 - 79)

1.Ibid, p.96

The prophet reveals to Saul the mystery of life: joy and happiness are not the only constituents of life; there is discord and disharmony, evil and sin as well. Despite these life should continue. Sorrow is the salt of life:

> Be the life and the bearing that front you ...
>
> (Saul; line:215)

Since both, flesh and soul, are important - 'in our flesh grows the branch of this life, in our soul it bears fruit' (Saul: line 150) - David

> ... bid him awake
> From the dream, the probation, the prelude, to himself set
> Clear and safe in new light and new life ...
>
> (Saul: lines 280 - 282)

Saul is ultimately convinced that he should plunge headlong into life's conflicts. Then a new vision of life opens up.

> What stops my despair ?
> This; - 'tis not what man Does which exalts him, but what man Would do!
>
> (Saul: lines 294 - 295)

In Asrar-i Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) Iqbal too touches the theme. A man, the story goes, comes from Merv to Lahore to see the venerable saint Ali Hujwiri[1]. The young man says to the saint:

> I am hemmed in ... by foes;
> I am a glass in the midst of stones.

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1. The Secrets of the Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i Khudi), by R.A.Nicholson, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint)
vide. p. 95 (foot-note) 'Hujwiri, author of the oldest Persian treatise on Sufism, was a native of Ghazna in Afghanistan. He died at Lahore about A.D.1072.

Do thou teach me, O Sire of heavenly rank,
How to lead my life amongst enemies. 1

The saint advises:

... Thou art unread in Life's lore
Careless of its end and its beginning,
Be without fear of others!
Thou art a sleeping force: awake!
When the stone thought itself to be glass,
It became glass and got into the way of breaking.
...
How long wilt thou regard thyself as water and clay
Create from thy clay a flaming Sinai. 2

The way how the clay is to be made 'a flaming Sinai' is also pointed out by the saint:

Why complain of enemies ?
I will declare the truth: thine enemy is thy friend;
...
To the seed of Man the enemy is as a rain - cloud:
He awakens its potntialities.
...
When thou mak'st thyself streng with Self,
Thou wilt destroy the world at thy pleasure.
If thou wouldst pass away, become free of Self;
If thou wouldst live, become full of Self!
Who [illegible] is death ? To become oblivious to Self.
Why imagine that it is the parting of soul and body
...
Think of Self and be a man of action. 3

1.Ibid, Sec. XI, pp. 96 - 97
2.Ibid, Sec. XI, p. 97
3.Ibid, Sec.XI, pp. 97 - 99

That 'imperfection means perfection hid'[1] is the key - note of many poems of Browning and Iqbal. Failings and falterings prepare us for the ideal. Let us first turn to Browning's poem 'Cleon':

> ... Man might live at first
> The animal life: but is there nothing more ?
> In due time, let him critically learn
> How he lives; and, the more he gets to know
> Of his own life's adaptabilities,
> The more joy-giving will his life become.
>
> (Cleon: lines 214 - 219)

How man can rise higher over the brute has been touched upon in the following lines:

> In man there's failure, only since he left
> The lower and inconscious form of life.
> ...
> Man's spirit might grow conscious of man's life,
> And, by new lore so added to the old,
> Take each step higher over the brute's head.
>
> (Cleon: lines [illegible])

Actions make spirit conscious of itself:

> ... We struggle, fain to enlarge
> Our bounded physical recipiency,
> Increase our power, supply fresh oil to life,
> Repair the waste of age and sickness.
>
> (Cleon: lines 245 - 248)

Life, thus, should be Prospice and we should dauntlessly

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1. Cleon: line 185

march forward. Iqbal nods assent to such ideas. In his article 'Self In The Light Of Relativity' he observes: "It is not merely by receiving and intellectually shaping the impressions, but mainly by moulding the stimuli to ideal ends and purposes that the total self of man realises itself as one of the greatest energies of nature. In great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing its own identity, and transcends the limits of space and time. Action is the highest form of contemplation."[1] 'Action' is the keynote of Browning's poetry. Even death, according to him, cannot put spokes in the wheels of one's progress. In 'Prospice' how dauntless is his message:

> I would hate that death bandaged my eyes and forebore,
> And bade me creep past.
> No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
> The heroes of old,
> Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
> Of pain, darkness and cold.
> For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
> ...
>
> (Prospice: lines 15 - 21)

'Man has Forever', says Browning in his poem 'A Grammarian's Funeral.' It is thirst for knowledge and search for activity that gives meaning to life and makes man sanguine of success. A striving man makes finite and infinite embrace in a creative act. Sceptics may entertain doubts and belittle human endeavour but a man striving for knowledge has buoyant faith in life.

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1. Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1964), edited by S.A. Vahid.
p. 115 (The article was contributed to 'Crescent' Lahore, 1925)

Here and hereafter both are implied in human endeavour. Browning says in 'A Grammarian Funeral':

> Others mistrust and say, "But Time escapes:
> "Live now or never."
> He said, "What's Time ? Leave Now for dogs and apes!
> Man has Forever".
>
> (Lines 82 - 84)

There is a world of difference between a low man seeking "a little thing to do" and a man in pursuit of ideals:

> That low man seeks a little thing to do,
> Sees it, and does it:
> This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
> Dies ere he knows it.
> That low man goes on adding one to one,
> His hundred's soon hit:
> This high man, aiming at a million,
> Misses an unit.
> That, has the world here - should he need the next,
> Let the world mind him!
> This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed
> Seeking shall find him.
>
> (A Grammarian Funeral: lines 113 -124)

Iqbal too refers to these two varieties of death. In Gulshan-i Raz-Jadid (The New Garden of Mystery) he says:

> Death that overtakes us is not to be feared
> Since 'Self' , grown strong and mature, is immune from that danger,
> I am afraid of a death of another sort,
> ...
> This death is caused by parting with love and its ecstasy
> (And) by not utilizing Self's sparks for burning husk and chaff. 1

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1. Md. Iqbal: Gulshan-i-Raz-Jadid, [illegible] complete: 20-21 Reply to Question 6, beginning with 'Asrar marg-i .....

Browning touches upon the harmonious blending of finite and infinite, man and divinity and the ideal and the real. In his poem 'Abt Vogler' Browning describes Vogler as a musician and thinker. He conveys the idea that the spirit suffused with the glow of high ideals cannot be 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' to earthly conditions; it is lost in the universal. Music, for instance, dies away; so too its momentary thrill. But its message lives on. The thinker may despair; but the musicians knows the mystery that even discords are required to make full harmony. This is enshrined in the following lines:

> And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
> For the fulness of the days ? Have we withered or
> agonised ?
> Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might
> issue thence ?
> Why rushed the discords in but that harmony whould be
> prized ?
> Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear,
> Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and
> woe:
> But God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear;
> The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know.
>
> (Abt Vogler: stanza XI)

Constant striving: therefore result: in vision as discordant notes ultimately turn into a harmony. Life without vision is no life because

> ... This world's no blot for us,

Nor blank: it means intensely, and means good:
To find its meaning is my meat and drink.
(Fra Lippo Lippi: lines 313 - 315)

That 'life means intensely, and means good' is also one of the key-notes of Iqbal's poetry, the poetry written after his return from the continent. Let us turn to a few lines:

Look thou to thy-self intent;
Of the world what cause to lament ?
There's a different world to see,
Be there change of sight in thee. 1

** **

This world I knew is earth,
And dust am I from birth;
Why is my all possessed
By this tormenting guest.

The Milky Way mine eye
Doth grapple in the sky:
This wild insanity,
When was it born in me. 2

** **

That other world, where reaped is all our sown,
Its light and fire are of my rosary made;
I am fate's instrument, whose antiphon
Responds to every string thought ever played,
Where is thy sign ? In thee my life is stayed;
Where is thy world ? These twain are mine alone. 3

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1.Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i Ajam), by A.J.Arberry. (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961 reprint). p. 84
2.Ibid, p. 1
3.Ibid, p. 11

Beyond the stars more worlds: love's grace
Has other trials yet to face -
Not void of life these far-off deeps,
Where thousand caravans run their race;
In other gardens other nests-
Be not content with earth's embrace;
Why for one last home mourn, when grief
Can find so many a lodging-place ? 1

The fore-going discussion with examples from the works of Browning and Iqbal brings out the identical points between the conception of life held by them. This close resemblance may be due to the fact that Browning and Iqbal had in them abundance of Post-Kantian philosophical views. It is owing to this fact that Iqbal jotted down in his diary that 'the poet comes and warms them (philosophical abstractions) up into objectivity.'[2] It is also not unlikely that he might have studied the Post-Kantian philosophy and simultaneously read or re-read Browning. English Literature, it may well be pointed out, is 'richly original' and at the same time 'deeply indebted to foreign influences'[3], and German influence and the French Revolution have given to'the English literature of the last two generations' a 'special tone'.[4] It is perhaps due to this fact that there is the Post-Kantian echo in Browning. Iqbal perhaps found Post-Kantian thoughts 'warmed up' in Browning. How alike are their

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1.Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955),tr. by V.G. Kiernan. p.34 (from a ghazal in Gabriel's Wing)
2.please see p. 250 of this work.
3.vide.p. 17 Hugh Walker: The English Literature of the Victorian Era (New Delhi, S.Chand,1964 Indian reprint)
4.vide. p.21 Hugh Walker: The English Literature of the Victorian Era (New Delhi, S.Chand,1964 Indian reprint)

messages:

"Strive and thrive!" cry "Speed, - fight on, fare ever
There as here!"

(Epilogue - to Asolando, last lines)

** **

A falcon thou art; yield not thy soul
To domestic fowl;
Rise, spread thy wing and pinion, and soar
Both high and far. 1

Let us now pass on to the conception of 'love' in Browning and Iqbal. "Browning's love poetry", Chesterton writes, "is the finest love poetry in the world. ... It does not deal with abstractions. ... It awakens in every man the memories of that immortal instant when common and dead things had a meaning beyond the power of any dictionary to utter."[2] Besides, Browning "was ... an optimist. His theory, that man's sense of his own imperfection implies a design of perfection, is a very good argument for optimism. ... Browning's optimism was a result of his experience...joyful experience ... , experience of love."[3] In his poem 'Love In A Life' Browning shows the lover seeking the beloved throughout the rooms of the house. It seems to be a never-ending pursuit, yet the lover is determined on continuing the search. It is therefore pursuit that gives a meaning and purpose to life:

Yet the day wears,
And door succeeds door;
...

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1. Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i Ajam), by A.J.Arberry (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961 reprint). p. 79
2. vide. p. 40 G.K.Chesterton: Robert Browning (Macmillan & Co., London)
3. vide. pp. 179-182 G.K.Chesterton: Robert Browning (Macmillan & Co., London)

Spend my whole day in the quest, - who cares ?
But 'tis twilight, you see, - with such suites to
explore,
Such closets to search, such alcoves to importune.
(Love In A Life)

The lover is to despair unknown:

But what if I fail of my purpose here ?
It is but to keep the nerves at strain,
To dry one's eyes and laugh at a fall,
And baffled, get up and begin again, -
...
(Life In A Love)

The lover, in the poem 'The Last Ride Together', is faced with a difficult situation. Despite his beloved's 'no', he does not give in; he simply asks for the favour of a last ride together. The ride begins and the lover is happy:

What if we still ride on, we two
With life for ever old yet new,
Changed not in kind but in degree,
The instant made eternity, -
And heaven just prove that I and she
Ride, ride together, for ever ride?
(The Last Ride Together: lines 105-110)

Now, let us see Iqbal's conception of love. Zafar Ahmad Siddiqi, in the preface to his book Hikmat-i Kalimi, says: "Love, in the philosophy of Iqbal, is not a blind passion but it is an intuition and vision. Love ... is a window into self and thus it enables us to see the splendour of a perfect

existence. For instance, just as we feel the presence of a flower through its fragrance ... and (just as) the light leads the candle-moths to the place of the candle ... in the same way love is a capability, a pull, an intuition that inculcates in us a belief and faith in the perfect existence."[1] It is "the desire for perfection that keeps man restless and does not let him rest on his oars anywhere. This is what Iqbal calls love."[2] A few examples from Iqbal's works are given below:

She (love) moulds on her wheel
The king's oath, the priest's vows,
Her poor thrall with the seal
And the sceptre endows;
She is dweller and dwelling,
And country and hour,
And victory-compelling
Faith is her dower.

By the path Love has branded
[illegible] is hidden,
The storm-wave commanded,
The hugged shore forbidden;
No fruits [illegible],
But lightnings above -
The Book's offspring is Reason,
Its parent is Love. 3

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1. Zafar Ahmad Siddiqi (Dept. of Philosophy & Psychology, Muslim University): Hikmat-i Kalimi (translation of Iqbal's 'Pas Chi Bayad Kard Ae Aqwam-i Sharq) Muslim University Publishers, 1955. p.10 (translator's preface)
2. Ibid, p.18 (translator's preface)
3. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), translated by V.G.Kiernan. pp.61-62 (from 'The Rod of Moses') poem: Reason & Love (tr. of 'Ilm-o-Ishq')

Love's self learnt quivering's art
From this our trembling heart;
Our spark it was that spired
Until the moth expired.

Never lover true is he
Who lamenteth dolefully;
Lover he, who in his hold
Hath the double world controlled.

Lover true is passionate
Selfhood's world to recreate,
Not content to be enfurled
By a bounded, finite world. 1

In the light of the lines quoted above one would agree to the inference that love, in the conception of Iqbal, 'is creative passion, high emotion, divine spark, enthusiasm for an ideal, ardent self-dedication, or the force that drives the individual to realize himself ...'[2] Love, it may be pointed out, came to have a vital force in Iqbal's poetry under the impact of Kant, Fichte, Bergson, McTaggart,[3] and maybe by the influence exercised by Browning's love poetry. The poetry written by Iqbal up to 1905 does not show any such influence in a sustained manner which unmistakably seems to have been an outcome of his stay in Europe. Besides, it would perhaps be relevant to refer to the condition of Urdu poetry prior to its being influenced by the west. The Urdu, and also Persian, Ghazal, lyric

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1. Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur Ajam), by A.J.Arberry, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961 reprint). p.83
2. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), tr.by V. G.Kiernan. p. 106 (translator's note)
3. vide. chapters devoted to the treatment. It may also be pointed out that sometimes Iqbal's conception of love gets influenced by his conception of Self or Ego. His latter conception was to a great extent influenced by Leibniz, Neitzsche and such others.

poetry and chief vehicle of the sentiments of love, gave a "gospel of pessimism , ... a wrong out-look on life and suppressed every desire for material pregress"; it had "a definite number of stereotpyed phrases and words ... repeated from one Ghazal to another." It had "Bacchanalian tendencies and suggestions" and impaired "moral character."[1] The reaction against this state of affairs has been dealt with in the first chapter.[2] Iqbal, it may be recalled, carved out a new path; his education in India and abroad gave a new direction to his poetry.[3]

Sometimes a dramatic vein is observed as running through Iqbal's poetry, and more often than not one might be reminded of Browning's dramatic monologues. Browning's poetry inasmuch as it gives insight into character may be said to have dramatic strains running through it. He draws our attention to the 'thinking.' The character in his poetry is more or less a psychological study. For example, the poem 'The Last Ride Together' bares the heart of the lover to our gaze; he is, as it were, thinking aloud. How he keeps dejection at arm's length is beautifully illustrated. Why he is so optimistic where others should have despaired finds expression in the poem. Or, the poem 'My Last Duchess' gives glimpses into the working of the mind of the Duke and he tells us why

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1.vide p. 25 Sayyid 'Abdul Latif: The Influence of English on Urdu Poetry (London, Forster Groom & Co., 1924)
2.vide pp. 6-10 of this work
3.vide pp. 1-12 of this work.
Note: In Urdu Poetry, the conventional themes with stereotyped phrases and words still persist, but these have been at a discount since long. In Iqbal's initial poetry also these are found lurking here and there. For example, a ghazal, which first appeared in the November 1893 issue of 'Zuban' and now contained in Sarood-i Rafta (Lahore, Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons., 1959, edited by Ghulam Rasool Mehr & Saqiq Ali Dilawari) on page 144, is entirely conventional and does not show any characteristic of the poet's later poetry.
Please see p.137 of this work.

he had put his Duchess to death. The Duke is more or less a psychological study. Every dramatic monologue in like manner, has a pattern that enables us to know the aspect of the mind of the character described. Regarding dramatic elements in Iqbal, Sabih Ahmad Kamali observes: "Besides having philosophical ideas Iqbal was also a great poet. He had well assimilated western philosophy and western literary traditions. He had adapted from his study of English and German Romantic poets two qualities ... observation of Nature and dramatic art. Although he was not the first person to study Nature he was undoubtedly the first great Urdu poet who, while presenting philosophy of Nature, realised the great possibilities of the dramatic art. In short, along with his other characteristics his dramatic style is no less important."[1] A few examples are given below:

Why must I forever suffer loss, oblivious to gain,
Why think not upon the morrow, drowned in grief for
yesterday ?
Why must I attentive heed the nightingale's lament
of pain ?
Fellow-bard, am I a rose, condemned to silence all
the way ?
No; the burning power of song bids me bold and not
to faint;
Dust be in my mouth, but God- He is the theme of
my complaint. 2

1.Sabih Ahmad Kamali: Iqbal Ke Kham Drama-yi Unsur (Dramatic Element in Iqbal), an article contained in Nigar,Lucknow Annual Number, January, 1962. p.76

2.Complaint & Answer (translation of Iqbal's poem Shikwa, and Jawab-i Shikwa, both included in Bang-i Dara), by A.J.Arberry, (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961 reprint). p. 3, first stanza of 'Shikwa' (Complaint)

Speech that issues from the heart a magic influence
exerts;
Holy is its origin, and so its gaze to heaven
converts.
And though from the dust it rises, it can overpass
the sky.
Arrogant and cunning was my love, and on such
mischief bent
That the very walls of heaven fell down before its
wild lament.

Lamenting, the ancient Sphere said, "Someone seems
to be about;"
Cried the Planets, "There is someone, in the upper
ether pure;"
"Not so lofty," called the Moon. "Down on the earth
there, not a doubt ?"
"No," the Milky-Way retorted. "He is hiding here,
for sure."
Guardian Rizwan, he if any, my complaint distinctly
heard;
"He is man, just newly driven out of Eden," he averred.[1]

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Solitude, night- what pang is here ?
Are not the stars your comrades ? Clear
Majesty of these silent skies,
Drowsed earth, deep silence of the world,
That moon, that wilderness and hill-
White rose-beds all creation fill

1.Ibid, pp. 37-38 (first two stanzas from Jawab-i Shikwa, i.e. Answer to Complaint)

Sweet are the teardrops that have pearled
Like gleaming gems, like stars, your eyes;
But what thing do you crave ? All Nature,
Oh my heart, is your fellow-creatures 1

Such examples are legion. Iqbal's Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity), for example, has a number of such pieces as may, more or less, be described as dramatic monologues. In this poetical work there is a section 'The Firmament of Jupiter' in which the reader is introduced to a number of spirits - of Hallaj, Ghalib, Quratal-Ain. Each of these throws light on the thoughts associated with it.[2] This is imaginative poetry which in Urdu, in the opinion of Dr Mohan Singh, "is the product in the main of India's contact with the West, chiefly with British poetry."[3]

Iqbal, as would appear from the foregoing discussion, seems to have been stimulated by Browning's optimism, vitality in love, the liberty of human choice, and pattern of dramatic monologues.

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1. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan. p.12 'Solitude' (Tanhai: Bang-i Dara).

2. vide. p.105 The Firmament of Jupiter in Pilgrimage of Eternity (translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama), by Mahmud Ahmad (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961)
Note: for Hallaj, Ghalib, Quratal-Ain, see pp. 32, 188 (foot-notes) of this work.

3. vide. p.46 Sardar Mohan Singh: Some Characteristics & Tendencies of Modern Urdu Poetry (Lahore, The Art Electric Press, 1931)

Chapter 21

Minor Influences

Iqbal & Gray - Shelley - Byron - Shaw

Iqbal & Thomas Gray

"Gray's poetry," writes Grierson, "is, in truth, an endless source of interest to the curious student of poetry; and, if we care to take it along with Blake's poetry and art, an instructive text for the consideration of art and inspiration in high poetry ... The 'Churchyard' abounds with images which find a mirror in every mind, and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo ..."[1] And Iqbal seems to have returned an echo. There are in his poetry similar feelings and Sentiments set against the like background as in Gray's Elegy.

In Iqbal's Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road) there is a poem entitled 'Goristan-i Shahi', meaning Royal Cemetry. This poem, in the words of A.Anwar Beg,"was written by the poet during his short stay in Hyderabad (Deccan). The poet was taken out one night by his friend to see the silent domes under which were asleep the kings of the Qutb dynasty. The dead silence of the night, the sky overcast and moonlight penetrating through the clouds deeply affected the poet's mind. The poem is a reflection of the past together with

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1. vide. pp. 177-178 Herbert Grierson: The Background of English Literature (A Peregrine Book)

deep concern for the present."[1] Thus the background of Gray's Elegy and Iqbal's 'Goristan-i Shahi' is more or less similar. The only difference being, Iqbal has before him a royal cemetry while Gray finds himself in the midst of the crumbling graves of 'the rude forefathers of the hamlet'. The evening falling thick adds to the pathos of the scene. Gray gets into a philosophical mood and thinks with profound sorrow that nobody can claim exemption from Death. Iqbal too is stirred to the depths of his soul. He, like Gray, is reminded of the 'inevitable hour.' Iqbal writes:

> Imperial awe or Caesarean pomp
> Cannot withstand the assault of mortal foe like Death.
> And the kings must pass away
> As if the grave were the final destination of the glory's path.
> (Goristan-i Shahi: couplets 20-21)[2]

These lines cannot but remind one of the following stanza from Gray's Elegy:

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Awaits alike th' inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
> (Elegy Written In A Country Churchyard)

Iqbal seems to have translated what Gray has said in his stanza. Let us see one stanza more. Iqbal says:

> The tumultous joyous meet, the lute's harmonies,
> The loud lamentation of the world-sympathisers,

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1. A. Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore, Sh. [illegible], 1961) p. 100
2. lines beginning with 'Rooh-i faghfoori ...' (Vide. Goristan Shahi included in Bang-i Dara)

The noise caused by the armies clashing,
The heart-warming exclamation of Takbir (i.e. God is Great).
None of these sounds can wake up the sleeping;
The breath departed cannot come back to the deserted bosom.

(Goristan-i Shahi: couplets 22-24)

All this is a clear echo of the following stanza from Gray's Elegy:

The breezy call of incense-breathing morn,
The swallow twittering from the straw-built shed,
The cock's shrill clarion, or the echoing horn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed.

(Elegy Written In A Country Churchyard.)

These couplets from Gray's Elegy and the couplets quoted from Iqbal's poem Goristan-i Shahi (The Royal Cemetry) are so similar that one may call the latter only a Urdu version of the former. This cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence.

There is in the Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road) another poem 'Khuftigan-i Khak Se Istifsar' (Query from the Dead). This poem too betrays a streak or two from the Gray's Elegy. Iqbal addresses the persons lying buried:

The sun has set, the night is getting unveiled;
The tresses of evening are spreading over the shoulders of life.

...

The whole landscape is submerged in stillness
Save one sound coming from afar.

(Khuftigan-i Khak Se Istifsar: couplets 1 & 4)

These lines cannot but recall to memory the following stanza from Gray's Elegy:

[illegible] the glimmering landscape on the sight,
And all the air a solemn stillness holds,
Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight,
And drowsy tinklings lull the distant folds:

(Elegy Written In A Country Church-Yard)

There is, in Iqbal's poem, no bettle wheeling his droning flight and no drowsy tinklings but the basic idea and approach are comparable to those of Gray's.

Iqbal's indebtedness to Gray is limited to the latter's Elegy alone; the graveyard and the dead seem to put Iqbal in mind of the famous Elegy. Gray's is thus a minor influence. Now we proceed to trace the influence exercised by Shelley's poetry on Iqbal.

Note: In Bang-i Dara (The Call of the Road) there are several such poems as are adapted from Emerson, Tennyson and Longfellow; along with their headings Iqbal has [illegible] mentioned the names of the poets from whom he has adapted. For example, the poem 'Ek Pahar Aur Gilehri' (A Mountain & A Squirrel) - Iqbal has mentioned '[illegible]', that is, adapted from Emerson. Or, [illegible]'s [illegible], according to Iqbal's own acknowledgment, is adapted from Longfellow. It is therefore not clear why Iqbal is silent over his adaptation from Gray; presumably he acknowledges when it is the adaptation of a full piece. An idea here or an idea there [illegible]. His poem 'Ek Arzoo' (A Wish) has a number of ideas from Samuel Roger's poem 'A Wish'. Iqbal says:

O God, I am fed up with the worldly gatherings;
The society ceases to attract when the heart is
is sorrow-stricken!

(see footnote - next page)

Iqbal & Shelley

"Urdu imaginative poetry", Mohan Singh writes, "is the product in the main of India's contact with the west, chiefly with British poetry the imaginative strength of which is admitted by all. We have the best specimen of imaginative poetry in the Romantic Period of English Literature."[1] Then he proceeds to describe the characteristics of modern Urdu poetry: 1, a return to the past; 2, anxiety for and dream of the future; 3, interest in childhood; 4, passion for forms, sounds and colours; and 5, humour ... And, by way of example, he cites two poems of Iqbal: Parinde ki Fariyad (A Bird's Complaint) and Rat Aur Shair.[2] But before proceeding to discover Shelley and Byron in Iqbal something may be said with regard to Romanticism. This tendency is both sociological and psychological. It is as much the product of a particular

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(continued from the previous page)

I intensely desire peace and tranquillity and I wish
To be in a cottage beside the hill.
The nightingale may not regard me as a stranger
And its tiny heart should entertain no fear.
The travellers, when tired of night-long journey,
May hope for my shimmering earthen lamp.
(Mr Arnee, couplets: 1,3,8,& 14)

These couplets seem to have [illegible] one from the following lines of Rogers' poem:

Mine be a cot beside the hill;
A bee-hive's hum shall soothe my ear;
...
The swallow, [illegible] beneath my thatch
Shall twitter from her clay-built nest;
Oft shall the pilgrim lift the latch,
And share my meal, a welcome guest.

And Iqbal does not refer to this clear adaptation. Md.Mustafa, in his article 'Iqbal Aur Samuel Rogers (Iqbal & Samuel Rogers), holds the view that Iqbal has adapted from Rogers' poem, vide. pp. 3-4 'Hamari Zuban' (Weekly), Aligarh, 15 September,1966).

1. Sardar Mohan Singh: Some Characteristics of Tendencies of Modern Urdu Poetry (a thesis for Doctor of Philosophy, Calcutta University). Lahore, Electric Press,1931. p. 46
2. Ibid, 48-54 (Rat Aur Shair, i.e. Night & Poet)

(Please see footnote - next page)

period as it is a matter of psychology; it is a complex rather than a creed. 'Romantics then are as much made as born. They are not to be assessed solely in physiological or psychological terms, and they need the right environment. They thrive 'on opposition and neglect'. Romantic work 'shows some common features though not all writers have all of them: Preference for potentiality to actuality, interest in one's emotional self; sometimes developing into narcissism as well; tendency to ecstatic worship of Man, Nature, God or Woman, and a corresponding tendency into fantasies, Dreams or Visions ... reconstructions of some ... Golden Age ... Again, there is the tendency to justify aspirations condemned by law or prejudice less by argument than by calling in Nature, or the World Spirit, or the Deity as witness.' Among Romantics may be Romantic Radicals or Romantic Reactionaries. They have in common 'anti-rationalism', 'subjectivism, [illegible] and extremism.' The difference consists in [illegible] feudalism or an authoritarian monarch and Church and Radicals desiring to 'be at one only with the universe - and directly so, not through a Church.'[1]

(continued from the previous page)
Note: Dr.Aijaz Husain holds almost an identical view. Urdu Romantic poetry according to him began under the impact of Western Romantic poetry; through acquaintance with English Literature Urdu poets came to know that nothing could be outside the pale of poetry- natural scenes, morality, feast and fray, society, patriotism etc., vide.pp. 24, 188
Dr Aijaz Husain: Adabi Rujhanat (Literary Tendencies), Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1957.

1. This discussion of Romanticism is based on Allen Rodway: The Romantic Conflict (London, Chatto & Windus, 1963). vide.its Preface and pp. 5, 7-8

Iqbal's era was too full of strain and stress. The feelings and sentiments engendered in the post-Mutiny era, spread of western education in the country brought about a sort of mental conflict. Such feelings and sentiments gained in intensity especially in the minds of the persons who were acquainted with western conceptions and consequently they were anxious to awaken their brethren to the need of throwing off the shackles of conventions and traditions. The poetry of Shelley and Byron therefore must have appealed to a man like Iqbal.

The dominant note of Shelley's poetry is energy and verve for fighting tyranny. He is as impetuous in spirit as his West Wind is, determined on doing away with the clogs that hamper human progress. This is perhaps the reason why he seeks to be one with the West Wind and asks that Spirit fierce to

> Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
> Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!
> And, by the incantation of this verse,
> Scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth
> Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!
>
> (Ode to the West Wind)

And, he is hopeful of realising his vision -

> ... O, Wind,
> If winter comes, can spring be far behind.
>
> (Ode to the West Wind)

Shelley evinces startling enthusiasm for resisting the wrongs and his fortitude is commendable. The splendid exhortation at the

Prometheus Unbound is an instance in point.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates:
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan! is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory!

(Prometheus Unbound: IV, 570-578)

Iqbal seems to have captured this spirit. His poem [redacted] (Complaint) is almost permeated with this spirit. The only difference is that Prometheus of Shelley is an atheist who desires God's abject surrender:

Shall drag thee, cruel King, to kiss the blood
From these pale feet, which then might trample thee
If they disdained not such a prostrate slave.

(Prometheus Unbound: 50-52)

Iqbal, being an avowed theist, would not have expressed his sentiment of revolt in such irreligious terms. But he too felt the urge to complain to God:

Strange indeed the spectacle Thy
world supplied before our days,
Here men bowed them down to
stones, there paid they reverence to trees;
Only to the visual image was [redacted] the human gaze-

How could hearts adore a God no eye perceipient may
seime ?
Well Thou knowest, was there any anywhere to name
Thy Name ?
By the Muslims's strong right arm Thy purpose to
fulfilment came.

It was we and we alone who marched,
Thy soldiers to the fight,
Now upon the land engaging, now
embattled on the sea,
The triumphant Call to Prayer in
Europe's churches to recite,
Through the wastes of Africa to
summon men to worship Thee.
All the glittering splendour of great
emperors we reckoned none;
In the shadow of our glinting swords
we shouted, "God is One"!

We erased the smudge of falsehood
from the parchment [redacted],
We redeemed the human species from
the chains of slavery;
And we filled the Holy Kaaba with
our foreheads humbly bent,
Clutching to our fervent bosoms the
Koran in ecstasy.
Yet the charge is laid against us we
have played the faithless part;

If disloyal we have proved, Host
Then deserved to win our heart ? 1

Or, Iqbal's tirade against State puts one in mind of Shelleyean protest:

What Scripture sets forth riddlingly
Of Kings, let me impart:
In towering empires sovereignty
Is all a conjurer's art -
If ever subjects from their sleep
Half rouse themselves, the sure
Enchantments of their rulers steep
Their wits in dreams once more;
...
In the West the people rule, they say:
And what is this new reign?
The same harp still, the same strings play
The despots' old refrain;
In Demos-dress let tyranny's
Old demon-dance be seen,
Your fancy calls up Liberty's
Blue-mantled fairy queen! 2

Again, Shelley's love for scintillating similes is too tempting an attraction to Iqbal. A few lines from his poem Jugnoo (Glow-worm) are given below in translation:

The glow-worm shines in the garden,
Or is it a candle shimmering from behind the flowers,
Or a star shooting down from the sky,

1.stanzas: 4,6,13 of the poem Shikwa (in Bang-i Dara). translation entitled 'Complaint' by A.J.Arberry. vide.pp.6,8, 15 A.J.Arberry: Complaint & Answer (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint)
2.Poems From Iqbal (London,John Murray,1955),tr. V.G.Kiernan pp. 20-21 (from Khizar, The Guide). Note: this poem is in Bang-i Dara.

Or the moon-beam becoming the more lighted,
Or Day's ambassador to the Night's Kingdom,
(Who, unknown in his land, has shot into renown in
the foreign country),
Or a button fallen from the moon's mantle,
Or a particle shining in the Sun's dress ?
(Jugnoo: couplets 1 - 4)

This pile of similes reminds one of the stock of similes of Shelley's'Skylark', just as in the following stanza:

Like a Poet hidden
In the light of thought,
Singing hymns unbidden,
Till the world is wrought
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not:

Like a high-born maiden
In a palace-tower,
Soothing her love-laden
Soul in secret hour
With music sweet as love, which overflows her bower;

Like a glow-worm golden
In a dell of dew,
Scattering unbeholden
Its aerial hue
Among the flowers and grass, which screen it from the
view:
(To A Skylark: stanzas VIII, IX, X)

Iqbal & Byron

"Shelley", observes Allan Rodway, "is the poet of the suffering reformer, Byron of the suffering ego."[1] Byron's ego no doubt suffered from the sight of oppression. He loved liberty and hated oppression. His conception of liberty comes to full bloom in his sonnet 'On Chillon':

Eternal Spirit of the chainless Mind!
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty! thou art:
For there thy habitation is the heart -
The heart which love of thee alone can bind;
And when thy sons to fetters are consigned -
To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom,
Their country conquers with their martyrdom,
And Freedom's fame finds wings on every wind.
(first eight lines)

The marks left by the prisoner's steps should not be effaced 'for they appeal from tyranny to God'. Love of liberty again finds expression in 'The Prisoner of Chillon'. The lover of liberty, Bonnivard, suffers untold miseries and undergoes heart-rending sufferings. These sufferings accustom him to prison; he feels heavy at heart when he regains his freedom:

... even I
Regained my freedom with a sigh.
(The Prisoner of Chillon: last two lines)

Such notes cannot but find reverberations in the heart like that of Iqbal's; for he too had a suffering ego. He too sounds such notes in his poem 'Huzoor-i Risalat Ma ab' (Before the Prophet's Throne). The poet relates his setting out from

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1.vide. p. 196 Allan Rodway: The Romantic Conflict (London, Chatto & Windus, 1963)

the earth and then finding himself in the holy presence of the Prophet who asks: "What do you bring for us, what is your offering worth?" The reply is:

Master! there is no quiet in the land of time and space,
Where the existence that we crave hides and still hides its face;
Though all creation's flowerbeds teem with tulip and red rose,
The flower whose perfume is true love - that flower no garden knows.
But I have brought this chalice here to make my sacrifice;
The thing it holds you will not find in all your Paradise.
See here, oh Lord the honour of your people brimming up!
The martyred blood of Tripoli, oh Lord, is in the cup.[1]

Such a cadence with political and social bearing was almost absent in contemporary poetry. As a matter of fact Urdu poetry began to have deep political and social setting with Iqbal and Pt. Brij Mohan Chakbast - both of them were product of western education.[2]

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1. Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955), tr. by V.G. Kiernan.
   p. 18. (from The Call of the Road)
2. Note: Chakbast received education in India alone, and he he was a successful lawyer of Lucknow.

Iqbal & Shaw

Iqbal during his stay in England had access to eminent social and literary circles.[1] Although there is no external evidence to [illegible] about Shaw's influence on Iqbal there seems to be no reason why a man like Iqbal could remain indifferent to Shaw and his works. Till 1908 Shaw had produced a number of famous works including The Quintessence of Ibsenism, Mrs. Warren's Profession, Arms & The Man, Candida, The Devil's Disciple, Man & Superman.[2] Shaw was a great playwright and he "not only took all human activity for his province, but strongly suggested that nothing superhuman was alien to him, either - he swept Heaven clean of sharm, drastically lowered the temperature of Hell, brought back the dead, landscaped and peopled the future."[3] A man of Iqbal's calibre, it stands to reason, could hardly keep away from Shavian influence especially when he had the same incentive to write [illegible] Shaw had to write plays. "I write," says Shaw in the Preface to The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet, "plays with the deliberate

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1. vide. pp. 17-30 A. Anwar Beg: The Poet of The East (Lahore, Sh. Md. Ashraf, 1961)
   a) attended a course of lectures delivered by McTaggart, at Cambridge University.
   b) joined London School of Economics & Political Science.
   c) passed his law examination at Lincoln's Inn.
   d) professor of Arabic in the London University, for 3 months.
   e) delivered several lectures at Carton Hall.
   f) personal contact with McTaggart, Nicholson, and Arnold.
2. vide. pp. VII - VIII (A Short Chronology), George Bernard Shaw: A Critical Survey (New York, The World Publishing Co.) ed. by Louis Kronenberger.
3. Ibid, p. IX (Introduction)

object of converting the nation to my opinions ... I have no other incentive to write plays." Iqbal's objective is no other:

Where is the song, and he that sung ?
Words are a lyre pretences has strung;
I draw towards the camel-train
The erring beast without a rein.

In riddles yet I spake, forsooth;
Now is the time for naked truth;
Do thou declare, where I shall lead
My fellow-travellers in their need. 1

As for Shavian influence let us begin with the theory of Creative Evolution. Shaw's views[2] on the topic may be summarized as follows:

(a) Universe consists of two factors, Life and Matter.
(b) The matter is life's enemy and Life seeks to dominate and subdue it.
(c) Life seeks self-expression and animates matter to create organism.
(d) Matter is, as it were, the whetstone upon which life sharpens itself.
(e) Force driving the evolutionary process forward is designated by Shaw as 'vitality with direction.' It can 'put up a muscle' and can 'put a brain' as well.
(f) Matter is a 'ladder which must be scaled in order that,

1.Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's Zabur-i Ajam), by A.J.Arberry, (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1961 reprint), pp. 46-47
2.vide.pp. 189-193 C.E.M.Joad:Shaw's Philosophy, included in George Bernard Shaw: A Critical Survey (Cleveland & New York, The World Publishing Co.,), ed. Louis Kronenberger.

having arrived at the top, life may pass on to go something else ...'

(g)we are instruments created by life's instinctive purpose. We should develop and improve our potentiality 'so that the general stream of life of which we are individualized expressions runs more smoothly and majestically. Efforts and endeavour are the recipes for happiness.'

That is to say, in Shaw's thought-fabric there are threads traceable to several philosophers - Hegel's view on spirit externalising itself, Bergson's creative evolution and elan vital, Fichte's opinion regarding ego positing itself, Schopenhauer's view of the world as being the product of 'will.' These views, as we have already seen, are interwoven in Iqbal's works as well. Life-force, in the opinion of Shaw, is a 'vitality with direction' and can'put up a muscle' and put a 'brain'. Iqbal too holds a similar view: "Life is a forward assimilative movement. It removes all obstructions in its march by assimilating them. Its essence is the creation of desires and ideals, and for the purpose of its preservation and expansion it has invented or developed out of itself certain instruments, e.g., senses, intellect ... The greatest obstacle in the way of life is matter, Nature; yet Nature is not evil, since it enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves."[1]

Let us now look for Shavian influence in his poetry. A

1.Nicholson quotes Iqbal as writing to him. vide.pp. XIX-XX (Introduction) The Secrets of the Self (translation by R.A. Nicholson of Iqbal's Asrar-i Khudi), Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf 1960 reprint.

few lines from Asrar-i Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) are reproduced below:

It imagines itself to be no other than itself.
It makes from itself the forms of others
In order to multiply the pleasures of strife.
...
Subjects, objects, means, and causes -
All these are forms which it assumes for the purpose of action.
The Self rises, kindles, falls, glows, breathes,
Burns, shines, walks and flies.
...
'Tis the nature of the Self to manifest itself:
Power that is expressed and inert
Chains the faculties which lead to action.
Inasmuch as the life of the universe comes from the power of the Self,
Life is in proportion to this power. [1]

It is a view that is identical to Shaw's[2]. According to him, life seeks to dominate and subdue matter, and seeks self-expression; it can 'put up a muscle' and can 'put a brain' as well.[3]

When Iqbal emphasizes the role of love one may be reminded of what Shaw describes as 'vitality with a direction.'[4] For example, Iqbal says

The luminous point whose name is the Self
Is the life-spark beneath our dust.

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1. The Secrets of the Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i Khudi), by R.A.Nicholson, (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashra, 1960 reprint) pp. 17-20 lines: 194-234
2. Shaw's views on Creative Evolution summarized on 222-224 of this work.
3. vide. 223 of this work
4. vide. p.223 "

By love it is made more lasting,

More living, more burning, more glowing. 1

Shaw's 'philosophy envisages life's evolution as the development of an ever more intense and penetrating power of awareness.'[2] And Iqbal regards love as the instrument that helps in the evolution of the self. A cursory look may not find a similarity between Shaw's and Iqbal's views. Iqbal, it may be recalled, uses love in a very wide sense: "it is creative passion, high emotion, divine spark, enthusiasm for an ideal, ardent self-dedication, or the force that drives the individual to realize himself through wrestlings with the world and with God.'[3] All this may be described as 'vitality with a direction' or as 'a divine instinct beyond reason.'[4]

This brings us to the discussion of Superman of Shaw's conception and Perfect Man of Iqbal's. The Nietzschean influence on Iqbal's Perfect Man has already been discussed.[5] Before taking up the influence exerted by Shaw's Superman it is but meet to know his traits: Superman is the logical product of Shaw's view of creative evolution. He would not be subject to the tyranny of reason; he would be guided by intelligence. He knows that 'good conduct is not dictated by reason but by a divine instinct beyond reason. Reason only discovers the shortest way: it does not discover the destination.' His ideal would be the 'attainment of Beauty or of Happiness.' He would seek

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1. The Secrets of the Self (translation of Iqbal's Asrar-i Khudi), by R.A.Nicholson (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint) p. 28, lines: 323-326
2. vide. p.198 C.E.M.Joad: Shaw's Philosophy, included in George Bernard Shaw: A Critical Survey (Cleveland & New York, The World Publishing Co.,), ed. Louis Kronenberger
3. vide. p.106 Poems From Iqbal (London, John Murray, 1955) by V.G.Kiernan
4. vide. p.362 Shaw: The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism & Capitalism. (Note: He describes Superman as knowing that good conduct is dictated by a 'divine instinct beyond reason.'
5. vide. chapter 'Iqbal & Nietzsche', pp.78-94

power but, unlike Nietzsche's, would not regard it 'as an end in itself.' As a matter of fact Shaw presents a very shadowy picture of Superman. His positive role is not clear enough as is his negative part.[1] Iqbal's Perfect Man, following in the foot-steps of Nietzsche's Superman or Overman, is a crusader, regards strength as the twain of Truth, trusts to his intuition, and is guided by 'love', not'reason.'[2] Thus both Shaw and Iqbal are opposed to reason and uphold almost a shadowy passion, called 'instinct' by Shaw and 'love' by Iqbal. Both of them do not hesitate to advise resorting to force if force may further the cause of the ideal before them. Here it would perhaps be not irrelevant to refer to a remark made by Iqbal in regard to the ideal character. "To me," says Iqbal, "the ideal of character foreshadowed by Alamghir Aurangzeb is [illegible] the Muslim type of character."[3] Why does he regard Alamghir Aurangzeb as an ideal character ? - an entry in his diary seems to explain. The entry runs:"The political genius of Aurangzeb was extremely comprehensive ... (The) history of the preceding Muslim dynasties had taught Aurangzeb that the strength of Islam in India did not depend, as his great ancestor Akbar had thought, so much on the goodwill of the people of this land as on the strength of the ruling race. ... Considering the significance of this perception he must be looked upon as the founder of Musalman nationality in India ..."[4] Iqbal's Perfect Man would therefore be modelled on the pattern of Aurangzeb's character and he would perhaps prefer might to right.[5] Iqbal seems to have borrowed from Shaw

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1.vide.pp. 32-38 S.C.Gupta: The Art of Bernard Shaw (Calc., A.Mukherjee & Co., 4th ed.,1960)
2.vide.pp.74-83 Chapter: Iqbal & Nietzsche.
3.Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964), ed. by S.A.Vahid. p.280 (from 'The Muslim Community')
4.Stray Reflections (A note-book of Iqbal),ed. by Javid Iqbal (Lahore,Sh.Ghulam Ali & Sons.,1961). pp.44-46
5.Ibid,p.35. Note: Attention is invited to the following entry. "Philosophy is the logic of right; history the logic of might. The canons of this latter logic appear to be more sound than those of her sister logic."

the conception of life-force, that is 'vitality with direction', alongwith traits from Nietzsche's Superman. The difference between Shaw and Iqbal seems to be in the fact that Shaw's Superman is in the womb of future[1] and Iqbal's is modelled on Aurangzeb's character.

It may be recalled that such conceptions are to be met with in Iqbal's works produced after his return from Europe. It seems that he was under the cumulative influence of many philosophers and writers. All these western masterminds contributed to his eclectic genius. Iqbal, consciously or unconsciously, picked up what he thought to be the kernel in them and husked off what failed to fascinate him. This he did with Shavian views too.

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1. "The creation of Superman is the greatest task that lies ahead of us, a longer and more arduous task than the socialist revolution," says Eric Bentley in his 'Shaw's Political Economy.' vide.p.229 George Bernard Shaw: A Critical Survey (Cleveland & New York, The World Publishing Co.,), ed. by Louis Kronenberger

Chapter 22

C O N C L U S I O N

There is thus enough of the West in Iqbal. The assimilation of thoughts and impressions from the sources not indigenous is in itself not derogatory; rather it gives new dimension and direction to literary efforts. We have it from as great a poet and artist as Rabindranath Tagore:" A sign of greatness in great geniuses is their enormous capacity for borrowing, very often without their knowing it; they have unlimited credit in the world market of cultures. Only mediocrities are ashamed and afraid of borrowing, for they do not know how to pay back the debt in their own coin..."[1] Iqbal's contact with the West gave a new turn to his poetry. But before the final evaluation it would be relevant to place him in the context of the times and the conditions then obtaining. Dr Latif writes: "Urdu Literature ... beginning approximately with the decline of the great Mughal Empire and ending with its final disappearance in 1857, was a literature groaning, like degenerate Muslim Society of the times, under its own dead weight and yet not knowing that it was groaning. Hedged in by hard-and-fast rules, revelling in a narrow circle of thin and hackneyed ideas, this early literature dragged on a dreary existence till at one time, after the great Indian Mutiny, when the fortunes of Islam in India were at their lowest ebb, it seemed that the shadow of death was closing

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1. vide pp. 59-60 Rabindranath Tagore On Art & Aesthetics (Orient Longmans, 1961)
from lecture entitled 'Art & Tradition' delivered by Tagore at Dacca.

round it. ... Fortunately ... with the final establishment of the British power in India and the restoration of peace and order, there began to flow into the country diverse influences of Western culture and western literary ideas which speedingly infused fresh life into ... Urdu Literature and stimulated its growth with surprising rapidity..."[1] The activities of the Aligarh Movement and its influence on Urdu Poetry have already been touched upon.[2] It would also be relevant to turn to Gibb's views on the conditions obtaining in the world of Islam. Describing the condition of Islam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries he proceeds to observe: " the political and economic impact of the Christian West had begun to create new tensions among the settled Muslim populations. The continuous expansion of European political power over Muslim territories produced ... a psychological unsettlement. ... Confronted with the penetrating and pervasive power of these (i.e. literary, educational, commercial, social, political, administrative, and so forth) western influences, the Muslim was unable to ignore them; but to relate them to the bases of his own life and thought called for an effort of comprehension and adjustment which he was not yet ready to undertake. ... On the religious plane, two ways of meeting the challenge of the West presented themselves. One was to start from the basic principles of Islam and to restate them in the light of the contemporary situation. The other was

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1.Sayyid Abdul Latif: The Influence Of English Literature on Urdu Literature. (London, Forester Groom & Co., 1924) p. 11

Note: Attention is invited to the following observation made [redacted] in his paper 'The Study of English Literature in Pakistan', included in Commonwealth Literature (London & Edinburgh,Morrison & Gibb,1965) ed. by John Press. vide.p.141

"..The study of English literature must be [redacted] context of the new sensibility generated by the impact of the West. .. English literature provided writers .. with the technique of expressing the new sensibility.."

2.vide.pp.8-10 Chapter 1

to start from a selected Western philosophy and to integrate Muslim doctrine with it..."[1] Then Gibb, speaking of Iqbal's role, observes that "in contrast to the earlier modernists, the Muslim foundations of Iqbal's theology are derived from Sufistic philosophy which he reinterpreted in terms of the Nietzschean Superman and Bergson's theory of creative evolution..."[2] The reason for his doing so seems to be only one: he wanted to rouse his brethren to the realization of the fact that their political degradation lay in their being weak and therefore he gave them what may be termed ego-centric philosophy in his poetry. It would be of interest to note that many of the philosophers to whom he turned were, consciously or unconsciously, mainly inspired by love of force; Fichte, Bergson, Nietzsche and Pragmatists have been described by Russell as philosophers actuated by love of power.[3] Indian Muslims, in his opinion, were politically weak and socially decadent; freedom from British Imperialism was in sight and Muslims, led by Muslim League, feared drag-chains at the hands of the Hindus who were in a majority in this sub-continent. Iqbal, delivering his Presidential address at the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad on the

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1. H.A.R.Gibb: Mohammedanism - A Historical Survey (O.U.P.1964) pp. 172-4
2. Ibid, pp.185
   Note: Iqbal's interpreting the Western philosophers like Nietzsche, Bergson, Hegel, Fichte has been touched upon in the following books as well besides those already referred to in several chapters:
   a) Asaf A.A.Fyzee: A Modern Approach To Islam (Asia Pub.'63) vide.pp. 77-78
   b) S.Radhakrishnan: History of Philosophy, Eastern & Western (London, George Allen Ltd, 1952), vide.pp.542-8 Vol.I
   c) Islam: The Straight Path (New York, The Ronald Press, 1958) ed. Kenneth W.Morgan. vide.p.221 from 'Muslim Culture In India & Pakistan' by Manheruddin Siddiqi, University of Sind.
   d) Alfed Guillaume: Islam (Penguin Books, 1954), vide.pp.161-8.
3. vide.pp.172-7 Ch.XVI Power Philosophies
   Bertrand Russell: Power (London, Unwin Books, 1965)

29th December, 1930, said inter alia: "Communalism in its higher aspect (mine)...is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness, The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. ... I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state ...."[1]

With regard to political views held by Iqbal it would be perhaps of interest to note what Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said in the connection: "Though the mentality of the Moslem masses and the growing middle class was shaped essentially by events, Sir Md. Iqbal played an important part in influencing the latter and especially the younger generation. The masses were hardly affected by him. Iqbal had begun by writing powerful nationalist poems in Urdu which had become popular. During the Balkan Wars he turned to Islamic subjects. He was influenced by the circumstances then prevailing and the mass feeling among the

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1. Speeches & Statements of Iqbal (Lahore, Al-Manar Academy, 1948) compiled by Shamloo. p.12
This amalgamated [illegible] 'a consolidated North-West India Muslim State.' (vide p.12)
Note: It may be relevant to see that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru observed in an article in Modern Review. This is included in 'Nehru On Communalism' (New Delhi-1, Sampradayikta Viradhi Committee, 1965), ed. N.L.Gupta. please see p.84 of this book:
"...It astonishes me that a poet like Sir Mohammad Iqbal should put forward fantastic schemes of States within States, and advocate a social structure which may have suited a past age but is a hopeless anachronism today. ..."

Moslems, and he himself influenced and added to the intensity of these sentiments. ... He supplied in fine poetry, which written both in Persian and Urdu, a philosophical background to the Moslem intelligentsia and thus diverted its mind in a separatist direction. His popularity was no doubt due to the quality of his poetry, but even more so it was due to his having fulfilled a need when the Moslem was searching for some anchor to hold on. ... Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realised its inherent danger and absurdity. Edward Thompson has written that, in the course of conversations, Iqbal told him that he had advocated Pakistan because of his position as president of the Moslem League session, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Moslems specially. ... A few months before his death, as he lay on his sick bed, he sent for me and I gladly obeyed the summons. ... I admired him and his poetry, and it pleased me greatly to feel that he liked me and had a good opinion of me. A little before I left him he said to me: 'What is there in common between Jinnah and You ? He is a politician, you are a patriot...'[1] It is therefore clear that a change was coming over him. Towards the later part of his life Iqbal was almost a humanist - a fact which is abundantly borne out by his New Year's Message broadcast from the Lahore Station of the All India Radio on the 1st January, 1938. In this message he deprecates mutual hatred as this poses a serious threat to the progress and evolution of civilization

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1. Jawaharlal Nehru: The Discovery of India (London, Meridian Books, 1960, 5th ed.), pp. 353-355

and then proceeds to advise: "Remember, man can be maintained on this earth only by honouring mankind, ... Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man, which above race, nationality, colour or language ..."[1] This is not only an important utterance but also a key declaration; it is in itself adequate to refute Dr Sinha's inference that Iqbal's is the 'humanism of the Semitic land.'[2] This is tantamount to describing Iqbal as Pan-Islamist. Doubtless from the time of his stay in Europe he turned to Islamic subjects and his poetry began to have a message only for the Muslims but as a matter of fact he was basically a humanist. Even in his poetry tinged with communal sentiments he at times seems to transcend his conscious self, that is to say, he rises above the consideration of Muslim community alone; and unconsciously gives vent to ideas which are basically non-communal and universal. For example, in his Asrar-i Khudi (The Secrets Of The Self), which introduces Superman patterned on Nietzsche's and endowed with 'will' or developed 'Ego', he says:

Many a night I wept for Man's sake

1.vide.pp. 374-375 Thoughts & Reflections of Iqbal, ed. by S.A.Vahid (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf,1964).
Note: Iqbal died on April 21, 1938.

2.vide.p.416 Dr Sachchidanands Sinha: Iqbal - The Poet & His Message (Allahabad, Ram Narain Lal,1947)
Dr Sinha quotes Dr S.Latif, the author of 'The Influence of English Literature On Urdu Literature (London,Forsther Green Co.,1924), as calling Iqbal's humanism as the'humanism of the Semitic Land,' in a speech on the occassion of Iqbal Day at Hyderabad, printed in 'Muslim Quaterly'(Quaterly) in the issue of April,1942. It may, however, be noted that Dr Latif has said nothing of the kind in his book.
Note: Prof.Aaqay Mujtaba Menuwi, in his book 'Iqbal Lahori', has observed:'Iqbal regards Islam as his Deity and wants to see Muslims unitedly arrayed against their opponents'. (vide. p. 28 the Urdu Translation 'Allama Iqbal' by Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, published by Lahore,Bazm-i Iqbal,n.d.)

That I might tear the veil from Life's
mysteries,
And [illegible] the secret of Life's constitution
From the laboratory of phenomena.
(lines: 157 - 160)[1]

Iqbal has wept for Man's sake; his tears are for Insaan (Man), not Musalman alone.[2] Just as Milton set out, congiously, to justify the ways of God to man but unconsciously perhaps justified the ways of Satan or man to God, in the [illegible] Iqbal may consciously sound a communal note but soon he seems to [illegible] his conscious self; he begins to sound a universal note [illegible] unknowingly. In his lyrical poetry the communal note is always absent, for instance

Give me the heart, give me the heart
That of the world will have no part;
I yield the heart right gladly o'er
That is a slave to less and more.
...
The life is ne'er a weary thing
While there be worlds for conquering:
Behold, one world lies bound and tied -
Into another world I ride. (from Ghazal 41)[3]

1.The Secrets of the Self (translation of Asrar-i Khudi), by R.A.Nicholson (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 reprint)
2.It may be noted that Iqbal is flat and insipid in his poems addressed to Muslims alone. His poems like Jawab-i Shikwa (Answer), Asrar-i Khudi (The Secrets of the Self), Rumuz-i Bekhudi (The Mysteries of Selflessness) and such others written with a motive are hardly of high standard. (vide p.26 'Falsafa-i Iqbal', published by Lahore Bazm-i Iqbal, 1961; see article 'Jamaliyat-i Iqbal Ki Tashkil')
3.Persian Psalms (tr. of Iqbal's Zabur-i Ajam), by A.J.Arberry (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1961 reprint), p.26
Note: When I drew Dr Arberry's attention to a weak translation he was generous enough to reply as follows:
Pembroke College,
Cambridge,
21 July 1964

(please see next page)

Again, in Javid Nama (Pilgrimage of Eternity), the famous work of Iqbal which has been discussed in the chapter 'Iqbal & Dante', the reader meets several non-Muslim characters; Iqbal, it should be noted, does not give them a place inferior to any Muslim. He makes Buddha advise a temptress who seeks forgiveness:

Both ancient (? old) wine and youthful love are naught,
And seers regard even heaven's houries naught.
Forgo all things that may appear to last,
The seas and lands and hills and wastes are naught.
The reason of the west and the eastern lore
Are idols false, whose worshipping is naught.
...
Illusion is the unknown; live
Yet worldly coils escape - 'tis all.
The heaven, a gift of God, is naught,
The heaven that thou may'st win is all.
Thou seekst comfort of self ? 'Tis naught
For misery of [illegible]ist eyes are all.
And songs and wine-lit winking eyes

(continued from the previous page:footnote)

Dear Mr Rastogi,

I was very pleased to receive your letter of 28th July. I have looked again at the two passages you quote. I think you are right about the first; my translation 'That of the world will have no part' is inferior to your interpretation, and could perhaps be changed to 'That in the world will take full part.'

...

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) A. J. Arberry.

Are fine, but a finer thing is all
Time makes the rosy cheek as naught,
Kind thoughts, brave deeds alone are all.

(Lines: 771 - 790)[1]

The Bart Hari of Javid Nama advises:

Above the man-made gods
That yield no single ray
A High One lives, who far
From temples keeps away.
All sapless are thy prayers
Bereft of action's fire,
For actions, good or bad,
Do shape this life entire.
...
The world thou seest is not
The handicraft of the Lord,
From thee alone emerge
The spinning wheel, the cord.
Before the law of actions
Bow, from the root be free,
They are thy deed's reflections
Hell, heaven, purgatory.

(lines: 3323 - 3342)[2]

In his Javid Nama Iqbal has apparently adopted the pseudonym

1.Pilgrimage of Eternity (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961), English translation of Iqbal's Javid Nama, by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad.
2.Ibid.

Zinda Rud (the living stream) for himself.[1] Zinda Rud breaks forth into a song:

What search for God will profit thee
When thou failed reaching mem ?
What is friend's union for the one
From self away who ran ?
...
The Company of enlightened hearts,
Can give thy eyes new sight,
While thou but search collyrium
To add to thine eyes light.

(lines: 3700-3703 & 3720-3723)[2]

Here, in the examples sited above, Iqbal seems to have transcended his communal self; he appears as a humanist. His communal note is no doubt a jarring and aggressive note[3] but the redeeming feature of his poetry is that it is not a permanent note. This communal note too would perhaps have gone unheard if the policy pursued by Muslim League, under the leadership of Jinnah, has not embittered relations and created bad blood among the different

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1.Ibid, vide.Foreword by Justice S.A.Rahman.
& (a) vide.p.75 Allama Iqbal (Lahore,Bazm-i Iqbal,n.d.) Urdu translation of Prof.Asqay Mujtaba Manawi's Persian work entitled 'Iqbal Lahori'. Sufi Mustafa Tabassum is the translator.

(b) vide.p.10 Dharm Yug (Hindi Weekly published by Times of India,Bombay), issue: 25th September,1966. The article entitled 'Bharatiy Devlok Mein Urdu Ke Maha Kavi Iqbal Ki Aadhyatmik Yatra'(i.e. Spiritual Pilgrimage of The Great Poet Iqbal In Bharatiya Heaven). The writer is Jagan Nath Azad, the famous Urdu poet and critic; he is the son of Munshi Tilok Chand Mehroom who was also a poet of Indo-Pak fame.

2.Ibid, (Pilgrimage of Eternity)
3.Prof.Majnu Gorakhpuri attributes Iqbal's 'Hejaaziyat'(i.e. Mecca-Madinaism) to what he calls a psychological complex. He deprecates what he describes as Iqbal's 'Uqabiyat' (i.e. Nazism, that is Fascism).It is, in his opinion, nothing but escapism. vide.pp.33-41 Majnu Gorakhpuri: Iqbal (Delhi, Azad Kitab Ghar,1965)

communities inhabiting the Indian sub-continent, now India and Pakistan. Besides, the official canonisation of Iqbal by the Pakistan Government and the latter's attempts at using Iqbal's poetry in hate-India campaign have unfortunately made the communal note of Iqbal's poetry conspicuous. But for this Iqbal cannot be blamed and pilloried. With sanity returning to this sub-continent Iqbal's communal note would perhaps die out; it was the product of the times and with the change in times the note would become almost inaudible. Iqbal is basically a humanist. He is still a poet striding Colossus-like over other Indo-Pakistani poets of Urdu and Persian. His greatness consists in his being a very talented man knowing East and West both. Urdu and Persian poetry of this sub-continent gained momentum, widened its horizon as a result of the western ideas that Iqbal set in currency.

A P P E N D I X

Iqbal & Rabindranath Tagore

Iqbal and Tagore were contemporary: the former died at the age of sixtyfive in 1938[1] and the latter at the age of eighty in 1941[2]. " .... The Nobel Prize awarded to Tagore for Gitanjali in 1913 put him", writes V.K. Gokak, "on the Indian horizon ... definitely as a shaping influence on Indian poetry."[3] Inasmuch as this work is devoted to western influences on Iqbal it seems to be a little beside the point to throw light on the influence exerted by Tagore on Iqbal. Nevertheless the study would bring into focus the impact of one genius upon the other especially when the impact outside Bengal was through the medium of the English language. As would be evident from the message of condolence sent by Tagore on Iqbal's death, Tagore certainly knew of Iqbal's poetry[4]. The message describes Iqbal's poetry as having a 'universal appeal'. This seems to be indicative of the fact that Tagore had some access to Iqbal's poetry. There is unfortunately nothing available to show Iqbal's opinion on Tagore's poetry.

No Urdu critic has yet dealt with the likely influence of Tagore's poetry on Iqbal. References to Tagore are, however, sometimes made with a view to magnifying the

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1. There has been a controversy regarding the year in which Iqbal was born. Abdul Majid Salik in his Zikr-i-Iqbal (Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, year not mentioned) mentions 1873, page 10. While there are others who mention 1876 and 1877, vide pp. 21 - 22 S.A.Vahid: Date Of Iqbal's Birth, an article in IQBAL REVIEW (The Iqbal Academy Karachi), October 1964 issue.
2. vide p. 169 J.C.Ghosh: Bengali Literature (O.U.P. 1948)
3. vide the article 'Tagore's Influence on Modern Indian Poetry', in Indian Literature (Sahitya Akademi, N.Delhi) vol. 4, 1961, page: 101
4. vide p. 11

qualities of Iqbal's poetry and consequently such references tend to be erroneous. One example would perhaps be illustrative enough. Doctor Qazi Abdul Hamid, in the course of an article, observes: "In poetic sublimity only Tagore, in whole of India, may be compared with Iqbal. Both of them are mystic poets. Whereas one stands for negative mysticism (manfi tasawwuf) the other preaches affirmative mysticism (musbati tasawwuf). Tagore desires to lead a calm and quiet life: Iqbal, an enthusiastic and dangerous life. ... Tagore seeks a world of imagination to forget the difficulties of life, and Iqbal dares difficulties and desires to overpower them. ... Tagore is prostrate before God. Iqbal wants to keep his individuality intact even in Divine Presence. The greatness of Tagore's poetry consists in life's negation. In Iqbal the imagination of life's affirmation is most predominant. Tagore espouses the cause of intellectual philosophy of Vedanta and is the mouth-piece of Hindu nationalism. Iqbal is a poet of 'Muslim Nation (Muslim Qaum) and he preaches Islam's pragmatic philosophy of life. What is reality may be known to God alone. War or Peace, Life or Death ? - which is preferable."[1]

Such attempts at playing up Iqbal hardly constitutes a literary appraisal. In this way justice can be done neither to Iqbal nor to Tagore. A critical vision thus befogged can hardly see the path leading to the discerning of the influences and impressions of one on the other. What is said about Tagore in the above excerpt, as we would see, does not seem to hold

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1. Qazi Abdul Hamid, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin): Iqbal ki Shakhsiyat Aur Uska Paigham (Iqbal, His Personality & Message), an article contained in 'Iqbal' (Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Hind, 1944) pp. 213 - 214

water. Tagore's was a many faceted-genius. If only one aspect, to the exclusion of others, is brought to light no appraisal would be worth its name. What Qazi Abdul Hamid has said about Tagore seems to have been based on the criticism by the so-called'progressive'writers. These progressive writers[1] claimed to stand for the underdog in society and consequently they regarded "poetry as the voice of disillusionment and of despair rather than of delight."[1] Their criticism of Tagore was: "A born aristocratic, his approach to the common man is marked by sentimental sympathy rather than genuine understanding. ... His mysticism is rarely founded on concrete experiences of the inner life. It tends to be dreamy and facile, ..."[2] But one should like to nod assent to what J.C.Ghosh says: " ... Tagore was no escapist at any point in his career; neither his aestheticism nor his mysticism was ever divorced from life. His practical activities as politician, educationist, and social and religious reformer bear ample evidence of this."[3] All this should be kept in view when we look for the influence exerted by Tagore, 'the high-priest of the literary renaissance.'[4] Tagore's was a pervasive influence - a topic which has been dealt with by V.K.Gokak in his article entitled 'Tagore's Influence on Modern Indian Poetry'. Regarding Urdu poetry Mr Gokak makes the following observation:

"..... The Urdu poets Nias and Bijnori were drawn to Gitanjali by its transcendental grandeur and literary charm

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1.V.K.Gokak:Tagore's Influence on Modern Indian Poetry, an article contained in Indian Literature (Tagore Number), Vol.IV,1961,Sahitya Akademi,N.Delhi, 1961. pp. 113-114
2.Ibid, pp. 114-115
3.J.C.Ghosh: Bengali Literature (O.U.P.), p. 178.
Note: Attention is also invited to Tagore's view of man's nature: "From the time when Man became truly conscious of his own self he also became conscious of a mysterious spirit of Unity which found its manifestation through him in

(Please see footnote:next page)

and the philosophic ideas contained in it. ... Tagore's influence is ... apparent in the writings of Josh, Surur, Jigar Muradabadi and other poets."[1] This remark inasmuch as it describes the influence on Urdu poetry is worthy of consideration yet it does not carry us far. However, the way to discover the influences exerted by Tagore, hinted by Mr Gokak, is worthy of serious attention. His article opens with these words: "The influence of a poet on his epoch or on his contemporaries and successors is a very subtle factor and critical instruments of the utmost precision are required to measure it. ... This impact may be one of stimulation or assimilation, of acquiescence or revolt. It reveals itself even in the revolt directed against it."[2] Iqbal's poetry if scrutinized in this light seems to point to the influence of Tagore. A man like Iqbal's literary calibre could not have remained indifferent to the new forces, socio-political, emerging at home and abroad. When Tagore's Gitanjali blazed a trail of glory and renown Iqbal, it may be surmised, must have felt drawn to him. The poet in him, consciously or unconsciously, should have searched for the merits that brought Tagore international renown. He must have come upon the factors contributory to the greatness of Tagore since Iqbal thenceforth began doing what Tagore had done. What, then, had Tagore done? " Tagore

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continued from previous page:
his society. It is a subtle medium of relationship between individuals, which is not for any utilitarian purpose but for its own ultimate truth, not a sum of arithmetic but a value of life ... " (see p. 89 Rabindranath Tagore: The Religion of Man, London,Unwin Books,1963)

4.V.K.Gokak:Tagore's Influence on Modern Indian Poetry, an article in Indian Literature,Tagore Number,Vol. IV (Sahitya Akademi,N.Delhi), p. 107 (1961 issue)

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1.Ibid, p. 110
2.Ibid, p. 99

enriched Bengali literature in three ways: by exploring the resources of Sanskrit literature, by importing ideas and modes from Europe, and ... by incorporating themes, images and symbols from common Bengali life. ... It was perhaps his greatest achievement as a writer to cut a channel in which the three by no means easily reconcilable influences of ancient India, modern Europe, and popular Bengali origin could happily mingle."[1] This is what Iqbal too accomplished. He imported ideas from so many western philosophers and poets and incorporated themes, images and symbols from Muslim life. This was perhaps under Tagore's stimulation as Iqbal's poetry took on these distinctive characteristics in post-Gitanjali period. A look at his works would immediately show that except the first two portions of [redacted] and a part of the third all his works saw the light of the day from 1914 onwards.[2] All these works present a fine blend of East and West, and these belong to the post-[redacted] period. There is therefore no reason why stimulation from Tagore's poetry should not be said to be one of the factors contributing to Iqbal's genius. That is to say, the success achieved by Tagore whetted his desire for turning to the west and assimilating her ideas. If "Tagore used even traditional images with a peculiar freshness of outlook,"[3] Iqbal too began doing the same. "The real innovation of Iqbal", writes Majnu Gorakhpuri, "consists in his using old words and expressions, old styles and traditions in an

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1. J.C.Ghosh: Bengali Literature (O.U.P.1948), pp. 183-184
2. see Abdul Majid Salik: Zikr-i-Iqbal (Lahore, Bazm-i-Iqbal) pp. 290-296
3. V.K.Gokak: Tagore's Influence on Modern Indian Poetry, an article in Indian Literature, Tagore Number, Vol. IV, Sahitya Akademi, N.Delhi, [illegible] 1961. p. 134

does not allow him to escape from reality -- the hard facts of this material world. His inner world is co-terminus with the outer world. He says:"[1]

> Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bond of delight.
>
> (Gitanjali: LXXIII)

Tagore never fights shy of encountering difficulties: he welcomes the obstructions of the material universe. "In its external aspect", to quote his words,"the universe is a huge machine which does not deviate from its laws. This material universe obstructs us in various ways, and the people who have been so idle or foolish as to try to avoid it have ended up with deceiving themselves instead of getting round the obstructions. On the other hand, the people who have mastered the laws of matter have not only overcome the impediments of matter but also been helped by it. ... The laggards and late-comers have found that there was little or nothing left for them ...."[2] His is a message of fundamental human unity based on righteous thought, deed and action. A reference to the following poem from Gitanjali would drive this point home:

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
>
> Where knowledge is free;
>
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
>
> Where words come out from the depth of truth;

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1. Dr Salamatullah:Tagore As Educationist, an article in Indian Literature,Vol. IV, [illegible],Tagore Number (Sahitya Akademi,N.Delhi),1961 p. 134
2. quoted in 'Rabindranath Tagore: Towards Universal Man' (Asia Publishing House,1961), pp. 228-233

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action -

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

(Gitanjali: XXXV)

It is not 'negative mysticism'. This must have evoked feelings of appreciation in Iqbal as well, and he must have been stimulated to give such a message to the Muslims who, according to him, were "swayed by the kind of mysticism which blinked actualities, enervated the people and kept them steeped in all kinds of superstition."[1] Upto the period of his stay in England Iqbal was "much more of a pantheistic and mystic."[2] Iqbal's Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self) appeared in 1915[3], that is two years after Tagore's getting Nobel Prize. In this work Iqbal the pantheist and mystic of his Cambridge days appears as "a religious enthusiast, inspired by the vision of a New Mecca, world-wide, theocratic, Utopian state in which all Moslems, no longer divided by the barriers of race and country shall be one."[4] This shift in Iqbal's opinion might be the outcome of his reperoussions to the renown and glory won by Tagore in 1913. Tagore's is, however, a message for humanity and his nationalism coalesces with internationalism. On the other

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1. Speeches & Statements of Iqbal (Lahore, Al-Manar Academy, 1948) edited by Shamloo. p. 133
2. Ibid, p. 147 (McTaggart wrote to Iqbal)
3. for the year of publication of Asrar-i-Khudi see page 119 of A.Anwar Beg: The Poet of the East (Lahore, Sh.Md. Ashraf, 1961)
4. see page X Introduction of 'The Secrets of the Self' translation of Asrar-i-Khudi by R.A.Nicholson (Lahore, Sh.Md.Ashraf, 1960 - reprint of Macmillan's 1920)

hand, Iqbal's is a message for the Muslims and nationalism means love for Muslim community alone.

Qazi Abdul Hamid's opinion that "Iqbal wants to keep his individuality intact even in Divine Presence" and Tagore is prostrate before God is hardly tenable. Let us turn to the appraisal by Ghosh: "Man is as necessary to God in this religion (the poet's religion) as God is to man. 'O thou Lord of all heavens, where would be thy love if I were not'? "Day after day you buy your sun-rise from my heart". That is why Tagore knows no ultimate cleavage between body and soul ... Tagore's religion is humanistic in essence, and as far removed from hedonism on the one hand as from barren self-abnegation on the other ..... Self-centred abnegation is admonished in the following poem:"[1]

> Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee!
>
> He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil!
>
> .....
>
> (Gitanjali: XI)

Work-and-worship is the kernel of Tagore's teachings. " ... a man," says Tagore," must live his full term of life and work without greed, and thus realize himself in Being who is in all beings. This means that he must reveal in his

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1.J.C.Ghosh: Bengali Literature (O.U.P. 1948), pp. 185-186

own personality the Supreme Person by his disinterested activities .... "[1]

It is thus sufficient to give the lie to any such criticism that Tagore's is a negative mysticism. Tagore does not see eye to eye with passive worship in a temple 'with doors all shut'. Chanting, singing and telling of beads does not constitute worship. Worship, according to Tagore, consists in service of mankind. The Gitanjali with such poems must have touched responsive chords in the readers' hearts. Iqbal must have gone through the Gitanjali as it is common knowledge that every person with a taste for literature would desire to read a Nobel Prize-winning book. This view seems to be credible as Iqbal too fired a broadside at the Sufis (mystics) in his work Asrar-i-Khudi.[2] This work of Iqbal, as already pointed out, appeared in 1915. The scathing criticism of Sufi saints in a work published just two years after Tagore's getting the Prize is a pointer to the likely impressions from the Gitanjali as well. The influences may be in the form of stimulation, assimilation, acquiescence or revolt. The influence of the Gitanjali on Iqbal seems to be in the form of stimulation alone. This does not detract from the value of his achievements as a poet. On borrowing there is the testimony of Rabindranath Tagore himself. He says: "A sign of greatness in great geniuses is their enormous capacity for borrowing, very often without their knowing

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1. see page 74 Rabindranath Tagore: The Religion of Man (London, Unwin Books, 1963)
2. see page 253 Murray T.Titus,Ph.D.,D.D., : Islam In India & Pakistan (Madras, The Christian Literature Society, 1959)
   Iqbal in his Asrar-i-Khudi 'with bitter scorn .... denounces the inactivity from the world of the Sufi saints and mystics.'

it; they have unlimited credit in the world market of cultures. Only mediocrities are ashamed and afraid of borrowing, for they do not know how to pay back the debt in their own coin. ..."[1] And Iqbal was a genius with a considerable capacity for assimilation and borrowing, and knew how to pay back the debt in his own coin.

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1. refer to Tagore's lecture on 'Art & Tradition' contained in 'Rabindranath Tagore On Art & Aesthetics' (Orient Longmans, 1961) p. 59

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8.Javid Nama	(" "	)

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